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UNESCO, Brokers and Critical Success (F)Actors in Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage

In 2013 the world celebrated the tenth anniversary of the *Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage / Convention pour la sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel immatériel*. The Convention was inspired by, but was also a reaction against, the effects of the Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage of 1972. The goals were to find new ways ("safeguard") to speak about, to valorize, to facilitate transmission and to deal with "traditional culture" or "folklore", to celebrate cultural diversity and to involve more actors like communities and groups. There was also international pressure and drive to construct an alternative for the notion of (protecting and promoting) "world heritage" as it was used for monuments and landscapes, in Europe … and the rest of the world. On October 17th, 2003, the General Assembly of UNESCO accepted the text after two years of intensive negotiations and working towards a consensus between hundreds of diplomats and experts (anthropologists, ethnologists, "volkskundigen", linguists, legal experts, activists from NGOs, …). In 2006, after thirty countries had ratified it, the convention "entered into force" (article 34 of that Convention). One of the first main challenges was to make "operational directives": interpretations of the vague wording in the articles of the convention text, criteria, proposals to allocate funds and to create instruments for implementing the convention … Between 2006 and 2008 a series of meetings of the Intergovernmental Committee and many working groups of experts were organized and facilitated by the Secretariat (administration) of UNESCO, while more and more countries were ratifying the Convention. During this period, many of the experts who had constructed the convention text continued the discussion as members of the delegations of Member States in the first Intergovernmental Committee, or as (in the corridors participant) observers. The first version of a consolidated set of operational directives that Committee members could live with (representing a consensus), was ready in the early summer of 2008 and accepted by the General Assembly in June 2008. Now the Convention was really activated. As such, 2013 was not only the tenth birthday, but also the fifth operational work year of the Convention and its "operational directives". These operational directives can be changed by the General Assembly of Member States and they have been slightly amended and updated (in the first place the criteria and procedures for the international lists mentioned in article 16 and 17 of the 2003

Convention) in 2010, 2012 and 2014. The last time the changes were partly based on the result of an evaluation of the 2003 Convention and its operational directives and how it was implemented in UNESCO and all over the world, conducted by the *Internal Oversight Service of UNESCO*.[1] In the last meeting of the Intergovernmental Committee in Baku and the General Assembly in Paris, the challenge was raised to provide more guidance and operational directives about safeguarding, addressing issues like sustainable development, tourism, commercialization, but also to reconsider the role relevant non-governmental organizations can take up in the implementation of the 2003 Convention. In contrast to the 2003 Convention text, the operational directives can be changed, expanded and reoriented.

Tenth anniversary: an opportunity to explore key challenges, constraints and possibilities

In 2013, UNESCO launched a worldwide appeal to all stakeholders involved in the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage to explore the key challenges, constraints and possibilities related to its implementation. The tenth anniversary offered a wide range of actors the opportunity to organize and share activities at the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the 2003 Convention: feasts, symposia, campaigns, et cetera. A special web page brought together and announced all the initiatives: http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/en/anniversary. From the member state Belgium, more specifically Flanders, an international colloquium was proposed and accepted for the programme and the website. The title was "ICH brokers, facilitators, mediators and intermediaries. Critical Success (F)Actors for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage". The event took place in Brussels, at FARO, on November 6th, under the auspices of the Flemish UNESCO commission. The main organizers were FARO, tapis plein and the Vrije Universiteit Brussel/BREL, in cooperation with the Nederlands Centrum voor Volkscultuur en Immaterieel Erfgoed (the Dutch Center for Intangible Heritage) and the ICH NGO Forum, the network of the NGOs attached to the UNESCO Convention for the safeguarding of ICH (for whom cultural brokerage is in fact the core-activity.) From Flanders the ICH network and platform www.immaterieelerfgoed.be participated. The title of the "ICH network" refers to a number of centers of expertise, based in Brussels and the Flemish region of Belgium and that are cultivating the safeguarding intangible cultural heritage paradigm: LECA-CAG-Het Firmament-Resonant-ETWIE-tapis plein and FARO. As the contribution by Casteleyn, Janssens and Neyrinck to this volume explains, the network also comprises the heritage cells in Flanders.

1 B. Torggler, E. Sediakina-Rivière and J.Blake, *Evaluation by the Internal Oversight Service of UNESCO's standard-setting work of the Culture Sector. Part I: 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*. Paris, 2013.

The network consists of a series of professionals that all share and cherish a profile and self-fashioning as "(cultural) heritage broker" and mediator. The notion of brokerage characterizes both the organizations as well as the people working there. In the Netherlands there is also a growing awareness of issues connected with brokering heritage and culture, and that is why the Dutch commission for UNESCO and the VIE joined the initiative begun by the partners in Bruges and Brussels. Before the Dutch ratification of the UNESCO Convention, VIE had already positioned itself in 2003 as a public folklore institution, conceptualizing its work as "cultural brokerage". In this VIE was, just like the organizations in Flanders, inspired by discussions in the United States on this same issue, as shown in a booklet produced by VIE which tried to give a theoretical justification of its work, *Volkscultuur van en voor een breed publiek*.

The collection of articles in this volume can partly be considered as the "acta" or publication of the colloquium in Brussels in 2013. It has been complimented with additional contributions and essays from actors in the ICH NGO Forum. The announcement of the colloquium can still be found on the UNESCO website and it explains what the intention was:

> "The 2003 Convention and the subsequent versions of the Operational Directives have significant effects on cultural heritage practices and policies in many nation-states and regions around the world. Which lessons can we draw from the implementation and evaluation of safeguarding plans and programmes for intangible cultural heritage? What works? What is missing? Can good practices from other heritage fields be inspiring? What can we learn from experiences in development aid, health care or other programmes, in which brokers and facilitators are active?
> The central hypothesis we will explore is that the role of mediators, cultural brokers or facilitators is important for making safeguarding programmes and other participatory heritage processes work and succeed. Several words describe these roles and the skills required. The word "translators" refers to skills to find common ground between professional discourses, methods and terminology of "safeguarding" or "intangible cultural heritage" on the one hand and local practices and group processes on the other hand. Do keywords like "cultural brokerage" or "mediation" adequately describe these critical success (f) actors? Are these processes limited to the world of NGOs or do they also form a challenge for other organizations, institutions and networks?"

Anniversaries are not funerals. By organizing the colloquium in 2013 and by publishing this special issue in *Volkskunde*, we have many ambitions. The first is to draw attention to specific roles and functions in processes and networks regarding the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage, and to provide sensitizing vocabulary and literature to talk about it. This new focus on cultural brokerage is also important for other sectors as is illustrated in the discussion about community involvement in museums and other heritage

institutions.[2] The second, specifically relevant for this journal, is the need to see and inscribe the recent emergence of the paradigm of safeguarding intangible cultural heritage in a long term perspective, in the history of the relations between "popular culture" and "elite culture" since the 16th century. In the literature that has been produced since the 1970s, concepts like "brokerage" or "appropriation" have enriched the debate. It is time to connect the dots, both to update and complement cultural history and to feed new disciplines like cultural policy studies with a long term perspective and (positive and often negative) experience.[3] The third is to connect and confront bodies and segments of that literature and the practices and models they discuss, not only transdisciplinary but also interdisciplinary. It answers the calls launched by Janet Blake[4], Richard Kurin[5] and others to exchange and accumulate experiences of successful and failed projects. There is a need for many more case-studies and examples, of description and also analysis of policy-experiments, such as Flanders in the first decade of the 21st century, in order to make progress.

Contributions in this issue

Let us not forget who actually made, and now interprets, adapts, explains and broadcasts the 2003 convention text, the operational directives, the forms, and other instruments. They tend to be called experts, diplomats or other delegates, but it would also be possible and plausible to describe the profile of the core groups as "mediators" or "brokers". They are constructing frames, telling stories and combining different worlds. It is a group of practitioners, diplomats, civil servants and politicians, constantly translating, highly skilled in the game and art of building (on) consensus (building). They are good examples of

2 V. Golding & W. Modest (eds.), *Museums and communities; curators, collections and collaboration.* London, 2013. In Flanders and in the Netherlands the increased attention to this new kind of professional intermediaries can be illustrated with two practical guides, both published in 2010: *Nieuwe cultuurfuncties. Een urgente verkenning naar meerwaarde en typologie*. Amsterdam, 2010 and *Makelaardij in erfgoed. Praktijkkennis voor bruggenbouwers.* Brussel, 2010.

3 See the research program proposed by M. Jacobs, "Bruegel and Burke were here! Examining the criteria implicit in the UNESCO paradigm of safeguarding ICH: the first decade", *International Journal of Intangible Heritage* 9, 2014, p. 99-117; P. Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*. S.l. 2009; R. Muchembled, *L'invention de l'homme moderne. Sensibilités, moeurs et comportements collectifs sous l'Ancien Régime*. Paris, 1988 (in particular chapter II: "Le temps des médiateurs (XVIe siècle)"); G. Rooijakkers, *Rituele repertoires. Volkscultuur in oostelijk Noord-Brabant 1559-1853.* Nijmegen, 1994, passim on "bemiddelaars"; W. Frijhoff, "Toeëigening: van bezitsdrang naar betekenisgeving", *Trajecta* 6, 1997, p. 99-118; R. Chartier, "Culture as appropriation: Popular culture uses in early modern France", in: S. Kaplan, *Understanding popular culture. Europe from the Middle Ages to the nineteenth century*. Berlin, 1984, p. 229-253; J. Paquette, "Theories of Professional Identity: Bringing Cultural Policy in Perspective", in: J. Paquette (ed.), *Cultural Policy, Work and Identity. The Creation, Renewal and Negotiation of Professional Subjectivities*. Farnham, 2012, p. 1-24.

4 J. Blake, "UNESCO's 2003 Convention on Intangible Cultural Heritage. The implications of community involvement in 'safeguarding'", in: L. Smith & N. Akagawa (eds.), *Intangible Heritage*. London & New York, 2009, p. 46-73, p. 66.

5 R. Kurin, "Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage: Key Factors in Implementing the 2003 Convention", *International Journal of Intangible Heritage* 2, 2007, p. 10-20, p. 18.

international and interdisciplinary cultural brokers and in this case, as Marc Jacobs argues in his contribution about development brokers, even members of an epistemic community and "global-politique". It is not by chance that Richard Kurin or Chérif Khaznadar who were heads of delegations in UNESCO developing the 2003 Convention, are also famous for developing programs of culture brokerage or ethnoscenography. We argue that brokerage is the core business of many of the key actors involved in the first decade of the 2003 Convention's development. In this volume not only experts who have worked in the delegations of member states take the floor, but also people connected to NGOs who participate regularly in the meetings of the Intergovernmental Committee or the General Assembly of the 2003 Convention. The contribution by Jorijn Neyrinck makes clear that there are several challenges here. The NGOs, even the organizations accredited by the General Assembly, are at present hardly mobilized for developing the 2003 Convention. There is tension between this under-use and the many principles of co-governance that are cultivated in the 21st century in other fields and in the spirit of the convention. Neyrinck pleads for using these resources by interpreting broadly the current directives of the 2003 Convention. But as she emphasizes, these directives can also be changed, evolve and improve. It is one of the objectives of this volume, to feed and inspire these discussions. Introducing concepts like "brokerage" (cum "translation"), "mediation", or "facilitation" or naming the role of "broker" or "mediator" in one or more operational directives, would be interesting. The relevance thereof also becomes clear, as Janet Blake spells out because "the intergovernmental ICH Committee of the 2003 Convention has an opportunity to inform international law through its practice in relation to participation and community involvement, not only in the narrow field of cultural heritage protection but more widely in any areas such as environmental law."[6]

Marc Jacobs claims that the experiences of public folklore and other forms of working with actors in the field of popular culture have left interesting traces and techniques that can be used to develop the notion of safeguarding intangible cultural heritage. In this quest, one should not restrict the discussion to the usual suspects, the disciplines that deal with traditional culture, but also look at other disciplines. One technique we propose here is to examine in which fields concepts like "brokerage", "consensus building" or "co-governance" have been used in order to identify disciplines and schools that are not often mentioned or used (for instance in this journal). Among other relevant disciplines and fields (like health care brokerage), the world of development aid and development brokerage seems particularly interesting. Marc Jacobs explores some of the recent discussions in development studies and explicitly builds the bridge, in order to mobilize these insights. The book *Development Brokers and Translators. The Ethnography of Aid and Agencies*, edited in 2006 by David Mosse and David Lewis, was one of the reference works that lead to the conference in Brussels and to this publication. David Lewis was present at the conference, embodying the bridge ambitions. His contribution to the volume presents a reflection about a key player in the world of development

6 Blake, UNESCO, p. 67.

aid: non-government organizations. He shares the perspective of studying them as cultural brokers with other authors. His contribution also makes clear that the discussions and challenges should take a broader perspective than just intangible heritage or the Western world. In this volume, Emily Drani argues that NGOs are relevant and needed for safeguarding intangible heritage in Africa and presents the case of the Cross-Cultural Foundation of Uganda. Ananya Bhattacharya further develops the thesis that NGOs dealing with intangible heritage should be considered in relation to debates on sustainable development.

What happens when local festive culture and politics are suggestively linked to both worldwide problems (like the heritage and the responsibility concerning slavery and the slave trade a few centuries ago and discrimination on the basis of skin colour) and instruments of *global-politique* (like improper use of vague references to the United Nations and UNESCO) is shown in the essay of Albert van der Zeijden, which deals with "controversial heritage". Is "invisibility" characteristic or necessary for effective brokerage or mediation and what happens if a challenge comes into the spotlights? The case study which Albert van der Zeijden presents is a good illustration of the changes, problems and even conflicts that may occur when the 21st century UNESCO symbolic capital is injected in a field of intangible cultural heritage/popular culture, in particular in combination with attention from the press and new media.

In several case-studies in this volume, the present situation in different countries and settings is examined. Notwithstanding the fact that Canada has not yet ratified the 2003 Convention, provinces like Québec or Newfoundland and Labrador are top of mind in discussions about good practices among specialists in safeguarding intangible cultural heritage. The fact that, even though Canada is not a member of the General Assembly, Dale Jarvis was recently selected by the Intergovernmental Committee to be on the advisory body, speaks volumes. In this issue, Dale Jarvis presents the policy and interesting practices in Newfoundland and Labrador. It is an excellent example of what Marc Jacobs suggested in his contribution on the relevance of public folklore for the heritage paradigm. Valentina Lapiccirrella Zingari shows how cultural anthropology is taking up a similar role in Italy by cultivating networks and exchanges of experiences in different contexts. Veronika Filkó presents a case where a museum plays an important role in trying to mobilize people. She focusses on the process of developing a national Inventory of ICH in Hungary. The new challenges for museums in the safeguarding paradigm are also addressed in the review of Marilena Alivizatou's reflection on this topic. Lothar Casteleyn, Ellen Janssens and Jorijn Neyrinck present an interesting case-study of a phase of heritage policy experiments in Flanders (Belgium). The positive experience in Flanders and the lessons that there are no fixed formulas for safeguarding intangible cultural heritage but that it takes much work on participatory processes and translations, formed the direct incentive to set up the colloquium and to produce this volume. We do think we are on to something, that cultural brokerage can be a critical success factor in sustainable safeguarding processes and that cultural brokers (or whatever you

want to call them) really are, in many interpretations of these words, critical success actors.

Using experiences with, and literature about, "brokerage", "mediation" and "facilitation" can work as an eye-opener and as incentives to further develop the safeguarding intangible cultural heritage paradigm. The delegations of States Parties and other countries could consider these suggestions. It would moreover be in the spirit of the convention to mobilize as many relevant and competent actors and knowledge as possible to conduct this debate. The tenth anniversary of the 2003 Convention provided a good momentum for many initiatives to be taken: the present volume of *Volkskunde* is one of the tangible results. We explicitly draw attention to the evaluation report by the Internal Oversight Service in 2013.[7] Another peak moment – also according to the Intangible Cultural Heritage Section of UNESCO itself – was the meeting of experts and officials who were involved in its conception and development at the "Chengdu International Conference on Intangible Cultural Heritage in Celebration of the Tenth Anniversary of UNESCO's Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage" on 14 to 16 June 2013. In several of the debates and in particular in the "Round-table 5: Open questions and future directions" the potential of notions like "brokerage" and "mediation" was explicitly put on the table.[8] Earlier that year, from 10 to 11 January 2013, a follow-up meeting of the first ICH-researchers forum on 3 June 2012 (just before the Fourth session of the General Assembly) in Paris, took place in Tokyo, focusing on the inscription criteria of the two Lists of the 2003 Convention. It yielded a highly critical set of papers, and also interesting bridges towards less explored areas like safeguarding endangered languages or the explicit reflection by Laurajane Smith about the question if and how the 2003 Convention challenges the Authorised Heritage Discourse.[9] On the occasion of the following sessions of the Intergovernmental Committee in Baku in December 2013 and the General Assembly in Paris in June 2014 there were no

7 IOS, *Audit of the Working Methods of Cultural Conventions*. http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0022/002232/223256E.pdf (02-09-2014).

8 http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?meeting_id=00328

9 L. Smith, "The Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention, a Challenge to the Authorised Heritage Discourse?", in: *Evaluating the Inscription Criteria for the Two Lists of UNESCO's Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention. The 10th Anniversary of the 2003 Convention. Final Report*. Osaka, International Research Centre for Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Asia-Pacific Region, 2013, p. 122-128. Other participants – cherchez le réseau – in the conference and the publications were Toshiyuki Kono, Cristina Chavez, Apollinaire Anakesa, Panayiota Andrianopoulou, Antonio Arantes, Chiara Bortolotto, Matthias Brenzinger, Harriet Deacon, Rieks Smeets, Chérif Khaznadar, Kristin Kuutma, Ahmed Skounti, Wim Van Zanten. M. Jacobs, "Criteria, Apertures and Envelopes. ICH Directives and Organs in Operation", in: *Evaluating*, p. 129-137 concluded with the appeal "Why not to start work on a missing Chapter IV of the Operational Directives (after moving directives about awareness-raising to a new chapter V), expanding on Decision 7.COM 7, 6 in combination with several suggestions in 7.COM.6 and many other sources? (…) Ten years after the launch of the successful 2003 UNESCO convention, it is high time to reconsider a series of issues, e.g. about stakeholder involvement, sustainable tourism and economics, that were presented in Washington D.C. in 1999 in the form of a critical Ten Years After evaluation of the failed 1989 Recommendation." (p. 137)

new meetings of the ICH researchers forum, but there were meetings of the ICH NGO Forum, a structure that gained considerable momentum as a platform for communication, networking, exchange and cooperation for NGOs accredited by UNESCO to provide advisory services to the Intergovernmental Committee in the framework of the 2003 Convention. The website www.ichngoforum.org develops a tool for networking and connecting among and with NGOs, and it also sets up experimental fora like *#Heritage Alive, methodologies in the field*, where experiences of community involvement can be exchanged online. A number of bridges that have been introduced in this issue in *Volkskunde*, in particular to the work of scholars like David Lewis and David Mosse do offer interesting prospects to reflect critically on the role of NGOs both in local, national, regional and international settings and in what Marc Abélès called "global-politique".[10] During the yearly meetings of this Forum, cultural brokerage in theory and practice has been a recurring topic of discussion.

It is clear that much more research and critical analysis, about the roles, differences and functions of brokers, networks and NGOS, or about the notion of "safeguarding", is needed and that there are no easy and ready-made solutions. However, the debates can be richer and more fruitful, and have a more sustainable and positive impact, by pooling resources, among ICH researchers and ICH NGO networks, and all other stakeholders involved in developing the safeguarding of intangible heritage.

10 See for instance A. Bebbington, S. Hickey and D. Mitlin, *Can NGOs Make a Difference? The Challenge of Development Alternatives*. London & New York, 2007; B. Cooke & U. Kothari (eds.), *Participation. The New Tyranny?* London & New York, 2004; C. Shore, S. Wright & D. Però (eds.), *Policy Worlds: Anthropology and Analysis of Contemporary Power*. New York, Oxford, 2011; D. Mosse (ed.), *Adventures in Aidland: The Anthropology of Professionals in International Development*. New York, Oxford, 2011 and the literature mentioned in the contribution of Marc Jacobs about development brokerage.

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UNESCO, makelaars en kritische succes(f)actoren in de borging van immaterieel cultureel erfgoed[1]

In 2013 vierde de wereld de tiende verjaardag van de Conventie voor de borging van immaterieel cultureel erfgoed. De Conventie is geïnspireerd door, maar was ook een reactie tegen de effecten van de Conventie inzake de bescherming van het cultureel en natuurlijk werelderfgoed van 1972. Het was de bedoeling om nieuwe manieren te vinden (vandaar het ongewone woord "borging") om te spreken over van wat toen nog aangeduid werd als "traditionele cultuur" of "folklore" en om dat te valoriseren en de overlevering ervan te faciliteren, om culturele diversiteit te celebreren en om bij dit alles meer actoren zoals gemeenschappen en groepen te betrekken. Verder speelden de internationale druk en het doorzettingsvermogen mee om een alternatief te formuleren voor (de bescherming en promotie) van "werelderfgoed", zoals dat UNESCO-label werd gebruikt voor monumenten en landschappen, in Europa en zelfs in de rest van de wereld. Op 17 oktober 2003 aanvaardde de Algemene Vergadering van UNESCO de tekst, waaraan honderden diplomaten en deskundigen (antropologen, etnologen, "volkskundigen", taalkundigen, juridische experts, activisten van NGO's…) twee jaar lang intensief gewerkt hadden en daarover een consensus hadden bereikt. Nadat in 2006 dertig landen het verdrag hadden geratificeerd, kon de Conventie van kracht worden en echt in werking treden. Een van de eerste belangrijke uitdagingen was om "operationele richtlijnen" te maken: het interpreteren en concretiseren van de vage formuleringen in de artikels van de Conventie, criteria, voorstellen om fondsen toe te wijzen en om instrumenten te creëren voor de uitvoering ervan. Tussen 2006 en 2008 waren er diverse bijeenkomsten van het Intergouvernementeel Comité en werden vele werkgroepen van experten georganiseerd en gefaciliteerd door het Secretariaat (administratie) van UNESCO, terwijl ondertussen steeds meer landen de Conventie ratificeerden. Tijdens deze periode zetten veel experts die de conventietekst hadden geconstrueerd de discussie voort, ditmaal als leden van de delegaties van de lidstaten die zitting namen in het Intergouvernementele Comité of de Algemene Vergadering, of aanwezig als (vooral in de wandelgangen) invloed uitoefenende waarnemers. De eerste

1 De literatuurverwijzingen vindt men in de tekst van M. Jacobs, J. Neyrinck & A. van der Zeijden, "UNESCO, Brokers and Critical Success (F)Actors in Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage". Zie Inleiding in dit nummer van *Volkskunde*, p. 249-256.

versie van een geconsolideerde reeks operationele richtlijnen waarmee de leden van het Comité konden leven (dus een consensus) was klaar in de vroege zomer van 2008 en werd door de Algemene Vergadering aanvaard in juni 2008. Nu kon de Conventie pas echt in werking treden.

Dat betekent dat in 2013 niet alleen de tiende verjaardag werd gevierd, maar ook het vijfde operationele werkjaar van de Conventie en de operationele richtlijnen, die kunnen worden gewijzigd door de Algemene Vergadering van de lidstaten. Ze zijn ook effectief aangepast en bijgewerkt (in de eerste plaats de criteria en procedures voor de internationale lijsten in artikel 16 en 17 van de Conventie) in 2010, 2012 en 2014. De laatste veranderingen waren deels gebaseerd op het resultaat van een evaluatie door de Internal Oversight Service van UNESCO, van de Conventie van 2003 en de operationele richtlijnen en hoe die kaderteksten in de praktijk waren gebracht. In de laatste bijeenkomsten van het Intergouvernementeel Comité in Baku (2013) en de Algemene Vergadering in Parijs (2014) werd de uitnodiging geformuleerd tot meer aansturing en betere operationele richtlijnen met het oog op borging, waarbij ook uitdagingen zoals duurzame ontwikkeling, toerisme en commercialisering aangepakt worden. Tevens werd opgeroepen om de rollen die niet-gouvernementele organisaties (nog niet) kunnen opnemen bij het implementeren van de Conventie opnieuw te overwegen. In tegenstelling tot de in steen gebeitelde conventietekst uit 2003 zelf, kunnen de operationele richtlijnen immers wél worden gewijzigd, uitgebreid en opnieuw georiënteerd.

De tiende verjaardag: een kans om de belangrijkste uitdagingen, beperkingen en mogelijkheden te verkennen

In 2013 deed UNESCO een wereldwijde oproep aan alle belanghebbenden die betrokken zijn bij de borging van het immaterieel cultureel erfgoed om samen met hen de sleuteluitdagingen, knelpunten en mogelijkheden die gerelateerd zijn aan de implementatie van de Conventie in kaart te brengen en te verkennen. Resultaat was een groot aantal symposia, studiedagen, campagnes en andere activiteiten die op een speciale webpagina in kaart werden gebracht: http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/en/anniversary. Vanuit de lidstaat België, meer specifiek Vlaanderen, werd een internationaal colloquium voorgesteld voor het programma en de website. De titel was "Immaterieel cultureel erfgoed-makelaars, facilitatoren, bemiddelaars en tussenpersonen. Kritische succes(f) actoren voor de borging van immaterieel cultureel erfgoed". Het evenement vond plaats in Brussel, bij FARO, op 6 november 2013, onder auspiciën van de Vlaamse UNESCO-commissie. De belangrijkste organisatoren waren FARO, tapis plein en de Vrije Universiteit Brussel/BREL, in samenwerking met het Nederlands Centrum voor Volkscultuur en Immaterieel Erfgoed (VIE) en het ICH-NGO-Forum, het netwerk van de NGO's verbonden aan de UNESCO-Conventie. Vanuit Vlaanderen participeerde het ICE-netwerk (ICE staat voor immaterieel cultureel erfgoed, zoals ICH in het Engels) en het platform www.immaterieelerfgoed.be. De titel van het ICE-netwerk verwijst naar een aantal expertisecentra, gevestigd in Brussel en in Vlaanderen die zich bezighouden met het cultiveren van het paradigma van het borgen van immaterieel cultureel

erfgoed: LECA-CAG-Het Firmament-Resonant-ETWIE-tapis plein en FARO. Zoals duidelijk wordt in de bijdrage van Casteleyn, Janssens en Neyrinck in deze bundel, omvat dit netwerk verder ook de erfgoedcellen in Vlaanderen. Het begrip makelaardij kenmerkt zowel de organisaties als de mensen die er werken. Ook in Nederland is er sprake van een groeiende bewustwording omtrent vraagstukken die verband houden met het bemiddelen van cultuur en erfgoed. Dat is de reden waarom ook de Nationale UNESCO-commissie in Nederland en het VIE zich aansloten bij het initiatief van de partners in Vlaanderen en Brussel. Al vóór de ratificatie van de UNESCO-Conventie door de Nederlandse staat had VIE zich in 2003 als "public folklore" instelling gepositioneerd, actief in "culturele makelaardij". VIE was in dit opzicht, net als organisaties in Vlaanderen, geïnspireerd door de discussies in de Verenigde Staten rond dit thema, zoals bleek uit de door VIE gerealiseerde publicatie *Volkscultuur van en voor een breed publiek* (Utrecht, 2003).

De artikelen in deze thema-aflevering van *Volkskunde* kunnen beschouwd worden als de "acta" van het colloquium in Brussel in 2013, aangevuld met extra bijdragen en essays van actoren uit het ICH-NGO-Forum. De aankondiging van het colloquium is nog te vinden op de UNESCO-website en legt uit wat de bedoeling was: "De Conventie van 2003 en de daarop volgende versies van de operationele richtlijnen zijn van grote invloed op de cultureel-erfgoedpraktijken en beleidskeuzes in veel natiestaten en regio's over de hele wereld. Welke lessen kunnen we trekken uit de uitvoering en evaluatie van de borgingsplannen en -programma's voor immaterieel cultureel erfgoed? Wat werkt? Wat ontbreekt er? Kunnen goede praktijken uit andere erfgoedvelden inspirerend zijn? Wat kunnen we leren van de ervaringen in andere sectoren, zoals ontwikkelingshulp en de gezondheidszorg en andere programma's, waarin makelaars en bemiddelaars actief zijn?

De centrale hypothese die we willen onderzoeken is in hoeverre de rol van bemiddelaars, culturele makelaars of facilitatoren, van belang is voor het welslagen van borgingsprogramma's en participatieve processen van erfgoedwerk. Verschillende woorden beschrijven deze rollen en de vaardigheden die daarvoor nodig zijn. Het woord "vertalers" verwijst naar vaardigheden om een gemeenschappelijke grond te vinden tussen de professionele vertogen, methodes en terminologie van "bescherming/borging" of "immaterieel cultureel erfgoed" aan de ene kant en de lokale praktijken en groepsprocessen aan de andere kant. Zijn trefwoorden als "culturele makelaardij" of "bemiddeling" geschikt om deze kritische succes(f)actoren te omschrijven? Zijn deze processen beperkt tot de wereld van de NGO's of vormen ze ook een uitdaging voor andere organisaties, instellingen en netwerken?"

Verjaardagen zijn geen begrafenissen. Met het organiseren van het colloquium in 2013 en het publiceren van de bijdragen in *Volkskunde* hebben we vele ambities. De eerste ambitie is om de aandacht te vestigen op specifieke rollen en functies in processen en netwerken met betrekking tot de bescherming van het immaterieel cultureel erfgoed. Daarvoor willen we een sensibiliserende woordenschat bieden met relevante literatuur. De nieuwe focus op culturele makelaardij is ook van belang voor andere sectoren, zoals onder meer blijkt uit de discussie over het betrekken van gemeenschappen

bij musea en andere erfgoedinstellingen. De tweede ambitie, speciaal van belang voor dit tijdschrift, is dat we de recente opkomst van het immaterieel-erfgoedborgingsparadigma in een langetermijnperspectief willen plaatsen, in de geschiedenis van de relaties tussen "volkscultuur" en "elitecultuur" vanaf de 16de eeuw. In de literatuur die is verschenen sinds de jaren 1970 hebben begrippen als "makelaardij"/bemiddeling of "toe-eigening" het debat verrijkt. Het is tijd om die punten te verbinden, zowel om de cultuurgeschiedenis bij de tijd te brengen en aan te vullen als om nieuwe disciplines zoals cultuur-beleidswetenschappen te voeden met een langetermijnperspectief en (van positieve en vaak negatieve) ervaringen. Ten derde willen we clusters en onderdelen van de wetenschappelijke literatuur, maar ook de praktijken en modellen waarover ze schrijven, met elkaar verbinden, zowel op transdisciplinaire als op interdisciplinaire wijze. Wij willen, om in te spelen op vragen en oproepen van Janet Blake, Richard Kurin en anderen, ervaringen met succesvolle en mislukte projecten verzamelen en uitwisselen. Er is behoefte aan veel meer casestudies en voorbeelden, beschrijvingen maar ook analyses van beleidsexperimenten, zoals in Vlaanderen in het eerste decennium van de 21ste eeuw, om vooruitgang te boeken.

Bijdragen in deze aflevering van *Volkskunde*

Laten we niet vergeten dat diegenen die de conventietekst hebben gemaakt en nu werken aan de herziening, het uitleggen of "uitzenden" van de teksten rond de Conventie, de formulieren en andere instrumenten, doorgaans als "experten", "diplomaten" of andere afgevaardigden worden voorgesteld, maar dat het ook mogelijk en zelfs zinvol is hen te karakteriseren als "bemiddelaars" of "makelaars". Zij bouwen aan kaders ("frames"), vertellen verhalen en combineren verschillende werelden. Het is een groep van beoefenaars, diplomaten, ambtenaren en politici, die voortdurend "vertalen", die zeer bedreven zijn in het spel en de kunst van het (bouwen op) consensus bouwen. Het zijn goede voorbeelden van hedendaagse internationale en interdisciplinaire culturele makelaars en die in dit geval, zoals Marc Jacobs stelt in zijn bijdrage over de ontwikkelingsmakelaars, leden zijn van een "epistemische gemeenschap" (een begrip dat Peter Haas heeft geïntroduceerd) en de wereld van "global-politique" (een begrip gelanceerd door Marc Abélès). Het is geen toeval dat Richard Kurin of Chérif Khaznadar, beiden prominente leden van de nationale delegaties die de tekst van de Conventie onderhandeld hebben, ook bekend zijn als ontwikkelaars van cultuurmakelaardij of "etnoscenografie". Makelaardij ("brokerage") was de *core business* van vele sleutelactoren die in het eerste decennium actief waren bij de ontwikkeling van de Conventie van 2003. In deze bundel komen niet alleen experts aan het woord die hebben gewerkt in de delegaties van de lidstaten, maar ook mensen die zijn verbonden aan NGO's die regelmatig de vergaderingen van het Intergouvernementeel Comité of de Algemene Vergadering bijwonen. De bijdrage van Jorijn Neyrinck maakt duidelijk dat er hier verschillende uitdagingen liggen. De NGO's – zelfs die organisaties die geaccrediteerd zijn door de Algemene Vergadering – worden op dit moment nauwelijks

gemobiliseerd om de Conventie mee te ontwikkelen. Er is een spanningsveld tussen het onvoldoende gebruiken van NGO's en de vele principes van "co-governance" die in allerlei beleidsvelden, maar ook in de geest van de Conventie zelf, gecultiveerd en gepromoot worden. Neyrinck pleit ervoor alle beschikbare hulpbronnen in te zetten, door de huidige richtlijnen breed te interpreteren en waar nodig te veranderen, te laten evolueren en te verbeteren. Het is een van de doelstellingen van deze publicatie om de discussies te voeden en te inspireren. De introductie van begrippen als makelaardij, met een bijzonder bijklank van "vertaling"/"translatie", "bemiddeling", of "faciliteren", of het benoemen van de rol van "broker" of "bemiddelaar" in een of meer operationele richtlijnen, zou interessant zijn. Het belang daarvan mag duidelijk zijn, want zoals Janet Blake nauwkeurig heeft omschreven, heeft het Intergouvernementeel Comité van de Conventie van 2003 de kans om het internationaal recht te beïnvloeden door zijn praktijk rond participatie en het betrekken van gemeenschappen, niet alleen in het enge veld van de bescherming van cultureel erfgoed maar ook breder in allerlei domeinen zoals milieurecht.

Marc Jacobs stelt dat de ervaringen van "public folklore" en andere vormen van werken met actoren in het veld van volkscultuur boeiende sporen en technieken hebben opgeleverd, die gebruikt kunnen worden voor het verder ontwikkelen van de notie van het borgen van immaterieel cultureel erfgoed. In deze zoektocht moet men zich niet beperken tot de voor de hand liggende disciplines die zich bezighouden met traditionele cultuur, maar ook kijken naar andere disciplines. Een techniek die we hier voorstellen is om te onderzoeken in welke velden begrippen als "brokerage", "het bouwen van consensus" of "co-governance" gebruikt worden, zodat we ook scholen of disciplines die niet vaak genoemd of gebruikt worden (bijvoorbeeld in dit tijdschrift) in beeld krijgen. Denk daarbij aan disciplines en werkvelden zoals gezondheidszorg of de wereld van de ontwikkelingssamenwerking en -makelaardij. Marc Jacobs verkent enkele van de recente discussies en publicaties om deze inzichten te mobiliseren. Het boek *Development Brokers and Translators. The Ethnography of Aid and Agencies*, dat in 2006 verscheen onder redactie van David Mosse en David Lewis, was een van de referentiewerken die de conferentie in Brussel in 2013 en deze publicatie inspireerde. David Lewis was aanwezig op de conferentie en belichaamde zo de ambitie om bruggen te slaan. Zijn bijdrage aan de publicatie biedt een reflectie over een belangrijke speler in de wereld van de ontwikkelingshulp: niet-gouvernementele organisaties. Dit perspectief om deze organisaties te bestuderen als culturele makelaars deelt hij met andere auteurs. Zijn bijdrage maakt ook duidelijk dat de discussies en uitdagingen een breder perspectief vragen dan alleen immaterieel erfgoed of de westerse wereld. In deze bundel stelt Emily Drani dat NGO's relevant en nodig zijn voor de borging van immaterieel erfgoed in Afrika, waarbij ze het voorbeeld van de Cross-Cultural Foundation Uganda presenteert. Ananya Bhattacharya bouwt voort op de stelling dat NGO's, die actief zijn rond immaterieel erfgoed, ook in overweging moeten genomen worden in debatten over duurzame ontwikkeling.

Wat gebeurt er als lokale feestcultuur en politiek op een suggestieve wijze gekoppeld worden aan zowel wereldwijde problemen (zoals het erfgoed van

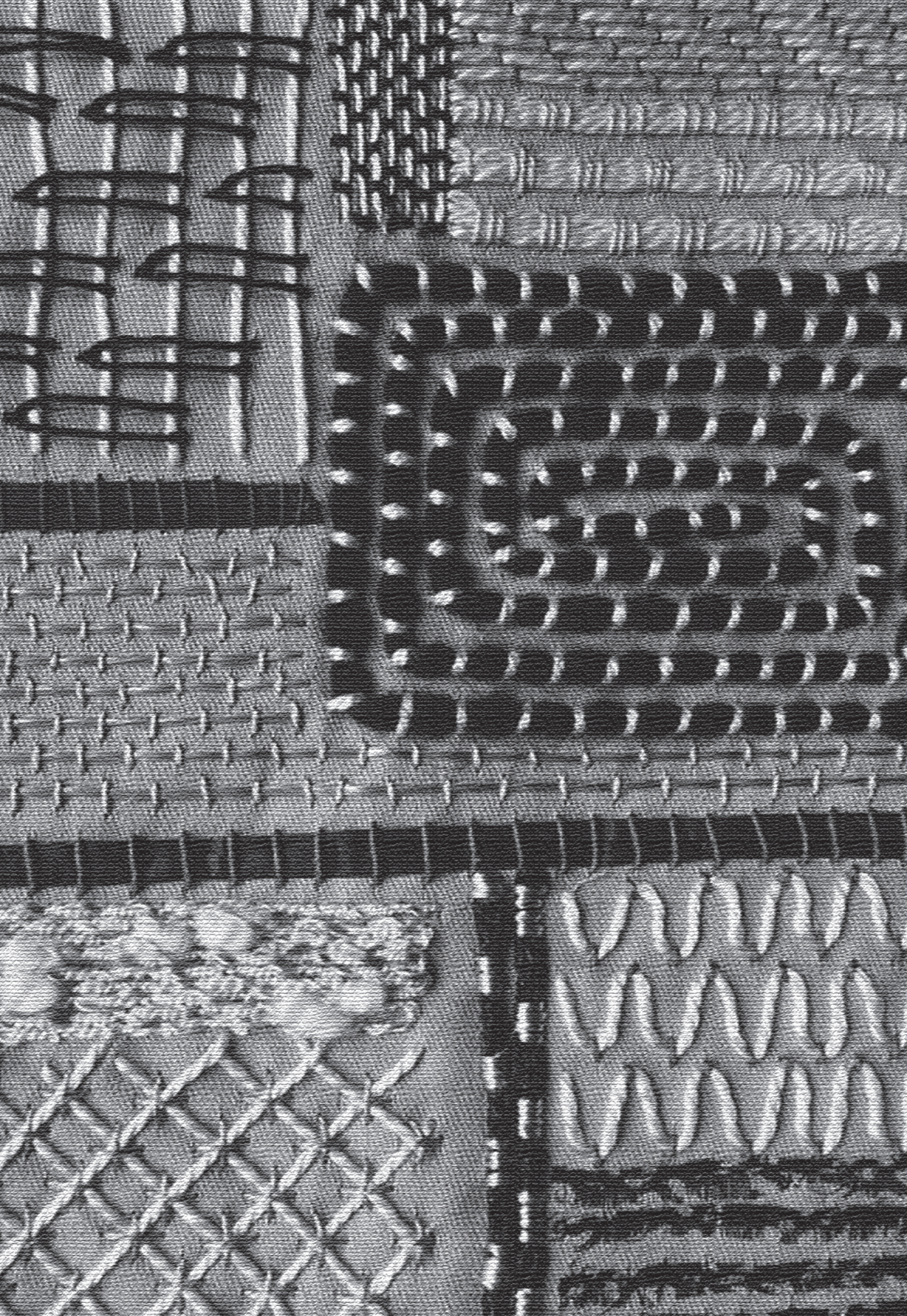
en de verantwoordelijkheid voor slavernij en slavenhandel van enkele eeuwen geleden of discriminatie op basis van huidskleur) als de instrumenten van hedendaagse "global-politique" (via vage verwijzingen naar de Verenigde Naties en de UNESCO)? In het essay van Albert van der Zeijden komt het begrip "controversieel erfgoed" aan bod. Is "onzichtbaarheid" een kenmerk dat noodzakelijk is voor het realiseren van een effectieve vorm van makelaardij of bemiddeling en wat gebeurt er wanneer de uitdaging in de schijnwerpers belandt? De case study van Albert van der Zeijden biedt een goede illustratie van de veranderingen, problemen en zelfs conflicten die kunnen optreden wanneer in de 21ste eeuw het symbolische kapitaal van UNESCO wordt geïnjecteerd in het veld van immaterieel cultureel erfgoed/volkscultuur, in het bijzonder in combinatie met de verhoogde aandacht van de pers en de nieuwe media.

In een aantal casestudies wordt de huidige situatie in verschillende landen en contexten onderzocht. Ondanks het feit dat Canada de Conventie van 2003 nog niet heeft geratificeerd, komen provincies als Québec en Labrador-Newfoundland snel op tafel als men het heeft over voorbeeldpraktijken van het borgen van immaterieel erfgoed. Het feit dat – hoewel Canada geen lid is van de Algemene Vergadering – Dale Jarvis onlangs door het Intergouvernementeel Comité geselecteerd werd om zitting te nemen in een van hun adviesorganen, spreekt boekdelen. In dit nummer presenteert Dale Jarvis het beleid en enkele interessante praktijken in Labrador-Newfoundland. Het is een uitstekend voorbeeld van wat Marc Jacobs stelt in zijn bijdrage over de relevantie van *public folklore* voor het erfgoedparadigma. Valentina Lapiccirrella Zingari laat zien hoe culturele antropologie een vergelijkbare rol op zich neemt in Italië door het cultiveren van netwerken en de uitwisseling van ervaringen in verschillende contexten. Veronika Filkó presenteert een voorbeeld waarbij een museum een belangrijke rol speelt in het mobiliseren van mensen, onder meer ten behoeve van de Nationale Inventaris Immaterieel Erfgoed in Hongarije. De nieuwe uitdagingen voor musea worden ook behandeld in een recensie van Marilena Alivizatou's recente boek over dit onderwerp. Lothar Casteleyn, Ellen Janssens en Jorijn Neyrinck presenteren een interessante casestudy van een recente fase in het (experimenteel) erfgoedbeleid in Vlaanderen. De positieve ervaringen in Vlaanderen en de lessen dat er geen vaste formules voor het borgen van immaterieel cultureel erfgoed zijn, was een directe prikkel voor het organiseren van het colloquium en het realiseren van deze publicatie. Wij denken dat we iets op het spoor zijn, dat culturele makelaardij een kritische succesfactor kan zijn in borgingsprocessen en dat culturele makelaars (of hoe je hen ook wilt noemen) in vele betekenissen van die woorden, kritische succesactoren zijn.

Het gebruikmaken van ervaringen met en literatuur over "makelaardij", "bemiddeling" en "faciliteren" kan werken als een eyeopener en een stimulans zijn om het immaterieel cultureel-erfgoedparadigma verder te ontwikkelen. De delegaties van de lidstaten en andere landen zouden deze suggesties in overweging kunnen nemen. Het is bovendien in de geest van de Conventie om zoveel mogelijk relevante en competente actoren en kennis te mobiliseren om dit debat te voeren. De tiende verjaardag van de Conventie van 2003 bood hiervoor een goed momentum. De huidige aflevering van *Volkskunde* is een

van de tastbare resultaten. Verder willen we expliciet aandacht vragen voor het evaluatierapport van de Internal Oversight Service in 2013. Een ander piekmoment – ook volgens de Sectie Immaterieel Cultureel Erfgoed van UNESCO zelf – was de vergadering van experten en officiële vertegenwoordigers die betrokken waren bij het ontwerp en de ontwikkeling van de Conventie, in een internationale conferentie in Chengdu van 14 tot 16 juni 2013. In verschillende debatten, en in het bijzonder in Rondetafel 5, kwamen begrippen als "brokerage" en "bemiddeling" expliciet ter tafel. Een bijeenkomst van onderzoekers in Tokio op 10 en 11 januari 2013 was een opvolgvergadering na het eerste "ICH-researchers-forum" dat plaats had gevonden in Parijs op 3 juni 2012 (net voor de vierde sessie van de Algemene Vergadering). Die leverde naast een aantal zeer kritische bijdragen ook interessante bruggen naar minder verkende gebieden, zoals de borging van bedreigde talen, of de expliciete reflectie door Laurajane Smith over de vraag of en hoe de Conventie van 2003 de "Authorised Heritage Discourse" uitdaagt. Ter gelegenheid van de volgende zittingen van het Intergouvernementeel Comité in Baku in december 2013 en de Algemene Vergadering in Parijs in juni 2014 waren er geen nieuwe sessies van het ICH-onderzoekersforum, maar waren er wel vergaderingen van het ICH-NGO-Forum, een structuur die wind in de zeilen heeft gekregen als platform voor communicatie, uitwisseling en samenwerking van de NGO's die door UNESCO geaccrediteerd zijn om in het kader van de Conventie advies te verstrekken aan het Intergouvernementeel Comité. De website www.ichngoforum.org ontwikkelt een tool om te netwerken en de verbindingen tussen NGO's te versterken en zet ook experimentele fora op zoals *Heritage Alive, methodologies in the field* waar ervaringen met het betrekken van gemeenschappen online kunnen worden uitgewisseld. Diverse bruggen die in dit nummer van *Volkskunde* worden voorgesteld, in het bijzonder het oeuvre van onderzoekers zoals David Lewis en David Mosse, bieden interessante vooruitzichten om kritisch te reflecteren op de rol van NGO's, zowel in lokale, nationale, regionale en internationale contexten, en ook in Marc Abélès "global-politique". Tijdens de jaarlijkse vergaderingen van het ICH-NGO-Forum is culturele makelaardij in theorie en praktijk herhaaldelijk een onderwerp van discussie geweest.

Het is duidelijk dat er veel meer onderzoek en kritische analyse nodig is over de rollen en functies van makelaars, netwerken en NGO's, of over het begrip "safeguarding", maar ook dat er geen gemakkelijke kant-en-klare oplossingen zijn. De debatten kunnen evenwel rijker en vruchtbaarder zijn en een meer duurzame en positieve impact hebben, als de hulpbronnen gebundeld worden, ook die van de onderzoekers en de ICH-NGO-netwerken, en alle andere partijen die betrokken zijn bij de ontwikkeling van het borgen van immaterieel erfgoed.



MARC JACOBS

Cultural Brokerage

Addressing Boundaries and the New Paradigm of Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage Folklore Studies, Transdisciplinary Perspectives and UNESCO

> "How do we keep our disciplinary inheritance from going to waste? We've built up a body of knowledge on specific genres and localities and on larger histories and logics of cultural representation. We want this used so that the wheel need not be reinvented by other disciplines. And some of us might dare – on a good day, anyway – to claim more autonomy for our scholarship." (Dorothy Noyes, 1999)[1]

Inter aliases

How do we keep our disciplinary inheritance from going to waste? The *fin-de-siècle* lament of Dorothy Noyes, an American professor in folklore studies, is more than ever valid and urgent in the second decade of the 21st century. In the "field with many aliases"[2], which parts of the 19th- and 20th-century legacy of *Volkskunde*, folklore research and the ethnology in "UNESCO Electoral Group 1" (Western and Southern Europe, USA & Canada) can still be used in the new era and arena of intangible cultural heritage and the safeguarding paradigm? Noyes' question also applies to the groups, networks and associations of so-called folklorists or amateurs who are engaged in and celebrate "folk dance", "folk costume" and "folk music". Since 2003 they have all been diplomatically invited to renounce their names and other old habits and to join the global movement of safeguarding ICH. The thesis I present here is that they should nevertheless also feel invited to bring and transfer at least some interesting tools and experiences, such as the ones identified in the 1990s, with scholarly words like "cultural (heritage and/or development) brokerage" on the one hand, and practical "*ethnoscénologie*"[3] (as was cultivated in the *Maison des cultures du monde* in Paris, under Chérif Khaznadar) or "culture brokerage" (as was promoted in the recent past by Richard Kurin at the Smithsonian Institution) on the other hand.

1 D. Noyes, "Provinces of Knowledge; or, Can You Get Out of the Only Game in Town?", *Journal of Folklore Research* 36: 2/3, 1999, p. 253-258, p. 255.

2 R. Bendix, "From Volkskunde to the 'Field with Many Names': Folklore Studies in German Speaking Europe", in: R. Bendix & G. Hasan-Rokem (eds.), *Folklore Companion*. Oxford, 2012, p. 364-392.

3 C. Khaznadar, "Les Arts traditionnels", in: *Les spectacles des autres. Questions d'ethnoscénologie II*. Paris, 2001, p. 17-24.

I do think it is worthwhile that folklore and folklore studies both go through the pre- and liminal phase of a strict vocabulary regime (both in the sense of slimming down, finding a new balance and respecting the temporary rules of the rites of passage) that has started a decade ago. But the next (post-liminal) decade (or two), feeding the new paradigm with tested terms (like cultural, culture or development brokerage) is needed to sustainably develop the new paradigm.

Noyes could not avoid bringing the colorfully overdressed, dancing and noisy folklore artists into the picture while discussing public action and brokerage. They are represented via a male protagonist of the world of "levend volksleven" (living folklife), active in the IOV (International Organization of Folk Art). She met him while visiting her brother, who married and lived in Belgium. Her father-in-law's neighbor was presented to her as the organizer of folk dance festivals, including an international festival near Kortrijk. He was then a pivotal figure and international correspondent in international folk art networks and the owner of a specialized library that even included publications (that she had never heard of before) from organizations in her own and her husband's (folk-dancing) backyard in the US. "He was the Flemish representative to UNESCO's heritage organization, of which I hadn't then heard and still know nothing … Who is the effective cultural broker? He is. Who is what the world recognizes as a folklorist? He is … The man from Flanders has more influence than I do … he is the kind of person who calls himself a folklorist, who is not ashamed of the word."[4] Without mercy – or is it with a high dose of reflexivity – this American scholar questioned the trending topics the academic world indulged in in the 1990s and confronted them with the parallel universe of celebrating enhanced folk identity markers: "But the population that was once central, the rural and provincial, has now disappeared – or we wish it would. We're all interested in the politics of a Muslim headscarf in a French school, but we're all embarrassed by this man in Flanders with his clubhouse full of costumes. Unfortunately he keeps talking and giving visibility to our outmoded concepts."[5]

The 2003 UNESCO Convention deliberately tried to reject and outdate both the vocabulary of traditional European folklore studies in the "metropolis" and in "the provinces" on the one hand and that of folklore/folklorists on the other hand. The "inter alia" description of the domains in article 2 of the 2003 convention covers part of the activities, subjects or even canons of these actors and their disciplines. But the main purpose is not only research, but also something called "safeguarding". The global endeavor to cultivate a new paradigm was one of "translation", not only of expressing something in other words, but also in the sense of a movement.[6] The idea is captured in the title of a book edited by David Mosse and David Lewis: *Development Brokers and*

4 Noyes, *Provinces*, p. 255-256.

5 Idem, p. 256.

6 M. Callon, "Some Elements of a Sociology of Translation: Domestication of the Scallops and the Fishermen of St Brieuc Bay", in: J. Law (ed.), *Power, Action and Belief: A New Sociology of Knowledge?*. London, 1986, p. 196-223.

