

**Framing War as Cultural Heritage: Entrepreneurial Mindset, Sustainability, and
Underrepresented Grassroots Archives in a Four-Case Qualitative Study**

**Enquadrar a guerra como património cultural: mentalidade empreendedora, sustentabilidade
e arquivos de base sub-representados num estudo qualitativo de quatro casos**

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ABSTRACT: This article delivers a comparative, four-case qualitative framing analysis of the civic initiatives that represent war as a problem of cultural heritage and of rights: Saving Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Online (SUCHO), the Palestinian Museum Digital Archive (PMDA), We Are Not Numbers (WANN), and the Ukrainian Archive of Mnemonic. On the basis of the entrepreneurial-mindset scholarship (Bacigalupo et al., 2016; McGrath & MacMillan, 2000; Neck et al., 2020; Klamer, 2011), the study argues that these grassroots initiatives exemplify a cultural entrepreneurship: they recognize the opportunity amid crisis, they mobilize dispersed resources under radical uncertainty, and they create a public-interest value through innovative digital workflows. Treating the English-language mission texts as performative discourse, the researcher applies a two-stage protocol that specifies the diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational frames, the legitimation strategies, and the actor roles, and then synthesizes the cross-case patterns of salience. The findings reveal a patterned bifurcation. The Ukrainian cases foreground the emergency-technocratic and the forensic-accountability repertoires, built on the language of redundancy, verification, and chain of custody that mobilizes the expert public. The Palestinian cases foreground the participatory-memory and the narrative-humanization, built on the co-curation, the intergenerational custody, and the mentored life-writing that re-center the voice as an intangible heritage. Across all the cases, the motivational appeals to dignity, justice, and urgency support the invitations to contribute, to use, or to witness. The sustainability emerges along three

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distinct dimensions of long-term value: the technological sustainability, the community co-ownership, and the narrative continuity. The study contributes a transparent mini-typology of frames for the archives from below and a set of salience matrices that allow a cautious quantification, and it theorizes the cultural-resilience assemblages that fuse preservation, evidence work, and narrative production in order to contest erasure in real time. The limitations include the scope of the English-language self-presentation and the reliance on indicative, third-party reception signals.

KEYWORDS: digital heritage; qualitative framing; community archiving; entrepreneurial mindset; cultural entrepreneurship; sustainability; diasporic media; civic memory

RESUMO: Este artigo apresenta uma análise qualitativa comparativa de enquadramento, assente em quatro casos, de iniciativas cívicas que reconfiguram a guerra como um problema de património cultural e de direitos: Saving Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Online (SUCHO), o Palestinian Museum Digital Archive (PMDA), We Are Not Numbers (WANN) e o Ukrainian Archive da Mnemonic. Apoando-se na literatura sobre mentalidade empreendedora (Bacigalupo et al., 2016; McGrath & MacMillan, 2000; Neck et al., 2020; Klamer, 2011), o estudo defende que estas iniciativas de base exemplificam o empreendedorismo cultural: identificam oportunidades em contextos de crise, mobilizam recursos dispersos em condições de incerteza radical e criam valor de interesse público através de fluxos de trabalho digitais inovadores. Tratando os textos de missão em língua inglesa como discurso performativo, o investigador aplica um protocolo de duas etapas que especifica quadros diagnósticos, prognósticos e motivacionais, estratégias de legitimação e papéis dos atores, sintetizando, em seguida, padrões de saliência entre os casos. Os resultados revelam uma bifurcação sistemática. Os casos ucranianos privilegiam repertórios tecnocráticos de emergência e de responsabilização forense: a linguagem de redundância, verificação e cadeia de custódia mobiliza públicos especializados. Os casos palestinianos privilegiam a memória participativa e a humanização narrativa: a co-curadoria, a custódia intergeracional e a escrita autobiográfica orientada recentram a voz como património intangível. A sustentabilidade emerge ao longo de três dimensões distintas de valor a longo prazo: sustentabilidade tecnológica, co-propriedade comunitária e continuidade narrativa. As limitações incluem o escopo restrito a autoapresentações em língua inglesa e a dependência de sinais de receção indiretos, de terceiros.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: património digital; enquadramento qualitativo; arquivamento comunitário; mentalidade empreendedora; empreendedorismo cultural; sustentabilidade; media diaspóricos; memória cívica

Introduction

In armed conflict, it is not the human lives alone that are placed under threat, but also the culture and the memory whose preservation sustains collective identity, social cohesion, and the resilience of a community against the destructive force of war (UNESCO, n.d., 2015; United Nations Security Council, 2017). That is to say, the contemporary conflicts of the platformized era have generated a wave of grassroots, community-driven initiatives that are committed to preserve the cultural heritage placed at risk and to amplify the voices that the mainstream media apparatus has often kept at the margins (Dombrowski et al., 2022a; LeBlanc et al., 2022; Palestinian Museum Digital Archive, n.d.; We Are Not Numbers, n.d.; Cultural Emergency Response, 2022). Roy (2004) highlighted that there is "really no such thing as the voiceless, only the deliberately silenced or the preferably unheard". The observation is significant for the settings of Ukraine and Palestine, in which communities have answered violence and displacement by preserving their own narratives and records, on the basis of their own agency and not on a dependence on state institutions or international bodies alone (SUCHO, n.d.; Palestinian Museum Digital Archive, n.d.; We Are Not Numbers, n.d.; UNESCO, n.d.). These underrepresented initiatives frame the war not as a humanitarian crisis only, but as an assault on culture, on collective memory, and on identity, the kind of assault that calls for a cultural-heritage response (Dombrowski et al., 2022a; Cultural Emergency Response, 2022; UNESCO, n.d.).

These initiatives do not address the cultural consequences of the conflict alone. They also exhibit several features that the entrepreneurship scholarship associates with the entrepreneurial mindset, including the recognition of opportunity under conditions of uncertainty, the creative mobilization of dispersed resources, the iterative experimentation that proceeds by learning while doing, and the cultivation of the stakeholder relations through which legitimacy and support are secured (Bacigalupo et al., 2016; McGrath & MacMillan, 2000; Neck et al., 2020; Lounsbury & Glynn, 2001; Mai & Thai, 2025). Their design choices, which extend across open-access licensing, distributed and redundant preservation infrastructures, capacity-building, and participatory stewardship, are consistent in turn with the established principles of digital sustainability and of the long-term preservation of digital heritage (UNESCO, 2003; Parent et al., 2021; Stürmer et al., 2017; Baker et al., 2021; Zhang & Dong, 2024). For this reason, the article situates the grassroots archiving of war at the meeting point of three domains, which are the cultural-heritage framing, the entrepreneurial agency, and the sustainability logic, and it treats the three as mutually constitutive and not as separate compartments.

The study examines four public-facing projects that frame the war as a matter of cultural heritage at risk and, at the same time, of cultural heritage in the making. In Ukraine, the 2022 Russian invasion produced Saving Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Online (SUCHO), a volunteer campaign that

web-archives the websites of museums and libraries, and the Ukrainian Archive, a civic effort that documents the potential war crimes circulating on social media for the tribunals of the future. In Palestine, a century of conflict and dispossession has produced the Palestinian Museum Digital Archive (PMDA), which digitizes family collections and institutional records, and We Are Not Numbers (WANN), which mentors the youth of Gaza to write the personal stories that stand behind the casualty statistics. All four of them operate outside the major news media, and yet each one claims a role in the determination of what gets remembered while the war is still developing. By analyzing the way these projects present their mission, the article delivers an account of how underrepresented communities claim legitimacy, invite participation, and contest the dominant narratives through the twin acts of archiving and storytelling, and it shows also how the framing of war through the lens of heritage and memory allows non-state actors to leave their mark on the historical record.

