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**Heritage Diplomacy:
A Case of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan & the United States**

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Master's in Diplomacy and International Relations, SIT Graduate Institute

DIPL-6601: Capstone Paper

Dr. Bruce Dayton

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my sincere and deep gratitude to Chair and Associate Professor, Dr. Bruce Dayton for providing me with irreplaceable guidance throughout the research process. His selflessness, wisdom, patience, and dedication to his students has continually inspired me. I would also like to thank the SIT Graduate staff for their endless support throughout the extent of my Master's degree. I am forever appreciative of the experiences and opportunities of a lifetime presented to me through this program.

Abstract

The newer concept of heritage diplomacy is outlined in this paper by first evaluating the various definitions of it presented by scholars in the existing literature. I then attempt to assess how it is postulated to benefit bi-lateral diplomatic relations. The postulated benefits identified are then explored, analyzed, and applied through the lens of a case study between the United States of America and Jordan. The objective of analyzing heritage diplomacy through this particular lens is to identify whether or not heritage diplomacy is capable of cultivating/preserving positive diplomatic relations between states. The paper confirmed that heritage diplomacy has the power to postulate fruitful benefits between the United States and Jordan.

Introduction

Heritage diplomacy is a relatively new concept, having emerged as a distinct notion in the field of international relations only in recent times. It can be defined as “concerning the mobilization of cultural and national pasts shared between and across nations via processes incorporating exchanges, collaborations, and cooperative forms of governance” (McClelland, 2020, p. 2). It is often stated to be confused with other, more popular forms of diplomacy such as public and cultural diplomacy, although many have objected this (McClelland, 2020). Amy Clarke (2018, p. 420) explains that heritage diplomacy is distinct from public and cultural diplomacy because “it utilizes historical narratives, traditions and material cultures – and the frameworks with which these are governed – as forms of soft and hard power.” Clarke (2018) also states that the concept of heritage diplomacy has been in the making for over a century, with several historical events and their consequences having led up to the governance surrounding heritage that we know today.

The aim of this paper is to analyze U.S. – Jordanian relations through the prism of heritage diplomacy. The central research questions this capstone project aims to answer are: 1) how is the concept of heritage diplomacy defined in the literature? 2) how do proponents of heritage diplomacy postulate that it cultivates and maintains positive diplomatic relations between states? 3) can we find evidence of these positive benefits when it comes to the preservation and/or protection of diplomatic relations between the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and the United States?

The framework I applied when analyzing data consisted of conducting qualitative research that allowed me to retain a certain amount of flexibility. I made use of an inductive research approach and implemented the qualitative research form of thematic analysis, which can be described as “closely examining the data to identify main themes and patterns” (Streefkerk, 2019).

Significance of Research

The research question holds value, because I believe that if more attention was specifically given to heritage diplomacy and it be more understood, there would be an increase in a unique and robust method of strengthening ties between states. I believe that when nations choose, for example, to help one another in rebuilding an important part of their culture, there is a strong sense of gratitude and loyalty granted, that I imagine would be rare to ever back away from. The research question is important, because if one were to see the positive benefits of heritage diplomacy between the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and the United States, they would follow suit in employing it, thus creating, and maintaining ties that could possibly improve several factors of life, for not only those at the top of government, but for your average citizen as well.

In the case of the state of Jordan and the United States for instance, I believe that financial aid granted, and laws created by the United States in order to protect cultural heritage in Jordan has nurtured and strengthened their relationship, allowing for the U.S. to maintain a reliable ally in the Middle Eastern region. I do not think that much attention has been paid to how heritage diplomacy has been a factor in the strengthening of this relationship. I believe that focusing on answering my research question will help open the door to the topic of heritage diplomacy and how it may benefit the diplomatic relationship between states. By focusing on how heritage diplomacy is defined, exploring why advocates support its implementation, and gathering evidence of its positive benefits, I believe this capstone paper will enlighten those who are interested on a lesser-known form of diplomacy.