Translators.[7] They, and I, refer to "translations" in the sense of the word as used in actor-network theory, combined with processes of brokerage: *in casu*, an attempt to move beyond simply describing, protecting and showcasing folklore and traditional culture and to reboot the operating system. What makes it so tricky to understand or even discuss what is happening today, is that partial or superficial translations, in the sense of just replacing or superimposing words while otherwise carrying on business as usual, are also possible.

This is a crucial issue in the current debate about the role of accredited NGOs in the implementation and development of the new paradigm, and how to evaluate them. It would for instance be an interesting but quite difficult project to study what happened with the aforementioned "International Organization of Folk Art" (IOV) (and in particular the content of the V), not only in their global central bodies but also in the regional and national member-organizations before and after the publication of the Operational Directives of the UNESCO Convention in 2008. The IOV was founded in 1979 as the *Internationale Organisation für Volkskunst* (IOV) in the Flemish village of Oostrozebeke and has branched out all over the world. Keywords were "*Volk*", "*Volkskultur*" and "*Volkskunst*". Surely the evolution towards keeping the abbreviation of a German name (instead of IOFA or IOFA&ICH) and an Austrian legal address, but explaining it with an English name, speaks volumes? The official discourse of the IOV that all its activities should result in world peace is very much compatible with UNESCO-speak. Over the last few years the organization has also started to use "intangible cultural heritage" as another key term in its communication and marketing, although it has not replaced "folk art" (which is a taboo term in the new UNESCO paradigm), in particular in the national associations. In 2010, the IOV did obtain an accreditation as an NGO on the basis of the easy criteria and superlight procedure foreseen in the operational directives (2008) of the 2003 convention.[8] But what does this really mean? How does an organization like this deal with the "inappropriate language" campaign run by the organs of the UNESCO Convention?[9]

And how does a discipline like "folklore studies" deal with a paradigm that is whipped into shape by avoiding the central concept in the name of the discipline itself? Let us not forget that, thanks to thorough deconstruction

7 D. Lewis & D. Mosse (eds.), *Development Brokers and Translators. The Ethnography of Aid and Agencies*. Bloomfield, 2006. See the article M. Jacobs, "Development Brokerage, Anthropology and Public Action. Local Empowerment, International Cooperation and Aid: Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage", *Volkskunde*, this volume (p. 299-318).

8 Compare the critical entry in the UNESCO NGO-database (consulted on 11/7/2014) http://ngo-db.unesco.org/r/or/en/1100001553 with the file http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/doc/download.php?versionID=02459 and the accreditation by the General Assembly of the 2003 UNESCO Convention in 2010: http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?pg=00283&lg=en

9 See the systematic references to inappropriate language in the documents of the Intergovernmental Committee on www.unesco.org/culture/ICH: for instance 5.COM 6 paragraph 26 (RL, 2010); 6.COM 13 paragraph 27 (RL, 2011), 7.COM 1 paragraph 24 (RL, 2012), Document 8.COM 8 paragraphs 26 (RL, 2013). The strategy is analysed in: M. Jacobs, "Is 'folklore' 'appropriate language' in the 21st century? The 2003 UNESCO convention in policy and practice: a new safeguarding paradigm", *Folklore* (submitted in 2014).

work in the UNESCO Electoral Group I area by influential networks of avant-garde interdisciplinary researchers in the last two decades of the 20th century, this scientific discipline is to a great extent the source of the "inappropriate language" strategy, via UNESCO, partly by means of torpedoing phenomena covered by the 1989 UNESCO Recommendation on "folklore" and "traditional culture". The critical reflexive and deconstruction modus has tackled, debunked, undermined, contaminated, exposed and problematized concepts like "authenticity", "ethnicity", "folk", "age old origins", "pure", "uniqueness" etc. This movement peaked in the Low Countries at the end of the 20th century and was marked by the attempt by the Meertens Institute in the Netherlands to impose the concept of "Nederlandse etnologie" as an obligatory passage point.[10] But fifteen years later, this bid has ended and has been watered down to "European ethnology", "etnologie", "antropologie", "culturele studies", "levend erfgoed en cultuur van alledag", "volkskunde" and other names, as flavors in the field with many aliases. Some of the major effects of the cheeky attempted move by the scholarly networks in and related to the Meertens Institute had, paradoxically, a real impact on policies and legal frameworks. In Flanders, this resulted in the inclusion of "etnologie" and the Meertens' definition of popular culture in the Flemish cultural heritage decree of 2008 and 2012. Via the Dutch UNESCO Commission and the Flemish and Dutch delegations at the UNESCO meetings, the sensitivity to and interventions in vocabulary had an effect on the new UNESCO paradigm, in particular via the work on a glossary.[11]

In the first ten years after the 2003 Convention was launched, dominant segments of the "field with many names" and/or policy-makers in England, the federal level in Canada, the Netherlands and Germany tried to ignore, neglect or downplay the UNESCO instrument and the worldwide movement that was stirred up. Would it blow over like the 1989 Recommendation's gentle breeze that wafted over the same subjects? It did not, but turned into a worldwide front of successive hurricanes (let us call them Koïchiro, Noriko, Rieks, Frank, Cécile, Irina *et al.*). Can more than 150 other nation states that ratified within a decade and are at least trying to use the new instrument be wrong? While the dominance of the Authorized Heritage Discourse continues to block progress in English heritage networks in relation to UNESCO, policy-makers and a snowball movement of heritage actors (like the VIE) in the Netherlands and Germany have finally crawled into the global arena. In the United States, there were the early involvement and reflexive comments by Richard Kurin, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett and others, and the role and enormous impact of Frank Proschan once he was recruited by UNESCO.

10 See T. Dekker, H. Roodenburg & G. Rooijakkers (eds.), *Volkscultuur. Een inleiding in de Nederlandse Etnologie*. Nijmegen, 2000; M. Jacobs, "Afscheid van het volksleven: een stevige synthese", *Mores. Tijdschrift voor volkscultuur in Vlaanderen* 1:4, 2000, p. 9-14; M. Jacobs, "'Met als gevolg dat elke generatie opnieuw dat vak uitvindt'. Van een discipline met een millenniumbug tot een vak met een inleiding", *Oost-Vlaamse Zanten. Tijdschrift voor volkscultuur in Vlaanderen* 76, 2001, p. 115-131 and M. Jacobs & G. Rooijakkers, "Etnologie, volkscultuur, erfgoed en dagelijks leven", *CULTUUR. Tijdschrift voor etnologie* 1-1, 2005, p. 3-21.

11 W. van Zanten (ed.), *Glossary Intangible Cultural Heritage*. The Hague, Netherlands National Commission for UNESCO, 2002 (http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/doc/src/00265.pdf).

But some transatlantic doors were slammed with a loud bang after the acceptance of Palestine as a member of UNESCO in 2012. This resulted in the US and Israel no longer paying the obligatory contributions and a de facto budgetary attack by those countries on the work and structures of UNESCO. I hope to be proved wrong, but I fear that these factors contributed to the fact that the momentum has been lost for USA folklore studies in Group I to step in, pick up and reinforce the role that was played around the turn of the century.

In this article I will not focus on the deconstructive iceberg of which the "inappropriate language" remarks are just the tip. I will focus on a specific set of experiences, concepts, practices and methods that were very present in the decade before the 2003 Convention and that are more useful than ever today, in the hope of linking it to and hooking it onto the following episodes of the safeguarding paradigm. This is where "cultural brokerage" comes into the picture.

Forms of Public Intellectual Practice in the United States

We should pick up several threads where they were left at the end of the previous century, starting with the *Journal of Folklore Research*, in which the essay by Dorothy Noyes that I quoted above was also published. In 1999, this American journal published a special double issue under the title: "*Cultural Brokerage. Forms of Intellectual Practice in Society*". In a follow-up article in the 2000 volume, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett added comments. All this was the fall-out of the conference "Public Folklore: Forms of Intellectual Practice in Society" held in Bad Homburg in 1998, when American and German-speaking European scholars confronted practices and discourses.

The first two sentences of the introductory essay to the 1999 issue by Regina Bendix and Gisela Welz tell a whole story about 20th-century folklore studies: "The contours of fields of learning and disciplinary labels share surface similarities from one country to the next beyond the Western hemisphere. Yet the particulars of knowledge production and the circumstances of the use and absorption of societal knowledge remain nationally, regionally, sometimes even institutionally specific."[12] These remarks shatter the illusions about universality that the hard sciences cherish and capture the reality of scientific production in humanities departments. But would globalization, the World Wide Web or the online web of science not change the game?[13]

In 1999, Regina Bendix and Gisela Welz reflected on the growing mobility of people, things, ideas and instant electronic messages: a reconfiguration of social geography marked by the growth of connections between people. A new word was needed that could perform more functions than "public folklore": "The concept of cultural brokerage emerged as a joint preoccupation across national boundaries and across academic and public sectors of work … As students of culture, no matter where we work, we are entangled in all that is

12 R. Bendix & G. Welz, "'Cultural Brokerage' and 'Public Folklore' within a German and American Field of Discourse", *Journal of Folklore Research* 36: 2/3, 1999, p. 111-125, p. 111.

13 M. Jacobs, "A.V.E. Janus", *Volkskunde* 113, 2011, p. 183-195.

contained in brokering, particularly social, political, ethical and – pervading everything else – economic considerations."[14] In their late 20th-century discipline of folklore studies (or *Volkskunde*), Bendix and Welz saw much more readiness in the United States to confront the challenges of a globalizing cultural economy head-on than in Europe.[15] Had folklorists in America also not been more successful in public institution-building and proposing ethical and other guidelines for practice outside the academy?

Roger Abrahams debunked these aspirations and narratives, by skeptically suggesting that run-of-the-academic-mill actors in folklore studies tend to niggle and to think small. He even suggested that those who have been able to think bigger (like the Dell Hymeses, Ralph Rinzlers, Bob Cantwells or Richard Kurins) were not trained as folklorists, nor did they self-identify as such. Abrahams dismisses and sweeps aside the dichotomy between public and academic folklorists and sees it as a continuum, as part of the same repertoire: "most public folklorists do not regard their professional pursuits as distinct from the scholarly enterprise but rather as research that employs presentation or representation, discursive strategies that are simply alternatives to the specialized article, monograph, or book. This apparent opposition within the field is made all the more problematic insofar as we share – with other cultural disciplines – a decentering of our basic terms and a reconsideration of the canon that has animated our proceedings for the last two centuries."[16]

The crucial developments in the United States in the golden years of the 1960s and early 1970s have been described and examined at length elsewhere. We are referring here in first place to the creation and realization of the Folklore Programs of the Smithsonian Institution and in particular the Festival of American Folklife since 1967. Also the Folk Arts Program in the National Endowment of the Arts in 1973 sparked many initiatives. In the Library of Congress in Washington D.C. the founding of the American Folklife Center in 1976 was the reward for the long-term lobby work by Archie Green.[17]

In 1987 a series of sessions of the American Folklore Society in Albuquerque put the public folklore movement explicitly on the agenda. They tried to avoid deepening the distinction between applied and unapplied (meaning "academic') folklore. So in 1987 they talked about "public folklore" as part of the broader concept of "folklore studies". A generation of scholars started asking for inclusion and recognition and begged to be taken seriously by masters and deans in academic corporations. This was reinforced in "Mistaken dichotomies", a famous intervention by Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, which was published in *The Journal of American Folklore* in 1988. Together with other articles it was included in a groundbreaking and pioneering book on *Public*

14 Bendix & Welz, *Cultural*, p. 111.

15 A notable exception is the work on intercultural communication, inspired by Volkskunde, propagated by Klaus Roth and his team in Munich.

16 R. Abrahams, "American Academic and Public Folklore: Late Twentieth-Century Musings", *Journal of Folklore Research* 36:2/3, 1999, p. 127-137, p. 128.

17 See e.g. Abrahams, *American*, passim; R. Cantwell, *Ethomimesis: Folklife and the Representation of Culture*. Chapel Hill, 1993.

Folklore, edited by Robert Baron and Nick Spitzer and first published by the Smithsonian Institution Press in 1992. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett identified four aspects in the public folklore agenda in the 1980s: advocacy, representation, art and critical discourse. She questioned the suggestion that folklorists working in public sectors are so dependent on government funding that it limited their critical potential or make them lose sight of the bigger picture: "the emancipatory potential of folklore as praxis, that is, how what we do as folklorists can be of socially redeeming value in ways that go beyond celebration."[18] Kirshenblatt-Gimblett stated that the academy could fill that gap if necessary and satisfy the need for a so-called critical discourse independent of advocacy.

In 1999 Robert Baron proposed going beyond this limited program put forward by Kirshenblatt-Gimblett and really transcending the dichotomy by also questioning the distinction between practice and theory and by training people in both. He regretted that "ethnographic" practice was marginal in contemporary academic training and discourse.[19] Photography, filming and audio recording were and still are not really "practiced" a lot when training as a folklorist. The transfer of theory or field history awareness, the eclectic mobilization of concepts for sensitizing, debunking or deconstructing were promoted actively: a good thing, but not enough. Baron called for hands-on training in the art of documentation and representation, but also for reflexivity. He argued for reflection on the importance of "inscription" (on carriers like sound, letters or images) in (as the word implies) ethno-graphy. Why not develop Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's thesis that "folklore is a discipline made and defined by technology and especially by technologies of communication"?[20] It is not only a matter of making a good recording, but also being able to put it on stage. Folklorists should acquire the skills that enable them to make sure that, for instance, sound checks are possible, that appropriate sound amplification is present and that technicians work adequately and are guided in the optimization of the interaction between and the experience of musicians and the audience. He or she should know "when and how to act in a mediative role to apply knowledge and expertise". Through cumulative experience, the folklorist acquires what Bourdieu calls "a feel for the game".[21] This could be extended to making radio programs, television programs and documentaries, literarily staging performances (on proscenium stages). Baron emphasized the importance of cultivating "presentation skills", both to create a context for performances and to conduct workshops to enable artists to do self-presentations. The mediation work in museums, including

18 B. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Mistaken Dichotomies", in: R. Baron & N. Spitzer (eds.), *Public Folklore*. Jackson, 2007, p. 29-48, p. 33.

19 But do note the Cooperstown Graduate Program (CGP: http://www.oneonta.edu/academics/cgp/index.html), that after being established by Louis C. Jones and Bruce Buckley in the 1960s, was conducting interesting experiments and was offering an academic degree in American Folklore until 1979.

20 R. Baron, "Theorizing Public Folklore Practice – Documentation, Genres of Representation, and Everyday Competencies", *Journal of Folklore Research* 36: 2/3, 1999, p. 185-201, p. 188.

21 Idem, p. 190.

community collaboration, should also be taken – and trained – seriously.[22] All this added up to presenting public folklore as a framework that includes mediation, cultural brokerage, empowerment, use of old and new media and mobilizing tested representational practices.

In the last article in the 1999 issue of the *Journal of Folklore Research*, Richard Kurin made some crucial comments, pointing to the possibility of new fax-to-fax communication (obsolete 15 years later) and the internet (in global use 15 years later) yielding postmodern global forms of folklore that coexist with the efforts of elders to maintain the oral transmission of their tales: "While some communities may be running from their past, others think they are running toward it."[23] Of course, these evolutions could be interpreted by folklorists and other scholars as nice new trending topics for students and peer reviewed articles, "subject matter as interesting grist for their professional mill". But Kurin believed that folklorists concerned with human cultural rights can offer more activist contributions, not just as commentators, but taking more responsibility: "Their brokerage is achieved through collaborative work…, a matter of helping people grapple with institutions and situations of power. The struggle and reconciliation with modernity, and now with postmodernity, is seen by such brokers – with varying degrees of accuracy, and impact – from the perspective of a cultural community and some of its exemplary practitioners."[24] This is what public folklorists like Mary Hufford or Robert Baron were doing in "a real-time ethnographic present", brokering and translating between groups, communities, policy-makers, politicians and professionals in different disciplines. "Public folklore thus becomes an exercise of cultural democracy, a way of carving out space, time, and value for the exercise of certain lifeways."[25]

Culture brokerage and brokers according to Richard Kurin (1997)

In 1997, Richard Kurin outed or self-fashioned himself as a "culture broker". He tried to distill some lessons from his experiences as the director of the Smithsonian's Center for Folklife Programs and Cultural Studies and in other functions since 1976, and also from his fieldwork and publications as an anthropologist in Punjab (Pakistan). While he was writing in the middle of the 1990s, he sensed a communication revolution taking place: "Home pages for individuals, communities, institutions, and even nations have within a year or two become a widespread electronic means of cultural self-representation, of people brokering themselves."[26] This would change and expand the importance of "culture brokerage" as he defined it, as a form of "public cultural

22 An interesting development in the late 20th and early 21st century is the strong investment in developing programs on "folklore" in schools. See for instance the work done by Paddy Bowman of Local Learning: The National Network for Folk Arts in Education, see http://locallearningnetwork.org/ and the handbook http://locallearningnetwork.org/index.php/download_file/-/view/323/

23 R. Kurin, "Time Has Come Today", *Journal of Folklore Research* 36:2/3, 1999, p. 299-302.

24 Idem, p. 301.

25 Idem, p. 302.

26 R. Kurin, *Reflections of a Culture Broker. A View from the Smithsonian*. Washington & London ,1997, p. 270.

representation" (to mass audiences): exhibitions in museums, recording, films, television, radio programs and more and more activities on the web.

Kurin shared experiences and lessons that have to be repeated over and over again to newcomers, outsiders and newly appointed politicians and policy makers: "Representations of peoples, cultures, and institutions do not just happen. They are mediated, negotiated, and yes, brokered through often complex processes with myriad challenges and constraints imposed by those involved, all of whom have their own interests and concerns … Making these decisions necessitates due consideration of the meanings held by the participants, the public and the press, the power of the people involved, and the fiscal resources, expenditures and impacts. Like other forms of brokerage, cultural dealings rely on an extensive base of knowledge, formal and experiential, but they are, in the end, an art."[27]

Kurin borrowed the concept of "strategic brokering" from Robert Reich and tweaked it to explain what he does: "Strategic brokers are symbolic analysts – they manipulate symbols, they simplify reality into abstract images, which are rearranged, juggled, experimented with, communicated to others, and then transformed back into reality. The tools of the trade … may allow for communication, problem solving, and emergent innovation."[28]

Brokering culture is often a complex operation, multidimensional, with unpredictable outcomes. For "volkskunde", folklore studies, or management or safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage, Kurin's warning is clear: "Culture brokers are bound by and caught up in the symbolic worlds of their institutions and disciplines, often having to broker them as much as the "peoples" and the "audiences" they bring together."[29] Because they work in the open, in the spotlights and with high visibility, the products and even the processes they develop may upset curatorial and scholarly colleagues.

In the final chapter of his book, Kurin pleaded for a reconsideration of the positions, methods and strategies of cultural workers in the 21st century. He detected a problem in the 1990s (partly because of the introduction and proliferation of websites and the internet in that decade): "Unfortunately, cultural scholars and curators are being outgunned and eclipsed by politicians, journalists, filmmakers, television procedures, theme park operators, public relations firms, tour operators, corporate marketeers, novelists, and Webmeisters. Even community groups, native peoples' organizations, and grassroots activists are out in front of scholars and curators in terms of representing their cultures and brokering those representations with larger publics – witness, for example, the profusion of Web sites for such groups."[30] Kurin admitted that the curators and scholars have a research-based understanding of culture and erudition to contribute, reinforced by the prestige value of their institutions, but he also emphasized that more is needed if they want to remain relevant and useful voices, hands, minds and actors.

27 Idem, *Reflections*, p. 13.
28 Idem, p. 19.
29 Idem, p. 22.
30 Idem, p. 266.

The new developments and forms of globalization will also influence state-formation processes. Kurin claimed that "culture affects the coherence and viability of nations. This is not the "culture" of high society, the elite arts, or the commercial media. Rather it is the culture of ordinary people as expressed in daily life, on special occasions, and in trying times."[31] In the 19th and 20th centuries, nations were forged, constructed and articulated, linked to images of a population supposedly native, speaking a particular language and wearing so-called national costumes. These forms of culture were used by "nationalists" to fight against colonial powers or imperialist ambitions (as the Baltic States demonstrated before and after 1989). As the new millennium was approaching, Kurin also noticed more and more attempts to redefine national culture in religious and often fundamentalist terms. On the other hand, in addition to the proliferation of free trade zones and the development of, for instance, the European institutions, Kurin saw the growing importance of "institutions of globalism", like the United Nations and UNESCO, which were trying to define "a new global consensus. Global agreements and standards for ethical and legal conduct, human rights, and environmental policy have been forged and applied."[32] The new actors are not only supranational, but can also be transnational or non-governmental organizations that can broad-cast their message more easily and widely than before.

Looking ahead to the 21st century, Kurin predicted that the relations between culture, tourism and economics would gain importance and take a central place on the agenda: "Culture is increasingly commodified, packaged, and marketed for use in a rapidly expanding culture industry. The ways in which cultural production is exploited will be a key economic issue in the early twenty-first century … At issue is who does the representing to whom, who makes money from it, and at what cost."[33] Disneyfication, tourism, entertainment and commercial displays will become more and more on the agenda.

The search for balances between cultural conservation, environmental preservation and economic development is on the agenda. Issues of cultural property, benefit sharing, marketing or tourism have to be put in the picture: "And despite what scholars, as purists, might like, local folks need money."[34] Grassroots development agencies are learning: "that economic power can be used to promulgate and preserve their culture and that their culture may be valuable for fueling their economy."[35] And in that front zone, brokerage is important, as is not leaving it to chance: "In order for people to achieve local-level cultural and economic viability, training and experience are helpful.

31 Idem, p. 266.
32 Idem, p. 270.
33 Idem, p. 272.
34 Idem, p. 274.
35 Idem, p. 275.

Strategic enhancement of local-level institutions, sometimes families and clans, sometimes church groups, other times community organizations and cooperatives, may be necessary."[36]

The threats and opportunities were clear, but there was a problem. Anthropology, folklore studies and other disciplines were not ready at the end of the 20th century. There were not, and still are not enough convincing studies or literature: "There are few practitioners, little theory and a poor base of useful research from which people the world over can draw."[37]

Local empowerment and international cooperation, according to Kurin and McCann (1999)

In addition to the special brokerage issue of the *Journal of Folklore Research* and the *Reflections of a Culture Broker,* there is another thread from the late 1990s we can pick up, another *view from the Smithsonian,* that is already inscribed in the mainstream genealogies of the 2003 convention.[38] What went wrong with the UNESCO Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore (Paris, 15 November 1989)? This was the central question of an international conference at the Smithsonian Institution (Washington D.C.), co-organized with the UNESCO Secretariat in 1999.[39]

A Smithsonian think thank centered on Richard Kurin, Anthony McCann, Anthony Seeger and others provided some remarkable answers. One of their major recommendations was that the number of actors had to be expanded: "The groups whose institutional activities are addressed by the 1989 document are primarily research scholars and government cultural workers. These must be expanded to include local groups of producers, non-governmental organizations, and various private-sector institutions in the culture industry whose business interests from research to marketing intersect with the activities of folklore and traditional culture." Although they do not mention this intermediary role (in contrast, for instance, to the publications of Kurin I have just discussed), there is a great need for brokers, translators and mediators to facilitate this broad collaboration and to manage the combination of different frames of reference, goals, agendas and interests.

A very nuanced observation the McCann group made in 1999, is more topical than ever: "The creators and perpetuators of folklore and traditional culture may need protection from market forces and/or support for alternate forms of exchange if that is their desire; or they may need help in devising

36 Idem, p. 275.

37 Idem, p. 276.

38 N. Aikawa-Faure, "From the Proclamation of Masterpieces to the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage", in: L. Smith and N. Akagawa (eds.), *Intangible Heritage*. London & New York, 2009, p. 13-44 and N. Aikawa-Faure, "La Convention de l'UNESCO pour la sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel immatériel et sa mise en œuvre", in: C. Khaznadar, *Le patrimoine culturel immatériel à la lumière de l'Extrême-Orient*. Paris, 2009, p. 13-46.

39 P. Seitel (ed.), *A Global Assessment of the 1989 Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional culture and folklore: Local Empowerment and International Cooperation.* Washington D.C., 2001 and http://www.folklife.si.edu/resources/unesco/index.htm

ways to participate in the market, if that is their desire. The choice of protection or participation is perhaps nowhere as problematic as in the area of tourism, which can bring benefits to local communities if they can participate with some degree of control and share in income generated, but which can also have negative, culturally destructive side effects."[40]

In the article, the McCann group hinted at the fact there was something problematic with old school folklore scholarship: "While it is nowhere specified in that document, one could assume from reading the Recommendation that it envisions a dangerous nineteenth-century idealization of "one nation, one ethnicity". This had to be avoided and neutralized, by opening up the scope. Another expansion was needed in the description and more democratic access to "the roles that are to be played by the different parties to the policy. Access to those roles … should not be assumed to be reserved for scholars."

Looking back with the advantage of knowing what happened subsequently, we have to emphasize that unfortunately the McCann team formulated their suggestions and conclusions within the register and language of folk, folklore and traditional culture, and failed to foresee how it would be done at UNESCO: by a major translation trajectory centered on new interpretations of the concepts of "safeguarding" and "intangible cultural heritage". In their essay they bet on a different horse and even tried to reject the concept of intangible cultural heritage: "It is felt that some terms are used in the 1989 *Recommendation* to name aspects of folklore and traditional culture in ways that embed them in practices prejudicial to their continued existence. Principal among the questioned terms is "intangible cultural heritage" itself. To be sure, the term makes sense within the administrative logic of UNESCO, where it is theoretically equal and opposite to "tangible cultural heritage". But it is strongly felt that describing folklore and traditional culture as "intangible" weakens its assessed worth. The term does not define folklore in a way that implicates the significance of its social role. The phrase "community-based culture" applied to folklore, for example, implies shared values and resources for collective action."[41] Unfortunately they were not able to foresee the future article 15 of the 2003 UNESCO Convention and how the concept of "safeguarding" would be used, as an empowered cluster of words, concepts, ideas and associations (indeed, like community-based culture, which is implicit in the newly interpreted notion of safeguarding).

At the Smithsonian conference in 1999, Lyndel V. Prott (UNESCO) already defended a different point of view and argued in favor of using the concept of intangible cultural heritage. She even came to the conclusion that: "While some UNESCO Member States consider that the time has come for UNESCO to create an International Convention for the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage after the manner of the World Heritage Convention of 1972, presently applicable only to tangible (cultural and natural) heritage, it is

40 A. McCann, et al., *"The 1989 Recommendation Ten Years On: Towards a Critical Analysis"*, in: P. Seitel (ed.), *A Global Assessment of the 1989 Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional culture and folklore: Local Empowerment and International Cooperation*. Washington D.C., 2001, p. 57-61, p. 59.

41 http://www.folklife.si.edu/resources/unesco/mccann.htm

premature to decide what form such a convention might take: preservation of the intangible is more likely to need a different sui generis regime developed for the specificities of this particular type of heritage."[42]

The 2003 Convention, ethics and the market: freeze and defrost

The negotiations at UNESCO headquarters between 2001 and 2003 did result in a UNESCO convention on the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage. In order to reach a consensus, a number of instruments and part of the inheritance of *Volkskunde* and folklore studies were rejected, for instance most of the "folklore and traditional culture" vocabulary. Other issues, challenges and plans that were identified and highlighted in the texts of the 1990s mentioned above were put, if not in quarantine, then at least in the metaphorical fridge: to be defrosted and dealt with "later". This was the strategy for reaching consensus when negotiating not only the convention text itself, but also the operational directives (in 2008, 2010, 2012, 2014). This was the case for finding solutions for dealing with the market and commercialization, copyright issues, tourism, animal rights, health problems, cyber culture and computer-mediated culture, "classical" European elite culture, … It is also the case for the love-hate-relationship with the notion of "world heritage".

After more than a decade, the time has come to defrost. By a decision of the General Assembly of the 2003 Convention in Paris in June 2014, these issues are now finally on the agenda for discussion in the Intergovernmental Committee, which may result, in 2016, in updating and expanding the operational directives with a new chapter on sustainable development and directives about marketing, tourism and other challenges. And, I hope, directives including the missing link: the cultural (heritage) and development brokerage, mediation and facilitation role.

Richard Kurin was able to make the switch, as he witnessed and supported the negotiations of the 2003 UNESCO Convention in the expert meetings and published some flanking articles. In 2004 he published an article in which he condoned the translation process with the obligatory passage point of intangible cultural heritage and the ousting of clusters of other words. Kurin spelled out that "a technical, somewhat awkward term" (ICH) had been selected and others deselected: henceforth, problematic terms would include inter alia "folklore", "traditional culture", "folklife" and "popular culture". He remarked that "Many people – educated experts as well as community members from around the world who hold such heritage – will not know what "intangible cultural heritage' means. Since the success of many safeguarding efforts will depend upon public acceptance, disseminating and explaining the term itself will take considerable efforts."[43] Kurin presented an intelligent analysis of the challenges, problems, high expectations and broad ambitions of the convention. Over and over again he repeated that it would not be easy

42 http://www.folklife.si.edu/resources/unesco/prott.htm

43 R. Kurin, "Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage in the 2003 UNESCO Convention: a Critical Appraisal", *Museum International* 56:1–2, 2004, p. 66-76, p. 67.

to make cultural workers and scholars seize the opportunity not just to go back to business as usual (old school or armchair anthropology, *volkskunde* or conservation, for instance) but to leave their comfort zone. Today, this seems to me to imply considering "wicked problems", "reflexive pragmatism", critical heritage studies, cultural brokerage or boundary spanning, to give a few examples. Kurin invested his hopes in the convention bodies, such as the intergovernmental committee, which hopefully will be able to galvanize (for instance by specific calls for the registers in article 18 or intelligent modules in the operational directives) "the intellectual tools and organizational efforts which have lagged behind the need to safeguard intangible cultural heritage around the world. Heretofore, experts have not developed the theory and practice … [for safeguarding or] using living cultural resources in a wise and sustainable way for economic development. Fortunately, now, this deficiency can be addressed."[44]

In 2007, Richard Kurin argued in favor of taking the 2003 UNESCO Convention seriously, not to be blind to the imperfections, problems and challenges, but nevertheless to move forward and try it out. But the existing disciplines (whatever their aliases) that used to deal with the *inter alia domains* of intangible cultural heritage (as defined by the convention), even in interdisciplinary combinations, should be prepared to realize that they were not sufficiently developed for the challenges at hand.

Did public folklore rise up to the challenge? As we have mentioned in the introduction to this volume, James Bau Graves published a memorable book in 2005 about the role cultural heritage brokers played in Portland in realizing some of the ideals of cultural democracy, acting as facilitation agents linking communities, groups and individuals to government structures, the media and new audiences.[45] In a new preface added to the third edition of *Public Folklore,* the editors looked back at the 1992 and 1996 editions and acknowledged that the book emerged in the then booming field of public-sector folklore projects, programs, and institutions on local, state and federal levels in the United States. A sufficient critical mass had been reached in the 1990s to challenge the academic world to take notice of the vibrant zone of professional practice and of new sensitivities: "We viewed our practice as inherently collaborative in its engagement with communities that were themselves increasingly interested in safeguarding, presenting and documenting local cultural expressions."[46] The connection between advocacy and public folklore that was present in the contributions of Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Archie Green and Robert Baron in the 1992 version, was addressed in 2004 in a special issue of the *Journal of Folklore Research* (JFR). The contributors defended the point of view that academic hit-and-run interventions in communities and groups should not be part of public folklore mores. Folklorists should try to champion the tradition-bearers, groups and communities they work with and try to

44 Idem, p. 75.

45 J. Bau Graves, *Cultural Democracy: The Arts, Community, and the Public Purpose*. Urbana, 2005.

46 R. Baron & N. Spitzer, "Cultural Continuity and Community Creativity in a New Century", in: R. Baron & N. Spitzer (eds.), *Public Folklore*. Jackson, 2007, p. vii-xx, p. vii.

mediate or resolve conflicts, e.g. concerning intellectual property. Here Baron and Spitzer referred at length to the work of the WIPO (World International Property Organization). They emphasized how the American Folklore Society had contributed recommendations to the WIPO Intergovernmental Committee on Intellectual Property and Genetic Resources, Traditional Knowledge. But they did not go deeper into the diplomatic and political role the United States has played for not reaching a kind of binding text or generously granting developing countries a fair chance. Baron and Spitzer also referred to a "vibrant international discourse" around the 2003 convention about the safeguarding of ICH. They saw effects and critical changes in the nomenclature in American states where "preservation" and "folklore" were traded in for "safeguarding" and "intangible cultural heritage". These changes are "more in sync with the practice and world-view of most American public folklorists."[47]

On one side, there is an international demand for appropriate methods and good practices in safeguarding intangible cultural heritage, in particular involving participatory methods, theoretically informed practices and brokerage. On the other hand, there are years of experience with such methods and experienced program specialists in the United States. A win-win combination seems evident.[48] Unfortunately, this intercontinental link seems, as far as institutional and intergovernmental bridges are concerned, to be moving more towards a lose-lose drifting apart. From 2011 onwards, the unleashing of the prohibition under USA laws (dating back to 1990 and 1994) on funding United Nations organizations that recognize a Palestinian state (as UNESCO did in 2011) undermined a promising evolution over the previous two decades.

Baron and Spitzer were right to write that "American public folklorists have much to share about our experience with safeguarding and encouraging traditions, and we could benefit from greater international awareness and engagement. While UNESCO functions as a primary medium of exchange for ideas and resources about culture everywhere else in the world, American public folklore … largely exists as an archipelago of self-contained community and regional universes".[49] Is Robert Baron right to suggest a downward shift in public folklore in the US in recent years, which might have otherwise benefitted from being dragged into the worldwide paradigm melee: "During the 1980s and 1990s, there was much public folklore scholarship of a theoretical character about intervention, cultural brokerage, and framing, but there have been few

47 Idem, *Cultural Continuity*, p. xii.

48 Attempts to make that point can be found via http://www.faronet.be/nieuws/recognizing-our-cultural-heritage-een-amerikaans-vlaamse-dialoog ; see A. van der Zeijden, "Volkscultuur in de Verenigde Staten. Verslag van het Colloquium Visibility, Awareness, Dialogue: Learning from the USA", *Levend Erfgoed. Vakblad voor public folklore & public history* 7:2, 2010, p. 34-37. It was also the quiet ambition of the exhibition in the Salle des Pas Perdus at UNESCO headquarters in April 2010: www.unesco.org/culture/ich/doc/src/05866-EN.doc.

49 Baron & Spitzer, *Cultural Continuity*, p. xiv.

such theoretical studies since."[50] One of the most interesting positives is the work done on ethical issues and codes in public folklore and anthropology, in first place in the complex process of converting cultural traditions into commodities and the question of how ethical marketing is possible.[51]

Europe should not be "gleichgeschaltet"

The 1999 issue of the *Journal of Folklore Research* was set up as a dialogue between German-speaking researchers and networks of folklore studies in the United States. There were incommensurabilities and problems of translation. Of course, the instrumentalization and use that both national-socialist and communist regimes made not only of "folklore", "*Volkskultur*" and "traditions", but also of *Volkskunde*, has contaminated the concepts and the old instruments. This affected the way of dealing with a concept such as "folklore" in previous decades. At the Bad Homburg conference, Hermann Bausinger reminded those present that in Germany after World War II, professional scholars had (and have) "at the very least tried to keep themselves at a safe distance from all those suspicious subjects wearing folk costumes, presenting folk songs, or performing customs at big events."[52] Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett made a fine analysis of the difficulties of finding common ground. In the USA, it is hard to think about public folklore without public folklorists: "The public folklorists are in the business of mediating cultural representations, while the *Volkskundler* want to control how their terms and concepts circulate in the public sphere. What ö*ffentliche Folklore* would seem to need is not an ö*ffentlicher Folklorist*, but an academic *Volkskundler*."[53] She even suggested that the German scholars are caught in "a double bind. They insist that it is necessary to maintain a distance from public uses of folklore, but complain about being excluded or not respected as authorities in these matters."

In 1999, Christel Köhle-Hezinger described her experience outside the university as follows: "Rather unwillingly and unaware, I turned into a broker – a translator, transmitter – and often enough I felt like a frustrated loser in the public arena. "The public", which in the seventies and eighties referred mainly to local and regional museums and cultural boards, did not seem to like (want? need?) our sermons, our pastoral guidance, or in my terms, our skills, or our aims versus (in their terms or, rather, reproaches) our theoretical and fundamentalist (sometimes meaning "moralistic") discussions, laments and

50 R. Baron, "Sins of Objectification? Agency, Mediation, and Community Cultural Self-Determination. Public Folklore and Cultural Tourism Programming", *Journal of American Folklore* 123:487, 2010 p. 63–91, p. 68.

51 P. Atkinson Wells, "Public Folklore in the Twenty-First Century: New Challenges for the Discipline", *The Journal of American Folklore* 119:471, 2006, p. 5-18.

52 H. Bausinger, "Disengagement by Engagement: Volkskunde in a Period of Change", *Journal of Folklore Research* 36:2/3, 1999, p. 143-149.

53 B. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Folklorists in Public: Reflections on Cultural Brokerage in the United States and Germany", *Journal of Folklore Research* 37:1, 2000, p. 1-21.

criticism."[54]Later she decided to organize a research process "of" a village into a dialogue and a negotiation with the people living there; not only as Geertz said, not only research villages, but in villages, and to return not empty handed. If the academic professionalization of a discipline refers to establishing a monopoly on jobs (for one's own graduates) in an emerging professional field, establishing and controlling bodies of knowledge, procedures and terminology and building institutions that organize the practical application of scholarly knowledge in society, then what are we confronted with here?[55]

The idea that the discipline could actually contribute to policy (and) development in Western Europe in the sphere of migration, multi- or intercultural relations, or other hot issues was not really high, if even present, on the agenda of either scholars and policy-makers at the end of the 20th century, "not only in Germany, but all over Europe", according to Welz and Bendix. Since 1945, Belgium and the Netherlands have no longer been part of a German Empire and continental Europe is not only German-speaking. Did these debates make any impression and did cultural brokerage and public folklore have an impact on other regions?

In the Low Countries, there are a few scarce articles where echoes about the public folklore movement in the United States or the brokerage debate can be detected. A statement was made in 2001 by Herman Roodenburg, who decided to reinforce the movement launched by the book *Volkscultuur. Een inleiding in de Nederlandse Etnologie*, by strategically publishing an article both in the journal of the Nederlands Centrum voor Volkscultuur and that of the Flemish Center for Popular Culture (VCV), which was founded in 1999.[56] It was an extended presentation of the special "cultural brokerage" issue in the *Journal of Folklore Research*, including other contributions by Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett and Richard Kurin. Roodenburg noted in 2001 that the "public folklore" model was largely unknown in the Netherlands and Flanders, and that in contrast to that paradigm of "betrokkenheid" (commitment, engagement, "being drawn in"), a position of keeping a distance and being suspicious of cultural policy and amateur action was characteristic of the hard-core academic networks. In the *Volkscultuur* book, "public folklore" was not "translated" into a chapter. In the late 20th century, Han Voskuil and his colleagues had explicitly disconnected the work at the Meertens Instituut from "applied folklore", and even from the predecessors of the Nederlands Centrum voor Volkscultuur. This "emphasizing-the-boundary' work by Voskuil has been structurally reproduced and inherited by his successors at the institute, splendidly isolating themselves from fully embracing the full potential of the public folklore movement or, later, the safeguarding paradigm. But Roodenburg's initiative in 2001 seemed to provide an opening, a grand gesture in a double article. The timing was right. For

54 C. Köhle-Hezinger, "Cultural Brokerage and the Public Sector: Response to Roger Abrahams", *Journal of Folklore Research*, 36: 2/3, 1999, p. 138-142.

55 Bendix & Welz, *Cultural Brokerage*, p. 117.

56 H. Roodenburg, "Tussen distantie en betrokkenheid: 'public folklore' en de volkskunde in Nederland en Vlaanderen", *Mores. Tijdschrift voor volkscultuur in Vlaanderen* 2:1, 2001, p. 5-8 and idem, *Alledaagse Dingen* 11:1, p. 5-8.

instance, developments around the Huis van Alijn, the rebooted museum for popular culture in Ghent, and the plans and dreams of a *Identiteitsfabriek Zuidoost*, flirting with notions like "cultural biography", animated by Gerard Rooijakkers (at that time also connected to the Meertens) seemed promising at the time. Roodenburg also mentioned, alongside the museum, the future potential of cyberculture and electronically mediated communities.[57] Parts of Roodenburg's original text were presented at a colloquium in the brand new Limburgs Museum in Venlo on 13 October 2000. It was the location where Bart Caron, as an advisor to the Flemish minister Bert Anciaux, announced plans to launch the concept of cultural heritage as a central policy term in Flanders. Both the *Volkscultuur* book and Roodenburg's bridging text influenced the discourse, and partly inspired the work of the former Vlaams Centrum voor Volkscultuur and the heritage cells that tried to put some of these ideas into practice. After 2001, the Meertens Institute did not opt to embark on a voyage under the flag of cultural heritage or public folklore or anthropology and they did not even try fully to surf the wave of safeguarding intangible cultural cultural heritage. In the volume that was intended to succeed but (did not) supersede the *Volkscultuur* book, room was made for a contribution about a Dutch variant of so-called "public folklore", which, in my view, was in fact more a variant of "public history" in combination with historiography.[58] Framed in the work of the Utrecht NCV, several actions, strategies and projects developed under the flag of public folklore or even "folklore" itself.[59]

Windows of opportunity in Flanders: the golden age of heritage brokerage (1999-2009), followed by the emergence of a discourse about planning pains

In the first decade of the 21st century, something special happened in heritage policy in Flanders, in particular in relation to the combination of what in France had been called *patrimoine ethnologique* since the 1980s, what UNESCO started calling intangible cultural heritage and safeguarding, what Kees Ribbens baptized "*alledaagse historische cultuur*" (a mix of everyday historical culture and public history), and to which a 1998 Flemish decree, originating in socio-cultural work with adults with a strong emphasis on participatory methods and strategic planning and gradually moving towards a cultural heritage frame of reference, applied the word "*volkscultuur*".[60] In the late 1990s

57 M. Jacobs, "Folklore in Cyberië in het Jaar Twee Kilo", *Volkskundig Bulletin*, 26:3, 2000, p. 3-41.

58 A. van der Zeijden, "Public Folklore and the Construction of a Regional Identity in Newly Reclaimed Dutch Polders", in: P.J. Margry & H. Roodenburg, *Reframing Dutch Culture. Between Otherness and Authenticity Reframing Dutch Culture*. Oxon, 2007, p. 59-81.

59 A. van der Zeijden, *De voorgeschiedenis van het Nederlands Centrum voor Volkscultuur. De ondersteuning van de volkscultuurbeoefening in Nederland 1949-1992*. Utrecht, 2000 and A. van der Zeijden, *Volkscultuur van en voor een breed publiek. Enkele theoretische premissen en conceptuele uitgangspunten*. Utrecht, 2004.

60 M. Jacobs, "Volkscultuur, een sector in beweging tussen sociaal-cultureel werk en cultureel erfgoed", *Gids sociaal-cultureel en educatief werk* 32, 2001, p. 383-394; M. Jacobs, "La sauvegarde du PCI en Flandre: un changement de paradigme", *Culture et recherche* 127, 2012, p. 52-53, M. Jacobs, "Actueel? Inclusief…", in: *Alledaags is niet gewoon. Reflecties over volkscultuur en samenleven.* Brussel, 2002, p. 212-221.

and the 2000s this was combined with complementary policy, co-operation and co-regulation between different levels of government and also with the real and structural investments in networks and activities of consultants, mediators, facilitators and cultural brokers. In this volume, three protagonists of the more recent and current movement present and explain recent instruments, experiments and platforms in the Flemish heritage field.[61] In an earlier publication, entitled "Synergie squared', published in 2010, these and earlier evolutions in the cultural heritage field in the first decade of the 21st century were described and analyzed. In this publication I pointed out the inspiration drawn from a result-oriented model of collaboration, consensus building and agreeing, called the "polder model" in the Netherlands, and the attempt to introduce a complementary policy at different government levels. The importance of discussions among museum and policy workers in Ghent at the turn of the century, but also the inspiration offered by actor-network analysis and Bruno Latour, was captured in 2000 by Pascal Gielen in *Kleine dramaturgie van een artefactenstoet*. As mentioned in the previous paragraph, even the aforementioned publications about brokerage and public folklore were referred to, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett actually came and gave a very influential master-class (led by Herman Roodenburg) for fifty key-players in Flanders in 2002; the Dutch *Volkscultuur* book was used and a reflexive program entitled *Alledaags is niet gewoon* organized by the King Baudouin Foundation led to a publication. The heritage cells, and also an organization called the Vlaams Centrum voor Volkscultuur, actually experimented with cultural brokerage.[62] The experiments and experiences were consolidated in the cultural heritage decree in Flanders in 2008. They also made an impression and inspired the way the Flemish government implemented the policy of the UNESCO Convention for the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage, with the brokerage and other options spelled out in a plan document by the Minister of Culture.[63]

The first decade of the 21st century was a vibrant era of policy planning, campaigns and co-regulation in the cultural heritage field, in particular in the fields of "*volkscultuur*" and brokered heritage practices. The classic academic disciplines like history or art history tried to keep their distance and, publicly ignored, rejected, dismissed and criticized these evolutions of "*alledaagse historische cultuur*" and cultural heritage practice, although exceptions such as the public historians Bruno Dewever (University Ghent) and Peter Scholliers

61 L. Casteleyn, E. Janssens & J. Neyrinck, 10 years of experience in heritage mediation in Flanders (Belgium). From cultural heritage cells to a nationwide ICH-network, further on in this issue (p. 387-404).

62 M. Jacobs, "Synergie² 2010. Het cultureel-erfgoedconvenant als hedendaags beleidsinstrument: een essay over zijn verleden en toekomst", in: M. Jacobs, B. Rzoska & G. Vercauteren, *Synergie² 2010. Het cultureel-erfgoedconvenant als hedendaags beleidsinstrument*. Brussel, 2009, p. 11-98, with references to the influence of actor-network theory and Latour on p. 34-40 and 75-76, brokerage and public folklore on p. 60 and passim.

63 *The Government of Flanders' policy on safeguarding intangible cultural heritage*. Brussels, 2010, see the version (with updated contact persons but stable content) http://kunstenerfgoed.be/sites/default/files/uploads/140415_het_beleid_van_de_vlaamse_overheid_voor_het_borgen_van_het_immaterieel_cultureel_erfgoed.pdf

(VUB) did try to build bridges. Outside the publication channels with footnotes (like *Mores* and its successor, *Faro. Tijdschrift over cultureel erfgoed*), workshops and colloquia in the cultural heritage sector itself, there was hardly any academic debate or reflection on notions like brokerage, translation (sociology) models and the concept of a new cultural heritage paradigm in the 21st century.

One of the few exceptions was an article by Professor Bert De Munck published in this journal in 2005. He was commenting on the implementation and reinterpretation of the 1998 decree on "*volkscultuur*" and the new policy. De Munck found it useful to dismiss the brokerage dimension as "non-scientific" and also rejected the notion of "translation".[64] De Munck admitted that universities and university colleges did not adequately prepare students for work in mediation or brokerage functions, but did not regret this. On the contrary, he expressed his satisfaction with the fact that a higher education program in the field of "*Europese Etnologie*", public folklore or "*Cultureel Erfgoed*" (cultural heritage) would not come anytime soon in Flanders, but that the traditional disciplines like "history" would be able to hold their own. He even developed the thesis that transdisciplinary cooperation would not enrich the field, but only open doors for reductionism. Using an abstract detour via Michel Foucault and Tony Bennet, he tried to shield history students (at the University of Antwerp) from the skills of policy planning and implementation, from involvement in historical practices in the wild and from real life. De Munck linked this to the influence of Actor Network Theory and translation sociology and the use Pascal Gielen made of this in his influential booklet *Kleine dramaturgie voor een artefactenstoet. Omtrent Gent cultuurstad.* The concept of translation was also rejected, as was the reinforcement of scientific research in the work field.[65] De Munck warned against the fact that Actor Network Theory might lead to "legitimizing" the involvement of scholars, research and education in the cultural sector.[66] He rejected a suggestion by Albert Van der Zeijden to reconnect with old notions like "folklore" and the possibility that other actors than scholars embedded in academic institutions could define what falls within that realm. In 2005, De Munck also rejected interdisciplinary (and hence, *a fortiori* transdisciplinary) research about the new heritage paradigm: "de begrippen individu (agency), cultuur(beleid) en etnicititeit (of identiteit) dienen daarbij centraal te staan. En belangrijk is deze begrippen

64 He equated and rejected "professionalisation" as a call for mediators: "Met professionalisering wordt onder meer de opleiding van 'bemiddelaars' bedoeld, erfgoedwerkers die het beleid en de wetenschappen naar het werkveld vertalen enerzijds en de wensen en de verlangens 'van onderop' vertalen naar beleidsmakers en wetenschappers anderzijds. Die vraag naar bemiddeling is niet wetenschappelijk van aard maar politiek. Ze komt niet uit het werkveld – in de honderden lokale verenigingen en afdelingen wordt ze eerder met argwaan bejegend – maar vanuit het beleid. Professionalisering zorgt voor een grotere greep van het beleid op het terrein." B. De Munck, "Microtechnologieën van volkscultuur. Europese etnologie in Vlaanderen tussen sector en di[s]cipline", *Volkskunde* 106:4, 2005, p. 341-370, p. 347 with references to VCV and the Roodenburg article.

