# Glocal Perspectives on Intangible Cultural Heritage: Local Communities, Researchers, States and UNESCO,

## with the Special Focus on Global and National Perspectives

Editors

Tomiyuki Uesugi

Mari Shiba

Center for Glocal Studies (CGS)
SEIJO UNIVERSITY, Tokyo

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# Editor's Preface

This book, *Glocal Perspectives on Intangible Cultural Heritage: Local Communities, Researchers, States and UNESCO, with the Special Focus on Global and National Perspectives*, consists of the revised texts of the presentations originally read at the 2017 pre-symposium meeting entitled *Glocal Perspectives on Intangible Cultural Heritage: Local Communities, Researchers, States and UNESCO*, which was held at Seijo University, Tokyo, Japan, on February 18, 2017. As one of the editors of the book and the director of the host institute of the meeting, the Center for Glocal Studies, Seijo University, I wish to describe the background of the pre-symposium meeting and the book itself.

The Center for Glocal Studies (CGS) was founded almost ten years ago in October 2008, as one of several research centers at Seijo University, in order to conduct and promote "glocal studies," which the center has formulated as the examination of socio-cultural dynamics in various settings, not only from a global perspective but also from a local perspective, i. e. from a glocal perspective. Drawing on the framework of glocal studies, the CGS has been striving to shed light on hitherto not-fully-examined socio-cultural dynamics within myriad contact zones between the global and the local, the center and the periphery, and the external and the internal of various groupings and/or communities. In conducting glocal studies, the CGS also focuses on developments that rebalance what is thought of as an asymmetrical socio-cultural power balance between Euro-American developed and non-Euro-American developing countries. The CGS especially seeks to enrich contemporary debates about globalization and resultant synchronically and diachronically changing societies and cultures from a trans-disciplinary perspective.

Meanwhile, in March 2016, almost ten years after the effectuation of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, there was an informal call or offer from the International Research Centre for Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Asia-Pacific Region under the auspices of UNESCO (IRCI) for co-organizing and co-sponsoring an international symposium on safeguarding intangible cultural heritage in order to assess the realities and surrounding issues regarding UNESCO intangible cultural heritage from a glocal perspective. The CGS accepted the IRCI's call/offer.

Then, the relevant parties of the CGS and the IRCI started organizing the symposium: On the CGS side, I, as the Director of the CGS, consulted with Professor Michael D. Foster of Indiana University (now, of University of California, Davis), and on the IRCI side, Ms. Noriko Aikawa-Faure as the Advisor for Intangible Cultural Heritage, Agency for Cultural Affairs (the IRCI), Japan, and the former Director/Chief of the Intangible Heritage Section, UNESCO, consulted with Professor Lourdes Arizpe of the National Autonomous University of Mexico (formerly Assistant Director-General for Culture of UNESCO), and Dr. Tim Curtis, the Section Chief of the Intangible Heritage Section, UNESCO respectively. After coordinating views and ideas on the symposium of the both sides, by the end of 2016 the baseline of the symposium such as the title, the date, the venue, the themes and/or topics of the symposium had been provisionally decided: The title would be *Glocal Perspectives on Intangible Cultural Heritage: Local Communities, Researchers, States and UNESCO*, the date set for early July 2017, the venue set at the CGS, Seijo University, and the themes and topics would be those shown in the following section where the symposium is abbreviated as "the July symposium."

While we were organizing and preparing for the July symposium, the CGS realized that in order to make it more "glocal" and fruitful as well, we had better organize and hold a kind of pre-symposium meeting before the July symposium itself. As the focus of the July symposium would be put on the local/national perspectives, another symposium focusing on the global/national ones would be needed for complementing the July symposium. It is only by holding both types of symposia, one focusing on local/national perspectives and the other focusing on global/national perspectives, that we could promote better understanding as to the interactions between local communities, researchers, states and UNESCO regarding safeguarding of intangible cultural heritages. That was why the CGS decided to hold a pre-symposium meeting of the same title as for the July symposium but with the contrasting focus on global/national perspectives, *Glocal Perspectives on Intangible Cultural Heritage: Local Communities, Researchers, States and UNESCO* on January 18, 2017, at the CGS, Seijo University. The revised presentation texts originally delivered at the pre-symposium meeting are now being published in this book.

In this book, together with "Introductory Remarks" by Ms. Noriko Aikawa-Faure, five revised presentation texts given at the pre-symposium meeting are being published herein: one by Professor Antonio A. Arantes of State University

of Campinas (UNICAMP), Brazil, another by Professor Chao Gejin of Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS), China, another by Professor Hanhee Hahm of Chonbuk National University, Republic of Korea, another by Professor Marc Jacobs of Vrije Universiteit Brussels, Belgium, and finally one by Professor Michael D. Foster of University of California, Davis, USA. Although all the presentations might have been inspired by and written in response to the main themes/topics of *Glocal Perspectives on Intangible Cultural Heritage: Local Communities, Researchers, States and UNESCO*, each author naturally pursued his/her own themes and topics from his/her own glocal/national perspectives. Therefore, it is difficult to give an over-arching description of all the presentations in a few words. But, as the organizer of the pre-symposium meeting and one of the editors of the book, I would like to highlight one point: All the presenters emphasized the importance, the need as well as the difficulty of the participation of the relevant communities, groups and individuals (CGIs) in safeguarding intangible cultural heritage. Hence, at an advisory meeting for the July symposium held after the pre-symposium meeting, it was suggested and agreed that at least one representative from CGIs should be invited to each session of the symposium to be held in July 2017. In doing so, we are expecting the July symposium will effectively examine the realities of interactions between local communities, researchers, states and UNESCO from a glocal perspective.

On behalf of the Center for Glocal Studies (CGS), I would like to extend our sincere thanks to Ms. Noriko Aikawa-Faure for her dedication in organizing and materializing the meeting as well as for giving the keynote speech ("Introductory Remarks") at the pre-symposium meeting. The CGS would also like to thank the International Research Centre for Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Asia-Pacific Region under the auspices of UNESCO (IRCI), Osaka, Japan, for its cooperation in materializing the pre-symposium. Finally, I would like to mention that this book and the pre-symposium meeting at which the original materials (presentations) of the book were presented were financially supported as part of the "Private University Research Branding Project" allocated to Seijo University by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, Japan.

June 2017

Tomiyuki UESUGI
Editor and Director of CGS, Seijo University

# Glocal Perspectives on Intangible Cultural Heritage: Local Communities, Researchers, States and UNESCO,

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# Introductory Remarks

Noriko AIKAWA-FAURE
(Former Director/Chief, Intangible Cultural Heritage Section, UNESCO)

In these introductory remarks, I attempt to situate the topic of the Symposium within the context of current discussions on the implementation of the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (hereafter, the UNESCO Convention) among academics and on-going debates of the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (hereafter, the Committee).

## Background

This Pre-Symposium Meeting, organized by the Centre for Glocal Studies at Seijo University (hereafter called CGS), previews the forthcoming Symposium to be held for the Asia-Pacific Region from 7 to 9 July 2017. The July Symposium will be co-organized by the International Research Centre for Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Asia-Pacific Region under the auspices of UNESCO, a so-called UNESCO Category 2 Centre (hereafter called the IRCI), and the CGS.

The July Symposium will be the culminating event of the IRCI project entitled "Mapping Studies on the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (hereafter called ICH) in the Asia and Pacific Region," which was launched in 2013 in order to take stock of research conducted on the safeguarding of ICH in the Asia-Pacific Region. The IRCI has already collected information from the existing literature, as well as from research institutions and individual researchers, from 25 countries in the Region, and entered it into a searchable database currently containing 1,300 entries. The information collected has been shared and analysed at four expert meetings. The July Symposium will discuss the topic of "Glocal Perspectives on Intangible Cultural Heritage: Local Communities, Researchers, States and UNESCO" from Asia-Pacific perspectives.

At the Pre-Symposium meeting, five academics – Antonio Arantes from Brazil, Michael Dylan Foster from the USA, Chao Gejin from China, Hanhee Hahm from the Republic of Korea, and Marc Jacobs from Belgium – all of whom have been grappling with ICH issues from the time the UNESCO Convention was negotiated

to its implementation phase – present their insights into the interplay among local, national and international agents in safeguarding the ICH within different States and from different geographical and conceptual perspectives.

The UNESCO Convention champions the participation of the communities, groups and individuals who are the creators and practitioners of the ICH and requires States Parties to ensure close collaboration among local communities, groups and individuals, as well as experts, centres of expertise and research institutions, in the process of implementing the Convention (UNESCO 2003)[1]. However, various scholars and other cultural brokers have noted that these theoretical principles, when translated into practical measures ranging from policy-making, institution creating, inventory-making, transmission enhancement, and research development to the preparations of nominations to the Lists established by the Convention, do not always meet the expectations of the Convention.

The title for the Symposium, "Glocal Perspectives on Intangible Cultural Heritage: Local Communities, Researchers, States and UNESCO," appeared in early 2016 in the discussions I had as the representative of the Advisory Committee of the IRCI with Tim Curtis relating to the literature surveys on the safeguarding of ICH in the Asia-Pacific Region conducted by IRCI in 2015[2] and 2016[3]. Tim Curtis is a cultural anthropologist who was appointed Secretary of the Convention in January 2016, and the conversations with him were then extended to subsequent discussions with Lourdes Arizpe.

Lourdes Arizpe has had a unique career. She is a distinguished anthropologist and was the UNESCO Assistant Director-General for Culture from 1994 to 1998. We all owe her a debt of gratitude for having consolidated the programme on the ICH that was launched by UNESCO in 1993 and for which I was responsible. We also owe her for the definition of the term Intangible Cultural Heritage given in Article 2 of the UNESCO Convention. The definition she proposed has been widely accepted by the international community at all levels, mainly because of the multi-layered insights it contains regarding the interests of the principal stakeholders of the ICH namely practitioner communities, the conceptual preoccupations of anthropologists, and the political concerns of States Parties,

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1 Principally Article 11, 15 of the Convention and paragraphs 79-89 of the Operational Directives.
2 Denes, Alexandra (2015)
3 Hahm, Han-hee (2016)

including administrative and financial constraints.

Lourdes Arizpe wrote in 2013 that "critical perspectives are necessary to promote diversity and to allow innovations to influence policy decisions and drive programmes forward… In recent years, [however,] anthropology has developed its own critical perspective on ICH, with little or no dialogue with the UNESCO programme of the 2003 Convention… The renewal of this dialogue between independent researchers in anthropology and other related sciences and the policy-making bodies of the 2003 Convention is now a very urgent matter" (Arizpe 2013).

I would like to thank the CGS and the IRCI for taking up this topic for the title of the Pre-Symposum Meeting and the July Symposium.

Numerous scholars have scrutinized the UNESCO heritage listing system for both the Tangible and the Intangible Cultural Heritage. Their criticisms have pointed to processes of "heritage-ization", the term commonly used today, including "heritage-making" (Bendix 2012), and even "UNESCO-ization" (De Cesari 2013) or the creation of "metacultural artefacts" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004) or "authorized heritage discourses (AHD)" (Smith 2006). However, such scrutiny has mostly focused on the effects of the inscription of ICH elements on the Convention's Representative List. Many of the scholarly observations and analyses made in this regard have demonstrated the undesirable effects that the nomination or inscription on the Representative List of elements of the ICH can have on the cultural expressions concerned and the related practitioner communities' daily lives.

The Representative List has also been problematic for the Committee of the Convention itself. In Committee meetings, debates relating to this List have gone beyond the realm of the ICH itself and taken on a sometimes passionate political tone. The recent Committee meeting where 80 per cent of the nominations referred by an expert group (the Evaluation Body) were reversed and inscribed by political manoeuvres was perhaps the most flagrant example of this. The Committee itself seems to have realized that the deliberations were going far beyond the task of examining the substance of the evaluations made by the Evaluation Body and decided to review the procedure for evaluating the nominations to the List and the decision-making processes of the Committee on nominations and related issues as a result[4].

[4] Decision 11COM.10, paragraph 2.3.

The purpose of the Representative List is the raising of awareness of the ICH, and in this regard the List has largely accomplished its aim. Slowing down the process of inscription on the Representative List, set out a decade ago by fixing a ceiling on the number of nominations to approximately 50 that the Committee examines yearly, could now be taken further. More light could also be shed by the Committee, by the States Parties, and by the academics on other Lists, such as the Urgent Safeguarding List and the Register of Good Safeguarding Practices, as well as other implementation measures that States Parties have put in place, such as inventory-making, safeguarding and capacity building.

## Sub-themes of the Symposium

In the Pre-Symposium Meeting, participants discuss the following four sub-themes under the overarching heading of "Glocal Perspectives on Intangible Cultural Heritage: Local Communities, Researchers, States and UNESCO":

### 1. How do local communities, researchers, and States (including local and government officials) collaborate for the implementation of the UNESCO ICH Convention, including by inventory-making, safeguarding, nomination and inscription?

The obligation of a State Party once it has ratified the Convention is to take the necessary steps to safeguard the ICH on its territory with the widest possible participation of the communities, groups and individuals concerned. "Safeguarding means measures aimed at ensuring the viability of the ICH," and they include inventory-making, identification, documentation, research, preservation, protection, promotion, enhancement, transmission and revitalization of the ICH (UNESCO 2003)[5]. How can the Committee gauge how the Convention has been implemented within the States concerned and how community members and other stakeholders have cooperated in participating in these activities? This takes place through the Periodic Reports that the Convention obliges States Parties to submit every six years to the Committee. The Reports reflect the views of the governments concerned, however, and the Committee does not have the tools to verify the veracity of the contents of the Reports or other views expressed by other stakeholders. The question arises of which communities, groups or individuals could best express opinions different from those of the governments concerned.

[5] Article 2, paragraph 3 of the Convention.

Perhaps practitioner community members could also submit Reports to the Committee?

The community-centred approach that the Convention takes has also confused some States Parties who have been practicing a government-centred approach for the protection of the ICH that has been in place for decades. Furthermore, these States often appraise the "excellence" of the historical and artistic values of the ICH element, while the UNESCO Convention values the social function that the element of the ICH has today for the community from which it comes. The Republic of Korea, for example, has sought to find a way through the contrasting approaches of the UNESCO Convention and State policy. Hanhee Hahm, a professor in the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology at Chonbuk National University and Director of the Centre for Intangible Culture, a NGO, who has been studying the interaction between local communities, NGOs and the State in the safeguarding of ICH in Korea, recounts how the Republic of Korea tackled this contrast by passing a new law in 2015. She illustrates its approach by a case study on "tea-making," the first ICH element inscribed under the new law[6]. Despite some confusion caused by the fact that the new law has kept the old criterion of "excellence" and does not give much consideration to the participation of practitioner communities, South Korea appears to have taken an important step forward.

Another case study is presented by Chao Gejin, drawing on the example of the nomination of the "Twenty-Four Solar Terms" that was inscribed in 2016 on the Representative List. Chao Gegin is a member of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and President of the China Folklore Society, which is currently one of the members of the Evaluation Body of the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. He is also President of the International Council for Philosophy and the Human Sciences (ICPHS). This academic NGO, closely affiliated to UNESCO, used to evaluate some of the candidature files submitted to the "Proclamation of the Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity" programme that preceded the Convention. In his case study he recounts the process of preparing such nominations, focusing on how representatives of the communities, research institutions, NGOs, media and governments concerned, including central and local governments, have shared

[6] Hanhee Hahm's paper is entitled "Imagined UNESCO Convention: a UNESCO Influence on Local Practitioners and Communities".

their responsibilities and collaborated among themselves by way of well-established cooperative mechanisms[7]. Moreover he announces that a new institution entitled "China Centre for the Twenty-four Solar Terms Research" was established on 20 March 2017 under the auspice of the China Folklore Society as well as the Prince Kung's Mansion in order to implement five years safeguarding plan more effectively.

Such questions lead on to the next point.

## 2. What has been the transformative impact of the Convention, and how have communities assessed its impacts?

The UNESCO Secretariat, upon the request of the Committee[8], is currently working to develop a methodology for the monitoring and evaluation of the implementation of the Convention as a whole, applying an overall results-based framework. The monitoring and evaluation process will be implemented at the State level, however, and not at the local level within each State.

While compilations of case studies on the transformative impact of the implementation of the UNESCO Convention, notably nominations or inscriptions on the Representative List, have been published in Europe and the USA (e.g. Bendix 2012, 2015; Bortoletto 2011; Foster 2015; Stefano and Davis 2017), critical literature written by community members themselves on this issue is scarce. Bendix's group noted that the ratification of the Convention had given States new powers over the dynamic resources of the ICH and divergent "heritage regimes" and bureaucracies (Bendix 2012), for example.

Michael Dylan Foster, a professor in the Department of East Asian Languages and Cultures at the University of California, Davis, is the co-editor of a book entitled *UNESCO on the Ground: Local Perspectives on Intangible Cultural Heritage* (Foster 2015), in which case studies relating to "the transformative impact of the Convention" are presented from India, South Korea, Malawi, Japan, Macedonia, and China. He discusses the perceived disconnect between metacultural (viewed from the point of view of the State and UNESCO and pointing to "global") and the esocultural (viewed from deep within the communities concerned and pointing to "local") perspectives in the understanding

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[7] Chao Gejin's paper is entitled "Multi-Actors in the Safeguarding of ICH: Cooperative Mechanisms in the Nomination of Twenty-Four Solar Terms".

[8] 9COM (2014)

of the ICH and drawing on his field study of the "Koshikijima no Toshidon" inscribed on the Representative List in 2009 (Japan). Foster points out that the recent Japanese nomination: " Raihōshin: kamen, kasō no kami-gami (Visiting deities: Masked and costumed gods)" grouping ten visiting deities rituals from different parts of Japan including already inscribed "Koshikijima no Toshidon" could be a good example viewed from the metacultural perspective where esocultural reality, in which some of the Koshikijila residents expressed their frustration to see their ritual grouped with other nine rituals, was not taken into due consideration. He notes here an obvious lack of communication between the local communities and the Authorities. He finally suggests that the continued conversation, negotiation and sharing of perspectives will allow to bridge the disconnect between metacultural and esocultural perspectives with the caveat to bear in mind that the metacultural and esocultural negotiations are asymmetrical, i. e. metacultural entity is powerful but esocultural entity is vulnerable. He concludes therefore that the stakeholders should "always keep local concerns, and esocultural narratives, at the forefront of the discourse" keeping in mind that the "particulars precede the general, and practices should guide policy about those practices".[9]

Antonio Arantes, a professor of social anthropology at the State University of Campinas, is a former President of the Brazilian Anthropological Association (ABA) and the Latin American Anthropological Association (ALA). As President of the Brazilian National Institute for Historic and Artistic Heritage (IPHAN), he played an active role in the intergovernmental expert meetings during the period of the negotiation of the Convention, notably for the elaboration of a glossary for the Convention (van Zanten 2002). Arantes notes with satisfaction that the Convention has brought about an "anthropological turn" in heritage protection discourses[10]. He also recognizes a significant breakthrough that has been made in heritage policies by placing people at the forefront and by bringing out the social values of the heritage to the people concerned. He argues that the Convention is "grounded on a challenging conceptual tension, i.e. the clash between the intrinsic universalism and the embedded particularism of the ICH[11]." He suggests that the effectiveness of the Convention depends on how this logical and political tension

[9] Michael Dylan Foster's paper is entitled: "Bridging Metacultural and Esocultural Perspectives on UNESCO and ICH".

[10] Antonio Arantes's pape ris entitled: "Transformative Impacts of the ICH Convention: Notes for Discussion".

[11] Antonio Arantes's paper is entitled "Transformative Impacts of the ICH Convention: Notes for Discussion".

is mediated.

Referring to the current UNESCO Secretariat's attempt to monitor and evaluate the implementation of the Convention harnessing an overall result-based framework, Arantes expresses his skepticism as to "how far the result of safeguarding actions are comparable to each other[12]". He argues that the communities' accomplishment of safeguarding activities could result from policy' s accountability and not necessarily the achievement of results aimed by the Convention.

The Committee recently endorsed "ethical principles for safeguarding the Intangible Cultural Heritage[13]." These include a paragraph recommending that "communities, groups, local, national, transnational organizations and individuals should carefully assess the direct or indirect, short-term and long-term, potential and definitive impact of any action that may affect the viability of ICH or the communities concerned[14]." Marc Jacobs, Director of the Flemish Interface for Cultural Heritage (FARO) and a professor at the Vrije Universiteit in Brussels, represented Belgium on the Intergovernmental Committee between 2006 and 2008 and between 2012 and 2016. He is the author of an article entitled "Cultural Brokerage – Addressing Boundaries and the New Paradigm of Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage, Folklore Studies, Transdisciplinary Perspectives and UNESCO" (Jacobs 2014) published in this book. Jacobs scrutinizes the above mentioned twelve ethical principles and re-order them "to make the internal dynamics more clear". He regroups them into two groups: a group bearing features of "relative autonomy" (Ethical Principles 8, 2, 5 and 6) and a group bearing characteristics of "interventions" (Ethical Principles 3,7,10,4,9,11, 12 and 1) . Between the two groups of principles, Jacobs identifies the submerged tension[15]. The former is expressed by the keyword: "respect" indicating the approach to ensure the viability of CGIs (communities, groups and individuals) and ICH and the latter concerns the relations between actors and stakeholders as well as Interventions such as safeguarding, benefit sharing and obtaining of the free, prior, sustained and informed consent. He notes how the Article 15 of the Convention is

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12 Ibid, P. 7.

13 The 10th Committee meeting (December 2015) endorsed "Ethical Principles for Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage", as established by an expert group.

14 "Ethical Principles for Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage," paragraph 9.

15 Marc Jacobs' s paper is entitled "Glocal Perspectives on Safeguarding. CGIs, ICH, Ethics and Cultural Brokerage".

reflected in these twelve principles of which eleven refers to the central roles of CGIs. He then argues the relevance of the ethical principles to the implementation of the newly introduced Chapter VI of the Operational Directives of the Convention entitled: "safeguarding intangible cultural heritage and sustainable development at the national level (UNESCO 2016)", notably its paragraph 171 relating to the precaution that States Parties should take while establishing their development plans, policies and programmes involving ICH or affecting its viability. Jacobs admits finally that the realization of the mantra of the Convention: "maximum involvement of CGIs while safeguarding ICH" as well as the implementation of the new paragraphs pertaining to the "ICH and sustainable development" in combination with the twelve ethical principals are great challenges today.

## 3. What is the role of researchers as "cultural brokers" in assessing the impact of the implementation of the Convention?

Are researchers "researchers" and/ or "facilitators" (Bortoletto 2015), "agents" and/ or "observers" (Bortoletto 2015) or "participant-observers" (Kurin 1997)? Are anthropologists "go-betweens" among different groups of actors (Adell, Bendix, Bortoletto and Tauschek 2015)?

A glossary (van Zanten 2002) of 33 terms drawn up by UNESCO in June 2002 within the framework of the Convention treated the three terms of "researcher, administrator and manager" collectively and drew up one definition probably inspired from that of a "cultural broker". Such persons, it said, were "specialists who promote, display and mediate culture through personal engagement, and in organizations and institutions at local, national, regional and international levels." Marc Jacobs discusses the role of such "cultural brokers," a term made well-known in 1997 by Richard Kurin with the intention of narrowing the gap between academic discourse and professional action (Kurin 1997) and more recently by Jacobs himself (Jacobs 2014). It is interesting to note that Kurin was one of the co-instigators of the UNESCO Convention[16].

Marc Jacobs, referring to the above mentioned Chapter VI of the Operational

[16] Members of the Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage, Smithsonian Institution led by Richard Kurin mentioned that "It (a consultative body consisting of practitioners, scholars, government cultural workers, cultural entrepreneurs, and NGOs) could also develop the agenda for a UNESCO convention on folklore and traditional culture" (MaCann with James Early, Amy Horowitz, Richard Kurin, Leslie Prosterman, Anthony Seeger and Peter Seitel: 2001)

Directives (UNESCO 2016) sheds light on one of the most challenging paragraphs (172 (d)) relating to the cooperation among diverse stakeholders, including cultural brokers, for the integration of the safeguarding of ICH into development plans, policies and programmes.

## 4. What are the possible feedback mechanisms for local communities to communicate to UNESCO the impact of the Convention?

Although the General Assembly of the States Parties is the sovereign body of the Convention[16], the Intergovernmental Committee is in reality the most influential body making decisions in the process of the implementation of the Convention, and the UNESCO Secretariat is at the service of the Committee. The relationship between the Committee and the Secretariat is a complex and sometimes controversial one. Possible feedback mechanisms for local communities should therefore be addressed to the Committee.

It is worth recalling the lengthy and stormy debates at the first Committee meeting held in Algiers in 2007 that discussed the drafting of the Operational Directives relating to the participation of community members, practitioners or indigenous peoples in the work of the Committee. Many members of the Committee were not keen on the Secretariat's proposed transformation of the community-participation approach of the Convention into practical terms. The Committee finally accepted in a most insignificant form the participation of communities, in addition to groups and experts, in the meetings of the Committee "in order to sustain an interactive dialogue"[17] (Aikawa 2007). This shows how difficult it has been to put the concept of community participation into practice within the intergovernmental framework of the Convention. The Committee may wish to review this paragraph, introducing examples from the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO), the International Labour Organization (ILO) and the Convention for Biological Diversity (CBD) that allow the participation of representatives of communities and indigenous peoples to attend their Intergovernmental Committee meetings (Adell, Bendix, Bortoletto and Tauschek 2015).

The July Symposium will certainly profit from the insights and perceptions generated at the Pre-Symposium Meeting, making it a real opportunity to address

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16 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, Article 4, paragraph 1.
17 Operational Directives, paragraph 89.

the "urgent matter," in Lourdes Arizpe's words, of renewing the dialogue between and among representatives of local communities, researchers, States Parties and UNESCO in the Asia-Pacific Region on the UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention.

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# Transformative Impacts of the ICH Convention: Notes for Discussion

Antonio A. ARANTES
(State University of Campinas, Brazil)

In this presentation, I focus on the transformative impacts of UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (hereinafter ICH[1]). My argument is based on this Convention's conceptual framework and on the practical orientations for its implementation established by Operational Directives. Empirical references as well as insights derive from unsystematic observation developed through my professional practice and from reflections stimulated by several expert's and academic meetings that I have attended on the subject. The paper also suggests analytical perspectives that may be relevant for the evaluation of results achieved by the Convention. Systematic and critical appraisals of the multiple impacts of the ICH Convention are not yet available, at least not to my knowledge. However, some issues can be explored tentatively, based on anthropological studies about similar objects and on practical experience, looking through windows opened by the Convention itself. So, let us do some guesswork.

* * *

UNESCO's ICH Convention has raised high expectations and much enthusiasm among States agents, cultural communities and academics in various countries, where so-called traditional, indigenous, popular or folkloric cultural practices could reinforce senses of identity, of prior art, antiquity, continuity, singularity and localization, as emblems of peoples and nations, in the contemporary economic and political scene.

