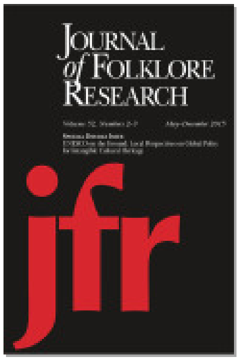
PROJECT MUSE®

UNESCO on the Ground

Michael Dylan Foster


JOURNAL of FOLKLORE RESEARCH

jfr

Journal of Folklore Research, Volume 52, Numbers 2-3, May-December 2015, pp. 143-156 (Article)

Published by Indiana University Press

For additional information about this article
http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/jfr/summary/v052/52.2-3.foster.html

Access provided by Indiana University Libraries (18 Aug 2015 04:26 GMT)

Michael Dylan Foster

UNESCO on the Ground

Abstract: This essay briefly introduces this special issue, outlining the context for UNESCO's 2003 *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* and its accompanying *Representative List*. It explains that the issue itself is structured around six case studies, each one providing on-the-ground perspectives of people engaged with UNESCO policies on the local level. These essays are followed by three commentaries that offer comparative and theoretical insights drawn from the case studies. It is suggested that the issue can be read as a multiauthored and multisited ethnography of local engagements with global decisions, providing insights into emerging discourses on intangible cultural heritage.

> *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.*
>
> —UNESCO, 2003 *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*

These words are invoked by the United Nations Education and Cultural Organization, commonly known as UNESCO, to define the term *intangible cultural heritage* or, in the current academic-bureaucratic vernacular, *ICH*.[1] UNESCO's language here is open-ended, if not vague, but clearly includes the sort of expressive culture long studied by folklorists. 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

Journal of Folklore Research, Vol. 52, Nos. 2–3, 2015
Copyright © 2015, Department of Folklore and Ethnomusicology, Indiana University

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. It is perhaps inevitable that UNESCO's metacultural policies often become a testing ground for negotiations between the global and the local (however defined) and all points in between, where responses can be highly nuanced and often contentious.

Decisions made in distant cities influence national, regional, and local discourses on everything from economic development and tourism to racial conflict and depopulation. They illuminate, and also potentially exacerbate, all sorts of political, ethnic, and ideological divisions in places where ICH is not just a matter of theory but part of everyday life. The essays in this special issue examine several such places through case studies in India, South Korea, Malawi, Japan, Macedonia, and China. Each explores how people involved with and affected on the ground by ICH initiatives experience, perceive, and respond to UNESCO and related entities.

In recent years, UNESCO and ICH have become key terms for the analysis of expressive culture, with folklorists involved in the theorization, creation, and implementation of global cultural policy and also offering critical analyses of such policies and of the role of UNESCO as an arbiter of culture.[2] In 2012, a collection of essays entitled *Heritage Regimes and the State* (Bendix, Eggert, and Peselmann 2012a) provided an invaluable extended comparative examination of the ways in which UNESCO's current heritage policy has been implemented within individual nations. The chapters in that study bring to the fore the diversity of traditions that come under the purview of UNESCO's ICH umbrella and also illustrate the diversity of bureaucratic structures through which elements are nominated for recognition, policies are implemented, and "heritage" is maintained and (re)created.

We hope the case studies presented here will add to this groundbreaking work through their focus on the particularly intimate perspectives of people living in communities touched by ICH policies. Without overlooking the interests of national and regional stakeholders, our essays are informed primarily by individuals grappling on a grassroots level with the practical ramifications of UNESCO decisions in places where heritage is not an abstract concept but a mode of quotidian practice. In the words of Kristin Kuutma (2012, 33), "Research on communities will penetrate deeper if investigated as particularities." And indeed, it is exactly these particularities that the essays here investigate, especially the manifold ways in which local residents participate in, respond to, and shape UNESCO (and other) cultural policies within their own communities. Our case studies explore how international designations and decisions affect (or do not affect) residents' everyday lives and relationships, economic structures, senses of identity, and engagement with their own cultural practices.