1. Study Aims and Research Questions

This study is engineered to pursue four aims. It (A1) maps the way grassroots, web-native archival initiatives frame the heritage placed at risk in wartime across platforms and geographies, with a sustained attention to the discursive construction of entrepreneurial agency and of sustainability logic; it (A2) refines the framing-heritage interface through a comparative mini-typology of frames, namely the emergency-technocratic, the participatory-memory, the forensic-accountability, and the narrative-humanization; it (A3) demonstrates a transparent and replicable qualitative framing protocol for the analysis of web-text corpora; and it (A4) theorizes the entrepreneurial mindset as a generative mechanism in the resilience of cultural heritage. The research questions follow accordingly.

RQ1, Framing: How do the initiatives construct the problem of heritage at risk, and what diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational elements do they foreground?

RQ2, Legitimation: Which legitimation strategies, whether ethical, epistemic, institutional, or evidential and forensic, are mobilized, and how do they vary on the basis of the cases?

RQ3, Actors and Publics: How are the actors, such as curators, volunteers, experts, witnesses, and platforms, discursively positioned, and which publics are interpellated?

RQ4, Modality and Affordances: How do the platform affordances shape the salience and the intensity of the frames?

RQ5, Temporality: How is the urgency of crisis response balanced against the long-horizon claims of memory and heritage?

RQ6, Entrepreneurial Mindset: To what extent do the self-presentations of the initiatives reflect the core entrepreneurial-mindset competencies, including opportunity recognition,

resourcefulness, value creation, stakeholder network building, and tolerance for ambiguity, and how do these relate to the sustainability of their heritage work?

2. Literature Review

2.1 Media Framing and Voice

Framing theory explains the way communicators define problems, attribute their causes, and recommend their resolutions through a process of selective emphasis (Entman, 1993). As Entman (1993) states it, to frame is to "select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient ... in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation" (p. 52). In the reporting of conflict, the dominant frames place their emphasis on the elite and the strategic perspectives, and the diversity of the represented voices is reduced accordingly (Kaur & Arora, 2025; Bennett, 1990; Wolfsfeld, 1997; dos Santos, 2021). Decades of research have documented an elite-indexing bias and a strategic script, in which the official sources are normalized while the subaltern testimony is kept aside (Bennett, 1990; Wolfsfeld, 1997). It is for this reason that underrepresented communities have struggled for what Said (1984) called the "permission to narrate" their own experience, because the framing operates here as an instrument of power that decides who is allowed to narrate the lived reality (Said, 1984; Couldry, 2010; Entman, 1993).

The absence of these voices follows not from a shortage of stories, but from the political and media dynamics that make certain narratives "preferably unheard" (Roy, 2004). The growth of digital media has opened new possibilities for voice. The networked platforms permit what has been called connective action, in which the personalized and shareable narrative scales into a collective visibility without a dependence on the legacy intermediaries (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012). The community-driven journalism and the citizen-storytelling platforms allow those at the margins to frame their reality on their own terms and to bypass the conventional gatekeepers, and they are now recognized for the way they empower marginalized groups to contest the prevailing frames where the legacy media had made such contestation difficult (Papacharissi, 2015; Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, 2025). Projects such as We Are Not Numbers (WANN) and Visualizing Palestine push back against the dehumanizing portrayal of Palestinians as statistics by re-centering the personal narrative; such testimonial and data-driven interventions converge with the scholarship on affective publics and on humanitarian communication, which has shown that the first-person account and the intelligible visual can rehumanize the distant other and widen the circle of moral concern (Papacharissi, 2015; Chouliaraki, 2013).

2.2 Community Archives and Memory Activism

The archive has conventionally been treated as the domain of the official repository. The scholarship on community archives, however, attends to the independent and non-governmental efforts that preserve the histories of marginalized groups (Flinn, 2007; Taylor et al., 2021; Roeschley, 2024). These "archives from below" are frequently motivated by activism and by identity, and they document what the mainstream archive has neglected or what an oppressive regime has sought to erase; Taylor et al. (2021), for an instance that is close to the present concern, analyze the grassroots archives of the Colombian conflict that the victims' organizations created, and they show how a non-state archival practice can support human rights and historical memory. A central challenge for such an initiative is the challenge of legitimacy, which is the matter of ensuring that the records are seen as trustworthy evidence.

The studies suggest that the community-driven archive builds its own credibility on the basis of partnership, transparency, and adherence to the archival standards (Flinn, 2011; Taylor et al., 2021), and that the alignment between the motivations of the participants and the goals of the institution is what decides whether a participatory archive holds together across time (Roeschley, 2024). In the war-torn setting, archiving becomes a form of memory activism that blurs into the work of human rights, as volunteers and NGOs collect photographs, videos, diaries, and oral testimony in order to resist denial and to demand justice (Gutman & Wüstenberg, 2021). This consolidation of archiving and advocacy is visible in the Syrian Archive and in the similar projects that preserve the social-media evidence of atrocity for a future legal use (Alfred Landecker Foundation, 2022). Community archiving in the conflict zone thus serves a dual purpose: it preserves the cultural heritage, and it equips the community with the historical and legal tools through which the rights of that community can be claimed.

2.3 Entrepreneurial Mindset, Cultural Entrepreneurship, and Sustainable Heritage

The entrepreneurial mindset, as it is defined in EntreComp and in the connected scholarship (Bacigalupo et al., 2016; McGrath & MacMillan, 2000; Neck et al., 2020; Bernadó & Bratzke, 2024), denotes a constellation of competencies, which include opportunity recognition, creative resource mobilization, tolerance for ambiguity, action orientation, and value creation, and which allow a community to convert ideas into outcomes under conditions of uncertainty. Although the concept emerged inside the field of entrepreneurship education and innovation policy, a growing body of work has carried entrepreneurial thinking into the social, the cultural, and the civic domains in which the conventional institutional pathways are weak or absent (Hjorth, 2013; Mair & Martí, 2006, 2009; Klamer, 2011; Mai & Thai, 2025).

Cultural entrepreneurship, the cognate construct, names the mobilization of symbolic, social, and material resources for the production, the maintenance, or the transformation of cultural value (Klamer, 2011; Lounsbury & Glynn, 2001; Scott, 2012; Bocconcelli et al., 2025). In the conflict setting this construct acquires a particular urgency, because the community must innovate quickly to preserve an endangered heritage, and it must do so in the absence of stable funding, of institutional infrastructure, and of legal protection. The grassroots archiving initiatives examined here exemplify this dynamic. They name the heritage at risk as an actionable opportunity. They assemble volunteer networks and open-source technologies as their resources. They design workflows that produce durable public goods, and they build their legitimacy on the basis of partnership.

Sustainability, in this context, operates at two connected levels. The organizational sustainability is the capacity of the grassroots initiative to maintain its operation and to adapt beyond the immediate crisis through community co-ownership, open licensing, redundant infrastructure, and capacity-building (Hjorth, 2013; Baker et al., 2021; Matusiak & Flynn, 2025). The heritage sustainability is the long-term safeguarding and the continued accessibility of the intangible and digital cultural heritage for the generations to come (UNESCO, 2003; Parent et al., 2021; Labadi et al., 2021; Labadi, 2022). The position of the researcher is that the long-term value at stake can be specified more precisely along three distinct dimensions, because the four cases pursue their sustainability in different registers.