After more than a decade of hard work and financial investments, these expectations were met, particularly in relation to raising awareness of a large public about the vitality and diversity of forms of expression, cosmologies,

[1] The acronym ICH, meaning Intangible Cultural Heritage, has been adopted and is widely used in the literature.

celebrations and other manifestations of human creativity, about the embeddedness of intangible cultural heritage in people's lives and the importance for the ICH holders' of its recognition by UNESCO in terms of strengthening their self-esteem and senses of belonging to our globalized world.

In several cases, the legitimation, dissemination and promotion of cultural elements by various instruments implemented by UNESCO's ICH Sector and States Parties to the Convention seem to have effectively contributed to strengthening these peoples' "*senses of identity and continuity*" (Art. 2, 1). Proclamation of cultural practices at the Intergovernmental Committee's meetings is usually motive for "cultural communities"[2] to rejoice and celebrate at UNESCO's assembly rooms and abroad, in remote villages as well as in towns and cities, their presence in a world scene. This is also considered an important achievement by States agents, academics, consultants and others who collaborate in the production of candidature dossiers of elements eventually inscribed in one of the Convention's lists.

## An Anthropological Turn in Heritage Policies

The fact of putting real people - not artifacts or monuments - in the forefront of a cultural heritage policy is the most evident aspect of the changes triggered by the ICH Convention in cultural heritage management in general. In this perspective, it is important to remember that ICH holders are often individuals, groups and communities that have been kept in obscurity, thus practically unknown to the world at large, and lacking full access to citizenship rights in their own countries.

To my understanding, this conceptual and political shift - which I call 'anthropological turn' in cultural heritage policies - is grounded on the statement adopted by the Convention (Art. 2,1) whereby, previously to being included in one of the ICH Lists, cultural elements must be recognized by "*communities, groups and in some cases individuals*" (hereinafter CGI) - and not by experts - "*as part of their cultural heritage*". Anthropologists question the premise that peoples from the most diverse cultures would share the idea of cultural heritage as conceived by the international community and adopted by the Convention. This is a pertinent question. Nevertheless, all agree that meanings and values are constitutive of cultural practices and that some practices are considered by social

[2] I use the expression 'cultural community' with reference to "communities, groups and individuals' as in the wording of the Convention, from which the acronym CGI is derived

agents as more profoundly expressive of social identity than others. Exceptionality is not a criterion accepted by the Convention. However, CGIs very often take a comparative stance in pointing out to outsiders some social practices that stand out as emblematic of their identity. What is relevant for my argument here is that the ICH Convention creates the possibility for these local values, meanings and criteria of choice to be publicly recognized and for local strategies and calculations to be legitimized by experts as being somehow constitutive of a local equivalent to the notion of 'heritage value' What I am arguing is that logical bridges can be built across existing gaps between the idea of heritage as implemented by policy-makers and local knowledge and politics. In short, ICH Convention provides the opportunity for 'endogenous regimes' of cultural curation, to be negotiated by local agents with 'exogenous' ones, as for example the ICH safeguarding policy created by the ICH Convention.[3]

What matters most for the identification and understanding of transformative impacts of the ICH Convention is that it has produced an important conceptual and perhaps also political tension in relation to existing heritage regimes, by taking Social Value as an integral part and a legitimate pillar of Heritage Value (including for legal purposes), side by side with the traditional cornerstones of preservation legislation and policies since the first Athens' Charter (1931), namely, historic, artistic, scientific or archeological values. Consequently, ICH holders – and, why not, people living in protected sites - became more visible and empowered in decision-making on cultural heritage policies in general, be it tangible or intangible.

This is what I mean by 'anthropological turn' produced by the ICH Convention in cultural heritage policies. I believe that it is not an exaggeration to say that the conceptual framework of this Convention is a breakthrough on heritage policies, perhaps more importantly than the novelty of its intangible objects.

## Many Stakeholders, Multiple Impacts

Just as this Convention's stakeholders are many – heritage holders, government officials, consultants and so forth - its impacts are varied and cannot be assessed from just a single point of view.

In the first place, they must be identified and understood from the local the

[3] For the distinction between 'endogenous cultural regimes' and 'exogenous cultural regimes' see Arantes (forthcoming).

heritage holders' perspectives. This includes the effects of safeguarding on the practice of ICH elements and on relevant aspects of local lives, as well as questions related to how ICH communities culturally and politically appropriate the material and symbolic resources that become accessible through safeguarding actions. Indeed, since the ICH Convention entered to force, the consequences of safeguarding on social organization and cultural practices of heritage holders is being studied by a fast-growing number of researchers around the globe. However, some geographical areas are still absent in these initiatives and metacultural (Kirshenblat-Guimblett 2004: 58) productions aiming at disseminating and raising awareness about ICH ask for further critical evaluations (see for example Price 2007). I refer to practices such as enhancing, exhibiting, souvenir making, publishing and so forth. Very rarely indigenous peoples participate in the creation of museological projects, or in the productions of printed and audiovisual materials intended for the disseminations of information about their culture. Sometimes they provide 'ethnic consultancy' to such projects, but they rarely take initiatives of this sort. What I am suggesting is that when evaluating the impacts of the Convention, attention should be paid, first and foremost, the practical, political, moral, economic and legal effects of the activities that are increasingly being developed in this niche the cultural economy, so strongly stimulated by the World System and nurtured by ICH marketing projects.

On the other hand – as the Convention is supposed to dialogical, i.e., a two-way street - besides asking about the effects of the Convention on people's lives, one should also enquire to what extent real life issues faced by heritage holders and their worldviews have impacted the instruments adopted for the implementation of the Convention, particularly its Operational Directives.

## Academic Impact

The social agency of public officials, NGOs, consultants and UNESCO – which is usually seen as a powerful but somewhat vague entity, sometimes locally personified by the States Parties' agents - gradually become the subject of various academic research projects, essays and theses and inspire network building and opening new areas of academic specialization.

Thanks to the ICH Convention new problems, questions and perspectives have been raised in academic circles, not only with reference to intangible heritage, but to cultural heritage in general. Such questionings brought to the scene more anthropologists, ethnomusicologists and other "culture specialists" than ever

before, and their arguments became better understood in the cultural preservation arena where the outlooks of architects, archaeologists and historians previously prevailed. Anthropology, as an area of expertise and academic practice, collaborates today in more equal terms with disciplines that have been for a long time hegemonic in cultural preservation studies and practice.

The formation of an International Committee on Intangible Cultural Heritage at ICOMOS and various committees, working-groups and international professional networks[4] indicate the growing importance and visibility of this field within the academia.

A significant amount of knowledge and information produced by individual researchers and research groups has been published in books and academic journals.[5] One theme that can be highlighted as a pertinent example for the present discussion is the existing gap between ICH policies as planned and executed, between institutional intentions and local reinterpretations and appropriations, the often difficult and partial cultural dialogue between local cultural agents and institutional officials. (Bendix; Eggert; Peselmann 2012; Foster; Gilman 2015).

These and other related themes ask for urgent systematic and comparative studies. Innumerous conference panels promoted by most anthropological and folklore societies in their regular conferences and journals also highlight similar research topics and stimulate the publication of dossiers and collections of essays in many languages. Intellectual production on this topic is growing fast and offers new lights to the understanding of culture dynamics and cultural policies in the world system. However, fieldwork-based and comparative research still needs to be encouraged. Differently from long-established fields of academic practice, access to recent literature about cultural heritage studies is still fragmentary and, to a certain extent, dependent on personal communication networks. However, the emergence of this new thematic field of anthropological and public policies studies is another important positive impact of the ICH Convention that I want to highlight

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4 Among the many researchers and experts' meetings that have taken place in the last decade or so, I refer particularly to those promoted by Category 2 Center IRCI (formerly ACCU) in Paris and Tokyo. An indication of the articulation among academic societies around intangible cultural heritage, and heritage in general, is the Inter-American and Caribbean Cultural Heritage Forum, established by the Canadian, Brazilian, American, Mexican and Latin-American Anthropology Associations, the American and the Brazilian Archaeology Societies in 2015, sponsored by UNICAMP - State University of Campinas, Brazil. Cultural Property Interdisciplinary Research Unit, Göttingen University, and Centro de Investigaciones Interdisciplinárias (CRIM), Universidad Autónoma de México are very active university centered research institutions

5 International Journal of Heritage Studies; International Journal of Intangible Heritage; among others

in this presentation.

## Democratic Principles, Diversity of Governance Practices

According to the spirit of the Convention, ICH elements are living culture, they are inherently changeable and in constant transformation. To my understanding, safeguarding aims at strengthening the conditions that are necessary for their viability; it should support communities in striving against threats to the continuity and transmission of their ICH and against threats that jeopardize needed changes that are in accordance with their own visions about their presents and about their futures, changes that are in tune with their cosmologies. Therefore, the spirit of the Convention is not about stability, immobility, but about what people want for their futures; it is about collective aspirations. Therefore, the ICH Convention can be an instrument for the democratic management of heritage, a contribution to making heritage policies in general, not only in the case of the intangible, more socially responsible towards cultural diversity

These core elements of the Convention's ideological background are difficult challenges for the implementation of safeguarding policies and the construction of bureaucratic and expert mediations between UNESCO, States Parties and local communities. Despite the legally binding nature of this multilateral agreement and the democratic principles that inspire it, States Parties – being the necessary mediators between UNESCO and ICH holders – may implement it "*with the widest possible participation*" of CGI as established by our charter (Art.15) or act as filters, taking decisions that favor interests of the political groups in power. Governance practices depend not only on rational choices, but also – if not mainly - on decisions that are usually in line with the political cultures and regimes established in each Country.

## Intercultural Dialogue: A Challenge to Heritage Management

In that respect, I believe that important changes — and positive ones — are taking place in cultural heritage management worldwide. The new working agenda of preservation institutions established — or inspired — by the ICH Convention, stimulates an increasing demand for intercultural dialogue between agencies and communities. It consequently requires the expertise of anthropologists, folklore specialists and public policy planners, among others, to interpret CGI's demands, to make sense of their claims, values and worldviews, and to get across to them the notions and values that are at the base of the rationale of safeguarding policies and

guidelines. Safeguarding is not an obvious need, as heritage is not a universal concept shared by all humanity. An important effort is needed to make the Convention's framework understood and eventually accepted in terms of local cosmologies – sometimes even ontologies - as well as manageable with different political systems. This intercultural dialogue also requires that States agencies produce forms, procedures and guidelines that are adequate to this new public; that communication strategies and channels are built to facilitate mutual understanding between an increasingly diversified public - in terms of ways of live, worldviews, access to formal education - and governmental officers. The implementation of changes in the professional profile of heritage institutions officers to facilitate intercultural dialogue is a challenge that can favor the modernization and democratization of States' bureaucracies and create more favorable conditions for the desired transformative impacts of the Convention to take place. To implement this is not an easy step, though, because heritage institutions are part of State apparatuses, their histories are intertwined and interdependent in many ways. Besides this, cultural heritage officers – when there are such specialists in local cultural heritage institutions - have a long established intellectual profile designed for the management of sites and monuments only.

The lack of technical skill is quite often one of the main difficulties for the Convention to produce its expected results and impacts. A great number of problems reported by the Consultative Bodies to the Convention' s Intergovernmental Committee[6] in the evaluation of candidature dossiers and reports arise from difficulties of States Parties officials and consultants in the interpretation of the Convention's conceptual framework and procedures. One should recognize that the practical orientation given by Operational Directives as well as their instruments have been carefully designed and updated, bearing in mind the roles and rights of people involved in safeguarding. However, capacity-building, both among governmental and non-governmental stakeholders, is widely recognized among ICH experts and managers as an absolute priority. It tends to be, however, a never-ending task since the number of governmental and non-governmental stakeholders, as well as States Parties, constantly increase. Besides, the cultural gaps and difficult dialogues often experienced by heritage holders and officers when interacting to produce the information asked by policy-makers has

[6] Several problems in this area have been discussed in the 2013 IRCI Meeting on ICH under the subject "Evaluating the Inscription Criteria for the Two Lists of UNESCO's ICH Convention" (IRCI, 2013).

neither been fully recognized by heritage institutions, nor incorporated in management routines yet.

I do not know if this desirable feedback from local government officers and ICH holders to the managers of the Convention (UNESCO and States Parties' bureaucracies) effectively takes place. The crucial problem of cultural and political diversity, within this "cultural heritage system", that the Convention creates in practice, is an open subject still.

## Stimulated Synergy

The ratification of the ICH Convention by States Parties and the adoption of its 'spirit' or ideological perspectives by States Parties not only brought new professional agendas to work environments that were predominantly constituted by architects, urbanists, historians and archaeologists but also produced, as expected, much conflict and competition for jobs and hierarchy. However, positive synergies also occurred. One result of such possible and perhaps growing professional dialogue is that institutions are becoming more aware of the social value of intangible and tangible cultural heritage; there are efforts in the sense of creating more comprehensive ways of identifying heritage and interpreting its meaning. An increasing interest in developing the concept of cultural landscape – not necessarily adopting an existing one - is an indication of this tendency

The concept of cultural space as a working tool of the Convention contributed to articulate safeguarding of practices with the protection of natural or built heritage. Many examples can be mentioned here, but perhaps the classical reference Jemaa el-F'na Square in Marrakesh (a space that connects to practices) and frevo carnival performance in Recife, Brazil, (a practice that literally "takes place" in a fixed space) clearly illustrate the practical inextricability of material and immaterial heritage.[7]

The frictions and synergy among heritage officers and institutions in various Countries is another positive transformative impact of the Convention, one of a conceptual nature with productive practical consequences for both local heritage policies and agencies.

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[7] For details https:/ / ich.unesco.org/ en/ RL/ cultural-space-of-jemaa-el-fna-square-00014 and https:/ / ich.unesco.org/ en/ RL/ frevo-performing-arts-of-the-carnival-of-recife-00603

## Communities' Participation

The increasing visibility and empowerment of heritage communities, vis-à-vis preservation agencies and the public in general, has been strengthened by the implementation of the ICH Convention. This tendency is sometimes associated with building stronger alliances between local communities and civil society's organizations, as can be verified in most documents prepared for submissions to UNESCO and through the growing number of NGOs accredited to provide advisory services to the IGC.

These organizations mediate demands and help translate the notions and values enrooted in the Convention, as well as the cosmologies, customary law and political issues concerning heritage holders, and to do this in both ways. They help format and forward claims, arbitrate conflicts, manage legal and administrative demands related to heritage management. Some have efficient training programs designed for researchers belonging to specific ethnic groups. As these organizations and the peoples that they work with are usually connected through long-term relations, not necessarily built for the purposes of safeguarding heritage, some NGOs are very efficient in making the notions and the principles in which the Convention is based accessible- - both culturally and politically - to the communities that they work with.

However, mutual understanding and similarity of purposes between heritage CGI, NGOs leaders, ICH (academic) experts and Government officials is not always the case. The effectiveness of the Convention - and consequently its strength as a driving force for positive or negative transformation - is grounded on a challenging conceptual tension. I refer here to the clash between the cold and universalizing normativity required by the Convention, as an international legal instrument, and the heat of dynamic human lives, as lived in specific locations; between the relative invariance of choices set by its conceptual framework, negotiated by States Parties' officers, on one hand, and, on the other, the flexible "sanction of the precedent", that validates innovation or change[8], or else between the universalistic reach of the Convention's wording and the myriads of testimonies of particular human creations targeted by it.

One might argue that such tension - which can be briefly referred to as between universal objectives and particular targets- is recurrent in all kinds of policies, multilateral or national ones. However, when peoples' lives and their futures are at

[8] Cf. As Hobsbawm once wrote contrasting "custom" and the "invented traditions" (Hobsbawm; Ranger 1986: 2)

stake, this issue needs to be scrutinized very carefully. To develop my argument, I go back to the notion of safeguarding, which is the focal point of this Convention.

Safeguarding is indeed a very broad term, and I can testify that experts, at its drafting, had a hard time delineating a consensual definition. To those specialists, preservation or conservation would not be the right words to designate the Convention's purpose: the first was too much identified with material heritage and the second with nature; furthermore, it was important to emphasize that the objective was to foster continuity, not to freeze the dynamics of cultural practices. The notion of safeguarding prevailed in connection to the idea of viability (Art.2, 3) and some measures were indicated as ways of achieving it.

I am not going into details here, but I would like to highlight two points. One is that safeguarding, as any policy, includes the definition and identification of its object. In fact, this is a basic issue insofar as such definition will indicate whether or not some cultural practice falls within the ICH category, thus becoming eligible for safeguarding. The other point is that, according to Art.11, safeguarding should be developed by States Parties, by means of "*one or more inventories*" designed "*in a manner geared to their own situation*" and with "*the widest possible participation of communities, groups and sometimes individuals*" (Art.15).

Safeguarding depends, then, on segmenting the flow of social life and framing objects in accordance with the basic concepts that preside the inventory. Several anthropological studies of similar processes, not necessarily triggered by the Convention, have shown that such segmentation tends to produce the unwanted effect of objectifying such living segments, and creating what I have called in previous writings metacultural, second-degree cultural realities, sometimes hyper-real cultural ones, that tend to be fixed and dry show-case reproductions of their references (Arantes 2010).

The idea of nourishing or making aspects of living cultures viable correctly presupposes that they can produce the positive outcomes expected by the Convention. If they are impoverished, if they need support, they should bloom again, therefore, change. However, cultural dynamics may take many alternative and sometimes unexpected directions. Unpredictable processes can occur during the implementation of safeguarding actions. For example, inventories can raise people's awareness about the need to safeguard aspects of their own everyday lives, just as much as they can make them aware of the exchange value of cultural items (symbolic and/ or material) which is an important step towards objectification and commodification.

Supporting or inducing wanted outcomes or mitigating unwanted ones becomes then a crucial aspect of monitoring safeguarding processes. However, the local cultures' resilience is not only limited, in terms of what new ingredients may or may not be absorbed. They are also creative, in the sense that new meanings can be attributed to whatever novelty the future may bring, and selective, in the sense that some changes are acceptable, others are not. Sometimes both processes – creativity and selectivity - take place simultaneously (Arantes 2007).

What I am trying to get at here is the idea that there is an element of choice, possible compromises or refusals, appropriations and reinterpretations, which are situational, that cannot be anticipated, making community participation and the evaluation of these policies' effectiveness highly problematic. Transformational impacts need to be verified case by case, and interpreted qualitatively, situationally, particularly in the case of an important aspect of safeguarding such as community participation.

The rationale of communities' participation in the implementation of the ICH Convention is that the bridge between the universalism of the Convention' s outlook and the particularism of the social realities to which it is directed can be built through dialogical procedures. Indeed, our Magna Carta not only invites or admits community consent and participation in all stages of safeguarding, but it also, correctly, requires it.

This tension between the ICH Convention' s intrinsic universalism and embedded particularism produces important consequences for the identification and comparative evaluation of the effectiveness of safeguarding measures implemented by a great variety of States Parties and local partners, in a wide range of contexts around the globe. The Convention's Secretariat is presently doing an important investment to develop an overall results framework of that kind (UNESCO 2016) and is quite aware of this difficulty.

I would like to end these notes expressing my skepticism as to how far the result of safeguarding actions are comparable to each other, and in which terms can we produce valid comparisons. What I am suggesting is that communities will probably value each accomplishment or failure of safeguarding action plans as unique experiences. They will be interpreted by anthropologists in terms of situation in which each of them came about, and these are absolutely singular. They may be measured by bureaucrats in terms of comparative cost/ benefit indices, but such evaluation refers to accountability not with the achievement of results aimed at by the Convention.

The issues presented in this paper are queries intended to stimulate the researcher's curiosity. They are meant to take our dialogue further and, perhaps, become the basis for developing more collaborative work in the future.

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# Multi-Actors in the Safeguarding of ICH: A Collaborative Mechanism in the Nomination of the Twenty-four Solar Terms

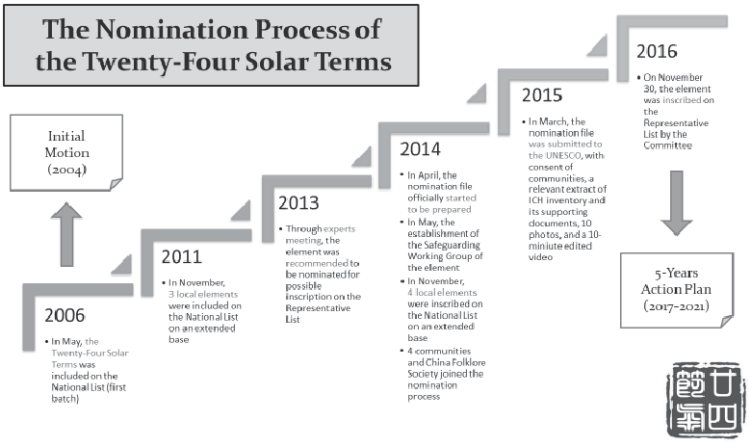
Chao, GEJIN
(Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, China)

## Prologue: A Brief Introduction to the Element

The element we are going to talk about in the present paper is The Twenty-four Solar Terms: knowledge in China of time and practices developed through observation of the sun's annual motion. Ancient Chinese divided the circle of the annual motion of the sun into 24 equal segments; each segment was called a "jie qi" (節氣) or solar term. Hence the 24 segments are collectively called the Twenty-four Solar Terms. This system of time embodies the traditional knowledge and the social practices through which Chinese organize their perception of the regularity of seasons, of astronomical laws and of other local natural phenomena occurring in the course of the year. It is an indispensable component of the traditional Chinese calendrics and its living applications, serving as a time-frame for agricultural activities and daily life.

Transmitted through generations, the element has profoundly influenced Chinese people's way of thinking and code of conduct. Upon a specific solar term, people spontaneously arrange farming and daily routine as well as basic necessities of life. Thus, this knowledge continuum of time is sustained through a variety of ritual practices and folk activities. Thereby the Twenty-four Solar Terms are an important carrier of Chinese cultural identity.

# I. Central Roles of Communities




・*The Nomination Process of the Twenty-four Solar Terms went through quite a long course and I would like to list some events to illustrate the process.*

2006- In May, the Twenty-four Solar Terms were included on the National List (first batch)

2011- In November, 3 local elements were included on the National List on an extended base

2013- Through an experts meeting, the element was recommended to be nominated for possible inscription on the Representative List

2014- Four communities and the China Folklore Society joined the nomination process.

-In April, the preparation of the nomination file officially started

-In May, the Safeguarding Working Group of the element was established

-In November, 4 local elements were inscribed on the National List on an extended base

2015-In March, the nomination file was submitted to the UNESCO, with consent of communities, with a relevant extract of ICH inventory and its supporting documents, 10 photos, and a 10-miniute video

2016- On November 30, the inscription of the element on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity was announced.

Although the element is of the widest scale by its nature and is practiced by almost everybody in the country, some representative communities had to be listed on the National Inventory so as to meet the UNESCO's request on safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage.

| Element title | Date of Inclusion | Serial No. | Category No. | Nominating Entities |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ritual for Beginning of Spring in Jiuhua | May 2011 | 516 | X-68 | Kecheng District, Quzhou City, Zhejiang Province |
| Ceremony to Initiate Spring Plowing | May 2011 | 516 | X-68 | Suichang County, Zhejiang Province |
| Spring Storytelling in Shiqian [the Dong People] | May 2011 | 516 | X-68 | Shiqian County, Guizhou Province |
| Winter Worship in Sanmen | November 2014 | 516 | X-68 | Sanmen County, Zhejiang Province |
| Autumn Fair of the Miao People | November 2014 | 516 | X-68 | Huayuan County, Hunan Province |
| Spring Equinox Fair in Anren | November 2014 | 516 | X-68 | Anren County, Hunan Province |
| First Frost Festival of the Zhuang People | November 2014 | 516 | X-68 | Tiandeng County, Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region |

・*Participation of Communities, Groups, and Individuals were as follows:*

*10 Representative communities:*

Dengfeng Cultural Center
Neixiang County Museum
Anren County Cultural Center
Huayuan County Center for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage
Gongshu District Center for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage
Miaoyuancun Villagers Committee, Jiuhua Town, Kecheng District, Quzhou
Suichang County Center for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage
Yangjiacun Villagers Committee, Tingpang Town, Sanmen County
Shiqian County Cultural Center
Tiandeng County Cultural Center

*2 Representative Groups:*

The China Agricultural Museum
The China Folklore Society

*9 Representative bearers:*

Chang Songmu (Representative bearers)
Shi Ji'an (Spring Equinox Fair in Anren)
Wu Haishen (Autumn Fair of the Miao People, sixth generation)
Ni, Airen (Beginning of Summer in Banshan)
Wang Xiaolian (Ritual for Beginning of Spring in Jiuhua)
Zhou Guoyuan (Ceremony to Initiate Spring Plowing)
Yang Xingya (Winter Worship in Sanmen)
Feng Wanming (Spring Storytelling in Shiqian, from the Dong)
Huang, Gaoming (First Frost Festival of the Zhuang People)

*A Community-based Nomination*

Those communities and their practitioners played a central role in safeguarding measures like inventory-building, data digitizing, material publishing, visibility raising, dialogue promoting, and so on. Moreover, community members took part in research work as local aids, or even as independent scholar, like interpreters to explain indigenous knowledge, performers to illustrate how certain events are practiced, and so forth.

The professional organization is represented by the China Agricultural Museum and the China Folklore Society. The former is a national professional organization, while the latter is a non-governmental organization with more than 2000 members nationwide. The two groups were dedicated to the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage in general and to the leadership of the nomination work of the element in particular over the past decade. Each of the two groups is, in a sense, a gigantic body in a certain way. The China Agricultural Museum has, in its organizational infrastructure, 154 museums as sub-institutions, and 2 professional organizations: the China Agricultural History Society with about 200 experts, and the China Agricultural Exhibition Society, with 40 group members. Nominated by the China Agricultural Museum in 2006, the Twenty-four Solar Terms in the Chinese Agricultural Calendar was included in the National Inventory of intangible cultural heritage by the State Council. After that, the China Agricultural Museum further enhanced the capacity-building for research, conservation and promotion work related to the element. In 2014, the museum started preparation of the nomination, and organized relevant materials and set up safeguarding measures along with the China Folklore Society, as well as the 10 communities.