Positionality

I am a twenty-seven-year-old female from Atlanta, Georgia. Although I was born in the United States, my mother and father both immigrated from Afghanistan in the 1980's following the Soviet invasion. I believe that being the daughter of immigrant parents from Central Asia has certainly impacted my world view and has contributed to my development of interest in the ancient past and diplomacy, given Afghanistan's cultural and political record. It had always upset me that the Buddhas of Bamiyan had been destroyed during the Taliban regime in Afghanistan. I have always thought that it was a shame that ancient art such as these statues, (which had attracted so many to the nation from across the world), were forever destroyed.

For my undergraduate degree, I studied at the University of Georgia and advanced with a Bachelor of Arts in international relations. It was during my time at UGA that I became intrigued with diplomacy after interning at the House of Representatives in D.C. and realizing a career

there was not for me. After understanding this, I was led to pursue a Master's in diplomacy and international relations at the School for International Training in order to explore more options.

I have chosen to focus on the relationship between the United States and Jordan when it comes to the analysis of heritage diplomacy because of the time I had spent in Jordan whilst completing my capstone credit requirements over the summer of 2021. While traveling through Jordan during my off time, I made sure to visit as many of the antiquities in the region as I possibly could. I fell in love with what I witnessed and how well preserved the monuments all were. Naturally, I grew curious to discover if there was any connection between heritage conservation and protection and diplomacy, hence stumbling across the newer concept of heritage diplomacy. I believe that my background and past experiences will allow me to draw conclusions that emerge from a unique and interesting perspective that will hopefully allow for a diverse insight into the matter.

Literature review

The concept of heritage diplomacy is a relatively new concept, and one that is commonly misunderstood with other more conventional forms of diplomacy. While a conclusive definition of heritage diplomacy has yet to be agreed upon, several scholars agree on a number of factors central to the concept. I would like to emphasize that many authors, especially Tim Winter (2016), state that the sudden emergence of interest in heritage diplomacy stems from gaps in scholarship. Authors who have done research on heritage diplomacy, including Winter (2016) believe that scholars in the international relations and political science realm have paid little attention to the impact heritage, (what he describes as material culture) has had on diplomacy. Likewise, he believes that actors involved in heritage conservation have also not paid needed attention to theories of governance and globalization (Winter, 2016).

Some scholars argue that heritage diplomacy is just another name for public or cultural diplomacy (Chalcraft, 2021¹). However, many academics have emphasized that heritage diplomacy is its own entity and that it is important to differentiate it from the others, as it is entirely distinct (Todorovic, 2022). For example, Todorovic (2022) describes heritage diplomacy as a means of displaying one's political values, and cultural diplomacy as promoting one's culture abroad, obtaining a different type of soft power than the latter. Many authors have come to agree that heritage diplomacy may overlap with cultural and public diplomacy, but heritage diplomacy is distinct from public and cultural diplomacy because "it utilizes historical narratives, traditions and material cultures – and the frameworks with which these are governed – as forms of soft and hard power" (Clarke, 2018, p. 420).

Heritage diplomacy has also been described by scholars as an entity along the lines of a contact zone that allows different stakeholders and expectations to come together (Chalcraft, 2021). I believe, based on the knowledge I have gathered through readings, that heritage diplomacy is a model that allows for many different bodies of importance (of various scales) to interact with one another and improve communication of one's needs in order to produce and maintain a positive outcome for all involved. When it comes to global governance and international relations, I expect that communication and the building of trust are important tools in creating solid relationships. Winter (2016) has emphasized that diplomacy through restoring heritage has become a symbol of reconciliation between international bodies of importance in recent times. I

¹ Public diplomacy can be defined as "the means by which governments, private groups, and individuals influence the attitudes and opinions of other peoples and governments in such a way as to exercise influence on their foreign policy decisions" (Ayhan, 2018, p. 65).

Cultural diplomacy can be defined as a "national policy designed to support the export of representative samples of that nation's culture in order to further the objectives of foreign policy" (Gienow-Hecht & Donfried, 2013, p. 13).

assume that this has without a doubt, led to peacebuilding and the maintenance of newfound relationships that did not exist beforehand.

Winter (2016) states that heritage diplomacy has been tied to the structures of international relations and governance that we have come to know in the modern era. To add, it is also stated that scholars have noticed how heritage has affected the political and economic relations between states ever since the shift in geopolitical power that began in the early twenty-first century (McClelland, 2020). Based on reading these facts, I believe that it is obvious that heritage has and will continue to make a considerable impact on diplomatic relations between states, and that it has only now come to the attention of inquisitive scholars. For example, Winter (2016) states that he believes the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization is just one of the heritage preservation institutions that have made a significant impact, and this organization has been around since the earlier twentieth century.