In short, the objective of this collection is first and foremost to tap into local discourses and to present the voices, experiences, and ideas of people living in places where ICH is a topic of concern. It is in this sense that we invoke the term *local*: in part because it suggests an opposite or complementary perspective to the *global*, but more importantly because of its emphasis on specific *places*. That is, the local does not necessarily indicate the size or population or type of community (another vexed word in the current discourse), but it does invoke a sense of place, of locale or location.[3] We are interested in the situation and opinions and agency of the people residing on site, "in place" as it were, in distinction to people in regional or national capitals, for example, or more distant locales in other countries. We recognize that such distinctions are always blurry—that people and ideas travel. A power broker in a small village, for instance, may also play a role within regional or national contexts, and, inversely, an individual working on a regional or national level may maintain direct connections with much smaller communities.[4] But accepting this fuzziness, our focus is on the site and the people who reside there.

I should add also that when we say *local*, of course, we really mean *locals*, and that within each one of these locals there exist different social divisions, power differentials, and other dimensions of diversity, further complicating the constitution of what is "local." Through case studies in different parts of the world, we highlight such critical differences and similarities between distinct places and communities and provide material for comparative analysis. By exploring each of these sites at a micro level, looking outward from the inside, we show how a "normative instrument" (Aikawa 2004) such as UNESCO's ICH policy takes on specific associations and inflections. By providing individual examples—and the particular issues that inform different local discourses—for comparison and contrast, we can explore the practical implications of UNESCO's work. We see our own comparative project here as part of a long tradition of folklorists paying careful attention to the complexities of local situations.[5]

Metacultural and Esocultural

Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2004, 56) has insightfully described heritage as "metacultural" and lists of the type created by UNESCO as "metacultural artefects." Kuutma (2012, 24) notes that "the metacultural is inevitably turned into or embraced by the cultural." With this in mind, the essays here explore the ways metaculture intervenes in culture. Or taking this one step further, perhaps what we are really trying to unpack is something even tighter, more localized, and more limited—the microcultural or, to coin a term, the *esocultural*, with the prefix *eso-* suggesting "within" in contrast to the "above" and "beyond" of *meta-*.

If metacultural operations can sometimes run the risk of missing the trees for the forest, then our own project represents a conscious effort to burrow into the foliage of particular cultures, communities, and places to discover the trees themselves. And what we learn through this effort is that different forests are constituted in different ways, that not all trees are equal, and that not all trees have the same relationship to the forest in which they are located. To extend the metaphor even further, what is driven home to us along with the diversity of individual trees is the range of soils and climates and the many other elements that create the environment in which they grow. Ultimately, it is this tree-level perspective, replete with its own biases and diversity and limits, that we want to capture—the ways UNESCO and similar global actors may be interpreted, understood, ignored, or even completely unknown by actors on the esocultural level. Such on-the-ground perceptions are colored with details of place and personal relationships that are often invisible from the bird's-eye view of UNESCO or the academic-bureaucratic heritage industrial complex (of which we too are inevitably a part). These are the rough edges and loose ends, the personalities and peculiarities of place, that often go unobserved when looking from a distance at national or global "heritage-scapes" (Di Giovine 2009). But it is exactly this closeness and these details, the agency of people in place, that we want to learn from here. The essays assembled in the pages that follow demonstrate that each unique esocultural perspective, with its inherent limitations, not only sheds light on metacultural perspectives but also ultimately highlights the mutually constitutive nature of the metacultural and esocultural as optics for viewing that notoriously elusive concept called "culture."

The Convention and the Representative List

The policy instrument that inspired this collection of articles was adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO in October 2003. The *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* was actually only the most recent in a long series of UNESCO policies concerning heritage, of both the "tangible" and "intangible" varieties. The most influential earlier policy was the *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* (1972), which introduced the World Heritage List, "a great public relations coup for UNESCO and . . . no doubt what the organisation is best known for in many parts of the world" (Hafstein 2009, 95).