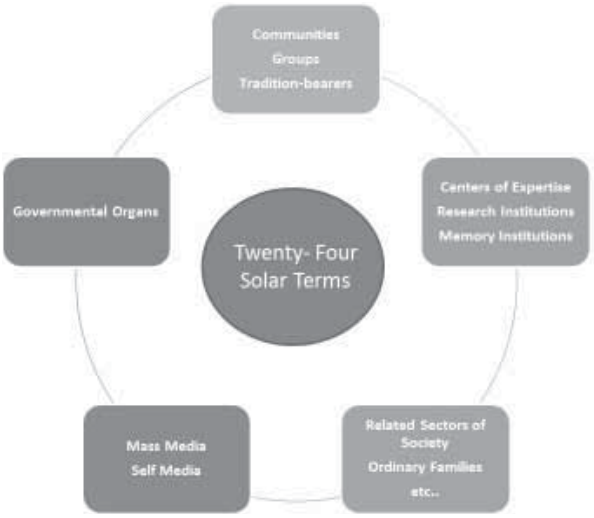
The China Folklore Society is also an influential organization with 7 professional committees, 7 field study bases and 8 research centers. Its 2282 members cover many disciplines and fields, and some of them are dedicated to the safeguarding of ICH in many ways with their expertise. Coming back to the nomination, the China Folklore Society made great effort to support the nomination along the whole nomination process. To take one example: established in December of 2004, the Agricultural Folklore Professional Committee of China Folklore Society has organized academic forces to expand the research on transmission and practice of the Twenty-four Solar Terms, carried out a series of research programs on the Twenty-four Solar Terms, and published monographs such as *Folk Customs of the Twenty- four Solar Terms and Qingming Festival* (which is the very beginning day of Term Fresh Green) and etc.

## II. Involvement of Multi-Actors

It needs to be clarified that the nomination is not only related to the 10 communities, 2 groups and 9 traditional bearers as showed in the nomination file; as a matter of fact, the nomination is related but not restricted, to the above-mentioned actors. Some selected events and rituals of the element conducted by different local communities were mentioned in the ICH-02 Form, and we should be aware that the element is being practiced in major parts of the country. Thus, actors of the element are, in the broadest sense, under the context. And according to the core notion of the Convention and the definition and dimension of SAFEGUARDING (Article 2), the governmental departments, mass media and the related sectors of society should also be included in the multi-actors. We need to emphasize here that the grass-root communities, young people and children constitute an important force in the intergenerational transmission of the element.

The Twenty-four Solar Terms was originated along the Yellow River reaches of China. It has been progressively applied as a time directory in the production and life of agricultural society and then shared by many ethnic groups gradually.

During the nomination process, different actors played their respective roles under a holistic strategy, and worked together with an effective mechanism.




Cultural administrative organs of governmental departments involved in the nomination were: The Ministry of Culture: competent authority, in charge of the submission of the nomination: 1) Department of ICH: competent body in safeguarding the ICH in general. 2) Bureau for External Cultural Relations:

coordinating body in implementation of the Convention. 3) China National Center for the Safeguarding of ICH: professional management in charge of organizing expert meetings, evaluation, assessment, instruction, and the like.

Other major governmental departments involved in the nomination include: The Ministry of Agriculture, The Ministry of Education, The Ministry of Finance, China Meteorological Administration, The State Post Bureau, etc.

Scientific resources involved in the nomination were: The National Astronomical Observatories, Institute for the History of Natural Sciences (both affiliated to the Chinese Academy of Sciences), Beijing Planetarium, The Center of Ancient Chinese Astronomy. Researchers and scholars from many disciplines such as astronomy, folklore, agriculture, etc. participated in many ways in the preparation of the nomination file with their expertise in many ways.

The State-level Mass Media such as China Central Television (CCTV), The Agricultural Film Studio of China, Farmers' Daily, China Culture Daily, and The Website of Weather China. gave abundant coverage to knowledge and practices associated with the element.

The following sectors of society have been a part of the element transmission and practice:

Social organizations (NGOs), community associations, large and small guilds, steering committee, centers of expertise, academic institutions, memory institutions, kindergartens, elementary and secondary schools, institutions of higher education, ordinary families, etc.

Education as an important societal department is also widely connected with the element transmission in multiple ways via formal and informal training.

New traditional Chinese paintings, animated cartoons, photography works, and the like emerged like bamboo shoots after a spring rain. Creative media and Apps got more and more attentions from the public. The 24 terms entered into everyday life through internet and social media, such as WeChat or Weibo.

## III. Toward A Collaborative Mechanism

On May 23, 2014, the China Agricultural Museum took the lead in coordinating related communities and groups towards the establishment of the Safeguarding Working Group of the Twenty-four Solar Terms. With the active involvement of communities, groups and individuals concerned, the Working Group formulated a 5-year Safeguarding Plan (2017-2021). Specific measures in the plan are as follows:

Further improve transmission mechanisms; Promote intergenerational transmission; Expand systematic documentation; Organize academic activities and research; Raise public awareness; Strengthen coordination mechanisms; Share information and enhance visibility; Maintain situated practice. All stakeholders and parties have established a coordinating mechanism to carry out safeguarding work, followed by a monitoring system to prevent possible negative influences after the inscription.

・*Toward A Collaborative Mechanism: some key words must be mentioned here:*

Legislation: The Convention and the national law on safeguarding of ICH is essential for the nomination work.

Administration: Administrative organs provide financial, administrative, organizational, societal service for the nomination.

Academia: They have been playing an active role and have multiple functions, to name a few: grassroots' mouthpiece, UNESCO strategies' interpreter, expert of local knowledge, agent between government and community, and so on.

Community: The community plays a central role in safeguarding of the ICH in the widest spectrum.

Post-Nomination: Implementation of localized actions with community-based cooperation.

For instance, the 2017 Ritual for Beginning of Spring in Jiuhua, held at Wutong Ancestral Temple, Miaoyuan Village, Jiuhua Township, which was co-sponsored by the China Agricultural Museum and the China Folklore Society, was hosted by the Kecheng District People's Government, Quzhou City, Zhejiang Province, along with a Symposium on Safeguarding the element, on February 3, 2017.

・*Next Steps for China Folklore Society*

As a state-level NGO, the China Folklore Society is about to make good use of its professional resources and intellectual support to contribute to the implementation of the 5-Year Action Plan for safeguarding of the element. The following points are a combination of theoretical concerns and pragmatic measures:

(1) Starting from the basic spirit of the Convention and its Operational Directives, it is necessary to apply theories and methodologies of folkloristics, combining 12-year safeguarding practices in China and experiences gained from foreign typical cases in the domain of ICH, so as to clarify the risk and endangered status that the element faces;

(2) Taking consideration of the main outcomes achieved, problematic issues existing, and current transmission data from given safeguarding practices to make assessment of implementation steps, adjustment strategies, innovative measures (highlighted by the Committee in recent years), as well as necessities for sustainable development;

(3) To do a comprehensive examination on actual performance in the implementation of the Convention in China and that of the related State Parties in recent years, aiming at those crucial issues generated from the domain of traditional knowledge and practice natural and universal, and then carry out a comprehensive analysis and make modification of the 5-Year Action Plan in due time;

(4) To further identify the proposed safeguarding measures, working modes and implementing procedures to be adopted in the 5-Year Action Plan, so as to explore the multi-dimension approaches and the best strategies;

(5) To make evaluations on transversal issues raised from nomination files and the proposal (submitted and to be submitted), implementations of the Convention, and safeguarding practices in China, with a view to form a prospective study based upon the overall developing trends of similar elements in the international context, in order to prevent improper measures.

(6) To work out a forward-looking schema for completion of the first Periodic Report through taking measures of elaborating the annual or biannual report, in order to formulate countermeasure suggestions according to the problems that appeared and experience accumulated in the implementation of the proposed measures being carried out by different actors.

A secondary institution under the auspice of the China Folklore Society together with Prince Kung's Mansion entitled China Center for the Twenty-four Solar Terms Research announced its establishment on 20th of March, 2017.

In sum, through the implementation of action plan for safeguarding the Twenty-four Solar Terms, the society will seek the best strategies for safeguarding practices under the framework of the 2003 Convention, and to make substantial contribution to ensure the viability and intergenerational transmission of the element.

# Imagined UNESCO Convention: A UNESCO Influence on Local Practitioners and Communities

Hanhee HAHM
(Chonbuk National University, Republic of Korea)

## Introduction

The concept of 'imagined community' has been a powerful explanatory framework for the nation-building theory since Anderson's book was published (Anderson 2006(1983)). Some researchers utilized his theory in their heritage studies arguing that heritage-making is closely linked to nation-building (Bendix, R.F. et al. eds. 2012). 'Imagined community' discourse thus draws attention to the study of intangible cultural heritage. An imagined or constructed entity is not limited to a community. The imagined UNESCO Convention is a serious factor in the process of safeguarding for intangible cultural heritage (ICH) at the national and local levels.[1] What this means is that, at the national and local levels, the Convention is appropriated, re-interpreted, and even arbitrarily delivered by the relevant stakeholders at those levels. Even if UNESCO openly provides the text of the Convention, its operational directives and related information to the member-states and even to the general public, the spirit of the Convention itself is not easily apprehended by the relevant stakeholders. The most important issue at present is not regarding the adoption or implementation of the Convention but rather regarding the negotiations in the stakeholders' attempts to align on the spirit of Convention.

In my work with groups of policy makers, administrators, practitioners and communities of intangible cultural heritage in Korea, I discover that the Convention tends to be precariously interpreted and constructed at the convenience of each interest group. Within the minds of these groups, there are diverse versions

[1] UNESCO announced the Convention for the safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2003. The Convention specifies safeguarding measures additionally proclaimed by the directives of ICH and related guidelines.

of the Convention, which are reflected in the documents and materials that they produce and distribute. I believe that one of the main reasons for the lack of alignment with respect to the Convention in Korean cases is the disjunction between the existing system of preservation of intangible cultural properties and the UNESCO initiatives. In the first stage of the implementation of the Convention in Korea, the differences seemed either unimportant or were not seriously considered. Without a deep reflection on or understanding of the Convention, the Korean government simultaneously undertook two routes: one was to keep the existing system of preservation of intangible cultural properties and the other was to focus on the inscription of ICH to UNESCO. The goal of the latter was to be a champion of the listing by enumerating as many ICH as possible.[2] The Korean government joined the previous listing system which was started in 2001 under the title of 'Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity'.[3] In 2008 the masterpiece listing system was incorporated into the Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity (RL). When RL was introduced in 2008, the Korean government and ICH specialists essentially believe it to be the same as the previous lists, even though in spirit, there were specific differences.

With this background, UNESCO's RL has drawn much attention from national and local governments and practitioners of ICH in Korea. The method of ICH safeguarding is believed to increase the numbers of nomination files of ICH that would eventuate in the growth of RL. Some policy makers and practitioners groups set their goals to be listed on the RL, which is not aligned with the spirit of the Convention. My efforts are to explore the Korean case in order to see how the UNESCO Convention has been and continues to be appropriated by the Korean government at various levels and how the community-based safeguarding encouraged by UNESCO is widely constructed and interpreted by the various stakeholders within the context of their own scope and agenda.

## Old and New Safeguarding Systems in Korea

The advent of industrialization in Korea activated the efforts of a group of folklorists in the protection and preservation of cultural heritage (Yi, 2015). They encouraged folk artists, artisans and villagers who maintained traditional customs

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[2] Korea is not the only state-member of the Convention whose main concern is to prepare the nomination files of ICH.

[3] 19 elements among 38 were enlisted in the Masterpieces. Korea's first masterpiece listed is *Jongmyo jeryeak*, ritual music for royal ancestor worship.

and practices. Meanwhile the folklorists strongly advised government officials to undertake legal measures to preserve and protect traditional music, dance, plays, games, rituals and many other example of cultural heritages. At that time many old customs and practices already faced great risks of disappearance and change in light of the rapid modernization and industrialization taking place in Korea. Accepting the folklorists' recommendations, the central government decided to adopt a protection system.

In 1962 the Cultural Properties Protection Law (CPPL) was enacted for the purpose of maintaining and preserving original forms of cultural properties. According to the CPPL, such heritages of both a tangible and intangible natures, which were selected because of their historical, cultural and artistic values, was to be protected with priority. The most important criteria in the selection process were originality, excellence and superiority in quality. Several years later, based on the CPPL, the Important Intangible Cultural Property (IICP, jungyo muhyeong munhwajae) began being designated.[4] While IICP specifically refers to arts and skills, actual targets of protection and management are the masters who own such arts and have the skills to create them. In Korea, they were formerly called important intangible cultural property holders (IICP-holders) but their title was changed to national intangible cultural property holders (NICP-holders).[5] As they are inherited through people, IICP can be seen and heard when these people perform them. Therefore, preservation and inheritance of intangible cultural property mean the preservation and inheritance of the arts and skills owned by artisans. Since then, intangible cultural properties in Korea are designated into two categories: artistic talents and skills. Artistic talents include music, dance, drama, game/ ritual, and martial arts, and skills include crafts and culinary skills.[6]

As noted above, Korea has a half century-long history of administering protection initiatives on ICH. Yet, the Korean government did not seriously believe that its protection policy was different from that of UNESCO Convention in its philosophy and goals. Some differences, however, can be briefly stated as

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4 Excerpts from Article NO.2 'Definition' of provisions on intangible cultural heritages of the Cultural Properties Protection Law (As of April 2007). The law defines IICP as those that have high historical, artistic or scientific value among intangible cultural assets such as drama, music, dance and crafts skills.

5 A new law called 'Intangible Cultural Property's Preservation and Promotion' were branched out of the Cultural Property Law (CPL) in March of 2016.

6 As of 2016, the Cultural Heritage Administration has designated and is managing a total of 164 cultural heritages, including 39 music items (23 sub-divided items), 5 dance items, 15 drama items, 33 game and ritual items (27 sub-divided items), 66 crafts skills, 5 food items (4 sub-divided items), and one martial art.

follows and compared in Table 1. According to the Convention, the most distinctive element of ICH is a 'living culture,' discounting the originality of the ICH which used to be a critical point in the evaluation of IICP. Secondly, the Convention works to ensure 'the long-term viability of intangible heritage within communities and groups' and 'ICH to be sustainably maintained by the communities, groups or individuals concerned.'[7] To paraphrase the above article of the Convention, 'living' culture within communities and groups through transmission from generation to generation is considered to be one of the most significant criteria in the inscription of RL. The Convention also emphasizes the importance of collective identity for the safeguarding of ICH. Communities are thus supposed to have key roles in recognizing their traditions as intangible cultural heritage. Conclusively, community participation is regarded as a necessary step to the nomination of a community's cultural expression to the UNESCO's RL. While the role of ICH communities is central to the UNESCO 2003 Convention, such a concept is truly a new idea in Korea with respect to its protection policy on ICH.

In addition, the Convention focuses on practices and processes rather than products. In adopting this approach, the Convention attempts to raise awareness within communities and groups about their own ICH. Yet, the Korea's Cultural Properties Protection Law is less attentive to value of processes, which may be considered less legitimate from an outcome-focused perspective. Korea is now facing a shift, from the existing system of protection and preservation of cultural heritage to a new paradigm of protection and preservation. Various discussions and debates among Korean researchers have sprouted over the principles of protection, designation system, and financial assistance to IICP. As a result of internal and external pressures, the Korean government has just established its new protection law of ICH on the basis of the Convention's propositions, and the new law was enacted in March, 2016.

It may seem that a certain type of progress towards aligning with the UNESCO' s philosophy is underway, however, in reality, the previous system of protection still lingers in Korea. This disconnect between alignment with UNESCO and the existing system to protection is well illustrated in the case of 'tea making' which was first designated as national intangible cultural property under the new law.

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[7] Article 2.3 of the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage.

| | Korea's Protection Policy | Convention Safeguarding Policy |
|---|---|---|
| Safeguarding objects | Historical, scholarly, artistic value | Identity, living culture |
| Main stakeholder/ Method of approach | Government/ Top-down approach | Diverse stakeholders/ balance between top-down & bottom-up |
| Major criteria of safeguarding | Originality, excellence , high quality of element | Tradition of community/ creativity of element |
| Bearer's benefit | Financial assistance | Enhancement of self-esteem |

**Table 1 Comparison of the safeguarding policies between Korean and UNESCO's cases**

## The Case of Jeda

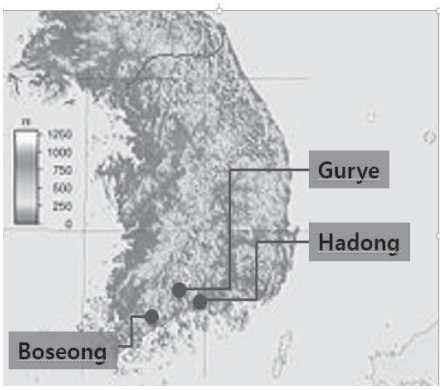
The Cultural Heritage Administration (CHA) implemented a new law called 'Intangible Cultural Property's Preservation and Promotion' which branched out of the Cultural Property Law (CPL) in March of 2016. Some scholars believed that CPL needed to be reformed because it was difficult to reflect the progressive ideas of safeguarding ICH suggested by the Convention within the previous preservation system, and they expected that the new law would be able to better reflect such progressive ideas and reveal the changes in society in general, and unique characteristics of ICH in particular. In contrast to such expectations, however, the new law has limited the CPL in many ways rather than broadening the boundaries of the existing law. One of the lagging indicators can be evidenced in the fact that there are no specific clauses regarding the ICH communities in the new law. The new law still largely neglects the existence of the communities and the application of safeguarding policies with respect to the communities. Based on the new law, active policies for the protection and promotion of ICH communities should have been established.

Jeda, 'tea making,' was first designated as national intangible cultural property (NICP), but without the selection of any masters in tea making. The CHA claims that Jeda opens a new horizon of protecting policy on intangible cultural properties. Yet, when the CHA designated Jeda as NICP, it simply used the old criteria and evaluation processes of designation. It is clear that the previously implemented standards of assessment such as 'authenticity,' 'originality,' and 'supremacy' are still being used in the new designation process even if new terminology such as 'representativeness' or 'typical model' (jeonhyeong), instead of 'authenticity' and 'originality' (wonhyeong), has been adopted.

I will explore the case of Jeda in more depth in order to illustrate that there is no concept of 'community' in the new law and legal measures for the safeguarding of Jeda. In addition, local tea practitioners themselves are not content with the new protection system but have reluctantly accepted it. Some comfort is drawn from their belief that they are taking a step towards being placed on the UNESCO ICH lists.

## Four Pillars of Assessment: Historical, Artistic, Academic and Local Values

Jeda, Korean tea-making, traces back to the Three Kingdom period around 700 AD. Each area where tea trees grow has developed its own skills and knowledge on tea-making through a long period of time. Each area is proud of its distinctive tastes and techniques in tea-making. Korea is not exceptional. In Korea, tea trees grow only in warm areas, therefore tea growers are concentrated in the area of the south such as Hadong, Boseong, and Gurye. There are about 168 Hadong green tea cooperatives in Hadong, 84 members in Boseong, and 14 in Gurye. Most of the 250 growers are located in the three counties (Park, 2016).




| Area | No. of Cooperatives |
|---|---|
| Hadong | 168 |
| Boseong | 84 |
| Gurye | 14 |
| **Total** | **266** |

**Figure 1 Areas of tea growing: Hadong, Boseong & Gurye**

The process of selecting national intangible cultural properties is strict. The cultural committee members conduct evaluation using objective criteria. The evaluation criteria are as follows. First, the value of cultural heritage is assessed under the following four characteristics: historical, artistic, academic, and local values as presented in Table 2. Second, the prospect of transmission is seen under the categories of urgency and sustainability. In order to maintain objectivity in evaluation, evaluations should be done in a way that estimates the total number.

| | Criteria | Evaluation by five specialists | | | | | Total score |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | A | B | C | D | E | |
| Value of transmission (70) | Historical aspect | | | | | | |
| | Artistic aspect | | | | | | |
| | Academic aspect | | | | | | |
| | Local aspect | | | | | | |
| Necessity of transmission (30) | Urgency | | | | | | |
| | Sustainability | | | | | | |

**Table 2 Designation process: evaluation criteria**

It is interesting to note that although Jeda is designated under the new law, the evaluation was conducted using the old system of assessment (Chung 2016). The new law does not specify the importance of community as the basis of safeguarding its cultural tradition at all. When tea-making villagers in the three main areas are visited, it is easy to ascertain that the tea communities consist of many different individuals and groups. For instance, tea-tree growing farmers and tea-leave collecting laborers are working on farms. Most laborers are older village women who need to earn money for a living. Frequently, farmers have long been trained themselves as tea-making specialists. They have trainees living together or residing separately but forming a tenacious system of teamwork. But seemingly tight teams are sometimes broken up for different reasons. From time to time tea sellers visit tea farms for business negotiations. Consumers and tourists come and go from the tea farms, enjoying the green fields and lofty taste of tea. A tea farm is filled with various dynamics relating to the process of production, marketing, socialization and ritualization. A specific way of living in the tea community should be apprehended as their identities and promoted as sustainable development models (Lee 2016).

Unfortunately, community participation is not even considered as one of the criteria in the process of evaluation. It is obvious that the concept of community as the basis of safeguarding and identification is new to the CHA, policy makers and even specialists of ICH. As a result, in reality, the previous system of protection of ICH in Korea still lingers even under the auspices of a new legal paradigm.

It is evident that some prominent tea-making practitioners are not content with the new protection system. They have long wanted to be national intangible

cultural property holders. They thought themselves to be fully qualified but, unexpectedly, there is no selection of individual holders. Jeda, thus, becomes the first NICP nominated as an element only without selecting bearer(s) or mater(s). Even if some people in the Jeda community might have complaints, many accept the situation. As started above, they take some comforts from their belief that they are taking steps towards being placed on the UNESCO ICH lists.

## Concluding Remarks

In Korea, to be listed in the Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity is something to which most local practitioners and communities greatly aspire. Having UNESCO's emblem on their titles seems to be an ultimate goal for the National and local intangible cultural property holders and groups. Why do they have such aspirations? It seems that they are not really interested in what the Convention is all about or what the Representative list actually is. First and foremost, they think it is an honor and an honorable title to be placed on the list. Secondly, they may believe that being on such a list will lead to more benefits and greater promises of protection and promotion from the national and local governments or maybe UNESCO as well.

In UNESCO, an ideal form of safeguarding process has been established. The Convention acknowledges the constructed nature of identity resulting from a subjective process of identification. The communities identify themselves with particular cultural elements. Communities are, therefore, supposed to have a key role in recognizing such traditions as 'heritage' and in safeguarding them. Yet the situation within the nomination process in Korea is not aligned with such goals. The CHA has great decision-making power with respect to the selection to be nominated and the preparation of nomination files themselves. The CHA thus controls every step from the selection of which heritage is nominated to the completion of nomination files. Because of that, under the guise of uplifting local practitioners and groups of the ICH, the heritage administration achieves authority and power over those practitioners and groups.

Western heritage scholarship has tended to focus on discussions over how the UNESCO heritage regime assigned a new set of roles to local people and communities. The issues around heritization or heritage politics in communities have been significantly dealt with. Through my work in the fields of ICH in Korea, however, I realize that the discussion on how government authorities and local practitioners perceive and understand the UNESCO ICH Convention should be

prioritized before looking at the community' s response to the UNESCO Convention.

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# Glocal Perspectives on Safeguarding. CGIs, ICH, Ethics and Cultural Brokerage

Marc JACOBS
(Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Belgium)

*"When safeguarding ICH, the widest possible participation and active involvement of CGIs is the right thing to do (UNESCO 2003 Convention)"*
(please retweet, and even better, respect it)

How does one recognize an experienced (or beginning) consultant or facilitator in capacity building workshops on interpreting and implementing the 2003 UNESCO Convention? Or really interested or concerned diplomats, experts or other members in the delegations to the Organs (the General Assembly or the Intergovernmental Committee) of that Convention? Or specialists in the Section of Intangible Cultural Heritage of UNESCO in negotiations? Or heritage brokers in NGOs that give advice to stakeholders in contemporary safeguarding intangible cultural heritage challenges?

I would not go as far to suggest they keep it all on their nightstands. But they tend to put the "Blue Book" on the table (or they have it within reach in their briefcase) when starting a meeting or interaction about the 2003 Convention. Or they have a tablet or notebook computer with the pdf of the most recent version of the Basic Texts at hand. And/ or they have the latest English, French, Chinese, Arabic or Spanish version available online: http:/ / www.unesco.org/ culture/ ich/ en/ basic-texts-00503. Why? The introduction on that site is crystal clear: "The Basic Texts are conceived as a practical tool for all those concerned – government officials, policy makers, NGOs and international organizations – to better understand the functioning of the 2003 Convention in order to ensure optimum implementation. They are periodically revised to reflect the resolutions of the General Assembly of the States Parties to the Convention". No wonder that sometimes, the "Basic texts" are nicknamed "the (blue) bible", containing not only parts that seem to be set in proverbial stone (like the Convention text itself) but also parts that can still change, usually grow, every two years (like the Operational Directives).

In the 2016 Edition of the Blue Book, there are two major innovations and additions. First there is a new chapter of the Operational Directives, entitled *Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage and Sustainable Development at the National Level*".(Blue Book 2016: 64-75) These directives are strongly linked to the Agenda 2030: the Sustainable Development Goals adopted in 2016 by the United Nations (U.N. 2016) On the other hand, there are the *Ethical Principles for Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage, adopted by the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage at its tenth session (Windhoek, Namibia, 30 November to 4 December 2015*. (Blue Book 2016: 113-114). I propose to interpret these additions as symptoms, promises, instruments or challenges for "glocal ethics". In this article I will specifically focus on the new Twelve Ethical Principles, because –as a Basic Text that also fits on an A4-page or a tablet screen – that tool will have a life of its own, circulate and be translated, a short alternative for the Convention in other words.

First we investigate the occurrence of the word local in the Blue Book and plead to think in glocal terms. Subsequently, I invite the reader (of this article and the Blue Book) to reconsider some elements in two crucial articles of the Convention: 2.1. (definition) and 15. Then I propose to re-order the Twelve Principles to make the internal dynamics more clear. In the last part I will link it to promising innovations in the new Operational Directives, in particular Operational Directive (OD) 170 and 171, hence to the Agenda 2030 and to glocal answers/ questions to global questions/ answers and vice-versa. Mediation, translation and cultural brokerage skills are identified as crucial in this process.

## Looking for the G-spot?

In the *Blue Book* the word "glocal" is absent, but the idea is omnipresent the word.

The word "local" is used in some places (but certainly not "omni"). It does figure together with (other) "level"(s) in one of the purposes of the Convention in article 1: "(c) to raise awareness at the local, national and international levels of the importance of the intangible cultural heritage, and of ensuring mutual appreciation thereof" and this fragment is repeated in OD100. It is used in a small subtitle ("local and national levels"), introducing a number of operational directives related to awareness-raising, starting with the OD103 "States Parties are encouraged to develop and adopt codes of ethics based on the provisions of the Convention and these Operational Directives, in order to ensure appropriate ways of raising awareness about the intangible cultural heritage present in their

respective territories." The adjective figures in OD106 ("support the development and implementation of local policies aiming at promoting awareness of intangible cultural heritage") and OD107 (b) ("teaching about intangible cultural heritage in school curricula adapted to local specificities"). In OD109, research institutes, centres of expertise, museums, archives, libraries, documentation centres and similar entities are given interesting clues to enhance their awareness-raising functions about intangible cultural heritage": OD109 (e) "involve practitioners and bearers in their management, putting in place participatory systems for local development." In OD113 the suggestion that "Local broadcasting networks and community radios could play a major role in enhancing knowledge of local languages and culture, as well as spreading information on good safeguarding practices" is followed by OD114 referring to media that can provide "discussion forums at local and national levels". In OD116 "commercial activities" related to intangible cultural heritage are mentioned, both as a potential threat but also as an opportunity "They can contribute to improving the living standards of the communities that bear and practise the heritage, enhance the local economy, and contribute to social cohesion". OD118 draws attention to the function of the international lists (article 16, 17 and 18 of the 2003 Convention) to ensure better visibility of the intangible cultural heritage and awareness of its significance at the local, national and international levels. Notice the language used in OD123 c, inviting the UNESCO Secretariat to "(c) produce training and information material addressed to different publics to support safeguarding and awareness-raising efforts; such material should be easily reproduced and *translated locally*".