The first dimension is *technological sustainability*, which concerns the redundant and distributed storage, the standardization of formats and workflows, and the technical resilience of the repository against the physical and the cyber threat (Stürmer et al., 2017; Nguyen, 2024; Zhang & Dong, 2024). The second is *community co-ownership*, which concerns the participatory governance, the contributor canals, and the local control over the record, so that the archive remains the property of the community that produced it (Poole, 2020; Zavala et al., 2017; Roeschley, 2024; Zhao et al., 2024). The third is *narrative continuity*, which concerns the intergenerational transmission of voice, of memory, and of intangible heritage, so that the meaning, and not the data alone, survives the crisis (Smith, 2006; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004; Tan et al., 2026). The three dimensions are analytically separable, and yet a durable initiative is inclined to combine them, because a technically secure archive without a community ownership is exposed to co-optation, while a participatory archive without a technical resilience is exposed to loss. Tan et al. (2026) make the same point when they warn that the technology-centered but community-shallow project drifts toward what they name a "digital fossilization", in which the records are preserved but their living meaning is not.

	SUCHO	PMDA	WANN	UA
Technological sustainability	D	R	O	D
Community co-ownership	R	D	R	O
Narrative continuity	O	D	D	R

D = Dominant
 R = Recurring
 O = Occasional

Figure 1: Three dimensions of long-term value across the four cases. Cells are salience-coded (D = Dominant, R = Recurring, O = Occasional) for technological sustainability, community co-ownership, and narrative continuity.

These bodies of scholarship converge upon a single proposition that organizes the present study. The framing supplies the mechanism through which an initiative names its heritage at risk and assigns the salience, the agency, and the moral weight; the cultural heritage supplies the object that is named and defended; the entrepreneurial mindset supplies the agentive capacity through which a dispersed community converts that naming into mobilized resources and durable public goods; and the sustainability supplies the temporal horizon along which the resulting value is secured across its technological, its communal, and its narrative dimensions (Entman, 1993; Klammer, 2011; Bacigalupo et al., 2016; Zhao et al., 2024; Bocconcelli et al., 2025).

The relation is sequential and mutually constitutive: a frame that does not mobilize resources produces no archive, and an archive that is not framed as heritage attracts neither contributors nor legitimacy. The study accordingly reads each self-presentation as the discursive ground at which the framing, the heritage value, the entrepreneurial agency, and the sustainability are produced together, and the findings trace the way this single mechanism varies across the Ukrainian and the Palestinian cases. On this reading, the entrepreneurial mindset is not a background condition alone; it is actually discursively performed. When SUCHO emphasizes the mobilization of volunteers and the innovation of technique, when PMDA invites a participatory co-curation, when WANN builds the canals of mentorship, and when Mnemonic constructs the workflows of verification, each initiative frames its heritage work and enacts its entrepreneurial competencies at one and the same moment (Dombrowski et al., 2022a; SUCHO, n.d.; Palestinian Museum Digital Archive, n.d.; We Are Not Numbers, n.d.; Ukrainian Archive, n.d.-a). In treating the entrepreneurial mindset as an analytical lens for grassroots heritage work, the article carries the entrepreneurship scholarship beyond its commercial and start-up settings and into the realm of heritage resilience under conflict (Entman, 1993; Benford & Snow, 2000).

2.4 Digital Heritage in Conflict

The use of digital tools for the preservation of heritage during conflict has gained its prominence against the deliberate destruction of culture and against the ephemeral character of online information. UNESCO and the peer agencies have warned of a "cultural cleansing" in war, from the looting of museums to the destruction of libraries, and they have stressed the need for emergency documentation and for first-aid measures for heritage (UNESCO, 2015; United Nations Security Council, 2017; Pedersoli et al., 2016; International Council of Museums, 2018; International Council on Archives et al., 2024; Blue Shield International, 2024). A recent commentary adds, importantly, that the digital repository is itself a vulnerable target, because even the digitized archive faces the cyberattack and the collapse of infrastructure, which removes any illusion of invulnerability (Nguyen, 2024). The digital technology, even so, allows a rapid and a distributed preservation. SUCHO demonstrated the crowdsourced web-archiving at scale when it used cloud storage and tools such as Webrecorder to copy thousands of at-risk sites within a matter of weeks (Coalition for Networked Information, 2022; International Internet Preservation Consortium, 2022), and a group such as Mnemonic, which runs the Syrian, the Yemeni, the Sudanese, and now the Ukrainian archives, uses the technical workflow to save millions of user-generated videos before they vanish (Alfred Landecker Foundation, 2022; WITNESS, n.d.; Mnemonic, 2023).

Such efforts strengthen the resilience of the digital network on the basis of distributed copies and redundant storage, while they adopt the open-access principle wherever the conditions allow it (LOCKSS Program, n.d.; National Digital Stewardship Alliance, n.d.; Visualizing Palestine, n.d.). A people-centered perspective adds the qualification that the durability of crisis heritage work depends upon the engagement of the community and not upon the technical capacity alone (Ginzarly & Teller, 2025).

3. Methodology

3.1 Study Design and Data Sources

The study uses a qualitative framing analysis of the public mission statements of the four initiatives and of the textual material connected to them. The sources include the official "About" pages, the project reports, and the program descriptions published in English by each initiative, sampled purposively to fit the aims of the study (Patton, 2015). These texts were treated as a small purposive corpus for a close reading: instead of coding keywords, the researcher read closely to identify the frames and discursive strategies through which each initiative defines its purpose and its stakes, in a manner that is consistent with interpretive framing theory and with critical discourse-analytic reading (Entman, 1993; Goffman, 1974; Fairclough, 1995).

The analysis proceeded across two stages. In the first stage, the researcher constructed a coding schema out of framing theory and discourse analysis, and read each text for its problem framing, which is the way it defines what is at risk or what injustice is addressed; for its solution framing, which is the action that it proposes; and for its appeals to authority and morality, which extend to rights, to history, to partners, and to future generations. These categories align with the diagnostic, the prognostic, and the motivational framing of the social-movement scholarship, and with the legitimation strategies of the discourse studies (Benford & Snow, 2000; van Leeuwen, 2007, 2008). The evidentials, which are the factual claims or the metrics that signal credibility, were recorded as warranting resources, while the codes were refined through memoing and an audit trail (Charmaz, 2014; Saldaña, 2021; Miles et al., 2019).

The schema was extended with a set of entrepreneurial-mindset indicators based on EntreComp and from the related scholarship (Bacigalupo et al., 2016; McGrath & MacMillan, 2000; Neck et al., 2020; Bernadó & Bratzke, 2024). These indicators are (A) opportunity recognition, which is the identification of the heritage gap as an actionable problem; (B) creative resource mobilization, which is the assembly of volunteers, tools, and funding under constraint; (C) tolerance for ambiguity, which is the capacity to operate in the unstable environment; (D) value creation, which is the production of the durable public good; and (E) stakeholder network building, which is the forging of the partnership that confers legitimacy. Each case was coded for the presence and the salience of these competencies. The researcher attended as well to the actor roles that the discourse invokes, on the basis of the established social-actor categories (van Leeuwen, 2008), and examined the use of language, including metaphor, tone, and the call to action, as a persuasive resource in mobilizing discourse (Charteris-Black, 2004; Benford & Snow, 2000).

In the second stage, analytic memos were written for each case, and a comparative cross-case synthesis processed the cross-cutting patterns while it preserved the within-case integrity (Charmaz, 2014; Yin, 2018; Miles et al., 2019). The interpretations were triangulated against external commentary, such as news articles and published interviews, in order to strengthen the credibility through the triangulation of data sources (Denzin, 2017; Flick, 2018). Throughout, the researcher treated the public texts as performative discourse, which is a communication aimed at persuading and mobilizing and not at description alone (Austin, 1962; Benford & Snow, 2000).