While this 1972 Convention concerns *tangible* heritage—architectural structures, monuments, natural and cultural landscapes, etc.—UNESCO also began developing instruments for treating more amorphous, nonmaterial products and processes of culture. The *Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore* was promulgated in 1989, followed by the *Proclamation of the Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity* in 1998. The ICH Convention of 2003 builds on these earlier instruments, but as a "Convention" (in distinction to a "Recommendation" or "Proclamation") it represents a stronger, legally binding, standard-setting instrument.[6] In theory, this means that a national signatory to the Convention is technically in violation of international law if it fails to "take the necessary measures to ensure the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage present in its territory" (Article 11[a]); in practice, however, no sanctions for such a violation have been stipulated (Sano 2005, 371).[7]

The negotiations leading to the inception of the 2003 Convention were complex and contentious on both practical and theoretical levels (Aikawa 2004; Kurin 2004; Miyata 2007; Aikawa-Faure 2009; Hafstein 2009). One end product of these discussions was a system whereby individual "states parties" (nations) could submit an "element" (ICH) for "inscription" (inclusion) on a newly established Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. Determining the criteria and parameters for this Representative List proved among "the most controversial issues" of the 2003 ICH Convention negotiations (Hafstein 2009, 93).[8] It goes without saying that any kind of list is potentially problematic (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004; Hafstein 2009); with so many different stakeholders involved and so much potentially eligible

ICH, a global inventory of this nature certainly risks interpretation (or manipulation) as a political tool of exclusion, privilege, or control. Moreover, selection for a list inevitably recontextualizes a tradition and can alter the way a given practice is understood by its practitioners.

The term *representative* itself is problematic, or at least paradoxical: in theory a representative may be chosen for its quality of being "average" or "typical." But as the most clearly defined example within a particular category of things, a "representative" is inevitably anything but average or typical, and its very selection *as* representative removes it from the fold, elevating it above or at least distinguishing it from others. From UNESCO's metacultural global vantage point, a selected element may be just one of many on a list, but from the perspective of the culture, state, or community it represents, the element occupies a singularly vaunted position in contrast to all the other elements that were not selected. A representative is *primus inter pares*.

Even within UNESCO institutional discourse, *representative* is open to interpretation. Early on, the understanding was that UNESCO would simply accept submissions from States Parties so "the list would be comprised of traditional cultures that each state considers 'representative' of itself" (Sano 2005, 377). Gradually, however, this interpretation morphed into one in which UNESCO itself became more active in the selection process in order to create a list that would represent "cultural diversity" in terms of geography as well as genre (378). Given this (re)interpretation, the selection of representatives becomes a tool through which UNESCO shapes a heritage landscape to conform to its own metacultural visions.

Having said this, however, it is also important to recognize that the Representative List is "an outcome of a cultural relativist perspective influenced by postmodernist trends" (Kuutma 2012, 29) and reflects a conscious attempt by the formulators of the Convention to create a more egalitarian and inclusive inscription process. The List developed from earlier policy instruments, such as the *Proclamation of the Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity*, for which individual states would submit a single nomination every two years to be carefully reviewed for proclamation as a "Masterpiece" (see Seeger 2009): "a space or form of cultural expression . . . of outstanding value" (UNESCO 2000).[9] By 2005, a total of ninety Masterpieces had been proclaimed. When the Convention took effect in 2008, these ninety elements became the foundation of the newly established Representative List.

While the Masterpieces proclamation required a "cultural expression or cultural space" to demonstrate "outstanding value as a masterpiece of the human creative genius" (UNESCO 2001, 12), the 2003 Convention was carefully crafted to avoid the rhetoric of elite judgment. In particular the adjective "representative" was invoked in part to "add the nuance that elements on the list would be examples of intangible cultural heritage of the whole world" (Sano 2005, 377), and the Director-General of UNESCO at the time explained that "the notion of 'outstanding universal significance' was deliberately excluded from the Convention" (Matsuura 2007, 179). In contrast, ICH was defined as

> 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. 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)

In 2008, the ninety "Masterpieces" were transferred to the Representative List, and then in 2009, UNESCO's ICH Committee convened in Abu Dhabi to inscribe the "first elements" (UNESCO 2009). From 2009 through 2014, a total of 224 new elements have been added to the list. As of the writing of this essay in early 2015, the list contains 314 elements.[10]