Recapitulating: in the Convention Text and the previous set of Operational Directives, "local" primarily functions as an adjective, an "epitheton ornans", connected to levels. The other substantives are policies, specificities, development, languages, broadcasting networks and economy. And one intriguing formulation, addressed to UNESCO "to translate locally"

Keeping the two "locals" in the new ethics sections for later, we discover in the Blue Book that in the new sixth chapter of the Operational Directives the adjective local is used three times, in each case evoking a more complex constellation and other frames of reference. OD182 is about access to clean and safe water and sustainable water use. It invites States Parties to among others to identify special water management systems and (b) "adopt appropriate legal, technical, administrative and financial measures to identify, enhance and promote such systems in order to respond to water needs and climate change challenges at the

local, national and international levels." It is probably clear that it is hard to think of or deal with "climate change" on just one of those levels. The next Operational Directive links "local" to "economies" and gives guidance in policy work with carefully mixed signals about interventions ("providing") but also a plea for "respect". Do savour: "OD184. States Parties shall endeavour to take full advantage of intangible cultural heritage as a powerful force for inclusive and equitable economic development, encompassing a diversity of productive activities with both monetary and non-monetary value, and contributing in particular to strengthening local economies. To that end, States Parties are encouraged to respect the nature of that heritage and the specific circumstances of the communities, groups or individuals concerned, particularly their choice of collective or individual management of their heritage while providing them with the necessary conditions for the practice of their creative expressions and promoting fair trade and ethical economic relations." Finally there is "OD194. States Parties should endeavour to recognize and promote the contribution of the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage to social cohesion, overcoming all forms of discrimination and strengthening the social fabric of communities and groups in an inclusive way. To that end, States Parties are encouraged to give particular attention to those practices, expressions and knowledge that help communities, groups and individuals to transcend and address differences of gender, colour, ethnicity, origin, class and locality and to those that are broadly inclusive of all sectors and strata of society, including indigenous peoples, migrants, immigrants and refugees, people of different ages and genders, persons with disabilities and members of marginalized groups." Here "difference of locality" is presented as something to be transcended and addressed and a whole series of categories come under the radar. It seems to contain a whole program of social change or even ditto engineering, that could also be labelled, just like the economic, social, environmental or cultural endeavours, as "ethical", with "locality" as something to both respect, transcend, involve, address, strengthen: not "levelling", but empowering.

Bruno Latour explained that thinking in terms of "levels" can be misleading, in particular in relation to traditions: "Universalism used to be a rather simple affair: the more detached from local traditions, the more universal you became (...). A regular scale seemed to lead from local to global, offering a compass along which every position could be mapped.(...) Things have now changed a lot.(...) Hence the success of the word glocal, which signifies that labels can no longer be safely

positioned along the former scale, stretching, by successive extensions, from the most local to the most universal. Instead of subtracting one another, conflicting identities keep being added. And yet they remain in conflict and thus have to be sorted out, since no one can belong to all of them at once..."(Latour s.d.) There are pragmatic ways to deal with this, as Actor-network theory has demonstrated (Michael 2017). Why not combine cultural brokerage, translation sociology and development work (Mosse and Lewis 2006). The literature about glocalization can have a sensitizing effect to deepen this, by referring to glocalizers (Drori, Höllerer & Walgenbach 2014), or by proposing interesting sensitizing terminology, seeing glocalisation as points of articulation and interparadigmatic hybrids (Kraidy 2003, Salazar 2005). I use the g-term because it contains several, seemingly contradictory forces that have to be mediated and brokered and because it is useful to consider the combination "ICH", "communities", "groups", "individuals" and "UNESCO".

## Ethics, Tensions and Heritage Work?

What is the right thing to do? What is good and what is bad behavior? What is good for the planet on which we live? What is an appropriate balance? Which actions are right or wrong in particular circumstances? Which rules and/ or procedures should we follow? How do you go high, when they go low? To answer these fundamental and practical questions is not always easy. Discussions have been going on for thousands of years. In the 21st century there is no (global) consensus. There is not one universal tool or solution, accepted by mankind. No silver bullet that can miraculously solve all problems and challenges. In *The Ethics Toolkit. A Compendium of Ethical Concepts and Methods* (Baggini and Fosl 2007) one discovers an overview of 21 different grounds of ethics, 16 frameworks of ethics, 24 key concepts, 18 critical assessment styles, and 17 controversial issues, followed by a set of resources. This state-of-the-art synthesis makes it clear that there are many controversies and debates, and that trying to reach a consensus on ethical frameworks is impossible. "*Rather than trying to determine a single, complete ethical theory that answers all the relevant moral questions that may arise, and defeats all its competitors, perhaps one might instead (or also) try to gain a kind of mastery or at least facility with some of the many different theories concepts, principles, and critiques concerned with ethics that moral philosophers have produced over the ages*" (Baggini and Fosl 2007: Xvi).

In the field of cultural heritage work today, it is no longer possible to just refer

to or rely on a simple professional code of ethics. Can we develop a universally applicable "code of ethics for safeguarding intangible cultural heritage"? Would it be desirable, feasible and adequate? This question was examined, at the request of and under the guidance of UNESCO, by a group of experts in Valencia in 2015. The answer was: no. The outcome was double: on the one hand an attempt to formulate Twelve Principles and on the other hand an online and dynamic platform of tools of ethics.

Among those tools, there can be tools like professional codes of ethics, of which, in the heritage field probably the ICOM code is the most famous. But even in that case, it is instructive to take note of the discussions about the limitations of thinking in terms of codes of ethics. Janet Marstine developed an important critical reflection about this topic:

> *«Museum ethics is not a universal set of values to be applied indiscriminately (...) Contemporary museum ethics is not a canon of ideas based on consensus. The principal ethical debates of the twenty-first century are marked by strong differences of opinion from diverse contributors, not neatly settled through negotiation, and this is a sign of health. Inspired by Socrates' ideal of examining ethics, through a dialectic process, consensus, as applied to museum ethics, has, until recently, been considered a professional, democratic and fair method of determining practice – relying on compromise among experts from the field and enforced through appealing to the desire for conformity. I believe that, in a twenty-first-century multicultural context that respects difference, consensus has come to signal an exclusivity and like-mindedness among contributors, as well as fixity of thought. Museums seeking change foster collaborative relationships on equal footing with diverse stakeholders and willingly assume the risks entailed by entertaining novel positions (...) Museum ethics codes are fraught with contradictions indicative of the diversity of voices that impact and are impacted by museums today. These constraints do not suggest that ethics codes are no longer of use but that they need to be invigorated by contemporary ethics discourse so that a process of debate takes priority and the result is self-reflexive, acknowledges the complexities and contradictions of the contemporary museum context and has the ability to change as the needs of society change*" (Marstine 2011: 6-7).

If the spirit of the 2003 UNESCO Convention, yes indeed the notion of safeguarding itself, is (building on) consensus building, then these reflections are

at first sight quite a challenge. Contradictions indicative of diversity? Strong differences of opinion (...) not neatly settled through negotiation? In the world of museums, debates are emerging and have not yet stabilized, as the combination *The Routledge Companion to Museum Ethics* (Marstine 2011), *The Ethics of Cultural Heritage* (Ireland and Schofield, 2015) or a new discussion volume of ICOM (Murphy 2016) illustrate.

Noteworthy is the work of Lynn Meskell in the field of archaeology and the last few years also on the debates in the World Heritage Committee (UNESCO Convention 1972). She flagged the relevance and challenges posed by "cosmopolitanism" for heritage workers: "a wide variety of important positions in moral and sociopolitical philosophy brought together by the belief that we are all citizens of the world and have responsibilities to others. This ethical commitment is the thread that connects cosmopolitan thought from the Classical tradition to contemporary philosophy. Similarly, it is this ethical concern that has been debated in anthropology and the social sciences (...) As heritage practitioners (...) increasingly. we find ourselves embedded within these processes in our fieldwork and scholarship."(Meskell 2016: 479) She made clear that there are tensions and contradictions: "cosmopolitanism is not isomorphic with the global, the world system, world polity, and so on, as each rests on the basic dualisms of national/ international, domestic/ foreign which have become increasingly polymorphous and ambiguous. Nor is it simply another version of international relations, concerned with the workings of states and global power imbalances: cosmopolitanism is primarily concerned with people, and respect for individuals as citizens of the world regardless of their race, gender, ethnicity, religion, culture, and so on (...) Individuals are the primary unit of concern, and must be not only for their fellow nationals or members of their particular group, but for all the citizens of the world."(Meskell 2016: 480). Interesting, but are they also the primary unit of concern when also (or primarily) referring to groups and communities, in particular in international instruments like the 2003 UNESCO Convention. Which interventions are legitimate when thinking in terms of glocal ethics rather than just «global ethics» or «cosmopolitanism», when framing the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage?

Repeatedly Janet Blake pointed out that this type of heritage policy and work is special because "the 2003 Convention makes unusually direct reference for an international treaty to the central role that communities, groups and individuals have to play in safeguarding ICH and its management. The requirement placed on

parties to apply participatory approaches in safeguarding and to involve them actively in its management is also unusually explicit" (Blake 2009: 66). Blake made a very fruitful suggestion to address these challenges: "There is therefore a need to build a state/ community partnership that is both bottom-up and top-down, with the role of government seen as being primarily a supportive one (in terms of finances and expertise). However, such a partnership is not easily constructed and this process will involve complex and often difficult negotiations in which 'cultural mediators' that are both internal and external to the cultural communities will play an important intermediary role (...) It is important for these and similar experiences, where they relate to ICH in particular, to be documented and shared between parties of the ICHC – with the UNESCO Secretariat acting as a clearing-house of best practices – and non-parties as well" (Blake 2009: 64-65)

## A Plea to Use CGIs

In the introduction to *UNESCO on the Ground. Local Perspectives on Intangible Cultural Heritage*, Michael Dylan Foster quotes a part of the definition of ICH in article 2.1 of the 2003 UNESCO Convention. He goes on to suggest the following "Significantly, the definition emphasizes recognition of ICH on the local level, by the "communities", "groups" and "individuals" involved with the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, and skills under consideration. I note here the importance of the local in this definition, and indeed in much of UNESCO' s ICH discourse, because of the potential disconnect between this massive international organization headquartered in Paris and the disparate small communities scattered throughout the globe targeted by its efforts and affected by its decisions."(Foster 2015: 1) A nice sweeping metaphor and contrast, but the word local in combination with communities is simply missing in the text, of the 2003 Convention as a whole, and article 2.1. in particular. The adjectives "local" or "disparate small" are reducing the potential of the actual wording in the convention. I claim it is useful and necessary to resist this form of simplification in several ways. Foster's edited volume is a wonderful argument for this. Foster does however capture and express a global tendency, the urge to reduce the very general concepts of "groups", "communities" and "individuals" to "local" (understand or feel also "disparate", "small" and "scattered") communities.

I have had the chance to serve since 2003 as a member of the Belgian delegation in the Organs of the 2003 UNESCO Convention, after two years work in the intergovernmental experts' group negotiating and drafting the wording of the

convention. Next to the bi-annual meetings of the General Assembly, Belgium was a member of the Intergovernmental Committee from 2006 to 2008 and from 2012 and 2016. This corresponded to drafting, discussing, fine-tuning and accepting the first set of operational directives (2008) and negotiating, adapting and adopting all the subsequent versions till 2016, next to discussing many reports and other official documents. During the meetings of the Organs in Paris and elsewhere in the world, the Belgian delegation intervened dozens, if not hundreds of times, to make sure that instead of just the word "communities" the full set of words - "communities, groups and, if applicable, individuals"- would be used.[1] Why? In order to resist simplification but also to stay as close to the Convention text as possible.

Article 1 (purposes) specifies in (1.b) "*to ensure respect for the intangible cultural heritage of the communities, groups and individuals concerned*". In Article 2. 1, the definition of "*intangible cultural heritage*", the "mantra" "*communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals*" appears not only in the constructivist definition core "*the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage*", but also in the subsequent modulation that a dynamic interpretation is in order ("*This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, …*"). They were repeated even a third time in the same definition article 2.1. in the third sentence "*For the purposes of this Convention, consideration will be given solely to such intangible cultural heritage as is compatible with existing international human rights instruments, as well as with the requirements of mutual respect among communities, groups and individuals, and of sustainable development*." And, next to several mentions of communities and groups as if they were Siamese twins in other articles, the Siamese triplets triumph prominently in probably the most important article of the 2003 UNESCO Convention: "*Article 15 – Participation of communities, groups and individuals: Within the framework of its safeguarding activities of the intangible cultural heritage, each State Party shall endeavour to ensure the widest possible*

[1] This can be tracked in the extensive reports and recordings of the meetings of the Intergovernmental Committees and General Assembly of the 2003 UNESCO convention, available on the UNESCO website, www.unesco.org.

*participation of communities, groups and, where appropriate, individuals that create, maintain and transmit such heritage, and to involve them actively in its management.*"

Do notice that nowhere in the Convention text, the phrasing "local community" is used. In the Preamble to the 2003 Convention there is another adjective that sneaked in as a sleeper agent: "indigenous communities", in the statement "Recognizing that communities, in particular indigenous communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals, play an important role in the production, safeguarding, maintenance and recreation of the intangible cultural heritage, thus helping to enrich cultural diversity and human creativity". Although attempts were made to keep the vocabulary as generic and as "clean" or "abstract" as possible, the group dynamics among experts and diplomats drafting the convention made the adjective, and a whole discourse and agenda, slip in, in the liminal zone of the preamble (a paratextual part of the convention, filled with references, considerations and elements that were not included in the articles themselves). And as Paula A. Dos Santos and Marcelle Pereira have recently advocated, these openings can be important: "In our view, ICH plays an important role in ecological justice, and in conflicts between human beings, but it is also relevant to the basic right of nature to exist (…) On the frontlines, environmental preservation – and survival – walk hand-in-hand with the fight for indigenous rights, human rights, environmental rights and ecological rights" (Davis 2017: 480).

One of the reasons why "groups" and "communities" systematically appear together is because there are no universally accepted definitions and because no consensus could, can and *should* be found among the experts drafting the convention and among the delegations defining and interpreting the 2003 Convention ever since.

Of course, the word community can also still refer to small, cosy, picturesque, seemingly harmonious peaceful villages in the countryside or high up in the mountains. But groups and communities can also refer to networks in vibrant megacities or busy harbor cities, on both sides of borders or figurations in different countries or why not, in cyberspace. For some actors "community" can refer to the (nation-)state. For others, the word "community" can refer to a part of the country (see for instance in Belgium "the Flemish community") or a province, to a region, to a city, a village or smaller entities, or to guilds, corporations and associations. It can also refer to a "heritage community", a vague, undetermined and therefore interesting concept in the 2005 Council of Europe Framework Convention on the

Value of Cultural Heritage for Society. The 2005 Faro Convention is one of the rare international conventions that combines immovable, movable, digital and intangible heritage and therefore is compatible with the 2003 UNESCO Convention. In the explanatory report to that so-called Faro convention, the following remark is made : "*The concept of heritage community is treated as self-defining: by valuing and wishing to pass on specific aspects of the cultural heritage, in interaction with others, an individual becomes part of a community. A heritage community is thus defined as a variable geometry without reference to ethnicity or other rigid communities. Such a community may have a geographical foundation linked to a language or religion, or indeed shared humanist values or past historical links. But equally, it may arise out of a common interest of another type. An interest in, for example, archaeology, can create an "archaeological community" whose members are linked only by the cultural heritage which forms the focus of their activities.*"(Explanatory report 2005) This line of thinking and speaking is much more constructive (and constructivist) than any attempt to go for a reductionist top-down and/ or "objective" strict definitions of a concept like "community". The subsequent cultural heritage decrees of the Flemish ... Community (Belgium) in 2008, 2012 and 2017 were inspired by the European framework convention definition, but the words "and organizations" were added to the original definition of heritage community in the Faro convention, yielding the following result: "a heritage community consists of people and organizations who value specific aspects of cultural heritage which they wish, within the framework of public action, to sustain and transmit to future generations." This can be understood in terms of a hybrid network consisting of individuals, groups, organizations, museums, archives and other institutions.

There is a consistent tendency, even within the UNESCO Secretariat, to simplify things, and to replace "communities, groups, and where appropriate individuals" by just "communities", often implied "local communities", and associated with essences, purity and homogeneity. But this is not only reductionist and reducing the potential, but also against the letter and spirit of the 2003 Convention. I plead to keep the formulation as open and broad as possible and even to counteract the tendency of reduction to small or local communities, but to either systematically repeat the full phrase or to replace it by the abbreviation CGIs. This will make it more apparent that it is a technical and constructivist term, an "actant" (in the senses Greimas, later Bruno Latour, used it) in connection to other actants, such as ICH or UNESCO (Michael 2017).

## Glocal Ethics per Definition? Respect, Sustainable Development and Human Rights

Fifteen years after the birth of the 2003 Convention and five versions of the operational directives later, it is time to re-dis-cover some other elements of the definition of intangible cultural heritage (ICH in English, PCI in French) in article 2.1.

Let us revisit the contested third sentence: "For the purposes of this Convention, consideration will be given solely to such intangible cultural heritage as is compatible with existing international human rights instruments, as well as with the requirements of mutual respect among communities, groups and individuals, and of sustainable development." This part of the definition has generated many debates and excuses in the corridors of the offices and conferences of cultural historians, anthropologists and folklorists. How is it possible to exclude a whole series of cultural phenomena like forms of social control, like form charivari and shaming rituals, ritualized forms of aggression against persons or animal sacrifices, or for instance jokes against the inhabitants of neighbouring countries or villages? Is it a bad example of "political correctness" (as far as one is prepared to associate being correct with the word "bad")?

I suggest that, with some good will, it is (now) possible to articulate this sentence as prioritizing a 21st century ethical program; an annunciation as it were of some of the major challenges in the second decade of the implementation of the 2003 convention and of the new additions in the Blue Book since 2016. What is the right thing to do? "Existing international human rights instruments" refers to civil rights and frames of reference of international law. But the reference can also be read as evoking several degrees of ethical programs or programmes of "cosmopolitanism". This can range from asking for (respect for) human dignity to very ambitious programmes, that might be difficult to realize in the present/ world. In a reflection on global ethics in the 21st century, Simon Blackburn suggested to opt for pragmatism and to go for statements, trajectories and demands starting with "We have a right to freedom from..." instead of cultivating a «recipe for boundless expansion (...) The United Nation' s Universal Declaration of Human Rights arguably falls into this trap sometimes. In addition to the civil rights we would presumably all wish to protect, it introduces a number of welfare rights». (Blackburn 2003: 88-89). Also the words "sustainable development", or in the French version "conforme l'exigence d'un développement durable», «a» sustainable development, can be seen as an ethical programme. There are several

schools in the field of ethics that explicitly develop this line of thought, e.g. in the work of the influential (and controversial) scholar Peter Singer. The title of his book *One World. The Ethics of Globalisation* (Singer 2002) speaks volumes. He claims that a number of economic developments (WTO, ...) or climate change raise major challenges for world organisations, for states, NGOs, communities, groups and individuals. Singer and others claim that the Millennium Goals, the current Sustainable Development Goals or the Agenda 2030, not only involve many ethical issues, but that they should be considered as a set of major ethical challenges and issues in a 21st century format, in which problems of finding a balance are important.

And what about that other word "respect"? Here it is interesting to notice that this word in the third sentence of the definition also appears in the last part of the second sentence of 2.1. "thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity". Via the words "for the purposes of the convention; 2.1.) Via the words "for the purposes of the convention" (repeated twice via the third sentence in 2.1.), there is a link to one of those purposes "1. (b) to ensure respect for the intangible cultural heritage of the communities, groups and individuals concerned". What does this have to do with "glocal ethics"? Can we find a clue in the Ethical Principles"?

## 3. Ethics on the Agenda of the Organs of the Convention

At 7COM in 2012, the Intergovernmental Committee requested that the UNESCO Secretariat would produce a document about safeguarding ICH, the implementation of the convention and ethics (Decision 7.COM 6). An expert meeting was organized in 2015 in Valencia, Spain, in preparation of 10.COM. The underlying background document is a valuable document to introduce several distinctions that are made in applied ethics, like for instance ITH/ 15/ EXP/ 2, § 23. "Codes of ethics may be categorized according to the approach that they take to enumerating or defining principles and standards: as aspirational (a statement of ideals to which one aspires) or prescriptive (a statement of requirements of conduct; when such requirements are stated in the negative, they are often referred to as proscriptive). Many if not most codes contain elements of both characteristics: principles or standards of behaviour that are aspirational and others that are prescriptive and/ or proscriptive." The Valencia group came up with the advice to launch an e-platform but above all with a set of twelve overarching aspirational principles, which could serve as a basis for the development of specific codes of ethics

adapted to local and sectoral conditions (see ITH/ 15/ 10. COM/ 15. a. on the UNESCO website).

The new instrument with 12 principles starts with a Preamble. As the first sentence illustrates it is a combination of contextualization but also a liminal space to (once again) leave a backdoor open for "indigenous" stakeholders: "The Ethical Principles for Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage have been elaborated in the spirit of the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage and existing international normative instruments protecting human rights and the rights of indigenous peoples." In the second sentence of the Preamble, the suggestion is made that the Ethical Principles are aspirational, with the last references (peace and sustainable development echoing the Agenda 2030): "They represent a set of overarching aspirational principles that are widely accepted as constituting good practices for governments, organizations and individuals directly or indirectly affecting intangible cultural heritage in order to ensure its viability, thereby recognizing its contribution to peace and sustainable development". Although the systematic "should" formulation in all the Ethical Principles does sound rather prescriptive. As one will notice when reading Ethical Principle 9, how could the suggestion that it would be possible in reality to (systematically) "carefully assess the direct and indirect, short-term and long-term, potential and definitive impact of any action" be more than an aspirational dream (if not control-freakish nightmare). The last sentence of the Preamble describes a potential function of the 12 Principles "Complementary to the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, the Operational Directives for the Implementation of the Convention and national legislative frameworks, these Ethical Principles are intended to serve as a basis for the development of specific codes of ethics and tools adapted to local and sectoral conditions." Here not only the word "codes of ethics" (compare to Marsten 2011) but also the adjectives "local" and "sectoral" sneak in. Perhaps they can also guide the interventions and actions of different actors, adapting to specific figurations (Elias 1971) and situations.

The Twelve Principles are supposed to be able to function on their own and they will start leading a life of their own, as they can be cut and pasted on an A4 page, and distributed, explaining the spirit of the 2003 Convention in other words. My experience in working with students, experts in NGOs and CGIs is that people find the text hard to digest or understand. One of the options is to try to formulate the Twelve Principles in an even shorter format. It soon becomes clear that there is a

strong link to article 15 of the 2003 Convention. If one replaces the words "State Party" by "Actor" in article 15, one gets (one of) the basic message(s):

> *(Inspired by article 15: Participation of CGIs)*
> *Within the framework of its safeguarding activities of the intangible cultural heritage, each Actor shall endeavour to ensure the widest possible participation of CGIs that create, maintain and transmit such heritage, and to involve them actively in its management.*

Even shorter is the format of a tweet, as the reader has noticed in the beginning of this contribution. It would be wonderful if that message, understand Principle or Programme, would come across and be remembered. But there is more going on in the set of Ethical Principles. To uncover and discover this, I have reordered the Principles without changing them. I did add a few paratextual elements (subtitles and glosses) to enhance readability but it is primarily an alternative order that reveals what is going on, and that I would like to baptize the glocal ethics of (the) safeguarding intangible cultural heritage (paradigm)

## The Twelve Principles Reshuffled

The first thing to notice in the reshuffled version of the Ethical Principles is that CGIs appear in all ethical principles, except in the first one. EP8 only mentions ICH, which is the reason to put it first. At the same time, notice that ICH appears everywhere, except in EP11 (third last on this list). Notice that the underlined word safeguarding only appears in five of the 12 principles (EP1, EP4, EP8, EP11, EP12). It should be clear that these three elements, "ICH", "CGIs" and "safeguarding" are the core concepts in the document.

Two forces are active in this set. These are indicated in the margins. On the one (right) hand, there are interventions, of which some are explicitly called safeguarding, a more "offensive" approach. On the other (left) hand, there are forces that try to cultivate a relative autonomy, a more defensive approach, trying to make sure that internal processes (viability of CGIs and ICH) can follow their due course. A key word to signal this is "respect". As one can notice, most of these EPs that are (negotiated or dialogical) autonomy oriented are clustered in the first series.

Read the list from top to bottom. The first EP (8) explicitly focusses on ICH, emphasizing characteristics of (autonomous) viability, dynamism and "living", and connected with the notion of continuity. Notice how static interpretations of concepts like exclusivity and authenticity are rejected, not only to mark the

**Ethical Principles for *Safeguarding* Intangible Cultural Heritage**

- The dynamic and living nature of ICH should be continuously ***respected***. Authenticity and exclusivity should not constitute concerns and obstacles in the *safeguarding* of ICH.(8)

**[Communities, groups and, where applicable, individuals (=CGIs) and their ICH]**

- The right of CGIs to continue the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge and skills necessary to ensure the viability of the ICH should be recognized and ***respected***.(2)

- Access of CGIs to the instruments, objects, artefacts, cultural and natural spaces and places of memory whose existence is necessary for expressing the ICH should be ensured, including in situations of armed conflict. Customary practices governing access to ICH should be fully ***respected***, even where these may limit broader public access.(5)

- Each CGI should assess the value of its own ICH and this ICH ***should not be subject to external judgements*** of value or worth.(6)

**[CGIs (States) and ICH]**

- Mutual ***respect*** as well as a ***respect*** for and mutual appreciation of ICH, should prevail in interactions between States and between CGIs.(3)

- The CGIs who create ICH should benefit from the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from such heritage, and particularly from its use, research, documentation, promotion or adaptation by members of the communities or others.(7)

- CGIs should play a significant role in determining what constitutes threats to their ICH including the decontextualization, commodification and misrepresentation of it and in deciding how to prevent and mitigate such threats.(10)

**[Interactions with CGIs, collaboration and consent]**

- All interactions with the CGIs who create, *safeguard*, maintain and transmit ICH should be characterized by transparent collaboration, dialogue, negotiation and consultation, and contingent upon their free, prior, *sustained* and informed consent.(4)

**[All actors with impact on CGIs or ICH]**

- CGIs, local, national and transnational organizations should carefully assess the direct and indirect, short-term and long-term, potential and definitive impact of any action that may affect the viability of ICH or the communities who practise it.(9)

- Cultural diversity and the identities of CGIs should be fully ***respected***. In the ***respect*** of values recognized by CGIs and sensitivity to cultural norms, specific attention to gender equality, youth involvement and respect for ethnic identities should be included in the design and implementation of *safeguarding* measures.(11)

**[safeguarding ICH and CGIs]**

- The *safeguarding* of ICH is of general interest to humanity and should therefore be undertaken through cooperation among bilateral, sub regional, regional and international parties; nevertheless, CGIs should never be alienated from their own ICH.(12)

- **CGIs should have the primary role in *safeguarding* their own ICH.(1)**

[AUTONOMY]

[INTERVENTIONS]

difference with (the) World Heritage (Convention), but also to keep all options open for change and adaptation.