65 De Munck, *Microtechnologieën*, p. 362.

66 "De ANT rechtvaardigt de incorporatie van onderzoek en onderwijs (met betrekking tot cultuur) in de culturele sector zelf": De Munck, *Microtechnologieën*, p. 362-363.

niet vanuit een inter- maar multidisciplinair perspectief te benaderen, zodat de afzonderlijke disciplines blijven renderen."[67]

I should make it clear that I applaud the fact that De Munck identified a number of the theoretical ambitions and sources of the new approaches, but that I disagree with many of the suggestions, dichotomies and advice given regarding heritage practice and policy and concerning the implications for the academic world in Flanders; challenges and opportunities for education, research and services to society. One remark I wish to make and confirm is that there is a connection between the theories about cultural brokerage, the social studies of science and technology and the theoretical underpinnings of the heritage field in Flanders in the 21st century, but also that there is a direct connection, including in my own work as a scholar and heritage worker, in applying these theories in historical research, that were subsequently also mobilized in new fields and contexts.[68]

But arguing in favor of reinforcing borders and discipline(s) and reproducing distinction and privileges, rather than blurring differences, embracing and stimulating interactions, cross-fertilization and hybridity, was not the only vision, also not in this journal. In 2006, the American scholar Simon Bronner published a reflection on the year of "folklore" in the Netherlands, in which he qualified the 1999 cultural brokerage issue of the *Journal of Folklore Research* as a failed attempt at trans-Atlantic communication. He was genuinely surprised by the strong nationalism in the Netherlands in the 21st century, illustrated by the national – orange – organization of a year of folklore, in contrast to the focus on local communities and groups he ascribed to public folklore in the USA. Another thing Bronner noted with surprise was that more than fifteen years after Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's "Mistaken Dichotomies", the Netherlands had still not overcome this divide and continued to cultivate a sharp distinction between the Meertens and the NCV.[69] One of the scholars working in the latter institution, Albert van der Zeijden, repeatedly questioned this divide

67 De Munck, *Microtechnologieën*, p. 368.

68 As I was one of the protagonists of the 21st-century cultural heritage movement in Flanders, I should point out that cultural brokerage and the concepts of translation sociology and actor-network theory were the central concepts in my PhD on power, networking and culture in the 17th century, defended in 1998, and that many of these ideas were explicitly proposed for social and cultural history in M. Jacobs, "Actornetwerk. Geschiedenis, sociale wetenschappen. De nieuwe Annales en het werk van Boltanski en Thévenot: een (re)viewartikel", *Tijdschrift voor sociale geschiedenis* 22, 1996, p. 260-289. See also M. Jacobs, "Zonder twijfel dat waarschijnlijk… Ambachtelijke geschiedenissen in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden aan het einde van het 'Oude Regime'", in: C. Lis & H. Soly (eds.) *Werelden van verschil. Ambachtsgilden in de Lage Landen*. Brussel, 1997, p. 243-292 and M. Jacobs , "La sottise héraldique"? Wapenschilden, "hulp- en technowetenschap", in: A. Vandewalle (ed.), *Te Wapen! Heraldiek, teken van gezag en identiteit*. Brugge, 2004, p. 9-27. For another example of combining history, heritage work and policy constructing, see M. Jacobs, "Bruegel and Burke were here! Examining the criteria implicit in the UNESCO paradigm of safeguarding ICH: the first decade", *International Journal of Intangible Heritage* 9, 2014, p. 99-117.

69 S. Bronner, "The Year of Folklore, and Other Dutch Lessons in Public Heritage", *Volkskunde* 107:4, 2006, p. 343-364.

by remaining in between them and in a recent contribution in *Volkskunde* he actually used the term "cultural broker".[70]

In the last few years, in Flanders, there have been many organizations, centers of expertise and heritage workers actually demonstrating and applying cultural brokerage. The joint efforts of tapis plein, FARO, KATHO and others to make visible these skills and experiments in many heritage organizations resulted in an inspiring brochure: *Makelaardij in erfgoed. Praktijkkennis voor bruggenbouwers* (Brokerage in heritage. Practical knowledge for builders of bridges).[71] But by then, the policy framework in Flanders had changed. The corrosive notion of "planlast", the burden of strategic planning or planning pains, co-regulation and steering and being steered, was introduced into the discourse of policy-makers and government officials, in the lobby organization for local authorities (of villages, towns and cities in Flanders, the VVSG) and the Flemish level from 2009 onwards. The idea of supporting networks and synergy, and the roles of mediators and cultural brokers could and can suffer collateral damage or run the risk of being eliminated or actively forgotten. This is why the booklet on "Synergy squared' was published and why the *Makelaardij* booklet was published. And, for me, this is also why an interpretation by some of the protagonists of the experience in Flanders is documented and emphasized in the present publication, at least as a statement, perhaps a testament, or even as a "testatement'.[72] In Flanders, *volkskunde* is no longer on the academic curriculum, public folklore never was and the message of public history in Flemish academia regarding participatory methods and theoretically founded heritage practice has, so far, not updated publicly since the reaction by Bert De Munck in 2005. Times are a-changing, quickly, and the further evolution of the policy climate is uncertain, but the internationally rebooted safeguarding intangible cultural heritage still seems, in 2014-2015, under development and open for debate.

From boundary-work to boundary-spanning

One of the possible interpretations of so-called "boundary-work" in a scholarly discipline is the defense of relative autonomy against scholars from other disciplines and against amateurs. In folklore studies, Richard Dorson incarnated this kind of attitude in his crusade against public folklore. It was also directed against the backdoor of so-called applied science and combined

70 A. van der Zeijden, "Dilemma's en vraagpunten met betrekking tot immaterieel erfgoed: het voorbeeld Allerzielen. Reflecties van een cultural broker", *Volkskunde* 113:3, 2012, p. 343-359.

71 In an annex I (re)constructed a theoretical framework and foundation for his movement, in: M. Jacobs, "Een compositie van doorgetrokken lijnen, schragende publicaties en moeilijke woorden", in: *Makelaardij in erfgoed. Praktijkkennis voor bruggenbouwers*. Brussel, 2011, p. 117-119.

72 I have used this neologism before, for another turning point: M. Jacobs, "Te-sta-te-ment. Duyfken, Willemynken, de Ondersoecker en de Verclaerder", *Mores. Tijdschrift voor volkscultuur in Vlaanderen* 8:4, 2007, p. 13-26.

with the rejection of much social theory as an act of resistance against the Trojan Cavalry called interdisciplinarity. In 1983 Thomas Gieryn introduced an interpretation of boundary-work as a rhetorical style that constructs social boundaries "demarcating intellectual activities accorded the prestige of science from non-science or pseudo-science" in order to yield symbolic and material capital.[73] This can, as Charles Briggs argued, be combined with Latour's analysis of scientific (boundary) work as the generation of textual-cum-social networks. Dorson's strategy was to claim distinct objects and subjects, methods, key texts, professional societies and networks and places in the academic world, and not so much to cultivate theory and embrace European theoretical fashions. Archie Green, one of the protagonists of public folklore policy at the federal level in the United States, provided an eye-opening testimony about how far Professor Dorson went in his political battle, both in the 1950s against Botkin's "applied folklore" and in the 1970s against the USA folk-life bill on, and the concept of, "public-sector folklorist".[74]

One of the consequences, according to Dorothy Noyes and Charles Briggs, is that a heavy reliance on this kind of boundary-work produces "provincial intellectuals, defined through their (self-)exclusion from what they characterize as metropolitan sites of high theory production."[75] Kirshenblatt-Gimblett noted ironically that Dorson's strategy of boundary-work and his reaction against "both popularization and applied folklore [that] blurred the boundaries of pure folklore scholarship and siphoned off intellectual talent" was relatively successful, to the point where the academy produced more professionals than it could absorb. Then the public folklore programs provided a way out: "The tables had turned. The enemy became the solution."[76] But the proliferation of communication technology and computers causes many challenges. At the turn of the millennium, a scholarly discipline created by boundary-work and clinging to static concepts had become unsustainable.

In an article with the telling head title "I'm a Folklorist and You're Not", Steven Zeitlin not only opted for advocacy as a central key-word but also for more expansive strategies versus delimited strategies. The attitude expressed in the title was the delimited strategy at its worst. The alternative was an eclectic, inter- and transdisciplinary approach, seeking alliances, inviting other approaches, in the hope, when it works, to expand the boundaries, audiences and resources, but with the clear and present danger of losing the discipline in

73 T. Gieryn, "Boundary-Work and the Demarcation of Science from Non-Science: Strains and Interests in Professional Ideologies of Scientists", *American Sociological Review* 48:6, 1983, p. 781-795.

74 See A. Green, "Public Folklore's Name. A Partisan's Notes", in: R. Baron & N. Spitzer (eds.), *Public Folklore*. Jackson, 2007, p. 49-63 and the historical analysis by R. Baron, "Postwar Public Folklore and the Professionalization of Folklore Studies", in: R. Baron & N. Spitzer (eds.), *Public Folklore*. Jackson, 2007, p. 307-337.

75 C. Briggs, "Disciplining Folkloristics", *Journal of Folklore Research* 45:1, 2008, p. 91-10, p. 95.

76 B. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Mistaken Dichotomies", in: R. Baron & N. Spitzer (eds.), *Public Folklore*. Jackson, 2007, p. 29-48, p. 31.

the shuffle.[77] As Zeitlin demonstrated with examples from the recent history of public folklore and cultural policy, the whole repertoire of strategies can be useful, on some occasions expansive and in other circumstances delimiting and going for the trenches. It is a question of positioning oneself in the best possible way as students and advocates of grassroots culture in the world, and to try and select expansive or delimited approaches strategically. Zeitlin's challenge is worth taking seriously: "We have long realized that folklore is in no danger of becoming extinct, but we have yet to realize our potential to sustain and foster – even in cyberspace – the fragile cultural ecology of the planet".
In 2008 Charles Briggs advocated strongly that the time for a new disciplinary strategy had come: "theoretically-inspired boundary-crossing" or generating "dialogic zones with adjacent disciplines". The key-concepts are "performance", "community", "repertoire", and "transmission".[78] He even pushed the argument by pointing out that "reified understandings of a theory's opposite, whether defined as "local", "lived world", or "vernacular," are just as much products of modernity as are "theory" … we will need to extract the term vernacular from its opposition to cosmopolitan."[79] Inspired by a remark by Wittgenstein that boundaries can be treated as a game, Briggs argued for a new way of dealing with these issues in universities, NGOs and international organizations and state agencies: "Rather than creating boundaries based on discrete, fixed objects and methods and spending our time defending them, trying to keep folklorists in and intruders out, we might … focus on maintaining a flexible, playful relationship to boundaries, jumping over them in such a way as to link and enrich the games being played on both sides."[80] In a recent overview, Debora Kodish noticed that there are very few links or cross-references – and vice versa – between public folklore and similar efforts like public history, applied and public anthropology and the community arts movements. It is paradoxical in view of the fact that the decentralized public folklorists situate themselves explicitly at the border and describe their own work as brokering, mediating and bridgework.[81] A fascinating topic that can be further explored is the issue of "shared responsibility" and to what extent "brokerage" is a key factor in making it work in public folklore or history, oral history or on-line participatory methods.[82] Even if scholars try to get away with Eurocentric concepts like "European ethnology" over and over again, studies that try to suggest intercontinental oppositions (something typically "American" versus typically European) have to stretch "pars pro toto" characteristics far beyond

77 See S. Zeitlin, "I'm a Folklorist and You're Not. Expansive versus Delimited Strategies in the Practice of Folklore", *Journal of American Folklore* 113, 2000, p. 3-19.

78 Briggs, *Disciplining*, p. 96-97.

79 Idem, p. 101.

80 Idem, p. 102-103.

81 D. Kodish, "Imagining Public Folklore", in: Bendix & Hasan-Rokem, *Companion*, p. 579-597, p. 587 and 589.

82 M. Frisch, *A Shared Authority: Essays on the Craft and Meaning of Oral and Public History*. Albany, 1990; B. Adair, B. Filene and L. Koloski (eds.), *Letting Go? Sharing Historical Authority in a User-Generated World*. Philadelphia, 2011.

the limit. More fruitful is using the key(words) like praxeology or a theory of practice to open new doors, windows or corridors.[83]

In this volume, I push this argument further towards transdisciplinary zones, for which the concept of "boundary-spanning" has been developed. Based on research into successful forms of collaboration in the United Kingdom in response to interconnected and complex policy issues, Paul Williams developed the concept to describe "a particular set of individual actors who work within theatres of collaboration … "boundary spanners' because they engage in "boundary spanning' activities that cross, weave and permeate many traditional boundary types, including organizational, sectoral, professional and policy."[84] It offers many possibilities for rethinking and reframing debates, including tackling wicked problems, developing the idea of safeguarding and participatory trajectories. It is one of the consequences of taking article 15 of the 2003 UNESCO convention seriously. In 2007 Richard Kurin reiterated that he welcomed the convention, and the world should try it out, but he doubted if it could really fulfil all the expectations of safeguarding intangible cultural heritage in the world. The main reason was that "the connection of intangible cultural heritage to the larger matrix of ecological, social, technological, economic and political relationships is too complex, too multi-faceted and nuanced to be reduced to the simple formula proposed by the 2003 treaty. The problem is, we do not have anything better."[85]

But there is hope. The academic heritage disciplines and their applied versions (like public folklore) and the daily practice and experience of heritage workers have yielded a whole repertoire of tested methods, techniques, modules and service that work to address and solve simple or tame problems and incidents. One of the advantages of intangible cultural heritage is that solutions can often be found by the groups and communities themselves, without activating a safeguarding frame of reference. In an empathic contribution to public folklore (studies), Frank Proschan remarked that "Folk traditions persist in such communities in large part because they provide preexistent solutions that can be applied to recurrent problems."[86] Among the traditional skills and knowledge that are now part of intangible cultural heritage, there are forms of consensus-building, participatory methods and dealing with complex problems, by mobilizing the competences of a whole community, that seem compatible to or provide inspiration for "safeguarding", like the consensus-building techniques of the Six Nations in North America,

83 See for instance the attempt in S. Bronner, "Practice Theory in Folklore and Folklife Studies", *Folklore* 123, 2012, p. 23-47 to explore a distinction between "performance" (US) and "practice" (Europe): "The differentiation of European ethnological scholarship from American folkloristic work informed by practice and performance has been previously noted by Peter Jan Margry and Herman Roodenburg in their 'reframing' of Dutch cultural Studies with reference to the influence of American methodologies." (p. 23)

84 P. Williams, *Collaboration in Public Policy and Practice. Perspectives on Boundary Spanners*. Bristol, 2012, p. 1.

85 R. Kurin, "Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage: Key Factors in Implementing the 2003 Convention", *International Journal of Intangible Heritage* 2, 2007, p. 10-20, p. 18.

86 F. Proschan, "Field Work and Social Work. Folklore as Helping Profession", in: R. Baron & N. Spitzer (eds.), *Public Folklore*. Jackson, 2007, p. 145-158, p. 147.

the Ubuntu in Southern Africa, and the polder negotiations and compromise-skills in the Low Countries.[87] And for really complex problems like the one Kurin hinted at, there are new developments and experiments in dealing with "wicked problems", for which participatory methods and pooling information are crucial.[88]

Combining all these theories, methods and problems in an eclectic and inclusive manner: that is what 21st-century "critical heritage studies" or – on a good day, anyway – folklore studies are all about: a "postdiscipline of inclusions".[89] Roderick Lawrence explained that transdisciplinarity tackles complexity and heterogeneity, challenges knowledge fragmentation, and accepts local contexts, uncertainty and the context-specific negotiation of knowledge. And – particularly relevant for the safeguarding ICH paradigm – he claims that "transdisciplinary knowledge is the result of inter-subjectivity … It is a research process that includes the practical reasoning of individuals (… it) requires close and continuous collaboration during all phases of a research project … what is called "mediation space and time' or "border work'."[90] Moreover it is usually action-oriented, dealing with real-world problems and feeding the decision-making processes in society. Disciplinarity is a 19th-century inheritance and restraining path (and folklore is one of the examples). Multi- and interdisciplinarity are late 20th-century practices. Transdisciplinarity could be what the 21st century will need. Cultural brokerage is what is needed to make this work: a crucial part of the new safeguarding paradigm and repertoire of skills. At present, the umbrella concept of "critical heritage studies" is (temporarily) available and promising. It builds several traditions in countries like Canada, Australia, the Scandinavian countries, but also the United States of America. For the latter state, Gregory Hansen recently suggested that "Heritage studies arose out of a movement emerging during the 1990s when in response to growing public heritage programming and interdisciplinary initiatives in universities, scholars in American studies, history, anthropology, sociology, folklore, and art sought opportunities for students to merge academic approaches with professional training and

87 See M. Mille Bojer, et al., *Mapping Dialogue. Essential Tools for Social Change*. Milton Keynes, 2008; W. de Liefde, *Ubuntu. In der Gemeinschaft Lösungen finden und Entscheidungen treffen*. München, 2006 and the unexplored potential of building on trajectories like M. Abélès, (ed.), *Des anthropologues à l'OMC. Scènes de la gouvernance mondiale*. Paris, 2011; D. Holmes & G. Marcus, "Cultures of Expertise and the Management of Globalization: Toward the Re-Functioning of Ethnography", in: A. Ong & S. Collier (eds.), *Global Assemblages: Technology, Politics, and Ethics as Anthropological Problems*. Oxford, 2005, p. 235-252. Safeguarding participatory safeguarding techniques is one of the most challenging, promising and little explored fields in anthropology and ethnology.

88 J. Conklin, *Dialogue Mapping: Building Shared Understanding of Wicked Problems*. Chichester, 2006; http://www.faronet.be/blogs/jacqueline-van-leeuwen/goeteborg-5-makelaars-voor-onverwachte-groepen

89 Jacobs, *Actueel?*, p. 220.

90 R. Lawrence, "Beyond Disciplinary Confinement to Imaginative Transdisciplinarity", in: Valerie Brown et al., *Tackling Wicked Problems. Through the Transdisciplinary Imagination*. London-Washington D.C., 2010, p. 16-30, p. 17-18.

integrating areas of culture, history, and art into their courses of study."[91] It derives a lot of power from being linked to a very influential academic network around the *International Journal of Heritage Studies*. It is the network of Laurajane Smith that tries to take a step further and explore the power of adding critical to pull in many sciences. It is open and broad enough to bring together the inheritances of the classic scholarly disciplines that deal with the past, heritage and actors involved. It also allows to combine interesting methodologies and applied sciences, including actor-network analysis or translation sociology helps to think and work with materiality, intangibility and networks.[92] Important is the fact that it is even open to thinking in terms of wicked problems or the "new kid on the block' in policy studies – boundary spanners – and able to integrate and prioritize participatory methods, not only to cultivate the paradigm of safeguarding intangible cultural heritage, but also to sustainably develop and cope with uncertainty. It offers for the time being the best chances to valorize and safeguard a useful part of the inheritance of the disciplinary field with many aliases.

91 G. Hansen, "Heritage Studies", in: *Encyclopedia of American Studies*. Baltimore, 2014), http://eas-ref.press.jhu.edu/view?aid=813.(1/09/2014)

92 R. Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches*. London & New York, 2013.

DAVID LEWIS

Understanding the Role of Non-government Organizations (NGOs) as Cultural Brokers

A Review of Approaches

The role of intermediary or broker is not one that has always tended to receive a good press. Brokers may all too often come to be seen as untrustworthy middlemen (or women) who create unnecessary costly distance between individuals and the desired transactions they are seeking to complete. Yet brokers may also serve as connectors, integrating and bringing together diverse social economic and political actors in order to achieve goals that neither would be able to achieve individually, or filling information gaps in ways that may offer a more complete representation of a cultural objective or strategy. This contribution provides a brief rationale for thinking about the role of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) as potentially productive brokers in the context of improving non-tangible cultural heritage at the level for policy and practice, and sets out some key ideas and concepts. The Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage was adopted by UNESCO in 2003, and by 2013 had been ratified by 151 states. The concept of intangible cultural heritage refers to knowledge, oral representations, traditions and skills that communities recognise among their cultural heritage. Non-government organizations (NGOs) have in recent decades come to be viewed as important actors across a range of fields, from international development and human rights to arts and recreation. NGO roles as cultural brokers have become increasingly of interest in the worlds of policy.

Understanding NGOs

The term "NGO" is a relatively new one, despite the fact that various forms of voluntary, non-profit or charitable organization have long existed across most societies. The acronym NGO dates back to the establishment of the United Nations (UN) system in 1945, when it denoted observer status in UN processes that was given to selected international non-state actors. This was a precise usage, but "NGO" has since become a somewhat vague term used in both broad and narrow senses. It can refer to diverse groups, from small community-based organizations to larger increasingly professionalized types of agency. This includes international NGOs, national developing country organisations, and local level grassroots membership or self-help organisations. NGO is often used interchangeably with "voluntary", "non-profit", "civil society", and

"community-based" organization, each of which has distinctive cultural and ideological roots. At its narrowest, NGO can be used to mean the sub-group of third sector organizations working in development and primarily funded by the international aid system.[1]

Definitions of NGOs can therefore pose something of a challenge, since there are different ones that variously focus on NGOs' *legal* characteristics (the nature of an organization's formal registration status within a particular context), *economic* characteristics (its source of resources) or *functional* characteristics (the types of activities that it undertakes). For the past decade or so Salamon and Anheier's[2] "structural/operational" comparative international definition of the non-profit organization has given some basic help in this task by emphasising an organisation's observable features, suggesting five crucial characteristics: it needs to be *formal*, that is, institutionalized with regular meetings; *private* in being institutionally separate from government (though it may get resources from government); *non-profit distributing*, with any financial surplus generated not accruing to owners or directors; *self-governing* and managing its own affairs; and finally *voluntary*, and even if volunteers are not used as such, a degree of voluntarism in the management of the organization, such in the form of a voluntary board.

Although NGOs themselves are not new, their activities were largely invisible in international development discourses until the middle of the 1980s. At this point they were "discovered" and courted by two interest different groups. First were those who, disillusioned with the lack of results obtained from mainstream development organisations and projects around the developing world, began to herald NGOs as independent thinkers capable of developing alternative radical development approaches. NGOs were linked into emerging rights, citizenship and "civil society" ideas. Second were the ascendant neoliberals, who began celebrating NGOs as private, non-state actors that could play useful roles within the privatisation agendas that were now being rolled out around the world.

NGOs as brokers, entrepreneurs and intermediaries

Alongside the emphasis on NGOs as organizations that could implement policies and activities in new and improved ways, there was implicit in the attraction of both these groups the idea also of NGOs as "intermediaries" or "brokers". The idea of brokerage has traditionally carried both positive and negative connotations in development and policy circles.

The Manchester School of anthropology contributed to the work of development sociologist Norman Long[3] which focused attention not only on the structural characteristics of development processes and institutions nut also on "the responses and lived experiences of the variously located and

1 D. Lewis, *Non-Governmental Organizations, Management and Development*. London, 2014.

2 L. Salamon & H. Anheier, "In search of the non-profit sector: in search of definitions", *Voluntas* 13:2, 1992, p. 125-152.

3 N. Long, *Development Sociology: Actor Perspectives*. London, 2001, p. 14-15.

affected social actors" involved in development interventions. Long has for many years drawn attention within development studies to the importance of taking an "actor-oriented perspective" to the study of development activities. Drawing on the interactionist tradition of British anthropology, he developed an influential set of ideas about the importance of brokers and networks based on an anthropological understanding of social relationships "as the outcome of face-to-face interaction between particular individuals who are engaged in a series of transactions that evolve over time."[4] This was later elaborated into the idea of the productive power of knowledge "interfaces", seen as critical points of intersection between different social fields, domains or lifeworlds where social discontinuities based on differences in values, social interests and power are found.[5]

In the context of the sub-field of development NGOs, it has long been claimed that such organizations bring a flexibility and agility to processes that when dominated by government institutions often remain bureaucratic and monolithic. NGOs were seen as functioning as flexible actors that could build relationships with communities in ways that were often beyond the capacities of mainstream government structures and institutions, either because these were mired in clientelism and patronage, or because organizational structures were highly rigid. Thomas Carroll's[6] influential work on NGOs in Latin America highlighted their intermediary or "bridging" roles in development. This multi-country study of NGO work alongside government and farmers presented a positive view of intermediaries rather than exploitative "middlemen" as organizations offering "outside independent and sympathetic assistance and with a support structure that provides both vertical power linkages and horizontal networks of civil engagement." (p. 181)

NGOs have also come to be viewed as a sub-set of the wider "third sector", a term used to refer to those organizations or groups that are neither formally part of government nor business. Within the overall framework of policy, NGOs may deliver services, sometimes in partnership with government or business, or they may contribute to the formation of policies themselves, either directly by participating in agenda setting and framing, or indirectly by working at community level to build demand from local citizens for change or for better implementation. This has produced a view of NGOs as "policy entrepreneurs" in which organizations play important roles within policy processes, since policy is not a merely technical process but a socially mediated one that is instead constituted by processes of "dialectical argumentation and persuasion".[7] NGO roles are part of the relationships that they are able to build and maintain with citizens and other stakeholders, and "the normative values and social visions that they seek to actualize." Within Adil Najam's model of policy entrepreneurship, NGOs are seen as playing four main interlinked roles – as

4 N. Long, *An Introduction to the Sociology of Development*. London, 1977, p. 177.

5 Idem, p. 177.

6 T.F. Carroll, *Intermediary NGOs: The Supporting Link in Grassroots Development*. Hartford, 1992.

7 A. Najam, "Citizen organizations as policy entrepreneurs", in: D. Lewis (ed.), *International Perspectives on Voluntary Action: Reshaping the Third Sector.* London, 1999, p. 147.

monitors, advocates, innovators and service providers, while policy processes are staged into agenda setting, policy development and policy implementation – any which or all may be open to the four NGO roles described.

Finally, the perspective on brokerage and translation in development outlined by Mosse and Lewis[8] builds further on these perspectives. It focuses on the multiplicity of interactions produced by decentralising and denationalising imperatives of neoliberalism, and in which a range of meanings and identities are under constant negotiation. Here the idea of translation is added to the concept of brokerage, drawing on Bruno Latour's work, in order to reveal more of the process of construction of policy worlds and development practices. In this perspective brokerage is seen as concerned as much with representations and identities as with material resources: "Brokers deal in people and information not only for profit in the narrow sense of immediate reward, but also more broadly in the maintenance of coherent representations of social realities and in the shaping of their own identities." (p. 16)

NGOs are actors positioned at the interface of the making of development worlds, and Latour's concept of translation within actor network theory helps us to understand how the heterogeneous range of people, ideas, and objects involved in development encounters interact to produce coherent ordered representations of social reality.

Case example and discussion

The case of the Aga Khan Trust for Culture's (AKTC) work in Stone Town in Zanzibar illustrates the productive potential of NGO type organizations operating as skilled intermediaries within local and national community development processes. Stone Town possesses a unique and complex mix of African, Arab, Indian and European cultural influences that are embodied in both tangible and intangible forms of heritage and contemporary social and economic relationships. It is a World Heritage site containing a wealth of significant buildings and public spaces.

As part of the organisation's activities around the restoration of Stone Town, innovative work was carried out first on the restoration of the town's historic Old Dispensary building and later on the sixty-year old Forodhani Park. The aim was to both improve local infrastructure and to enable people, particularly those with less secure livelihoods, to feel proud of their culture and community by "preserving a unique heritage and use of open space."[9]

Within what is now an extremely densely populated heritage site, the local waterfront park area provided a much needed public space for six decades. Originally known as Jubilee Gardens, the park contains a diverse range of trees and plants, and attracts both locals and tourists in large numbers. It serves as a much-needed public space, as a meeting place, a leisure facility and a place where a range of civil discourse and interaction takes place. The

8 D. Lewis and D. Mosse (eds.), *Development Brokers and Translators: The Ethnography of Aid and Agencies*. Bloomfield CT, 2006.

9 Agka Khan Trust for Culture, *The Revitalization of Forodhani Park. Project Brief.* Geneva, 2008.

park is also economically significant for local livelihoods. There are local businesses, including street-food vendors and informal sector traders who sell tourist paraphernalia. By the 1990s, however, Forodhani Park (as it later became known) had fallen into a state of disrepair. There had been little proper maintenance carried out by local authorities, and the area's capacity and role as a public, civic space was being gradually eroded and displaced by private interests.

Taking a view that "not only can public spaces be self-sustaining, but they can be catalysts for economic and social development and overall positive change" AKTC decided to build on the earlier work in Zanzibar to embark on the comprehensive rehabilitatation of Forodhani Park as part of Stone Town's heritage. From 2001 the project focused on a wide range of activities including the restoration of the park's walkways and landscaping, the park's associated infrastructure (including sewage, lighting and drains), providing support for local small enterprises including street vendors, and re-extending public space in the park to improve its utilization as civic amenity and its visibility as cultural heritage. In this way the intervention created new jobs and stimulated the local economy (particularly in the informal sector), improved the state of local civic amenities, and also contributed to the overall strengthening of the profile of Zanzibar as a tourist destination. The subsequent challenge has been to build a sustainable future for the park among the various public, private and civic stakeholders who use it.

AKTC had worked in Zanzibar since 1989, undertaking several successful projects including the restoration of the Old Dispensary (now known as the Stone Town Cultural Centre), the Customs House, and Kelele Square. Over time partnerships were built with local actors such as the Government of Zanzibar and international actors such the Ford Foundation. Part of this work involved designing and implementing training sessions for almost a hundred people to improve conservation practice and the traditional construction methods used by craftsmen, builders and Government workers. By then restoring a number of local buildings that were on the point of collapse, it became possible to demonstrate a set of preservation techniques that could be used to preserve the site, and to generate rehabilitated housing stock where more than fifty poor local households could also be re-housed. Other non-governmental actors have supported these efforts within an integrated approach, including the Aga Khan Fund for Economic Development (converting sea front buildings into the Zanzibar Serena Inn) and the Foundation (strengthening local health and education services).

Consultation and observation carried out by AKTC was also useful in identifying local needs for better forms of social housing, more available work for people engaged in traditional crafts, and jobs for small traders. The result of conslutations and information gathering was that "it became clear to all parties that an important part of the patrimony of Stone Town was in need of revitalization." In addition to providing financial resources, an important part of the work was that of intermediation based on trust between a complex set of local stakeholders including local community members, the government, local authorities, small traders, local civil society groups.

It is of course important to note that such work would be unlikely to be successful when undertaken by outside NGOs with little familiarity with an area. This work was underpinned by a long historical relationship between the organization and the area, and by a deep understanding of the cultural context. The Aga Khan Development Network (AKDN) and its institutional predecessors have had a presence in Tanzania and Zanzibar for more than a century. The relationship began formally in 1905 with the establishment of the first Aga Khan Girls School in Zanzibar. Later, in recognition of AKDN's record of commitment to supporting the country, the government signed an Agreement of Co-operation in 1991. With the agreement renewed in 2001, AKDN had achieved a position from which to make significant contributions to Tanzania's planned policy and development agendas across the economic, social and cultural spheres. For example, the agency's other work has included rural development interventions in Lindi and Mtwara regions, provision of healthcare and nursing education inputs in Dar es Salaam, and the rehabilitation of infrastructure and public space in Stone Town.

Conclusion

This brief article has sketched out a conceptual framework for understanding and utilizing the NGO role as intermediary organizations with the potential to make productive contribution to the challenges in improving efforts to safeguard Intangible Cultural Heritage. Beginning with an overview of the complex definitional and operational worlds of the non-governmental sector, the discussion then moved to the anthropological field of brokerage and policy in which NGOs increasingly play important roles. Finally, the paper moved from brokerage as an analytical framework to explore normative concerns an draws briefly on an example of an intervention that combines both tangible and intangible forms of cultural heritage. Using actor-network theory, these constituent parts can be seen to be made up of a diverse set of actants through which representation of social and cultural life are constructed and maintained. While it is important to note the diversity of NGO capacities and knowledge and the need to avoid essentialized views of such organizations, it is argued that NGOs and NGO-type organizations can be viewed as potentially agile intermediaries, capable of brokering ideas and representations that can contribute usefully to the strengthening of ICH.

MARC JACOBS

Development Brokerage, Anthropology and Public Action

Local Empowerment, International Cooperation and Aid: Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage

> "...coherent policy narratives in the organisations studied are often produced, without a master plan, from an existing repertoire created in preceding sessions and meetings by a large variety of actors from governments, international administrations, NGOs and corporations. Drafts are tamed until they become acceptable and polite ... This world of texts negotiated almost to the letter created, paradoxically, a fuzziness that can be filled by interests and power relations." (Müller 2013)[1]

> "By expanding beyond the study of brokers at the interfaces of the development apparatus to include 'translation' in the making of development worlds, ... making a contribution to an anthropology of 'the global' that is concerned with new forms of transnational connection between 'people, information and ideas'." (Mosse & Lewis, 2006)[2]

The title of the 1999 assessment report of the UNESCO Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore (1989) spells out two effects, challenges or even goals of the 2003 UNESCO Convention: "local empowerment" and "international cooperation".[3] Let us add "in particular in view of the needs of developing countries". Article 16 of the Convention (the representative list, in view of visibility, awareness-raising and dialogue) is, at

1 B. Müller, "Introduction – Lifting the Veil of Harmony. Anthropologists Approach International Organisations", in: B. Müller, *The Gloss of Harmony. The Politics of Policy-Making in Multilateral Organisations*. London, 2013, p. 1-22, p. 8.

2 D. Mosse & D. Lewis, "Theoretical Approaches to Brokerage and Translation in Development", in: D. Lewis & D. Mosse (eds.), *Development Brokers and Translators. The Ethnography of Aid and Agencies*. Bloomfield, 2006, p. 1-26, p. 2.

3 P. Seitel (ed.), *A Global Assessment of the 1989 Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore: Local Empowerment and International Cooperation*. Washington D.C., 2001 and http://www.folklife.si.edu/resources/unesco/index.htm

the end of the day, just the carrot to make the donkey walk and pull the cart.[4] Is it not the primary objective to interest states, donors, sponsors, politicians, the media and rich actors in safeguarding heritage and making a better world, not only to stimulate peace and mutual understanding, but also for development and solidarity? If we take this seriously and move beyond a folklore studies perspective and folk art for folk art's sake, then the idea of brokerage becomes even more important. In the present discussion this is directed towards sustainable development, benefit sharing and all the ethical issues involved.

Among the recommendations of the assessment of the 2003 UNESCO Convention by the UNESCO Internal Oversight Service in 2013, an interesting model is identified: "It establishes "heritage communities" and groups as the key actors in all safeguarding efforts, with the Government assuming a facilitation and support function. Key instruments in this framework are the methods of mediation/cultural brokerage and networking among different types of stakeholders at all levels …, organizations work as cultural brokers/mediators, facilitating, supporting, raising awareness, and building the capacities of heritage communities and groups. The results of all these efforts are the recognition of ICH as a cultural policy area, the empowerment of communities, groups and individuals to safeguard their ICH … support communities through cultural brokerage and by providing opportunities for networking."[5] The quote comes from a presentation of policy and practice in a (so-called) developed (part of a) state in Western Europe: Flanders in Belgium, in a chapter on the participation of groups, communities and individuals. But what about developing countries, developing aid and urgent needs of a social or economic nature?

In the second chapter of the assessment report, the relevance of the 2003 Convention is discussed. Three main points are chosen and highlighted in the analysis. In first place, and evidently the core business is the relevance to international discourse and practice in the area of Intangible Cultural Heritage. In second place the authors (Barbara Torggler, Ekaterina Sediakina Rivière and Janet Blake) make use of this report to suggest and advocate the priority of and an emphasis on gender issues. Gender challenges are important, of course, but, according to me, not always relevant to the 2003 Convention and vice versa. I do share their view about the strong relevance of development, with special emphasis on the importance of culture to sustainable development. The conclusion however was that not much work had been done: "Knowing about and appreciating the linkages of ICH and sustainable development is

4 M. Jacobs, "Criteria, Apertures and Envelopes. ICH Directives and Organs in Operation", in: *Evaluating the Inscription Criteria for the Two Lists of UNESCO's Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention. The 10th Anniversary of the 2003 Convention. Final Report*. Osaka, 2013, p. 129-137 and the other contributions to this very special and critical volume.

5 IOS, IOS/EVS/PI/129 REV, B. Torggler, E. Sediakina Rivière & J. Blake, *Final Report. Evaluation of UNESCO's Standardsetting Work of the Culture Sector; Part I – 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*. Paris, 2013, p. 42. http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0022/002230/223095E.pdf (07-08-2014).

one thing, consciously building on such linkages in practice or even creating such linkages where they do not yet exist is a wholly different challenge … There is certainly a need to research the relation between ICH and sustainable development (and vice versa) in more depth in the future."[6]

I argue for taking a look at the lessons learned in international development aid and devoting special attention to cultural brokerage and mediation. In the assessment, it was stated that "a further factor plays a key role with regard to the integration of ICH (and culture in general) in sustainable development policies/legislation and programs. This has to do with the ability of the culture sector to make a compelling case for the link between ICH and sustainable development. A lot of awareness raising and lobbying will be needed in the future to demonstrate this link and to convince non cultural stakeholders to take action. This will require the culture sector to use a "language" that addresses these other sectors and to look at these linkages from their perspective, rather than from the perspective of culture. In other words, there is a need for culture experts to put themselves in the shoes of other sectors and to look at ICH through the lens of sustainable development. Only then will culture stakeholders be able to identify openings for the integration of ICH into other policy areas, and to make concrete practical suggestions for how to go about it. This of course, will require culture experts to team up with sustainable development experts and practitioners whenever knowledge of several sectors is required."[7] It is unclear whether these suggestions are limited to internal use (domestic, regional or national policy) or, as we claim, are also, with high priority, relevant to international development and to supporting developing countries. In any case, ("cultural" or "heritage") brokerage could be part of that language. Furthermore, let us take the message and the emphasis in article 18 of the 2003 Convention very seriously and look for methods that: "best reflect the principles and objectives of this Convention, taking into account the special needs of developing countries." Let us also not forget resolution 5.GA 5.1 of the General Assembly of the 2003 Convention, organized in Paris in June 2014, which welcomed Decision 8.COM 13.a of the intergovernmental committee in Baku to draw up "a new chapter on the Operational Directives on safeguarding intangible cultural heritage and sustainable development at the national level … for examination by the Assembly at its sixth session". Not only the special needs, but also the experiences *in* developing countries can be taken into account, as well as international cooperation. It is clear that a shared vocabulary and translation, and mediation, will be needed, and a specific type of "broker" provides an interesting bridge.

6 Ibidem, p. 15: the whole relevance chapter is found on pages 9-19.

7 Ibidem, p. 29, leading to the recommendation 2: "Promote increased NGO and community involvement in the development of policy, legislation, safeguarding plans and sustainable development plans." And 3: "Enhance cooperation with sustainable development experts for integrating ICH into non cultural legislation and policy, and for other work related to ICH and sustainable development."

Brokerage, power, history and anthropology

This article does not focus on lobbyists or the power-brokers in the banking sector or the military-industrial complex nor on the World Trade Organization or other protagonists of commercial capitalism in the "global-politique".[8] It does not turn the spotlight on the new breed of 21st-century power brokers, like the so-called "flexians": people who accumulate different roles, cross borders between private and public sectors, and are major influencers; the people with many business cards on offer (academic, NGOs, government, independent consultant etc.). If they operate together, flexnets emerge, with "scholars for dollars", shadow lobbyists operating in fields like foreign policy, national and international security, financial regulation and health care reform.[9] We will zoom in on the not-for-profit institutions, NGOs and other organizations that work with groups and communities and try to contribute to development processes, to mitigate the effects of that other type of globalization, inequality and power struggles. The goal is both to gain an insight into effective development brokerage in local groups and communities and to contribute to a better understanding of the effects, work, potential and functioning of UNESCO and the 2003 Convention. Here a concept formulated by Marc Abélès is useful: global-policy (in French, "*global-politique*", hence also with a possible translation or interpretation as "politics"), which is not the same as international politics; "le global-politique est un ensemble d'instances de négociation et de prise de décision … dans un régime d'anticipation et port[ant] le signe de l'incomplétude. Il ne peut pas être circonscrit en termes de rapport de forces, ni pensé comme une forme supra-étatique, mais comme un inducteur de normes, de concepts transversaux, de paramètres de discussion, de termes de négociation qui se diffusent dans les pores des sociétés et infusent les esprits qui les gouvernent. Le global-politique n'est pas seulement un espace où s'échangent des arguments: on y négocie des orientations qui vont progressivement s'imposer aux niveau local et national." Abélès called it a powerful cocktail of diplomacy, expertise, decision-making, policy and a platform where transnational organizations and counter-power meet: "un ensemble d'activités qui comprenne la diplomatie et la prise de décisions dans un domaine déterminé … mais, au-delà, la production et la mise en circulation de normes, de concepts qui circulent entre le global et le local, ainsi que la construction d'un espace public planétaire où se confrontent organisations transnationales et contre-pouvoirs issus de la société civile."[10]

8 M. Abélès, "Le global-politique et ses scènes", in: M. Abélès (ed.), *Des anthropologues à l'OMC. Scènes de la gouvernance mondiale*. Paris, 2011, p. 111-140; D. Holmes & G. Marcus, "Cultures of Expertise and the Management of Globalization: Toward the Re-Functioning of Ethnography", in: A. Ong & S. Collier (eds.), *Global Assemblages: Technology, Politics, and Ethics as Anthropological Problems*. Oxford, 2005, p. 235-252.

9 J. Wedel, *Shadow Elite: How the World's New Power Brokers Undermine Democracy, Government, and the Free Market*. New York, 2001; J. Wedel & S. Chandra, "Courtage international et institutions floues. Des rôles multiples, ambigus et contradictoires dans les relations russo-américaines", *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* 151, 2004, p. 115-125; http://janinewedel.info/harvardscholarly_ACTES.pdf.

10 M. Abélès, "Introduction", in: M. Abélès (ed.), *Des anthropologues à l'OMC. Scènes de la gouvernance mondiale*. Paris, 2011, p. 15-31, p. 24-25.

These notions function in a postcolonial version of globalization, but the concept of "brokerage" was first used for studying colonial figurations and the management of empires. In anthropology, several case-studies on colonial governance empirically detected the importance and functions of go-betweens like local chiefs and religious leaders. Two of the first publications by two scholars who were to become global superstars in anthropology in the second half of the 20th century, pioneered the use of the concept of (power-)brokers.

On the one hand, Eric Wolf investigated how communities become integrated and fit into larger complex structures like nation states (in this case Mexico). As early as 1956 he highlighted the importance of intermediaries in different phases of history: "The study of these "brokers" will prove increasingly rewarding, as anthropologists shift their attention from the internal organization of communities to the manner of their integration into larger systems. For they stand guard over the crucial junctures or synapses of relationships which connect the local system to the larger whole."[11] Wolf made some very sharp observations: "The position of these "brokers" is an "exposed" one, since, Janus-like, they face in two directions at once. They must serve some of the interests of groups operating on both the community and the national level, and they must cope with the conflicts raised by the collision of these interests. They cannot settle them, since by doing so they would abolish their own usefulness to others. Thus they often act as buffers between groups, maintaining the tensions which provide the dynamic of their actions."[12]

On the other hand, in 1960 Clifford Geertz presented an interesting case-study on the evolving role of "kijaji" in the emerging Indonesia, from a "key broker role within the great Islamic tradition" to that of "politicized schoolteacher, the key broker role within modern nationalism. It is upon his ability to fuse these two that the future of Islam in Indonesia as a political and social force rests."[13] Notice not only that Geertz launched the concept of "cultural broker" but also the technique of tracking changing roles, functions and contexts.[14]

11 E. Wolf, "Aspects of Group Relations in a Complex Society: Mexico", *American Anthropologist* 58:6, 1956, p. 1065-1078, p. 1075.

12 Wolf, *Aspects*, p. 1076.

13 C. Geertz, "The Javanese Kijaji: The Changing Role of a Cultural Broker", *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 2:2, 1960, p. 228-249.

14 In relation to the functioning of the Intergovernmental Committee of the 2003 Convention and the way "sustainable development" was put on the agenda, see M. Jacobs, "Notes on the Balinese Cockfight. Consensus play, diplomats and experts in the 2011 meeting of the UNESCO Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage", in: L. Turgeon (ed.), *The Politics and Practice of Intangible Cultural Heritage*. Montreal, 2014 (at press), to be combined with G. Marcus, "Geertz's Legacy. Beyond the Modes of Cultural Analysis of His Time: Speculative Notes and Queries in Remembrance", in: J. Alexander, Ph. Smith and M. Norton (eds.), *Interpreting Clifford Geertz. Cultural Investigation in the Social Sciences*. New York, 2011, p. 131-144 and R. Smeets, "On the Third Source of Guidance for the Implementation of UNESCO's Intangible Heritage Convention", in: *The First ICH-Researchers Forum. The Implementation of UNESCO's 2003 Convention. Final Report, 3 June 2012*. Paris, 2012, p. 71-86.

In the 1960s and 1970s, scholars like James Scott (to name yet another guru, who would later launch the concept of public and hidden transcripts, also useful tools in UNESCO-studies), did research on clientelism and the importance of brokerage to make states and other political systems work.[15] Amsterdam-based anthropologists including Anton Blok and Jeremy Boissevain used the concept of the "broker" in their studies of power struggles, politics and mafia in villages and towns in Malta and Sicily.[16] Their work received a lot of attention from historians and brokerage concepts have been applied in social, political and cultural history, in both the early modern and modern eras.[17] This was explicitly the case in a number of inspiring studies of the functions of early modern royal and other courts, but also in art history in the 16th and 17th centuries.[18] The concepts of brokerage were connected to patronage, clientelism and indirect forms of power based on services, obligations and access to powerful figures. Kettering showed how important clientelism, patronage and brokerage were to understanding how the French monarchy functioned in the 17th century. Clientelism describes a system of patron-broker-client ties and networks, in which a broker mediates between separated parties, using resources he does not always directly control, often involving people who can provide access to power. Kettering identified characteristics of the system and underlined that "Brokerage is a role that can be played by someone who is a patron, a broker, and a client: he can play two roles at the same time as patron-broker or broker-client, or one role at a time. The duality of their role as patron-brokers or broker-clients, however, sets brokers apart from ordinary patrons and clients, who have direct, personal relationships and operate within one milieu: they do not cut across physical, social, or political distances."[19] She emphasized that it was an instrument, also for the king and ministers, to make the power system work in a state that was not completely centralized: "The French provinces were only partially under royal control for most of this period. So the crown had to supplement its authority with patron-broker-client ties that functioned inside and outside the institutional framework: they were used to manipulating political institutions from within, to operate across institutions, and to act in place of institutions. They were interstitial, supplementary and parallel structures. Brokers mediated between the provincial power structure and the national government in Paris, performing the critical function of linkage in a state with a weak central government … Brokers in early modern France did

15 See S. Schmidt et al., *Friends, Followers, and Factions: A Reader in Political Clientelism*. Berkeley, 1977 with a bibliography presented by J. Scott. Do take note of his book J. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. New Haven, 1990 and the reference in Mosse & Lewis, *Theoretical*, p. 16.

16 J. Boissevain, *Friends of Friends, Networks, Manipulators and Coalitions*. Oxford, 1974; A. Blok, *The Mafia of a Sicilian Village, 1860-1960: A Study of Violent Peasant Entrepreneurs*. New York, 1974.

17 See for instance: J. Boutier, "Les courtiers locaux du politique – 1789-1792", *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* 297, 1994, p. 401-411, inspired by the work of T. Bierschenk, J.-P. Olivier De Sardan, Giovanni Levi and S. Kettering.

18 See for instance J. Cole, "Cultural Clientelism and Brokerage Networks in Early Modern Florence and Rome: New Correspondence between the Barberini and Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger", *Renaissance Quarterly* 60:3, 2007, p. 729-788.

19 S. Kettering, *Patrons, Brokers, and Clients in Seventeenth-Century France*. New York, 1986, p. 4.

not see themselves as brokers, however; we have the advantage of hindsight in that."[20] In the Low Countries these concepts have also been applied to the study of 17th-century political and cultural systems.[21]

But the concept should not be restricted to just one phase in history of nation states or governance, but can also be applied in other periods, characterized by more centralization and bureaucratization. Empirical research shows that even in recent history and today bureaucrats can become brokers and brokers bureaucrats and that this is probably necessary to make the systems function. Kettering had already pointed out that a very centralized state structure like France in the 1970s and 1980s also relied on these functions. Sydney Tarrow showed that "the implementation of national policies toward local government requires initiative at the local level to direct goods toward particular communities and to capture resources from the state. In filling this function, the mayors act as policy brokers at the grass-roots level."[22]

The concept of brokerage proved not only useful when analyzing processes within states or empires, but also between states and empires, both in the distant past and in recent history.[23] The notion of intercultural mediators in the context of expanding European empires or immigrant nations in continents other than Europe has recently been studied intensively.[24]

Another category of brokerage roles (and/or literature about them) is related to the integration and connection of endogenous populations, whose environment was colonized by outsiders, to an intercontinental framework, ranging from first contacts to frontier interactions. In the United States of America, the concept of cultural broker had been embraced in that field of research since the 1980s and in particular since a publication by Daniel Richter in the *Journal of American History* in 1988 with the word "cultural broker" in the title and dealing with intercultural politics between settlers in New York and the Iroquois in the 17th century. Richter emphasized that the Iroquois Great League of Peace (Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas) was a complex and shaky cluster of relationships and regular negotiations and ceremonial exchanges, as well as overlapping interconnections with kin groups and other networks. "For both New York and the Five Nations, then, personal connections among brokers for kin groups, political factions, and local communities were crucial for internal unity. Not surprisingly, similar mechanisms characterized

20 Idem, p. 5.

21 For a combination of translation sociology (actor-network theory), network theory and cultural brokerage, see M. Jacobs, *Parateksten, netwerken en conventies in de Spaanse Nederlanden en Franche-Comté (1621-1678): de familie Chifflet uit Besançon*. Brussel, 1998.

22 Kettering, *Patrons*, p. 228-229.

23 See the contributions and bibliographies in M. von der Höh, N. Jaspert & J. Rahel Oesterle (eds.), *Cultural Brokers at Mediterranean Courts in the Middle Ages*. Paderborn, 2013.