Heritage has also been described in the literature as being *in* and *as* diplomacy. Based on the information that I have read; many scholars have come to the conclusion that heritage diplomacy should be understood in these two separate contexts. Todorovic (2022) describes heritage *as* diplomacy by being utilized as a carrier of diplomatic relations between nations, and *in* diplomacy by being incorporated into diplomatic relations. Todorovic (2022) states in his writings that although these two distinctions may seem unnecessary, it is quite the contrary. He gives the example of UNESCO's World Heritage List as heritage *as* diplomacy, and financial aid distributed for conservation or restoration projects as heritage *in* diplomacy (Todorovic, 2022).

Todorovic (2022) exclaims that he believes heritage applied *in* diplomacy is a much more common form of diplomacy practiced in comparison to heritage utilized *as* diplomacy. He exclaims that he believes this is because of its ability to be applied in a broader sense. For

instance, Todorovic (2022) states that those utilizing heritage *in* diplomacy are not constricted to maintaining relations only because of shared heritage, they are also allowed to relate on the wider range of shared goals. These shared goals can include providing aid for the increase in education, restoring heritage, and even technology transfer (Todorovic, 2022). Heritage utilized *in* diplomacy is stated to also allow for diplomacy to be conducted on a multilateral basis (Todorovic, 2022).

The concept of heritage diplomacy is also agreed upon by many scholars to have the ability to be a part of both soft and hard power strategies. McClelland (2020) believes that heritage diplomacy distinguishes itself from other more popular forms of diplomacy because of the fact that it is entangled in both of these strategies. He makes a point in stating that one must explore the concepts that intertwine with it in order to properly analyze what defines it. When it comes to heritage diplomacy, some of these concepts include, soft power, being able to obtain what one wants through attraction and not coercion, and hard power, relating to one's ability to gain influence through military or economic means (McClelland, 2020). Winter (2016) emphasizes the fact that states who have engaged themselves in heritage preservation have done so because it is a useful tool for hard and soft power.

I believe it important to also mention that Winter (2016) understood that diplomacy through heritage preservation was not an apolitical activity. The motivating potential heritage preservation holds has been noted when it comes to certain foreign policy objectives (Todorovic, 2022). It is believed by some scholars that the branch of diplomacy came into existence strictly because of the fact that this potential was realized (Todorovic, 2022).

Positive Impacts of Heritage Diplomacy

Proponents of heritage diplomacy postulate that it cultivates and maintains positive diplomatic relations between states because of its ability to foster connections that would have not existed otherwise. For example, Todorovic (2022) states that in order for a monument to make to UNESCO's World Heritage List, a variety of different nations with diverse cultural backgrounds must come together and analyze whether or not it meets certain criteria. He believes that if the monument were to make it on the list, it serves as evidence of cooperation between different nations and the connection they all have to the monument (Todorovic, 2022). Todorovic (2022) has specifically mentioned that this process allows nations to unite with one another by granting them an opportunity to come forward and share their thoughts and opinions on why the monument in question serves as a symbol of historical ties between subjects through religion, trade and the like, improving diplomatic relations between those who are involved.

Proponents of heritage diplomacy postulate that it cultivates and maintains positive diplomatic relations between states because of its ability to help nations mend their negative reputations. I believe this has allowed them to reignite broken relations as well as generate new ones. Amy Clarke (2018) gives an example of this by highlighting when the United States began building museums and investing in heritage conservation in both Iraq and Afghanistan as a form of heritage diplomacy. She believes that this was done to conserve the United State's image as a global leader and was conducted in an attempt to rebuild its reputation post-conflict (Clarke, 2018). McClelland (2020) states that heritage diplomacy was used by states like Japan as well, with a negative reputation following World War II, to project a softer image. It is mentioned by McClelland (2020) that Japan had successfully accomplished this by "operating through targeted funding programs for conservation work, providing professional expertise and technical assistance, implementing institutional capacity building, and organizing educational

opportunities for shared learning through conferences, seminars, and people-to-people exchanges” (p.3).