The analysis is delimited to the English-language material and to the official self-presentation of each project; it examines the way each initiative frames its mission to the public and not the impact of that initiative on the ground, and it acknowledges the biases of selection and language that this scope introduces (Patton, 2015; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). All the data were based on publicly accessible sources, and no human subject was involved beyond the analysis of published text; the use of public

web material is generally treated as minimal-risk when no interaction and no identifiable private information is collected (Franzke et al., 2020). Because the approach is interpretive, the researcher kept transparent coding notes and provided the citations so that the reader can verify the interpretations (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Nowell et al., 2017; Saldaña, 2021).

3.2 Corpus Boundaries (owned-media only)

The corpus is bounded to the first-party texts authored on the official channels of the initiatives. Because the source material does not enumerate the item counts or the word totals, the collection windows and the languages are reported as they are stated or implied, and the inclusion and exclusion criteria are uniform across the cases (Table A).

Case	Initiative	Primary owned sources consulted	Collection window	Languages	Inclusion (analyzed)	Exclusion (not analyzed)
C1	Saving Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Online (SUCHO)	Official About/mission; SUCHO-authored updates and press; volunteer and how-to pages	2022 emergency response; shift to training by late 2022	EN (UA terms)	SUCHO-authored pages on mission, urgency, coordination, results	Third-party press; raw code repositories; media without descriptive text
C2	Palestinian Museum Digital Archive (PMDA)	Portal About/FAQs/participation /policy; topic and overview pages	Launched 2018; ongoing portal	AR / EN	PMDA-authored portal, guide, and policy pages on scope and participation	Individual item records; external press or non-PMDA pages
C3	We Are Not Numbers (WANN)	About; Stories/essays; News; Submission Guidelines; program pages	Founded 2015; owned pages cited in findings	EN	WANN-authored pages and posts (stories, news, about, guidelines)	User comments; third-party interviews; image-only posts
C4	Ukrainian Archive (Mnemonic)	About; Methods/Tools; Partners; owned press and blog pages	Launched 2022; methods described in site language	EN (UKR/R U names)	Mnemonic-authored methodology, about, partnership, and press pages	Raw evidence files lacking descriptive text; third-party NGO write-ups

Table A: Corpus boundaries by case (owned-media only).

Note. The corpus is bounded to first-party texts authored on the initiatives' official channels. Inclusion and exclusion criteria are uniform across cases.

3.3 Codebook

The study specified the frame families, the legitimization subtypes, the actor categories, and the entrepreneurial-mindset and sustainability indicators. Table B gives the working definitions together with brief examples based on the case material.

Category	Working definition	Examples from the case material
Part I. Framing and legitimization		
Diagnostic (problem)	How risk or injustice is named; what is threatened; how the stakes are articulated.	SUCHO: digital records at acute risk. PMDA: dispersal and endangerment of Palestinian records.
Prognostic (solution)	Proposed interventions; what is to be done.	SUCHO: emergency web-archiving shifting to training. UA: collect, preserve, verify, investigate.

Motivational (why act)	Moral imperatives; calls to action; appeals to dignity, justice, solidarity.	WANN: humanization of the numbers. PMDA: participation as custodianship for future generations.
Authorization	Named partners, mentors, or institutions that confer authority.	SUCHO: collaboration with international bodies. WANN: mentors and sponsoring NGO.
Moral evaluation	Ethically charged justifications: dignity, rights, memory, justice.	PMDA: reclaiming authorship and dignity. UA: justice and accountability language.
Rationalization	Methods and workflows that justify action as appropriate.	UA: Methods and Tools; chain-of-custody language. WANN: editorial and mentoring workflows.
Evidential warrant	Numbers, scope, and outputs used as warrants of credibility.	SUCHO: throughput and scale figures. UA: references to legal case-building.
Actors (who, for whom)	Agents and beneficiaries addressed or positioned by the discourse.	Volunteers to Ukrainian institutions (SUCHO); families to public (PMDA); youth writers to global audiences (WANN); documenters to tribunals (UA).
Part II. Entrepreneurial mindset and sustainability		
Opportunity recognition	Identification of heritage gaps or crisis conditions as actionable problems.	SUCHO: servers at risk as opportunity for volunteer mobilization. WANN: media dehumanization as basis for a storytelling platform.
Resource mobilization	Creative assembly of human, technical, and financial resources under scarcity.	SUCHO: 1,500+ volunteers, donated cloud storage. PMDA: community archives, Arcadia Fund.
Tolerance for ambiguity	Operating despite unclear legal frameworks and uncertain outcomes.	UA: preserving evidence for future tribunals. WANN: publishing amid blockade.
Value creation	Production of durable public goods: open archives, narrative platforms, evidentiary databases.	SUCHO: 51 TB preserved. PMDA: 200,000+ documents. UA: 6.9 million videos.
Sustainability	Design choices ensuring long-term viability across technological, communal, and narrative dimensions.	SUCHO: training local staff. PMDA: open-access bilingual portal. UA: redundant distributed storage.

Table B: Coding scheme, including framing, legitimation, actor roles, and entrepreneurial-mindset and sustainability indicators.

3.4 Evidence Excerpts

A set of representative fragments, extracted verbatim from the case material, supports the coding decisions: the diagnostic register of SUCHO ("Digital records were at acute risk"), the participatory-memory register of PMDA ("Hundreds of Palestinians offered their archives to be safely saved for future generations"), the narrative-humanization register of WANN ("Numbers are impersonal and often numbing"), and the forensic-accountability register of the Ukrainian Archive ("Potential evidence ... in such a manner that it may be used ... to contribute to legal case building efforts"). Further examples are consolidated, per case, in Table B.

3.5 Cross-Case Salience Matrices

The salience code is read as follows: D = Dominant, R = Recurring, O = Occasional, and Ø = Not evident. Tables C, D, and E report, in turn, the frame inventory, the legitimation strategies, and the entrepreneurial-mindset competencies by case.

Frame family	SUCHO	PMDA	WANN	UA
Heritage-at-risk / emergency-technocratic	D	O	Ø	R
Participatory-memory / community co-authorship	O	D	R	Ø
Narrative-humanization (lived-experience storytelling)	O	O	D	Ø
Forensic-accountability (evidence workflow)	O	Ø	Ø	D
Motivational appeals (dignity / urgency / justice)	R	R	R	R

Table C. Frame inventory by case (salience-coded).

Note. SUCHO: Saving Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Online; PMDA: Palestinian Museum Digital Archive; WANN: We Are Not Numbers; UA: Mnemonic's Ukrainian Archive. D = Dominant, R = Recurring, O = Occasional, Ø = Not evident.

Legitimation strategy	SUCHO	PMDA	WANN	UA
Authorization (partners, mentors, institutions)	R	R	R	R
Moral evaluation (dignity, rights, justice, memory)	R	R	R	R
Rationalization (methods, workflows, editorial practice)	O	R	R	D
Evidential warrant (scale, scope, outputs)	D	O	O	R

Table D: Legitimation strategies by case (salience-coded).

Competency	SUCHO	PMDA	WANN	UA
Opportunity recognition	D	R	D	R
Resource mobilization	D	R	R	R
Tolerance for ambiguity	R	R	D	D
Value creation	D	D	R	D
Stakeholder network building	D	R	R	R
Sustainability design	D	R	O	R

Table E: Entrepreneurial-mindset competencies by case (salience-coded).