24 See for instance E. N. Rothman, "Genealogies of Mediation: 'Culture Broker' and Imperial Governmentality", in: E. Murphy et al. (ed.), *Anthrohistory. Unsettling Knowledge, Questioning Discipline*. Ann Arbor, 2011, p. 67-79 and E. N. Rothman. *Brokering Empire: Trans-Imperial Subjects between Venice and Istanbul*. Ithaca, 2011.

their interactions with each other."[25] Richter connected his attempts to understand how the imperial powers of the early-modern world-system tried to absorb native peoples into that system with concepts from social network theory and anthropology, e.g. those of Geertz and Boissevain. In particular, the intermediaries between Indian/Native American culture and mainstream US culture (with its European origins), received much attention from a cultural brokerage perspective. A very interesting case, in view of similarities between the consensus-building diplomatic transactions among the early modern Five (and later Six) Nations on the one hand and the post-1945 United Nations (and UNESCO) on the other, is the role interpreter-mediators of Native Indian origin played in colonial America, in the negotiations between the Iroquois and the Dutch, and later the English, in New Amsterdam/New York and Pennsylvania. They did much more than just translate to and from English. They used and facilitated the bridging of intercultural differences so as to come to agreements.[26] In 1994, Margaret Connel Szasz edited a volume about cultural intermediaries between Indians and people from Europe and other continents, featuring biographies of cultural brokers (including William Frederick Cody, alias Buffalo Bill) who were operating in early modern and 19th- and 20th-century North America and Mexico. In a new edition, seven years later, she noted that the concept of cultural brokerage had proliferated in American ethnohistory: "These studies all reconfirmed the importance of cultural intermediaries in *our* shared past".[27]

25 D.K. Richter, "Cultural Brokers and Intercultural Politics: New York-Iroquois Relations", 1664-1701, *The Journal of American History* 75, 1988, p. 40-67, p. 45; D.K. Richter, "Ordeals of the Longhouse: The Five Nations in Early American History", in: *Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600-1800*. Syracuse, 1987, p. 11-27.

26 N. Hagedorn, "'A Friend to go between Them': The Interpreter as Cultural Broker during Anglo-Iroquois Councils, 1740-70", *Ethnohistory* 35, 1988, p. 60-80; B. Hosmer, "Reflections on Indian Cultural 'Brokers': Reginald Oshkosh, Mitchell Oshkenaniew, and the Politics of Menominee Lumbering", *Ethnohistory* 44, 1997, p. 493-509; N. Hagedorn, "Faithful, knowing, and prudent: Andrew Montour as Interpreter and Cultural Broker, 1740-1772", in: M. Connell Szasz, *Between Indian and White Worlds: The Cultural Broker*. Norman, 2001, p. 44-60; M. Meuwese, *"For the peace and well-being of the country": Intercultural mediators and Dutch-Indian relations in New Netherland and Dutch Brazil, 1600-1664*. PhD diss., University Notre Dame, 2003, p. 11-12; M. Meuwese, "From Intercolonial Messenger to Christian Indian: The Flemish Bastard and the Mohawk Struggle for Independence from New France and Colonial New York in the Eastern Great Lakes Borderland, 1647-1687," in: K.S. Hele (ed.), *Lines Drawn Upon the Water: First Nations and the Great Lakes Borders and Borderlands*. S.l., 2008, p. 43-63; M. Meuwese, "Pragmatic Agents of Empire: Dutch Intercultural Mediators among the Mohawks in Seventeenth-Century New Netherland", in: B. Jacob Kaplan, M. Carlson, L. Cruz (eds.), *Boundaries and their meanings in the history of the Netherlands*. Leiden and Boston, 2009, p. 139-154. For later examples of female cultural brokers, see for instance: V. Sherer Mathes, "Helen Hunt Jackson as Power Broker", in: Szasz, *Between*, p. 141-157.

27 Szasz, *Between*, p. XI. See also the intelligent comments in J.Weibel-Orlando, "Review of: Between Worlds: Interpreters, Guides, and Survivors by Frances E. Karttunen; Between Indian and White Worlds: The Cultural Broker by Margaret Connell Szasz", *Ethnohistory* 42, 1995, p. 659-662.

These examples show that an increasing number of case-studies on different periods in history and different regions on several continents are being published that refer to "cultural brokerage" or concepts like intercultural intermediators or translators. I do believe it is worthwhile not only to continue to work in that direction, but also to bring these examples together in a new genealogy, or even history, of cultural mediation or of concepts like intercultural communication or safeguarding. New combinations of converging lines are possible, which makes the global history of brokerage relevant to today's critical heritage studies. But we can also refer to links to the history of the divergence between popular and elite culture in Europe[28] or the active research tradition concerning brokerage in the Mediterranean countries and the recent research into colonies and empires that I mentioned in the previous paragraph. It makes sense to add historical resources and criticism to the field, in particular those of previously colonized independent states.

Development brokerage and anthropology in a world with developing countries

In the rest of the article we explore the potential of the paradigm of cultural brokerage for UNESCO. UNESCO had been structured by and structured the blocks and logic of the Cold War world since the 1940s. The UNESCO electoral groups are one of the most visible forms of heritage of the Cold War period, and this path-dependency has also had its effect on the 2003 UNESCO Convention, its operational directives and its implementation today. In the same period the idea and practices around something called a "Third World" and relations between developing countries (rather than colonies) and (former colonizing) developed countries emerged and proliferated.

A relevant context or reading matrix here is that of decolonization and of changing frames of reference from "development" (economic, social etc.) to "sustainable development" (a challenge for all countries), including attention to bio- and cultural diversity, since the 1990s. In order to organize the historical narrative, Brandecker proposed designating 1961 as a milestone: the year the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) was founded, the USAID gained presidential approval and when, in Germany, a Ministry for Development Aid was founded. After the Oil Crisis of 1973/1974 in particular and in the light of the difficulties developing states had repaying their loans, lenders and donors gradually opted for more pinpointed projects that could be monitored and which avoided going through state channels overseas (south of the *Mare Nostrum*). After 1989, the fall of the Iron Curtain changed the game even more, as the option of governments in developing countries relying on streams of financing and development aid from the USSR

28 M. Jacobs, "Bruegel and Burke were here! Examining the criteria implicit in the UNESCO paradigm of safeguarding ICH: the first decade", *International Journal of Intangible Heritage* 9, 2014, p. 99-117.

communist block was no longer a significant alternative.[29] After the Cold War, and since the 1990s, this made the world of development aid even more fragmented and open to negotiation over and management of specific projects and goals in configurations (if we may use Norbert Elias' network concept) where intermediaries became more and more important.

All these evolutions in colonial and post-colonial settings have been studied in anthropology and other social sciences that were themselves transformed by this re-framing and repositioning, in particular in the European universities in former colonial states. I shall now focus on two specific clusters. On the one hand there is the German-French-francophone (postcolonial) ("Africa") network, the Bierschenk-Olivier de Sardan-APAD cluster, which since the 1980s has been working on "*courtage*" and in particular on the "*courtier local en développement*". On the other hand there is the British-Dutch-Anglophone mega ("India") cluster around Mosse-Lewis. In fact they mutually refer to and reinforce each other, yielding the building blocks we need.

Courtage in Africa

Let us first zoom in on Africa. In 1991, a network of researchers working on and/or in post-colonial *Afrique* set up APAD, the *Association euro-africaine Pour l'Anthropologie du changement social et du Développement*.[30] In 2000 the collaboration yielded a book with a title that speaks volumes: *Courtiers en développement. Les villages Africans en quête de projets* (2000). How do villages or regions in African states attract resources from European or other governments, brokers or NGOs? Brokers (in French: "*courtiers*") are crucial in this process. Describing and analyzing this role is the major contribution of APAD. They explicitly aimed at actors, if possible individuals, whose mediating, translating and brokering actions made a difference in real life, in villages, in particular by mobilizing and distributing resources. These processes have become more and more important after the colonial period in Africa, in particular since the 1970s. The relations between African and European countries and hence the framing, legitimation and expectations regarding the flow of resources, incomes and investments changed in the post-colonial period, and *a fortiori* in the post-communist era (although the new episodes today involving what China is doing in Africa are once again changing the rules of the game and what is at stake: new challenges for researchers to integrate into a long-term story).

Thomas Bierschenk and Jean-Pierre Olivier de Sardan introduced a series of metaphors and concepts such as "*courtiers en développement*" to understand how this actually functioned. They appropriated the concept from the oeuvre

29 http://www.oecd.org; N. Brandecker, *Les courtiers locaux en développement à la lumière des nouvelles perspectives: Une proposition pour un élargissement du concept analytique du courtier*. Université de Provence, 2009, p. 14-15.

30 http://www.association-apad.org/. For an historical review of the work of APAD-members, see T. Bierschenk, "Historiciser et localiser les approaches. Anthropologie et développement", *Bulletin de l'APAD* [31-32], 2010, p. 161-192 (21-01-2014).

of Jeremy Boissevain and the Amsterdam school on Mediterranean villages and regions (Malta, Sicily etc.) and built on it. They coined and operationally defined the concept of local development brokers: "Par "courtiers locaux du développement", nous entendons les acteurs sociaux implantés dans une arène locale qui servent d'intermédiaires pour drainer (vers l'espace social correspondant à cette arène) des ressources extérieures relevant de ce que l'on appelle communément "l'aide au développement".[31] The local brokers of the development projects tried to act as representatives and spokespeople and to translate needs of the population and/or environment where they were active, or actually living, for external donors so as to get them interested and willing to grant money for projects. They accompanied the flow of resources towards and in local networks in a specific local, power-laden setting (arena). They did not possess or directly control the resources for development, but they did have contacts with the people or institutions that do, and they usually had more information about the transaction than the other parties.

In these studies, the idea of "*courtage collectif*" was also explored, in the sense of a "*chaîne de courtage*" or brokerage chain. But brokerage by institutions or NGOs was also considered. Inevitably, and luckily, the whole chain of development from donor to village people came into the picture. In order to encapsulate these evolutions, Nora Brandecker proposed a broader definition, leaving out the adjective "*local*": "Par courtier en développement, nous entendons tous les acteurs sociaux, qui négocient en tant qu'intermédiaire neutre entre les bailleurs de fonds et les bénéficiaires d'aide au développement."[32] The word "actors" makes it possible to describe both chains, associations, NGOs and other actors in a brokerage perspective. There is an argument for adding the "non-governmental" dimension to the word "development broker", meaning not part of the administrative or political apparatus of a nation state. The idea would be to really emphasize the quality of "third party", also and in particular in the so-called developed countries. Brandecker remarks: "On trouve dans les pays développés des exemples d'agence de courtage étatique ou semi étatique telles que les chambres de commerce, les agences d'information pour les consommateurs ou autre médiateurs. Toutefois – en règle générale,– les fonctionnaires travaillant dans les ministères et les employés des bailleurs de fonds ne peuvent pas être considérés comme des courtiers."[33] One of the reasons for this, a point I wish to emphasize, is the question of final responsibility and the fact that in the end a minister or a whole government can be held responsible or accountable for mistakes, criticism or even a bad outcome caused by the actions of members of the administration. This aspect in the "brokerage" story, for instance in the whole debate about the role of NGOs and state-parties in the 2003 Convention, deserves more reflection and attention.

31 T. Bierschenk, J.-P. Olivier de Sardan, "Les courtiers locaux du développement", *Bulletin de l'APAD* 5, 1993, p. 71-76, p. 71.

32 Brandecker, *Courtiers*, p. 16.

33 Idem, p. 19.

Normally the broker can be paid for his or her services (time, skills etc.), but cannot really "profit" from it, in the sense of skimming off part of the profit. There is a disconnect between the resources whose movement is facilitated and the payment, in this case of non-commercial brokerage (as for example in real estate brokerage). In the APAD studies of African cases, we do see that the brokers can profit indirectly from the fact that resources are going to their regions. Here we are also in the sphere of transformations between symbolic, social and cultural capital that at some point in time can be cashed in and transformed into economic capital.

One of the African protagonists in this French-German scholarly network is Bako Arifari.[34] He focused on the interlocked nature of several networks and brokerage roles. In the APAD network, he also described "regional development brokers" that were operating in regional networks and in local arenas: they often do not reside in the village or in the "local arena" but visit occasionally. "*Bi-appartenance arénale*" is the concept Bako Arifari coined to characterize these actors, rather than the metaphor "implanted" in the region to which they channel resources. For these people, it can be important to be part of a national government or administration where information circulates and where access to influential persons is possible.

If we follow the broadened definition proposed by Nora Brandecker and follow the network up to the international scale, we can discover development brokers with a "*multi-appartenance arénale*", among which are international arenas. This kind of national and international brokers have a great impact on the construction of reality, in the translation process in the actor-network theory sense of the term, to mobilize the resources, in particular for cultural brokers from Europe who are trying to facilitate the development process and often meet (potential) local or national brokers. But consultants from the Nord especially cannot always build up a series of local contacts, due to very short stays as "fly-in, fly-out consultants". These activities are based on interlocking broker activities, which is certainly the case in the UNESCO context.

The four characteristics the APAD school uses to analyze the capacities or competences of local development brokers also apply, but in a more abstract way, to the other levels: 1) rhetorical, 2) organizational, 3) scenographic, 4) network capacities. Being able and willing to set up a useful representation (the third competence) is important in convincing or seducing potential donors. The skills needed to present small, feasible projects and stage them to make them visible, ones in which villagers can perform or simply warmly welcome external visitors (who report to the funding agencies) are crucial, either by making the reality visitable or by fabricating a suitable reality. The brokers have to be able to address the power-holders, to be flexible enough to deal with different actors and to package it in a convincing manner. This includes "translation" into the correct jargon and register (avoiding taboo

34 The fact that Nassirou Bako-Arifari was called back from his academic life in Europe studying brokerage and development to become, in 2011, Benin's Minister for Foreign Affairs, African Integration, Francophonie and Beninese Abroad, sheds a whole new light on his previous and present work.

words, sticking to the vocabulary of the 2003 Convention and the 2014 operational directives, *i.e.* as long as the 2016 version, which may contain new words regarding sustainable development and … brokerage, is not yet available).

The 2003 UNESCO Convention on the one hand involves a top-down reboot operation by means of a severe limitation of vocabulary, but on the other, thanks to article 15 of the Convention, it is an invitation to devise bottom-up solutions and approaches. This is why brokers who are also "translators" are so crucial. This is very compatible with a point made by Bako-Arifari quoting Olivier de Sardan: "Il ne s'agit donc pas d'une ingénierie sociale classique, où les experts partent de modèles souvent prédéfinis qu'ils appliquent à divers contextes … l'approche est modulée en fonction des savoirs locaux, des pratiques et expériences quotidiennes des acteurs … La médiation sociale permet de combiner les exigences de l'intervention avec les exigences de la qualité d'une recherche anthropologique préalable qui ne s'arrête pas avec le diagnostic initial mais se poursuit tout au long de la phase opérationnelle dans un registre de recherche-action informant au fur et à mesure l'action des nouvelles observations et analyses, permettant ainsi de prendre en compte les fluctuations du champ social en fonction des enjeux et des contingences."[35]

Critical perspectives on development aid and the importance of brokerage and translation: Mosse and Lewis

Development seemed a stable concept with which to explain the relationship between the West and the rest since the Second World War. But in the last decade of the 20th and the first decade of the 21st century, widening cracks appeared in that image. Cultural dominance seemed implicit in the idea of development. British anthropologists did interesting work on globalization, power and development, both in the United Kingdom and in former British colonies, focusing on NGOs, brokers, development aid and management discourse in the post-Cold War period. Many of the nice and warm buzzwords that also flourish in the epistemic community of UNESCO have been questioned and deconstructed. From participation and participatory approaches to the idea of buzzwords themselves: a battery of critical analysis is available.[36] Even a buzzword with high priority in the strategies of the organs of the 2003 UNESCO Convention got the deconstruction treatment in development anthropology.

35 N. Bako-Arifari, "La médiation socio-anthropologique entre savoir et action. Plaidoyer pour un métier de médiateur en action publique", in T. Bierschenk et al. (eds.), *Une anthropologie entre rigueur et engagement. Essais autour de l'oeuvre de Jean-Pierre Olivier de Sardan*. Leiden, Paris, 2007, p. 175-200, p. 194.

36 See among other contributions to the volume: D. Mosse, "'People's Knowledge', Participation and Patronage: Operations and Representations in Rural Development", in: B. Cooke & U. Kothari (eds.), *Participation. The New Tyranny?* London-New York, 2004, p. 16-35; A. Bebbington, S. Guggenheim, M. Woolcock, "Concepts: Their Contexts and their Consequences", in: A. Bebbington, M. Woolcock, S. Guggenheim, E. Olson (eds.), *The Search for Empowerment. Social Capital as Idea and Practice at the World Bank*. Bloomfield, 2006, p. 261-287; A. Cornwall and K. Brock, "Beyond Buzzwords. 'Poverty Reduction', 'Participation' and 'Empowerment' in Development Policy", in: http://www.unrisd.org/80256B3C005BCCF9/(httpAuxPages)/F25D3D6D27E2A1ACC12570CB002FFA9A/$file/cornwall.pdf

Is capacity-building a one-way indoctrination of values? According to Giles Mohan, capacity-building actually often means strengthening areas that ensure the compatibility, reception and success of pre-determined interventions set by actors in a development strategy. But there is also the possibility of moving beyond these rigid external frameworks by building on what exists in the community or the group, even resulting in a hope that the "whole capacity-building process is about confidence in the village in order to say "No" to organizations that do not meet the village's requirements."[37] Of if I may add, to offer a "wicked problem" approach and hence bring new needs for participatory and eclectic safeguarding techniques into the picture.[38]

An extremely valuable element in these new kinds of ethnography is the reality check, e.g. as applied to project planning or interventions. The researchers observed that interventions are not usually simply an execution of a specified plan of action with expected outcomes, but an ongoing, socially constructed and negotiated process. They discover that participatory methods take time, a lot of negotiation and can produce less "elegant looking" solutions. In a study of the confrontation of traditional practices and actors in garbage collection and attempts to implement a modern, privatized solid waste management system in Cairo, Jamie Furniss, arrived at an important suggestion: "Instead of designing picture-perfect master-plans, participation emphasizes a detailed, needs-driven rather than elegance-driven approach. In this sense it can be said to be a bottom-up process, more in the nature of the common law, building piecemeal solutions to specific cases into a larger system, rather than trying to impose the elegance of a prefabricated system onto all the myriad cases it may encounter. Planning is a term that should be associated more with an expertise-derived system of authority."[39]

A series of conferences in Manchester (1992, 1994, 2005) allow us to trace the scaling-up of ambitions and impact of NGOs in the world of development and poverty reduction since the 1990s. This evolution among NGOs, involving their being drawn into an international figuration and effectively teaming up with national and international (state) entities, led to legitimation problems and criticism. New challenges and roles for NGOs were identified in a move from "development as delivery" to "development as leverage". At the 2005 Manchester conference, the 21st-century changes were assessed, as the room for manoeuver had been changed (constrained) by the security agenda after the attacks by Al Quaeda and other terrorists, neo-liberalism, and the political criticism of NGOs, particularly in the South. Part of the story of "leverage" or "raising" awareness would imply developing new capacities and skills like bridging or mediation. Next to concerns about the effective benefits for

37 G. Mohan, "Beyond Participation: Strategies for Deeper Empowerment", in: D. Lewis & D. Mosse (eds.), *Development Brokers*, p. 153-167, p. 167.

38 V. Brown et al., *Tackling Wicked Problems. Through the Transdisciplinary Imagination*. London-Washington D.C., 2010.

39 J. Furniss, "Private Sector Reform of Egyptian Solid Waste Management", in: G. Gómez, A. Corradi, P. Goulart, R. Namara (eds.), *Participation for What: Social Change or Social Control?*The Hague, 2010, p. 52-75, p. 72.

poor people and countries and the accountability of NGOs, Michael Edwards identified the following key challenges:

- "How to mobilize a genuinely inclusive civil society at all levels of the world system, as opposed to a thin layer of elite NGOs operating internationally …
- How to ensure that gains at the global level are translated into concrete benefits at the grassroots, translating abstract commitments made in international conferences into actions that actually enforce rules and regulations on the ground."[40]

One of the protagonists of the recent critical development studies movement, David Mosse, worked as an anthropologist-consultant on a British aid project in rural India in the 1990s. He sublimated his experience in a thick transcript and eclectic transdisciplinary study, called an "ethnography of aid policy and practice".[41] His book did touch a nerve: aside from his supporters, some of his former colleagues in the consultancy business and some of his academic peers criticized the work and even tried to prevent the publication.[42] He did not evaluate the success or impact of the development trajectories and projects in a classic way: he tried to demonstrate how "success" or "impact" is constructed. People familiar with the style of ethnographic research and writing in actor-network analysis will recognize the influence of Bruno Latour: "[It] requires the constant work of translation (of policy goals into practical interests; practical interests back into policy goals), which is the task of skilled brokers (managers, consultants, fieldworkers, community leaders – the subjects of this book) who read the meaning of a project into the different institutional languages of its stakeholder supporters, constantly creating interest and making it real (cf. Latour 1996: 86). The problem is that this diversity and the multiplicity of interests (and the needs to be met) themselves destabilize and militate against coherence. … The ethnographic task is also to show how, despite such fragmentation and dissent, actors in development are constantly engaged in creating order and unity through political acts of composition."[43]

Mosse goes very far in his analysis and takes no prisoners, coming to a number of radical and extremely clear and acute propositions, that are indeed eye-openers but leave little room for maneuver, enrolment or mobilization, romantic enthusiasm, or the motivation of actors working on projects or in

40 M. Edwards, "Have NGOs 'Made a Difference?' From Manchester to Birmingham with an Elephant in the Room", in: A. Bebbington, S. Hickey and D. Mitlin (eds.), *Can NGOs Make a Difference?* London, 2007, p. 38-54, p. 43.

41 D. Mosse, *Cultivating Development. An Ethnography of Aid Policy and Practice.* London-Ann Arbor, 2005.

42 See also D. Mosse, "Politics and ethics: ethnographies of expert knowledge and professional identities", in: C. Shore, S. Wright & D. Però (eds.), *Policy Worlds. Anthropology and the Analysis of Contemporary Power*. Oxford, 2011, p. 50-67.

43 Mosse, *Cultivating*, p. 9.

development programs.[44] He deconstructs, exposes and unmasks, but also urges against abandonment, and for learning lessons and enhancing reflexivity. He ends his tabula rasa with the statement that "The ground of anthropological practice has changed fundamentally in the past two decades. The fact that anthropologists are no longer justified as value-free and objective observers, the source of politically neutral and authoritative scientific knowledge puts anthropology back into historical power relationships. In relation to international development, this provides opportunities, if not obligations, for engagement and self-critical reflection, for hope and critical understanding – neither of which is possible without close encounters with the administrative politics of development practice."[45]

One could deduct several critical success factors for a project. First it is useful to create a compelling story about the events, to be able to explain events and actions as part of the bigger program and planning, as the results of a participatory approach. While implementing the projects, tools like forms, videos, photos and visits (with visitors that reinforce and confirm the leading stories once back in the office) help to shape and express the plan and the claim of the major representation. It is all a question of aiming and positioning the local projects in the agendas and frameworks of the donors.

Just like his colleague David Lewis, David Mosse has recently published a whole series of articles and volumes on NGOs, policy, development and globalization: recommended reading and eye-opening material for critical heritage studies.[46] In these publications, on the ethnography of how policy, international projects, development and other processes work, the activities and roles of "brokers" are identified frequently. According to Lewis and Mosse, an actor-oriented approach leads to greater insight about "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 (Granovetter, 1973) in these negotiations, social actors "steer or muddle their ways through difficult scenarios, turning "bad" into "less bad" circumstances."[47] Mosse and Lewis pointed out an association in the metaphor of translation, namely the effect of "the production and protection of unified fields of development … the appearance of congruence between problems and interventions, the coherence

44 Idem, p. 14-20 "Proposition 1: Policy primarily functions to mobilise and maintain political support, that is to legitimise rather than to orientate practice"; Proposition 2: Development interventions are not driven by policy but by the exigencies of organisations and the need to maintain relationships.; Proposition 3: Development projects work to maintain themselves as coherent policy ideas (as systems of representations) as well as operational systems; Proposition 4: Projects do not fail; they are failed by wider networks of support and validation; Proposition 5: "Success" and "failure" are policy-oriented judgements that obscure project effects."

45 Idem, p. 243.

46 See the list of major publications by Mosse http://www.soas.ac.uk/staff/staff31472.php and Lewis http://www.lse.ac.uk/researchandexpertise/experts/profile.aspx?KeyValue=d.lewis%40lse.ac.uk

47 Mosse & Lewis, *Theoretical*, p. 10.

of policy logic, and the authority of expertise". This is realized by actors through acts of composition. In order to study this, actor-network theory is mobilized, in particular the constructions and perspectives of Bruno Latour.

The publication of *Development Brokers and Translators. The Ethnography of Aid and Agencies*, edited by Lewis and Mosse in 2006, can be considered as a milestone. Reflexivity is key. The bold idea was that "ethnographic" (anthropological) research can provide development aid managers and policy-makers with useful reflective insights into the practice and impact of their projects and activities. They combined translation sociology in the Bruno Latour school with interactionalist anthropology in the UK. Following the actors, an actor-oriented approach is also an important method for the Manchester school of anthropology. Furthermore, they built on the work done by Bierschenk and others on "courtage". It led them to distinguish three ways of connecting development and anthropology. First there is the instrumental engagement of professionals in so-called applied anthropology. The introduction and application of notions like "social capital", "better implementation" and "effectiveness" are symptoms of this perspective. The second way is called "populist", and strongly emphasizes so-called participatory, alternative or bottom-up approaches and local knowledge and capabilities, and denigrates top down and mainstream science and technology. Here one finds the champions of participative learning and working together. Lewis and Mosse refer to working via NGOs and to the school of Robert Chambers in the 1980s and 1990s, but also underline that global players like the World Bank quickly appropriated these references. The third perspective is "critical" and "deconstructive". The protagonists see development as a historically-specific power discourse by "the West" over the "developing world" or the so-called Third World.

Lewis and Mosse propose an alternative, a counterprogram for anthropology and development by advising practitioners to 1) "refuse to frame the relationship in simple instrumental terms (as "better implementation") and instead pay equal attention to the social processes of policy and the informal relationships and real-life situations of development workers"; 2) make a distinction between approaches characterized by naïve ideological populism ("the unqualified valuation of indigenous knowledge and community tradition") and that of methodological populism (the anthropological disposition to prioritize local points of view as a relevant perspective), without ignoring local divisions and contradictions, social relations and diverging strategies of actors; 3) on the need to make the same distinction between blind and ideologically biased deconstruction operations and methodological deconstruction perspectives, with greater attention to the strategies and tactics of the (local) actors and intermediaries involved. An important change that Lewis and Mosse see is that today's policymakers and deconstructivist critics interact and learn from each other, and that this can lead to recombination, starting with a change of the scope when defining the problem."[48]

48 Mosse & Lewis, *Theoretical*, p. 1 and 3-7.

How is it possible that the role of the cultural broker, which seems so crucial, as a missing link or a critical success factor, was and for the time being is still not included or even mentioned in the operational directives of the 2003 UNESCO Convention? It is time to draw attention to this role and to think it through by expanding the number of case-studies and publications about this role. It is a question of visibility. David Mosse rightly drew attention to the fact that there is a huge challenge here: "The participatory turn in international development has made the constitution of expert development identities yet more complex. Professionals of participatory programmes have to deny or conceal their own expertise and agency (and their practical role in programme delivery) in order to preserve an authorized view of themselves as facilitators of community action or local knowledge, as "catalysts", hastening but not partaking in the reaction … Where … expertise requires self-effacement, it is harder to constitute professional identities."[49]

Development brokers, heritage communities and public action

In this article I have presented recent work on development brokerage and I argue the case for not ignoring this important body of work and the global challenges that come into the picture and onto the agenda, in this case also in the "world" of heritage studies, volkskunde and cultural policy. What the publications of David Mosse, David Lewis and the APAD group have in common is a very critical approach (exposing, explaining, debunking etc.) but at the same time urging that it should not be left at this exercise, but that action should actually be taken, to plan, to do, to check, to evaluate and to act. Is this not what the new emerging field of critical heritage studies needs to deserve the description? This is why a very broad and eclectic transdisciplinary perspective is necessary. This can be combined with something like critical sustainable development studies. In social anthropology on development aid in Africa, the special category of "*courtiers locaux en développement*" is approached as the interface between senders/donators and receivers of aid, but also as actors that capture "*la rente de développement*". This is part of a hard analysis of a section of African politics, exploring the borders of corruption and the difficulties of finding a suitable ethical attitude. The variety of this process under the sustainable development paradigm has been called "*rente verte*", a term is used to capture the brokerage role in the case of the "Man and Biosphere" program of UNESCO. Since 1981, UNESCO has classified the national park of the Saloum Delta as a Biosphere reserve and the "mise en scène" dimension of managing such a construction was studied critically.[50]

49 D. Mosse, "Introduction. The Anthropology of Expertise and Professionals in International Development", in: D. Mosse (ed.), *Adventures in Aidland. The Anthropology of Professionals in International Development*. New York-Oxford, 2013, p. 1-32, p. 17. This can also be an official expectation towards NGOs with a brokering role (e.g. www.faronet.be).

50 M. Ranoux, "Les courtiers verts et le développement soutenable: le cas de la réserve de biosphère du Delta du Saloum au Sénégal", in : L. Auclair et al., *Le retour des paysans?: à l'heure du développement durable*. Aix-en-Provence, 2003, p. 333-349.

The four clusters of competence in brokerage roles that Bierschenk identified (rhetorical, organizational, scenographic and relational) are also useful for a "sustainable development" discourse.

In the discussion about the relevance of the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the global and glocal urgency of and sensitivity to sustainable development, the world should perhaps not only limit itself to savoring nice examples on a representative list of intangible cultural heritage, but prioritize the most important word in the Convention: "safeguarding". For this, "brokerage" competences will be needed, in particular when trying to deal with the spirit of article 15 of the Convention. Nor is it only by chance that another word cluster around the notion of development, which situates the convention in contemporary "global-politique", is mentioned in an article (18) of the Convention, about best practices: "taking into account the special needs of developing countries". This is why it is time for less disciplinary comfort and more transdisciplinary critical and reflexive exchange. An important new breakthrough is the work done by anthropologists about what happens in the context of UNESCO meetings. These studies have yielded important vistas about recent evolutions. For instance, a recent conclusion by Birgit Müller as an introduction to a collection of similar articles deserves careful attention: "Many UN organisations have started to go beyond the role of an intermediary and claim the role of "strong broker" or "objective broker", basing their strength on "competence" and "knowledge", in short on the capacity of being an expert, who can claim a superior normative and technical authority over donor and receiver countries alike."[51]

In a reflection on anthropology in and by scholars from Africa, Nassirou Bako-Arifari preferred to talk about "public action" rather than "development", because it can refer to interventions from both the outside (of the nation, the region or a location) and the inside. It refers to more initiatives that those of Western ministries or big NGOs for development aid and includes many local or decentralization initiatives. Bako-Arifari complains that anthropologists and other social scientists in and outside Africa are usually not well trained to take up such tasks. He speculates that a new professional has to be developed that can ensure sufficient quality in the production of scientific data but is also able to see and listen, understand, and respond to urgent needs in the field: "Ce nouveau métier pourrait être celui de "médiateur social" qui, en alliant professionalisme anthropologique et compétence operationelle, constituerait "le chaînon manquant" dans l'articulation entre savoirs en sciences sociales et demande du monde de l'action en général."[52] His call that this cannot be business-as-usual by local animators or the occasional consultant with a background as a sociologist or anthropologist, but has to be reinvented and developed, is very much compatible with the calls for rebooting the notion of safeguarding in the context of the 2003 UNESCO Convention. He doubted that the anthropologists working primarily in academia would make the difference, due to the evaluation system (screening the production of articles,

51 Müller, *Introduction*, p. 11.

52 Bako Arifari, *Médiation*, p. 176.

PhDs and students, and not the positive impact on society or the globe) and the impression of getting one's white academic gloves dirty is kind of compromising.[53] The exceptions that confirm the rules are, according to Bako-Arifari, professors like Olivier de Sardan and his APAD (anthropologists for development and social change), but even their conferences and the texts they yield remain in a scholarly arena. But the real dynamics could, according to him, come from universities in several African countries (Benin, Niger, Mali, Senegal *et al*.) where the number of students studying anthropology and sociology is booming in the 21st century. Many of the young people taking up the study (which used to be associated with colonialism and Western domination) explicitly indicate that they do not want to go for a strictly academic career as researchers but desire to work in applied action. What do old and contemporary Anglo-Saxon or French theories and habits have to offer them and will it suffice or satisfy? This is why Olivier de Sardan used the concept of the "missing link" outside comfort zones. Bako-Arifari tries pushing the insights in order to actually forge and force the chain links that are necessary, not only from applied sociology but also applied anthropology. They should have high standards so that theory and methods can be developed by experiences and experiments in practice, also in Africa and by Africans. Exploring the possibilities in the field of health and healthcare seems very promising, and in addition to negotiating, mutual translation and brokerage skills, this goes a long way towards what the Organs of the 2003 Convention are currently calling for.

This dimension of "public action" is present in the definition of a heritage community in the 2005 Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society, but has hardly been developed or explored.[54] It offers another bridge between Europe and the rest of the world, between different types of action and development, and if not between the old Siamese twins of anthropology and European ethnology, then certainly as a challenge for critical heritage studies.

53 M. Jacobs, "A.V.E. Janus", *Volkskunde* 113, 2011, p. 183-195.

54 http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/en/Treaties/Html/199.htm

JORIJN NEYRINCK

Beyond the Conventional

How to Foster Co-production for Safeguarding ICH

Notwithstanding the strongly state-driven *international* or intergovernmental framework that is constitutive for UNESCO, the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage 2003 cultivates an alternative paradigm. This is not only because – after years of preliminary reflections, efforts and tentative recommendations[1] – this new Convention made room for "traditional and popular culture" in the existing series of UNESCO's cultural conventions. It is above all because this Convention introduced a deeply participatory approach in cultural work set up by (united) nations: The 2003 Convention urged for the involvement and – prior and informed – consent by ICH practitioners, by individuals, groups or communities concerned, whenever the Convention would be interacting with elements of intangible cultural heritage. By affirming the Convention, the States Parties in one and the same movement gave away their prerogative of "governing", turning it into a Convention shared with involved communities … It might therefore even be a sound assertion that the UNESCO Convention for the safeguarding of ICH opened up a 21st Century approach on "heritage" as it cast its shadow on the older cultural Conventions dating back further into the 20th Century.

1 In 1973, UNESCO's culture sector, following a request to the Director-General of UNESCO by the Government of Bolivia to add a Protocol for the protection of folklore to the Universal Copyright Convention (UNESCO/WIPO), undertook examining the safeguarding of this heritage globally. http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/?pg=00308 (26.08.2014) and http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=13141&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html (26.08.2014). It took 16 years of analysis and debate among experts and government representatives before the *Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore* was adopted in 1989 by the General Conference at its 25th session. http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001323/132327m.pdf; (26.08.2014).
For further reading on the realization of the 2003 Convention, consult: N. Aikawa-Faure, "From the Proclamation of Masterpieces to the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage", in: L. Smith and N. Akagawa, *Intangible Heritage*. London & New York, 2009, p. 13-44; N. Aikawa-Faure, "La Convention de l'UNESCO pour la sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel immatériel et sa mise en oeuvre", in: C. Khaznadar, *Le patrimoine culturel immatériel à la lumière de l'Extrême-Orient*. Paris, 2009, p. 13-46.

Indeed, the 2003 Convention could be stated to be deeply democratic in its participatory principles and in the spirit of the Convention.[2]

But the proof of the pudding is in the eating, of course. Is the Convention turning out to be as participatory in its continuous and day-to-day implementation, in the resulting policy implementations in the many States Parties at national level, in the behaviour of key institutional actors, in the fields of active tradition bearers and heritage communities? In 2013 the UNESCO Internal Oversight Service (IOS) started up a process of evaluation of the goals, methods and impact of six UNESCO conventions in the field of culture.[3] This comprehensive audit of UNESCO's standard setting work kicked off by evaluating the second-youngest offspring in the family of Cultural Conventions: the 2003 Convention. The enquiry – even if it may not be a complete or balanced representation – at least engaged with the diverse range of stakeholders involved in the implementation of this Convention. Next to many state-related actors, this also includes many non state stakeholders including NGOs, representatives of tradition bearer associations, and academics.

The resulting report[4] reads fairly straightforwardly in its conclusions and recommendations. This can definitely partly be attributed to the fact that this report has been made up by an internal UNESCO service (this is not an era for UNESCO to draw a veil over weaknesses) hoping for better in the longer term. Regarding the current constraint of financial resources for UNESCO and in extension for governments more generally, the context doesn't really favour the retention of governance close(d) and exclusively to governmental institutions. On the contrary it may invoke reflection on more open systems of sharing governance for the Convention and its implementation -sharing workload, costs, risks and responsibilities (which should imply consequently also sharing ownership, opportunities and benefits). In any case, the explicit formulation of the paradigmatic challenges in the IOS report can't be dismissed for further development:

> "although community participation is at the heart of this Convention, it has proven to be one of the most challenging aspects in its implementation, and one area with a lot of room for improvement.[5] (…) The dangers of not ensuring sufficient participation of communities are

2 Article 15 in the Convention's text explicitly expresses this participatory emphasis: "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 participation of communities, groups and, where appropriate, individuals that create, maintain and transmit such heritage, and to involve them actively in its management." http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00006 (26.08.2014).

3 IOS, *Audit of the Working Methods of Cultural Conventions*. http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0022/002232/223256E.pdf (25-05-2014). http://www.unesco.org/new/en/unesco/about-us/how-we-work/accountability/internal-oversight-service/who-we-are/ (25-05-2014).

4 IOS, *Final Report. Evaluation of UNESCO's Standard setting Work of the Culture Sector; Part I – 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage.* http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0022/002230/223095E.pdf (25-05-2014).

5 Ibidem, § 182, p. 42.

> obvious. Since communities, groups, individuals are the main creators, practitioners and transmitters of their ICH, their lack of participation might result in the inability of communities to have ownership of the safeguarding process, the misinterpretation and misrepresentation of the ICH and its associated meaning by other stakeholders, fossilisation of the element, over-commercialisation, lack of transmission and the consequent loss of its viability, etc. Of course, community participation alone is not a guarantee that all will go well, but it is one of several factors that increase the likelihood that the implementation of the Convention will be successful."[6]

Apart from the failing policy frameworks in the nation states, the most prominently mentioned reasons mentioned by the IOS to explain why communities are not sufficiently involved, include "lack of awareness about the principles of the Convention; weak community capacities to self-organise, to design and implement safeguarding activities; lack of networking and exchange of experience between communities and between communities and other stakeholders; and inadequate mechanisms for consultation and participation of communities in policy development, inventorying, nominations, safeguarding programmes etc."[7] Is it due to communities' own fault or failure? Words like lack of, weak capacities, or inadequate mechanisms, leave much room for improvement? The problems identified can be seen as challenges, expressing the need for capacity-building, for competencies of "translation", "mediation", "facilitation", "bridging", "networking" …[8]

Taking a look more closely at the stated reasons, a need for related competencies of translation, mediation, facilitation, bridging, networking … is evident in order to be capable of fostering the objectives of the Convention. Regarding the above-mentioned conclusions, it may not be surprising that further on in the report the IOS highlights the role of NGOs for future development in implementing the Convention's objectives. NGOs are situated and profiled as mediators and bridges between various actors[9]: "many State Parties are facing multiple challenges in implementing the 2003 Convention, one of them related to the involvement of communities in safeguarding measures, another to the consultation and involvement of communities in the development of policies, legislation and safeguarding plans. NGOs can play an important role in this as the mediators and "bridges" between various actors. Many specialized NGOs not only have an excellent understanding of the Convention and relevant expertise, but are also connected to both local

6 Ibidem, § 184, p. 42-43.

7 Ibidem, § 183, p. 42.

8 For the combination of "brokerage", "mediation" and "translation" see D. Mosse & D. Lewis, "Theoretical Approaches to Brokerage and Translation in Development", in: D. Lewis & D. Mosse (eds.), *Development Brokers and Translators. The Ethnography of Aid and Agencies*. Bloomfield, 2006, p. 1-26 and several contributions to this special issue of *Volkskunde*, like M. Jacobs, "Development brokerage, anthropology and public action. Local Empowerment, International Cooperation and Aid: Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage", in this issue (p. 299-318).

9 Ibidem, chapter 6.2.2, "Partnerships with accredited non-Governmental organisations", p. 60-61.

communities and Government. Their ability to link up the two should therefore not be underestimated."[10] Whatever current restraints and drivers favouring an enhanced implication of NGOs, it nevertheless remains significant: Four out of 24 Recommendations resulting from the IOS audit concern and strengthen NGOs' activities related to the Convention, on national and international levels.

Actually, the Convention itself is proposed as a "medium", or a "bridging" tool: "The Convention provides a platform that builds bridges between the various stakeholders involved (government, communities, NGOs, heritage institutions, academia, and others)."[11] But what does this mean? On the long term its (street) credibility will depend on its ability to provide effective answers and solutions for the current challenges related to the participatory model it proclaims. Our thesis is that strengthening the mediating and bridging capacity of the 2003 Convention is crucial. It will not happen spontaneously: cultural brokers or boundary spanners connecting the dots and acting as a catalyst in the exchanges and projects in that network are needed.

What is at stake concerns the symbolic capital of the Convention's work, and the values and extent of sharing it: in how far admission and governance is shared from a united nations' framework with a narrow or wider playing field of diverse civil society and intermediary actors in between the governments and tradition bearers.

Advancing the importance of related roles and capacities as mediation and bridging – briefly bundled in concepts like "cultural brokerage" or "boundary spanning"[12] – the following chapters take a closer look to the current position and working situation of NGOs active along side and within the context of the 2003 Convention. The last part of this article proceeds to a set of reflections resulting in a potential approach and suggestions of co-productive capacities for enhancing this mediating feature of the 2003 Convention.

Openings and backdoors in the Convention's Texts

In the UNESCO 2003 Convention's text and its Operational Directives (2008, 2010, 2012, 2014) "non-governmental organizations" are not frequently mentioned. The Convention's entries on NGOs are limited to a short formulation on the accreditation of "competent NGOs" to deliver advisory services to the Intergovernmental Committee (i.e. involvement of NGOs on the international level). Another notice in the Convention concerns the national level, expressing the expectation to state parties to organize the participation of (among others: communities, groups and) "relevant NGOs" to identify and define the various elements of the intangible cultural heritage present in the state's territory.

10 Ibidem, § 253, p. 59.

11 Ibidem, § 37, p. 10.

12 See Jacobs, "Cultural Brokerage, Addressing Boundaries and the New Paradigm of Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage" in this issue (p. 265-291).

But who recognizes? Which competences? Competence in safeguarding? How far does competence in a field of ICH reach? Competent in dancing? In organizing dance festivals? In documenting or in teaching dances? In developing policy for dance groups? Are we talking about the members or employees of the organization or of the organization itself? Or in giving policy advice? In evaluating safeguarding programs? The goal in article 9 is "to act in an advisory capacity to the Committee." Importantly, according to article 9 § 2, the intergovernmental committee (the delegations of 24 nation-states) can propose, change and/or interpret the criteria to answer these questions. And what does "relevant" mean in relation to NGOs? Who decides about relevance? Who will benefit? How long is an organization relevant and what happens if it is no longer considered so? The way the articles are formulated, not only acting in capacity of providing "advice" (about safeguarding) but all safeguarding measures mentioned in article 2, paragraph 3, could be accessed. So there are several backdoors for NGOs to try and manoeuvre themselves in or, via new operational directives or what Rieks Smeets called the third source of guidance (forms, instructions, correspondence….) to be mobilized and invited.[13] As a masterpiece of compromise and consensus building, there are many loopholes, loose ends, and attachment points that can be developed into platforms and bridges.

THE 2003 CONVENTION TEXT's entries on NGOs:
II. Organs of the Convention
Article 9 – Accreditation of advisory organizations
1. The Committee shall propose to the General Assembly the accreditation of non-governmental organizations with recognized competence in the field of the intangible cultural heritage to act in an advisory capacity to the Committee.
2. The Committee shall also propose to the General Assembly the criteria for and modalities of such accreditation.

III. Safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage at the national level
Article 11 – Role of States Parties Each State Party shall:
(a) take the necessary measures to ensure the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage present in its territory;
(b) among the safeguarding measures referred to in Article 2, paragraph 3, identify and define the various elements of the intangible cultural heritage present in its territory, with the participation of communities, groups and relevant non-governmental organizations.

13 R. Smeets, "On the Third Source of Guidance for the Implementation of UNESCO's Intangible Heritage Convention", in: *The First ICH-Researchers Forum. The Implementation of UNESCO's 2003 Convention. Final Report, 3 June 2012, Paris, France, Sakai-City*. Paris, 2013, p. 71-86.

Up to now (the 2014) version, the paragraphs of the Operational Directives (OD) in which NGOs are mentioned[14] are a mere specification of practical and procedural aspects of the above-mentioned Convention's articles, in a limited interpretation. But this can always be changed and expanded, in particular in view of the invitation to work on new directives, perhaps even a whole chapter, on sustainable development, economics and tourism.[15] There are many ways to create the platform for bridging and connecting, for safeguarding, as mentioned before.

One of the area of opportunities concerning the roles NGOs can play in implementing the 2003 Convention's objectives, are the *inter alia* passages in the texts of the Convention and the OD which more often happened to be added in the Convention's texts. In chapter III of the OD about the participation of non-governmental organizations at the national level (Convention Art. 11), it is stated that "States Parties shall involve the *relevant* non-governmental organizations in the implementation of the Convention *inter alia* in identifying and defining intangible cultural heritage" but the paragraph continues to say "and in other appropriate safeguarding measures, in cooperation and coordination with other actors involved in the implementation of the Convention." Notice the combination of "shall" and "may"-language in OD § 96 that specifies that "accredited non-governmental organizations who, according to Article 9.1 of the Convention, shall have advisory functions to the Committee, may be invited by the Committee to provide it, *inter alia*, with reports of evaluation as a reference for the Committee (…)." On both national and international level these *inter alia* leave some space for potential contributions by NGOs that had not been literally identified before by the parties involved.

In another way OD § 91 defining the criteria for accreditation of NGOs (related to Article 9 in the Convention) leaves much room for diverse types and varieties of NGOs to be accredited.[16] It has previously been discussed on several occasions why this happened to become such a wide and open door for NGOs to request accreditation. It is not that the possible effects of this open door were overlooked at the time of its formulation. On the contrary, it is an open secret of this 2003 Convention's process of coming into being, that the engaged States parties wished to avoid at any cost that the scenario of the World Heritage Convention would repeat itself.[17] The experience of having (only) three (nominative) NGOs in the 1972's Convention's text, which have profoundly been determining the methods and selection processes of the World Heritage work in the states parties, was like a nightmare hovering over the making of this younger offspring of Heritage Conventions. Paradoxically,

14 *Operational Directives for the implementation of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Heritage*, in casu: II.1 (d); III.2.1-90; III.2.2-91-99; IV.1-123 (d), http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/en/directives (26-08-2014).

15 See Jacobs, *Development*, in this issue.

16 Ibidem, OD § 91, "Criteria for the accreditation of non-governmental organizations".

17 See for further reading on these debates the reports of the Intergovernmental Committee Meetings between 2006 and 2008, http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00367 (26.08.2014); illustrative is item 8 (138-190) in document ITH/08/3.COM/CONF.203/5, reporting the summary Records of the Third Session of the 3.COM Meeting in Istanbul.

driven by the abhorrence of introducing an oligarchy, the contrary has been happening to the ICH Convention. In the first operational years, starting in 2008, the number of demands for accreditation has been growing at the same high speed as the number of ratifications by States. If counted only in numbers, NGOs would soon be outnumbering the States impressively[18]... Realizing however that the opportunities to deliver the determined advisory services to the Committee have been firmly restrained[19], the motives for the enormous amount of requests for accreditation probably have to be sought after elsewhere.

To be accredited, to be involved, or to be recognized?

Speaking as one of those people actively involved in the accredited ICH NGO activities and networks, it has been my experience how a major driving force behind the speedy flood of accreditation requests from NGOs seems to be similar to the one behind the vast affluence of nomination files for the UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. (Besides, both the number of accreditation requests and the number of nomination files have repeatedly been said to be untenable given the current budget and staff of the ICH secretariat and taking into account the existing mechanisms provided by the Convention). UNESCO's Convention for the safeguarding of ICH bears high moral and symbolic value. As it is simultaneously expressing and trying to organize fairly egalitarian, participatory and democratic ideals, cherishing cultural identity and diversity, and promoting sustainable development, the appeal of this UNESCO ICH Convention turns out to be compelling, almost irresistible for numerous people and organizations ... It illustrates how the Convention can rely on significant public support and civil stakeholders.

The movement of NGOs trying to join and link up with the Convention first of all can be read as an expression of identification and involvement. It is a declaration of engagement; it's a step into real supranational networks and their processes of exchange and development of safeguarding; it's a firm statement of identifying with the methodological, dynamic and future-oriented approach that it carries out to this broader "Heritage world (with capital H)" that rather focuses on conservation of a heritage to be preserved from the passing of time...

18 At the closing of the 8.COM Intergovernmental Committee in Baku, 2013, the number of accredited NGOs was 156.

19 *Document ITH-13-8-1.COM-14.b-EN*, p. 7, http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00473 (25-05-2014): "14. Participation of NGO representatives in the work of the Consultative Body: According to paragraph 26 of the Operational Directives, accredited NGOs participate in the Consultative Body charged with evaluating nominations to the Urgent Safeguarding List, proposals for the Register of Best Safeguarding Practices and requests for International Assistance greater than US$25,000 and with providing recommendations to the Committee concerning such files. Following the principle of equitable geographic distribution and the duration of the mandate of members of the Consultative Body, only 6% of all accredited NGOs (10 NGOs in total) have served on the Consultative Body to date."

Secondly, the flood of NGOs naturally gives expression to the considerable (albeit geographically unbalanced) initiatives, commitment and presence of NGOs active in the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage "in the field" all over the globe. The greater part of these non-governmental initiatives have been active for many years or even decades[20], working on ICH processes and with(in) ICH communities and harbouring a lot of practical knowledge and specialist expertise to be valued in the brokering between communities and states/the Convention. They had been waiting for this Convention to come and to valorise their missions and the related cultural expressions they were supporting and safeguarding long before it was recognized by the international community. This leads us to a third dimension of the accreditation wave: the quest for "recognition", in particular by an organization like UNESCO.[21] This (probably unintentional) function that the UNESCO accreditation for NGOs fulfils, should not be underestimated. It is comparable to the force of attraction of the Representative List, allowing actors to benefit from the effects of the symbolic capital of UNESCO via a very light procedure. Indeed this Convention proclaims full participation of involved heritage communities, groups and individuals, to reinforce ICH transmission and safeguarding; but was (or is) it also prepared to empower NGOs, to (better) serve these goals?