Heritage diplomacy is argued to obtain the ability to strengthen a nation’s economy, thus cultivating and maintaining positive diplomatic relations between the states that are involved. The nation of China, for instance, has utilized heritage diplomacy in order to promote its new project, the Belt and Road Initiative (Sterling, 2018). Sterling (2018) states that the Belt and Road Initiative is predicted to be the longest economic corridor in the world. The Belt and Road Initiative’s concept is acknowledged to be based on the ancient Old Silk Road, which acquired the ability to reach up to 4.4 billion people in total (Sterling, 2018). China is described to have tapped into their historical past regarding the ancient trade route in order to remind states of the value it brought, while also harking back on the important part they played in its legacy (Sterling, 2018). Sterling (2018) mentions that China is building on this heritage of the past in order to reignite cooperation, respect, and trust in Asia and beyond in the present day. He also states that connectivity through shared heritage has allowed countries within Asia to increase their trust and loyalty in relation to China while also promoting economic growth across the region (Sterling, 2018).

Scholars argue that heritage diplomacy allows for trust to be built between nations, consequently increasing positive diplomatic relations. It is argued that when a nation provides foreign aid to another country for heritage conservation, it conveys a message of good-will (Nakano & Zhu, 2020). There are several routes through which one can implement heritage diplomacy in order to increase trust. Nakano and Zhu (2020) describe the nation of Japan as curating a list of sites and objects to register for UNESCO’s heritage lists that specifically showcase different civilizations and cultures in order to display the fact that Japan has developed since their last encounter with

the Western world. These authors also reiterate the fact that Central Asia, Europe, and Russia have increased their trust towards China (Nakano & Zhu, 2020). They state that this was because China had used the Silk Roads as a reminder in their diplomatic encounters with these regions, that they had once maintained a relationship that was beneficial for all (Nakano & Zhu, 2020).

In sum, heritage diplomacy proponents contend that it cultivates and maintains positive diplomatic relations between states by 1) assisting nations to foster connections that would not have existed otherwise, 2) helping countries mend their negative reputations if they obtain any from the past, 3) helping states strengthen their economies, as well as 4) aid them in building trust with one another. The postulated benefits are presented in Table 1 below. As one can see, diplomacy surrounding heritage offers many benefits. Scholars claim that it is a great route through which nations can come together and move forward in ways that will benefit every subject involved.

Table 1: Postulated Positive Impacts of Heritage Diplomacy

Positive impact 1	Positive impact 2	Positive impact 3	Positive impact 4
Fosters connections that would not have existed otherwise.	Helps mend negative reputations.	Can help strengthen the economy.	Builds trust.
Relationships have the ability to be created through ties of shared heritage when there is a lack of any other types of connections between different nations or groups.	By engaging in the variety of methods of conducting heritage diplomacy, a nation is granted the ability to project a softer image than it once had before.	By reigniting past memories of successful shared heritage such as the Silk Road, nations are granted the ability to strengthen their economy by implementing these traditional practices that benefited them all in the past, today.	By conducting practices such as providing foreign aid to another nation for heritage conservation, a nation projects a message of good-will.

Methodology

This capstone paper qualitatively interrogates the postulated positive effects of heritage diplomacy, listed above, by examining it in the context of relations between the United States and Jordan. Qualitative research is commonly described as differing from quantitative research because it is based on the concept that meaning is a social construct and depends on an individual's interaction with their world, whereas the latter is considered to be a measurable phenomenon and one that is based on a fixed set of variables (Merriam & Grenier, 2019).

Merriam & Grenier (2019) describe qualitative research as dependent on the search for meaning and understanding, with the researcher serving as the primary instrument of data collection and analysis. Qualitative researchers understand that there are a multitude of interpretations of reality that change over time, and because of this, they emphasize the importance of focusing on interpretations in a particular time period and context (Merriam & Grenier, 2019). Qualitative research is described as comprising of an inductive analysis process and an end product that is rich in its description of what was studied (Merriam & Grenier, 2019).