3.6 Trustworthiness and Ethics

The study acknowledges the bias of selection and of language, because it works with the English-language official self-presentation. To strengthen the trustworthiness, the researcher maintained the memo and audit trails, quoted representative fragments, and provided the citations so that the reader can verify the interpretations. The public web texts, analyzed without interaction and without private data, are a minimal-risk material, and an AoIR-aligned judgment was applied throughout (Franzke et al., 2020).

4. Findings

4.1 Case 1: Saving Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Online (SUCHO)

SUCHO emerged as an ad-hoc emergency-response project to the threat that the war posed to the museums, the archives, and the libraries of Ukraine. It was launched in March 2022, a matter of

days after the full-scale invasion of Russia, and its mission was to web-archive the Ukrainian cultural-heritage websites quickly, before they could be lost or defaced; the founders, a small team of digital humanists, framed the effort as a race against time, because servers could be destroyed or taken offline and the digital records were at acute risk even where the physical collection had survived (Bowers, 2025). Through the calls of social media and the word of mouth, SUCHO recruited more than 1,500 volunteer "digital rescuers" from 38 countries (Jolicoeur et al., 2022, p. 87), who together saved more than 51 terabytes of data from some 5,400 Ukrainian museum and library websites in the first phase (Bowers, 2025). The public updates of the initiative foreground these figures in order to convey, at once, the scale of what was preserved and the urgency of the mission, and they frame the war as a threat to the cultural memory of an entire nation, the kind of threat that demanded an unprecedented volunteer intervention (Bowers, 2025; Jolicoeur et al., 2022).

Beyond the preservation, the communications stress the ownership and the return: the organizers describe their goal as a "digital repatriation", the protection of the cultural data until the Ukrainian institutions can reclaim their access to it, which depicts SUCHO as a temporary custodian acting in solidarity and not as a form of data appropriation (Bowers, 2025). The initiative operated independently of any single institution so that it would remain a grassroots coalition (Jolicoeur et al., 2022; SUCHO, 2022), and at the same time it strengthened its legitimacy through partnership, becoming a digitally oriented partner in the discussions about a National Digital Library of Ukraine with UNESCO and IFLA, and collaborating with the Wayback Machine of the Internet Archive and with the Webrecorder suite in order to ensure that there would be "no single point of failure" (Dombrowski et al., 2022b; Bowers, 2025). By the end of 2022, SUCHO had shifted from the emergency archiving to the building of capacity, shipping digitization scanners to the Ukrainian museums and training the local staff, and so it presented the war not as a crisis to be mitigated alone, but as a moment at which the cultural-heritage infrastructure of Ukraine could be reinforced (Bowers, 2025).

Read analytically, the case constructs the heritage-at-risk as its central problem frame and couples it to the prognostic scripts of emergency securing, and it converts the moral claims of rights and intergenerational duty into a legitimation for rapid action, deploying the evidentials of scale, of partners, and of technical workflows in order to warrant a public ethos of competence (Entman, 1993; Benford & Snow, 2000; van Leeuwen, 2007, 2008; Fairclough, 1995). The actor roles foreground the volunteers, the memory institutions, and the technical experts as the proximate agents, while the publics, the diasporas, and the future tribunals are positioned as the beneficiaries (Tarrow, 2011).

By addressing the digital attack surface of the cyberattack and the disruption of access, the case reframes the preservation as a performative act carried out under duress (Austin, 1962; Nguyen, 2024).

Read through the lens of the entrepreneurial mindset (Bacigalupo et al., 2016; McGrath & MacMillan, 2000; Neck et al., 2020), SUCHO exemplifies a crisis-driven cultural entrepreneurship (Klamer, 2011; Hjorth, 2013): an acute opportunity recognition converted the threat of digital loss into a mobilizing proposition within a matter of days (Dombrowski et al., 2022a; Jolicoeur, 2023; Wirtz, 2025); the resource mobilization combined networked volunteerism, donated cloud infrastructure, and open-source tooling without a pre-existing institutional channel (LeBlanc et al., 2022; Segerberg, 2024); the value creation is quantified in the 51 terabytes preserved; and the sustainability was designed through the pivot to capacity-building (SUCHO, 2022; Segerberg, 2024; Wirtz, 2025). Along the three dimensions of long-term value, SUCHO is strongest in its technological sustainability, for it secures its community co-ownership through the model of handover, and it treats the narrative continuity as a secondary matter.

4.2 Case 2: Palestinian Museum Digital Archive (PMDA)

Where SUCHO answers an unanticipated crisis, the Palestinian Museum Digital Archive answers a protracted one, which is the dispersal and the endangerment, across decades, of the historical records of Palestine. This initiative was launched in 2018 as a project of the Palestinian Museum in Birzeit, and it frames its mission as the rescue of the "endangered archival materials documenting Palestinian life and history" that a century of conflict has scattered or imperiled, with a focus on the items under the threat of loss, damage, or confiscation, many of which sit in attics, suitcases, or underfunded institutions inside and outside Palestine (Salamon, 2024; Librarians and Archivists with Palestine, 2024). By 2023, it had digitized more than 200,000 documents, from identification papers and official records to letters, diaries, manuscripts, maps, photographs, films, and audio recordings (Salamon, 2024). Its public communication foregrounds two frames, which are the preservation-as-resistance and the community participation. In the first frame, PMDA presents the archiving of Palestinian history as a resistance against erasure; a recent overview captures the framing when it notes that "in the fight for decolonization and the struggle for liberation, museums and archives ... serve as custodians of collective memory", so that the "digital archives bridge the past and present ... and ensure their accessibility for future generations" (Rafik, 2023, para. 2). By securing "over two centuries of Palestinian narratives" (Rafik, 2023, para. 8), the archive protects the heritage and, at the same time, asserts the longevity of the Palestinian existence. The bilingual Arabic-English portal makes all of the digitized material freely available, a notably open-access stance that serves a cultural and a political purpose at once: to show the full breadth of Palestinian life and to contest the narrative that reduces the Palestinian to a statistic of conflict.

In the second frame, the project foregrounds a participatory call. The guide of the museum "invites Palestinians to digitize and archive their collections of documents and photographs" (The Palestinian Museum, n.d.), which frames the archive as a collective endeavor in which families, diaspora members, and private collectors become the custodians of the national story. By noting that "hundreds of Palestinians offered their archives to be safely saved for future generations" (Rafik, 2023, para. 6), PMDA presents itself as a trusted facilitator and not as a top-down institution, while the abundance of contributors and of partner institutions, among them local universities and the Arcadia Fund, strengthens its legitimacy (Salamon, 2024).

The pairing of database and narrative exhibit signals that the archive values both the scholarly research and the communal memory. PMDA reframes the cultural loss as a struggle over voice and authorship. Its diagnostic frames name the erasure and the dispersal, while its prognostic frames specify the participatory digitization and the open discovery, and its motivational frames invoke dignity, the rights of memory, and intergenerational justice (Entman, 1993; Benford & Snow, 2000; Smith, 2006). Its legitimation intertwines the moral evaluation and the authorization through alliances and funders, and the rationalization through standards, while its actor system raises the families, the community curators, and the diaspora from the status of archival subjects to that of co-authors (van Leeuwen, 2007, 2008; Fairclough, 1995; Flinn, 2007; Ketelaar, 2001; Caswell, 2014; Roeschley, 2024; Zhao et al., 2024).