From the second until the twelfth principles, CGIs play the central role. It is clear that article 15 of the convention is highlighted and reinforced here. It is remarkable that in several of these EPs the notion of safeguarding is not explicitly mentioned (but of course it is implicitly present). They deal with the relation between CGIs and their ICH. Remark that they are principles that also function (or could be quoted) outside the frame of reference of the UNESCO convention. As the underlying message is autonomy, or respect, even in deciding that an intervention is not necessary, the right to continue or not (EP2), of access (EP5) or even of self-assessment (EP6) are explicitly mentioned.

The next principles discuss the relations between more and more actors and stakeholders, first the CGIs and states, evoking the principle of mutual respect, that could also stand for sovereignty and self-determination and refer to article 1 of the convention.

Then, moving from top to bottom, we enter the zone of interventions. New is the notion of benefit sharing. Very, understand too, strong is the formulation of EP4, about "all interactions", and EP9 goes even further, involving all actors with impact on CGIs and/ or ICH. EP11 discusses hot topics, that touches on the active emancipatory agenda of the United Nations Agencies in tension with CGIs.

The last two EPS, that also provide the tension in the original set (from individuals, groups and communities in EP1 to humanity in EP12) synthesize the contradictory forces.

It is not unlikely that EP6 will cause discussions and criticism, as it might even seem contradictory to the notion of safeguarding. The notion of "value" is unusual and unclear in the paradigm of safeguarding intangible cultural heritage and the sentence "should not be subjected to external judgements of value or worth" could be explained as an ambiguous (and perhaps problematic) formulation of the notion of respect and autonomy: the last word (as in the set, see EP1) should be for the CGIs (that are often not homogeneous). An alternative interpretation could be "significance", but also there involving all stakeholders seems a good procedure. It could also be advised to combine it with EP10. Or to mobilise the word "primary" in EP1 to mitigate an extreme interpretation of EP6.

One of the novelties in the set can be found in EP4, emphasizing that all interactions with CGIs imply "transparent collaboration, dialogue, negotiation and consultation". It does not only mention the well-known ethical principle (and tool)

of free, prior and informed consent (Rudolff and Raymond 2013), but introduced the innovative idea of "free, *sustained* and informed consent". This is one of the major new challenges: to develop tools to implement this requirement, also triggering follow up and new tasks and actions, linking up with a constructivist idea of development.

## Critical Success (F)actors: Cultural Brokers/ Brokerage, Mediation and Translation

Just as the Operational Directives are complementary to the Convention text, the Ethical Principles are complementary to both, as its Preamble spells out. The set allows, as we have shown, to reinterpret articles of the Convention and existing Operational Directives, but one might expect that these Ethical Principles will also generate additional operational directives, in particular related to the new aspects like "benefit sharing" or "sustained consent". Consider for instance the criteria for the international lists, like U3 and U4 in Operational Directive 1 (OD1) or R3 and R4 in OD2 or P5 in OD3, P5. What does this code language mean? This is the reason having the Blue Book (in text or electronic version) at hand is indispensable. Should for instance the novelty of "sustained consent" have an effect on "U.4 The element has been nominated following the widest possible participation of the CGIs concerned and with their free, prior and informed consent" or also on U3 ( U.3 "A safeguarding plan is elaborated that may enable the CGIs concerned to continue the practice and transmission of the element.").

The Ethical Principles can be particularly relevant for implementing the new chapter VI of the Operational Directives: together a glocal ethical program for the next decade. The sixth chapter has a misleading title "safeguarding intangible cultural heritage and sustainable development at the national level". As usual (when discussing inventories, transnational groups, communities and ICH, ...) in the 2003 convention, the word "national" has its limitations and is probably even going against the spirit of the paradigm. It would make much more sense to move beyond the terminology of different "levels": "safeguarding intangible cultural heritage glocally and sustainable development". Just like in the exercise we did with article 15, it would be interesting to replace the words "State Parties" by the more abstract notion of "Actors" and to reflect on the potential of this adaptation (in particular in connection to an enhanced article 15 or the Ethical Principles and in combination with more attention for and involvement of more stakeholders). The Agenda 2030 can and should be embraced by small and transnational NGOs

or groups, by villages, cities and empires, by companies, universities and Kindergardens, by provinces, nations and continents, by you and me.

The Operational Directives can also help taking into account and in working with the Ethical Principles (and, when it will be more developed, the ethical toolbox on the dedicated UNESCO website).

Compare for instance the new OD171 with the set of Ethical Principles:

*"171. Insofar as their development plans, policies and programmes involve intangible cultural heritage or may potentially affect its viability, States Parties shall endeavour to:*

*(a) ensure the widest possible participation of CGIs that create, maintain and transmit such heritage, and involve them actively in elaboration and implementation of such plans, policies and programmes;*

*(b) ensure that those CGIs concerned are the primary beneficiaries, both in moral and in material terms, of any such plans, policies and programmes;*

*(c) ensure that such plans, policies and programmes respect ethical considerations and do not negatively affect the viability of the intangible cultural heritage concerned or decontextualize or denaturalize that heritage;*

*(d) facilitate cooperation with sustainable development experts and cultural brokers for the appropriate integration of the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage into plans, policies and programmes, both within and outside the cultural sector."*

The novelty here, new "appropriate" words in the restricted vocabulary of the Safeguarding Intangible Heritage Paradigm of the 2003 UNESCO Convention since 2016, is the reference in 171d to and recognition of "sustainable development experts and cultural brokers". In the scholarly literature on safeguarding intangible cultural heritage, the functions of "cultural brokerage", "translation" and "mediations" have been identified as critical success factors.

There is an extensive literature on the importance of cultural brokerage in development (aid) (Mosse and Lewis 2006, Mosse 2011 and see the discussion, oriented on safeguarding ICH, in Jacobs 2014b). According to Lewis and Mosse, an actor-oriented approach puts more emphasis on "intermediary actors or brokers operating at the "interfaces" of different world-views and knowledge systems, and reveals their importance in negotiating roles, relationships and representations. By managing both strong and weak ties in these negotiations, social actors "steer or muddle their ways through difficult scenarios, turning 'bad' into 'less bad' circumstances" (Lewis and Mosse 2006:10). In 2014 a special issue of

*Volkskunde*, was published under the title Brokers, Facilitators and Mediation. Critical Success (F)Actors for the safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage. (see the introduction in Jacobs, Neyrinck and Vander Zeyden 2014). It presents a series of essays and case-studies that together constituted a request to include "brokerage", mediation and translation in the vocabulary of the 2003 UNESCO paradigm (see also Jacobs 2014 a, Jacobs 2015, Baron 2016). As OD 171, but also OD170, demonstrate UNESCO did not turn a blind eye.

As explained in the testimony of Albert Vander Zeijden about the overheated Black Pete-discussions that are distracting the Netherlands (and selling lots of newspapers and television advertisements) since a few years, trying to broker ICH it is not always a walk in the park. (Vander Zeijden 2014) That things can really go wrong and the involvement of experts is not always the solution was shown in France, in the case of candidacies for the international lists of the 2003 UNESCO Convention. Several trajectories to inscribe items on the article 16 list failed and caused heated debate and disappointment, because the role of ethnologists and anthropologists was contested: "Some community members argued that they are too distanced from the needs of local people, as well as from the social, economic, political and cultural contexts in which their ICH is expressed(...) state-sponsored heritage management. Eventually, an information and conciliation meeting led to confrontations between supporters, opponents and governmental representatives, and to the withdrawal of the project".(Hottin and Grenet 2012: 105). Slowly, the consequences for professional heritage workers are starting to sink in: what does that little word "respect" really imply? Knowing that Frank Proschan was one of the strong-holders and gatekeepers in the UNESCO Secretariat in the years leading up to the two major new parts in the 2016 Edition of the Blue Book and a co-coordinator of the documents on ethics, it is quite instructive to read his recent reflections on lessons drawn from episodes of the Smithsonian festival in Washington D. C.: "I would argue that the language of the convention (...) demands that we who style ourselves as curators – or researchers, or experts- acknowledge finally that it is communities that must control the means by which they represent themselves and are represented to others (...) Maybe, then I am not completely "against curation", but in favor of having ever greater control over that curation rest with the communities themselves, and less and less with those of us who are outsiders. And if the control addicts who want to know what will happen tomorrow on which stage at what time are frustrated, so be it. They'll get over it, I assure you.(Proschan 2016: 83).

So there is an urgent need not only to distribute and digest the set of Ethical Principles (in the raw or the reshuffled format) but also to develop tools (forms, training, ...) for ethics for cultural brokers and mediators, in order to further the 2003 UNESCO paradigm. And in the near future, also to yield success in the Agenda 2030:

> "OD170. With a view to effectively implementing the Convention, States Parties shall endeavour, by all appropriate means, to recognize the importance and strengthen the role of intangible cultural heritage as a driver and guarantee of sustainable development, as well as fully integrate the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage into their development plans, policies and programmes at all levels. While recognizing the interdependence between the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage and sustainable development, States Parties shall strive to maintain a balance between the three dimensions of sustainable development (the economic, social and environmental), as well as their interdependence with peace and security, in their safeguarding efforts and shall to this end facilitate cooperation with relevant experts, cultural brokers and mediators through a participatory approach. States Parties shall acknowledge the dynamic nature of intangible cultural heritage in both urban and rural contexts and shall direct their safeguarding efforts solely on such intangible cultural heritage that is compatible with existing international human rights instruments, as well as with the requirements of mutual respect among communities, groups and individuals, and of sustainable development."

## Summing Up

Abbreviate and abstract "communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals" as CGIs. This allows to formulate a core message of the UNESCO Convention for the safeguarding of ICH in the format of a tweet. "When safeguarding ICH, the widest possible participation and active involvement of CGIs is the right thing to do" (UNESCO 2003 Convention)". A global mantra: easy to like but very hard to realize. A glocal challenge. A reshuffled version of the 12 Ethical Principles (since 2016 part of the Basic Texts of the 2003 Convention) captures the tension between "relative autonomy" and "interventions". This new tool sensitizes users about the characteristics of/ and relations between CGIs, ICH and safeguarding. Together with, but also counterbalancing, the new chapter of the operational directives "Safeguarding ICH and sustainable development at the national level"

since 2016, it articulates aspirations and modules of an ethical program of global proportions. Via the clear link with the 17 sustainable development goals, aka the Agenda 2030, of the United Nations, the "national level" can be put between inverted commas (something for instance the experience in a federal state Belgium has to do per definition); thinking out of the box, glocally. The paragraphs 170 to 176 of the 2016 version of the Operational Directives, in combination with the Ethical Principles, constitute quite a challenge, together with clues (see OD171d) on how to go forward.

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# The Challenges of Bridging Metacultural and Esocultural Perspectives on Intangible Cultural Heritage

Michael Dylan FOSTER
(University of California, Davis, USA)

Let me begin with a caveat. I am a professor of Japanese folklore, literature and popular culture who teaches in the United States, but I am by no means an expert on UNESCO or Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH). I came to UNESCO and ICH inadvertently, in the course of my own research on Japanese ritual and festival, and what I have learned of these topics is, as it were, on a "need-to-know" basis. But in fact, one of the simple points I would like to make in this essay is that we all bring our own caveats—limitations, biases, backgrounds, subjectivities—to this discussion, and that it is through sharing our circumscribed perspectives and trying to see through one another's eyes that meaningful exchange can occur.

So having admitted that I am not an expert on UNESCO, let me explain why I am involved in this symposium and volume. And by explaining my own position, I hope also to get to my broader argument. To start with my conclusion: there exists a disjunction between UNESCO as an organization that operates on a metacultural level and people in local communities who operate within a much smaller, narrower realm—what I am calling an esocultural level. I hope that by appreciating this disjunction, we can work to make connections that will benefit everybody. All this will, hopefully, become clear as I relate my own mundane narrative of how I came to be interested in these issues.

The immediate reason I was asked to be part of this symposium is that in 2015 I co-edited a volume of case studies and critical essays entitled *UNESCO on the Ground: Local Perspectives on Intangible Cultural Heritage* (2015b). How did this book come about? As I mentioned, I do research on Japanese folklore. For almost two decades now, I have been particularly interested in what Japanese folklorists have labeled "raihōshin gyōji," or "visiting deity events." The most famous of these is called Namahage, and takes place in Akita Prefecture every New Year's Eve. Although I have been studying Namahage for a long time (Foster 2013b), I have spent even more time researching another, similar event that takes place further south on an island called Shimo-Koshikijima located off the

southwest coast of Kagoshima Prefecture. Shimo-Koshikijima is a beautiful island, but it is small and difficult to get to. Currently the population is only about 2400 people.[1]

In six small communities on Shimo-Koshikijima there is a visiting deity ritual called Toshidon. On the island, Toshidon is considered a ritual for the purpose of "education," and it is very much about teaching and disciplining children. The premise is that there are demon-deities called Toshidon-sama who live in the skyworld and look down on the community all year round. They have a special interest in observing the behavior of the youngest members of each household, and on New Year's Eve, the last night of the old year, they descend to the island and go from house to house punishing and rewarding the children.

In practice, the procedures of the ritual vary from neighborhood to neighborhood and from year to year, but simply put, on the evening of December 31 a group of men (it is always men) wrap themselves in clothing made of grasses and *sotetsu* fronds, and put on large colorful demon masks. Having thus transformed themselves into frightening figures, they proceed to visit individual households and in a ritual that takes no more than twenty minutes, they interrogate the children, scolding them for the bad things they have done all year, such as not putting toys away or quarreling with their parents. And then they praise them for the good things they have done—being helpful around the house, attending kindergarten every day, and so on. In reward for promising to behave themselves for the coming year, each child is awarded a gigantic *mochi* rice cake to share with the family.

There are other details, of course, such as the fact that Toshidon is practiced officially in six distinct neighborhoods, in each place with differences that may seem minor to an outside observer but are meaningful to participants. Nobody knows for sure how old Toshidon is, but there is evidence to suggest it has existed in some form since at least the 1880s, though it is probably much older. It is also worth noting that throughout Japan there are numerous other traditions broadly labeled raihōshin, like the Namahage mentioned earlier, that may or may not be historically related but share similar features—such as the use of masks and the scaring of children—and fulfill comparable functions within the community. There are also, of course, similar rituals in other cultures around the world—such

[1] Since 2004, the island has been part of the municipality of Satsumasendai City. For population statistics from 2015, see Satsumasendai-shi kikaku seisaku bu kikaku seisaku ka (2017: 3-12).

as, for example, Krampus traditions in Europe.

My own work with Toshidon and the people of Shimo-Koshikijima began in 1999, and I have subsequently returned many times since then, lived on the island for about half the year in 2012 and visited most recently for the 2016-17 New Year's holiday. Of course, nobody would mistake me for a native of the island and I do not claim to speak for the residents. But I do feel personally close to many of the islanders, and to Toshidon, and have thought about the place and the ritual a great deal. In hundreds of conversations and interviews, islanders have shared with me their thoughts on Toshidon, and on island life more generally.[2]

Many residents feel a deep connection to Toshidon. Even if, for whatever reason, they don't personally participate in the ritual, they recognize it as something that helps impart a unique identity to their home. And they are proud of the fact that in 1977 Toshidon was recognized by the Japanese Agency for Cultural Affairs (Bunkachō) as one of the first "important intangible folk cultural properties" (*jūyō mukei minzoku bunkazai*) in the nation.[3]

When I first began researching Toshidon, I was convinced that my study would be limited to the history of the practice and the ways in which it has meaning for the small communities where it takes place, for the families that participate in it, and for the individuals who wear the masks or receive the deity figures in their households. In other words, my interest in the ritual was very localized. It might extend to the fact that it had been recognized by Bunkachō some four decades ago, but for the most part the scope of my own attention, like the attention of the islanders, was limited to the island itself.

Until 2009. In November of that year, I called one of my friends on the island to make arrangements to visit in December and, out of the blue, he mentioned UNESCO. At first this acronym, UNESCO (or *Yunesuko* in Japanese), which is so much a part of academic, political, and bureaucratic discourse, sounded incongruous to me embedded in the very particular dialect of the island. What my friend told me was that Toshidon had just been recognized (*nintei sareta*) by

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2 I have observed the ritual in 1999, 2000, 2009, 2011, 2012, 2013 and 2016. I have also conducted fieldwork on the island at other times of the year and was in fulltime residence from December 2011 to May 2012. For more details on the ritual itself, UNESCO and tourism, see Foster 2011, 2013a, and 2015c. See also Tsuchiya 2014a and 2014b.

3 As of February 2017, there were 294 designated important intangible folk cultural properties in Japan, including eight from Kagoshima Prefecture. See Bunkachō (n. d.) For more on intangible cultural properties and preservation law in Japan, see Ōshima 2007; Thornbury 1993, 1994, 1995, 1997, 55–74; Hashimoto 1998, 2003; Cang 2007; and Aikawa-Faure 2014.

UNESCO, and that its performance that year might be a little different than usual. It took me a while to decipher all this, and to do some background research; finally I realized that at a meeting in Abu Dhabi from 28 September through 2 October 2009, UNESCO's 4th Session of the Intergovernmental Committee had voted to inscribe "Koshikijima no Toshidon" on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity.

Of course, all this probably makes sense to anybody reading this essay, and there is no need for me to elaborate on this list or provide the background of the 2003 Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention. But in 2009, I did not know this background. And in fact, my friend on the island who told me about the "recognition" also did not know this background or what it meant. He only knew that a global entity called "Yunesuko" had officially "recognized" a ritual he had grown up with. Even the formal name, "Koshikijima no Toshidon," was different from the way it is usually referred to on the island, as just "Toshidon," "Toshidon-sama" or sometimes "Toitoi-sama."[4] All this to say that already there was a disconnect of sorts between the global, bureaucratized, UNESCO view of something called "Koshikijima no Toshidon" as a representative of "Japanese folk faith" (see UNESCO 2009: 64; also "Koshikijima no Toshidon" http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/en/RL/koshikijima-no-toshidon-00270) and the small personalized event performed by close friends within individual households.

For me this was a wake-up call to learn more about UNESCO and what it means to be on the Representative List. Suddenly this entity, UNESCO, that I had always thought of as vague and distant and only *theoretically* relevant to my own research was now very present, very real, very much part of the discourse and practice of Toshidon. I realized that I might not be able to comprehend the workings of UNESCO as an institution but that this was an unparalleled chance to observe firsthand the effect it could have on one small out-of-the-way community. As a researcher, I had a unique opportunity to observe UNESCO recognition playing out on a local level among the several dozen people involved in one of the selected ICH elements.

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[4] The name "Koshikijima no Toshidon" (literally Toshidon of Koshikijima) is how the ritual was formally recorded by Bunkachō as an Important Intangible Folk Cultural Property in 1977. "Koshikijima" indicates the small archipelago of which Shimo-Koshikijima is the southernmost island; the other islands are Naka-Koshikijima and Kami-Koshikijima. As several islanders have pointed out to me, it is odd that all of Koshikijima is included in the official designation by Bunkachō and UNESCO because Toshidon is actually only performed on Shimo-Koshikijima.

I have written about my observations elsewhere, and won't detail them now, but in short, what I realized was that the effects of UNESCO recognition on the island were large in terms of inspiring a sense of confidence in the value of Toshidon, but they were small and subtle in terms of practical impact on tourism and other aspects of economic and social life (Foster 2011; 2015c). But in the years after the UNESCO designation, one thing that continued to fascinate me was the way in which the term *Yunesuko* was bandied about rather freely and with great familiarity, when in reality very few people (including myself) had any concrete idea of what UNESCO is, what UNESCO does, and what it means to have your local tradition added to the Representative List. Clearly there remained a disjuncture between the close, earthy reality of the Toshidon ritual and the distant, smooth abstraction of "something" called UNESCO.

It was this fact, and the accompanying realization that similar disjunctures must exist in hundreds of locations across the globe, that made me interested in exploring this divergence from a comparative perspective. Japan of course is a politically and economically stable nation with a long history of heritage policies and protections.[5] But what about other countries in different situations? Would the expectations and perspectives of local communities differ in those places?

With this in mind, I began talking with other folklore scholars who were working in small communities around the world involved with the ICH Convention in one way or another. My colleagues too had noticed a disconnect, but always manifest in different ways depending on local contexts, histories, cultures, politics and personalities. Together we put together a conference panel, which led to very fruitful discussions, and inspired us to assemble an edited volume (Foster and Gilman 2015a), which soon became a book (Foster and Gilman 2015b). Our purpose was to provide case studies of how UNESCO is understood on the ground in diverse local communities. Through comparing the experiences of people in different parts of the world—India, South Korea, Malawi, Japan, Macedonia, and China—we hoped to garner insights into both positive and negative effects of UNESCO recognition, as well as some of the misunderstandings it was engendering.

Our focus in the book was the *local*—by which I mean the geographical confines of a given place and the views of the people living there. We chose this

[5] Indeed, Japan's own cultural properties policies influenced the development of UNESCO's ICH conceptions and programs (see e.g., Kurin 2004: 67–68).

focus because it brought to the fore our own particular skills as folklorists and our sensitivities to the micro-climate and micro-context of individual communities and the human relationships therein. As I have noted in my own case, for example, I am not a scholar of UNESCO. But I *am* a scholar of Toshidon, and feel close to people who have long been involved with Toshidon. So that is the perspective I was most comfortable bringing to the discussion.

In some ways, of course, all of this is a given. But the reason I emphasize this local stance is that it celebrates a perspective opposite to the notion of *metaculture*, an idea frequently used to characterize UNESCO and its activities. The ICH Representative List is, for example, one of many "metacultural artefacts" (Kirschenblatt-Gimblett 2004: 56). The Oxford English Dictionary (online edition) defines *metaculture* broadly as "Any culture, or set of cultural phenomena, which transcends the boundaries of geography, class, epoch, etc." and *metacultural* as "That transcends any particular culture, or exists across cultures." The Representative List clearly fits this niche: it is an instrument for linking together the diverse traditions/ activities/ beliefs of people living far from each other, who have never met, and who likely would not be able to communicate with each other if they did meet. These people have different languages, different worldviews, different values. They certainly have different ways of defining their traditions, activities, and beliefs. And yet UNESCO and its instruments—its lists, definitions, proclamations, recommendations, conventions, etc. —necessarily engender a metaculture whereby different cultures are organized and categorized. The concept of cultural heritage itself is, in the words of one scholar, "a framework that collects, compares and classifies widely differing cultural manifestations from various periods and various geographical backgrounds" (Halbertsma 2011: 4). Just as a museum or even a collector's cabinet allows for diverse objects extracted from their context to be appear as a cohesive, "natural" assemblage, so too metacultural instruments and definitions bring together disparate elements into a unified (and unifying) set; they become naturalized, or rather *enculturated*, into a new context.

A metaculture, therefore, is not so much transcultural or multicultural but rather a particular culture in itself that is made up of other cultures; a culture of cultures; or, as Greg Urban puts it, "culture about culture" (Urban 2001: 3). A metacultural perspective requires distance, and suggests broader reflection, organization and determination about what cultures are. Indeed the prefix *meta-* is borrowed from the Greek and implies a sense of "beyond, above, at a higher level" (Oxford

English Dictionary online).[6]

Metacultural frameworks link diverse cultures to create what Michael Di Giovine has called a "heritage-scape": "UNESCO' s newly ordered social structure" (Di Giovine 2009: 6) which is "at once collective and individuated" (Di Giovine 2009: 42). I would add that the elements of heritage that are brought together virtually in one place, such as the Representative List or even UNESCO websites, form a sort of "imagined community" (Anderson 1991) or "imagined world" (Appadurai 1996: 33) of distinct traditions, practices, beliefs, etc. united only by their status of being together on a list or website.[7]

In 2012, while living on Shimo-Koshikijima, I was asked to give a talk about my research. Rather than focus on Toshidon itself I chose to talk about the elements from Japan *other* than Toshidon that were added to the Representative List in 2009. In essence, I was introducing the members of an "imagined community" of traditions—most of which, like the well-known and massively popular Gion Yamahoko festival in Kyoto (UNESCO n. d. a), have almost no overlap with Toshidon. But within UNESCO's metacultural framework, Toshidon and Yamahoko were now citizens of this special imagined community, part of a prestigious Japanese heritage-scape, and accordingly my friends on the island felt a small kinship with distant places in Japan and with people they would never meet.

The term "heritage-scape" is derived from anthropologist Arjun Appadurai's famous work on what he calls ethnoscape, mediascape, financescape, technoscape and ideoscape. Appadurai uses the optical suffix *–scape* because it "allows us to point to the fluid, irregular shapes of these landscapes" (Appadurai 1996: 33). The notion of heritage-scape is, of course, metacultural in that it provides a distant, wider view of multiple cultural phenomena. It is an exercise of the imagination that brings into focus similarities and differences, connections and disjunctures. As such, it is an extremely useful heuristic for comparative analysis and also for understanding flows of people and ideas.

But equally useful perhaps is to imagine an alternative perspective that pointedly does not take a distant view. What if, for example, you live inside a

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[6] In a sense, we can think of metaculture as a deterritorialized center made of multiple territorialized peripherals, all of which feel they are at the center. In other words, a group or a list of diverse heritage elements does not have a center, unless you are on that list, in which case you are the center and everything else is peripheral. This is the esocultural perspective of the list.

[7] For more on the effects of list creation, see Hafstein 2009.

feature on this heritage-scape, this irregularly shaped landscape of heritage elements? To use a rather mundane metaphor: imagine driving through the countryside, and you see in the distance an old wooden farmhouse nestled under a tree on a range of gently undulating mountains. You stop the car and get out; birds chirp in the trees above you, a distant low mooing of a cow drifts to you across the verdant fields, and you can even hear the gentle rhythm of somebody working in the farmhouse, perhaps fixing something with a hammer. Taken together it is a beautiful, charming landscape.