Case Studies

While folklorists have long been involved in UNESCO and ICH initiatives, working with people at all levels of policy creation and implementation, scholarship on these subjects is currently expanding exponentially.[11] This is in part because the 2003 Convention forced many of us who had not explicitly studied UNESCO before to recognize how global policies are affecting people and cultural practices in communities where we work. In an informal conversation during the American Folklore Society (AFS) annual meeting in 2011, two of us (Foster and Gilman) compared the way friends and colleagues in our respective research sites (Japan and Malawi) were thinking about ICH issues. This casual exchange led us to organize a formal panel for the

2012 annual meeting focused on disparate local reactions to UNESCO. Participants included the two of us as well as Carol Silverman (Macedonia) and Kyoim Yun (Korea). The panel was well attended and well received, with lively discussion from audience members who brought different perspectives and experiences to the table, often based on their own research with ICH stakeholders in a wide range of contexts. This enthusiasm drove home the fact that because of our deep and ongoing engagement with particular communities, folklorists are often uniquely positioned to present on-the-ground perspectives for comparative scholarship. For better or for worse, folklorists also often play an influential role within communities grappling with ICH concerns, and it is important to continue to think critically about our own positionality.

Given the enthusiastic reception of our panel presentation at the AFS meeting, we decided to further our initial comparative exploration by producing the current special issue. We asked two more scholars, Leah Lowthorp (India) and Ziying You (China), to contribute essays on their research, for a total of six case studies. We then solicited critical commentary from three scholars (Anthony Seeger, Valdimar Tr. Hafstein, and Dorothy Noyes) who have long theorized ICH issues or been directly involved in UNESCO's activities in various capacities. The goal of this special issue is to draw on our fieldwork with residents in places affected by (or interested in) UNESCO so that we can present, as much as possible, a variety of esocultural views. In particular, each one of the case studies in this work concerns a local ICH element that either has been recognized by, nominated for, or is being discussed in terms of the 2003 Convention.

I should reiterate here that "heritage regimes" are always multilayered and entail interaction between global, national, regional, and local entities; as Regina F. Bendix, Aditya Eggert, and Arnika Peselmann (2012b, 12) have clearly demonstrated, the 2003 Convention involved the creation of "corresponding bureaucracies" to deal with the implementation and management of cultural policies. The essays presented in our own collection touch on these layers and the bureaucratic structures through which they interact, but they especially make an effort to focus on local agency—which of course ultimately consists of multiple individual voices. In presenting these studies, we also make no claims of objectivity; all the authors have long been involved with the communities we are writing about, and our own subjectivities cannot be untangled from the voices we showcase. Having said that, however, and further recognizing that the very nature of our project deals with heterogeneous cultural contexts, we have made every effort to prepare these essays for productive comparative and contrastive analyses.

Specifically, we have kept each essay short and asked contributors to adhere to the same basic guidelines in structuring their studies. Each essay begins with (1) a brief abstract, followed by (2) a description of the location of the ICH element under consideration, with geographical, national, regional, ethnic, demographic, economic, touristic, or other relevant information. Next the author (3) introduces and describes the *when, where, why, who,* and *how* of the particular ICH element and (4) its current status with regard to UNESCO—including whether it has been inscribed on the Representative List or is only being discussed on a regional or national level. Each author also provides insight into the (5) on-the-ground perspectives, exploring local discourses about UNESCO and ICH and considering questions such as: What does "UNESCO" signify to the communities involved? What does it mean to be inscribed, or not inscribed, on the Representative List? Does it affect people economically or in other ways? How are words like *ICH* or *UNESCO* interpreted within local languages and vernacular discourses? Finally, each essay concludes with (6) a discussion in which the author contextualizes local discourses theoretically or historically or speculates about the future of the element or the communities in question.