The inductive analysis process is described as being utilized to interpret meaning from data in order to develop themes and findings, identify notable information to support findings, or explain findings using theory and literature (Bingham & Witkowsky, 2021). Bingham and Witkowsky (2021) state that the inductive analysis process is comprised of reading through information and allowing categories, themes, and patterns to emerge organically. They also mention that the inductive analysis process is the type that most commonly appears in qualitative research (Bingham & Witkowsky).

The first step I took was to conduct a literature review on heritage diplomacy in order to understand how it was defined and postulated to benefit bi-lateral diplomatic relations. I found

through my research that there is not one conclusive definition of heritage diplomacy. It was also apparent from my examination that the concept of heritage diplomacy is just starting out because scholars have lately noticed the impact shared heritage has made on relationships between states. From what I could gather, it became evident in recent times that diplomacy surrounding heritage is its own entity and should not be confused with other more popular forms of diplomacy. Many scholars have come forward and agreed that heritage diplomacy has benefited diplomatic relations between states in a number of ways.

The second step I took was to gather and identify any postulated benefits from conducting heritage diplomacy that I could find out of the literature review (see table 1 above). After examining many texts that look into the concept of heritage diplomacy, I had assembled up to four hypothesized benefits. These benefits include 1) fostering connections between states that would not have existed otherwise 2) helping mend past negative reputations 3) helping strengthen the economy and 4) building trust.

In order to assess whether U.S.—Jordanian relations have been improved in the way postulated in the literature review, I reviewed open-source material from academic literature. I systemically searched for key phrases such as heritage diplomacy and USAID in Jordan in documents, for example, as well as attempted to discover the proposed benefits heritage diplomacy brought about in Jordan by gauging what scholars had to say about the effects U.S. heritage conservation efforts had on the state. Documents collected were coded according to evidence supporting or undermining postulated benefits of heritage diplomacy. Because heritage diplomacy is a newer topic, I had to closely examine the limited amount of information in existence concerning the topic of heritage conservation efforts conducted by the United States in Jordan and the impacts this may or may not have had on their diplomatic relationship.

Analysis

Heritage Diplomacy between the U.S. and Jordan: A Brief History

The United States and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan have sustained a relationship with one another since as far back as the mid-twentieth century (Clea Lutz Hupp, 2014). This relationship is described to have first blossomed when the United States set out to seek a partner in the Middle Eastern region that would aid them in their pursuit of stability (Clea Lutz Hupp, 2014). Clea Lutz Hupp (2014) mentions that the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan became a subject of interest to the United States in a coincident manner following significant events that occurred administration after administration. Before this, there was stated to be a commonly held perception in Washington, beginning in 1948, that the Jordanian monarchy was doomed to fail considering the military coup in Egypt, government instability in Syria and so on (Clea Lutz Hupp, 2014). Jordanian and American ties are stated to have progressed despite these doubts because of Jordan's ability to take advantage of their relationship with the United States during times of domestic political strife and constant warfare near their borders. Clea Lutz Hupp (2014) states that because of sheer luck and skill when it comes to partnership and survivability, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan was one of the only Middle Eastern regimes to endure into the twenty-first century.

One can deduce that heritage diplomacy emerged between the United States and Jordan some time around the early twentieth century (Thomas Evan Levy et al., 2007). Thomas Evan Levy et al., (2007) states that it was an American, William F. Albright, the first long-term Director at the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, who first initiated archaeological and historical work in what was then Transjordan in his expedition to the Southern Ghawr. His

expedition is described to have set the precedent for many that still exist to this day, such as the exploration of the Dead Sea Plain (Thomas Evan Levy et al., 2007).

When it comes to what heritage diplomacy looks like between the United States and Jordan, I believe that it can be described as a long-term relationship between two states that has consisted of utilizing heritage *in* diplomacy. For example, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) developed a program that focused on heritage conservation for tourism of historical sites in Jordan, such as Amman and Petra, since before 1967 (Thomas Evan Levy et al., 2007). The United States and Jordan are depicted to have collaborated with each other surrounding the topic of heritage in Jordan several times after this in ways that have benefited both states. The American Research Center in Amman, for instance, was funded and created by the U.S. Department of State in the late 1960's, to increase American cultural presence in Amman, but had also resulted in the training of Jordan's archaeologists at the time (Thomas Evan Levy et al., 2007). The United States is also stated to have fashioned research centers whose aim was to increase knowledge of ancient Jordan and the Near East in the West but had additionally resulted in providing faculty to teach at the University of Jordan as well as expertise and advice to the Jordanian Department of Antiquities (Thomas Evan Levy et al., 2007).