From the standpoint of the entrepreneurial mindset (Bacigalupo et al., 2016; McGrath & MacMillan, 2000; Neck et al., 2020), PMDA represents a sustained cultural entrepreneurship inside a protracted conflict (Hjorth, 2013; Klamer, 2011; Poole, 2020). Its opportunity recognition appears in the identification of the dispersed and endangered family archive as a collectively actionable resource (Klamer, 2011; Rayan, 2024; Palestinian Museum Digital Archive, n.d.); its resource mobilization is community-driven, since hundreds of Palestinians contribute their personal collections while institutional partnerships provide the financial and technical backing (UCLA Library, n.d.; Poole, 2020; Zavala et al., 2017); and its open-access bilingual portal is a durable public good that serves scholarly research, diaspora reconnection, and intergenerational memory at once (UNESCO, 2003; Burkey, 2019; Rayan, 2024). Along the three dimensions of long-term value, PMDA leads in its community co-ownership and in its narrative continuity, since its living-repository model resists the trap of the static archive, while it maintains its technological sustainability as a steady secondary strength through the federated open access (Poole, 2020; Baker et al., 2021; Zhao et al., 2024). PMDA shows that the entrepreneurial mindset in heritage work need not be crisis-reactive; it can operate as a long-horizon and participatory model of cultural stewardship.

4.3 Case 3: We Are Not Numbers (WANN)

We Are Not Numbers takes a complementary approach: instead of preserving the existing artifact, it produces and disseminates the personal narrative of the Palestinian youth, and above all of the youth in Gaza. It was founded in early 2015, in the aftermath of the 2014 Gaza war, and it was conceived as an answer to the reductive accounting of casualties in the media. Its very name is a frame: the assertion "We Are Not Numbers" declares that the Palestinian should not be known by the death toll alone. The about page notes that the world speaks of the Palestinians "in terms of politics and numbers, specifically, how many killed, injured, displaced, homeless, and/or dependent on aid", but that "numbers are impersonal and often numbing", and it sets up the solution, which is to convey "the daily personal struggles and triumphs, the tears and the laughter, and the dreams and aspirations" that stand behind the statistics (We Are Not Numbers, n.d.). WANN thus reframes the war, moving it from an anonymous tableau of victims toward a human ground of lived experience. The initiative mentors the young writers of Palestine, primarily in Gaza but also in the West Bank and the refugee camps, so that they tell their stories in a polished English prose; the seasoned authors and journalists volunteer as mentors, and yet the narrative belongs to the youths themselves. The website carries the Roy epigraph on the "deliberately silenced, or the preferably unheard", which positions the project as an effort to amplify the voices that power had ignored.

The form that the heritage takes here is literary and testimonial: by publishing essays, poems, and memoirs online, and recently a book anthology, WANN treats the storytelling as a form of archival preservation centered on the intangible heritage, which is the memory, the emotion, and the aspiration. Each piece asserts an identity that resists the erasure of the Palestinian humanity. The messaging emphasizes authenticity, empowerment, and global connection, and it describes the platform as one that shares "authentic and compelling stories from the next generation of Palestinian writers and leaders" (We Are Not Numbers, n.d.), which positions the youth as the emerging authors and not as the passive victims; the goals described by its sponsoring NGO include the development of writing skill and self-esteem and the help that lets the participant "amplify their voices to help educate the world on the realities of life under occupation and as refugees" (Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Monitor, n.d.). As the co-founder Pam Bailey (2015) wrote at the launch, the goal is to ensure that the stories behind the numbers are heard and felt. In order to build its credibility and its reach, WANN leans upon the strategic partnership: it is registered in Gaza under the Euro-Med Human Rights Monitor, it has a U.S.-based fiscal sponsor, and it has placed the youth essays in HuffPost, Arab America, and Mondoweiss, and secured a collection with a major UK publisher (We Are Not Numbers,

n.d.). These facts invert the usual dynamic of power, since the Gazan voice appears as a direct source that the Western publisher seeks out, and not as a filtered material.

WANN reconfigures the diagnostic problem, moving it from the statistical dehumanization toward the narrative erasure, and it advances a prognostic program of mentored life-writing that legitimates the youth as authors and converts the testimony into an intangible heritage (Entman, 1993; Benford & Snow, 2000; Smith, 2006; UNESCO, 2003). The credibility is built through the authorization by mentors, publishers, and NGOs and through the rationalization by editorial workflow, while the project counters the symbolic annihilation and restructures the actor roles, with the youth as co-producers, the mentors as facilitators, and the global readers as witnesses (van Leeuwen, 2007, 2008; Papacharissi, 2015; Caswell, 2014; Ketelaar, 2001).

The entrepreneurial-mindset competencies are particularly visible in this regard (Haynie et al., 2010; Naumann, 2017). The opportunity recognition is embedded in the founding insight that the gap between the statistical dehumanization and the lived experience is an unmet need addressable through mentored storytelling (Baron, 2006; El Masry et al., 2025). The resource mobilization combines the volunteer mentor, the lean publishing infrastructure, and the partnership with publishers and NGOs (Clough et al., 2019), while the tolerance for ambiguity reaches its most extreme expression here, since the youth produces a literary testimony under blockade, with no certainty of publication, of safety, or of audience (McMullen & Shepherd, 2006). The value creation takes the form of an intangible heritage, which is the narrative identity, the literary voice, and the affective solidarity, and not the quantifiable data output of the Ukrainian cases (Somers, 1992; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004; Kianpour et al., 2026). Along the three dimensions of long-term value, WANN leads in its narrative continuity through the basis of mentorship and the growing record of publication, where the Penguin anthology, among it, sustains its community co-ownership as a steady secondary strength, and it treats the technological sustainability as occasional (Jörissen & Klepacki, 2025; We Are Not Numbers, n.d.; Alnaouq & Bailey, 2026).

4.4 Case 4: Ukrainian Archive (Mnemonic)

The Ukrainian Archive, launched in 2022 by the Berlin-based NGO Mnemonic, offers a further framing, which is the war as an ongoing crime scene that must be documented for the sake of accountability and remembrance. In contrast to the other cases, it is less a matter of public-facing storytelling and more a matter of systematic evidence preservation. Its mission statement is sober and methodical: the archive "preserves, analyses, and memorializes documentation of international human rights and humanitarian law violations" in the war (Ukrainian Archive, n.d.-a). It frames the deluge of

social-media video coming out of Ukraine as a material that must be collected now, so that justice can be pursued later, and its key frame is the frame of future accountability: the project archives the "potential evidence of war crimes against civilians and violations of international law in such a manner that it may be used in the future to contribute to legal case building efforts" (Alfred Landecker Foundation, 2022, para. 4).

This language borrows at once from the legal and the archival lexicons. By naming the content as evidence, it positions itself inside a mechanism of justice aligned with international law, and its tone is professional and forensic. The website reinforces the frame through a workflow of collect, preserve, process, verify, and investigate, the sequence that reflects a chain-of-custody approach (Ukrainian Archive, n.d.-a). The project still communicates with the public in order to assert its legitimacy, and it lists Bellingcat and the Ukrainian 5AM Coalition among its partners, which signals that both the international expert and the local civil society are involved.

The scale is part of the framing: by the end of 2023 the archive had amassed 6.9 million videos from more than 9,500 sources (Ricci & Crawford, 2024), primarily the user-generated content that might otherwise be removed or lost, which implies that the grassroots civil society can now achieve the systematic capture of war records once reserved for the state intelligence. A former project manager framed the stakes as vital "not only for accountability, but also for creating a digital memorial that captures the Ukrainian people's suffering" (as cited in Ricci & Crawford, 2024, para. 11); a memorial frame thus runs alongside the forensic one, since the terms preserve and memorialize appear together, and each verified video becomes an element of the historical record of Ukraine (Ukrainian Archive, n.d.-b).