To read and to (re)write Adaptive[22] texts: Operational Directives for Managing the Convention

The quest for recognition and the effect of "recognition by accreditation" brings us back to some earlier remarked (and remarkable) wordings in the Convention and the Operational Directives concerning NGOs. I am referring to the wording of "competent NGOs" to be accredited on the international level (Convention Art. 9) or "relevant NGOs" to participate on the national level (Convention Art. 11). Although OD § 91a states that "non-governmental organizations shall have proven competence, expertise and experience in safeguarding (as defined in Article 2.3 of the Convention) intangible cultural heritage belonging, inter alia, to one or more specific domains;" which is a quite strict formulation, this is not really being checked; no proofs are asked about the very specification and competence and expertise and experience in

20 Ibidem, p. 5: "9. Duration of existence is based on the date of the founding of the organization as indicated in its request for accreditation. To date, 74 accredited NGOs have stated that they have worked for more than 20 years, 58 have existed for more than 10 and fewer than 20 years and 24 indicate that they have existed for 10 years or fewer."

21 As is stated by NGOs in the NGO Statement ICH-8.COM made in Baku 2013: http://www.ichngoforum.org/wp-content/uploads/8COM-Baku-NGO-STATEMENT-ENG.pdf (26.08.2014).

22 Adaptive co-management is an approach for governance of social-ecological systems, combining the iterative learning dimension of adaptive management and the linkage dimension of collaborative management in which rights and responsibilities are jointly shared. Complementarities among concepts of collaboration and adaptive management encourage an approach to governance that encompasses complexity and cross-scale linkages, and the process of dynamic learning. Adaptive co-management thus offers considerable appeal in light of the complex systems view. More: http://www.resalliance.org/index.php/adaptive_comanagement (25-05-2014).

safeguarding ICH. This OD § 91a might turn out to be the key paragraph when the General Assembly revises the criteria for accreditation. The Operational Directives will probably change, being completed or specified in order to meet the revised competences needed for NGOs to deliver advisory services to the IGC. The Operational Directives are adapting and fine-tuning the general, fixed principles of the Convention's text in response to evolving insights and contexts. This adaptive feature is a process of learning by doing or in this case "learning by implementing". And however slow and tough the process, these evolving Operational Directives[23] illustrate the potential of adaptive (co-) management present in the Convention, resulting from the interaction of the organs of the 2003 Convention.[24]

The criteria in the ODs[25] up to date explicitly mention that NGOs "shall have a local, national, regional or international nature, as appropriate." It remains a question in how far this principle will really persist in the future. In line with the vision of the Convention one could argue nonetheless how this abovementioned "local, national, regional or international nature" of NGOs is an approach to stick with, as the same logic is mirrored for example in the principles of the Representative List. It is not a List of the "top heritage" of humanity, but develops a "representative" overview of the diversity of human cultural expressions. It is not assessing the value of the intangible heritage on its range or reach, on its scale or scope, but displays local heritage elements with parity of esteem to supranational phenomena of ICH. After years of debate a compromise (decisions 7.COM)[26] was reached that "the 'right' scale or scope of elements of intangible cultural heritage depends on the diverse contexts of the implementation of the 2003 Convention and its mechanisms at the national and international levels" and recommended "that States Parties be attentive as to what scale is appropriate for what purposes."[27] Why would the scope and scale of the work and expertise of NGOs be evaluated differently than the one of elements, or communities, if in the end it all revolves around appropriate ways leading to safeguarding equivalent intangible heritage in its diversity of contexts? The work and expertise of NGOs, whether they be local, national, regional or international in scope or scale, can be as relevant for the implementation of the Convention on its national and/or international level, as far as the elements of ICH brought into view also result from this rationale. Furthermore, during the 8.COM Intergovernmental Committee Meeting in Baku (2013) the Committee decided to strengthen NGO participation in the

23 *Evaluating the Inscription Criteria for the Two Lists of UNESCO's Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention. The 10th Anniversary of the 2003 Convention (*Final Report. Osaka: International Research Centre for Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Asia-Pacific Region).

24 R. Smeets, *On the Third Source of Guidance for the Implementation of UNESCO's Intangible Heritage Convention* (In The First ICH-Researchers Forum. The Implementation of UNESCO's 2003 Convention. Final Report, 3 June 2012, France, Sakai-City). Maison des Cultures du Monde & IRCI. Paris, 2012, p. 71-86.

25 *Operational Directives for the implementation of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Heritage* II.1 (d); III.2.1-90, http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/en/directives (25-05-2014).

26 http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00497 (25-05-2014).

27 *Document ITH-12-7.COM-Decisions-EN.doc*, http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00430 (25-05-2014).

implementation at all levels[28], and to recall and encourage States Parties to promote increased NGO and community involvement in the development of policy, legislation, and safeguarding and sustainable development plans.[29] This was repeated during the debates of the 5th General Assembly of 2014 (5.GA, Paris, June 2014). Consequently it makes sense to raise the question of how far UNESCO has a role to play or a responsibility to take fostering both decisions in its implementation, for example by more formally acknowledging or "recognizing" these "relevant" NGOs in its body of symbolic value.

The modalities of such "recognition" might be differentiated along, of course. There is no necessity to confine it to the current formula of "accreditation". Several options may be developed, regarding for example formulas of "associated partners of the ICH Convention"[30], or other forms of correlation that exist already for the Clubs, Centres and Associations by UNESCO[31]... Any of these can be evaluated, weighing advantages and drawbacks. As long as one keeps an eye on the objectives any form of recognition should ultimately serve in this respect: to strengthen NGO participation in the implementation at all levels; that is to empower the position and contexts for NGOs to develop their intermediary activities in the(ir) field of ICH, respecting all along the independence of the non-governmental organizations.

Recognition vs. Independence

Let's be honest: the need for independence calls for a delicate balance, and it is not an easy requirement to fulfil. To illustrate the complex and potentially tense relations of the dimension of "recognition" versus dimensions of "independency" or "intermediary roles" somehow, the following is one such possible scenario for alternative modalities of "recognition" of NGOs that was reflected on by currently accredited NGOs gathered in the ICH NGO Forum.[32] The idea discussed was whether it would be a good option to differentiate between a first (international) level of accreditation and a second type of accreditation at "national" level. Many questions were raised. What if UNESCO

28 *Document ITH/13/8.COM/Decisions*, p.70, Decision 8.COM 14.b, http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00473 (25-05-2014):
"4. Recognizes the diversity of experiences and competencies with which NGOs contribute to the implementation of the Convention at the local, national and international levels and the need to strengthen NGO participation in the implementation of the Convention at all levels."

29 Ibidem, p. 70: "5. Recalls that States Parties shall involve the relevant non-governmental organizations in the implementation of the Convention, and encourages States Parties to promote increased NGO and community involvement in the development of policy, legislation, and safeguarding and sustainable development plans)."

30 http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/NGO/pdf/Official_partnership_brochure_Eng.pdf (25-05-2014).

31 https://en.unesco.org/countries/associations-centres-and-clubs-unesco (25-05-2014).
The Clubs, Centres and Associations are established under the aegis of the National Commissions for UNESCO, these Clubs, Centres and Associations are grouped into national, regional and international networks, for the purpose of acting in UNESCO's fields of competence at the grass root level.

32 http://www.ichngoforum.org/about-us/ (25-05-2014).

would be accrediting only large international NGOs, and at a second level a recognition would take place of ICH NGOs within the States Parties? How could one make sure that NGOs transcending a national perspective or scope (e.g. NGOs working on minority culture or on trans-border culture) would not be overlooked? How would it be guaranteed that not only nationally accepted NGOs would be selected and divergent NGOs would be obstructed? How would it be guaranteed in such a context that NGOs remain involved with the (international) working of the Convention itself – to be aware of the need and possibility to complement the information of periodic reports, to keep watch over aspects such as the correct involvement and participation of the bearers and communities, prior and informed consent, … Specifically for those roles of guarding some of the founding and conditional participatory principles of the Convention, it seems indispensable to have UNESCO offering a form of recognition and empowerment to withstand and denounce situations of infringement. The UNESCO framework brings in a sort of "third space"; it realizes a triangular or delta connection in which as much UNESCO as the States Party as the NGO can thoroughly fulfil their role maintaining sound and balanced relations.

Thus, some linkage with the transcending, supranational position of UNESCO seems recommendable at some point if we wish to maintain the important effects of recognition and empowerment, strengthening NGOs in their safeguarding activities at any geographical level, and linking them to this international network of safeguarding practices and custodians.

Of course different types and procedures of accreditation and/or recognition could be envisaged and developed, sparing the UNESCO ICH Secretariat from administrative burdens.

Inter alia

The words *inter alia* in the Operational Directives could be tackled to increase the dedication of NGOs acting in an advisory capacity to the Committee, not confined to deliver advisory services only for the Evaluation Body advising on nomination files, but to be implicated in a broadened range of activities, assignments and domains, serving the goals of the Convention. The current Operational Directives do not yet offer adequate tools on how to organize such potential multiplication of functions and contributions by NGOs (and other intermediary actors). There is a risk that the number and roles of civil society actors within the Convention's mechanisms would be reduced. But is this not what should be avoided? It is my conviction that this would be the opposite of the solution that is really needed in order to fully develop the participatory potential of the Convention, the 2003 safeguarding paradigm in general and the convention in particular could use "adaptive co-governance", to be realized in co-production by the stakeholders at all levels involved. The following paragraph, introduces some perspectives that can inspire and encourage further development of such approaches to co-production.

Sustainable futures are made in co-production

> "To be truly transformative, co-production requires a relocation of power (…) This necessitates new relationships with front-line professionals who need training to be empowered to take on these new roles."[33]

What do current debate and experimental practices in city-making policy, socio-ecological sustainable development, health care organization and the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage have in common? Recently, similar insights and movements of transition are perceivable in diverse neighbouring societal fields. They share a quest for sustainable/resilient (in its objectives) and collaborative/co-productive (in its ways or means) answers to the challenges they face. These challenges appear to become ever more complex, interconnected and multi-layered. The experience and high degree of interconnectedness between local, regional and global processes add useful complexity that needs to be appreciated and grasped in research, policy-making and everyday practice.[34]

Challenges of wellbeing are not to be solved with classic answers of welfare only. Consider the Vitality Index[35], a survey combining quantitative and qualitative factors to model the human experience of a city. How do people actually live and participate in a city? What do residents like? What are their desires and dissatisfactions? In 2011 the vitality Index ranked 35 cities in the United States. The ranking showed that quality of life is deemed highest in cities combining welfare and a participatory society: dimensions of social justice and cohesion, the balance of economic goals with quality of life, a promotion of diversity and a cross-cultural environment, imaginative solutions to deal with human distress, a proper balance between old and new, and greener quietness and dynamism …

And if cities reflect the play of power, as Charles Landry suggests[36], those cities ranking high in the vitality index, show a high level of co-production or co-management in their organization. Edna dos Santos-Duisenberg, former Chief of the Creative Economy Programme of UNCTAD, states it as follows[37]:

33 R. Alba & L. M. Wallace, "What is co-production?" in: *The Health Foundation*. London, 2010, p. 3.

34 See e.g. illustrative contributions in: L. Magee, A. Scerri, P. James, J.A. Thom, L. Padgham, S. Hickmott, H. Deng, F. Cahill, "Reframing social sustainability reporting: Towards an engaged approach", *Environment, Development and Sustainability* (Springer), vol. 15.2012, 1, p. 225-243; J.-P. Voß, D. Bauknecht, R. Kemp (eds.), *Reflexive Governance for Sustainable Development.* Edward Elgar, 2006; A. Amin, "Surviving the turbulent future. Environment and Planning", *Society and Space* 31:1, 2013, p. 140-156.

35 http://creativecities.org/the-vitality-index/ (25-05-2014).

36 L. Charles, *The Art of City-Making*. Virginia, 2006.

37 E. dos Santos-Duisenberg, fragment from a lecture to the occasion of the CURE (Creative Urban Renewal) Summerschool "Cities. Crisis? Creativity!", June 2013. http://www.cure-web.eu/uploads/media/2013_CURE_Utrecht_Edna_dos_Santos.pdf (25-05-2014).

"Who has the responsibility to make our cities?
- politicians? usually have shorter-term thinking
- urban planners? technical knowledge is not enough
- engineers and architects? set standards, guidelines
- environmentalists? may overlook economic aspects
- sociologists? will emphasize the human dimension
City making should not be a job but a collective undertaking, involving all – including the local citizens."

It is a growing conviction that multiple challenges that do not seem to get solved at national level, could be more efficiently addressed at city-level, mobilizing the cooperation of other cities as networks of practical knowledge and policies of transformation. Indeed, cities are often operating in a context of incubation in relation to (themes and models of) societal change. Is it possible to learn from these developments in the neighbouring field of city making for the field of Intangible Cultural Heritage? We try to grasp some of the key dimensions hereafter, relating them to policy and practice of ICH, before concluding on potential and effective synergies:

On Commons and Communities

The notion of "commons" is emerging again as well in political philosophy as in cultural studies and law studies. As the concepts of commons and intangible cultural heritage are closely related in their principles, it may reveal an enriching approach to further develop the conceptual and operational framework of the Convention in the coming decade(s).[38] There is the rise of "creative commons" related to copyright discussions. There is also the notion of "common" in "community" as mentioned in the 2003 ICH Convention; or the common in "the Flemish Community" – the policy entity bearing responsibility for personal affairs in the federal state of Belgium among which Culture was one of the first policy-fields to be developed together with e.g. education.[39] This indicates already how much culture is conceived as a "common resource", expressed in language, traditions, knowledge and skills, and not to be claimed or restricted to private authorship or ownership. We may recall how a threat of privatisation of ICH commons has been a starting point and motive for creating the 2003 Convention, following the incorporation of the indigenous folksong from the Andes in Simon and Garfunkel's *El condor pasa* (1970)[40], up until today

38 An important contribution on ICH and commons is the work of Francesca Cominelli. See among others: F. Cominelli, *L'Economie du Patrimoine Culturel Immatériel: Savoir-faire et métiers d'art en France*, Thèse pour l'obtention du Doctorat en Sciences Economiques. Ecole doctorale d'Economie Panthéon-Sorbonne, 2013.

39 P. Gielen (a.o.), *De waarde van Cultuur* (Rapport, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen). Brussel, 2014, p. 93.

40 Further Reading: V.T. Hafstein, "Protection as Dispossession: Government in the Vernacular", in: D. Kapchan (ed.), *Cultural Heritage in Transit, Intangible Heritage as Human Rights*. Philadelphia, 2014, p. 25-57; V.T. Hafstein, "Claiming Culture: Intangible Heritage Inc., Folklore ©, Traditional Knowledge™", in: D. Hemme, M. Tauschek, R. Bendix, *Prädikat "Heritage": Wertschöpfungen aus kulturellen Ressourcen*. Münster, 2007, p. 81-119.

one of the most sold music albums, but without return to the rightful "owners" as they did not have any formal ground for this ownership on a common they share and transmit as a community … Such a process of "enclosure of the commons"[41] is a driver for UNESCO to empower communities by offering them a formal framework acknowledging and almost "materializing" by a commodification of these cultural commons into "intangible cultural heritage" to be protected by States Parties and the International Community alike. Even if questions concerning intellectual property rights remain to be solved, the 2003 Convention offers hope to set commons free in the sense of "free speech" – a free space of conversation for persons and groups involved – as well as in the sense of "free" meaning to urge "the free and prior consent" of those same persons and groups involved (the community) before anything can happen using or inflicting the cultural intangible good or common. The consequence is that a free space of exchange and transmission needs to be protected or safeguarded, facilitated and supported for anyone sharing these commons. At last, "free" would not necessarily mean "without a cost" in the sense of "free for consumption", but it would primarily signify a fair and evenly shared use and return for practitioners and transmitters of these cultural expressions.

It is recommended that the reflections on commons for the ICH field are further developed. This would reinforce the ICH discourse, embedding it in broader contexts of shared challenges in other domains of society. It could also strengthen the (critical?) niche in heritage studies that is elaborating on conceptual but paradigmatic changes in thinking about heritage for the 21st Century, positioning scholarship within practice contexts and bringing the productive character of knowledge[42] to the fore. This is formulated in the following words of P. Alfonso Gonzalez:

> "In other words, scholars should become mediators between communities, institutions, markets and knowledge practices. (…) What matters (…) is to preserve the immanence between communities and their heritages to guarantee their reproduction and livelihood (…) rather than just documenting their fragmentation, criticizing their commodification or, worse, measuring the values of heritage and paving the way for touristification processes. This sort of ontological politics does not only aim to preserve the "given" heritage, but rather to construct it in ways that maintain the immanent relation between communities and "the things they consider to be worthy of being valued" (Novelo 2005, p. 86). This precludes the alienating meta-cultural split between objects and subjects that characterizes processes of enclosure of the

41 M. Hardt & A. Negri, *Commonwealth*. Cambridge, 2009. Hardt and Negri renew the fashionable idea of the common. By the idea of "the common, they designate not merely the natural resources that capital seeks to appropriate, but also "the languages we create, the social practices we establish, the modes of sociality that define our relationships", which are both the means and the result of biopolitical production.

42 B. Latour, "A textbook case revisited: knowledge as mode of existence", in: S. Jasanoff (ed.), *The Handbook of Science and Technology Studies*. Cambridge, 2007, p. 83-112.

commons. (…) Exploring heritage as a commons requires us to carry out in-depth empirical research in specific heritage contexts while at the same time evolving internal disciplinary knowledge practices."[43] Some of the most inspiring work on commons was produced by Elinor Ostrom who also launched the concept of co-production.[44]

On co-production, co-management and the reorganization of power

Co-production is a concept appearing widely in discussions about social governance and public value production. It was defined by Governance International as "the public sector and citizens making better use of each other's assets and resources to achieve better outcomes and improved efficiency."[45] The term co-production as it was originally coined in the late 1970s by Elinor Ostrom and colleagues, radically reframed the potential role of "users" and "professionals" in the process of producing services, and was later developed by Edgar S. Cahn in the concept of "core economy" framing specialized services dealing with crime, education, care, health and so on to be all underpinned by the family, the neighbourhood, community and civil society.

The concept of co-production was not launched to promote civic consultation or participation. It should be made clear that its point was not to involve people more in decision making; it was to encourage every actor involved to use the human skills and experience they have to help broaden and deepen public services so that they are no longer the preserve of professionals, but a shared responsibility, both building and using a multi-faceted network of mutual support.[46] A new agenda emerged from this thinking; challenging the way professionals are expected to work, and policy-makers who are setting targets as indicators of success; It was a call for an alternative way of doing things and improving (and explaining why) things not going so well. This made a shift from output to outcome. Those origins of the concept of co-production risk making it linger in a context and vision of "public service", which does not fully fit the assets of intangible heritage, which are not a service to be delivered but a commons to be safeguarded. We might however also conceive the policy making as the service intended. This brings again the aspect of involvement in decision-making and sharing of power to the forefront.

43 P. Alfonso Gonzalez, "*From a given to a construct, Heritage as a commons*", https://www.academia.edu/3492529/From_a_Given_to_a_Construct_Heritage_as_a_Commons (25-05-2014).

44 For an elaborate bibliography on commons and related concepts: http://www.collective-action.info/ (26.08.2014).

45 http://www.govint.org/our-services/co-production/ (25-05-2014).

46 New economics foundation. "*Co-production: A manifesto for growing the core economy*". London, 2008. http://www.neweconomics.org/publications/entry/co-production (25-05-2014).

Co-management

Another concept to bring forward here is co-management, the joint management of commons. Co-management integrates multiple and complex local, regional to national or even supra-national interests. Civic, social, economic, ecological, political actors and agencies are envisioned interacting. In contrast to co-production, the point of co-management is clearly about involvement in decision-making. It is often formulated in terms of some arrangement of power sharing between the State and a community of resource users. There often are multiple local interests and multiple government agencies at play, and co-management can hardly be understood as the interaction of e.g. a unitary State and a homogeneous community.[47]

Whether co-production or co-management, or other variants of co-governance concepts, the key point being emphasized here is the fact that the wording of "co" not only designates a convivial and collaborative attitude, it also presumes to take the producing and managing together seriously. To be truly transformative, co-production requires at a certain point also relocations of power.

The risk of focussing too strongly on the normative side of co-production or co-management, is to overlook the processes at work. Therefore, viewing the approach of co-management as a continuous problem-solving process, implying negotiation, deliberation and joint learning in problem solving networks seems apt. Co-production should be read as a different way management tasks can be organized and distributed concentrating on the function, rather than the structure, of the system. Such an approach highlights that power sharing is the result of the process, not the starting point.

Next to all this, it remains important to pay attention to the boundary conditions in which co-production or co-management is realized. The Dutch sociologist Justus Uitermark[48] studying the functioning and evolution of civic society organizations, noted how much a long-term continuity of policy for civil society organizations, as well as the roles played and methods adopted therein by professional mediators or brokers in the forming and development of networks and activities, are decisive for understanding also success and failures of civic society activities in these social landscapes. The same boundary conditions will clearly also affect the ability of civic actors to be present and engage in co-productive and co-managing relationships with national bodies or in international contexts. This is one more argument for UNESCO to reflect on its supranational importance in acknowledging and engaging in modes of recognition of NGOs at all levels, thereby strengthening indirectly and in the long term "community capacity to self-organise", "networking" and "the exchange of experience between communities and other stakeholders" (e.g. in the IOS evaluation).

47 L. Carlsson & F. Berkes, "Co-management: concepts and methodological implications", *Journal of Environmental Management* 75, 2005, p. 1698.

48 J. Uitermark, *Verlangen naar Wikitopia*. Oratie als bijzonder hoogleraar samenlevingsopbouw, 10 januari 2014, http://www.justusuitermark.nl (25.05.2014).

On adaptive policies and practice: to co-evolutionary development

As a final dimension, I wish to bring into view the importance, opportunities and challenges of adopting an adaptive, co-evolutionary vision and approach on the policies and practices of this Convention. Can the Convention be developed as a big, multi-layered and multi-dimensional, problem-solving network? A learning network in which continuous problem solving processes (for adaptive contextual safeguarding) involve extensive deliberation, negotiation and joint learning within multidimensional ICH networks of policy agencies, communities, civil actors and other sectors. Such complex processes in the current working of the Convention are already recognized, but what is proposed here is that it could/should be positively cultivated as "a way of being", an inherent vision and methodology of developing the Convention's work. Maybe this is what the abovementioned IOS report referred to as the need for a theory of Change.[49]

This also relates to another important challenge facing the Convention and in extenso many of the elements of ICH it stands for: to link between ICH and sustainable development. It is an interesting "turn" brought by the concept of "safeguarding" the Convention proposes (as distinguished from "protecting"): searching for new and adapted ways to respect, integrate and make flourish (over and over again) a diversity of skills, habits, traditions and knowledge transmitted to us through past generations, it brings into view a future-oriented development of actual cultural (heritage) practices. One could thus say the concept of safeguarding adds a valuable perspective to the search for sustainable development: affirming the dimension of living futures to valuable pasts/heritage; joining the aspiration of a vital "resilience" and continuous dynamics of development to a more protective "sustainability" that is hoping to preserve resources from the past and is primarily driven by an attitude of prudence.

Conceptualizing the Convention as a co-evolutionary learning and operating network brings up the need for multi-dimensional and interdisciplinary approaches, just as new, cross-cutting agendas and interdisciplinary cooperation will be needed to face the complex challenges of sustainable development, soundly and vitally balancing social, cultural, ecological and economical dimensions. Research in sustainable development evolutions shows how social-ecological systems act in a nonlinear manner and are strongly strongly coupled, complex and evolving integrated systems, bringing up the need for multi-dimensional, learning and future-oriented governance systems: "Two useful tools for resilience-building in social-ecological systems are structured scenarios and active adaptive management. These tools require

49 IOS, *Final Report. Evaluation of UNESCO's Standard setting Work of the Culture Sector; Part I – 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*, § 184, p. 6. http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0022/002230/223095E.pdf (25-05-2014).

and facilitate a social context with flexible and open institutions and multi-level governance systems that allow for learning and increase adaptive capacity without foreclosing future development options."[50]

This brings me to conclude by pointing out how in such a learning, adaptive, co-evolutionary approach of co-production, one of the larger challenges remaining for the 2003 Convention for the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage is to connect different sorts of learning and knowledge. Scientists, practitioners, policymakers all have different ways of acting and expressing in the world, so social capacity to support the collaboration and translation among them are critical.[51] Bridging organizations provide competences and forums for the interaction, translation and adaptation of these different kinds of knowledge, and the coordination of other tasks that enable co-operation: accessing resources, bringing together different actors, building trust, resolving conflict, and networking. Social learning is one of these tasks, essential both for the co-operation of partners and an outcome of the co-operation of partners. It occurs most efficiently through joint problem solving and reflection within learning networks. Through successive rounds of learning and problem solving, learning networks can incorporate new knowledge to deal with problems at increasingly larger scales, with the result that maturing co-management arrangements become adaptive co-management in time.[52] Such an approach of shareable knowledge between communities, states, researchers mediated, connected and translated by bridging organizations will be key to make some of the most interesting and instruments of the 2003 Convention really work: the idea of sharing safeguarding experiences and (best) practices.

Conclusion

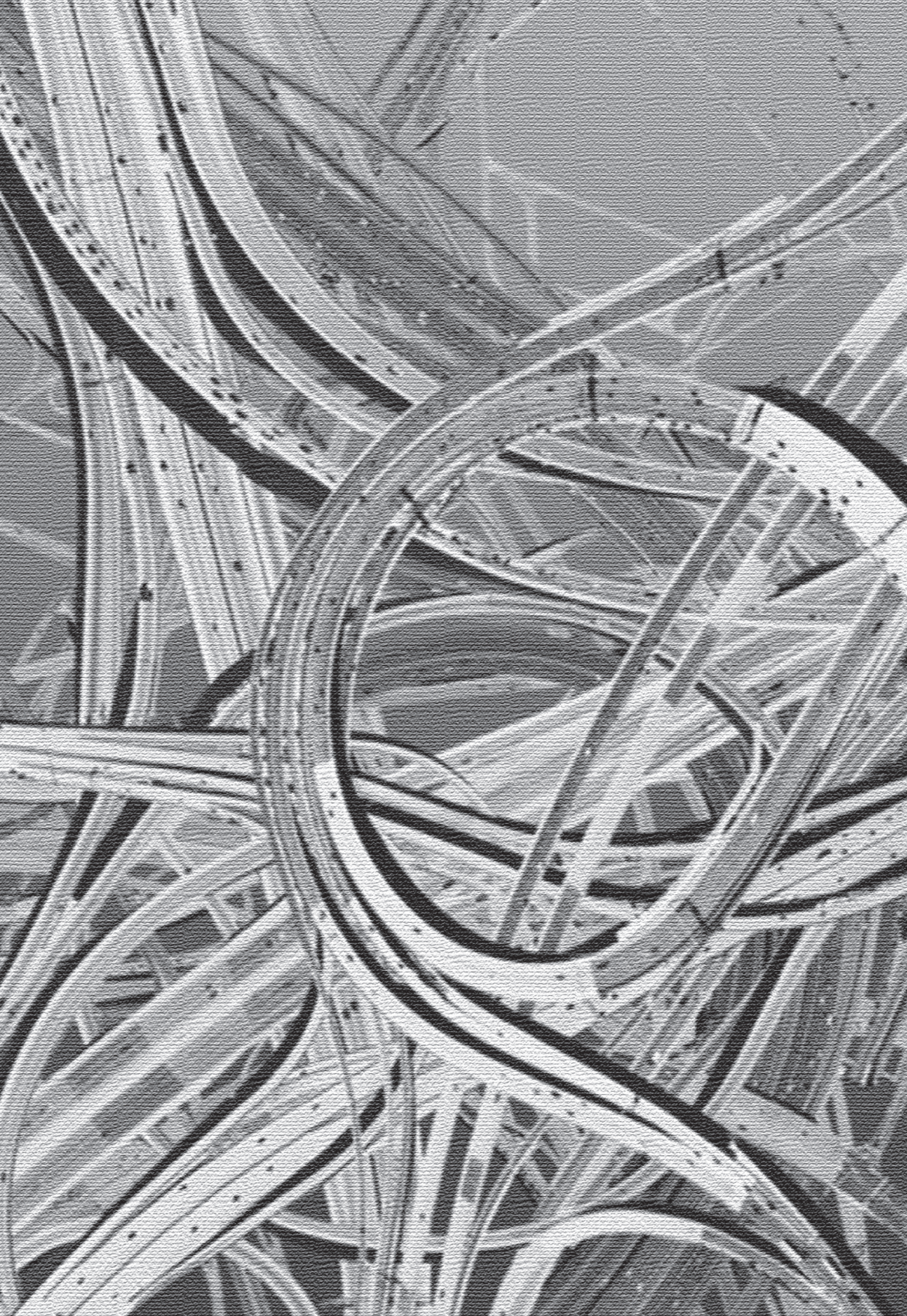
To foster the 2003 Convention to its potential (and) deeply participatory spirit, safeguarding the commons of intangible cultural heritage of many individuals, groups and communities all over the world, I have put forward the need for a multi-dimensional, learning and future-oriented governance system, the approach of the Convention as a co-productive and co-evolutionary instrument. This is a plea to move beyond "the conventional" and fully bring the 2003 Convention to blooming as a "medium" or "bridging tool" operating with many layers and dimensions of stakeholders and actors co-governing, co-managing and co-producing the Convention's work of safeguarding. A

50 C. Folke a.o. (eds.), "Resilience and Sustainable Development: Building Adaptive Capacity in a World of Transformations", *Ambio: A Journal of the Human Environment* 31:5, 2002, p. 437-440. http://www.bioone.org/doi/abs/10.1579/0044-7447-31.5.437?journalCode=ambi (25.05.2014).

51 C. Wyborn, "*Governing Adaptively Part III: Co-productive Capacities*", http://www.thepacificexchange.net/governing-adaptively-part-iii-co-productive-capacities/ (25.05.2014).

52 F. Berkes, "Evolution of co-management: role of knowledge generation, bridging organizations and social learning", *Journal of Environmental Management* 90:5, 2009, p.1692-1702. http://forestpolicypub.com/wp-content/uploads/2010/11/berkes_2009_adaptive-co-management.pdf (25.05.2014).

consequence of the shared processes of learning and efforts, is sharing and opening up the symbolic capital of this UNESCO Convention with vital partners making the Convention work at all levels. In this regard it is only a logical next step to strengthen the cooperation and the functioning of bridging organizations such as NGOs in the 2003 Convention in the coming years. The near future will show off how far "united nations" making a Convention for safeguarding the dynamics of cherished heritages practiced, owned and transmitted by individuals, groups and communities all over the world, are ready to share governance and step into more complex, more resilient futures.



ANANYA BHATTACHARYA

Integrating Culture in Planning and Action for Sustainable Development

The Role of ICH NGOs

NGOs have earned a key place in the global development agenda owing to their ability to effectively harness social capital for articulating and advocating citizens' rights, interests and demands. The NGOs working in the realm of intangible cultural heritage across the globe, referred to as ICH NGOs in the rest of this document, have pioneered innovative solutions to address developmental challenges using culture based approach. They have enabled the participation of traditional bearers and practitioners in safeguarding efforts. Their efforts have also led to a strong, sizable and valuable productive sector comprising of creative and cultural resources and activities across the world. They have also played a critical role in enabling marginalized communities participate fully in their cultural life thus strengthening pluralism and reducing conflict. The ICH NGOs vary in terms of stature, constituency, objectives, geographical coverage etc. Some NGOs are community based organizations which are representative of traditional ICH bearers. Others play a facilitating role supporting capacity building, safeguarding and strengthening of value chain for creating of creative industries and mediation in representation of culture. Some are non-governmental counterpart of governmental bodies. (www.ichngoforum.org)

The international community now acknowledges culture as a "driver and enabler of development" and its critical role in supporting socio-economic development and social inclusion. In the following paragraphs we first delve into how culture contributes to sustainable development and take a look at standard setting instruments and international initiatives for integrating cultural dimensions in developmental framework. We then present the possible roles and action areas for ICH NGOs as harbinger of sustainable development using cultural capital as assets for transformative action.

Culture and Sustainable Development

Sustainable development implies equitable environmental, economic and social well being for today and tomorrow. Cultural heritage, creative industries, sustainable cultural tourism and cultural infrastructure contribute to improved income and job opportunities especially for women who are the traditional bearers of ICH and youth. As per UNCTAD data published in May, 2013, total world trade of creative goods and services amounted to US$624 billion. (UNDP,

1. Chau dancer in front of folk art center

2013). Cultural tourism is an interesting case study. With number of annual tourists exceeding one billion, tourism represents 9% of world gross domestic product (GDP), 30% of total exports and services and one out of eleven jobs. As per World Bank, 25% of tourism revenue goes to people below the poverty line in some of the poorest countries and tourism employs young people at almost twice rate than other industries. (UNGA, 2014)

Revitalization of ICH leads to strengthened cultural identities, improved self esteem and pride among the indigenous communities leading to social inclusion. The process empowers marginalized communities to participate fully in social and cultural life and they get a platform for acting as social and political agency. Increased social capital and active citizenship fosters inclusive development. As Irina Bokova said in a recent debate on Culture and Development, "Culture can foster participation and craft a more balanced and meaningful development model *for* the people and *by* the people." (UNGA, 2014)

Multicultural exchange and interaction through festivals, collaborative art workshops and cultural tourism promotes cultural pluralism, social cohesion and peace through multicultural dialogue leading to shared understanding and greater empathy for the "other". Global partnerships forged through transnational flow of creativity, multi cultural and multi national dialogue and exchange give people the right to access their own heritage as well as that of others.

Protection and preservation of cultural diversity, biodiversity and rejuvenation of traditional systems of resource management contributes to environmental sustainability. In Africa for example, traditional leaders and doctors are vital in gaining confidence to strengthen the health care sector, to combat HIV and to enhance education (UNGA:2014). Culture based livelihoods and enterprise also contribute to green economy as they are inherently based

on intellectual resources and entail low resource consumption. Quality education enriched by culture transmits shared values, knowledge and skills and supports lifelong learning.

ICH is all about people, so investment on ICH directly benefits communities, helps in strengthening identity as well as cultural diversity, skill development and empowerment, developing creative enterprise, and generating new resources. Thus investment on ICH is critical for achieving all 3 pillars of sustainable development and a natural corollary is the significant role of ICH NGOs in achieving the goals of sustainable development.

- ICH → Skill → Enterprise → Resource generation → Sharing
- ICH → Identity → Owning development charters → Impact on MDGs
- ICH → Recognition → Social Inclusion →Pride → Aspiration → Safeguarding
- Investment on ICH → Development of eco-system enabling Growth → Sustainable Development

An Example from India

In this context I would like to share about our initiative called "Art for Life" or AFL in India. In 2004, we initiated AFL with 3200 folk artists living in the state of West Bengal (in eastern India) with an aim of developing an eco-system for revival and rejuvenation of traditional art skills as livelihood. The project was supported by the Eastern Zonal Cultural Centre, an autonomous institution under the Ministry of Culture, Government of India. It was funded as a special project under the rural livelihood scheme of the Government of India (2005-2008). European Union supported initiatives for facilitating multi cultural exchange and development of community led creative hubs during 2009-11. The model was replicated in the neighbouring state of Bihar (supported by the Bihar State Rural Livelihood Project, JEEViKA) with 1500 people.

During the project initiation stage the art forms were dying owing to lack of opportunity to perform or practice. There was little respect or recognition for the artists and the youth at large had lost interest to learn their traditions. There was meagre or no income from the art forms. AFL focused on strengthening art skills under the aegis of the traditional experts or Gurus, facilitation of new innovations through multicultural and multi regional exchange and collaborative workshops, documentation and dissemination, promotion through participation in regional, national and international forums as well as development of artist villages as destinations using village festivals as a tool. The initiative has covered around 12 folk songs and dance, folk theatre and folk painting traditions of West Bengal and Bihar and all the art forms are rejuvenated. Indicators are improved opportunity to perform, improved income from performance, lower average age of artists with the young taking interest, rejuvenation of the skill transmission systems, increased number of artist groups practicing and performing together and greater awareness on the art forms. The artists are nowadays connected to diverse networks, ranging from local to international, providing patronage and support. The platforms for showcasing vary from traditional to new innovations. As for example, scroll painters of Bengal called Patuas are commissioned to paint on new themes

and even illustrations for comics. Bauls and Fakirs who sing about attaining the divine through love for humanity have found a place in international Sufi Festivals.

The monthly income for the 3200 families in West Bengal has increased from less than 10 US$ in 2005 to 80-120 US$ in 2013. The leading Patuas or Fakiri singers now earn on an average 300-500 US$ per month. AFL has also led to inclusive development. As income opportunities improve, the confidence of folk artists increases and they gain public respect. This encourages the artists to integrate more fully in society and take part in the development process. The Bauls and Fakirs for example had been traditionally a target of mistrust and harassment by mainstream orthodox society due to their free society living style. Their children were earlier often not allowed to enter school. As the popularity of their music has grown through the project intervention, Baul-Fakir musicians have now acquired a new identity. The artists have travelled to Europe, Africa and various Asian countries and have become the pride of the villagers. The villages have evolved as cultural tourism destinations. The annual village Fakiri fair at Gorbhanga draws tourists from across the globe. Other outcomes of AFL interventions are improved quality of life in terms of living condition, health, sanitation and access to electricity, improvement in school education for the children, improved mobility and socio economic status of women. The villages of the Fakiri singers and the Patuas have evolved as heritage tourism destinations and this has augmented economic opportunity for the larger community. Development of micro economies centering local cultural assets has also led to reduced migration.

Culture and Post-2015 Development Framework

Today we are in a critical phase in human development, when nations are reviewing their progress towards Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and shaping a new post 2015 development agenda. There has been a paradigm shift in development strategies which are moving away from industrial/ production intensive models to human centered sustainable approaches. When the MDGs were adopted in 2000 by the United Nations General Assembly in its resolution 55/2 the importance of culture was not explicitly recognized. However since then several instruments have been adopted by the international community to strengthen the linkage between culture and development.

UNESCO approved the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (2001), the Convention for Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003) and the Convention on the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (2005). Reports have been prepared by UNDP and UNCATD on culture and development and creative economy. The Outcome Document of the 2010 MDG Summit recognized the contribution of culture in achieving MDGs. The UN General Assembly Resolutions in 2010 (65/166) and 2011 (66/208) recommended mainstreaming of culture into development policies and strategies. The increasing trend of integration of culture in development agenda is manifested at the level of United Nations Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF) where we see culture is included in 70% of UNDAF work plans by early 2012 in comparison

2. Fakirs jamming with Welsh musicians

to 30% in the 90's (UNESCO International Congress, 2013). The outcome document of the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development (Rio+20) and the 2013 ECOSOC Annual Ministerial Review acknowledged the importance of culture and cultural diversity for sustainable development. The International Congress "Culture: Key to Sustainable Development" held in Hangzhou at China in May 2013, specifically focused on understanding the linkages between culture and sustainable development in view of the post-2015 development framework. The World Culture Forum held at Bali had deliberations on the impact of culture on the three dimensions of sustainable development – environmental, economic and social.

However developing a shared understanding and recognition on integrating culture explicitly in global, regional and national policy frameworks still remains a challenge. Various international cultural agencies are now advocating for recognizing culture as a fourth pillar of sustainable development in future development frameworks. So far culture is not mentioned as a focus area of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). In October 2013, four global cultural organizations – the International Federation of Arts Councils and Culture Agencies, Agenda 21 for Culture, Culture Action Europe and the International Federation of Coalitions for Cultural Diversity have published a plea for the integration of culture as a Millennium Development Goal in the United Nations' post-2015 agenda. Finally The United Nations General Assembly adopted by consensus a resolution (68/223) on culture and sustainable development on 20 December 2013, that asks Member States and all UN organizations to "give due consideration to the role of culture and sustainable development in the elaboration of the post-2015 development agenda." The increased attention to culture in the UN system under UNESCO's leadership was appreciated. (UNDP 2013, UCLG 2013, UNGA 2013)

3. Festival in village of fakirs

Areas of Action

ICH NGOs are already working for community capacity building for management of local assets, building community based organizations/ institutions and strengthening their business and managerial skills. While their role as cultural mediators have so far dealt with safeguarding and representation of heritage, they now have the significant tasks of raising awareness among decision makers on the importance of the cultural dimension of development policies and also enabling participation of traditional bearers and practitioners in policy making processes so that appropriate owned creative economy policies are adopted. Key areas of action as detailed in the following paragraphs are mapping of cultural resources, building evidence on socio-economic gains resulting from revitalization of cultural assets, mediation and linkage between different stakeholders including the Government and the communities and supporting capacity building for management of arts and heritage at various levels.

Mapping Cultural Resources

The community of practice on safeguarding ICH has developed standards for inventorying of ICH elements. To link cultural resources with development agenda, it is imperative to create databases on the ICH practitioners. In India, for example, there is no statistical data on the number of artists and cultural practitioners in the country nor is there any information on contribution of the cultural sector in terms of employment and GDP. The National Census of India does not have any classification for artists or crafts persons, nor does India's National Industry Classification have any economic activity categorization pertaining to performing art or crafts. As a result the creative artistic skills of a large part of population remain mostly unrecognized. Owing to poverty and lack of scope for performance and practice in changing socio

cultural environment, the practitioners stop nurturing the art form leading to loss of heritage and cultural diversity. Mapping of cultural resources including the traditional bearers and practitioners is critical not only for drawing up effective plans for revival but also identifying benchmarks for monitoring project outcomes and assessing creative talents and community assets.

Establishing enabling legislative and regulatory environment

ICH NGOs have a key role in mediating necessary conditions for flourishing of creativity, recognition of artists, artisans and traditional knowledge bearers, and addressing the needs for minorities, disadvantaged groups, indigenous people and women. Culture based development programmes have contributed to establishment of supportive legislative and regulatory frameworks. In Cambodia for example, the Living Human Treasures (LHT) concept led to the implementation of a royal decree for implementation of a national LHT system. In China a major achievement is inclusion of culture based ethnic minority development in policy recommendations for the 12th Five-Year Plan on Social and Economic Development of Ethnic Minority Areas. (MDG-F, 2013)

Inequality is a challenge in creative economy. Though ideas and creativity are globally sourced, the global North has largely greater control over distribution. In India for example, although considerable efforts were made since independence for promotion of the diverse cultural heritage of the country, funding support was limited for folk arts or craft. The eleventh plan implemented during the period 2007-2012 was influenced by the 2003 and 2005 Conventions and focused on cultural diversity. It recommended that

> "all forms of art and culture should have an equal footing and deserve financial and other support. … Accordingly, the imbalances in flow of funds for various activities under promotion and dissemination of performing arts will have to be set right, particularly in favor of vanishing folk arts and crafts that cannot be pitted against classical arts to compete for resources and media attention." (planningcommission.nic.in)

Countries are at present in different stages of enabling supportive policy/institutional and regulatory environment at the national level. The Creative Economy Report identifies five categories as follows:

- Countries with coherent creative economy policy having human centered approach
- Countries with consumption driven "essentially economistic creative industry agenda"
- Countries having sector driven and/or limited frameworks despite recognition of the creative industries paradigm
- Countries which despite awareness have not adopted creative industries paradigm owing to the nature of their cultural sectors
- Countries which have not as such recognized the creative economy as such. (UNDP, 2013)

Weak governance is another challenge to access of schemes and programmes Governments may have on offer for grass root small and medium sized creative enterprise. The latter also need greater efforts to support value chains.

Networking and Sharing of Knowledge and Practices

Lack of evidence based analysis and absence of comprehensive statistical framework for integrating culture in development have hindered inclusion of culture in development framework. Building a knowledge community of ICH NGOs is important for access to the wealth of experience developed, sharing of best practices and tools and better alignment of strategies and action for lobbying for inclusion of culture. Currently in absence of systematic sharing platform such knowledge is not open for public access. Knowledge management is also critical for developing clear guidance and monitoring mechanisms and capacity building "to identify, formulate culture and development projects and implement them through more adequate, more relevant and more informed methodologies that meet project realities and objectives directly." (MDG-F: 2013). The ICH NGO community can catalyze such efforts by working together to develop concrete delivery based projects along with identification of indicators for improved assessment and monitoring of impact.

Strengthening Management of Arts Organizations, Institutions and Cultural Heritage

Research and capacity building for arts management are two other areas where the ICH NGOs may contribute. Evidence building necessitates macro level research on the cultural sector and its linkage with social and economic sectors. ICH NGOs have already contributed in developing artist/community based organizations managing cultural resources and nurturing creative enterprise. By working closely with research and academic institutions they can develop networks to support interdisciplinary research and training for producing able managers and institutions.

Conclusion

The ICH NGOs can become catalysts in sustainable development where people can "lead the lives they have reason to value" through full participation in cultural life (UCLG,2013). Culture has the potential of developing a micro-economy, creating opportunity for transformative development where people labeled as "unskilled" or "lacking employable skills" in conventional development pathways become stakeholders in creative economies. ICH NGOs are equipped with knowledge, experience, resources and community linkages to innovate delivery based programmes and projects addressing both cultural rights and sustainable development aspects. Their efforts will be leveraged through creation of effective platforms for knowledge sharing and networking.

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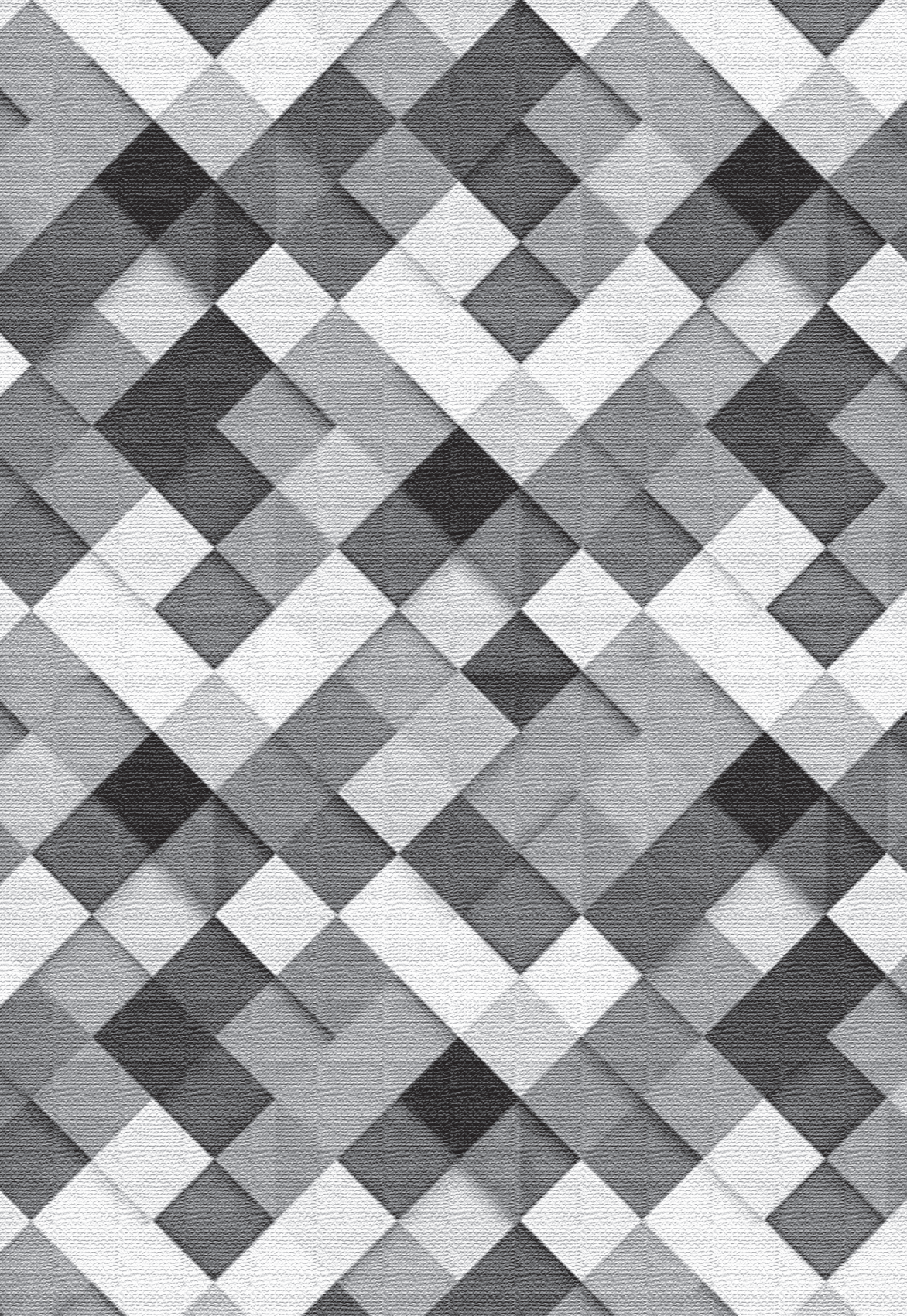


ALBERT VAN DER ZEIJDEN ESSAY

Dealing with Black Pete

Media, Mediators and the Dilemmas of Brokering Intangible Heritage

Since 2013, the NGO the Dutch Centre for Intangible Heritage (VIE) has had a key-role as facilitator, mediator and coordinator in the field for the implementation of the 2003 UNESCO Convention in the Netherlands. Among other things, VIE takes care of the Dutch National Inventory of Intangible Heritage. The Netherlands was relatively late in ratifying the Convention. Right from the start, in the beginning of the 21st century, there were debates about the UNESCO Convention, in particular about the original list of Masterpieces and later the representative lists. One of the remarkable features was that the feast of Saint Nicholas (or Sinterklaas) was used over and over as an example, in particular for pleading that phenomena not be frozen, even though this was and is not the method nor the goal of the Convention. While the discussions and negotiations that eventually led to the final text of the Convention in October 2003 were just starting in Paris in 2001, opinions about the opportunity to propose "Saint Nicholas" as a masterpiece[1] and counterarticles with the title "UNESCO threatens the Feast of Saint-Nicholas" were already being published in one of the leading newspapers in the Netherlands. In this last article the Dutch ethnologist P. J. Margry argued that in the new millennium even the question of Black Pete had been sufficiently discussed and negotiated not be a problem anymore.[2] During the last few months of 2013 the question of Black Pete was front page news and a headline story in the television and radio news for days. With the new role in relation to the UNESCO Convention, VIE was in the centre of the debate. The heated debate focused on the black assistant of Saint Nicholas.[3] Saint Nicholas is the most popular family feast in the

1 K. Epskamp and P. Nas, "UNESCO moet Sinterklaas redden", *NRC*, 04-12-2001, http://vorige.nrc.nl/krant/article1579112.ece. Epskamp en Nas argued that the Dutch Saint Nicholas feast should be nominated as an example of Dutch Intangible Heritage, at the same time unique as well as threatened.