But imagine now you are inside that tiny farmhouse. Even though you may very well appreciate the peace of the rural environment, it is likely your own attention is focused not on the beauty of the hills or the chirping of the birds, but on practical issues close at hand: mending a broken table, preparing dinner for your children, making sure the cows have adequate straw. It takes a great exertion of the imagination for you to envision your family farmhouse, with all its quirks and memories, as just one of many similar farmhouses embedded in a charming pastoral landscape.

This view from inside a single feature of the landscape correlates to, I would suggest, the way practitioners of a particular form of heritage may not be able to (or at least should not be expected to) see beyond their own tradition with its specific geographical, personal, historical, and social contexts—its own everydayness and habitus. This extremely local view, the experience from within the habitus, is what I call an "esocultural" perspective. Esoculture is not so much the opposite of metaculture, but complementary to it. The prefix *eso-*, also of Greek origins, refers to the *within* of something; in distinction to meta's "beyond, above, at a higher level," we can think of *eso* as centered *inside* the thing itself. It even has a whiff of secrecy, specialization and exclusiveness, as in "esoteric." Where metaculture transcends a particular culture, esoculture burrows deep into it. This is the on-the-ground perspective, one that does *not* see the forest for the trees but knows each tree intimately. It is the subjective embodied perspective from the lived reality of a person really living in a culture. And this is relevant to how traditional practices are interpreted; as Maurice Tauschek has noted, "what in the context of heritage regimes is called intangible heritage is also performative culture that has very different sociocultural values in and for certain groups. A local carnival that is proclaimed intangible heritage of humanity will still be a ritual that produces group coherence and that mediates social conflicts" (2011: 51).

Of course, it goes without saying that all people are trapped within their own limited perspectives and guided by local needs. By using the term *esocultural*, we do not merely acknowledge this fact, but further emphasize and celebrate the visceral reality of each ICH as lived from the inside. The esocultural perspective is intensely "experience-near" (Geertz 1983: 57); it implies a deep immersion in a specific place, with its own worldview, set of relationships, beliefs and ways of imagining.[8] I use the word *esoculture* as opposed simply to *culture* in part because the latter is already burdened with historical baggage and also suffers from a vagueness that comes from familiarization and overuse. But more importantly, by coining *esoculure* as a new heuristic I want to draw attention to the profoundly, inescapably embodied and personal nature of lived experience—not simply that people are inevitably trapped within their own perspectives and relationships, but that in most cases there is no reason they should be expected to transcend these. I also want to suggest that we try to think of the esocultural perspective not as one of limitation but one of potential.

In one sense, all I am saying is that UNESCO and other institutions within the heritage complex—whether state or regional or academic—should be sensitive to the voices of the people who *live* the ICH in question. I am arguing for a consciousness of particularity, and also a respect for the need, felt by members of certain communities, to celebrate this particularity. One aspect of "safeguarding" heritage must be to allow it to continue being brazenly local, accepting that local residents should have no obligation to look beyond their own esocultural blinders or try to fit themselves into a metacultural framework. Indeed, a fierce adherence to the esocultural is often the very thing that produces the uniqueness and resiliency of an ICH element in the first place.

To illustrate this, let me return briefly to my own research. I have often asked residents whether they think of Toshidon as a demon or as a god, and I have received all sorts of non-committal responses; that is, they seem reluctant to pigeonhole Toshidon within a larger metacultural framework of traditional religious structures. Or rather, perhaps, the question simply is not relevant to their own experience. Indeed, the most telling response I have received, one that pithily expresses the particularity of the tradition, is simply, "Toshidon is Toshidon." To

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[8] Geertz, borrowing from the work of psychoanalyst Heinz Kohut, describes an experience-near concept as "roughly, one that someone [...] might himself naturally and effortlessly use to define what he or his fellows see, feel, think, imagine, and so on, and which he would readily understand when similarly applied by others" (1983: 57).

my mind, this is a rather profound statement because it represents an attitude that refuses to transcend the specific, refuses to circumscribe the esocultural with reference to the metacultural. This attitude elevates the uniqueness of any given tradition, celebrating its irreducibility to a particular type. It is a quiet, unconscious, but deeply felt resistance to generalization and categorization.

Similarly, another metacultural category into which Toshidon has been placed, particularly by academic researchers (including me), is that of "raihōshin" or "visiting deity," as mentioned earlier. The category of "visiting deity" is one that developed through the discourse of Japanese folkloristics (*minzokugaku*) and is often associated with Toshidon and even mentioned on Toshidon' s official UNESCO description (UNESCO 2009: 64; also UNESCO n. d. b ). But interestingly, the term *raihōshin* is almost never heard on the island itself—and is certainly not the word by which most participants refer to Toshidon. Again, this is because *raihōshin* elides the particularity of the tradition, imposing a metacultural framework on an esocultural reality.

But beyond semantics, does this really matter? As I have noted, in academic discourse the term *raihōshin* is occasionally associated with Toshidon, but in almost every definition or encyclopedia entry I have ever read, it is *explicitly* linked with the Namahage ritual in Akita Prefecture mentioned earlier. Namahage was nominated for inscription on the Representative List in 2011. However, meeting in Bali in November of that year, the Intergovernmental Committee deferred inscription with the following explanation: "Since the element closely resembles, both formally and symbolically, the Koshikijima no Toshidon that is already inscribed on the Representative List, the State should explain how its inscription will contribute to promoting greater added awareness of the significance of the intangible cultural heritage" (UNESCO 2011: 43; also UNESCO n.d.c).

The State—that is, the Japanese Agency for Cultural Affairs—ultimately did come up with a solution that is masterful from a metacultural perspective. It will attempt next year (2018) to have a group of ten elements inscribed under the overarching rubric of *Raihōshin: kamen, kasō no kami-gami* (Visiting deities: Masked and costumed gods).[9] Prominent among these ten elements is

[9] The elements included are: Koshikijima no Toshidon (Kagoshima Prefecture); Oga no Namahage (Akita Prefecture); Noto no Amamehagi (Ishikawa Prefecture); Miyako no Paantu (Okinawa Prefecture); Yuza no shōgatsu gyōji (Yamagata Prefecture); Yonekawa no Mizu-kaburi (Miyagi Prefecture); Mishima no Kasedori (Saga Prefecture); Yoshihama no Suneka (Iwate Prefecture); Satsuma Iōjima no Mendon (Kagoshima

Namahage—so even though it will not be inscribed individually, it will be grouped together with other elements that are perceived, on a metacultural level, to be similar.

And one of these other elements is Toshidon. That is, the new proposal includes a modification of Toshidon's 2009 inscription so that Toshidon will now be included as one member of this group of ten. Again, from the metacultural perspective—in this case not UNESCO's but the Japanese government's—this is an elegant solution. But from the esocultural perspective—the staunch local sense of identity and pride that has preserved Toshidon in the first place—the solution does not seem satisfactory. On my recent visit to the island, I had a chance to discuss this with several local leaders. I do not want to mischaracterize their opinions or put words in their mouths, but my impression was that although they felt they had no choice other than to acquiesce to the desires of the Japanese government, they were confused and somewhat frustrated by this turn of events.[10]

Again, this is my own interpretation but it seems their frustration could be characterized as follows. First, they felt that the pride and confidence they had achieved through their initial inscription in 2009 was being undercut—their distinction was lessened because now they were just one member of a large group. They also, significantly, did not feel a meaningful affinity with other members of this group. Why, for example, would they be lumped into the same category as Paantu, a ritual on Miyakojima in Okinawa, which entails mud-encrusted men running through the village on a date in late summer or early fall?[11] Of course, there are similarities—such as the wearing of masks—but the distinctiveness of Toshidon as an "educational" ritual performed in individual households on New Year's Eve was all but ignored in the metacultural grouping.

Finally, and perhaps most viscerally, several islanders expressed frustration with the way the decision was made and communicated. There was very little consultation with them and they felt disconnected from the process. They recognized that this was not UNESCO's doing, but a problem located closer to home—perhaps at the national, prefectural, or municipal levels. But whatever the

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Prefecture); Akusekijima no Boze (Kagoshima Prefecture). See "'Raihōshin: Kamen, Kasō no kami-gami' no Yunesuko mukei bunka isan tōroku ni muketa saiteian no kettei" (2017).

10 In January 2017 when I spoke with the islanders, Bunkachō had only announced that they would nominate eight elements; the additional two (Satsuma Iōjima no Mendon and Akusekijima no Boze, both located in Kagoshima Prefecture) were added later.

11 For a recent ethnographic study and interpretation of Paantu, see Schramm (2016).

source, one of the leaders I spoke with articulated annoyance at a process in which he felt that the agency and opinions of the local community were not respected. He reiterated that they certainly would have signed off on the change anyway, but he would have liked to have had more involvement as decisions were being made.

This is my sense of the on-the-ground reactions to a compromise that seemed, from a metacultural perspective, eminently reasonable. I am by no means arguing that UNESCO, or the Japanese government and other State entities, are oblivious to diversity and particularity. The 2003 Convention's definition of ICH, in fact, clearly states "This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus *promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity*" (UNESCO 2003: 2; also UNESCO n. d. d ; emphasis added). Indeed, the "meta-narrative" of UNESCO's heritage policy has been characterized as "unity in diversity" (Di Giovine 2009: 10; also 119-144). I would suggest however that, even as local communities attempt to understand the perspectives of national and regional authorities, it is only natural that they also actively express their own opinions and, if necessary, choose not to conform to the dictates of these entities and their drive toward a form of unity. We might even define the esocultural as a kind of agency that resists the hegemony of the metaculture. The islanders' dissatisfaction with the fact that Toshidon was to be "grouped" with other raihōshin rituals may not seem a major concern within the broader metacultural landscape, but from the esocultural reality of island life—from inside this single feature of the landscape—it looms much larger. It is exactly this sort of perspective that should be conveyed to cultural policy and decision-making bodies.

The lack of communication evidenced here is one reason for the sense of disjuncture or disconnect I mentioned at the beginning of this essay, and the example demonstrates how such a disjuncture between perspectives can cause real consternation. It also points to the fact that in many cases nobody is explicitly at fault: the reason for disjuncture is often simply that different stakeholders possess different sets of knowledge. The staff working at UNESCO obviously has a very full grasp of procedures, definitions, and regulations but can only know Toshidon from the information submitted by the community through the Japanese government. Meanwhile, the residents of Shimo-Koshikijima have intimate and personal knowledge of Toshidon, but can only know UNESCO through

information filtered to it through national and regional government bureaucracies.[12]

Put in terms like this, the disconnect emerges from very down-to-earth practical matters; more abstractly we can say that there is always a disjuncture, and concomitant necessity for negotiation, between the esocultural and metacultural, the particular and universal, the emic and etic, the local and global, the individual and group, the practice and theory. Paradoxes are unavoidable: How do we reconcile the specific with the general, resolve the "tension" between, in the words of Antonio Arantes, "intrinsic universalism and embedded particularism"? (Arantes 2017) What does "unity in diversity" look like in practice? Even in my own edited volume, which pointedly focuses on the local, I commit an act of metaculturality by putting disparate places/ traditions into a single book, bundled together as if they belonged together—but certainly the practitioners of the Malawi healing ritual dance known as Vimbuza have never heard of Toshidon and vice versa.[13] Does it matter? All I can say is that as a single researcher with an interest in one particular small community, I hope we can find ways of thinking and negotiating that do not normalize these disjunctures but work to bridge them, methods that recognize the paradoxes and the tensions and strive to foster their potential.

Despite the title of my essay, I have, unfortunately, no novel proposals to do this work of bridging. My only suggestion is the mundane one of continued conversation, negotiation and sharing of perspectives, exactly what this symposium and this volume are attempting to do. I would suggest, moreover, that "bridging" should always remain in its gerund form; the bridge itself may never be completed, but through active processes of building and working together—of individuals meeting with other individuals—meaning can be achieved.

In a global—or rather a *glocal*—world, the metacultural and esocultural are never antithetical; they are symbiotic. They both have limits, biases, and blind spots. But—and this is ultimately what I most want to stress—they are *not* equal. There is a critical imbalance of power here. An esocultural entity, almost by

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[12] Although I have argued throughout that UNESCO possesses a metacultural perspective, I also want to add that the "culture" of UNESCO's bureaucracy, such as the Intergovernmental Committee that decides on an element' s inscription, may be just as esocultural as that of any local community. Certainly such meetings are fraught with the same sort of factions and interpersonal relations as can be found within any local community project. I am grateful to Marc Jacobs for sharing this insight with me at the Seijō University Center for Glocal Studies Pre-Symposium meeting on February 18, 2017.

[13] For Vimbuza and its relation to UNESCO, see Gilman 2015.

definition, does not have the resources to transcend its localness. It is in a dangerously vulnerable position. If Toshidon were to disappear, it would only be a minor blip on the metacultural landscape, a few changes in the digital data records of UNESCO. In other words, UNESCO has much more impact on Shimo-Koshikijima than Shimo-Koshikijima has on UNESCO. In the glocal conversation UNESCO simply has a louder voice, and possesses, literally, the language of the discourse. Indeed, like so many other people touched by UNESCO, my friends on the island do not speak English or any other official language of the United Nations—and even if they did, they likely would not follow the terminology and acronyms. On the island, they received a certificate attesting to Toshidon' s inscription on the Representative List; it is framed and proudly displayed in the local museum—but it is in English and until it was translated, nobody was exactly sure what it said. On one level this is nothing more than a practical obstacle of language and knowledge access, but it also bleeds into critical issues of theory and politics and policy-making.

So my final point is only that, in working to bridge the divide between eso and meta, we have to remember that these are asymmetrical negotiations. I hope the various stakeholders involved—UNESCO, States Parties, regional governments, academics like me, and local people on the ground—will be mindful of this power differential, and *always* keep local concerns, and esocultural narratives, at the forefront of the discourse. We should remember that the particulars precede the general, and practices should guide policy about those practices. To end where I began: I am not an expert on UNESCO, but I hope *therefore* that my very limited perspective adds at least a little to a productive discussion of these issues.

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# APPENDIX

Center for Glocal Studies (CGS), Seijo University,
Pre-Symposium Meeting

# Glocal Perspectives on Intangible Cultural Heritage

## Local Communities, Researchers, States and UNESCO

無形文化遺産をグローカルに見る
――地域社会と研究者、国家、ユネスコの相互作用――

Date:18 February 2017(Sat), 9:30-16:30
Venue:Room 731, Bldg. 7, Seijo University, Tokyo, Japan

CENTER FOR GLOCAL STUDIES
SEIJO UNIVERSITY
成城大学
グローカル研究センター

# Opening Remarks

It is a great pleasure to welcome the delegates to the 2017 Pre-Symposiums Meeting, entitled *Glocal Perspectives on Intangible Cultural Heritage: Local Communities, Researchers, States and UNESCO* here in Tokyo.

Since the adoption of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 2003 and its subsequent effectuation in 2006, the convention has been globally adopted and considered as the basic principles for safeguarding intangible cultural heritage. As of 2016, 163 countries have become members of the convention and 336 heritage elements have been inscribed on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. Needless to say, in the process of adoption and practice of the convention in each case of inscription, various kinds of persons, parties, institutions are involved not only at the global level but also at the local and national level.

Meanwhile, our Center for Glocal Studies (CGS), Seijo University, has been striving to examine the socio-cultural dynamics in various settings not only from a global perspective but also from a local perspective, i.e. from glocal perspective. Now, ten years after the effectuation of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, the CGS proposes to assess the realities and consequent issues regarding UNESCO intangible cultural heritage from a glocal perspective. That is why the CGS is organizing this pre-symposium meeting on *Glocal Perspectives on Intangible Cultural Heritage: Local Communities, Researchers, States and UNESCO* and the subsequent symposium of the same title to be held on July 7-9, 2017.

At this pre-symposium and the subsequent symposium, the following issues will be discussed:

1. How local communities, local officials, researchers and government officials collaborate for the implementation of the UNESCO's ICH convention including inventory making, safeguarding, nomination and inscription.
2. What is the transformative impact of the Convention including inventory, safeguarding, nomination, and inscription?
3. How do communities assess the impact of the inventory, safeguarding, nomination and inscription?
4. What is the role of researchers as "cultural brokers" in assessing the impact of the implementation of the Convention?
5. What feedback mechanisms could exist for local communities to have a say about the impact of the Convention to UNESCO?

The focus of this pre-symposium meeting will be on the global and national level, while in the subsequent symposium it will be on the local and national level. Through the complementary pre-symposium meeting and subsequent symposium, I am sure we will

promote better understanding as to the interactions between local communities, researchers, states and UNESCO regarding safeguarding of intangible cultural heritages.

Once again, I thank you all for attending the Pre-Symposium Meeting and hope this opportunity will spur more fruitful collaborations in the future.

**Tomiyuki UESUGI**
Director of CGS, Seijo University

# 開会のご挨拶

この度は2017年プレシンポジウム「無形文化遺産をグローカルに見る―地域社会と研究者、国家、ユネスコの相互作用―」（*Glocal Perspectives on Intangible Cultural Heritage: Local Communities, Researchers, States and UNESCO*）の開催に当たり、報告をお願いしております先生方をはじめ、皆さまをここ東京にお迎えでき嬉しく存じます。

2003年にユネスコが無形文化遺産保護条約を採択し、その後2006年に施行して以来、同条約は世界的に受け入れられるとともに、無形文化遺産を保護する上での基本的指針とみなされてきました。2016年の時点で、163か国が同条約批准国となり、336の遺産要素が人類の無形文化遺産代表一覧に登録されています。言うまでもなく、それぞれの遺産登録に当たっては、同条約の採択・施行過程においては、様々な人びとや団体、機関がグローバル・レベルのみならずローカル、そして国家レベルでも関わっています。

ところで、私たち「成城大学グローカル研究センター（Center for Glocal Studies: CGS）」は、さまざまな事象に立ち現れる社会文化的ダイナミクスの様相を、グローバルのみならずローカルの視点からも、つまりは〈グローカル〉の視点から検討すべく励んでおります。無形文化遺産保護条約が施行されてから10年を経た現在、私たちグローカル研究センターはユネスコ無形文化遺産をめぐるリアリティ、さらには結果として生じている問題についても、〈グローカル〉の視点から評価／検証することを提案したいと思います。このような考えのもと、このたび、私たちグローカル研究センターは今回のプレシンポジウム、「無形文化遺産をグローカルに見る―地域社会と研究者、国家、ユネスコの相互作用―」を開催するとともに、それに続く同じタイトルの本シンポジウムを2017年7月7日から9日にかけて開催するに至りました。

今回のプレシンポジウムと引き続いて行われる本シンポジウムでは、以下の問題について議論されます。

1．地域社会、研究者、国家（中央政府、地方自治体の両方を含む）はどのようにして協力しながら目録作成、保護、推薦、登録など、ユネスコの無形文化遺産の保護に関する条約施行に関連する活動を実施するのか？
2．目録作成、保護、推薦、登録において、ユネスコ条約によってもたらされた変革の影響はどのようなものであったか？
3．地域社会は目録作成、保護、推薦、登録をどのように評価してきたか？
4．ユネスコ条約の施行による影響を評価する「文化仲介者」としての研究者の役割は何か？
5．地域社会がユネスコに、ユネスコ条約の影響について伝えるために考えられるフィード

バックの仕組みにはどのようなものがあるのか？

今回のプレシンポジウムでは、グローバルそしてナショナル・レベルの問題に焦点が当てられる一方、これに続く７月の本シンポジウムではローカルそしてナショナル・レベルでの問題を検討することになります。プレシンポジウムそして本シンポジウムを通じて、無形文化遺産保護にかかわる地域社会・研究者・国家そしてユネスコ関係者の間での交流に向けた、より良い相互理解を私たちが深めることができると私は信じております。

最後にもう一度、今回のプレシンポジウムにご参集いただきました皆さまに感謝を申し上げるとともに、本日が未来に向けた実り多い協働につながる機会となりますことを祈念いたします。

上杉富之
成城大学グローカル研究センター長

# Introductory Remarks

**Noriko AIKAWA-FAURE**

Former Director, Intangible Cultural Heritage Unit, UNESCO

Advisor for Intangible Cultural Heritage, Agency for Cultural Affairs, Japan

Professors, friends and colleagues,

At the beginning of this Pre-Symposium Meeting on "Glocal Perspectives on Intangible Cultural Heritage: Local Communities, Researchers, States and UNESCO" it is an honour for me to introduce the Meeting's background, main discussion points, and follow-up.

**Background**

You may already have noted that the title of the Meeting, a "pre-symposium," is an unusual one. A "pre-symposium" introduces a later symposium. This Pre-Symposium Meeting, organized by the Centre for Glocal Studies at Seijo University, previews the forthcoming Symposium to be held for the Asia-Pacific Region from 7 to 9 July 2017. The July Symposium will be co-organized by the International Research Centre for Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Asia-Pacific Region under the auspices of UNESCO, a so-called UNESCO Category 2 Centre (hereafter called the IRCI), and the Centre for Glocal Studies at Seijo University.

The July Symposium will be the culminating event of the IRCI project entitled "Mapping Studies on the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage ( hereafter called ICH) in the Asia and Pacific Region," which was launched in 2013 in order to take stock of research conducted on the safeguarding of ICH in the Asia-Pacific Region. The IRCI has already collected information from the existing literature, as well as from research institutions and individual researchers from 25 countries in the Region, and entered it into a searchable database currently containing 1,300 entries. The information collected has been shared and analysed at four expert meetings. The July Symposium will discuss the topic of "Glocal Perspectives on Intangible Cultural Heritage: Local Communities, Researchers, States and UNESCO" from Asia-Pacific perspectives.

At today's meeting, five academics – Antonio Arantes from Brazil, Michael Dylan Foster from the USA, Chao Gejin from China, Hanhee Hahm from the Republic of Korea and Marc Jacobs from Belgium – all of whom have been grappling with ICH issues from the time the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (hereafter called the UNESCO Convention) was negotiated to its implementation phase – will present their insights into the interplay among local, national and international agents in safeguarding the ICH within different States and from different geographical and conceptual perspectives.

The UNECSO Convention champions the participation of the communities, groups and individuals who are the creators and practitioners of the ICH and requires States Parties to ensure close collaboration among local communities, groups and individuals, as well as experts, centres of expertise and research institutions, in the process of implementing the Convention[1]. However, various scholars and other cultural brokers have noted that these theoretical principles, when translated into practical measures ranging from policy-making, institution creating, inventory making, transmission enhancement, and research development to the preparations of nominations to the Lists established by the Convention, do not always meet the expectations of the Convention.

Tomorrow morning, five experts will discuss such issues further, in order to provide advice on the detailed discussion points and profiles of the participants in the July Symposium specifically addressed to the Asia-Pacific Region.

The title for the Symposium, "Glocal Perspectives on Intangible Cultural Heritage: Local Communities, Researchers, States and UNESCO," appeared in early 2016 in the discussions I had as representative of the Advisory Committee of the IRCI with Tim Curtis relating to the literature surveys on the safeguarding of ICH in the Asia-Pacific Region conducted by IRCI in 2015[2] and 2016[3]. Tim Curtis is a cultural anthropologist who was appointed Secretary of the Convention in January 2016, and the conversations with him were then extended to subsequent discussions with Lourdes Arizpe.

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[1] Principally Article 11, 15 of the Convention and paragraphes 79-89 of the Operational Directives

[2] Denes, Alexandra: *Regional Survey Summary Report*, IRCI: 2015

[3] Hahm, Han-hee, *Regional Survey Summary Report*, IRCI: 2016

Lourdes Arizpe has had a unique career. She is a distinguished anthropologist and was the UNESCO Assistant Director-General for Culture from 1994 to 1998. We all owe her a debt of gratitude for having consolidated the programme on the ICH that was launched by UNESCO in 1993 and for which I was responsible. We also owe her for the definition of the term Intangible Cultural Heritage given in Article 2 of the UNESCO Convention. The definition she proposed has been widely accepted by the international community at all levels, mainly because of the multi-layered insights it contains regarding the interests of the principal stakeholders of the ICH, including the views of practitioner communities, the conceptual preoccupations of anthropologists, and the political concerns of States Parties including administrative and financial constraints.

Lourdes Arizpe wrote in 2013 that "critical perspectives are necessary to promote diversity and to allow innovations to influence policy decisions and drive programmes forward… In recent years [however] anthropology has developed its own critical perspective on ICH, with little or no dialogue with the UNESCO programme of the 2003 Convention… The renewal of this dialogue between independent researchers in anthropology and other related sciences and the policy-making bodies of the 2003 Convention is now a very urgent matter". (Arizpe: 2013)

I would like to thank the Centre for Glocal Studies at Seijo University and the IRCI to have taken up this topic for the title of the Pre-symposum and the July Symposium.

Numerous scholars have scrutinized the UNESCO heritage listing system for both the Tangible and the Intangible Cultural Heritage. Their criticisms have pointed to processes of "heritage-ization", the term commonly used today, including "heritage-making" (Bendix: 2012), and even "UNESCO-ization" (De Cesari: 2013) or the creation of "metacultural artefacts" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett: 2004) or "authorized heritage discourses (AHD)" (Smith: 2006). However, such scrutiny has mostly focused on the effects of the inscription of ICH elements on the Convention's Representative List. Many of the scholarly observations and analyses made in this regard have demonstrated the undesirable effects that the nomination or inscription on the Representative List of elements of the ICH can have on the cultural expressions concerned and the related practitioner communities' everyday lives.

The Representative List has also been problematic for the Committee of the Convention itself. In Committee meetings, debates relating to this List have gone beyond the realm

of the ICH itself and taken on a sometimes passionate political tone. The recent Intergovernmental Committee Meeting of the Convention (henceforward, the Committee), where 80 per cent of the nominations referred by an expert group (the Evaluation Body) were reversed and inscribed by political manoeuvres, was perhaps the most flagrant example of this. The Committee itself realized that the deliberations were going far beyond the task of examining the substance of the evaluations made by the Evaluation Body and decided to review the procedure for evaluating the nominations to the List and the decision-making processes of the Committee on nominations and related issues as a result[4].

The purpose of the Representative List is the raising of awareness of the ICH, and in this regard the List has largely accomplished its aim. Slowing down the process of inscription on the Representative List, set out a decade ago by fixing a ceiling on the number of nominations to approximately 50 that the Committee examines yearly, could now be taken further. More light could also be shed by the Committee, by the States Parties and by the academics on other Lists, such as the Urgent Safeguarding List and the Register of Good Safeguarding Practices, as well as other implementation measures that States Parties have put in place, such as inventory-making, safeguarding and capacity building.