The case reframes the conflict as a continuously unfolding crime scene, and it couples a diagnostic emphasis on the ephemeral and at-risk digital trace with prognostic protocols for the evidentiary preservation, the verification, and the future case-building, the protocols that align the humanitarian memory with the accountability-oriented archiving (Entman, 1993; Dubberley et al., 2020; Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights [OHCHR], 2022b; van Leeuwen, 2007, 2008). Its legitimacy is constructed through the authorization by investigative and human-rights partners, the rationalization through the elements of the workflow, and the evidentials through the metrics of scale that warrant a chain-of-custody discipline.

Methodologically, the project performs an open-source investigation inside an archival frame, cross-validating the user-generated content, preserving the original files and the metadata, and documenting the analytic steps, the procedure that converts the open-source intelligence into a durable and reviewable legal-grade record, even though the platform takedowns, the adversarial manipulation,

the loss of metadata, and the politics of visibility call for redundancy and triangulation (Bellingcat & Global Legal Action Network, 2022; Dubberley et al., 2020; OHCHR, 2022a, 2022b).

Analyzed through the lens of the entrepreneurial mindset (Morris et al., 2013; Daspit et al., 2023), the archive operates in a forensic-accountability register: its opportunity recognition is technically inflected, identifying the ephemeral character of the user-generated documentation as both a heritage gap and an evidentiary opportunity (Ardichvili et al., 2003; Gregory, 2015). Its resource mobilization is network-based, since the partnership with Bellingcat, the 5AM Coalition, and the international organizations extends the verification capacity far beyond what a single NGO could reach (Koenig, 2022; Ukrainian Archive, n.d.-a). Its tolerance for ambiguity is structurally embedded, since the archive preserves a potential evidence for the future proceedings of an indeterminate timing and jurisdiction (Freeman & Vazquez Llorente, 2021), and its value creation is large and dual-purpose, at once evidentiary and memorial (Murray, 2022; Ukrainian Archive, 2023). Along the three dimensions of long-term value, the Ukrainian Archive leads in its technological sustainability through the redundant distributed storage and the standardization of the workflow, it sustains its narrative continuity through the memorial function, and it treats the community co-ownership as occasional, a model that is potentially transferable to the other conflict zones (Freeman & Vazquez Llorente, 2021; OHCHR, 2022b; Ukrainian Archive, n.d.-a).

5. Discussion

Across the four cases, a unifying theme presents itself, which is the grassroots and civic actor is reframing what counts as cultural heritage in wartime. Instead of the heritage as the monument, the manuscript, or the museum artifact safeguarded by the state, it becomes the living and digital archive of community experience, which runs from the website and the social-media content to the personal story and the data visualization. Each initiative actually emerges where the mainstream channel had either failed to protect this broader heritage or contributed to its silencing, and, by stepping into the breach, the projects claim what Said (1984) would recognize as the formerly disempowered taking the permission to narrate their own history. Despite their different modalities, the initiatives share several strategies of frame alignment. The first is the balance of urgency and legitimacy: each one portrays the situation as urgent, and yet the urgency alone is not enough for a volunteer-driven project that lacks a formal authority, and so SUCHO and the Ukrainian Archive cite the numbers and the high-profile collaborators in order to demonstrate competence, while PMDA and WANN bring forward a broad base of contributors and mentors. These tactics align with the observation of Flinn (2007, 2011) that the community archive consciously straddles the line between independence and professionalism,

operating outside the established system in order to fulfill its mission and yet seeking the recognition of that same system in order to validate its work.

A second thread is the reframing of whose voices are centered. All four projects invert the usual top-down flow of information, so that the insiders, the affected communities, become the authors, the curators, and the analysts, and in doing so they enlarge the very notion of the archive and of the heritage. WANN asserts that the memory a young Gazan holds of a brother is as much a part of the cultural record as any historical document, and the Ukrainian Archive treats a phone video of a bombing as an evidentiary artifact worthy of preservation. This democratization of whose materials matter aligns with the participatory archiving (Taylor et al., 2021; Roeschley, 2024) and answers the needs of the communities whose narrative had been subjugated (Said, 1984).

There are also notable contrasts between the two contexts. The Ukrainian projects are oriented toward the preservation of existing content and are technocratic in tone, speaking the language of data backup, metadata, and verification for the audiences of archivists, technologists, and legal experts. However, the Palestinian initiatives lean toward creative production and the long-term work of memory, and their language invokes emotional resilience, identity, and moral justice. The war is framed accordingly, in the Ukrainian case as an urgent crisis to be documented and prosecuted and in the Palestinian case as an ongoing lived reality to be resisted and re-narrated, and yet the difference is one of degree, since each project blends the discourse of heritage with that of human rights.

A further cross-cutting strategy is the use of openness as a form of empowerment. PMDA is a freely accessible repository whose openness implies that the heritage belongs to the community and to humanity. SUCHO released its web crawls through the Internet Archive and so returned the data to the global commons, and even the Ukrainian Archive, which keeps the sensitive content non-public for the moment, is poised to share with the mechanisms of justice. By framing the openness as a virtue, these initiatives operate on the basis of a contemporary expectation that digital knowledge should be shareable, and an institutional validation, such as the partnership of UNESCO with SUCHO or the decision of Penguin to publish the anthology of WANN, can be seen as an endorsement of the frames they advance. The cases point, finally, toward an emergent concept of cultural resilience. By framing their work as the securing of heritage and voice, the initiatives declare that a community can be an active agent in its own cultural survival, a counter-narrative to the trope of the passive victim. A bomb can reduce a building to rubble, but if its history and the stories of its community have been documented, the bomb has not erased everything. In each website crawled, in each diary digitized, and in each poem published, there is a statement that a community will not let its identity and its truth become the casualties of war, the statement that shows that the framing and the narrative are central to the conflict and not ancillary to it.

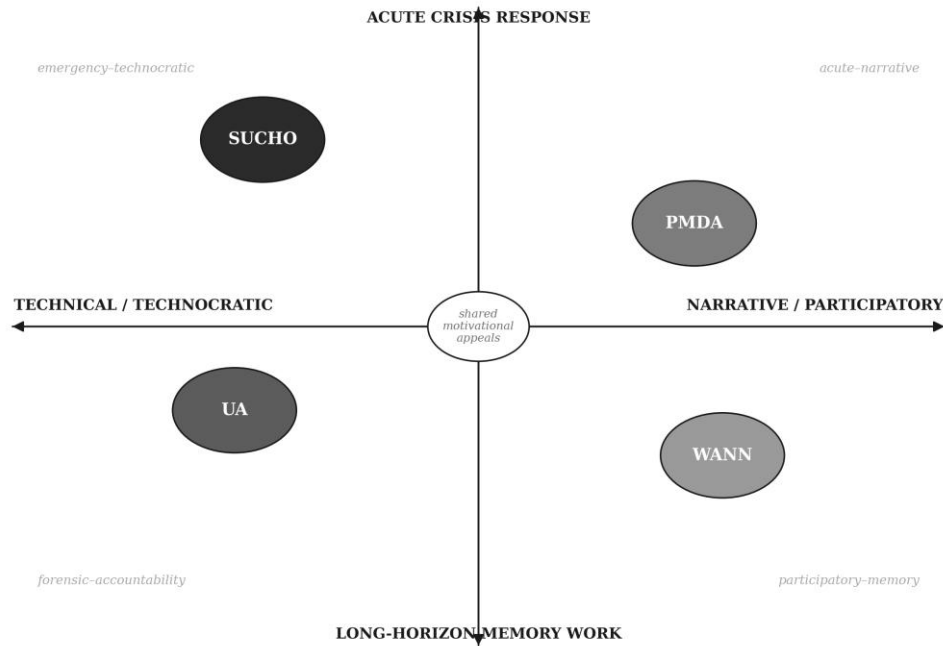


Figure 2. Cross-case framing map. Positions reflect each initiative's dominant repertoire along a technical-to-narrative axis and an acute-to-long-horizon axis; the central node marks the shared motivational appeals to dignity, justice, and urgency.