It is stated that Hillary Rodham Clinton utilized the phrase "smart power" in the opening statement for her confirmation hearing for Secretary of State (Christina Marie Luke & Kersel, 2013). Christina Marie Luke and Kersel (2013) declared that Harvard University Academic, Joseph Nye described smart power as the ability to combine hard and soft power in order to produce a successful strategy. As previously mentioned, heritage diplomacy is defined as a form of mediation that obtains the ability to employ both hard and soft power (Clark, 2018).

Connections that would not have existed were made

I believe connections that would not have existed otherwise were made between the United States and Jordan because of diplomatic relations that surround cultural heritage and heritage conservation efforts made by the United States in Jordan. Christina Marie Luke and Kersel (2013) state that the U.S. government has had a history of turning to nongovernmental actors such as archaeologists and cultural heritage practitioners to carry out as ambassadors for the purpose of mending broken relationships and building bridges in certain regions. They argue that the role of an archaeologist as an agent of state for the United States continues today, and that the impact they have on international relations often goes unappreciated (Christina Marie Luke & Kersel, 2013).

Christina Marie Luke and Kersel (2013) state that archaeology and archeologists play an important role in furthering U.S. diplomatic goals and agendas in regions where the United States dedicates its resources and seeks to project a softer image. I believe that because the United States has historically and currently provided financial aid and knowledge to Jordan such as education for Jordan's archaeologists, for example, it has been able to achieve projecting a softer image and connect with Jordan in a way that would have otherwise been impossible. The Madaba Plains Project, one of the longest running archaeological excavation projects in the Middle East, is a great example of Americans and Jordanians coming together through the channel of heritage diplomacy in order to foster a positive bond (Clark et al., 2016).

Her Royal Highness Princess Sumaya bint El Hassan proclaimed in a message of encouragement to those involved in the Madaba Plains Project on its 40th anniversary that she believes the project has served as a training ground for both Jordanian and American archaeologists that resulted in helping forge friendships between professionals and students from both nationalities (Clark et al., 2016). She continued to state in her preface, that her father, HRH Prince El Hassan

bin Talal stated in his opening speech to the first International Conference on the History and Archaeology of Jordan (ICHAJ) held at Oxford University in 1980, that it is a human requirement to analyze one's past, present and future, and that archaeology and history serve to identify areas of camaraderie and common ground between civilizations (Clark et al., 2016). The princess believes that the Madaba Plains Project helps promote the interaction between Jordanians and Americans as well as the notion her father spoke of (Clark et al., 2016).

Negative reputation was mended

The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan is described to be a fairly new kingdom with ancient roots that has survived into the 21st century, despite the majority opinion that it would not (Gasiorowski, 2014). Gasiorowski (2014) states that the monarchy is known to have played a central role in the Arab Israeli conflict and peace process, as well as served as a state of extreme geopolitical importance to major powers from the Cold War era to present day. Significant events such as the September 11th terrorist attacks are stated to have negatively affected the image and economic stability of predominantly Muslim countries such as Jordan, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia (Bysyuck, 2010). The unstable political situations in neighboring countries to Jordan such as the war and protests occurring in Syria have undesirably affected Jordan's tourism industry, with losses in the past amounting up to 70 million per month since tourists are fearsome of visiting due to the news circulating vis-à-vis these events (FaladeObalade & Dubey, 2014). I believe that the influxes of tourism can indicate how a nation is perceived throughout the world, and that heritage diplomacy between the United States and Jordan has aided Jordan's travel industry by supporting the development and management of its cultural heritage sites, thus improving its reputation.

States in the Middle East are acknowledged to understand that tourism development can be used as a means to promote an impression of prestige and legitimacy to the outside world, as well as project an image of stability and affluence (Hazbun, 2004). The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan has received considerable amount of support from the United States that has aided them in preserving and supporting some of their most valuable cultural heritage sites such as the city of Petra. Prior to when Petra became distinguished as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1985, it had been recognized by governmental and donor agencies as an exceptional example of national heritage, and the United States National Park Service was invited to prepare a management plan in order to preserve and promote it (Jeanne Marie Teutonico et al., 2002). This plan created by the United States was applied to serve as a guide for the use, development, interpretation, protection, and general administration of what is now known as the Petra National Park (Jeanne Marie Teutonico et al., 2002).