**Sub-themes of the Symposium**

In today's meeting, you will discuss the following four sub-themes under the overarching topic of "Glocal Perspectives on Intangible Cultural Heritage: Local Communities, Researchers, States and UNESCO":

**1. How do local communities, researchers, States (including local and government officials) collaborate for the implementation of the UNESCO ICH Convention including inventory-making, safeguarding, nomination and inscription?**

The obligation of a State Party once it has ratified the Convention is to take the necessary steps to safeguard the ICH on its territory with the widest possible participation of the communities, groups and individuals concerned. "Safeguarding means measures aimed at ensuring the viability of the ICH," and they include inventory-making, identification, documentation, research, preservation, protection, promotion, enhancement, transmission and revitalization of the ICH[5]. How can Committee gauge how the Convention has been

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[4] Decision 11COM.10, paragraph 2.3

[5] Article 2, paragraph 3 of the Convention

implemented within the States concerned and how community members and other stakeholders have cooperated in participating in these activities? It is through the Periodic Report that the Convention obliges the States Parties to submit every six years to the Committee. The Report reflects the views of the governments concerned, however, and the Committee does not have any tool to verify the veracity of the contents of the Reports or other views expressed by other stakeholders. The question arises of which communities, groups or individuals could best express opinions different from those of the governments concerned. Perhaps practitioner community members could also submit their reports to the Committee?

The community-centred approach that the Convention takes also confused some States Parties who have been practicing a government-centred approach for the protection of the ICH that has been in place for decades. The Republic of Korea, for example, has sought to find a way through the contrasting approaches of the UNESCO Convention and State policy. Hanhee Hahm will demonstrate how the Republic of Korea has tackled this contrast by passing a new law in 2015 and illustrating its approach by a case study on "tea-making", the first ICH element inscribed under the new law[6].

Another case study will be presented by Chao Gejin taking as example the nomination for the "Twenty-four solar terms" inscribed in 2016 on the Representative List. He will demonstrate how representatives of the communities, research institutions, NGOs and the Governments, including the central and local governments, shared their responsibilities and collaborated among themselves by way of a well established cooperative mechanism[7].

Such questions lead on to the next point.

**2. What has been the transformative impact of the Convention, and how have communities assessed its impacts?**

The UNESCO Secretariat, upon the request of the Committee[8], is currently working to develop a methodology for the monitoring and evaluation of the implementation of the

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[6] Hanhee Hahm's paper entitled: "Imagined UNESCO Convention: a UNESCO influence on local practitioners and communities"

[7] Chao Gejin's paper entitled : "Multi-actors in the Safeguarding of ICH: Cooperative Mechanism in the Nomination of Twenty-four Solar Terms »

[8] 9COM (2014)

Convention as a whole, applying an overall results framework. The monitoring and evaluation process will be implemented at the State level, however, and not at the local level within each State.

While compilations of case studies on the transformative impact of the implementation of the UNESCO Convention, notably nominations or inscriptions on the Representative List, have been published in Europe and the USA (e.g. Bendix: 2012, 2015; Bortoletto: 2011; Foster: 2015; Stefano & Davis: 2017), critical literature written by community members themselves on this issue is scarce. Bendix's group noted that the ratification of the Convention had given States new powers over the dynamic resources of the ICH and divergent "heritage regimes" and bureaucracies ( Bendix: 2012), for example.

At today' s meeting, Michael Dylan Foster will discuss the perceived disconnect between the global and the local in the understanding of the ICH through his case study on the "Koshikijima no Toshidon," which was inscribed on the Representative List in 2009 (Japan). He will suggest ways in which the stakeholders concerned might work to bridge the disconnected "metacultural" and "exocultural" perspectives[9].

Antonio Arantes, while upholding what he calls « anthropological turn » that the Convention has successfully provoked, points out that the effectiveness of the Convention is « grounded on a challenging conceptual tension, i.e. the clash between the cold normativity of its dispositions, implemented by States Parties bureaucracies, and the heat of dynamic human lives »[10].

The Committee recently endorsed "ethical principles for safeguarding the Intangible Cultural Heritage"[11]. These include a paragraph recommending that "communities, groups, local, national, transnational organizations and individuals should carefully assess the direct or indirect, short-term and long-term, potential and definitive impact of any

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[9] Michael Dylan Foster's paper entitled: "Bridging Metacultural and Esocultural Perspectives on UNESCO and ICH »

[10] Antonio Arantes' paper entitled: "Transformative impacts of the ICH Convention: Notes for discussion »

[11] The 10th Committee (December 2015) endorsed UNESCO, *Ethical Principles for Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage*,established by an expert group

action that may affect the viability of ICH or the communities concerned"[12]. Marc Jacobs will analyse these principles, notably the tension that these principles capture between 'relative autonomy' and 'interventions'[13].

**3. What is the role of researchers as "cultural brokers" in assessing the impact of the implementation of the Convention?**

Are researchers "researchers" and/or "facilitators" (Bortoletto: 2015), "agents" and/or "observers"(Bortolettod: 2015) or "participant-observer" (Kurin 1997)? Are anthropologists go-betweens among different groups of actors (Adell,Bendix, Bortoletto and Tauschek: 2015) ?

A glossary[14] of 33 terms drawn up by UNESCO in June 2002 within the framework of the Convention treated the three terms of "researcher, administrator and manager" collectively and drew up one definition inspired from that of a "cultural broker". Such persons, it said, were "specialists who promote, display and mediate culture through personal engagement, and in organizations and institutions at local, national, regional and international levels." Marc Jacobs will discuss the role of such "cultural brokers," a term made well-known by Richard Kurin with the intention of narrowing the gap between academic discourse and professional action (Kurin: 1997). Kurin was one of the co-instigators of the UNESCO Convention.

**4. What are the possible feedback mechanisms for local communities to communicate to UNESCO the impact of the Convention?**

Although the General Assembly of the States Parties is the sovereign body of the Convention[15], the Intergovernmental Committee is in reality the most influential body to make decisions in the process of the implementation of the Convention, and the UNESCO Secretariat is at the service of the Committee. The relationship between the Committee and the Secretariat is a complex and sometimes controversial one. Possible feedback mechanisms for local communities should therefore be addressed to the Committee.

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[12] UNESCO, *Ethical Principles for Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage*, paragraph 9

[13] Marc Jacobs' paper entitled: "Glocal Perspectives on Safeguarding. CGIs, ICH, Ethics and Cultural Brokerage »

[14] www.unesco.org/culture/ich/doc/src/00265.pdf

[15] The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, Article 4 paragraph 1

It is worth recalling the lengthy and stormy debates at the first Committee meeting held in Algiers in 2007 that discussed the drafting of the Operational Directives relating to the participation of community members, practitioners or indigenous peoples in the work of the Committee. Many members of the Committee were not keen on the Secretariat's proposed transformation of the community-participation approach of the Convention into practical terms. The Committee finally accepted in a most insignificant form the participation of communities, in addition to groups and experts, in the meetings of the Committee "in order to sustain an interactive dialogue"[16] (Aikawa: 2007). This shows how difficult it has been to translate the concept of community participation into practical terms within the intergovernmental framework of the Convention. The Committee may wish to review this paragraph, introducing practices from the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO), the International Labor Organization (ILO) and the Convention for Biological Diversity (CBD) that allow the participation of representatives of communities and indigenous peoples to attend their Intergovernmental Committee meetings (Adell,Bendix, Bortoletto and Tauschek: 2015).

Concrete and constructive suggestions to reconnect disconnected or never connected stakeholders back to the safeguarding of the ICH are expected to emerge from the discussions today.

The July Symposium will certainly profit from the insights and perceptions generated at today's Pre-Symposium Meeting, making it a real opportunity to address the "urgent matter," in Lourde Arizpe's words, of renewing the dialogue between and among representatives of local communities, researchers, States Parties and UNESCO in the Asia-Pacific Region on the UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention.

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# はじめのご挨拶

**愛川・フォール・紀子**

前ユネスコ本部無形文化遺産課ディレクター
日本文化庁無形文化遺産アドバイザー

諸先生方、親愛なる皆様と同僚の皆さん、プレシンポジウム、「無形文化遺産をグローカルに見る―地域社会と研究者、国家、ユネスコの相互作用―」（*Glocal Perspectives on Intangible Cultural Heritage: Local Communities, Researchers, States and UNESCO*）の開会に当たりまして、本プレシンポジウムの背景、主要議題および今後取り組むべき課題についてご紹介をする機会をいただき光栄に思います。

## 背景

今回の会議が「プレシンポジウム」であることにすでにお気づきかもしれません。これはあまり耳にしない名称ですが、「プレシンポジウム」の後には、シンポジウムが開催されます。今回の成城大学グローカル研究センター主催プレシンポジウムは、2017 年 7 月 7 日から 9 日にかけてアジア太平洋地域を対象に開催されるシンポジウムに先立って開催されるものです。7 月のシンポジウムは、ユネスコ賛助機関、いわゆるユネスコ第二区分センターである、アジア太平洋無形文化遺産研究センター（International Research Centre for ICH in the Asia Pacific Region）（以下、IRCI）および成城大学グローカル研究センターとの共同開催になります。

この 7 月のシンポジウムは、IRCI の「アジア太平洋地域の無形文化遺産保護に関するマッピング研究」プロジェクトのクライマックスイベントとなります。本プロジェクトは、アジア太平洋地域における無形文化遺産保護に関する研究の評価を実施する一環として 2013 年に開始されたものです。IRCI では、既存研究に加え、域内 25 か国の研究機関および研究者より情報を収集し、1,300 件にのぼるデータを検索可能なデータベースに蓄積しています。収集した情報は、専門家による 4 回の会議で共有および分析されました。7 月のシンポジウムでは、「無形文化遺産をグローカルに見る―地域社会と研究者、国家、ユネスコの相互作用―」について、アジア太平洋地域の視点から議論が行われる予定です。

本日のプレシンポジウムでは、ブラジルから Antonio Arantes 氏、アメリカから Michael Dylan Foster 氏、中国から Chao Gejin 氏、韓国から Hanhee Hahm 氏、そしてベルギーから Marc Jacobs 氏の計 5 名の研究者をお招きしております。いずれも、ユネスコの無形文化遺産の保護に関する条約（以下、「ユネスコ条約」）の交渉から施行段階において、当初より無形文化遺産につい

て取り組んでいらっしゃった方々です。皆様には、それぞれの国における無形文化遺産の保護に関する地域、国家、国際レベルの諸機関の相互作用についての知見を、異なる地理的見解や多様なコンセプトを交えてお伝えいただきます。

ユネスコ条約は、無形文化遺産を生み出し継承する地域社会やグループ・個人の参入を支持しています。また、本条約の施行プロセスにおいて、国家機関に対してこれらの地域社会、グループや個人、および専門家、専門機関や研究機関と密接な協力関係を築くよう、条約では求めています[1]。しかしながら、このような理論上の原則は、条約が制定する無形文化遺産登録リストへの推薦準備に向けた政策立案、団体創設、目録作成、普及促進、および研究開発などを含めた実用プロセスに応用される段階において必ずしもユネスコ条約が期待するものとは一致していないことに、多くの学者や文化仲介者（cultural broker）は気づいてきました。

とくにアジア太平洋地域について議論をすることとなる7月のシンポジウムに先立ち、その議論の詳しい内容や参加者のプロフィールに関する提言をするために、明日の午前中には5名の専門家の皆様によってさらなる議論が進められる予定です。

シンポジウムのタイトル、「無形文化遺産をグローカルに見る―地域社会と研究者、国家、ユネスコの相互作用―」は、2016年初めに私がTim Curtis氏とIRCI諮問委員会の代表として、IRCIが2015年[2]、2016年[3]にアジア太平洋地域で実施していた無形文化遺産保護に関する文献調査について議論する中で生まれたものです。Tim Curtis氏は、2016年1月にユネスコ条約の事務局長に任命された文化人類学者であり、同氏との対話が後のLourdes Arizpe氏との議論につながっていきました。

Lourdes Arizpe氏はユニークなキャリアの持ち主です。彼女は著名な人類学者であり、1994年から1998年にかけてユネスコ文化担当事務局長補を務めました。ユネスコが1993年に開始し、そして私自身が担当していた無形文化遺産プログラムを確固たるものに築き上げた同氏の成果に、一同心より感謝しております。また、ユネスコ条約第2条に規定されている無形文化遺産の定義においても彼女の貢献は非常に大きなものです。Lourdes Arizpe氏によって提案された定義は、あらゆるレベルの国際コミュニティに幅広く受け入れられています。同氏の定義には、無形文化遺産の主要ステークホルダーの利益に関する多角的な知見が含まれており、その中には継承者である地域社会の視点、人類学者の概念上の懸念、また行政上、財政上の制約を含めた国家の政治的危機感も含まれています。

Lourdes Arizpe氏は2013年に次のように記しています。「多様性やイノベーションを促進しながら政策決定に影響を与え、プログラムを推し進めていくためには、批判的な視点が求められる…（しかしながら）近年、人類学分野では無形文化遺産に関する独自の批判的見解がなされているものの、それらは2003年ユネスコ条約のプログラムとの対話をまったく、もしくはほとんど持って

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1 主にユネスコ条約の第11条、15条および、運用指示書の第79-89段落

2 Denes, Alexandra: *Regional Survey Summary Report*, IRCI: 2015

3 Hahm, Han-hee, *Regional Survey Summary Report*, IRCI: 2016

いないものである…人類学および関連分野の各研究者と、2003 年のユネスコ条約の政策実施機関との新たな対話の実現が緊急課題となっている」（Arizpe: 2013）。

今回のプレシンポジウムおよび 7 月のシンポジウムのタイトルとして、今お伝えしたようなトピックを取り上げてくださいました成城大学グローカル研究センターと IRCI に感謝申し上げます。

ユネスコの遺産登録システムについては、有形文化遺産、無形文化遺産の双方においてこれまで多くの学者が調査を行ってきました。その中で批判の対象となっているのは、今日一般に使用される用語となった「heritage-ization（遺産化）」のプロセス、ならびに「heritage-making（遺産づくり）」（Bendix: 2012）、「UNESCO-ization（ユネスコ化）」（De Cesari: 2013）、「metacultural artefacts（人為的なメタカルチャー）」（Kirshenblatt-Gimblett: 2004）、「authorized heritage discourses（AHD）（権威化された遺産の語り）」（Smith: 2006）などです。一方で、多くの研究は、無形文化遺産の要素（element）がユネスコ条約の代表一覧表に登録されることによって起こり得る影響に焦点を当てています。学者による考察や分析の多くが示すように、無形文化遺産の要素が代表一覧表に推薦または登録されることにより、文化表現そのもの、および継承者である地域社会の日常生活に好ましくない影響がもたらされています。

また、この代表一覧表というのはユネスコ条約の委員会にとっても問題の種となっています。委員会の会議では、一覧表に関連する議論が無形文化遺産の枠を超えてしまい、時として熱狂的になって政治色を帯びることすらあります。近年のユネスコ条約の政府間委員会の会議（以下、「委員会」）においては、専門家グループ（評価機関）によって推薦された案件の 80%が政治的操作によって覆って登録されており、このこと自体がもしかすると最も目に余る事例であるかもしれません。委員会自身も審議作業そのものが、評価機関によって評価された案件の審査にとどまらず、その枠を超えてしまっていることに気づき、結果的には一覧表への推薦案件の評価プロセスおよび推薦案件に関する委員会の意思決定プロセスを見直すことになりました[4]。

代表一覧表の目的は、無形文化遺産に関する意識の向上であり、その点において一覧表の目標は大きく達成されています。十年ほど前に設定された年間約 50 件という推薦案件の上限をさらに厳しくし、代表一覧表への登録プロセスのスピードを緩めることが今後考えられます。また、緊急保護一覧表、グッドプラクティス保護案件（好事例）の登録など、他のリスト、そして加盟国が実施する目録作成、保護活動、能力開発などの実施事項について、委員会や加盟国、学者が明らかにしていくこともできるでしょう。

## シンポジウムのサブテーマ

本日のプレシンポジウムでは、「無形文化遺産をグローカルに見る―地域社会と研究者、国家、ユネスコの相互作用―」という大テーマのもとで次の 4 つのサブテーマについて議論をしていただきます。

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[4] 決定事項 11COM.10，第 2. 3 段落

**1．地域社会、研究者、国家（中央政府、地方自治体の両方を含む）はどのようにして協力しながら目録作成、保護、推薦、登録など、ユネスコの無形文化遺産の保護に関する条約施行に関連する活動を実施するのか？**

条約を批准した加盟国は、関連する地域社会、グループや個人を可能な限り参画させて、自国領域内の無形文化遺産を保護するための措置を講じる義務を負います。「保護というのは、無形文化遺産の存続性を保証するための措置」であり、無形文化遺産の目録作成や特定、文書化、研究、保存、庇護、促進、啓発、継承、活性化などが含まれます[5]。ユネスコ条約がどのようにして該当国家内で実施され、どのように地域社会の住民や他のステークホルダーがそれらの活動参画に協力をしてきたかということを、委員会はどのように評価することができるのでしょうか。それはユネスコ条約が加盟国に対して、委員会への提出を義務付けている 6 か月毎の定期報告書を通して確認することができます。その報告書は、該当国政府の見解を反映していますが一方で、委員会は報告書の内容の信憑性および他のステークホルダーの見解を確認する手段がありません。ここで、該当国政府とは異なる意見をもっとも適切に表現することができるのは、どの地域社会、グループまたは個人なのか、という疑問が生じます。例えば、無形文化遺産の継承者である地域社会の住民が委員会に報告書を提出するというのはいかがでしょう？

ユネスコ条約が掲げる地域社会中心のアプローチに困惑する加盟国もあります。というのも、それらの加盟国ではこれまで何十年もの間、政府中心のアプローチが実施されてきたからです。例えば、韓国ではユネスコ条約と国家政策とのアプローチの矛盾を打開する試みが模索されてきました。Hanhee Hahm 氏は、韓国政府が 2015 年に新法案を可決させ、どのようにしてこの矛盾に取り組んできたかについて、新法案施行後に初めて無形文化遺産に登録された「茶道」の事例を取り上げながら紹介します[6]。

もう一つの事例は、Chao Gejin 氏が本日の報告で取り上げる、2016 年に代表一覧表に登録された「二十四節気」です。同氏は、地域社会の代表者や研究機関、NGO、中央政府と地方自治体がどのようにして責任を分担しながら協力し合う優れた体制を築くことができたかという事例を紹介します[7]。

以上のような疑問や課題が次のテーマにつながっていきます。

**2．ユネスコ条約によってもたらされた変革の影響はどのようなもので、地域社会はそれをどのように評価してきたか？**

ユネスコ事務局では、委員会の要求に基づき[8]、成果枠組みを適用する形でユネスコ条約を総括的にモニタリングし、評価する方法論を現在開発中です。このモニタリングと評価プロセスは国家

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5 ユネスコ条約、第 2 条、第 3 段落

6 Hanhee Hahm 氏の論文『Imagined UNESCO Convention: a UNESCO influence on local practitioners and communities』

7 Chao Gejin 氏の論文『Multi-actors in the Safeguarding of ICH: Cooperative Mechanism in the Nomination of Twenty-four Solar Terms』

8 9COM (2014)

レベルでは実施されていますが、各国の地域レベルでは実施されていません。

ユネスコ条約の施行によってもたらされた変革的な影響に関する事例研究、とりわけ代表一覧表への推薦や登録に関する研究が、ヨーロッパやアメリカで出版されていますが（例えば、Bendix: 2012, 2015; Bortoletto: 2011; Foster: 2015; Stefano & Davis: 2017）、地域社会の住民自身による批判的文献はほとんどありません。例えば Bendix らは、本条約の批准によって、国家が無形文化遺産のあり方やそれに基づく「遺産体制」および官僚主義に対して新たな権力を持つことになったと記しています（Bendix: 2012）。

本日の会議で、Michael Dylan Foster 氏は 2009 年に代表一覧表に登録された「甑島（こしきじま）のトシドン」（日本）の事例を通して、グローバルとローカルとの間にある無形文化遺産に関する見解の隔たりについて紹介します。同氏は、関係するステークホルダーが「メタカルチャー（metacultural）」と「エソカルチャー（esocultural）」との見解の違いを埋める役割を果たす可能性について提案します[9]。

Antonio Arantes 氏は、ユネスコ条約によって呼び起こされた彼自身が言うところの「人類学的変革」を支持しつつも、ユネスコ条約の妥当性は「ハードルの高い概念的な葛藤、例えば国家の官僚制に基づく冷淡な規範と、生き生きとした人間の生活という熱いものとの衝突に根拠を置く」[10]と指摘しています。

近年、ユネスコ条約の政府間委員会は「無形文化遺産の保護に関する倫理原則」[11]の支持を表明しました。この表明の中には、「地域社会、グループおよび地域、国家、諸国家間の各種組織や個人に対して、無形文化遺産または該当地域社会の存続性に直接または間接、短期的または長期的、そして潜在的または絶対的に影響を及ぼし得るあらゆる行動を慎重に見極めること」を推奨する文言が含まれています[12]。Marc Jacobs 氏は、この原則、とりわけ「相対的な自主性」と「干渉」とに介在する葛藤について分析しています[13]。

**3．ユネスコ条約の施行による影響を評価する「文化仲介者」としての研究者の役割は何か？**

研究者（researcher）というのは「研究者（reseraherc）」でであるとともに／あるいは「ファシリテーター（facilitator）」（Bortoletto: 2015）、もしくは「代理人（agent）」であり、または「観

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9　Michael Dylan Foster 氏の論文『Bridging Metacultural and Esocultural Perspectives on UNESCO and ICH』

10　Antonio Arantes 氏の論文『Transformative impacts of the ICH Convention: Notes for discussion』

11　第 10 回委員会（2015 年 12 月）では、専門家グループによる「ユネスコ、無形文化遺産の保護に関する倫理原則」が表明された。

12　ユネスコ、無形文化遺産の保護に関する倫理原則、第 9 段落

13　Marc Jacobs 氏の論文『Glocal Perspectives on Safeguarding. CGIs, ICH, Ethics and Cultural Brokerage』

察者（observer）」（Bortoletto: 2015）、それとも「参与観察者」（Kurin:1997）なのでしょうか？なかでも人類学者というのは、異なる役割のグループの間を行き来していると言えるのでしょうか（Adell, Bendix, Bortoletto and Tauschek: 2015）？

ユネスコが、ユネスコ条約の枠組みに基づいて 2002 年 6 月に作成した 33 の専門用語を含む用語集[14]には、「研究者（researcher）、管理者（administrator）およびマネジャー（manager）」の 3 つの用語がひとまとまりに取り上げられており、「文化仲介者（cultural broker）」に由来する一つの定義で規定されています。その定義によれば、「研究者、管理者およびマネジャー」というのは「個人的な関わりを通して、もしくはローカル、国家、地域、国際などあらゆるレベルの団体組織において文化を推進、教示および仲介する人」を指します。Marc Jacobs 氏はそのような「文化仲介者」の役割について議論します。この「文化仲介者」という言葉は、Richard Kurin 氏が学術議論と専門家の行動とに存在するギャップを埋める意図で普及させた用語です（Kurin: 1997）。Kurin 氏はユネスコ条約の立役者の一人でもあります。

**4．地域社会がユネスコに、ユネスコ条約の影響について伝えるために考えられるフィードバックの仕組みにはどのようなものがあるのか？**

加盟国によって構成される総会は、ユネスコ条約における最高機関ですが[15]、実際には政府間委員会が条約施行の意思決定プロセスにおいて最も影響力のある機関であり、ユネスコ事務局は当委員会を補佐しています。政府間委員会とユネスコ事務局との関係は複雑であり、時に議論を引き起こします。したがって、地域社会からのフィードバックの仕組みは委員会に対して成されるものであるべきです。

2007 年にアルジェで開催された第一回政府間委員会では、地域社会の住民、継承者または先住民の人々を委員会の活動に参画させることに関する運用指示書の草案をめぐり長時間におよぶ激しい議論が行われましたが、それは思い起こすに値することです。多くの委員会メンバーは、ユネスコ条約を地域参加型アプローチに実際に移行させるという事務局の提案に積極的ではありませんでした。最終的には、「インタラクティブな対話を継続させるため」[16]に、専門家やグループの参画につけ加える形で地域社会の参画も認めるという、取るに足らない方法で委員会は提案を受け入れました（Aikawa: 2007）。このことは、条約の政府間枠組みの中で地域社会の参画を実現するという概念がいかに難しいかということを示しています。政府間委員会への地域社会の代表や先住民の人々の参加を可能にしている世界知的所有権機関（WIPO）、国際労働機関（ILO）や生物の多様性に関する条約（CBD）の慣例に倣い、当該文言を見直すことが委員会に望まれます（Adell, Bendix, Bortoletto and Tauschek: 2015）。

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14 www.unesco.org/ culture/ ich/ doc/ src/ 00265.pdf

15 無形文化遺産の保護に関する条約、第 4 条、第 1 段落

16 運用指示書、第 89 段落

本日の議論や意見交換では、無形文化遺産の保護においてこれまで決してつながることのなかった、または関係性が分断されてしまったステークホルダー同士を再び結びつけるための具体的かつ建設的な提言がなされることを期待しています。

本日のプレシンポジウムで共有される見解や認識は、確実に７月のシンポジウムに引き継がれることでしょう。そして、それはLourdes Arizpe氏の言葉をお借りすると、ユネスコの無形文化遺産の保護に関する条約についてアジア太平洋地域における地域社会の代表、研究者、加盟国同士が新たな対話を持つという「緊急課題」について話し合う真の機会となります。［訳責：CGS編集担当者］

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# Timetable

**Day 1: 18 February 2017**

**9:00** Registration

**9:30-9:50** Welcome Remarks

**Mr. Junichi TOBE,** President, Seijo University, Japan

Opening Remarks

**Mr. Tomiyuki UESUGI,** Director of CGS, Seijo University, Japan

**9:50-10:10** Introductory Remarks

**Ms. Noriko AIKAWA-FAURE,** Former Director/Chief, The Intangible Heritage Section, UNESCO

**10:10-10:40** Presentation 1:

***Transformative impacts of the ICH Convention: Notes for discussion***

**Mr. Antonio A. ARANTES**, State University of Campinas (UNICAMP), Brazil

**10:40-11:10** Presentation 2:

***Multi-actors in the Safeguarding of ICH: Cooperative Mechanism in the Nomination of "Twenty-four Solar Terms"***

**Mr. Chao GEJIN,** Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS), China

**11:10-11:25** [Coffee Break]

**11:25-11:55** Presentation 3:

***Imagined UNESCO Convention: A UNESCO Influence on Local Practitioners and Communities***

**Ms. Hanhee HAHM,** Chonbuk National University, Republic of Korea

**11:55-12:25** Presentation 4:

***Glocal Perspectives on Safeguarding: CGIs, ICH, Ethics and Cultural Brokerage***

**Mr. Marc JACOBS**, Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Belgium

**12:25-13:30** [Delegates Luncheon]

**13:30-14:00** Presentation 5:

***Bridging Metacultural and Esocultural Perspectives on UNESCO and ICH***

**Mr. Michael D. FOSTER,** University of California, Davis, USA

**14:00-14:20** Comment 1:
**Mr. Satoru HYOKI,** Seijo University, Japan

**14:20-14:40** Comment 2:
**Mr. Taku IIDA,** National Museum of Ethnology, Japan

**14:40-14:55** [Coffee Break]

**14:55-16:20** Presenters' Responses to Comments/ Open Floor Discussion

**16:20-16:30** Closing Remarks

**17:00-19:00** Reception Party (*At Atrium on Level 4)

**Day 2: 19 February 2017 (*NOT Open to the Public)**

**10:00-12:00** Advisory Meeting: International Symposium on "Glocal Perspectives on Intangible Cultural Heritage: Local Communities, Researchers, States and UNESCO" to be held from 7 to 9 July 2017

# List of Participants

| | |
|---|---|
| **Chairs/ Co-Chair** | |
| Tomiyuki UESUGI (Mr) | Director/Professor,<br>Center for Glocal Studies (CGS),<br>Seijo University, Japan |
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| **Introductory Remarks** | |
| Noriko AIKAWA-FAURE (Ms) | Former Director/Chief,<br>The Intangible Heritage Section, UNESCO,<br>Advisor for Intangible Cultural Heritage, Agency for Cultural Affairs, Japan |
| **Presenters** | |
| Antonio A. ARANTES (Mr) | Professor,<br>State University of Campinas (UNICAMP), Brazil<br>Past-President of Brazilian Anthropological Association (ABA) and Latin American Anthropological Association (ALA) |
| Chao GEJIN (Mr) | Director General,<br>Institute of Ethnic Literatures,<br>Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS), China |
| Hanhee HAHM (Ms) | Professor,<br>Dept. of Archaeological and Cultural Anthropology<br>Chonbuk National University, Republic of Korea |
| Marc JACOBS (Mr) | Professor,<br>Dept. of History, Archaeology, Arts, Philosophy and Ethics,<br>Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Belgium |
| Michael D. FOSTER (Mr) | Professor,<br>Dept. of East Asian Languages and Cultures, University of California, Davis, USA |
| **Commentators** | |
| Satoru HYOKI (Mr) | Associate Professor,<br>Dept. of Cultural History, Seijo University, Japan |
| Taku IIDA (Mr) | Associate Professor,<br>Research Center for Cultural Resources,<br>National Museum of Ethnology, Japan |
| **Representative of UNESCO** | |
| Himalchuli GURUNG (Ms) | Programme Specialist for Culture,<br>UNESCO Beijing Office |

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|---|---|
| **Representatives of Agency for Cultural Affairs, Japan** | |
| Shigeyuki MIYATA (Mr) | Senior Cultural Properties Specialist,<br>Agency for Cultural Affairs, Japan |
| Yasue HAMADA (Ms) | Deputy Director,<br>Office for International Cooperation on Cultural Properties,<br>Traditional Culture Division, Cultural Properties Department,<br>Agency for Cultural Affairs, Japan |
| **Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties** | |
| Tomo ISHIMURA (Mr) | Head, Audio-Visual Documentation Section,<br>Department of Intangible Cultural Heritage, Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, Japan |
| Yoko FUTAGAMI (Ms) | Head, Cultural Properties Information Section,<br>Department of Art Research, Archives and Information Systems,<br>Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, Japan |
| **IRCI (International Research Centre for Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Asia-Pacific Region under the Auspices of UNESCO)** | |
| Wataru IWAMOTO (Mr) | Director-General, IRCI, Japan |
| Misako OHNUKI (Ms) | Deputy-Director, IRCI, Japan |
| Tetsuya TANAKA (Mr) | Associate Fellow, IRCI, Japan |
| **CGS (Center for Glocal Studies), Seijo University** | |
| Tomiyuki UESUGI (Mr) | Director/ Professor,<br>CGS, Seijo University, Japan |
| Mari SHIBA (Ms) | Postdoctoral Research Fellow (PD),<br>Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, Japan |

# Transformative impacts of the ICH Convention: Notes for discussion

Antonio A. ARANTES
State University of Campinas (UNICAMP), Brazil

In this presentation, I focus on the transformative impact of the ICH Convention. My argument will be based on its conceptual framework and operational directives, and inspired by unsystematic observation developed during my professional practice. This trajectory will suggest some perspectives to think about the evaluation of results achieved by the implementation of the Convention and point out challenges that may be faced in years to come.