5.1 The Entrepreneurial Mindset as a Generative Mechanism

The cross-case reading indicates that the entrepreneurial mindset functions as a generative mechanism and not as an incidental trait, because it underpins the capacity of each initiative to frame, to mobilize, and to sustain its heritage work under conflict (McGrath & MacMillan, 2000; Bacigalupo et al., 2016; Neck et al., 2020; Hjorth, 2013; Klamer, 2011). All four cases display the opportunity recognition, in the conversion of the heritage destruction, the narrative erasure, or the evidentiary ephemerality into an actionable problem that attracts resources and legitimacy (Lounsbury & Glynn, 2001; Bareikytė & Skop, 2022; Rayan, 2024), and all four display the creative resource mobilization, in the assembly of heterogeneous actors, the adaptation of the available technology, and the use of the partnership network in order to extend the reach without a centralized control (Neck et al., 2020; LeBlanc et al., 2022; Baker et al., 2021; Poole, 2020).

The cases vary, however, in the way they secure their sustainability, and the variation maps onto the three dimensions of long-term value. The Ukrainian cases lead in the technological sustainability, through the redundancy, the standardization of the workflow, and the transition from the emergency archiving to the institutional training (Dombrowski et al., 2022a; Segerberg, 2024; Parent et al., 2021; Zhang & Dong, 2024). The Palestinian cases lead in the community co-ownership and the narrative continuity, through the participatory design and the route of mentorship that develops the next generation of archivists and writers (Poole, 2020; Zavala et al., 2017; Rayan, 2024; Zhao et

al., 2024). This pattern suggests that the entrepreneurial mindset adapts itself to the temporality of the conflict. In the acute crisis, it prioritizes the rapid value creation and the technical scalability, and in the protracted conflict it emphasizes the relational sustainability and the participatory governance (Hjorth, 2013; Klamer, 2011; Labadi, 2022; Tan et al., 2026). The finding carries the entrepreneurial-mindset scholarship into the domain of cultural heritage under conflict, and its policy implication is that the support of grassroots heritage work means the nurturing of an entrepreneurial capacity through networks, tools, training, and legitimacy, and not the provision of funding alone (Lounsbury & Glynn, 2001; Parent et al., 2021; Labadi, 2022; Bocconcelli et al., 2025).

5.2 Indicative Reception Signals

The study analyzes the framers and not their audiences, and so the claims about performative impact must remain cautious. The available evidence is, even so, suggestive, because the frames of each initiative have attracted a documented third-party uptake that functions as an indicative, if partial, reception signal. The framing of Ukrainian heritage as a global emergency drew, for SUCHO, an institutional recognition through the partnership with UNESCO and IFLA and through the coverage in professional and scholarly venues (Dombrowski et al., 2022b; Segerberg, 2024; Wirtz, 2025). The insistence that Palestinians are "not numbers" carried the young writers of WANN into HuffPost, Arab America, and Mondoweiss, and into a Penguin anthology (Bailey, 2015; Alnaouq & Bailey, 2026), which indicates that the external publisher and the external audience took up the frame that the project had advanced.

The forensic framing of the Ukrainian Archive secured the collaboration with Bellingcat and the 5AM Coalition and the attention of accountability-focused analysts (Ukrainian Archive, n.d.-a; Ricci & Crawford, 2024), and the preservation-as-resistance framing of PMDA circulated through cultural journalism and library scholarship (Rafik, 2023; Salamon, 2024). These are uptake signals at the level of institutions and intermediaries, and not a measured audience reception, and they should be regarded as consistent with, and not as a proof of, the performative claims advanced here; a systematic reception research with community members, diaspora, and international publics remains necessary (Zhao et al., 2024).

5.3 English-Language Self-Presentation and the Politics of Voice

The corpus consists of English-language self-presentation, and this choice carries consequences that bear directly on the argument of the study about voice. The English operates here as a strategic lingua franca. It is the register through which these initiatives address the international

funder, partner, publisher, and mechanism of accountability, and the decision to speak in English is itself a part of their entrepreneurial bid for legitimacy and reach. Yet the same choice filters the analysis, because the Arabic self-representation of PMDA and WANN, and the Ukrainian and Russian material handled by SUCHO and the Ukrainian Archive, may foreground different actors, different emphases, and different moral scripts for the internal and the regional audience.

To analyze the English layer alone is to examine the face that these projects turn toward the global public, which is valuable for a study of transnational framing, and yet it cannot speak for the full repertoire of voice that the initiatives mobilize. Because the voice and the linguistic politics are central to the argument, this constraint is more than a limitation of sampling; it marks a boundary of what the present claims can cover, and it identifies the multilingual analysis as a priority for the work to come (El Masry et al., 2025; Kianpour et al., 2026).

Conclusion

This study has examined the way underrepresented initiatives in Ukraine and Palestine frame the war as a call to save culture, memory, and narrative. Through a qualitative analysis of four cases, it found that these community-driven archives and platforms blend the language of heritage preservation, of human rights, and of grassroots empowerment, enlarging the definition of cultural heritage so that it includes the digital record, the personal testimony, and the visual evidence, and asserting that the preservation of these is essential to both the resilience of the community and the justice of history.

Several insights follow. The first is that the framing is itself a form of action. By telling the story of what they do in compelling ways, these initiatives galvanize the support and the participation that might otherwise not have materialized, as the rhetoric of emergency rescue let SUCHO mobilize a far-flung network within days, and as the insistence that Palestinians are not numbers gave the young writers of WANN a global audience. The second is that the discourse of cultural heritage and the discourse of human rights converge, so that the securing of a painting, a diary, or a digital video becomes predominantly marked by the guaranteeing of the dignity and the truth of a people. The third is that the entrepreneurial mindset emerges as a cross-cutting generative mechanism, in which opportunity recognition, resourcefulness, tolerance for ambiguity, and value creation are constitutive capacities and not incidental traits, the reading that reframes the policy debate, moving it from the charitable resourcing toward the building of capacity for a sustainable innovation.

For the policy actor, the support of these initiatives means the recognition of them as a basis of cultural entrepreneurship that fill a critical institutional gap. The international organization can partner

with the community archive to provide the resources, the training, and the network brokerage that nurture the entrepreneurial mindset without co-opting the local ownership, and the sustainability must be designed into the mechanism of support through long-term funding and mentorship. There is room as well for cross-pollination, since the workflow developed in Ukraine could aid the archivist in another war zone, while the community engagement honed in Palestine could guide an initiative in another protracted conflict.

The research has its limitations, and these mark the directions for the work to come. The study works with the English-language material, and so a fuller account remains to be written of the Arabic, the Ukrainian, and the other-language content that these projects produce. It examines the framers and not the audience, and so the available reception evidence is limited to an indirect, third-party uptake that a survey and an interview research could complement. The additional initiatives, from the grassroots archive in Syria and Yemen to the project of community memory elsewhere, merit a comparative inquiry. Taken together, the four cases exemplify a logic in which to save culture is, in a moral and an identity-affirming sense, to save lives. Even amid bombardment and dispossession, people can find the way to become the archivists of their own existence, and the frames that they construct are, in the end, frames of hope, that what is preserved and spoken today can change tomorrow.

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