The Jordanian government invited the International Council on Monuments and Sites, United States Committee, (ICOMOS/US) to conduct a study titled “The Study on The Management Analysis and Recommendations for the Petra World Heritage Site” (Jeanne Marie Teutonico et al., 2002). This study is stated to be a direct output of the USAID funded project, the Jordan Sustainable Tourism Development Project that came into development in 1996 (Jeanne Marie Teutonico et al., 2002). Jeanne Marie Teutonico et al. (2002) states that this study funded by the United States provided the basic framework for a management infrastructure at Petra. The study provided not only a statement of significance for Petra, which included administration values and objectives, but also a draft text for the authorization of Petra National Park (Jeanne Marie et al., 2002). Jeanne Marie Teutonico et al. (2002) has argued that policy makers in Jordan have understood the importance Petra holds when it comes to economic advancement, the United

States has no doubt provided them aid to utilize one of their most important cultural heritage sites.

The economy was strengthened

The United States has provided economic assistance and military aid to Jordan since the 1950's, with annual U.S. assistance increasing to the state as time has moved forward (Sharp, 2017). Sharp (2017) states that the Jordanian government has also sought multi-year aid packages from the U.S. administration, which have been granted, such as the agreement made in 2008 that granted the Jordanian administration 660 million a year over a five-year period, despite huge sums of money being allocated to Iraq and Afghanistan at the time. The author believes that this agreement displayed dedication from the United States to Jordan and was a tribute to their relationship (Sharp, 2017). There are also USAID programs being funded in Jordan that are stated to support a variety of areas such as democracy assistance, water preservation, and education (Sharp, 2017). U.S. assistance to Jordan is described to extend even further to support capacity building programs for the Hashemite's parliament backing departments such as the Ministry of Justice, as well as assisting in their management of scarce water resources (Sharp, 2017). The United States government has likewise been noted to provide indirect economic support in the form of loan deals to Jordanian banks so that the kingdom would have the ability to extend long-term mortgage lending to their low-income citizens (Sharp, 2017).

Heritage diplomacy has cultivated and postulated positive diplomatic relations between the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and the United States by strengthening Jordan's economy.

Cultural heritage has been stated to attract the attention of economists because cultural heritage tourism has become a major source of income for developing countries such as Jordan by being proven to strengthen and diversify its economic base, bringing in tens of millions of dollars

(Abuamoud et al., 2014). Researchers have found that it is cultural heritage sites in Jordan that are specifically drawing and attracting tourists in to visit the nation, with data showcasing that most of these tourists are from the North American region in some studies (Abuamoud et al., 2014).

The United States has contributed to the preservation of cultural heritage in Jordan by creating projects such as the Sustainable Cultural Heritage Through Engagement of Local Communities Project (SCHEP), an internationally funded USAID project that aims to work with likeminded archaeologists in excavations to ensure local community development (Burtenshaw et al., 2019). It is argued that some of the benefits that are possible outcomes from projects like this one are increased tourism, as well as economic benefits gained from field schools, training in transferable skills, and creating community businesses through the production of local goods associated with cultural heritage or conservation, which is argued to contribute to regeneration (Burtenshaw et al., 2019).

Trust was built

When it comes to the diplomatic relationship between the United States and Jordan, I believe that heritage diplomacy has had the ability to strengthen their relationship with one another. The United States and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan have maintained a connection with one another since as far back as the late 1950's, when the U.S. took the responsibility of subsidizing Jordan in persistence of the Eisenhower Doctrine, which promised support to anti-communist regimes (Milton-Edwards & Hinchcliffe, 2009). The United States, in addition, obtains a history of having been a giant contributor to Jordan when it comes to supplying military arms and training, even going so far as being dubbed as 'Jordan's protector of last resort' by some influential figures (Milton-Edwards & Hinchcliffe, 2009).