2 http://vorige.nrc.nl/krant/article1579306.ece P. J. Margry, "UNESCO bedreigt sinterklaasfeest", *NRC*, 06-12-2001. "Het behoeft eigenlijk geen betoog: onderzoek van de laatste jaren ook door het Meertens Instituut wijst uit dat van een werkelijke bedreiging van Sinterklaas in het geheel geen sprake is. De concurrentie met het kerstfeest heeft bijvoorbeeld de viering van Sints verjaardag zelfs sterker gepositioneerd. Ook de discussies, nadrukkelijk gevat in een kader van politieke correctheid, over de figuur van Zwarte Piet, lijken anno 2001 ritueel uitonderhandeld en achter de rug. Het sinterklaasfeest heeft zijn conjuncturele hobbels van de late 20ste eeuw genomen en heeft zich duidelijker geprofileerd." See also the reply http://www.nrc.nl/handelsblad/van/2001/december/08/unesco-en-de-sint-7568372

3 A. van der Zeijden & I. Strouken, *Sinterklaas in the Netherlands: a beleaguered tradition.* Bilthoven, 2014.

Netherlands and is celebrated every year on 5/6 December. From the 1980s onward, migrants from the former Dutch colonies Surinam and the Antilles have expressed a growing displeasure on the – in their opinion – stereotypical fashion in which Black Pete is cast in a servant role.[4] In their view it reflects and even reinforces and encourages the impression of the inferior position of black people in this country. In 2013 activists took legal action in Amsterdam to ban the Black Petes from the official welcoming of Saint Nicholas in the capital. Members of the National Platform of Dutch Slavery Past wrote letters of complaint to the United Nations about the figure of Black Pete and an alleged link to slavery and racism. The attention UNESCO was generating for similar traditions all over the world, under the new flag of intangible cultural heritage, had been one of the reasons for raising complaints to the UN Working Group on Human Rights on People of African descent, to which "it [was] reported that in relation to the acceptance of the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2012 by the Netherlands, proposals have been made to declare the Dutch Cultural Historical Tradition 'Santa Claus and Black Pete' as Immaterial Cultural Heritage."[5] In their opinion this would be an official recognition of Black Pete.[6]

Even before the procedure itself had started, the chairman of the UN Working Group, Verene Shepherd, already presented her personal opinion on Dutch television that Black Pete "was definitely racist", a remnant of the Dutch colonial past. The discussion exploded. Black Pete dominated the discussions in the Dutch media for over two months. On Facebook there was a petition in favour of Black Pete, which received two million likes in two days. The discussion, which started in October 2013, had never before been as heated. During the process, after the intervention of the UN and throughout the enormous debate, VIE got a lot of questions from the press and from people who asked VIE to take a stance in the issue, in favour or against Black Pete and/or in finding a solution for this difficult dilemma.

VIE could not stay out of this discussion because it touches their core business: (facilitating and mediating) safeguarding intangible cultural heritage. VIE opted for a stance in line with its own professional expertise and

4 For a survey of the history of the discussion see J. Helsloot, "Het feest. De strijd om Zwarte Piet", in: I. Hoving and others (ed.), *Veranderingen van het alledaagse 1950-2000.* Den Haag, 2005, p. 249-272.

5 Letter of the Chair-Rapporteur of the Working Group on people of African descent to the Dutch government, 17 January 2013. See: https://spdb.ohchr.org/hrdb/23rd/public_-_AL_Netherlands_17.01.13_(1.2013).pdf

6 In reaction to the questions put forward by the UN Working Group the Dutch Ambassador and Permanent Representative to the United Nations Roderick van Schreven, who reacted on behalf of the Government of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, found it expedient to underline that "the allegations are incorrect. The Dutch Authorities have not submitted the Sinterklaasfestival as a nomination proposal to UNESCO." To avoid all sensitivities it was added that "The Dutch Government is aware that Black Pete is considered by some to be offensive." https://spdb.ohchr.org/hrdb/24th/Netherlands_10.07.13_(1.2013) pdf. As this reaction was kept low profile it played no role in the public debate. For the letter see: https://spdb.ohchr.org/hrdb/24th/Netherlands_10.07.13_(1.2013).pdf. It was only very much later that one of the Dutch newspapers found out that there was an official response of the Dutch government, even published on the internet.

tried to answer the question on the supposedly racist character of Black Pete in a well documented and empirically informed way. VIE has done a lot of research on the history of the Saint Nicholas feast in the Netherlands.[7] Time and again VIE experts gave explanations of the historical background not only of the Saint Nicholas feast and iconography, but also of Black Pete, who appears to have been invented by the Dutch former schoolmaster Jan Schenkman (1806-1863) in the nineteenth century. Black Pete was never depicted as a slave but rather, in the beginning, as Saint Nicholas' little helper in the background. As it turned out, after the Second World War Black Pete developed to become the indispensable mainstay of Saint Nicholas, his manager without whom Saint Nicholas would be rather helpless. VIE tried to explain from the inside how this peculiar way of celebrating Saint Nicholas evolved during the last two centuries.[8] In this sense VIE positioned itself as a documenter of and commentator on traditions, and also as a reliable source of knowledge about these intricate questions. From the perspective of intangible heritage safeguarding it is interesting that VIE treats Saint Nicholas as a living tradition, with an open end. This fits in with the UNESCO interpretation of traditions since 2003: always evolving, always changing.

The Meertens Institute, the Dutch academic institution which researches everyday culture in the Netherlands, acted comparably. On their website they created a page called "Dossier on Black Pete" on which the Meertens Institute presented a number of articles on the history of Black Pete, notably by Meertens scholar John Helsloot, who is the leading scholar in this field.[9] In a special part of the "Dossier" the Meertens Institute presented and answered some "frequently asked questions", such as "How popular is the Saint Nicholas Feast in the Netherlands?" "Since when is Saint Nicholas accompanied by a little black servant and is there a connection with slavery" (a question that Meertens also answered in the negative: Black Pete was never a slave but merely the helper of Saint Nicholas.)[10] At the same time the answer to the question "whether Black Pete must be considered racist", was that "an unequivocal answer is not possible" but it was also noted "that we cannot avoid the fact that Black Pete is considered racist not just by members of ethnic minorities but also by scholars

7 VIE has published several articles on the history of Saint Nicholas in their popular magazines *Traditie* and *Immaterieel Erfgoed*. In 2008 Albert van der Zeijden published the little booklet *Suikergoed & surprises. Over Sinterklaas*, vol. 2 of the series *het Alledaagse leven*. Zwolle, 2008.

8 See for instance the following VIE comments in newspaper interviews: "De traditie: in dertig jaar zijn Sint en Piet al behoorlijk veranderd", *NRC*, 19-10-2013; "Hoort wie klopt daar eigenlijk", *De Volkskrant*, 21-10-2013. Albert van der Zeijden gave a quick overview of changing popular images of Black Pete during the last two centuries: "Zwarte Piet = levend monument. Waarom ook tegenstanders deze fantasiefiguur eigenlijk positief zouden moeten waarderen", published on the internet 18-10-2013. http://www.albertvanderzeijden.nl/publicaties/Albert%20van%20der%20Zeijden%20Zwarte%20piet%20=%20monument.pdf

9 http://www.meertens.knaw.nl/cms/nl/nieuws-agenda/nieuws-overzicht/202-nieuws-2013/144369-dossier-zwarte-piet

10 "De zwarte knecht in het boekje van Jan Schenkman uit 1850 is derhalve niet op te vatten als een huisslaaf, maar als een knecht in betrekking." The Frequently Asked Questions can be found on: http://www.meertens.knaw.nl/cms/nl/nieuws-agenda/nieuws-overzicht/202-nieuws-2013/144371-faq-zwarte-piet

1. First appearance of a black helper in the childrens book of Jan Schenkman (1850)

and intellectuals."[11] That at least one of the scholars of the Meertens Institute thinks the same, was demonstrated in an article of John Helsloot, which was also presented on the Meertens website, which deconstructed Black Pete as essentially racist, "Zwarte Piet and Cultural Aphasia in the Netherlands".[12]

As the discussion dragged on, both groups dug themselves into entrenched positions. VIE tried to play and cultivate its facilitating, reflexive and mediating role, which, during the process, evolved into a call for dialogue, in which VIE suggested possible ways of compromise. It did so by presenting the proposals of others, for instance of the actor Erik van Muiswinkel, who proposed to make Black Pete less black, to make him more acceptable to the critics.[13] This was also

11 "Op de vraag of Zwarte Piet racistisch is, kan geen eenduidig antwoord gegeven worden, maar men kan niet om het feit heen dat Zwarte Piet zowel door vertegenwoordigers van minderheidsgroepen als door wetenschappers en intellectuelen als racistisch ervaren wordt." Dossier on Black Pete on the Meertens Website.

12 J.I.A. Helsloot, "Zwarte Piet and Cultural Aphasia in the Netherlands", *Quotidian. Journal for the Study of Everyday Life* 3, 2012, p. 1-20.

13 See for instance: "Hou het hoofd koel in Pietendiscussie", *Spits*, 23-10-2013; I. Strouken, "Een toekomst voor de Sint", *Noord-Hollands Dagblad*, 29-10-2013. Van Muiswinkel plays on television the role of Chief Pete accompanying Saint Nicholas.

the stance of the mayor of Amsterdam, Eberhard van der Laan. His reaction was that he could understand the sensitivities on both sides and therefore advocated dialogue, looking for a model to which everyone could relate, but without violating the Saint-Nicholas tradition itself.[14] Later on, this was also the suggestion of the UN experts, who proposed a respectful national debate in which the Dutch government should take the lead.[15] It was suggested in some offstage deliberations, that the organisation of a national debate, could be a role for VIE. In issues like Black Pete, cultural brokers are naturally inclined to look at it from both sides and thus tend to promote a dialogue and opt for a compromise.

VIE's mutual understanding-oriented position was not always easy to maintain. This became clear during the Dutch television show Een Vandaag, broadcasted on 26 October 2013, when the Saint Nicholas Society made a big issue out of a supposed action by VIE, which was accused of having obstructed a possible inclusion of the Saint Nicholas feast in the National Inventory of Intangible Heritage.[16] Already in the early part of 2013, so before the heated debate, the Saint Nicholas Society had presented a candidature file of the Saint Nicholas Feast for the procedure that can lead to inscription on the Dutch National Inventory. Following the procedures closely, the independent audit commission attached to the National Inventory advised VIE to ask the Society for a more elaborate treatment of the Black Pete issue, as a subject that should be addressed because it might endanger the future of this tradition. This suggestion to include the issue of Black Pete in the safeguarding or special heritage care plan, was now transformed into a supposedly political stance of VIE.[17] To make things worse, words like "heritage care plan" are not

14 In the end it was decided that the official welcoming in Amsterdam could go through, but that Black Pete should alter somewhat his appearance: no curly hair but straight hairs, and no ring in his ear because it could be (hinein)interpreted as referring to the Dutch colonial past, to the chains of slavery.

15 http://www.getmixed.fm/index.php/nieuws/652-black-pete-sinterklaas-un-experts-encourage-respectful-national-debate-on-dutch-tradition

16 The alarming news heading read: "Black Pete was the stumbling block. Centre for popular culture prevented Saint Nicholas becoming world heritage". http://www.eenvandaag.nl/binnenland/47615/zwarte_piet_was_struikelblok. For the misconception that the UNESCO Convention on the intangible heritage is about "world heritage" see M. Jacobs, "UNESCO heeft beslist: Sinterklaas kan geen werelderfgoed worden" (23-10-2013), http://www.faronet.be/blogs/marc-jacobs/unesco-heeft-beslist-sinterklaas-kan-geen-werelderfgoed-worden

17 VIE tried to counter the allegation of the Saint Nicholas Society with an official press communication to the national news agency ANP, which was also placed on the Facebook page of VIE. VIE communicated that the proposal for the National Inventory had in fact been very much encouraged by VIE, but that in a heritage care plan about this feast, you cannot escape saying something about the discussion on Black Pete. "Centrum voor Volkscultuur wil Sinterklaasfeest op de immaterieel erfgoedlijst", official press communication to ANP, also on the Facebook page of VIE (26-10-2013), http://perssupport.nl/apssite/persberichten/full/2013/10/26/Centrum+voor+Volkscultuur+wil+Sinterklaasfeest+op+de+immaterieel+erfgoedlijst and https://www.facebook.com/pages/Nederlands-Centrum-voor-Volkscultuur-en-Immaterieel-Erfgoed/246301218713465?hc_location=timeline. See also an interview with VIE director Ineke Strouken in *De Telegraaf*: "Ineke Strouken: Ik kreeg de Zwarte Piet", *De Telegraaf*, 23-11-2013.

easy to communicate in a time of hot debate, when the public expects clear opinions and statements.[18] In their proposal for the National Inventory the Saint Nicholas Society had proposed to keep the tradition "as it is", that is to say: including Black Pete. Possibly they wanted to use the National Inventory to conclude the discussion on Black Pete once and for all. Although incorrect and not in the spirit of the 2003 UNESCO Convention, it is often assumed that if something is recognised as a tradition, it is heritage that may not be altered. The same thing happened in Spain, with the ongoing debate on the acceptability of bullfighting. The actions of animal activists against this tradition resulted in a petition in favour of the tradition, signed by more than 600,000 people. After a debate in parliament it was decided to adopt a national plan with the main objective to get bullfighting on the representative list of the intangible heritage.[19]

The Advisory Board of VIE proposed a restrained approach, with a focus on VIE's expertise on traditions. This not only means giving information on the history of the tradition but also inform the public on the detail of the 2003 UNESCO Convention and about safeguarding intangible cultural heritage.

In 2014 VIE started a new project by interviewing important stakeholders on *their* opinions about a future proofed Saint Nicholas feast. The work was done by an independent researcher.[20] In his report an overview was made of the values that supporters and critics attach to the Sinterklaas celebration and which elements of Black Pete provoke discussion. It confirmed that many Sinterklaas supporters are of the opinion that Black Pete has nothing to do with racism and that the critics still have insurmountable problems with Black Pete. But the researcher also sensed a growing awareness of the need for a compromise. Most of the people interviewed expected that Amsterdam would start the experimenting. In fact the organizing committees (also in cities other than Amsterdam) had already started in early 2014 with the preparations for the Saint Nicholas festivities of December 2014. They asked themselves what they could do to organise something which can have the support of the larger part of the Dutch population, if possible avoiding or countering suggestions about racism. That there is a problem became clear on the third of July 2014, when an Amsterdam Court judged that in 2013 the Mayor of Amsterdam should have been more careful in giving permission for the official welcoming in Amsterdam of Saint Nicholas and his Black Petes and should have taken into consideration that Black Pete can be perceived as an encroachment in the private life of coloured people, because of its negative stereotyping of black

18 One of the comments on the VIE Facebook page read: "Look at the words they use: "points of concern" (knelpunten), "controversial heritage" (weerbarstig erfgoed), "National Inventory", "the Saint Nicholas Society", "the director of VIE". It suggested to this commentator that a bureaucratic institution was taking over. "SIGH: If people and organisations find themselves more important than the children who are the real issue, we are on the wrong track…" ["ZUCHT: Als mensen en organisaties zichzelf belangrijker vinden dan de kinderen waar het om gaat dan zijn we heel erg op de verkeerde weg bezig…"].

19 http://www.globalpost.com/dispatch/news/afp/130212/spanish-parliament-moves-protect-bullfights

20 G. Kozijn, *Zwarte Piet een verkennend onderzoek naar een toekomstbestendig Sinterklaasfeest*. Utrecht, 2014.

2. Welcoming Sinterklaas and the Petes in Amsterdam 2012

people. This was based on the interpretation of emails from the Netherlands Institute for Human Rights, a research report of the statistics bureau of the City of Amsterdam itself and on statements by the plaintiffs.[21]

An engaged practice

What lessons can be learned from this bumpy experience of a facilitating NGO? Lately a lot has been said about the role of NGOs within the UNESCO Convention on the Safeguarding of the Intangible Heritage. In the IOS report, which was discussed in Baku in December 2013 during the Intergovernmental Committee meeting, NGOs are mentioned in relation to the implementation of safeguarding measures and in strengthening the communities. But the IOS report also highlights another role of the NGOs, that of "mediating and building bridges between various actors."[22] The role of NGOs seems to be especially useful when tackling issues which are controversial and dealing with divides within society that need to be bridged.[23] The case of Black Pete is a good starting point to discuss this aspect of cultural brokerage, which

21 http://uitspraken.rechtspraak.nl/inziendocument?id=ECLI:NL:RBAMS:2014:3888.

22 http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/doc/src/ITH-13-8.COM-5.c-EN.doc

23 On "controversial" or "contested" heritage there is a large body of literature. See for instance H. Silverman (ed.), *Contested cultural heritage. Religion, nationalism, erasure and exclusion in a global world.* New York, 2011. See also L. Smith & N. Akagawa, "Introduction", in: idem (eds.), *Intangible Heritage.* London, 2009, p. 5.

might be one of the great challenges of cultural brokerage at the start of the 21st century. Looking back on the discussion about Black Pete we can distinguish a number of reasons why this form of brokerage is so challenging. Some of them have to do with the changing political circumstances, others with a new opinion landscape, with a prominent role for the media.

First of all the issue of Black Pete teaches us that intangible heritage can be inextricably tied up with politics.[24] Black Pete is reframed by new ethnic groups reinterpreting and questioning the formerly sacrosanct Dutch heritage where others want to defend it because they see and celebrate it as "their" heritage. As Laurajane Smith rightfully observes, in an influential collection of essays on intangible heritage, experiencing intangible heritage has become part and parcel of the dilemmas of modern multicultural society.[25] Black Pete has different meanings for different segments of society. It means the discussion is not always easy. Where opponents talk about racial stereotypes, the advocates of Black Pete see it as just an innocent family pastime with deep historical roots and for which they harbour precious memories from their own youth. To attain their objectives the aspiring new groups used all possible means. It started with a media offensive in which Black Pete was challenged, while poking into the open wound of the Dutch slavery past. In 2013 it also became a judicial battle , when the Amsterdam Court was asked to ban the official welcoming of Saint Nicholas and his Black Petes. On the other side of the spectrum the supporters of Black Pete tried to use UNESCO as a defence mechanism, as also seen in the example of the Spanish bullfighting. In between there is the public at large which reacts to all of these stimuli by means of Twitter and Facebook. There were even demonstrations organized, for instance in The Hague, 26 October 2013 on the Malieveld.

The political implications of intangible heritage mean that cultural brokers should always be reflexive … and should take into account "social relationships in all their messiness, taking account of action, process, power and change", as Emma Waterton and Laurajane Smith put it in a critical review for the *International Journal of Heritage Studies*.[26] It also means that they have to reflect on their own role in the process. As Richard Kurin has rightly remarked, cultural brokers should situate themselves in a contemporary world "of multiple, if not contending, cultural narratives" and give up the illusion of a singular, monological reality.[27] But where she (or he) should position herself is not always clear. What most of the Saint Nicholas fans would expect from the broker is help for them to defend the tradition, including Black Pete, against

24 About the political instrumentalization of Saint Nicholas and Black Pete in connection with intangible heritage already see L. Meijer-Van Mensch & P. van Mensch, "'Proud to be Dutch'. Intangible Heritage and National Identity in the Netherlands", in: M. L. Stefano and others (eds.), *Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage*. Woodbridge, 2012, p. 125-136.

25 Smith & Akagawa, *Introduction*, p. 5.

26 E. Waterton & L. Smith, "The recognition and misrecognition of community heritage", *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 16, 2010, p. 4-15, see especially p. 5: "What we want to suggest instead is a politically engaged and critical conception; one that engages with social relationships in all their messiness, taking account of action, process, power and change."

27 R. Kurin, *Reflections of a Culture Broker. A view from the Smithsonian*. Washington & London, 1997, p. 281.

all criticism. On the other hand they should also take into account possible minority views on the subject. As David Mosse and David Lewis have shown, "bottom-up approaches" with special attention to minority groups, which are not always well represented in the dominant heritage discourse, have always been important in cultural brokerage.[28] The concept of cultural brokerage was proposed for the agenda of European ethnology during a conference on public folklore in Bad Homburg, 1998.[29] During this symposium most of the German Volkskundler were against public action and interventions and saw for themselves a role as critical observer only. On the other hand a network of American scholars defined public folklore as an engaged practice with, as Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett pointed out, parallels with public history and also with the new museology in which a top-down approach is more or less replaced by a bottom-up one, in which the museums position themselves within the communities.[30] Already then it was recognized that cultural brokerage always involves political engagement. As Jessica M. Payne put it in a 1998 article in the *Journal of Folklore Research*: "Advocacy and social activism have long been aspects of folklore work and folklorists have adhered to a wide spectrum of implicit and explicit agendas for social change; some of which are politically fairly progressive."[31] Payne explicitly mentioned subjects as "Racial tension" and "Derogatory stereotypes".

A changing media landscape

Already in 1997 Richard Kurin addressed the issue of a new role for the media, in particular new (computer-supported) media. According to Kurin, nowadays the traditional cultural broker is "outgunned and eclipsed [among others] by politicians, journalists, filmmakers" etc.[32] This means that his former position as the one and only expert on traditions is challenged. In the case of Black Pete we have talked about journalists always on the lookout for the latest sound-bites which might please or tease their readers and audiences. The press

28 D. Mosse & D. Lewis, "Theoretical approaches to brokerage and translation in development", in: D. Mosse & D. Lewis (ed.), *Development Brokers and Translators. The Ethnography of Aid and Agencies.* Bloomfeld, 2006, p. 1-26.

29 The results of this symposium were published in the *Journal of Folklore Research* 36:2-3, 1999. The concept of public folklore was introduced in the Netherlands by H. Roodenburg, "Tussen distantie en betrokkenheid. 'Public folklore' en de volkskunde in Nederland en Vlaanderen", *Mores. Tijdschrift voor volkscultuur in Vlaanderen* 2:1, 2001, p. 5-8. Full text: http://depot.knaw.nl/9793.

30 B. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Folklorists in Public. Reflections on Cultural Brokerage in the United States and Germany", *Journal of Folklore Research* 17, 2000, p. 1-21, esp. 12. For a discussion on this new role for museums in connection to the UNESCO Convention of the Intangible Heritage see A. van der Zeijden, "Van materieel naar immaterieel erfgoed: een pleidooi voor een 'actief' community begrip", *Quotidian* 3, 2012 [theme file about community museums], full text: http://www.quotidian.nl/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=quotidian;sid=6495a2d942abbed9a85878c5460fd8c6;view=text;idno=m0301a07;rgn=main. More in general about the involvement of communities in the museum see V. Golding & W. Modest (eds.), *Museums and communities; curators, collections and collaboration.* London, 2013.

31 J. Payne, "The Politicization of Culture in Applied Folklore", *Journal of Folklore Research* 35, 1998, p. 251-277, p. 251.

32 Kurin, *Reflections of a Culture Broker*, p. 266.

dictates, if not the agenda, then the buzz of day, with every hour bringing a new misconception to which the cultural broker is asked to react: the legal action in Amsterdam to ban the Black Petes in 2013, the intervention of Verene Shepherd, the reaction by the mayor of Amsterdam, the petition on Facebook, the demonstrations in The Hague and elsewhere, the threats on Twitter, and so on. The new social media enables community groups and other stakeholders to participate in the discussion and decision making process. We have seen that the Facebook petition in favour of Black Pete, which attracted more than an unlikely two million likes in two days, succeeded in creating a new political momentum. To name another example: after the Court decision in July 2014, which caused the Amsterdam City Council to reconsider its decision about the welcoming in 2013, some Black Petes decided to form a Guild of Petes (Pietengilde) in order to make an appeal. They also set up a website in which they presented their opinions. From the perspective of the community based UNESCO Convention this is an interesting development. Still another interesting aspect of the Guild of Petes is that they combine a form of advocacy with a historical discourse on the origins of Black Pete. In their opinion Black Pete is not racist at all but dates back to the pagan times of the old Germanic Gods like Wotan, the Yule or (in Dutch) the Joel as it is familiarly called in folklore studies since the nineteenth century.[33] Since the 1960s the German Volkskundler inspired their Dutch colleagues to deconstruct the Germanic myths which so long have characterized folklore studies since the nineteenth century. Only to be confronted with these in their opinion outdated theories once again but now in a context of aspiring new groups within society which before were not heard. Scholars and cultural brokers have lost their monopoly as experts on (the history of) traditions.

The new media-opinion landscape and the importance of "framing" cannot be better illustrated than with the example of the presentation of VIE's exploratory research report in June 2014.[34] The media were very curious about the outcome of the research and the possible compromise in the discussion which it might offer. After some deliberations, VIE decided to present the report in the daily Late News Show of Knevel and Van den Brink, only to be subjected to the new media laws. The television journalists opted for a news item in which other stakeholders would also be heard, so that they could give their views on the report. VIE had a preference for some organizers of the

33 "Long before slavery, in the 12th century, the Saint Nicholas was already there as a midwinter celebration. Already then he was Black." ["Ver voor de slavernij, in de twaalfde eeuw, was het sinterklaasfeest er al als een midwinterfeest. Een zwarte knecht heeft er altijd op de een of andere wijze deel van uitgemaakt. Hij was ook toen al zwart: pikzwart met roet. Hij was degene die, achter de rug van de heilige om, gekke gezichten liep te trekken en een lange neus maakte in de richting van de kerk en het gezag."] Interview *Nieuws NL* with Marc Gieling, chairman of the Guild of Petes. http://www.nieuws.nl/algemeen/20140703/Discussie-Zwarte-Piet-berust-op-slechte-achtergrondkennis-Nieuwsnl-spreekt-met-het-Nederlandse-Pietengilde. For the official website of the Guild see http://www.pietengilde.nl/. But of course, slavery existed already in antiquity and the proofs for a black servant are not convincing; nevertheless injecting more ambiguity and complexity when discussing a, let us not forget, fictive figure and product of "imagination" can be productive.

34 See Van der Zeijden & Strouken, *Sinterklaas in the Netherlands*, p. 52-53.

local Saint Nicholas festivities, who in daily practice have to come up with a solution in December 2014 which can be acceptable to all. Unfortunately, all of these local committees turned down the invitation because they did not find it expedient to show their cards in this early stage. They considered the burn risk too great. For this reason the news show had to fall back on the old frame of inviting the two extremes in the spectrum, the Saint Nicholas Society on the one hand and a fierce opponent of the old traditional Black Pete on the other. Furthermore, in keeping with the format of a television show, the television makers opted for a visualization of three possibilities, in which the Saint Nicholas Society decided for a traditional Black Pete and the opponent for a purple coloured one. There was also a so-called compromise Pete, which was presented as the compromise Pete of VIE. From the perspective of the report this was an unfortunate decision. In fact the exploratory research didn't come up with a clear compromise, acceptable to all. It had only charted the feelings of the different stakeholders and the conclusion was that opinion was still very strongly divided, and that there was no consensus on possible changes. Because it showed in the report that it was not likely that the advocates of Black Pete would give up Pete's dark colour, the "compromise" which the media all hankered for turned out to be brownish instead of black or some kind of fantasy colour. It didn't work. During the television show both opponents immediately fell back on their own preferences. The next day the reaction in the newspapers was also very negative. "Forced New Pete is doomed to fail", was the heading in one of the leading newspapers.[35] Interestingly enough – when it comes to the UNESCO Convention – it was a citation of one of the most polarizing scholars in the field, Peter Jan Margry, who is a fierce campaigner against the 2003 UNESCO Convention whose purpose it is, he wrongly believed in his earlier articles, to *freeze* traditions like Sinterklaas but now accused UNESCO of wanting to change these traditions, also a complete misunderstanding of the Convention.[36]

The example makes clear that the new media arena not only likes to launch sound-bites and sharp images but that it also tends to reinforce the opposing outer extremes in the debate.

35 "Geforceerde nieuwe Piet gedoemd te mislukken", *Volkskrant*, 11-06-2014, on the internet: http://www.volkskrant.nl/vk/nl/2686/Binnenland/article/detail/3670294/2014/06/11/Geforceerde-nieuwe-Piet-gedoemd-te-mislukken.dhtml

36 "Waarschijnlijk heeft de timing van het nieuwe ontwerp alles met tijdsdruk te maken: het Sinterklaasjournaal wordt deze zomer al opgenomen en er moet een dossier voor de UNESCO komen. Maar het is naïef om te denken dat we op deze manier nu alvast van de hele kwestie af zijn. De kans is levensgroot dat we deze discussie de komende jaren blijven voeren, en daar kan het VIE niks aan veranderen." The chance that a Sinterklaas file will be presented to UNESCO is nihil. The Dutch Minister of Culture, in her request for advice to the Council of Culture on possible themes for international nominations, called it improbable that the Netherlands at this stage would nominate the Saint Nicholas Feast. Because of its controversiality "it would not stand a chance with UNESCO". Adviesaanvraag 26 september 2013, http://www.cultuur.nl/upload/documents/adviezen/advies-immaterieel-erfgoed.pdf

Centripetal forces

The growing proliferation of public arenas and ways of communication, and the diversified opinion climate with many kinds of community associations and pressure groups, all ask for a new and more engaging role for the cultural broker who can interpret all of these contending opinions. In their search for easy and understandable sound bites, which might trigger further media-attention, the media often tend to over represent the outer extremes in the debate. But there is also a great need for explanation and interpretation. Is Black Pete really connected with racism and slavery, or – because that is in principle really at stake – vice versa? Why are emotions running so high? And, most importantly perhaps, where shall this discussion end? Sometimes the newspapers take the lead themselves. *NRC* had for instance a complete page which put the history of Black Pete in an international context. In other countries Saint Nicholas is accompanied by a helper also – Ruprecht in Germany, Krampus in Austria and Hungary, Père Fouettard in France, mythological figures which look a lot more frightening than the Dutch Black Pete.[37] For this specialist knowledge, newspapers often seek the help of experts. These experts sometimes take the initiative themselves, as is shown in the FAQ webpage of the Meertens Institute. There is a great need for experts, who can separate the chaff from the wheat on the one hand and add complexity on the other …

Mediation and building a new consensus is quite another thing. We have seen that reaching or finding a consensus is a deep felt wish of the government authorities, who want to manage issues connected with ethnic diversity which might trigger social tensions. The mayor of Amsterdam was even compelled by the Amsterdam Court to come up with a solution. Finding a new consensus seems to be indispensable if you want to create a new future for traditions like Sinterklaas. In all this we should keep in mind that consensus is not the same as compromise, a crucial insight for dealing with and in the spirit of the 2003 UNESCO Convention. A cultural broker looking for a compromise might easily alienate himself from the stakeholders whose different viewpoints he would like to bring together and propose alternatives and other ways of thinking and talking about it. Dealing with controversial heritage is a delicate operation.

37 "Zo zit het dus met Zwarte Piet", *NRC*, 24-10-2013, on the internet http://www.nrc.nl/next/van/2013/oktober/24/zo-zit-het-dus-met-zwarte-piet-1306024. See also "Zwarte Piet was geen Piet, maar knecht Ruprecht, of Krampus, met hoorns", NRC, 23-10-2013, on the internet: http://www.nrc.nl/handelsblad/van/2013/oktober/23/zwarte-piet-was-geen-piet-maar-knecht-ruprecht-of-1306501

Reframing and Extending Tradition

Intangible Cultural Heritage and Public Folklore in Newfoundland and Labrador

Efforts to preserve intangible cultural heritage (ICH) within a community context face many challenges. Much of this traditional knowledge and local folklore continues to be shared within communities at a very informal level, passed on by word of mouth, and by example. It carries with it a great deal of practical information, as well as more abstract concepts of history, heritage and identity. It also presents numerous challenges in terms of how we safeguard these traditions.

In order to make safeguarding programmes and other participatory heritage processes work and succeed, communities often require some type of guidance, facilitation or collaboration. As elements of ICH, and communities themselves, shift and evolve, the role and approaches of mediators must adapt and shift to fit local circumstances and situations. In Newfoundland and Labrador, the provincial ICH strategy is promoted and put into action by the ICH office of the Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador (HFNL) and its partners. Many of the individuals engaged at this level are trained folklorists.

Below are presented three approaches where ICH safeguarding strategies in Newfoundland and Labrador utilize guided facilitation by professional folklorists: community-based training initiatives; safeguarding ICH within heritage districts; and, the development of public programs as part of folklife festivals.

Newfoundland and Labrador: The Context

Newfoundland and Labrador is the easternmost province of Canada. Situated in the country's Atlantic region, it incorporates the island of Newfoundland and mainland Labrador to the northwest. It has a combined area of 405,212 square kilometres, with a population of just over 514,000. Most of the population is concentrated on the eastern portion of the island of Newfoundland.

It is a province with a rich intangible cultural heritage, with both native aboriginal populations, and a settler population of predominantly English and Irish ancestry. The island of Newfoundland has a long history associated with the North Atlantic cod fishery, and much of its local culture and flavour evolved in small fishing villages scattered along the island's long coastline.

Linguistic, cultural and social traditions persisted in many small isolated communities after they had faded or changed in the European communities where they were born.

By 1992, once-plentiful codfish stocks had dwindled to near extinction. Fearing they would disappear entirely if the fisheries remained open, the federal government of the day instituted a moratorium on northern cod stocks. The moratorium abruptly ended a way of life that had endured for generations in many rural communities, leading to a decline of rural settlements throughout Newfoundland and Labrador.

In the fishing community of Keels, as one example, the population dropped from around 200 people in 1982 to close to 50 by 2012. An observer in that community notes that "residents have gradually moved away to seek work in places like Alberta, and the landscape of Keels has dramatically changed. Many buildings have been abandoned, some torn down, and a number of houses have been bought up by summer residents from Ontario or the United States"[1] – a post-moratorium story repeated over and over throughout much of the province.

Out-migration and unemployment impacted not only the physical landscape, but also the intangible cultural heritage tied to the fishery, and the pattern of life in small rural communities. The resulting movement of young people to urban areas or out of the province meant that cultural traditions were not being transmitted from generation to generation in the same way, or to the extent to which they had once been passed down.

Background on ICH Policy in Newfoundland and Labrador

In 2002, Dr. Gerald Pocius of Memorial University of Newfoundland's Department of Folklore represented Canada at a meeting of experts in Rio de Janeiro working on an early draft of UNESCO's Convention on Intangible Cultural Heritage. Twenty specialists from around the world debated a number of key issues that the Convention hoped to address. Pocius writes: "I returned to Newfoundland that January inspired and enthusiastic, convinced that UNESCO's work in this field was of immense importance to our province and our culture. I was optimistic that the Government of Canada would support UNESCO's work, and soon I became involved in ICH policy discussions in Ottawa, working with the Department of Canadian Heritage. I was naturally disappointed when the Canadian government decided not to sign on to the final version of the Convention that was ratified in 2003. However, a number of us had begun work here in our province on ICH, believing that we could pursue many of the UNESCO policies here even though our federal government was not a signatory of the Convention."[2]

1 G. Pocius, "The 2012 Keels Field School", in: G. Pocius (ed.), *Living Spaces: The Architecture of the Family Fishery in Keels, Newfoundland*. St. John's, 2013, p. 2-4.

2 G. Pocius. "A Review of ICH in Newfoundland & Labrador", *Intangible Cultural Heritage Update* 16, 2010, p. 1-2.

In 2006, the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador released its Provincial Cultural Strategy, *Creative Newfoundland and Labrador*. It outlined the need for a strategy to safeguard intangible cultural heritage and recommended to "over the longer term, create a public advisory committee with responsibility for the recognition and designation of provincial intangible cultural heritage."[3]

Pocius, who remains one of the driving figures in the development of ICH policy in Newfoundland and Labrador, notes: "There is no doubt that over the years, the local heritage community has embraced ICH as a concept because it felt a sense of urgency in a time of extreme change. With the collapse of the cod fishery, Government and NGOs all realized that rural communities no longer would be places tied to the resources of water and land, populated by families related by kinship, often there for generations. Rather, outports were becoming gentrified summer enclaves, filled with outsiders who came for a month or two, to engage briefly in what they saw as some authentic culture. The fishing had stopped, locals were leaving, and ironically the tourism industry that was going to be the salvation of rural Newfoundland was now bringing in people with money to buy up communities, especially highly coveted "waterfront property." Policies and programs needed to be put in place to encourage the living traditions of the province to continue. In this time of cultural uncertainty, ICH focused on the ongoing traditions central to provincial identity."[4]

Starting in 2008, HFNL established its ICH office. I shifted from my work with the foundation's built heritage office into my new role as Intangible Cultural Heritage Development Officer, at that point, the first full-time provincial ICH officer in Canada. A large part of my role was, and is, to enact the province's ICH Strategy. Written between 2006 and 2008, and adopted formally by HFNL in 2008, the overall vision of the strategy is to ensure that intangible cultural heritage is safeguarded as both a living heritage and as a source of contemporary creativity.

The strategy has four goals: documentation, the work of inventorying; celebration, where we honour our tradition-bearers; transmission, where we ensure that skills are passed from person to person, generation to generation, and community to community; and, cultural industry, where we build stronger communities using intangible cultural heritage as a tool.[5]

In many ways, the job title under which I labour, "development officer," has influenced our approach to the implementation of the strategy. Since 2008, HFNL's work on ICH has attempted to be proactive. And, since Canada is not a signatory to the 2003 UNESCO Convention, we have been able to focus on the work of developing best practices for safeguarding, without being consumed by work on representative lists.

3 Government of Newfoundland and Labrador. *Creative Newfoundland and Labrador: The Blueprint for Development and Investment in Culture*. St. John's, 2006.

4 G. Pocius. "The Emergence of Cultural Heritage Policy in Newfoundland and Labrador", *Newfoundland Quarterly* 103:11, 2010, p. 43-45.

5 Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador, *What Is Intangible Cultural Heritage?* St. John's, 2008.

Given the background of both Dr. Pocius and myself as folklorists, much of the discourse around intangible cultural heritage in Newfoundland and Labrador has been through the lens of North American folklore scholarship. Several key people involved with local and provincial museums, training programs, and festivals are faculty members or graduates of Memorial University's Department of Folklore. My own work, in particular, has been influenced by my background in vernacular architecture studies, heritage conservation, heritage activism, cultural conservation, oral history, and public folklore.

The terms "cultural mediator" or "cultural broker" are rarely, if ever, used in the context of public folklore work undertaken in the province. Instead, those active in the field consider themselves folklorists, facilitators, curators, or collaborators with community organizations.

In many ways, however, the praxis which has emerged in Newfoundland and Labrador for cultural conservation and public folklore revolves around the work of cultural mediators and brokers. In these systems, folklorists work with and for the community under study, towards some kind of publicly-beneficial goal.

In their introduction to the classic text, *Public Folklore*, editors Robert Baron and Nicholas Spitzer define public folklore as "the representation and application of folk traditions in new contours and contexts within and beyond the communities in which they originated, often through the collaborative efforts of tradition bearers and folklorists or other cultural specialists."[6] Acts of public folklore, they argue, involve folklorists "purposefully reframing and extending tradition in collaboration with folk artists, native scholars, and other community members."[7] This idea of "purposefully reframing and extending tradition" provides a conceptual model around which we can place HFNL's four-part practical strategy of inventorying, celebration, transmission and cultural industry.

Community Training Initiatives

In the fall of 2008, HFNL completed a provincial needs assessment[8], to measure the level of awareness of ICH issues at the community level, and to pinpoint key areas where assistance was needed.

Many of the respondents to the survey (primarily community museums, historic sites, and local heritage organizations) felt that they had a basic understanding of ICH. This level of understanding is most likely due to the hosting of a province-wide ICH Forum held in St. John's, the capital city of the province, in 2006. This forum brought together a large number of community representatives, government officials, academics and ICH practitioners.

6 R. Baron & N. Spitzer, 'Introduction', in: R. Baron & N. Spitzer (eds.), *Public Folklore*. Washington, 1992, p. 3.

7 R. Baron & N. Spitzer, *Introduction*, p. 3.

8 B. Gravinese, *Provincial ICH Online and Phone Training Needs Assessment Report*. St. John's, 2008.

1. Workshop on digital audio recording for ethnography and oral history, St. John's (Photo by Dale Jarvis)

Almost three-quarters of those surveyed in 2008 stated their organization or community was undertaking an ICH project of some kind. More than half of the respondents stated they would be undertaking an ICH project within the year which would most likely involve documenting or celebrating local traditional knowledge, skills, cultural practices, or tradition-bearers. In terms of needed resources, almost all respondents expressed an interest in ICH training in standards and practices for recording and documenting their community's ICH. An enthusiastic 94% said they and/or their organization would be interested in receiving additional information about safeguarding ICH.

Two things became abundantly clear following the establishment of the Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador's ICH office in 2008, and the completion of the provincial needs survey. The first was that local communities were interested and eager to begin the work of safeguarding intangible cultural heritage at the community level. The second was that they had very little knowledge or expertise on where to start.

In response, HFNL developed a variety of training programs and community-based workshops. These were created not only to introduce the concept of ICH to community members but also to provide practical training.

Training workshops fall roughly into two categories: training in ethnographic documentation and ICH safeguarding; and training in traditional skills and crafts. In the first category, HFNL has developed a number of workshops on cultural documentation and safeguarding, including: technical workshops on audio recording; interviewing techniques; oral history; folklife

festival planning; Google mapping; and cemetery restoration. In the second category, HFNL has offered or partnered on workshops related to: traditional square dancing; hobby horse making; instrument making; rug hooking; traditional weaving; and ethnic cooking.

The goal of these training activities is to raise the level of awareness in communities about intangible cultural heritage, the methods to document it, how to celebrate it, and in some instances, to help pass along tradition. HFNL matches people who have skills with people who need them. It facilitates the transmission of knowledge and expertise, oftentimes linking people who might not meet in the course of daily life, and directs attention to little-known or little-documented traditions or skills.

Training, on its own, is a limited form of brokerage. In the early years of developing ICH workshops, HFNL used a "shotgun" approach to training – travelling around the province and offering introductory workshops in central locations. It got the word out about intangible cultural heritage, but returned very little tangible results. In most cases, there was little to no follow-up from communities where the training courses were held.

In response to this, where time and financial resources allow, HFNL now uses what we term a "project-based training" model.[9] In this type of training, HFNL works alongside a community group from start to finish as they develop and implement an ICH documentation/celebration project. HFNL staff walks the community through the process of planning and implementing their project, providing project specific training and community-based workshops throughout the duration of the project. These workshops and training opportunities break down into three rough phases. These phases may overlap depending on the project: project focus and community plan; documentation/archiving of material; and public presentation.

A training model that features repeated visits by an ICH development officer in the role of cultural animateur helps build local expertise. It also encourages the completion of a manageable ICH documentation project that is accessible to the general public. While it is not the only approach available to cultural workers, project-based training is one tool that allows us to teach valuable ICH documentation skills while supporting the transmission and celebration of traditional knowledge at the local level.

Dr. Jillian Gould is an Assistant Professor within Memorial University's Department of Folklore, whose research interests include public folklore, ethnography, and fieldwork. She currently teaches the graduate-level course on public folklore in the department, and was formerly the Education Coordinator at the Eldridge Street Project (now Museum at Eldridge Street) in New York City.

Since 2011, Gould has been partnering with HFNL to deliver a type of project-based training as a component of the graduate public sector folklore course. Typically, graduate students organize some kind of public folklore event or workshop, a model which engages the public while teaching the students

9 D. Jarvis, *Project-Based Training Initiatives: A Model for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage*. Occasional Paper on Intangible Cultural Heritage No. 001. St. John's, 2013.

2. Bonfire Night in Carbonear, Newfoundland, 5th of November, 2010 (Photo by Dale Jarvis)

practical and varied skills in facilitation, group work, community outreach, and project planning. Gould notes: "We wear so many hats; we are not just one thing. Doing my fieldwork in a retirement residence, I was a researcher, I was a friend, I was a granddaughter. I took on all these different roles. I wouldn't call myself a mediator, or a broker. I prefer 'collaborator' or 'facilitator'."[10]

In 2011, Gould's graduate students created a three-part event celebrating Bonfire Night, a local calendar custom which traditionally takes place on the evening of November 5th, Guy Fawke's Night. Working with HFNL, students compiled an online inventory of community-sponsored Bonfire Night events, organized a variety concert with a Bonfire Night theme, and curated an on-stage oral history interview with tradition bearers at a local museum.

The on-stage interview is a common technique used by folklorists to showcase and celebrate local knowledge, and one of the tools for community facilitation that Gould teaches her students: "For me it is what folklore is all about. Our job is to identify traditional culture or tradition bearers, but it is not our job to be the experts. The staged oral history interviews give real experts an opportunity to share their skills and knowledge with their peers. I think it is great to have what are considered ordinary people, who have very special skills or experiences, telling their stories. I love that. It is unexpected, and a way people can engage and learn from each other at a very local and unpretentious level.

10 J. Gould. Personal communication (23-01-2014).

People in the audience stayed around after, they had questions, they were talking to each other. Even though people came from different communities, there were a lot of people who had experiences with Bonfire Night. The people interviewed were of different ages: there was a young guy in his early twenties, and then some who were older, in their fifties and sixties. I remember hearing some people saying "what is he going to know about Bonfire Night?' but he talked about his own experiences. Some of the older people in the audience thought of it as something of their childhood, but didn't realize that it was something that young kids were still doing. It touched a nerve."[11]

Gould uses the metaphor of "building bridges" to describe her work. In many ways, that is a good way to explain the work of folklorists in Newfoundland and Labrador engaged in safeguarding strategies: making links in and between communities, and providing training opportunities to those communities so they can act as good stewards of their own heritage.

ICH in Heritage Districts

Following a trend in heritage preservation work in other parts of North America in the 1980s, HFNL started to develop a program for the designation and conservation of registered heritage districts. In the past, when HFNL designated either an individual building or a provincial heritage district, the foundation put up a plaque noting the architectural and historical importance of the site. Sometimes grants were given to buildings or districts. There were some projects to document and share information related to architectural history. But for the most part, once designation was complete, little interaction took place between officials and property owners, or between building residents and the wider community.

Following the creation of the ICH office, the heritage districts program has undergone a major shift, and we are rethinking our relationship with townscapes and the people who live in them. Our strategy for heritage districts has transformed into something much more fluid, more organic, and more responsive to the needs and desires of the people who live in and administrate the district.

Folklorist Lisa Wilson is the Heritage Outreach Officer charged with overseeing and facilitating work in heritage districts for HFNL, and the person responsible for incorporating intangible cultural heritage into the traditionally built-heritage focused program: "There has been a major shift in communicating exclusively with organizations who are involved with heritage, and shifting that communication to the people in the community, and those people who live within these heritage districts – the people who live in the buildings, the people who are from there, people who might not live there anymore but who grew up there and have memories of being there – the people who find meaning in these places rather than organizations or town councils exclusively."[12]

11 J. Gould. Personal communication (23-01-2014).

12 L. Wilson. Personal communication (22-01-2014).

In a sense, our approach with districts is similar to our work with the project-based training model. We conduct field research, assess local needs, and develop public programs around those needs.

While Wilson herself is a broker, she is often an outsider in the communities where she is undertaking work and research. As such, she relies on a secondary set of brokers at the local level who can provide organizational information and make important preliminary introductions to tradition bearers. She notes: "You need a liaison, someone within the community who can help you make proper connections. If I have a recognizable name, they can trust you and trust your motives, if you have that community connection. When I called the Mizzen Square Dancers today, as an example, I said "I got your number from Alice Cumby.' Everyone knows Alice in the community, and that opened up the conversation. That is where they started listening to this unknown voice on the other end. You have to form these relationships slowly, and not expect it to be perfect every time. Once you do make contact with people, it is important to check back in with them, too."[13]

In one district, located within the community of Heart's Content, Wilson conducted hours of oral history research, photography, and geospatial memory mapping with residents. The end product was a booklet of local stories launched as part of a district plaque unveiling.[14] In addition, Wilson curated an online story map, as well as compiling a set of grassroots recommendations and observations about what the community wished to see happen in the district.

The manner in which the recommendations were prepared is a good example of how HFNL works as a cultural facilitator. Following Wilson's ethnographic fieldwork, nine statements were pulled from recorded oral history interviews. These were selected as recurring themes of how the residents of the district think about heritage in their community. A heritage district "town meeting" was facilitated by HFNL staff in a historic meeting hall in the district. The nine statements gleaned from the oral history research were printed, enlarged, and placed on the walls around the meeting.

Participants were given pens and allocated four "votes" each. They were asked to walk around the hall and make four check-marks on what they thought were the most important topics to them. They were given the opportunity to wander and talk with their neighbours as they read the nine statements, and marked their four top choices. Those recommendations were ranked in order of most important to least important, as voted on by the community. The top three were overwhelmingly more significant than the others in terms of the number of votes cast, a good indication that the themes covered resonated with the majority of participants. From this a final report was compiled for the local heritage organization and town council.

This approach required various levels of mediation: community liaisons helped identify informants; oral histories were collected; recordings were

13 L. Wilson. Personal communication (22-01/2014).

14 L. Wilson (ed.), *So Many Stories, So Many Traditions*. St. John's, 2013.

analyzed; emergent themes identified; the voting process facilitated; and the final report edited.

"Genuine conservation depends first of all on understanding what you want to conserve," notes Dale Rosengarten. "Second, it requires coordinating diverse groups and individuals, whose interests are not always in accord."[15] This process of negotiation is an important part of Wilson's work in heritage districts, and with ICH safeguarding strategies in general. Public folklorist Jim Griffith notes: "Many public folklorists find themselves continuously negotiating – with their employers, with potential project sponsors, with various kinds of special-interest organizations, with the communities and artists with whom they work. Frequently the public folklorist has aims that differ from those of many individuals within the agency in which he or she works. Even presenting the work of a folk artist to the public frequently involves negotiation."[16]

Another ICH-rich heritage district is Cable Avenue in Bay Roberts, a street planned and built by the Western Union Telegraph Company. A similar research methodology was utilized, involving intensive interviewing with past and former residents of the district. What the community wanted in Bay Roberts was different from what the community had wanted in Heart's Content. Instead of a booklet, HFNL curated a small exhibit at the local museum incorporating artefacts loaned from residents and audio clips from oral histories. HFNL also hosted a 100th birthday party for the Avenue in partnership with the town and local historical societies, complete with a birthday cake for the street, cut by one of the oldest residents.

HFNL's role on the Avenue was that of researcher, facilitator, and community organizer. Projects were determined in consultation with the community, developed with community involvement, and presented back to the community for viewing and participation.

In both instances, collected ethnographic materials were made available online through Memorial University's Digital Archives Initiative, YouTube, and Google maps: online information which community members then shared and re-shared through email and social media. HFNL took the role of facilitator and online curator, collecting and presenting community information back to the community for their own use.

Work in different heritage districts, or work on different projects within the same district, requires different types of mediation, along with a set of skills typical to the trained folklorist, as Wilson notes: "The role varies from community to community, and it has to. It has to be flexible. If I had a very strict idea of my role, I feel like I'd be disappointed, because it changes all the time. On some level, in working with heritage groups, I become a facilitator. That is what they look to me for. But when I'm talking to residents, I'm there usually collecting their stories and opinions, my role is so much different.

15 D. Rosengarten, "Sweetgrass is Gold: Natural Resources, Conservation Policy, and African-American Basketry", in: M. Hufford (ed.), *Conserving Culture*. Urbana, 1994, p. 152-163.