UNESCO's 2003 Convention has raised high expectations and much enthusiasm on States agents, cultural communities and academics in various countries, particularly those on the South of the Equator. After more than 13 years of hard work by various stakeholders, including State agents, UNESCO personnel and consultants, academics and evidently cultural communities[1)], some important aspects of these expectations have been met, particularly in fields of awareness raising about the embeddedness of knowhow, forms of expression, cosmologies, celebrations and other intangible manifestations of human creativity in most diverse lifeways; another welcome contribution has been the clear understanding of ich as a key factor in sustaining '*senses of identity and continuity*' (Art.2,1).

The fact of putting real people in the forefront of heritage thinking and professional practice, as holders and practitioners of ich, is the most evident aspect of changes that I like to call the '*anthropological turn*' in this field. Not just any people, but particularly individuals, groups, communities and nations that have been kept in obscurity and remained practically unknown to the world at large. This move has been a consequence of the conceptual and political choice of considering *ich* only what real people in their common lives (not experts) recognize as such. Another consequence is the recognition that *ich* is inextricably attached to real people, and the understanding that the nexus that articulates them is the necessary *social significance* of heritage to their holders,

practitioner and supporters. *Social value*[2)] associated with the contribution of ich to the promotion of '*respect for cultural diversity and human creativity*" (Art.2,1) thus becomes, for legal and political purposes, one of the legitimate pillars of Heritage Value, side by side with the cornerstones of preservation legislation and policies since the first Athens Charter, of 1931, i.e., historic, artistic, scientific or archeological exceptionality. Therefore, it is not an exaggeration to say that this Convention has been a breakthrough on heritage policies, and not only because of the novelty of its 'intangible objects'.

The implementation of ICH Convention seems to have contributed significantly – in some cases it has indeed done so - to make heritage policies more democratic, socially responsible and also more friendly towards cultural diversity. These are core elements in the construction of mediations between States agencies and communities.

One aspect that should be pointed out here is the increasing visibility and empowerment of heritage communities, vis-à-vis preservation agencies and the public in general. This tendency is frequently associated with the creation of ONGs or with building stronger ties between local communities and civil society's organizations, as in most nomination dossiers submitted to the IGC.

However, the effectiveness of the Convention – and consequently its strength as a driving force for *positive* (aimed by stakeholders) or *negative* (unwanted) transformation - is grounded on a challenging conceptual tension. I refer to the clash between the cold normativity of its dispositions, implemented by States Parties bureaucracies, and the heat of dynamic human lives; between the relative invariance of choices set by its negotiated conceptual framework and the flexible '*sanction of the precedent*' that validates innovation or change, as Eric Hobsbawm once wrote (Hobsbawm 1984, 2) in contrasting '*custom*' and the '*invented traditions*'; between the universalistic reach of the Convention and the myriads of testimonies of particular human creations targeted by it.

In terms of a *glocal* approach to safeguarding, the tension between the intrinsic universalism and embedded particularism of the ICH Convention produces important consequences, particularly for evaluating the effectiveness of safeguarding measures implemented in a very wide range of contexts around the globe.

Notes:

1) I use the term 'cultural community' with reference to local stakeholders or "communities, groups and individuals' as in the wording of the Convention.

2) I am not using the expression as defined in Australia ICOMOS (1994).

【プレゼンテーション 1】　プレシンポジウムミーティング @ CGS，成城大学

# 無形文化遺産条約の変容の影響：ディスカッションノート

アントニオ A. アランテス Antonio A. ARANTES
ブラジル連邦共和国　カンピナス大学（UNICAMP）

このプレゼンテーションでは、無形文化遺産保護条約の与える変革の影響に焦点を当てる。私は、無形文化遺産保護条約の概念的枠組みと運用指針の検討や及び私の研究者としての取り組みを通して得られたあまり体系的とは言えない観察から発想を得たことをベースとして本議論をすすめる。ここでは、条約の施行によって得られた結果についての見解を示し、今後数年間に直面すると思われる課題を指摘する。

ユネスコ総会で 2003 年に採択された無形文化遺産保護条約は、様々な国、特に赤道南部に位置する国々や文化コミュニティ、学者に大きな期待をもたらし、熱狂させた。各国政府やユネスコの職員やコンサルタント、学者、そして文化コミュニティ 1)を含む様々なステークホルダーの 13 年間にわたる努力を経て、特に無形文化遺産保護のノウハウの定着や表現の体系化、宇宙論、祭事、顕現そしてその他の多様な生活様式における無形の人間の創造性といった分野で、これらの期待の重要な側面には応えることができた。もう 1 つ歓迎されるべき貢献は、無形文化遺産が「アイデンティティと継続性の意義」を維持するための重要な要素として明確に理解されたことである。(Art.2,1)

実際に生きている人びとを、無形文化遺産を支える者、そしてその継承者として無形文化遺産を考え、その専門的継承者として最前線に置くことは、変化の中でも最も顕著な側面であり、これを私は無形文化遺産保護における「人類学的転換」として位置づけたい。最前線に位置付けられた人びとというのはほかでもない、世界で一般的には無名で実際には知られていない特定の個人や集団、コミュニティ、そして国である。このような変化は、実際の人の日常の中で（専門家ではなく）無形文化遺産と認識されたものだけを考慮し、概念的かつ政治的選択の結果もたらされたものである。もう一つのもたらされた結果として、無形文化遺産は実際に生きている人びとと密接に繋がっているという認識がなされ、そしてそれらを明示するということはその保持者や継承者、支持者という人たちの社会的意義につながるという認識がなされたことが挙げられる。「社会的価値」の認識は、無形文化遺が「文化の多様性と人間の創造性の尊重」を促進することにつながる(Art.2.1)。かくして、社会的価値が、法的あるいは政治的目的として、1931 年の最初のアテネ憲章以来の保護法や保護政策が基づくもの、すなわち歴史や芸術、科学、または考古学的に顕著であることと同様に、遺産の価値の論理的支柱の柱の一つとみなされるようになった。従って、無形文化遺産保護条約は遺産政策において画期的であると言っても過言ではなく、それは「無形の物」を対象とするという目新しさのためだけではない。

無形文化遺産条約の施行は、遺産に関する政策をより民主的かつ社会的責任を持つものとし、また文化的多様性と親和的するものである。これらは、国の機関とコミュニティの間を媒介する構造の中で中核的な要素となっている。

ここで指摘されるべき側面は、遺産を保持・継承するコミュニティがますます可視化され強化されていることであり、また保護機関や一般市民も同様であるという点である。この傾向は、政府間委員会に提出された多くの推薦書類に見られるように、NGO の創設や地域社会と市民団体との関係の強化と関連していることが多い。

しかしながら、条約の有効性は―そしてその結果としての、ポジティブな（関係者がめざした）またはネガティブな（望ましくない）変化の原動力としての強さは、解決が困難な概念的緊張に根ざしている。ここで、締約国の官僚主義によって行われる冷たい規範的な条約の扱い方とダイナミックな人間の生活の熱さとの間の衝突について触れてみたい。それはエリック・ホブズボームがかつて「慣習」と「発明された伝統」として対照させて書いたように（ホブズボーム 1984、2)、調整済みの概念枠組みによって設定された比較的固定的なものと、イノベーションあるいは変化を正当化する柔軟な「従来の慣習に従った承認」の間の衝突である。あるいはまた、無形文化遺産保護条約の普遍的な到達範囲と、条約の対象とされる特定の人びとが創り出す無数の現実との間の衝突でもある。

保護にグローカルにアプローチするということについて、無形文化遺産保護条約が本来的には普遍主義的であるが潜在的には特殊主義的であることから生じる緊張関係は重要な結果をもたらす。特に、全世界で非常に幅広い文脈で実施さている保護対策の効果の評価について重要な結果をもたらしている。

**注釈：**

1）ここで使用する「文化コミュニティ」とは、地域関係者、あるいは条約で使用される「コミュニティ、グループ、個人」を指す。

2）オーストラリア ICOMOS(1994)で定義された表現は使用しない。

【Presentation 2】 Pre-Symposium Meeting @ CGS, Seijo University

## Multi-actors in the Safeguarding of ICH: Cooperative Mechanism in the Nomination of "Twenty-four Solar Terms"

Chao GEJIN
Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS), China

In the nomination of the ICH element "Twenty-four Solar Terms", multiple actors concerned played different roles in many ways within a cooperative mechanism, namely, all the actors concerned attend to their own duties, while work in collaborative ways with due division. Representative communities, groups and individuals as the tradition bearers and practitioners involved in preparing materials (audio and video, printed and scripts, image and object, perform arena and cultural space, etc.), providing evidence of intergenerational transmission and informed consent, as well as working out safeguarding measures, and the like. While the NGOs, professional institutions, and relevant research centers were more focused on archiving work, research work, publicity work, and composing the nomination files, and was assigned as sponsor of the element (China Folklore Society).

At the same time, the governmental bodies, like the Ministry of Culture, and Ministry of Agriculture, and some local municipalities, paid more attention on supporting the nomination financially and administratively, organizing consultative meeting, coordinating different actors and stakeholders, evaluating the nomination files and documents over the entire nomination process. Some other societal factors like mass media and education are also considered as actors in some senses.

# 無形文化遺産の保護に関わる多様なアクター：「二十四節気」ノミネーションにおける協働のメカニズム

朝戈金 Chao GEJIN
中国社会科学院（CASS），中華人民共和国

無形文化遺産のエレメントにノミネートされた「24 節気」は、多様なアクターが協力関係の中でそれぞれ異なる役割を担い、それぞれの持ち場で責務を果たし、協働して取り組んだものである。すなわち、当該伝統の保持者、継承者としてのコミュニティの代表、グループ、そして個人が、資料の準備（音声、動画、印刷物と原稿、画像と被写体、演奏/演技舞台と文化空間、等）にかかわり、この事は世代を超えた継承の証拠やインフォームドコンセントの提供、保護対策の取り組み等が行われたことを明確に示している。民間非営利団体（NGO）、専門組織、関連研究センターは記録の保管、研究、広報、ノミネートファイルの作成に重点的に取り組み、そして、「24 節季」という無形文化遺産要素のスポンサーという役割も担った（中国民俗学会）。

一方で、文化庁や農林省、そして地方自治体等の行政は、資金面、行政管理面、協議会のオーガナイズ、多様なアクターと関係者のコーディネート、ノミネートファイルの評価、そしてプロセス全体に関わる書類において、このノミネーションを支えた。そのほかにもマスメディアや教育関係者等の社会的要素（societal fafctor）もある意味でアクターといえる。

【Presentation 3】 Pre-Symposium Meeting @ CGS, Seijo University

## Imagined UNESCO Convention: A UNESCO Influence on Local Practitioners and Communities

Hanhee HAHM
Chonbuk National University, Republic of Korea

The UNESCO's 2003 Convention emphasizes the importance of collective identity for the safeguarding of ICH. Communities are thus supposed to have key roles in recognizing their traditions as intangible cultural heritage. Community participation is regarded as necessary factor in the nomination of a community's cultural expression to the UNESCO's Representative Lists of ICH. While the role of ICH communities is central to understanding of what the UNESCO Convention is, it is truly a new idea in Korea with respect to its protection policy on ICH. Korea has a well-established, half century-long history of protection initiatives on ICH; however, the Korean protection policy is different from that of the UNESCO Convention in its philosophy and goals. The Korean policy focuses on proficiency and supremacy in artistic and skill performance of individuals or groups who are known to be masters and human treasures. Given this difference, the UNESCO's community centered imperatives have confused the Korean government, practitioners, and even scholars. The Korean protection system was taken aback by UNECO's initiatives. Nevertheless, Korea began to adopt the UNESCO Convention and implemented a new law for ICH protection in 2016. It can be said that a certain type of superficial progress towards aligning with the UNESCO's philosophy has been made, but yet, in reality, the previous system of protection in Korea still lingers. This disconnect is illustrated by the case of 'tea making' which was first designated as national intangible cultural property, but without selecting any masters in tea making. The government recognizes tea making as a collective cultural identity of its communities concerned; however, it is clear that the previously implemented standards of assessment such as authenticity, originality, and supremacy are still being used even in the new designation process. Not only that but also local practitioners themselves are not content with the new protection system but have reluctantly accepted it. Some comfort is drawn from the belief in that they are taking a step towards being places on the UNESCO ICH lists.

# 想像のユネスコ条約：ユネスコが地域の実践者とコミュニティに与える影響について

ハンヒ・ハン Hanhee HAHM

大韓民国　全北大学校

ユネスコ総会で 2003 年に採択された無形文化遺産保護条約は無形文化遺産保護における集団のアイデンティティの重要性を強調している。よって、無形文化遺産としてコミュニティの伝統を認識する際、コミュニティは重要な役割を担う。コミュニティの参加は、ユネスコ無形文化遺産代表一覧へのコミュニティの文化表現のノミネーションで必要な要素とされている。無形文化遺産におけるコミュニティの役割は、ユネスコ条約とは何であるかを理解する際の中核を成すが、無形文化遺産保護の方針は韓国にとって、全く新しい考え方であった。韓国では、無形文化遺産の保護はすでに確立されており、半世紀にわたってイニシアチブをとってきていた。しかし、韓国の保護政策はユネスコ条約のそれとは考え方も目的も異なっていた。韓国の政策は、達人や人間国宝として知られる個人や集団の芸術性と技能的な功績における熟練した技術の優位性を重んじてきた。この違いから、ユネスコのコミュニティを中核とした原則は、韓国の政府、継承者、そして学者までをも混乱させた。韓国の保護制度はユネスコのイニシアチブにより不意を突かれたのである。このような次第ではあるが、韓国はユネスコ条約を受け入れつつあり、2016 年には無形文化遺産の保護における新しい法律を施行した。表面的にはユネスコの指針に沿って進展しているといえるが、実際には、これまでの保護制度はまだ国内に残っている。「製茶」は、製茶の達人を選定することなく韓国で最初に指定された無形文化財であり、この食い違いの状況を説明するよい事例である。政府は、製茶がそのコミュニティの集団文化のアイデンティティとなっていることを認識しているが、これまでの評価基準であった信頼性や独創性、優位性が新しいプロセスにおいてもいまだ使われていることは明白である。それだけではなく、地域の継承者自身が新しい保護制度に満足していないにも関わらず、不本意ながらそれを受け入れているというのが現状である。彼らがユネスコ無形文化遺産一覧の記載に向けて前向きに取り組んでいることがせめてもの慰めである。

【Presentation 4】 Pre-Symposium Meeting @ CGS, Seijo University

## Glocal Perspectives on Safeguarding:CGIs, ICH, Ethics and Cultural Brokerage

Marc JACOBS
Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Belgium

Abbreviate "intangible cultural heritage" as "ICH" and "communities, groups and in some cases, individuals" as CGIs. This allows to formula te a core message of the UNESCO Convention for the safeguarding of ICH in the form of a tweet. *"When safeguarding ICH, the widest possible participation and active involvement of CGIs is the right thing to do" (UNESCO 2003 Convention)"*. A global mantra: easy to like but very hard to realize. A glocal challenge.

A reshuffled version of the 12 Ethical Principles (since 2016 part of the Basic Texts of the 2003 Convention) captures the tension between "relative autonomy" and "interventions". This new tool sensitizes users about the characteristics of/and relations between CGIs, ICH and safeguarding. Together with, but also counterbalancing, the new chapter of the operational directives "Chapter VI - Safeguarding ICH and sustainable development at the national level" since 2016, it articulates aspirations and modules of an ethical program of global proportions. Via the clear link with the Agenda 2030 of the United Nations, the "national level" can be put between inverted commas (something for instance the experience in a federal state Belgium has to do per definition); thinking out of the box, glocally. Should we mobilize adjectives like national, international, cosmopolitan and/or glocal? The paragraphs 170 to 176 of the 2016 version of the Operational Directives, in combination with the Ethical Principles, constitute quite a challenge, together with clues (see §171 d) on how to go forward.

# 保護におけるグローカルな見解：CGI、ICH、倫理、そして文化仲介

マーク・ジェイコブス Marc JACOBS
ベルギー王国　ブリュッセル自由大学

「無形文化遺産」は「ICH（Intangible Cultural Heritage）」、そして「コミュニティ、集団及び場合によっては個人」は CGIs（Communities, Groups and Individuals）と略述する。これにより、ユネスコ条約の無形文化遺産保護の中核となるメッセージが定式化され、ツイートできるようになった。「ICH の保護において、CGIs の可能な限りの参加と積極的な関与は正しいことである」（ユネスコ 2003 年条約）という。これをグローバル規模でのマントラ（真言）のように好ましく思うことは容易であるが、その実現は非常に困難であり、グローカルな挑戦でもある。

改訂版の 12 の倫理原則（2016 年に改定された 2003 年条約の基本文）は、「相対的自律」と「介入」の間の葛藤を巧みに表現している。この新しい道具立てにより、私たちは CGIs と ICH、保護の特性やそれらの間の関係についてより慎重となった。2016 年に始まった「第 6 章―国家レベルにおける無形文化遺産の保護と持続可能な開発」という新しい運営方針の章とともに、しかしそれとバランスを取りながら、倫理原則は世界規模の願望と倫理的プログラムの基準を明確に表現している。国連の 2030 年アジェンダとの明確な連携により、「国家レベル」は引用符を用いて使用する（例えば、ベルギー連邦がかつて経験したように定義をするごとにそうする必要がある）。つまり、形にとらわれずグローカルに考えねばならないということである。その際、私たちは、ナショナルやインターナショナル、コスモポリタン、そして/またはグローカルのような形容詞を動員すべきであろうか？ 2016 年版の運営指針の第 170～176 節には、倫理原則と組み合わせできわめて挑戦的な課題が設定され、それをどのように進めるかのヒント（§ 171d を参照）とともに示されている。

【Presentation 5】 Pre-Symposium Meeting @ CGS, Seijo University

## Bridging Metacultural and Esocultural Perspectives on UNESCO and ICH

Michael D. FOSTER
University of California, Davis, USA

This talk explores the disconnect between different understandings of ICH (and particularly of the UNESCO ICH Representative List). It will be suggested that UNESCO, and many state governments and bureaucracies, achieve a metacultural perspective in which different traditions are viewed within a cognitive landscape of heritage elements on a global scale. In contrast, the local communities in which a particular element of ICH is practiced often have what I call an "esocultural" perspective, in which the view is from deep within the community/culture/tradition looking outward. Metacultural and esocultural perspectives are both limited in their own ways. By specific reference to my own experiences working with Koshikijima no Toshidon (inscribed on the Representative List in 2009) and the residents of Shimo-Koshikijima in Kagoshima Prefecture, Japan, I hope to highlight the effects of these differences in perspective and suggest ways in which stakeholders might work to bridge them.

# メタカルチャーとエソカルチャーを繋ぐユネスコと無形文化遺産の展望

マイケル D. フォスター Michael D. FOSTER
アメリカ合衆国　カルフォルニア大学デービス校

このプレゼンテーションでは、無形文化遺産（そしてユネスコ無形文化遺産代表一覧）に関する異なった理解の間にある断絶について検討する。ユネスコ、そして多くの国の政府や行政、官僚組織はメタカルチャーの視点（metacultural perspective）を獲得し、その結果、異なった伝統が世界規模で遺産と認知された要素から成る景観の中で見られるようになっている。これに対して、無形文化遺産の特定の要素が実践されている地域コミュニティでは、私が「エソカルチャー」と呼ぶ視点（esocultural perspective）を持っており、それは外部を見ようとするコミュニティ・文化・伝統から出てくる深い見解である。メタカルチャーとエソカルチャーの見解はどちらもそれぞれにおいて限界がある。私自身の具体的な経験をもとに甑島（こしきじま）のトシドン（2009 年の代表一覧に記載）の取り組みと鹿児島県下甑島の住民としての事例を紹介し、これらの異なる見解が与える影響について注目し、ステークホルダー達がどのようにしてその 2 つの異なる見解を繋ぐことができるかを提案したい。

## Venue Floor Plans of the 2017 Pre-Symposium Meeting: Seijo University, Bldg.7

[Level 3]

**Room 731: Conference Room**

**Room 732: Coffee Lounge**

*tea/coffee, drinks, light snacks

[Level 2]

Room 724: Delegates' Lounge for Lunch

Room 725: Cloakroom

Room 726: Staff Room

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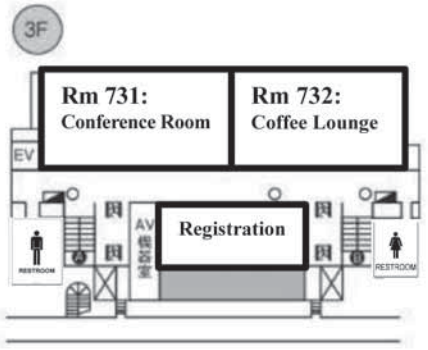
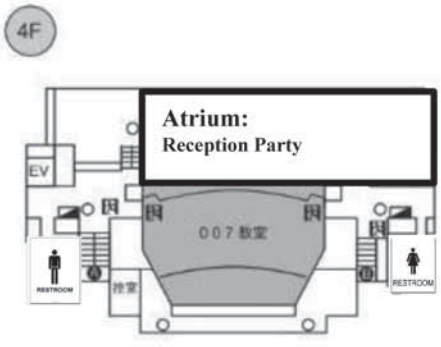
[Level 4]

**Atrium: Reception Party** (17:00-19:00)






▲ ··· Entrance

🚪 ··· Emergency Exit

*Please be noted that smoking is not permitted anywhere in Bldg.7

Local Organizing Committee of the 2017 Pre-Symposium Meeting

**Tomiyuki Uesugi**
Professor, Faculty of Arts and Literature, Seijo University/
Director of Seijo University Center for Glocal Studies (CGS)

**Masahito Ozawa**
Professor, Faculty of Arts and Literature, Seijo University/
Deputy Director of Seijo University Center for Glocal Studies(CGS)

**Satoru Hyoki**
Associate Professor, Faculty of Arts and Literature, Seijo University

**Dennis Riches**
Professor, Faculty of Social Innovation, Seijo University

**Mari Shiba**
Research Fellow of the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (PD)/
Lecturer, Faculty of Social Innovation, Seijo University

Members

General Coordinators

**Aya Ogawara**
Postdoctoral Fellow of the Center for Glocal Studies, Seijo University

**Kei Umeda**
Secretariat Officer of Seijo University Center for Glocal Studies
Venue/ Proceedings Coordinators

**Kahori Otsuka**
Research Assistant of Center for Glocal Studies, Seijo University

**Toshiaki Sagisaka**
Research Assistant of Center for Glocal Studies, Seijo University

**Shouko Kikuta**
Research Assistant of Center for Glocal Studies, Seijo University

CENTER FOR GLOCAL STUDIES
SEIJO UNIVERSITY

成城大学グローカル研究センター
〒 157-8511 東京都世田谷区成城 6-1-20
**Center for Glocal Studies (CGS), Seijo University**
**6-1-20 Seijo, Setagaya-ku, Tokyo, Japan 157-8511**
**Tel/ Fax: + 81-03-3482-1497**
**E-mail: glocalstudies@seijo.ac.jp**
**Website: http:/ / www.seijo.ac.jp/ research/ glocal-center/**