These are the general parameters for the essays that follow, yet the particularities intrinsic to each research site inevitably produce diverse foci and a different balance of information. But of course, this is one objective of the collection in the first place—to highlight the impossibility of a one-size-fits-all template for heritage and to emphasize the diversity of reactions and local effects of UNESCO decisions. Our essays are by no means unique in their focus on particular communities and grassroots responses—folklorists, anthropologists, and other scholars have long produced excellent ethnographic studies of groups of all sizes around the world grappling with ICH issues.[12] However, by presenting relatively formulaic case studies in close juxtaposition, our collection offers carefully rendered snapshots of diverse places at a particular moment and provides a unique opportunity for productive comparison. In a gesture toward what Dorothy Noyes (2008, 41) has eloquently labeled *humble theory*, "we begin to think in the act of describing and see particulars in the act of comparing."

Indeed, even as each case study brings forth issues that are most relevant to people in the community in question, the three discussions that follow draw on these specifics to expand the conversation, seeking commonalities and differences and examining what these particular examples, when placed in conversation with each other, reveal about the broader context. Our three discussants bring diverse experiences and perspectives to ICH processes. As President and later Secretary General of the International Council of Traditional Music (ICTM), Anthony Seeger served as the liaison between ICTM and UNESCO and was editor of the ICTM/UNESCO CD series. As ICTM Secretary General, he was in charge of coordinating the scientific and technical evaluations of the 2003 and 2005 Masterpieces nominations, which gave him direct experience with multiple stages in the nomination and review processes. Valdimar Tr. Hafstein was a participant-observer in UNESCO's expert committee that drafted the ICH Convention in 2003. He also served as head of the Icelandic delegation to the first meeting of the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2006, and he chaired the Icelandic UNESCO Commission from 2011 to 2012. He has additionally acted as a consultant to the Swedish and Norwegian governments on the implementation of the ICH Convention. Folklorist Dorothy Noyes became interested in UNESCO and ICH when the Patum, a fire festival in the Catalan region of Spain that has been the major focus of her fieldwork, received a UNESCO Masterpiece designation. She has published several important articles on this process, both in terms of practice and theory, and is currently a Fellow of the Göttingen Interdisciplinary Research Group in Cultural Property.

A number of the key questions and themes that emerge across the case studies and the commentaries include issues of terminology, power struggles between local, national, and international stakeholders, the effects of tourism and commodification on local communities and cultural practices, the value of international recognition, and the implications of selectivity. Ultimately, what becomes evident throughout this special issue is that in some places a UNESCO designation is seen as a financial boon, in some places it is a point of pride and identity, in some places it is a burden, and elsewhere it is merely an adornment or, for that matter, not even on the radar screen. By exploring this diversity of understandings of ICH, our collection of essays will hopefully prove greater than the sum of its parts. Ideally, as a multi-authored, multi-sited ethnography of local engagements with global decisions, it provides a glimpse into emerging interpretations of what culture is, what it does, and what it may become.

Indiana University
Bloomington

Acknowledgments

First and foremost, on behalf of Lisa Gilman and myself, I thank Jason Baird Jackson for managing the peer review process for this issue. This allowed me, as current editor of *JFR*, to serve with no conflict of interest as guest coeditor and contributing author for this special issue. Both Lisa and I are extremely grateful for Jason's expertise, enthusiasm, and kindness. We also give our immense thanks to two anonymous peer reviewers who generously read the collection as a single manuscript and provided invaluable feedback not only on individual essays but also on the work as a whole. Sincere gratitude also goes to Steve Stanzak, Managing Editor of *JFR*, for his patience and excellent editorial work throughout. Although I wrote this introduction and take full responsibility for any errors or omissions herein, it was through constant exchange and discussion with my coeditor Lisa Gilman that this essay (and this issue) came together. Despite the fact that for much of this project she was in Malawi and I was in Japan—and our contributors were scattered around the globe—this special issue is the result of a truly collaborative effort.

Notes

1. *Intangible cultural heritage* is a "technical, somewhat awkward term" (Kurin 2004, 67) but in recent years it seems to have become the generally accepted umbrella expression. Of course, the Standard English term and its "official" French (*patrimoine culturel immaterial*) and Spanish language (*patrimonio cultural inmaterial*) equivalents are translated differently into different languages, where they can take on starkly diverse shades and nuances. For discussions of UNESCO's terminology and definitions, see Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2006 and the essays in Smith and Akagawa 2009, most explicitly Aikawa-Faure 2009.