16 J. Griffith, "Feet on the Ground, Head in the Clouds: Some Thoughts on the Training of Public Folklorists", in: Baron & N. Spitzer (eds.), *Public Folklore*, p. 231-242.

I'm almost there as a friend, an ally or as someone who can give their stories meaning.

A lot of communities could do it themselves if they had the right communication avenues open, or the ability to focus on issues together. But because there are so many relationships within those communities that could be troubled or political, we can be a neutral force that helps the community work in a different way.

Folklorists are trained to be open to hearing different sides and not putting value judgements on things. We can put value judgements on things, privately, but I think we are trained to strip that away. We just aid them in improving what they are doing. We also have technical abilities that the communities might not, such as collecting oral histories and doing documentation, and helping them find out what they think is important. Sometimes they don't even realize what they find important until they have someone guiding them towards heritage issues or the intangible cultural heritage they have taken for granted. We can help them see value in it."[17]

Helping communities see the value of their everyday intangible cultural heritage is a crucial part of safeguarding local traditions and knowledge. "Because folklorists really do see the world differently from most people," argues folklorist Millie Rahn, "a major part of our work involves helping people recognize and use the richness and variety of their past as a basis for building a stronger future."[18]

While each HFNL project differs, the methodology is similar across the board, and is applicable to all ICH projects: (1) assessment of local needs or ICH under risk; (2) ethnographic research; (3) an interactive final project that encourages deep transmission; and, where possible, (4) documentation of the process.

Shalom Staub notes that the field of cultural conservation "has offered promising opportunities to reknit the tangible and intangible elements of cultural heritage, elements that for too long have been torn apart by academic models and bureaucratic structures,"[19] and that it can foster "creative interaction for the encouragement of folklife."[20] The ICH-based paradigm for heritage districts attempts to achieve the same thing: to bring together physical spaces and places with the stories and traditions of people living in and alongside them. The role of the mediator in the process is to help build bridges of understanding within the community, and show that spaces are more than just collections of historically significant pieces of architecture.

17 L. Wilson. Personal communication (22-01-2014).

18 M. Rahn, "Laying a Place at the Table: Creating Public Foodways Models from Scratch", *Journal of American Folklore* 119:471, 2006, p. 30-46.

19 S. Staub, "Cultural Conservation and Economic Recovery Planning: The Pennsylvania Heritage Parks Program", in: M. Hufford (ed.), *Conserving Culture: A New Discourse on Heritage*. Urbana, 1994, p. 229-244.

20 Staub, *Cultural*, p. 240.

3. Betty White posing with traditional "hooked" mats, Heart's Content, Newfoundland (Photo courtesy Mel Squarey/Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador)

Folklife and Festival

Folklorist Ryan Davis is one of the founding members and current executive director of the annual Mummers Festival, based in St. John's. The Mummers Festival focuses on a popular Christmastime disguise tradition. Originally established as the theme for HFNL's first annual folklife festival in 2009, the event has spun off into an annual festival of its own, with its own board of directors and mandate.

The festival is a community-based folklife festival which encourages the celebration and free expression of tradition. Throughout December, the Festival hosts a series of events and workshops culminating in the participatory Mummers Parade. Unlike other spectator events, or music and performance-based festivals, the Mummers Festival welcomes the public as participants and not just as observers, empowering people to take ownership of local arts, performance traditions, and calendar customs.

In many ways, Davis fulfills the role of cultural mediator, working with tradition bearers and finding new ways to invigorate a tradition that was considered by some to be under threat. He works, through the festival setting, to reframe and extend that tradition: "We can find out about how traditions are actually experienced and used today by speaking with tradition-bearers and community members," writes Davis. "But also, we can consult with them as we try to figure out new ways of presenting a tradition. We should ask them if they like our ideas for presentation formats, how we could improve on our ideas, and if there are better and more beneficial ways to showcase traditions."[21]

Davis is responsible for selecting artists and tradition bearers to showcase, and planning the way in which those individuals interact with the public through presentations, workshops, and performances. It is a process familiar to many public folklorists. As one American public folklorist notes, "I find it important to act as a mediator between audience and performers to be sure that I have done all I possibly can to ensure a respectful, intelligent, and appreciative response to the artists whom I have invited on stage."[22]

The folklife festival model Davis uses in the organization of the Mummers Festival provides one way at looking at how a broker works to safeguard a specific tradition or set of linked traditions. The festival works well because it assists the communities in fostering situations in which traditions can thrive. "Preserving and safeguarding culture does not suggest the protection of traditions from outside forces, but rather, supports the conditions necessary for cultural reproduction," writes Davis.[23]

Here, Davis elaborates on how he perceives his own role: "I think the number one job is to create a time and space for people to explore the tradition, and to include as many people as you can in that process, be it different tradition bearers, who all have their own understanding of the tradition, or people who have never done it before. I don't think it is two groups, necessarily, I think you are trying to create a space for… I don't know if dialogue is the right word, but some sort of interchange between people, because it isn't necessarily spoken. There is a sharing of understanding of this tradition, because the tradition is very diverse. In a lot of ways, it seems like it is just one thing, but because it is done so differently in different places, bringing all that into one place and seeing what happens is important. As a cultural broker, one should not try to dictate how things go, too much, just giving the right amount of structure that

21 R. Davis, *Festivals and Folklife: Project Planning for Cultural Festivals*. St. John's, 2010.

22 Griffith, *Feet on the Ground*, p. 237.

23 Davis, *Festivals*, p. 4.

4. Parade participants at the first Mummers Festival in St. John's (Photo courtesy Mark Bennett/Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador)

allows for people to feel that they are free to explore, to express, without feeling restricted in any way."[24]

Robert Cantwell, writing about the planning of the Festival of American Folklife, describes many of the processes involved in phraseology related to the art of magic, referring both to the sense of transport that visitors may experience, and in the sense of conjuring up, creating, or manipulating a temporary sense of place or community.[25] It is an idea that Davis, perhaps unconsciously, echoes in his thoughts about the Mummers Festival: "I knew the potential of gathering people together in disguise. I know it can be riotous as well, but I was looking for magic, I think, more than anything, that communal energy that goes on. That was what I was hoping for: that if you got enough people together in disguise, and brought them together in one place at one time that something would happen, and it would be spontaneous and unpredictable. I loved the idea that everyone who was in disguise would all of a sudden be one common group, even though they might be diverse in terms of their costume or disguise. But they'd all be mummers for one day, and I liked that idea of taking away all those other things that divide people."[26]

24 R. Davis. Personal communication (15-01-2014).

25 R. Cantwell, "Conjuring Culture: Ideology and Magic in the Festival of American Folklife", in: M. Hufford (ed.), *Conserving Culture*, p. 167-183.

26 R. Davis. Personal communication (15-01-2014).

Davis's work approaches something close to what Rahn would call "a subtle method of social activism."[27] The festival becomes more than a reframing of tradition; it is transmuted into a tool for social destratification. The festival organizer, as conjurer, temporarily creates a new type of community in which all are equal participants.

The sense of community forged by a folklife festival is not always as ephemeral as that created by the Mummers Parade, and can offer opportunities to create lasting communities or networks of tradition bearers.

In 2012, HFNL organized its annual folklife festival around the theme of "make and break" engines – a type of hardy vintage boat engine used on small fishing boats through the first half of the twentieth century. The engines were simple, with a limited number of parts, making it easy for fishermen to repair them quickly and cheaply while on land or water.[28] Changes in marine technology, boatbuilding styles, and the fishery led to their decline, but a number of enthusiasts continued to maintain, collect, restore, and use the old engines. Many rural people, not necessarily boat owners, had strong memories of the distinctive sound of the engines, a nostalgia-inducing tucka-tucka-tuck, once a common part of the aural landscape.

The festival was organized following HFNL's strategy for ICH safeguarding: ethnographic research was conducted; vintage repair manuals discovered, digitized and shared online; community experts and tradition bearers were mobilized; and a public flotilla of vintage boats with working engines was organized.

Following the public event, a "parts swap" was organized, where boat engine enthusiasts were encouraged to bring pieces and parts for vintage engines to a central location. There, they traded and sold pieces, shared information, and made connections. The coordinator, a graduate student of folklore, wore many hats, working as an ethnographic field worker, project planner, and publicist.

Prior to the festival, most of the enthusiasts had worked in isolation; the festival gave people with a common interest a chance to forge a new, mutually-beneficial community. After the event, the festival coordinator reported: "The smiles… around me on the day of the events came from the sense of belonging, a sense of camaraderie in an endeavor that some of these men may have thought was impossible – bringing new life to these old engines. Many of the men that gathered that day did not know each other, although they may have known of one another. The older generation mixed with the younger and by the end of the day new friendships were born – new friendships that will hopefully last as long as the influence of the make and break engines. There were whispers that day of making the event an annual meet, of engine owners coming together to form an association which would allow them all to keep their engines running and, hopefully, get more back on the water."[29]

27 Rahn, *Laying a Place*, p. 31.

28 J. Carey, "Max Clarke's Make and Break Engines", *Intangible Cultural Heritage Update* 35, 2012, p. 2-3.

29 J. Carey, "Make and Break Festival Review", *Intangible Cultural Heritage Update* 36, 2012, p. 2-3.

5. "Make and Break" engine festival poster, Bonavista. Image courtesy Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador.

One of the community partners in the event was the Wooden Boat Museum of Newfoundland and Labrador, an organization which operates as conservator, exhibitor, and transmitter of the province's knowledge and history of wooden boats, their economic use and contribution to community life. HFNL made its collected ethnographic material and list of informants and participants available to the Boat Museum, who then used that information to organize further boat engine events. Their long-term plan is to include the emerging make and break engine community into future "boats on the water" events, encouraging the transmission of traditional knowledge around boats and boat making.

Conclusions

Staub notes that the three key elements of cultural conversation are "the emphasis on interdisciplinary collaboration, the integration of cultural resources, and the emphasis on community involvement."[30] What is missing from this equation are the facilitators, the agents of change that makes this collaboration, integration, and involvement possible.

In the Newfoundland and Labrador model for safeguarding intangible cultural heritage, the role of the broker is central, though it may go by many names. Rahn notes that "public folklore takes the conversations out of the academy and restores them to the community, where they began."[31] The Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador works to do just this, encouraging both conversation about and conservation of what communities feel to be of local importance. The tools we use as public folklorists shift from project to project, and our roles shift within and between projects, but the goal remains the same: to safeguard intangible cultural heritage as part of a living community.

30 Staub, *Cultural*, p. 229.

31 Rahn, *Laying a Place*, p. 31.

VERONIKA FILKÓ

Using Networks in the Process of Developing the National Inventory of ICH in Hungary

The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage was adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO in 2003. In the spring of 2004, the Convention was sent out to all the member states by the Director General of UNESCO for ratification. The preparations for accession in Hungary were assigned by competence to the Department of Community Culture within the Ministry of Culture.

Apart from the necessary steps of state administration, a broad public reconciliation was executed with a group of experts including anthropologists, ethnographers, and representatives of cultural and civilian bodies about the interpretation of the Convention's professional content, its adaptation to Hungary and the scope of state duties following its ratification.

With the approval of different state administrative bodies, the proposal of accession to the Convention jointly presented by the Ministries of Culture, Justice and Foreign Affairs was finally discussed and adopted by the Hungarian Parliament on the 6 February, 2006.

Hungary passed Act 2006 XXXVIII ratifying the Convention and thus became the 39th country to accede. At the General Assembly of the States Parties to the Convention in 2006, Hungary was elected to be a member of the Intergovernmental Committee.

Since April 1 2009, the institution charged with the coordination of the implementation of the Convention on the national level is the Hungarian Open Air Museum, where the Department of the Intangible Cultural Heritage was established as a separate organisational unit.

I. The Development of the National Inventory

In accordance with the aims of UNESCO, the States Parties shall identify intangible cultural heritage elements within their territories and draw up inventories. In fulfilling this obligation in May, 2009 the Minister of Education and Culture has called on tradition bearer communities, groups and individuals in Hungary to nominate recognized elements of their own ICH for inscription.

Following the recommendation of the ICH Committee, the Minister of Culture created two lists in service of the safeguarding Hungary's intangible cultural heritage, the National Inventory of ICH and the National Register of Best Safeguarding Practices.

1. Potter of Mezőtúr teaching a child (Photo: Christian Ziel)

In Hungary the guiding principle for implementation is that nomination must be initiated by the relevant communities in all cases. Communities must also play a primary role in preparing the bulk of the documentation as well as in developing and implementing effective measures for protecting the element. Without the widest participation of the tradition bearer communities, all the safeguarding measures would prove impossible.

The procedure and guidelines for nomination are similar to those of inscription on the UNESCO lists[1] – a form is to be filled out detailing the element and how it meets the criteria for inscription, and prescribed documents and materials are to be attached. In preparing the nomination, the wide-scale involvement of experts, local NGOs and relevant groups is greatly encouraged. Nomination materials are then submitted to the institution charged with implementing points of the Convention nationally which in Hungary is the Department of Intangible Cultural Heritage at the Hungarian

1 Criteria for the National Inventory:
N.1. The element must be compatible with the definition of ICH element as described in Article 2. paragraphs 1 and 2 of the Convention.
N2. Inscription on the Inventory provides for greater visibility of and public access to the intangible cultural heritage, as well as increased awareness of its significance. Thus the Inventory and the elements inscribed thereon reflect the cultural diversity of the nation and serve as examples of human creativity.
N.3. General policies and programs are in place to facilitate the safeguarding, viability and sustainability of the element.
N.4. The element was nominated for inscription with the widest possible participation, involvement and prior informed consent of the communities, groups and, where applicable, individuals who are the bearers/practitioners of the element.
Criteria for the National Register of Best Safeguarding Practices:
J.1. The programme, project or activity serves the objective of safeguarding as described in Article 2.3 of the Convention

2. Falconer family (Photo: Dr. Eszter Csonka-Takács)

J.2. If already completed, the programme, project or activity has demonstrated effectiveness in contributing to the viability of the intangible cultural heritage concerned. If still underway or planned, it can reasonably be expected to contribute substantially to the viability of the intangible cultural heritage concerned.
J.3. The programme, project or activity has been or will be implemented with the participation of the community, group or, if applicable, individuals concerned and with their free, prior and informed consent.
J.4. The programme, project or activity is potentially suited to serve as a national model for safeguarding activities.

Open Air Museum. Here the nominations are reviewed for form and content by two independent experts of the particular field. The Department of Intangible Cultural Heritage then prepares a summary report on the findings of the experts and determines the nomination's compliance with requirements for inscription on the National Inventory. The material is examined by the National Committee for Intangible Cultural Heritage, who then recommends to the Minister the inscription of the particular element.

Since nomination documents are compiled by members of the community, we may declare that community participation is a key factor and a basic criterion in the process of inscription. During the evaluation of the nominations the Department of Intangible Cultural Heritage, the independent experts and the Expert Committee especially check, and highly appreciate, the broadest possible involvement and contribution on behalf of the community, without which it would be extremely difficult to make any decisions or implement any safeguarding measures.

II. Networks Fostering Cooperation

As in Hungary a bottom up system was set up for the developing of the national inventories, an important question have arisen at the very beginning: how to reach the tradition bearers themselves.

The cooperation and efforts of local experts is crucial in order to identify, document and develop a system of local safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage elements, as well as to facilitate their promotion, transmission and access, and considered to be an axiom in the national implementation process in Hungary.

Different networks were established on the national level to link the coordinator institution (the Department of ICH of the Hungarian Open Air Museum) with the local experts of different fields and the tradition bearer communities.

The main purposes of the networks are to raise awareness on the importance of safeguarding the ICH, to make the principles of the Convention 2003 more visible, to foster the exchange of different heritage-safeguarding measures and strategies, and gain the widest possible public attention for the importance of cultural diversity.

A. Networks of Experts

- Network of *County Rapporteurs* of ICH
- Network of *Voluntary Professionals*
- Network of *Hungarian Professionals Abroad*

1. County Rapporteurs

At the turn of 2010 and 2011, while setting up the system of professional *county rapportueurs,* it was useful to draw on the former network of county museums. In each county, an expert from among the county museum's staff was

appointed to coordinate and facilitate the promotion, the awareness-raising and give professional guidance to the communities. The specific tasks are to be delegated, managed and coordinated by the Department of ICH.
Main responsibilities and tasks of the county coordinators for safeguarding ICH:

- Raising awareness of the importance of the ICH,
- initiating and coordinating the documentation of ICH elements in their county and region,
- organizing local forums and meetings,
- transmitting information to communities,
- providing professional counseling to affected communities (e.g. the definition of ICH, process of nomination for the National Inventory),
- linking the communities with the network of experts,
- maintaining continuous contact with the Department of ICH,
- participating in training and courses,
- submitting annual reports to the Department of ICH.

The inaugural session of the network was in January 2011, giving a comprehensive training in ICH for the local professionals. Since then, two plenary meetings and workshops are held in each year, mostly at the Hungarian Open Air Museum in Szentendre. For the meetings, each rapporteur shall prepare a presentation and a report about the current situation at his or her county, summarizing all the measures taken since the last meeting, also introducing the tradition bearer communities with whom they started to cooperate. These workshops also give the opportunity to discuss the problems which may have arisen during their work; for this reason, experts from different fields (ministry representatives, heritage experts, university professors, etc.) are invited to almost every workshop.

There are also several informal meetings, field trips and opportunities for the rapporteurs to develop close cooperation, collegiality and friendship in order to make their work together even more effective. A special, closed mailing list is also available for the rapporteurs, where not only the events, programs and material related to ICH is shared by the members, but also calls for papers, conferences and workshops on various topics.

Since the establishment of the county rapporteur system, the Department of ICH has regularly offered local information forums, explaining the goals of the Convention, the most important points of its implementation internationally and in Hungary, presenting the UNESCO lists and the national inventories created in Hungary. Attending NGOs, professionals, local officials and heritage practitioners learn about the mechanism and criteria of nomination for the inventory. Local information forums are usually accompanied by a banner exhibition by the Department of ICH which presents the elements on the Hungarian National Inventory one by one, illustrates the UNESCO Convention and the Hungarian practice. Information in booklet form is distributed at these forums.

3. Meeting of the County Rapporteurs in Kalocsa (Photo: Veronika Filkó)

2. Network of Voluntary Professionals

Besides the county rapporteurs, a *network of voluntary professionals* was also established, because the involvement and active participation of competent experts in a wide range of fields is essential for implementing and achieving the diverse tasks regarding the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage elements. This network makes up a database of individuals, groups and organizations involved in the field of intangible cultural heritage at both national and mainly local levels. Each expert contributes to and participates in the realization of specific tasks according to his or her own localization, field and area of expertise. The network includes members of non-governmental cultural organizations; individuals working in centers of culture, research and education as well as those managing museums and public collections; and those competent in any of the various domains of intangible cultural heritage, while also possessing a comprehensive knowledge of the given community or region, its attributes and cultural life.

Their main tasks could be:

- Identification of local heritage
- Elaboration of safeguarding measures
- Guidance for the communities on the process of nomination
- Raising awareness on the local level
- Encouraging local educational programs

Anybody could be included in the database, because it is believed that every individual willing to help, whether to assist the communities, or to spread the word and making the principles of the Convention 2003 more visible, could be very important in the whole process of implementation. A form has to be

filled out by each expert, stating their field of expertise and some contact info, which they agree to be put on a publicly accessible database. This database in a revised form will be fully accessible on the new web page of ICH in Hungary to be launched in spring 2014. This will enable, for example, communities interested in nominating an element or groups organizing an event to freely search for an expert suitable for them.

3. Network of Hungarian Professionals Abroad

The Department of ICH extended its expert network to neighbouring countries. In order to help raise awareness on the Hungarian-related ICH, forums were organised for local professionals in touch with local communities who can thus help information flow and increase chances of inscription. At the first session, July 2010, a proposal was drafted for state decision makers about safeguarding heritage items in the countries affected, highlighting possibilities inherent in bilateral co-operation.

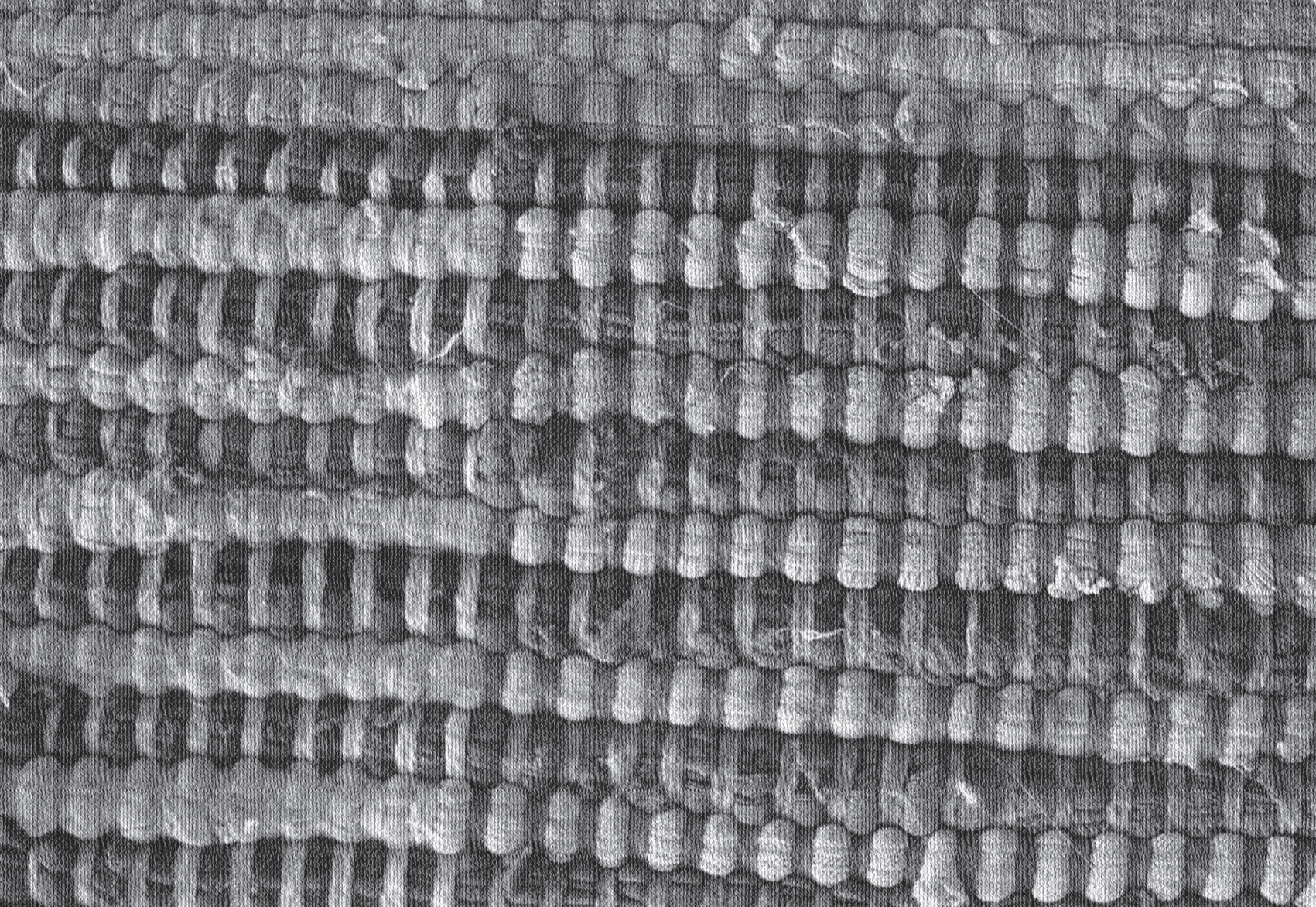
The second session in the fall of 2011 took the form of further training on information and methodology for heritage management and the options contained in the Convention 2003. Heritage protection was taught in theory and practice. Introductory lectures described the emergence of the Convention, implementation in Hungary, traditions of the Matyó embroidery, the process of nomination and then restorers of the Hungarian Open Air Museum described the safeguarding of tangible items.

B. Connecting the Tradition Bearers – the Circle and Forum of "Consciously Heritage-Safeguarding Communities"

In 2009, the Department of ICH also established the Circle of Consciously Safeguarding Communities[2] (TÖKK) for communities inscribed on the National Inventory. TÖKK provides further trainings and guidance to these communities and serves as a forum for exchange of experiences and ideas about the preservation of their heritage and about the process of nomination to the National Inventory.

The forums focus on presentation, analysis and methods for application of safeguarding practices, as well as debate on various pertinent issues. Communities present their own safeguarding strategies offering their learning to benefit other communities. In addition, these sessions discuss thematic issues, focusing on a particular predetermined aspect. One example was discussing the legal aspects of practising the intangible cultural heritage. Communities mutually invite each other to their events, gaining first hand experience of the practice of heritage safeguarding, learning from each other's methods, safeguarding strategies and the forms of heritage protection on the non-governmental and the institutional level.

2 In Hungarian: "Tudatos Örökségvédő Közösségek Köre", TÖKK.



LOTHAR CASTELEYN, ELLEN JANSSENS AND
JORIJN NEYRINCK

Six Years of Experience in Intangible Heritage Mediation in Flanders (Belgium)

From Cultural Heritage Cells and an ICH Network to www.immaterieelerfgoed.be

This contribution discusses how heritage mediation and brokerage are at the core of safeguarding intangible cultural heritage and the development of an ICH-network in Flanders, from the ratification of the ICH-Convention to the introduction of www.immaterieelerfgoed.be, Crucial players such as the cultural heritage cells and dedicated centers of expertise are introduced, with a special focus on how they function as an ICH network. Experiences from their working practice over the last six years as cultural brokers are shared. Finally the goals and challenges of the digital broker www.immaterieelerfgoed.be are presented.

"Surprise us..."

In the first decade of the 21st century, the Flemish Government opted for formulas of co-governance with the instruments of "covenants" in several policy fields: youth, urban development, nature and culture. At the end of the 20th century it became clear that even the Flemish decree for museums[1] that introduced "museumconsulenten" would not suffice. It was time for a new policy with a broader approach to museology and cultural heritage. Strategically pooling the resources on different levels of government (local, Flemish...) on the one hand and introducing and financing professional heritage brokers and mediators on the other hand were the main ingredients for a formula called "cultural heritage covenants".

1 On the website of Kunsten en Erfgoed, the cultural heritage agency of the Flemish Government, the different steps of connecting several decrees into one cultural heritage decree (2004, and later versions in 2008 and 2012) are well documented: http://www.kunstenenerfgoed.be/ake/view/nl/1413004-Historiek+van+het+Cultureel-erfgoeddecreet.html

This new instrument was created on an experimental basis in 2000. Heritage covenants were set up between Antwerp, Bruges and Ghent and the Flemish Government. Extra financial resources gave these cities the possibilities to create the basis for a more profound local cultural heritage policy. These covenants were launched, with great success and impact. As these first experimental steps towards a broader cultural heritage approach did not fail, they were introduced in other regions and were then institutionalized. The Flemish Government decided to include the cultural heritage covenants in the cultural heritage decree of 2004. Ten years later, there are twenty-two heritage covenants in Flanders.[2] Together they operate in 116 communes, already covering one third of the cities and villages in Flanders.[3]

A cultural heritage covenant is an agreement between the Flemish Government and for instance a city, a cluster of villages and towns or a province. The motto in these agreements in the previous decade was, next to co-governance and planning, the integral and integrated approach.[4] The basis for this covenant is a heritage policy plan, a document that presents the local vision for cultural heritage care and also offers an overview of the needs of the local cultural heritage and of the players that safeguard it.

With the financial resources for the cultural heritage covenants a new kind of actor in the professional heritage field was able to be introduced in the 21st century: the cultural heritage cells. "I expect the heritage cells to surprise us, to raise eyebrows and to show us things in a creative way like we have never seen them before. I expect them to make new connections and to tap from unknown sources."[5] These were the expectations voiced by former Minister of Culture Bert Anciaux who was responsible for launching and consolidating the formula in a decree. He made it clear that the employees of the heritage cell had a different function to fulfil than employees already occupied in museums and archives.

The cultural heritage cell: brokers in action

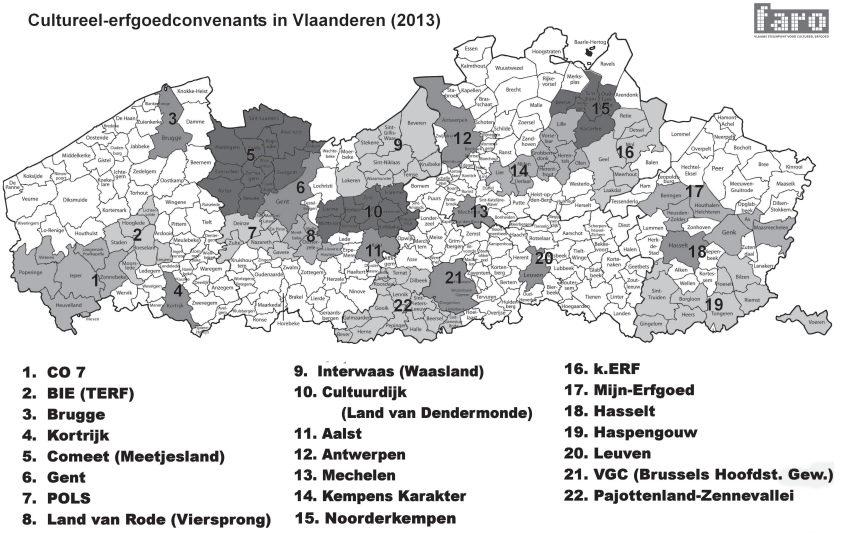
A cultural heritage cell works in a city or in a cluster of towns and villages. Its aim is to raise awareness about the tangible and intangible heritage in their region. A heritage cell does not bear the responsibility for managing collections itself, but is a local interface that encourages sharing and pooling

2 An overview of all cultural heritage cells is presented on http://www.erfgoedcellen.be, including a link to the separate website of each of these cells ...

3 From 2014 onwards there is a new way of supporting the local cultural heritage policies in the cities Antwerp, Ghent, Bruges, Mechelen and Leuven and of supporting the regional cultural heritage policies in the five Flemish provinces. They are given the possibility to subscribe to a series of Flemish priorities, as defined by the Flemish Government. For more information: http://www.kunstenenerfgoed.be/ake/view/nl/1497932-Handleidingen.html

4 An "integral approach" means that the different actors in the cultural heritage field (museum, archives, libraries ...) work intertwined, while the "integrated approach" also makes sure that there are connections to other important local fields as youth, tourism, education, immovable heritage ...

5 M. Jacobs, B. Rzoska & G. Vercauteren (eds.), *Synergie² 2010. Het cultureel-erfgoedconvenant als hedendaags beleidsinstrument*. Brussel, 2009, p. 116.



1. Cultural Heritage Cells in Flanders (2013) (© FARO)

information and expertise, stimulates innovation and collaborations between holders of collections, associations of volunteers and/or communities and groups that wish to safeguard intangible cultural heritage, helps to set up new projects and also tries to draw the public's interest and – where possible – include inhabitants and visitors in the projects it sets up.

To raise heritage awareness about local history and heritage, cultural heritage cells connect the immoveable, the tangible and the intangible heritage. By working together and inviting others to do so, by forming a network with all the players in the local heritage field, heritage cells bring together expertise and knowledge. To be fully successful, the cultural heritage cells have to operate on two levels. On the one hand they have to detect the possibilities and problems of the local heritage field. On the other hand they have to operate and interact in a dynamic professional heritage sector on a regional and Flemish level.

In the 21st century, cultural heritage policy in Flanders also opted to introduced, reinforce, inject and finance brokers, mediators and networks of expertise in the networks of archives, museums, heritage libraries, popular culture and safeguarding intangible heritage on a Flemish level. In the previous decade, under the umbrella of "complementary policy" and stimulated by first the museum decree and a decree on popular culture (1998), and then consolidated in the cultural heritage decree of 2008, the local, provincial and Flemish government, tried to work together to reinforce this network. In the second decade of the 21st century, new governments and other political and policy discourses put more emphasis on the relative autonomy of the different levels and on the local level in particular.

2. Workshop on ICH in cooperation with the heritage cell (© tapis plein)

Within the territory covered by the covenant, a heritage cell tries to connect local heritage institutions (museums, archives, heritage libraries …) to the numerous non-professional heritage organizations, private collectors or to local craftsmen. This integrated heritage approach also inspires cultural heritage cells to look beyond the borders of the heritage field in the strict sense of the word. Partnerships have been set up with, amongst others, schools, social institutions, theatres, youth movements, actors in tourism and homes for the elderly. Thus, the cultural heritage cells operate in an expansive and diverse network. As time progresses, they become a local interface for cultural heritage organizations and other local players and a catalyst for their networks.

A professional dialogue with cultural heritage institutions on a regional and Flemish level is also important. Crucial partners are the other cultural heritage cells, centres of expertise and FARO, the Flemish interface for cultural heritage. The broader cultural heritage sector in Flanders (museums, archives, heritage libraries …) is also aware of the importance of building up networks of expertise and addresses the heritage cells as partners in projects. The interaction between the various cultural heritage cells has been a working goal from the start. The knowhow gained from local projects is shared through thematic "communities of practice" on a Flemish level.[6] Projects have been set up in cooperation between several cultural heritage cells and sometimes even between all twenty-two organizations. The cultural heritage cells are also a

6 E. Wenger, *Communities of Practice: Learning, Meaning, and Identity*. Cambridge, 1998; E. Wenger, R. McDermott & W. Snyder (ed.), *Cultivating Communities of Practice* (Hardcover). Boston, 2002; M. Jacobs, "Netwerk, domein en praktijk. Cultureel-erfgoedpraktijkgemeenschappen en het nieuwe Vlaamse Cultureel-erfgoeddecreet, 23 mei 2008", *faro* 1:2, 2008, p. 12-17.

vital partner in the yearly event "Erfgoeddag"[7], a Flemish cultural "Heritage Day" that presents cultural heritage in all its diversity to the broad public and attracts over 220.000 visitors every year.

A compatible policy for safeguarding intangible cultural heritage in and the role of professional heritage mediators

The policy options in the Flemish community in the 21st century, that were expressed and spearheaded by the formula of covenants-cum-heritage-cells, proved to be compatible with another innovation in the previous decade; the new UNESCO Convention for the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage. Belgium ratified the Convention in 2006. The Flemish Government has taken a number of steps to develop a policy for ICH, beginning in 2008 with the creation of the Inventory for Intangible Cultural Heritage in Flanders. Key to the implementation of the Convention in Flanders is the central role of communities. The Flemish Government stated explicitly that it wishes to take measures to facilitate the transmission of what communities consider as being their ICH.

The inventory for ICH in Flanders, an instrument of safeguarding that was foreseen in article 11 and 12 of the 2003 UNESCO Convention, is not only seen as a tool for awareness raising on ICH and showcasing its diversity. It is also a catalyst for safeguarding of ICH. The notion of prior and informed consent is turned into a rule that it has to be the heritage community that starts up the process and applies for an inscription on the inventory. To make sure that they are properly informed and that they have access to safeguarding methods and networks, a community that wishes to safeguard intangible cultural heritage and to enter procedures of safeguarding under the flag of ICH policy, is required to seek contact and cooperate with an organization, subsidised on the basis of the Flemish Decree on Cultural Heritage. These organizations assist the process of application and follow-up of the safeguarding process on the longer term. Heritage workers in those organisations are in this function brokers and translators; enhancing the heritage awareness within the community as mediators and helping them design safeguarding measures for the element of ICH, in the spirit of the 2003 Convention and taking into account the view of the Flemish government and the networks of heritage organizations.

When in 2008, the Flemish Parliament adopted a new Cultural Heritage Decree "intangible cultural heritage" was mentioned but a separate chapter was not developed. That Cultural Heritage Decree (that has been updated and replace by a new decree in 2012) introduced another term to heritage policy (discourse) that is of great value for a policy on ICH: "heritage community". This concept was appropriated from an inspiring heritage policy text of the Council of Europe, the Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural

7 The website http://www.erfgoeddag.be gives an interesting overview of the players involved and the activities on offer on the yearly Heritage Day.

3. “Finch sport” in Flanders: shooting of the short film “Suskewiet” on the Kemmelberg (© CO7 - Nyk Dekeyser)

4. “Design with roots”, project of tapis plein (ngo) on crafts (© Alain Meessen)

Heritage for Society, aka the 2005 Faro Convention.[8] Two years later, in 2010, the Flemish Minister responsible for Culture, Joke Schauvliege, emphasized the link between these concepts and conventions, in a vision statement entitled "A Policy for Intangible Cultural Heritage in Flanders". A key point is "safeguarding ICH through facilitation". The Flemish Government has defined its own role as follows: "The policy must provide the specific tools and establish the specific activities that will enable the continued development of ICH": It addresses on the one hand the creation of a facilitating framework and network to provide assistance, guidance, support and opportunities to groups and heritage communities in their bottom-up efforts to safeguard ICH. On the other hand it also introduced the idea of a building a "Database for ICH" to facilitate this network and the safeguarding of ICH in Flanders."[9]

A network of cultural brokers for ICH in Flanders

As already said, the basic philosophy of the Flemish policy for ICH is that it should be the heritage group or community that takes the initiative and that it is the role of the policymakers and heritage actors on the Flemish level to ensure that each interested heritage community is given the information or is able to get easy access to the knowledge required to make an analysis, either autonomously or with assistance, of the implications of an intangible cultural heritage approach or which safeguarding measures they could take.

To realize this policy, the government supports a network of intermediary organisations working on ICH to support the heritage communities in these safeguarding processes. An important component is the network of the "heritage cells" we have introduced in the first paragraphs, operating in limited geographical zones all around Flanders, dealing with all sorts of cultural heritage and cultivating a local scope. Next to those local heritage cells, there is also a network of heritage organizations working for the whole of Flanders, and thereby focusing on a specific heritage theme. They can be specialized centres of expertise, but also other organizations that decide to work on safeguarding intangible cultural heritage, like museums, organizations for popular culture

8 "Vision Statement – A Policy for Intangible Cultural Heritage in Flanders", in: D. Van Den Broucke & A. Thys (eds.), Brussel, 2012, p. 147: "The term 'heritage communities' was assumed from the Council of Europe 2005 Framework Convention on the value of Cultural Heritage for Society (also called the Faro Convention). The Cultural Heritage Act defines a heritage community as follows: 'a heritage community is a community that consists of organizations and/or individuals who value specific aspects of cultural heritage which they wish, within the framework of public action, to sustain and transmit to future generations.' This is an interesting definition to interpret and to grasp the concept of 'communities, groups and individuals concerned' used in the Convention."

9 "Vision Statement – A Policy for Intangible Cultural Heritage in Flanders", in: Van Den Broucke & Thys, p. 170. The vision statement described the aims of a database for ICH in Flanders as follows: "A new instrument must make the following possible: to give visibility to the ICH in Flanders, to link elements of ICH, to link elements and examples of best practices, experts and cores of expertise, to enhance "the development, demonstration and reporting on safeguarding measures and measures for the transmission of ICH and the listing of best practices."

or archives.[10] In the Flemish network both local scopes and thematic (country wide) scopes connect and interact.

Keys to this framework are the methods of mediation and cultural brokerage they use. There is a close collaboration within the network and knowledge and expertise is exchanged. Organizations discuss out problems, needs and requirements, as well as best practices.

Cultural heritage cells and safeguarding practices

Examining the dossiers of the 37 elements that are inscribed on the Flemish inventory for Intangible Cultural Heritage at the start of January 2014, it becomes clear that the cultural heritage cells were an active partner from the beginning in the preparation of many of the applications. The inventory is of course only the tip of the iceberg, a possible result of an intensive path of ICH awareness raising within a community. In regions or towns where a cultural heritage cell is active, they tend to be a vital partner in building up this awareness.

Being professional players, their knowledge of the Flemish heritage policies is an important help for communities that are eager to work on the ICH awareness of the element their community is attached to. Together with the communities the heritage cells start by looking back at the history, the characteristics, the context and above all at the efforts that have already been taken to safeguard the element. By rethinking parts of a ritual or festivity or making documentation accessible to new generations, many communities have already been cultivating ICH awareness without labelling it that way. The cultural heritage cell points this out, and in doing so helps the local community to get acquainted with the ICH vocabulary and philosophy.

A next step, in which cultural heritage cells offer their services and expertise as important partners, is raising further awareness for the ICH element in the local heritage field and political circles. By communicating about the element via diverse media (website, newsletters, local magazine…), the cultural heritage cell helps to create a broader public appeal for the element or helps the community to look for new volunteers. This communicative support is very important for the local communities.

10 "Vision Statement – A Policy for Intangible Cultural Heritage in Flanders", in: Van Den Broucke & Thys, p. 162: "The model of 'one single organization, subsidised to fulfil an anchor function for a heritage community and to steer it, maintain and disseminate knowledge and expertise' (cfr. Flemish Parliament Act on Popular Culture, 1997) [sic: 1998), was integrated into the Flemish Parliament Act on Cultural Heritage in 2008 and opened the door to other thematic angles. The museums and cultural archives institutions classified to the Flemish level as well as the Vlaamse Erfgoedbibliotheek (Flemish Heritage Library) are through this Act expected to fulfil an anchor function, and to disseminate and share the knowledge they have at their disposal. The ultimate goal is to create a network of cultural heritage organisations which covers all aspects of heritage preservation, dissemination and brokerage between heritage and the public. The model that was introduced through the Flemish Parliament Act on Cultural Heritage offered possibilities for an intangible cultural heritage policy."

5. Processional giants Amir and Noa, Mechelen (© Jan Van Dijck)

And finally cultural heritage cells also create a breeding ground for new initiatives and collaborations with other partners in the local heritage field. The cultural heritage cell works with the heritage community to consider and evaluate methods that can help to circulate information about their tradition. The emphasis on safeguarding heritage can differ from that of other intermediary players who are interested in these phenomena and are more focused on their specific point of view and agenda (such as city marketing, tourism, local economy). The cultural heritage cells support the communities in their continuous search for bottom-up connections and a communal sense of ownership.

PROJECT EXAMPLE: The "Mechelse Ommegang"[11]

The "Mechelse Ommegang", a combination of a procession and a cavalcade, takes place in the city of Mechelen every 25 years. For the "Ommegang "of 2013, the Heritage Cell Mechelen supported the community and raised awareness about this tradition to the (many new) inhabitants of the city through various participative actions and projects:

- The giants – the most popular figures of the spectacle – were modified in collaboration with the community. Diverse groups of sewers and stitchers, young and old, made new costumes for the giants. The wool necessary for this project was collected through a public call for participation. The traditional giant's song was transformed into a rap song.

11 www.erfgoedcelmechelen.be

- A second important focus was the multicultural approach. To reflect the current day multicultural population of Mechelen, a population which has seriously evolved over the last 25 years, an information leaflet was prepared in nine languages and two new young giants were introduced. The Heritage Cell Mechelen supported the community in their safeguarding efforts with these and other initiatives. Doing so, they helped to successfully adapt the Mechelse Ommegang to the 21st century and increased the value of this tradition for old and new inhabitants.

An emerging network of centers of expertise[12]

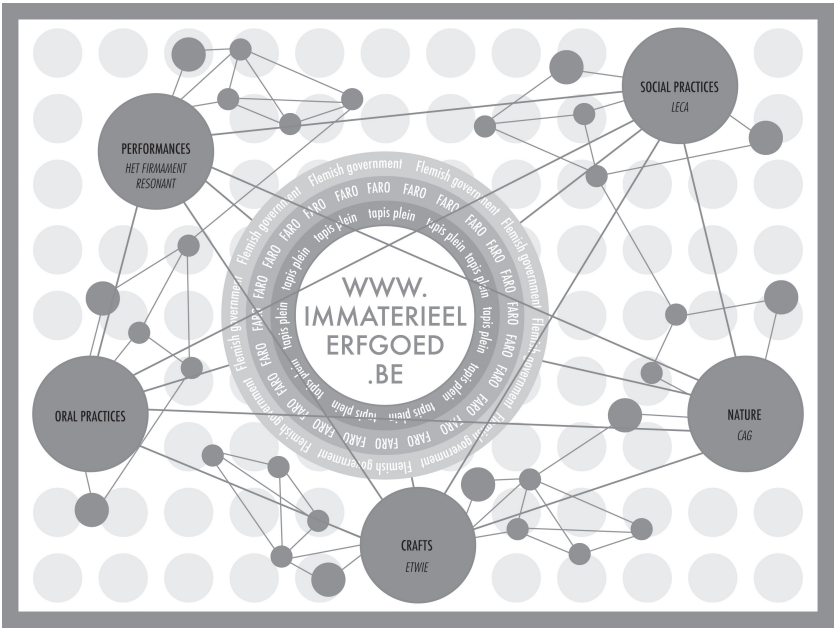
Following up on the publication of the Flemish policy vision paper in 2010, a network of heritage organizations working on and being subsidized on the Flemish level has crystalized. The different domains of ICH as mentioned in article 2.2 of the 2003 Convention helped to organize and divide the tasks:
- Oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage;
- Performing arts;
- Social practices, rituals and festive events;
- Knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe;
- Traditional craftsmanship.

At the start of 2013, a meeting was held for each of these ICH domains: bring together professional organizations and other stakeholders in Flanders with a link to the domain. The meetings initiated the participative development of a thematic network for each ICH domain. An overview of the ongoing or planned ICH projects was made up for each domain and one or two centers of expertise were granted the role of "coordinator" for a domain.[13]

The profile of these "thematic domain coordinators" can best be described as brokerage. These heritage workers are team players in their relations as colleagues for the ICH-network in Flanders, as colleagues and coordinators within a network per domain, but they also act as bridge, translator, and facilitator towards other stakeholders and actors, and mediate between the different government and administrations on the one hand and the heritage communities on the other. Each of these roles demands another approach of the heritage worker, trying to keep up the credibility as a professional, independent but socially engaged heritage worker.

12 "Vision Statement – A Policy for Intangible Cultural Heritage in Flanders", in: D. Van Den Broucke & A. Thys (eds.), 2012, p. 167.

13 Domain 1: no coördinator; domain 2: Het Firmament (Centre of expertise on the heritage of performing arts / www.hetfirmament.be) & Resonant vzw (Centre of expertise on musical heritage / www.resonant.be); domain: LECA vzw (Centre of expertise on everyday culture / www.lecavzw.be); domain 4: CAG (Centre of expertise for agraric history / www.cagnet.be); domain 5: ETWIE (Centre of expertise for technical, scientific and industrial heritage / www.etwie.be).



6. The thematic networks in Flanders (© tapis plein)

Together, these organizations, with the general support of the NGOs tapis plein and FARO[14], they form a so-called ICH-coordinating network.[15] It is a structure to address general needs (and requirements) in the safeguarding of ICH in Flanders, transcending domains as well as local or regional contexts. Within this network of "domain coordinators" the role of each player is defined within an internal agreement, based on the vision statement, and outlining the mutual expected actions as the follow-up on (policy-) developments, bottom-up needs regarding ICH in general, sharing of inspirational cases and experiences, and general topics as communication, awareness-raising on ICH …

14 Tapis plein vzw, center of expertise on heritage participation: for the first years of implementing the new policy of ICH one more NGO has been attributed a role or function that is more horizontal-like and methodically focused: tapis plein, a center of expertise working on heritage and participation since 2003. The value of this type of expertise is situated in the know-how to work with community participation, education, transmission, actualization of heritage, etc. This type of know-how has relevance throughout all the domains of ICH, considering the central role of communities and the coming generations in the transmission of traditions, practices etc. This NGO focuses all the more on the strengthening of the cooperation and networks in the ICH field, in which the local communities and the cities are a very important dimension / FARO. Flemish Interface for Cultural Heritage.

15 "Vision Statement – A Policy for Intangible Cultural Heritage in Flanders", in: Van Den Broucke & Thys, p. 169: "These organisations can also unite in networks and share knowledge and expertise in this way and make it usable for the intangible cultural heritage."

Brokers within an ICH domain network

Considering the ICH domains**,** the role of the domain coordinators takes the form of a mediator or broker within the professional network for each respective domain and towards the heritage communities.

The network within a domain consists of organizations, subsidized on the basis of Flemish Decree on Cultural Heritage (these can be museums or cultural archives institutions classified at the Flemish level, centers of expertise for cultural heritage, but also, via the abovementioned formula of covenants, heritage cells…), and by extension unsubsidized actors, all related to the domain. The coordinators take the lead, in strengthening the thematic network through the stimulation of cooperation and fine-tuning on general developments and needs within the domain. They also monitor and feed the information flow within the network about developments, expertise and examples that inspire. They are the contact persons for information and questions on the domain, for the communities, the public, and also for the colleagues within the network whom they support with their expertise. This is all in order to, in the end, optimize the support of heritage communities in their safeguarding processes.

Brokers in relation to heritage communities

In regard to the heritage communities these coordinators take up the role as brokers and translators of the values within the 2003 Convention. They set up general actions for the heritage communities based on the overall developments and needs within the domain, or support them individually in their safeguarding practice when appropriate.[16] They refer to heritage communities within the network of other heritage organizations, the local heritage cell and thematically structured organizations, for additional information or possible cooperation.

Depending on the domain, the actions and needs will differ, but the actions and roles of the domain coordinators, and experiences as brokers, can generally be subdivided into:

- Awareness raising of ICH and the safeguarding thereof through communication and support.

The heritage workers within a center of expertise are the translators of the "language", concepts and general vision or "spirit" of the Convention to other professional heritage organizations, groups, communities and the broad public. It is a constant search for the balance between policy discourse and practice, and also between a bottom-up and a more pro-active approach in order to raise awareness among communities in Flanders.

16 "Vision Statement – A Policy for Intangible Cultural Heritage in Flanders", in: Van Den Broucke & Thys, p. 169: "Interaction with the local authorities takes place through the local cultural policy or through the local cultural heritage unit." In practice: when there's no local heritage cell present in the region or the element has a broader perspective than the local, a centre of expertise can also support the respective heritage communities more intensively.

7. Rond de rokken van de reus, a project of LECA (ngo) on giant culture (© Mario Debaene)

- Dealing with scale and scope – a clustered approach and safeguarding programs.
Much ICH within a single domain shows similarities or similar needs. The knowledge and expertise required to recognize, designate and transmit the ICH is often similar. Coordinators of domain-networks act as brokers, mentors through organizing meetings for heritage communities of familiar elements. By sharing safeguarding expertise and experiences between professionals and heritage communities and in between the heritage communities themselves, an incentive is given for new networks and knowledge and expertise. This can be developed further, without the support of professional heritage workers. In the long term it increases the independence of communities. Other actors can take up the role of broker and between the different communities and sharing, an independent moderator at the table.

On the other hand, the coordinators develop thematic safeguarding projects which address general needs or aims, on a regional level, for elements that show similarities (e.g. processions honoring Maria in Flanders). These large safeguarding projects are known as "safeguarding programs".