In my opinion, heritage diplomacy has nurtured these two states' relationship with one another through a different channel, adding yet another layer of responsibility and support for one another. In more recent times, it is stated that the United States has become a habitual destination for stolen cultural heritage materials, becoming a nation that is often sought out by others to carry out diplomatic negotiations in order to have these materials protected (Kersel & Hill, 2020). Kersel and Hill (2020) state that the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan sent a request to the United States (that was accepted) to fashion a bilateral agreement to prevent Jordanian cultural materials from being exported there.

The state of Jordan had to meet certain requirements before this agreement was solidified, including providing proof that their cultural heritage was at risk from looting and theft. They accomplished this by gathering big data imagery collection such as satellite, full-scale aircraft, drones, and conducting archaeological investigations (Kersel & Hill, 2020). Kersel and Hill (2020) state that imagery collected from drones in order to provide proof demonstrated to be priceless and developed to make a huge difference in diplomatic policy formation. By preventing the import of and sale of stolen Jordanian cultural artifacts, it is argued that the United has strengthened their political relationship with Jordan, reduced the incentive for the plundering of important archaeological sites, and created a route through which both nations may exchange cultural artifacts and knowledge through museum exhibitions (Kersel & Hill, 2020).

Summary

The postulated benefits of heritage diplomacy were substantiated by my review of heritage diplomacy between the United States and Jordan. The Madaba Plains Project, one of the longest running archaeological excavation projects in the Middle East, is an example of Americans and Jordanians coming together through the channel of heritage diplomacy in order to connect in a

way that would not have existed otherwise (Clark et al., 2016). The United States has supported and aided in the management of Jordan's cultural heritage sites, thus improving its travel industry and reputation, as well as created projects such as SCHEP, which is argued to result in strengthening the economy by creating community businesses through the production of local goods associated with cultural heritage or conservation (Burtenshaw et al., 2019). Heritage diplomacy has likewise built trust between the United States and Jordan considering a bilateral agreement was fashioned in order to prevent Jordanian cultural materials from being exported to the U.S. (Kersel & Hill, 2020).

Study Implications

In this age of instability and fragile interstate relations, heritage diplomacy offers states a newly recognized way to conduct their affairs that is acknowledged as being a massive aid in solidifying and strengthening relationships. Heritage diplomacy offers the realm of international relations a means in which they are able to look past differences and focus on similarities, such as shared heritage, in order to create bonds and move forward in a positive manner. In addition, heritage diplomacy permits states to cooperate with one another in a way that increases mutual understanding, creating a domino effect of positive relations in the future.

Study Limitations

The limitations of this study include the fact that my findings are suggestive and not conclusive. I did not conduct any interviews, nor gather data on the subject of heritage diplomacy between the United States and Jordan myself. The outcome of this paper is solely based on my analysis of the literature on the subject of heritage diplomacy that already exists. To add, data to assess positive benefits has been limited considering heritage diplomacy is a newer subject and not

much research has been conducted on it. In order to further validate the outcome of my research, additional case studies of heritage diplomacy cases are essential.

Conclusion

Heritage diplomacy is important because it provides states the opportunity to form a contact zone that permits different participants and expectations to come together (Chalcraft, 2021). Unlike other forms of diplomacy, it grants those who implement it the ability to utilize both hard and soft power (Clarke, 2018). Today, heritage diplomacy has awarded nations such as China the ability to connect with other countries based on shared legacy successfully in order to increase respect and loyalty, as well as promote economic growth (Sterling, 2018). Scholars argue that it acquires the ability to foster connections that would not have existed otherwise, aids in mending negative reputations, strengthens the economy, as well as builds trust. Heritage diplomacy might further be developed as a concept, and as a practice adapted by governments because of its ability to employ cultural heritage as a site of connectivity that is argued to be linked to a variety of global concerns and challenges (Lähdesmäki & Čeginskas, 2022). It is claimed by its proponents to have the power to identify shared values and understandings of the past in order to build international relations and promote intercultural dialogue between significantly different communities and cultural groups (Lähdesmäki & Čeginskas, 2022). By obtaining these qualities, it allows for the creation of understanding and thus encourages peace. If more attention was given to increasing knowledge on the topic of heritage diplomacy as well as implementing it, I believe that more governments would find the motivation to collectively work together and benefit one another in a variety of ways.

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