2. For a recent exploration of these concerns, see for example the special issue of *Gradhiva* (Berliner and Bortolotto 2013).

3. For an exploration of *community* and related terms, see Noyes 2003; in terms of ICH, see Noyes 2006 and Blake 2009.

4. Moreover, as Chiara De Cesari (2012, 408) puts it, "What is also peculiar about the international heritage regime in relation to its impact on 'local communities' is a paradox, namely, that the former both empowers and disempowers the latter."

5. Research into heritage issues is also deeply connected with the study of tourism and other fields in which folklorists and anthropologists have contributed valuable insights and comparative perspectives. Seminal works on these connections include, but are certainly not limited to, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998 and Bruner 2005.

6. "International Conventions are subject to ratification, acceptance or accession by States. They define rules with which the States undertake to comply." See "General introduction to the standard-setting instruments of UNESCO" at http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=23772&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html.

7. For text of the Convention, see UNESCO 2003.

8. The clause of the Convention establishing the list reads: "In order to ensure better visibility of the intangible cultural heritage and awareness of its significance, and to encourage dialogue which respects cultural diversity, the Committee, upon the proposal of the States Parties concerned, shall establish, keep up to date and publish a Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity" (Article 16[1]). There is also a "List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding," but it was the Representative List that was the most contentious and ultimately represents "a compromise solution reached after intense confrontations between national delegates who wanted to create a merit-based 'List of Treasures' or 'List of Masterpieces' similar to the World Heritage List, those who would rather have seen an inclusive universal inventory of traditional practices, and those who wanted no list at all" (Hafstein 2009, 93).

9. For the Masterpiece criteria, see UNESCO 2000. For more on the development, context, and review process, see Nas 2002; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004, 2006; Kurin 2004; Aikawa 2004; Seeger 2009.

10. View the UNESCO lists of intangible cultural heritage and register of best safeguarding practices at http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00559.

11. Such scholarship is arguably more advanced in Europe and Asia, but both ICH and UNESCO are increasingly becoming keywords for scholars in North America as well. The theme of the 2007 Joint Annual Meeting held by the American Folklore Society and the Folklore Studies Association of Canada was "The Politics and Practices of Intangible Cultural Heritage." Over the last several years, I have also noticed a marked increase in the number of folklore and ethnomusicology graduate students at Indiana University interested in researching such issues.

12. Along with folklore and anthropology publications, valuable case studies and close readings of local situations can be found in journals explicitly focusing on heritage issues, such as the *International Journal of Heritage Studies* and the *International Journal of Intangible Heritage,* as well as related venues such as *Museum International, Annals of Tourism Research,* and others.

References Cited

Aikawa, Noriko. 2004. "An Historical Overview of the Preparation of the UNESCO International Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage." *Museum International* 56 (1–2): 137–49.

Aikawa-Faure, Noriko. 2009. "From the Proclamation of Masterpieces to the *Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage*." In *Intangible Heritage*, edited by Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa, 13–44. New York: Routledge.

Bendix, Regina F., Aditya Eggert, and Arnika Peselmann, eds. 2012a. *Heritage Regimes and the State*. Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Göttingen.

———. 2012b. "Introduction: Heritage Regimes and the State." In *Heritage Regimes and the State*, edited by Regina F. Bendix, Aditya Eggert, and Arnika Peselmann, 11–20. Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Göttingen.

Berliner, David, and Chiara Bortolotto, eds. 2013. "Le monde selon l'Unesco." Special issue. *Gradhiva* 18.

Blake, Janet. 2009. "UNESCO's 2003 *Convention on the Intangible Cultural Heritage*: The Implications of Community Involvement in 'Safeguarding.'" In *Intangible Heritage*, edited by Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa, 45–73. New York: Routledge.

Bruner, Edward M. 2005. *Culture on Tour: Ethnographies of Travel*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

De Cesari, Chiara. 2012. "Thinking through Heritage Regimes." In *Heritage Regimes and the State*, edited by Regina F. Bendix, Aditya Eggert, and Arnika Peselmann, 399–413. Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Göttingen.

Di Giovine, Michael A. 2009. *The Heritage-Scape: UNESCO, World Heritage, and Tourism*. Lanham, MD. Rowman and Littlefield.

Hafstein, Valdimar Tr. 2009. "Intangible Heritage as a List: From the Masterpieces to Representation." In *Intangible Heritage*, edited by Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa, 93–111. New York: Routledge.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. 1998. *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

———. 2004. "Intangible Heritage as Metacultural Production." *Museum International* 56 (1–2): 52–65.

———. 2006. "World Heritage and Cultural Economics." In *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations*, edited by Ivan Karp, Corinne A. Kratz, Lynn Szwaja, and Tomás Ybarra-Frausto, 161–201. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Kurin, Richard. 2004. "Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage in the 2003 UNESCO Convention: A Critical Appraisal." *Museum International* 56 (1–2): 66–77.

Kuutma, Kristin. 2012. "Between Arbitration and Engineering: Concepts and Contingencies in the Shaping of Heritage Regimes." In *Heritage Regimes and the State*, edited by Regina F. Bendix, Aditya Eggert, and Arnika Peselmann, 21–38. Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Göttingen.

Matsuura, Koïchiro. 2007. "28th Session of the World Heritage Committee (Suzhou, 28 June 2004)." In *New Ignorances, New Literacies: Selected Speeches 2003–2004*, 177–80. Paris: UNESCO.

Miyata Shigeyuki. 2007. "Mukei bunka isan hogo ni okeru kokusaiteki wakugumi keisei" [Formation of an international framework for the protection of intangible cultural heritage]. *Mukei bunka isan kenkyū hōkoku* 1:1–24.

Nas, Peter J. M. 2002. "Masterpieces of Oral and Intangible Culture: Reflections on the World Heritage List." *Cultural Anthropology* 43 (1): 139–48.

Noyes, Dorothy. 2003. "Group." In *Eight Words for the Study of Expressive Culture*, edited by Burt Feintuch, 7–41. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

———. 2006. "The Judgment of Solomon: Global Protections for Tradition and the Problem of Community Ownership." *Cultural Analysis* 5:27–56.

———. 2008. "Humble Theory." *Journal of Folklore Research* 45 (1): 37–43.

Sano, Mayuko. 2005. "International Recognition and the Future of Traditional Culture: A View from and toward UNESCO." In *Traditional Japanese Arts and Crafts in the 21st Century: Reconsidering the Future from an International Perspective*, edited by Inaga Shigemi and Patricia Fister, 365–85. Kyoto: International Research Center for Japanese Studies.

Seeger, Anthony. 2009. "Lessons Learned from the ICTM (NGO) Evaluation of Nominations for the UNESCO *Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity*, 2001–5." In *Intangible Heritage*, edited by Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa, 112–28. New York: Routledge.

Smith, Laurajane, and Natsuko Akagawa, eds. 2009. *Intangible Heritage*. New York: Routledge.

UNESCO. 2000. *Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity*. Reference CL/3553. April 26. Paris: UNESCO. http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0015/001541/154155E.pdf.

———. 2001. *Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity: Guide for the Presentation of Candidature Files*. Paris: UNESCO. http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001246/124628eo.pdf.

———. 2003. *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*. MISC/2003/CLT/CH/14. October 17. Paris: UNESCO. http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001325/132540e.pdf.

———. 2009. "Evaluation of the Nominations for Inscription on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity." Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage: Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. Fourth session, Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates. ITH/09/4.COM/CONF.209/13. 28 September to 2 October. Paris: UNESCO. http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/doc/src/ITH-09-4.COM-CONF.209-13-Rev.2-EN.pdf.

MICHAEL DYLAN FOSTER is associate professor of Folklore and East Asian Studies at Indiana University. He is the author of *Pandemonium and Parade: Japanese Monsters and the Culture of Yōkai* (2009), *The Book of Yōkai: Mysterious Creatures of Japanese Folklore* (2015), and numerous articles on Japanese folklore, literature, and media. (fosterm@indiana.edu)