SAFEGUARDING PROGRAM: **Rond de rokken van de reus**
(Around the skirts of the giant)[17]

One of Flanders' popular customs is to go out on the streets with giant puppets on festive occasions. Numerous cities, villages, neighbourhoods, organizations, schools and even individual families keep hundreds of giants alive. Giants have been around for over 500 years. However, a lot of organisations working with the giants are struggling to keep public interest alive. In order to raise awareness for this rich and diverse intangible heritage, the NGO LECA, coordinator of the ICH domain "Social practices, rituals and festive events" developed a safeguarding program called "Around the skirts of the giant".

Safeguarding a phenomenon as widespread as processional giants in Flanders takes time. It takes time to identify and sensitize the communities involved, to listen to their needs and to reach a consensus about the road ahead. It also takes time and patience to form and sustain an operative network. For the last couple of years, LECA has been bringing together tradition practitioners and a wide range of professional and voluntary organisations with a passion for giants. From the start, the programme was designed to maximize the participation of the tradition bearers. In order to achieve these goals, the project was set up according to a number of consecutive phases:

- First, an explorative study into the history and customs of the giant culture was made.
- Secondly, the new NGO *Reuzen in Vlaanderen* (Giants in Flanders) was formed. The NGO consists of tradition bearers who want to coordinate the safeguarding measures for giants in Flanders.
- Thirdly, an online inventory was launched for tradition bearers to make their giants and traditions known. This dynamic inventory was used to draw up a list of people and organisations with giants. This list was crucial for phase four.
- Together with a lot of partners[18] from all over the country, LECA and Reuzen in Vlaanderen organised five Giant Encounter Days in 2013. In doing so, they assembled 141 tradition bearers to exchange their knowledge, experiences and plans for the future. Their ideas and concerns were summed up in an online report and led to the first draft of a safeguarding plan.
- Currently, the project has entered a fifth phase: tradition bearers are giving feedback on the proposed list of safeguarding measures. Moreover, they are debating whether or not they would like to add their heritage to the Flemish Inventory of Intangible Cultural Heritage. Depending on the outcome, new actions will take place in the future.

17 www.lecavzw.be, center of expertise in Flanders for every day culture.

18 The project has benefited from the support of a.o. "Erfgoed Brussel, Erfgoedcel Pajottenland Zennevallei, Erfgoedcel Leuven, Faro, Erfgoedcel Land van Dendermonde, Erfgoedcel Meetjesland, Erfgoedcel Waasland, Erfgoedcel Kortrijk, Erfgoedcel Mechelen, Erfgoedcel MijnErfgoed, Erfgoed Haspengouw, Erfgoedcel Hasselt, Erfgoedcel Viersprong, MAS, Erfgoedcel Noorderkempen, het Stadsmus, Stad Hasselt, KBOV and het Provinciaal Centrum voor Cultureel Erfgoed".

Experience in brokerage: *reflections*

With the local cultural heritage cells and the Flemish thematic networks, a deep network is emerging in Flanders for the joint and concerted support of the heritage communities in their safeguarding practices. But, this is still a young network. The formal implementation of the 2003 Convention and in particular the operational directives (available since 2008) in Flanders started just six years ago, a short time to evaluate the impact of the recent ICH policy and the impact of the support of professional heritage organisations on the further development of traditions, crafts, performances and other forms of ICH in Flanders. Some general experiences can be identified, on the local and regional level.

Cultural brokerage is key to the concept of this safeguarding ICH network on every level. Cultural heritage cells and network coordinators recognize that brokerage, facilitation and mediation are crucial functions in their work.

Many challenges remain, however. First of all, professional heritage workers notice in daily practice that it's a challenge to keep the necessary independence as a broker. We often see that the interest in an "ICH approach" increases when heritage is at risk of survival or when it becomes interesting for other societal developments such as e.g. tourism or local economy. However, when ICH becomes politically or touristically interesting, goals other than "safeguarding the ICH" easily come to the table. As they are often working for a city council, or an organization led by members of city councils of a specific region, heritage cells have to operate according to the will of local politicians or a government level, that also initiate the city-marketing or tourism projects. Certainly in these situations the broker is in a tough position persuading others that they need some independence as a cultural heritage broker and mediator, and not least in persuading them that the vision, the spirit and the letter of the 2003 convention should be taken into account and the responsibility in terms of safeguarding. This experience is shared with the organisations operating with a country wide Flemish scope. The evolution and nature of the relations between politics, different policies in different fields of society (economy, social policy, urban planning, tourism, education…) and cultural heritage brokerage deserve further attention and study.

Secondly, a clear duality can also be noticed in the position of brokers in working with ICH communities. On the one hand a broker deliberately makes him or herself invisible in local processes of ICH support, but on the other hand it can't be denied his/her expertise makes him/her an influential player in the (safeguarding) process. Without the trigger of communicative and face-to-face awareness raising and in addition a more intensive support in the safeguarding process, many local ICH safeguarding processes would not lead to concrete results. The broker is crucial, but often in the background or even invisible. So how far does a broker go in this process of helping and supporting, or even offering the framework of safeguarding intangible cultural heritage. Most of the practices are still very much alive, "safeguarding" their practices on their own, without realizing they do so. Do they need to be aware of this vision of ICH? Do they need to have the perspective, approach and vocabulary? Do they

need to become almost a professional heritage worker themselves in relation to their heritage? Or should these communities and processes just be let be?

As a broker it's a constant balancing act between introducing groups and communities to this new ICH world, the tools within the convention and ICH policy and not interfering too much in the ICH practice. Every community introduces also a new search for a support, suited to the practice and the community, and also about getting the community to take responsibility for the safeguarding of the ICH practice.

It is important for a broker in such a process of mediation to keep the future in mind. These heritage communities, locally or as a cluster, can use a stimulus from an external moderator for their cooperation in the beginning. It is however the goal to guide them to a safeguarding practice which can run on its own in the future, with the heritage awareness in their backpack, without the continuous support of a professional broker. This process will only work when a larger part of the involved heritage community is also willing to look beyond the obvious. As brokers it is important to invest in the younger generation, as they are often most eager to breath new life into and likely to have a more open attitude towards the ICH element.

It's clear that guiding and supporting communities is an intensive process in which the communities get acquainted with a whole new approach to their practice. It could be said that as a community they receive new lenses for looking at their practice, which can help them in safeguarding their practice for the future. A broker supports the heritage community in this process, building a relationship of trust. Building this relationship and guiding the communities in this process, takes time and is a slow, often almost invisible and often intensive process. A characteristic that will probably remain also one of the Achilles heels of institutionalized brokerage.

www.immaterieelerfgoed.be: a digital platform for ICH in Flanders

For the facilitation of this network and safeguarding, a new "digital broker" has been put in place by actors in the sector, supported by the Flemish Government in 2012: www.immaterieelerfgoed.be. The tool is designed as a next step from the initial inventory for ICH[19] in Flanders and other databases that have inventoried parts of the ICH in Belgium. It's not only a tool for inventorying ICH, its priority is the safeguarding of ICH: the exchange of know-how, expertise on ICH, safeguarding measures and best practices between professionals and heritage communities. It highlights the dynamic and evolving nature of ICH. So www.immaterieelerfgoed.be is being put in

19 The scope of the platform is ICH in Flanders and goes wider then ICH-practices enscribed on the Inventory of ICH in Flanders. The Flemish Government however revised its regulation regarding the Flemish Inventory for Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2013: the process of requests for adaption on the inventory and the annually follow-up report on the safeguarding progress is being digitalized and integrated in the database. Heritage communities are now invited to provide the requested information on the community, element and safeguarding process through the database.

8. A platform for ICH in Flanders, www.immaterieelerfgoed.be

place to give the ICH community, the ICH itself and the safeguarding measures in Flanders visibility. It raises awareness and supports the formation of a growing network of communities, organisations and individuals.

In keeping up with the definition of ICH, the central role of heritage communities in safeguarding processes, and the Convention's emphasis on prior and informed consent, the registration and documenting process in the database is done by the communities themselves. Communities, groups and individuals can register ICH, link the phenomenon to a heritage community and a set of safeguarding measures. Professionals can register and highlight their broader programs for safeguarding ICH. They are supported in this process, technically and concerning content/safeguarding process by the professional network of heritage organizations. Search and filter functions on each page help direct the search for inspiring and sought-after information.

Together with the (human) moderator of the platform, each of the organizations mentioned above also takes on an engagement towards the digital platform for ICH in Flanders. They support heritage communities in submitting information for the database. The website also has a forum to exchange practices, knowledge and expertise. In the coming years the technical design will be upgraded, the forum will be further developed and stimulated, communication and awareness-raising actions will be set-up, the relation to other databases already in place will be investigated … So challenges and brokerage work still lie ahead.

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The Role of NGOs in Preserving and Promoting Intangible Cultural Heritage in Uganda

The Cross-Cultural Foundation of Uganda

Uganda, once called the "Pearl of Africa" by Winston Churchill, straddles the equator and has significant cultural and natural heritage resources. With a population of about 34 million people, Uganda has 65 ethnic groups and 45 officially recognized languages[1] and has been distinguished as one of the most culturally diverse countries in the world. It is also one of the youngest countries in the world with the youth constituting about 50% of the population. Uganda's national diversity present immense wealth of knowledge and skills derived from the different customs, values, principles, social systems and practices, and worldviews. Its natural diversity in respect to landscapes, flora and fauna, and favorable climate make Uganda one of the world's tourism destinations.

To understand why such immense potential is not sufficiently harnessed, it is necessary to reflect on the some historical factors and contextual issues that affect efforts to promote and preserve intangible cultural heritage. The influence of conventional religions in Uganda have had a significant impact on the local perceptions of the value of culture and general skepticism about its relevance in addressing contemporary development concerns. Traditional beliefs and practices which form the foundation of local cultures were to a large extent, perceived as pagan and satanic. The perception that culture is negative and irrelevant was reinforced by an education system which, until recently, also dismissed culture as irrelevant to contemporary development concerns. Formal education and the written word in English were, and are still often glorified without question. As such oral traditions which constitute much of Uganda's intangible cultural heritage are still largely underdeveloped – to be replaced by new wisdom derived from academic achievements.

During the colonial era, a quest for modernization informed by western ideologies and interests took center stage. Some of the laws established by the colonial administration further reinforced an aversion for indigenous knowledge and practices, for instance, traditional spirituality termed as witchcraft have remained on the statute book, contributing to the perception that local culture is evil, primitive and therefore unlawful (e.g. Anti-witchcraft Act). Too often the definition of culture is limited to traditional rituals and practices, especially to those that are considered oppressive and negative, such

1 The 1995 Constitution of the Republic of Uganda.

as Female Genital Mutilation (FGM), widow cleansing, and wife sharing to mention a few. There is hardly any mention of positive aspects of culture in respect to values, principles of community labour and solidarity, the spirit of communal responsibility and accountability, conflict resolution, and the value of chastity (and general abstinence from sexual activity by the youth before marriage) which were often manifested in social practices and rituals.

The post-independence governments of Uganda continued to give low priority to the development of culture, evident in the very low budgetary allocation and investment in heritage development and promotion. With the abolition of traditional institutions in 1966, traditional practices including non-formal heritage education were subdued. As a result the development of oral traditions and indigenous knowledge and skills expressed through creative narration of history, artistic skills, cultural practices, expressions, drama and innovation based on traditional knowledge and skills has been very slow and minimal. Although the traditional institutions were restored in the 1995 Constitution, the heritage development trends had been distorted and many institutions are still struggling to restore a connection between the past and the present.

This is compounded by the fact that a little less than one third of the Ugandan population lives in extreme poverty (less than 1 dollar a day). Productive energies tend to be geared towards basic needs such as food, medical care, shelter and security. Developing cultural human potential through experimentation of local innovative thinking, science and technology is thus perceived as secondary. While cultural heritage presents a potential source of livelihood if harnessed, this has to be accompanied by concerted effort to learn about the value of heritage, build the capacity to device effective means to safeguard intangible and tangible heritage and link it to sustainable development. Currently there are very limited avenues through which the younger generation, who are increasingly becoming the majority in Uganda, can learn to appreciate cultural heritage. They are not only the future custodians of our heritage but are also future decision makers on how or whether cultural heritage will be preserved and promoted.

Legal Framework for the Promotion and Preservation of Culture

There are however some efforts made by the Government of Uganda to provide for the protection and promotion of cultural heritage. The 1995 Constitution enshrines a *right to culture* and stipulates that "Every person has a right to belong to, enjoy, practice, profess, maintain and promote any culture, cultural institution, language, tradition, creed or religion in community with others." This coupled with the 2006 National Cultural Policy, among other policies, provide the framework within which various actors in the culture sector operate, however with limited resources and technical support the achievements of the objectives of these instruments is slow.

The ratification of the 2003 UNESCO Convention on the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2009, provides a valuable opportunity not only to emphasize the importance of cultural heritage at international and national

levels but also to provide guidance on how heritage can be safeguarded. Thus examples of elements that have been inscribed on the urgent list for safeguarding (such as bark cloth from central Uganda; oral tradition of the royal trumpets of the Basoga – the *Bigwala,* and a traditional naming practice in western Uganda called the *Empaako* are eye openers for communities to rigorously identify, assess and inventory their heritage. This also serves as an important avenue for community learning and capacity building as well as a point of reference for heritage education.

Appreciating the need to preserve heritage, a growing number of NGOs in Uganda have taken the initiative to promote different aspects of cultural heritage through the development of local languages, promotion of the creative arts (visual and performing), heritage education (in school clubs as well as a holiday programme), production of literature, cultural tourism, support to collection and exhibition of artifacts through community museums, traditional dances, cultural festivals and galas, research and documentation, and cultural cooperation, among others.

The Cross-Cultural Foundation of Uganda: Promoting Heritage Education

In a bid to counter the negative attitudes towards culture and nurture an appreciation of heritage as a resource, the Cross-Cultural Foundation of Uganda (CCFU)[2], has documented a number of case studies to illustrate the relevance of culture (e.g. traditional knowledge, social and governance systems etc.) in development. The knowledge generated is used a point of reference in capacity building initiatives. Recognizing the important role the youth have in preserving intangible cultural heritage, the Foundation embarked on a heritage education programme that is currently operational in 60 secondary schools across the country.

The overall objective of this programme is to enhance the recognition of the importance of heritage in Uganda's current development context. This is done by enhancing teachers' skills and knowledge, promoting the development of the cultural heritage resources in the vicinity of schools; supporting community museums and their outreach activities and raising the profile of heritage nationally through a nationwide competition.

Teachers of the selected secondary schools are trained using a heritage education kit and equipped with materials to support heritage clubs. Refreshers courses are also organized to update the information provided and get feedback on the relevance of the material in the kit. The Foundation has linked these secondary schools to 12 community museums in the country through which the youth can meet cultural resource persons, gain exposure to cultural information, provide voluntary services, sell their art and crafts products and learn to appreciate cultural diversity. Some museums that promote living culture also train the youth in traditional music and dance.

2 The Cross-Cultural Foundation of Uganda is a national NGO dedicated to promoting the recognition of culture as vital for human development that reflects Uganda's cultural diversity and identity.

To increase the involvement of youth across the country in appreciating heritage, CCFU holds an annual heritage competition. The youth are guided by an annual theme to illustrate their understanding of heritage through drawings, creative writing – poetry, short stories, and proverbs. The best 12 entries, as determined by an independent jury, are used to develop a heritage calendar, which is launched and distributed widely. In addition, the Foundation provides communication outputs including a "heritage passport" for heritage club members.

To ensure sustainability of this intervention, CCFU has approached the National Curriculum Development Centre to advocate for the integration of cultural heritage in the national secondary school curriculum, which is currently under review. This process involved presenting content on cultural heritage to representatives of the relevant learning areas and developing relevant resource materials as teaching aids. The content is yet trial tested and revised for incorporation in the curriculum. CCFU is at the last stages of this process.

As an accredited NGO under the 2003 UNESCO Convention, the Foundation has acquired enhanced knowledge about ICH and has incorporated elements of it in the heritage education kit. In addition, using inscribed ICH elements in its resource materials has been another way to publicize the elements as well as encourage communities to explore opportunities to safeguard their intangible cultural heritage. At a recent conference co-organised by CCFU and the International National Trust Organisation, two of the inscribed ICH elements (bark cloth and the royal trumpets) were included on learning journeys programme to be visited by for 150 international heritage experts. As an accredited NGO, CCFU also provides technical support and guidance in inventorying and the nomination process, when requested.

Prospects for ICH NGOs' Activities

At national level, the impending integration of culture in the national curriculum will enhance accessibility to knowledge and skills in heritage appreciation in secondary schools. In addition, the implementation of a national thematic curriculum which promotes the use of local languages as the medium for instruction in lower primary is another way through which language, the conduit for transmitting intangible cultural heritage may be preserved. There is an increasing emergence of community museums across the country, which indicates the potential of new and widespread references for learning, research and cultural tourism. In addition, Makerere University Kampala, one of the oldest institutions of higher learning in Uganda has developed the concept of Orature (the study of African oral literature) and by so doing has contributed to the promotion of literature and creative writing in tertiary institutions.

In Uganda efforts have been made to forge partners to promote cultures across the globe. Cultural cooperation between Uganda and the European Union, China, Germany, Britain, France and Korea through the Uganda-Korea Cultural Friendship Association provides opportunities for exchanges

and study visits, joint festivals and exhibitions which foster respect, support learning and an appreciation of cultural diversity especially for the youth who not only need to understand and embrace their own heritage but also learn to appreciate and respect other cultures within and outside Uganda.

In the East African region and beyond there are other NGOs such as Arterial Network, Bayimba Cultural Foundation, Centre for Heritage Development in Africa, AFRICOM – International Council of African Museums, Culture and Development East Africa (CDEA) among others play that play an important role by providing platforms for information and experience sharing, technical support and resource mobilization, and culturally rooted talent development. In the absence of National Trusts or heritage authorities in these countries, most NGOs tend to operate individually. It is only recently that efforts have been made to hold joint initiatives such as exhibitions, annual cultural festivals and heritage conferences that provide opportunities for forging partnerships on intangible and tangible cultural heritage in the region.

In conclusion, despite the challenges that the culture sector in Uganda faces, conducive national and international policy frameworks provide the necessary political support to preserve, develop and promote intangible cultural heritage. If sustained, heritage education on a national scale has potentially far reaching effects, not only in respect to enhanced knowledge on intangible cultural heritage but also to foster respect and appreciation of cultural diversity – a necessity in a country as diverse as Uganda.

With the increasing number of heritage focused NGOs and community museums, the competence to support heritage development initiatives is growing. International and regional heritage networks and associations also offer the much needed expertise and professionalism to harness cultural heritage resources for posterity and sustainable development. Partnerships and cultural cooperation with NGOs and other like-minded institutions within and outside the Uganda present valuable experiences from which lessons may be drawn, home grown models for heritage development produced and best practices publicized. Notably however these prospects would have greater impact if a deliberate effort is made to coordinate interventions in the culture sector nationally, regionally and internationally.

Projects of Heritage Communities as New Challenges for Anthropologists

Italian Perspectives on Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage, Mediation and Cultural Brokerage

The 2003 UNESCO Convention for the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage has stimulated discussions in many countries. In Italy, the new methods and ideas have created debates in the cluster of demo-ethno-anthropological disciplines. In the First ICH-Researchers Forum in Paris (3 June 2012), the metaphors of "bridges", "brokers", "intermediaries" and also "compromises" were used. I proposed these concepts that were circulated in the international networks of the new UNESCO safeguarding paradigm in the meetings and forums of colleagues in Italy. It should be clear that they were not embraced by all stakeholders and scholars, but that several networks did try to work in that direction in 2013 and 2014 and that debates and experiments in the field of anthropology are continuing. There is potential that similar methods, roles and considerations will influence the official heritage policy, institutional procedures and other aspects of the implementation of the 2003 Convention.

In order to understand this and to contribute to an international discussion about mediation and the changing role of researchers, I will reflect about these discussions and return to relevant debates in Italy that already started in the 1990s. First we should go back to an important conference in Tours in December 1993, "Ethnologie et patrimoine en Europe. Identité et appartenances du local au supranational", which provoked a whole series of comparative reflection about evolutions and challenges in Italy and France. On the basis of the Tours colloquium, Daniel Fabre edited the volume *Europe entre Culture et nations*. This book is still useful to understand aspects of the recent evolutions of and discussions about the paradigm of safeguarding intangible cultural heritage in Italy and in other countries.[1]

1 D. Fabre, "Ethnologie et patrimoine en Europe. Conclusions et perspectives du colloque de Tours", *Terrain* 22, 1994, p. 145-150; D. Fabre, *L'Europe entre cultures et nations: actes du colloque de Tours, décembre 1993*. Paris, 1996.

Demo-ethno-anthropological Disciplines, Small Museums and Ethnological Heritages

Fabre's volume contains an important paper by Pietro Clemente who questioned, in 1993, the weak position of ethnological heritages ("patrimoni etnologici") in relation to official heritage policy, the "cultural goods" ("beni culturali") that the state officially wanted to transmit to future generations. How was it possible that the official heritage system in Italy did not include "les activités et les produits, actuels ou passés, liés aux cultures locales et au labeur quotidien des gens ordinaires. Il existe pourtant une muséographie spontanée des objets du monde rural et une prise de conscience assez large de la valeur des cultures traditionnelles et locales, accompagnée de fortes retombées, y compris sur le plan touristique?"[2] Local museums working on these themes and awareness among several local stakeholders about the importance of traditional culture, including the potential for tourism, were present but not really part of official policy and procedures. Clemente pointed at the lack of competences in ethnology in Italian heritage institutions in and before the 1990s and argued for a policy that would include the expertise of "démo-ethno-anthropologues" in Italy in the future. He reflected on the challenge to identify and safeguard the phenomena that anthropologists were dealing with, in a system of "cultural goods" and national heritage. The protagonists of the demo-ethno-anthropological disciplines (A. Cirese, P. Clemente …) also emphasized the potential and the strong vitality of civil society. In connection with associations, small museums and anthropologists, this could be an interesting base to build an alternative policy.

Clemente proposed to experiment with the concept of multiform research ("*recherche multiforme*"). He mobilized a vocabulary of mixing, translation, and negotiation, balancing between scientific research and political, administrative and social constraints: *mutatis mutandis* processes and skills that seem compatible to the brokerage discourse that is presented in other contributions in this issue of *Volkskunde*. He creatively combined ideas and metaphors of Claude Lévi Strauss, Italo Calvino (*Lezioni americane. Sei proposte per il prossimo millennio*. Milano, 1988) and the 1989 Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore of UNESCO. He reflected about an alternative epistemological model for local (and) heritage research, by reactivating and appropriating old anthropological traditions (e.g. in the work of Franz Boas) that had been abandoned but were oriented on safeguarding cultural diversity. He also devoted attention to museums as a starting point to think about the conditions and typologies of empirical research, including a dialogue with communities. This was inspired by the American scholarly literature, by James Clifford, Michael Ames, G. Stocking, and others. It referred to "contractual" processes of knowledge (Ames, Karp, Lavine…) and the concept of "local

2 P. Clemente, "Biens culturels sans culture: le patrimoine ethnologique italien", in: Fabre, *Europe*, p. 53- 62, p. 63 and the special issue. "Italia. Regards d'anthropologues italiens", *Ethnologie française* 24:3, 1994; P. Clemente, "Anthropologie et histoire? Une approche quasi autobiographique", *Ethnologie française* 24, 1994, p. 566-585.

knowledge" (Geertz 1983). All this suggested a program of reflexive dialogue, with an eye for complexity, power and transformation processes and what role the community and the researchers themselves played in this. In his 1993 contribution, he also emphasized the importance to consider the historical contexts of these processes, and the relation between "migration", (an often weak) "national identity", the notion of local "petites patries" and the Italian ecosystem of museums, that consist to a large extent in small local museums (created between 1960 and 1990), initiatives that represent a preindustrial rural or artisanal past. It can be expected that the emergence and global proliferation of a new UNESCO paradigm of safeguarding intangible cultural heritage could be a "game changer", but nevertheless the heritage and experiences in the last decades of the 20th century should not be forgotten but included.

The Official Inventorying Files Italian Style: far from the Spirit of the 2003 Convention?

After the ratification by Italy in 2007 of the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage, the Central Institute for Cataloguing made a direct link between the procedure of making a national inventory of heritage and the process of submitting candidatures for the lists of UNESCO. They imposed a scientific approach that had to go via the obligatory passage point of cataloguing a "fiche BDI". It is based on the expertise of the "demo-etno-antropologo", but integrated in a system of cultural goods. This produces "objets-patrimoine", or "bene" that has characteristics that only an expert or researcher can know and recognize. Here the phenomena of intangible cultural heritage was entering a world of cultural goods dominated by the discourses and practices of art historians, architects and archaeologists. This national system of "bene culturali" is oriented on conservation and the care ("tutela") is not focused in its methods and objectives on the participation of communities or groups, but on the expertise of the researcher. The anthropologists in charge, in the institutions like the Central Institute for Cataloguing, of establishing inventories, consider that the classic methods of ethnographic surveying via participant observation are sufficient. However local politicians and civil society reacted in unforeseen ways, as the 2003 Convention generated a wave of candidatures and proposals for the representative list (article 16) and activated the procedures. At the same time there was a questioning of the imposition of a specific type of researcher or expert, considered as a kind of abuse of power by the State. It is as if the small fatherlands ("petites patries") each wanted to claim the right of recognition of their "intangible heritage", destabilizing the role of researchers and increasing the conflicts of points of view.

On the other hand, anthropologists have made it clear that they are uncomfortable with what they consider to be a competitive system, a race between potential stars, using the national system of inventorying and cataloguing in order to obtain an international label. The cataloguing anthropologists live a "double malaise": double trouble. On the one hand, they have to use a tool that is not really participatory: expert participatory

observation is not enough. On the other hand, they have to participate in a race for the recognition of local identities and cultural items, that are compared with objects, easily ignoring the living, contextual and relational nature. The pressure is rising; the 2003 Convention fever is proliferating. The 2003 UNESCO Convention has encouraged and galvanized many actors in local cultural life to mobilize around traditions. The candidature could be seen as a way to inscribe the local community in a global setting, even as a tool for touristic and economic development.

But this potential is also criticized as a way of selling culture, as a way of turning the items described in the candidature files or the records into commodities, items for the (mass) tourism market. In the scholarly and other networks, there are critical voices that reject the 2003 UNESCO Convention and the resulting policies as interventions that go too far, even suggesting that it is part of "the dark side of colonial power". UNESCO is sometimes reduced to a caricature as a synthesis of a global power system and the 2003 Convention seems as an instrument in the hand of political elites. Some see it as an instrument for conservatism or as a tool for fixing communities, groups and their culture in a matrix of authenticity labels. There are many misunderstandings circulating about the UNESCO paradigm, but of course critical analysis is always needed.

Work in Progress and Ongoing Debates

These perceptions and interpretations have provoked tensions and a critical distance between researchers in social sciences and actors involved in national and local policy. All these perceptions, distances and misunderstandings do not make it easy for researchers close to heritage communities that want to work for the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage. A number of anthropologists (like Broccolini), specializing in the making of the BDI-MODI catalogue entries, denounce the problems for communities to participate in the process. They argue for more action-research and mediation but also for a better knowledge of international instruments where a dialogue with communities and groups is vital. Due to the participation in the work of the Intergovernmental Committee and the increasing influence of the "scène globale des politiques du patrimoine" (Arantes), alternative visions and discourses are circulating.

Since 2009 SIMBDEA (www.simbdea.it) participates in these international networks, as an observer of the official meetings of the Intergovernmental Committee and as active participant in the ICH-NGO-forum and other meetings and networks of accredited NGOs. These experiences have injected input in the debate in Italy, in conferences and in publications, demonstrated by a special issue in 2011 of the journal *AM*, devoted to the safeguarding of intangible heritage paradigm and UNESCO.

In 2012 a special working group SIMBDEA-ICH was founded. The participating researchers wish to keep their distance from overemphasizing the listing system and candidatures for the representative list. They wish to cultivate the spirit of the 2003 Convention and to invest in safeguarding plans,

identifying good or best practices, multinational candidatures, constructing and developing networks and places devoted to intercultural dialogue. They also want to spread and stimulate a better knowledge of international conventions and the connections between those texts (like the 2005 Faro Convention or the 2003 UNESCO Convention) and to explore the links between culture, society and laws.

In the months preceding the meeting in Brussels in November 2013 about "ICH-brokers, facilitators and mediators- Critical success factors for the safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage", several conferences and meetings in Italy dealt with compatible themes related to safeguarding intangible cultural heritage. In January 2013, a seminar in Milano tried to assess a number of consequences and challenges for researchers. Here the case of what is happening in Venice: the joint collaboration of legal experts and anthropologists tried to find solutions and methods for safeguarding the arts and crafts of the Laguna. They tried to find a solution via the Faro Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (2005), by translating and appropriating it. It offered inspiration and languages to cultivate a "heritage community" in Venice, in a "Venetian community", combined with the right of a cultural identity of its communities in plural. It also called for a register for the identification and monitoring of heritage items. The discussions tried to steer away from attempts for individual candidatures for each craft or practice and to think in terms of a bigger safeguarding plan and aspiration for the register of good practices, as foreseen in article 18 of the 2003 UNESCO Convention. The platform was an assemblage of legal experts, anthropologists, cultural economists, and associations of the crafts of making gondolas, Murano glass or lace, political and administrative actors. It provided quite a challenge for mediators and brokers, and a lot of work behind the screens to get such a diverse crowd working together and to try to make progress. Another example is Cocullo, a small local community that is working with local politicians and tries to mobilize around local festive cultures and customs. Here we see the same pattern. They mobilized also outside actors, like academic anthropologists, SIMBDEA, students and other actors in order to set up a regional project to create a participatory inventory for intangible cultural heritage. Here the scholars and researchers take up a very active role in the conception, mediation and negotiation of the project. The dream or aspiration to go for recognition by UNESCO opened up many doors and activated networks, including people that had migrated to other continents. Even specialists like the Brazilian expert Antonio Arantes were invited to work and think with the local actors and researchers. In October 2013 a seminar about the Cocullo case even got recognition by the Italian ministry of Culture. They explored the potential of links between local economic development, governance and culture. A working group decided to experiment with methods for safeguarding, permanent monitoring and concerted management of the feasts as resource. In a context of dialogue and networking with other communities, including the people cultivating the cult of San Domenico Abate, the patron-saint of the village, they opened a laboratory for documenting in the spirit of the 2003 UNESCO Convention.

Here the advice of Antonio Arantes, who visited Cocullo, had stimulated the wish to work on audiovisual documentation and cultural communities. How could such a project of documentation really be shared with many actors and stakeholders? In Cocullo, with the local association Alfonso Di Nola (a reference to a scholar and authority in popular religious culture), the experiment is actually taking place. Thirdly the project of constructing a regional network in order to make a regional register of intangible cultural heritage is trying to facilitate participatory inventories. This project oriented towards participation is conducted by researchers, a network of local museums, SIMBDEA, an agency for local promotion (UNPLI, proloco), schools and universities. It is work in progress but at least the 2003 UNESCO Convention has raised awareness and is giving incentives to try and take the spirit of the Convention seriously. Several protagonists of the phases in the 1990s, like Pietro Clemente, are interested and have started up the dialogue and try to situate the activities in a long term perspective on dealing with popular culture, "patrimoni etnologici" and the paradigm of intangible cultural heritage.

REVIEW

Marilena Alivizatou, *Intangible Heritage and the Museum – New Perspectives on Cultural Preservation.* London 2012, 225 p.; ISBN: Paperback 978-1-61132-151-7

Intangible heritage is a hot topic following the development of UNESCO's Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Heritage, currently ratified by 161 countries. Since the adoption of the Convention in 2003, a decade filled with criticism and praise has gone by and museums and other cultural institutions have increasingly integrated the intangible into their practices.[1] Marilena Alivizatou's *Intangible Heritage and the Museum* (2012) is part of a wave of academic literature reflecting on this trend. The book aims to provide a critical examination of intangible heritage on a conceptual as well as a practical level, by conducting "a multi-sited fieldwork research in order to investigate local negotiations of intangible heritage in specific museums and heritage institutions across the North and South."[2]

Alivizatou starts her analysis of intangible heritage in the sphere of international preservation programs, in particular focussing on UNESCO's efforts for the safeguarding of intangible heritage. UNESCO conceptualizes intangible heritage as living and constantly evolving in response to changes in society. At the same time, intangible heritage is described in the 2003 Convention as endangered by effects of globalization and therefore in need of safeguarding. Alivizatou argues that UNESCO paradoxically aims to protect living heritage from adapting to modern times and risks decontextualization and fossilization. At the heart of this paradox is a question of authenticity, which is never mentioned in UNESCO's official documents but, according to Alivizatou, can be read between the lines. It is the idea that intangible heritage is a manifestation of an authentic past in the present, which needs to be kept intact to keep its value. "In a way, the UNESCO approach implies that tradition and modernity cannot go together, as the latter impairs the authenticity of the first."[3] Ultimately, the author concludes, UNESCO's efforts to

1 For an updated list of member states, see: http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00024.

2 M. Alivizatou, *Intangible Heritage and the Museum. New Perspectives on Cultural Preservation.* California, 2012, p. 16.

3 Ibidem, p. 16.

safeguard intangible heritage are very much in line with the conservative paradigm of modern preservationism, as developed in the late nineteenth and the twentieth century.

Alivizatou proposes to move beyond the idea of authenticity as an inherent quality of heritage, which is particularly problematic in the case of the intangible, and suggests an alternative framework based on the concept of erasure. Inspired by Karl Marx's creative destruction thesis, she argues that erasure is not always a threat to heritage but potentially a life-force, in the sense that development and innovation often alter or destruct previous modes of (cultural) productions. Following this line of thought: "globalization is not a threat to cultural distinctiveness, but rather an opportunity for cross-cultural innovation and fertilization."[4] For the author, this implies that continuity and vitality of intangible heritage can take place outside the context of global preservation programs and "through more fluid and unfixed processes."[5] Alivizatou provides an interesting perspective on the 2003 Convention, which is generally perceived as innovative and, at least partly, breaking with UNESCO's intellectual tradition. Before shifting the focus of the book to museums, however, I would have liked to see Alivizatou stay on the subject a little longer, to explore the various ways in which countries have translated the Convention into national safeguarding policies and practices. This would offer an opportunity to compare governmental safeguarding measures to museum practices and would have enriched her examination of intangible heritage.

Five case-studies are each given their own chapter and make up the body of the book. The point of departure is that museums have gone through a development from reservoirs of material culture to social spaces, or "contact zones" in James Clifford's terminology, and via ideas of the ecomuseum and new museology are including communities into museum work. Alivizatou regards museums as microcultures with each having its own particularities in accordance with its history and socio-political context. The case-studies are systematically set up: each museum's history of origin, exhibition concepts, and permanent and temporary exhibitions are reviewed, intertwined with interviews with (former) staff members. The thorough descriptions of, for example, a museum's architecture and exhibition design give the reader the feeling of actually walking around and experiencing its microculture. A shared characteristic of the selected museums is that they were once established as holders of anthropological collections, with a close connection to colonial projects, and that they have recently reinvented themselves to cope with the postcolonial reality of today.

The first three cases comprise the National Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (Te Papa), the Vanuatu Cultural Centre (VCC) in Melanesia and the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) in the USA. These museums are bound up in similar political missions, aiming to give voice to formerly marginalized communities by practicing participatory museology.

4 Ibidem, p. 47.

5 Ibidem, p. 47.

Engagement with members of ethnic, diasporic, and indigenous groups have led to major reconsiderations of their key museum activities, including collections care and curation, exhibitions and public engagement. By employing for example tribal hosts (at Te Papa), Maori elders as advisors (VCC), or indigenous curators (NMAI), the museums "strive to include tradition bearers in their work and in this process enable the expression of other voices, opinions, and narratives."[6] In this new museological work, performances have gained a central role. In all five museums examined by Alivizatou, a performance space is equipped to stage festivals, celebrations, spectacles and other forms of living culture. Participatory museology also adds a dimension to the role of the institute as a cultural broker. The museum acts not only as a broker between the collection and society, but also between the collection and the practitioners. For Ahwina Tamarapa, curator at Te Papa, her work was therefore all about reconnecting indigenous people with objects, rather than "leaving our taonga lying in the dark storeroom."[7] This was accomplished by producing story- or concept-driven exhibitions, rooted in a holistic view on the tangible and intangible.

The fourth and fifth cases differ from the previous case-studies geographically, they are both located in Europe: not in a formerly colonized country but in the colonizer's, resulting in a large distance between collections and source communities. These case-studies consist of the Horniman Museum in England and Musée Quai Branly in France, which are both trying to integrate the intangible in their museum practice, but mostly in addition to mainstream and object centered practices. In the European context, intangible heritage seems to be secondary to the primary concern of the museums, namely the material collection. Community involvement, cultural performances, and events are taking place in the museums, but complementary to the material collections and planned exhibitions. In contrast to Te Papa, NMAI and VCC, the voices of the people behind the objects are left out, and a strict distinction remains between the tangible and intangible. Although conceptualized as zones of dialogue, a scientific voice dominates the narratives. The Horniman and Quai Branly function as cultural brokers as well, but with the main task of translating the meanings of the objects to the audiences. Restricted by historical complexities and socio-political contexts, the participatory model has not developed into a determining factor in these museums (yet).

In the final chapter of the book, Alivizatou states that a focus on change instead of origins, gives museums and other cultural institutions the opportunity to retain the message of the past while actively engaging with the reality of the present. To accomplish this, involving related communities is essential. The participatory model for museum practice has emerged hand in hand with the introduction of intangible heritage, however, this

6 Ibidem, p. 191.

7 Ibidem, p. 68. "Taonga" is the Maori word for communally valued treasures, comprising not only historic artifacts, but also people, traditional knowledge, and practices.

model is far from fully crystallized and there remain many questions to answer. One of the questions the book poses is how (source) communities can be involved in the museum practice, and the case-studies provide several possible options to consider. However, a fundamental blind spot is situated in the absence of problematizing the concept of communities itself. Talking about (source) communities may suggest that these are homogenous and well-defined groups of people, distinct from the rest of society and lost in time. Instead, Birgit Meyer suggested the use of the term "formations", underscoring the temporality of groups of people.[8] In a similar tone, Hester Dibbits proposed to talk about "networks", which acknowledges the open and dynamic characteristics.[9] Alivizatou does mention how source communities have adapted to modern times, but an opening remark about the concept of communities would have been welcome.

In conclusion, although limited to a conceptual level, Alivizatou offers a refreshing perspective on UNESCO's intangible heritage Convention and makes a compelling argument for revisiting global preservation programs and starting to think about intangible heritage locally. Not as a tool to emphasize roots, but as a possibility to reconnect the peoples with the objects, to revive living culture, with the reinvented museum as a cultural broker. Moreover, the book succeeds in providing an inspiring insight in the practice of post-colonial museums around the world and their changing roles in society.

Ramon de la Combé

8 B. Meyer, *Aesthetic formations. Media, religion, and the senses*. Basingstoke, 2010.

9 H. Dibbits, "De ontwikkeling van een gevoel voor tijd. Over netwerken, makelaars en de overheid", *Boekman 96, Erfgoed: van wie, voor wie?*, 2013, p. 77.

SUMMARIES

Culturele makelaardij, omgaan met grenzen en het nieuwe paradigma van het borgen van immaterieel cultureel erfgoed
Volkskunde, UNESCO en transdisciplinaire perspectieven

In dit artikel wordt de vraag gesteld welke onderdelen uit het repertoire van de al dan niet "toegepaste" of "publieke vormen" van volkskunde uit de vorige eeuw actief kunnen aangewend worden in het nieuwe, 21ste-eeuwse paradigma van het "borgen van immaterieel erfgoed". Hierbij wordt speciale aandacht gegeven aan ontwikkelingen in de Verenigde Staten op het einde van de 20ste eeuw, met name via een themanummer (en een vervolgartikel van Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett) van het *Journal of Folklore Research* uit 1999 waarin het begrip "cultural brokerage", culturele makelaardij dus, naar voor geschoven wordt als sleutelbegrip. Dat wordt als aanknopingspunt gebruikt om de stromingen van de zogenaamde "public folklore" in de Verenigde Staten te presenteren. Dat is een moeilijk naar het Nederlands vertaalbaar begrip dat het midden houdt tussen volkskundig onderzoek, omgang met volkscultuur, publieksgeschiedenis en erfgoedwerk. In het halve decennium vóór 2003 speelden de Amerikaanse protagonisten (zoals Richard Kurin) die met culturele makelaardij aan de slag waren, een belangrijke rol in de discussies die geleid hebben tot de UNESCO-Conventie van 2003. Ook in Vlaanderen en Nederland werd er in die periode op doorgewerkt en gediscussieerd over volkscultuur en het borgen van immaterieel cultureel erfgoed. In de voorbije jaren, door het niet ratificeren van de Conventie en zeker na het inhouden van de bijdrage van de Verenigde Staten aan UNESCO na de erkenning van Palestina, werd de wisselwerking tussen de Amerikaanse public folklore en het paradigma van immaterieel cultureel erfgoed minder sterk, wat niet wegneemt dat de ervaringen nog steeds relevant zijn. De nieuwe transdisciplinaire benadering van de kritische erfgoedstudies kan goede diensten bewijzen om allerlei methodes en disciplines te combineren en vooruitgang te boeken.

Naar een beter begrip van de rol van niet-gouvernementele organisaties (NGO's) als culturele makelaars
Een kritische bespreking van benaderingswijzen

De rol van niet-gouvernementele organisaties (NGO's) als culturele tussenpersonen is van belang geworden in steeds meer gebieden. Sinds de jaren 1980, toen de NGO's voor het eerst werden geconceptualiseerd als "bridging organisations", was er aandacht voor het idee dat NGO's in het proces van sociale en economische ontwikkeling een intermediaire rol kunnen spelen tussen gemeenschappen en beleidsmakers en

andere actoren. Meer recent hebben theorieën uit de actorgeoriënteerde sociologie en concepten van makelaardij en vertaling gezorgd voor nieuwe ideeën over de rol die NGO's kunnen spelen in het bemiddelen van kennis, representatie en actie op het gebied van cultuur. Dit paper onderzoekt in het kort deze trends en bespreekt de implicaties voor de erfgoedsector.

Ontwikkelingsmakelaardij, antropologie en publieke actie

Lokaal versterken, internationaal samenwerken en ontwikkelingshulp: het borgen van immaterieel cultureel erfgoed

Hier wordt betoogd dat makelaardij een ontbrekende schakel is om enerzijds het borgen van immaterieel cultureel erfgoed zoals dat door de UNESCO-Conventie van 2003 op de nationale en internationale beleidsagenda's is gezet en anderzijds ontwikkelingssamenwerking en samenwerkingsontwikkeling samen te behandelen en op een positieve manier op elkaar te laten inwerken. Woorden zoals "brokerage" (makelaardij) of "bemiddeling" die, bijvoorbeeld in de Vlaamse Gemeenschap, als kritische succesfactor geïdentificeerd en naar voren geschoven worden voor het in de praktijk laten werken van het paradigma van borging van immaterieel erfgoed, komen ook in de recente, vaak erg kritische literatuur over programma's van ontwikkelingshulp voor en vooral ook over de rol die niet-gouvernementele organisaties daarbij spelen. Hierbij kan zowel gewezen worden op een Frans-Duitse APAD-school, die onderzoek verricht over postkoloniaal Afrika en nagaat hoe lokale en internationale ontwikkelingsmakelaars ("courtiers en développement") ervoor trachten te zorgen dat hulpmiddelen vanuit rijke donors in de richting van Afrikaanse actoren vloeien, vaak door het op een bepaalde manier vertellen en vertalen van bepaalde ontwikkelingsverhalen en het activeren van netwerken. Anderzijds is er de school die in de Britse (en Nederlandse) antropologie en andere sociale wetenschappen is gegroeid rond het oeuvre van David Mosse en David Lewis. Zij onderzochten en becommentarieerden zeer kritisch ontwikkelingsplannen en -hulp en vooral ook de rol die niet-gouvernementele organisaties voor ontwikkelingssamenwerking speelden. Tevens benadrukten ze de combinatie tussen bemiddeling en vormen van vertaling (zoals dat begrip in de translatiesociologie wordt gebruikt). Dit is bruikbaar bij het analyseren van recente ontwikkelingen van "global-politique", een begrip dat door Marc Abélès werd gelanceerd en dat zowel wijst op "beleid" als internationale politieke en diplomatieke onderhandelingen. Om te begrijpen wat er tegenwoordig in die internationale contactzones gebeurt, zowel in de UNESCO-wereld (in het bijzonder bij het uitwerken van de UNESCO-Conventie van 2003 over het borgen van immaterieel cultureel erfgoed) als in de wereld van de ontwikkelingshulp, komt het begrip makelaardij van pas. Als men terugkijkt in de tijd, zowel in postkoloniale, koloniale als zelfs in pre-koloniale tijden, blijkt het begrip "broker" of intermediair goede diensten te bewijzen om te duiden hoe intercultureel contact

verliep en hoe een tijdelijk werkbare consensus of *modus vivendi* werd gevonden. Dit past in het programma dat de auteur voorstelt om de recente episode van het "global-politique" of het borgingsparadigma rond de UNESCO-Conventie van 2003 in een langetermijnperspectief te plaatsen, zowel in de cultuur(beleids)geschiedenis, de geschiedenis van staatsvormingsprocessen als in de wereldgeschiedenis van "ontwikkeling". Een andere belangrijke les is dat kritische duiding en analyse niet hoeft te verhinderen dat publieke actie kan worden gevoerd om te trachten bepaalde uitdagingen in de wereld aan te pakken. Hierbij wordt de hoop uitgesproken dat het doordenken van makelaardij (bijvoorbeeld in de kritische erfgoedstudies) en het vormen van bemiddelaars en ontwikkelingsmakelaars, ook bijvoorbeeld in opleidingscentra in Afrika, een verschil kunnen maken.

Het Conventionele te buiten
Naar een werkmodel van co-productie voor het borgen van immaterieel cultureel erfgoed

Er is een uitgesproken democratische inzet van de UNESCO-Conventie (2003) om (de diversiteit aan) immaterieel cultureel erfgoed van individuen, groepen en erfgoedgemeenschappen over de hele wereld te willen helpen borgen. Nochtans blijven er heel wat vragen en uitdagingen wanneer we de implementatie van dit beleidsinstrument in de praktijk overschouwen. Een globale evaluatie uit 2013 van de Conventie 10 jaar na de lancering geeft ondermeer aan hoe de lidstaten veel meer zouden kunnen doen om erfgoedgemeenschappen en NGO's te consulteren en te betrekken, bv. bij het ontwikkelen van beleid, wetgeving, plannen voor duurzame ontwikkeling, enzovoort. Men zou zelfs kunnen stellen dat de geloofwaardigheid van de Conventie op het spel staat, daar het hier bij uitstek om levend erfgoed gaat en het Conventiewerk geen enkele betekenis heeft als het niet door de betrokken mensen in praktijk wordt gebracht. Gegeven de meervoudige en complexe realiteiten waarbinnen de borgingspraktijken voor immaterieel erfgoed zich in de 21ste eeuw afspelen, zou ook de Conventie moeten zien te evolueren tot een multi-dimensionaal, lerend en toekomstgericht beheerssysteem dat die complexe contexten kan beantwoorden. Tegen deze achtergrond houdt de auteur een warm pleidooi om in het komende decennium het "conventionele" van een inter-nationaal en intergouvernementeel instrument te overstijgen en de Conventie van 2003 ten volle als "medium" of "bruggenbouwer" in te zetten waarbij vele stakeholders en actoren de borging van immaterieel erfgoed samen met UNESCO en de lidstaten beheren, co-managen en co-produceren.
Temidden van de vele diverse (types van) actoren die bij deze processen betrokken zijn kunnen bruggenbouwers zoals NGO's volop bijdragen met de nodige competenties en fora voor interactie, om de vertaalslag te helpen maken tussen de verschillende soorten kennis en knowhow die erbij komen kijken en de samenwerking van al deze spelers te faciliteren. Willen de lidstaten met de Conventie echt veerkrachtige toe-

komstperspectieven ontwikkelen voor levend immaterieel erfgoed, dan zullen ze evenwel consequent ook het beheer van de Conventie moeten zien te delen. Een belangrijke maar erg gevoelige kaap die daarbij genomen moet worden, is het symbolisch kapitaal dat van UNESCO uitgaat in die mate open te stellen dat alle vitale partners die de Conventie doen werken op alle niveaus volwaardig deelhebbers worden van de UNESCO-Conventie, om hun inzet te bekrachtigen en te vermenigvuldigen.

Het integreren van cultuur in actieplannen voor duurzame ontwikkeling

De rol van immaterieel cultureel-erfgoedorganisaties

De UNESCO-Conventie van 2003 en haar operationele richtlijnen omschrijven een belangrijke rol voor niet-gouvernementele organisaties (NGO's) inzake de bewustmaking omtrent de Conventie, het bevorderen van dialoog, het uitwisselen van praktijkervaring, het ontwikkelen van borgingsprogramma's en beleid op diverse niveaus,... NGO's hebben ook een grote rol te spelen om de participatie van erfgoedgemeenschappen te faciliteren bij het uitzetten van borgingsmaatregelen. Zij ondersteunen de erfgoedgemeenschappen daarin met hun expertise, tools en capaciteitsopbouw. Reeds in het recente verleden bleken NGO's rond immaterieel erfgoed (zogenaamde ICH-NGO's) op allerlei manieren bij te dragen aan de implementatie van de Conventie: ze doen aan capaciteitsopbouw bij erfgoedgemeenschappen, ze werken aan onderzoek en documentatie, ze ontwikkelen identiteitsversterkende activiteiten in cultuurtoerisme, ze faciliteren transnationale creatieve samenwerking, ontwikkelen artistieke organisaties, noem maar op... In deze bijdrage laat Ananya Bhattacharya ons kennismaken met een case van immaterieel-erfgoedwerking onder begeleiding van de NGO "banglanatak dot com" vanuit India waarbij culturele vaardigheden ("skills") geprofessionaliseerd werden tot een broodwinning voor gemarginaliseerde families en zo een voorbeeld kunnen vormen van sociaal-economisch "empowerment" op basis van cultureel erfgoed. Ze bepleit dat ICH-NGO's in de nabije toekomst een kritische rol zouden opnemen opdat culturele dimensies aan bod komen in de "Post 2015 Ontwikkelingsagenda". Cultuur is immers niet geïdentificeerd als doelstelling in de voorgestelde "duurzame ontwikkelingsdoelen" (SDG). Hoewel cultuur expliciet als doel of activator geïntegreerd kan worden in de uiteenlopende duurzame ontwikkelingsdoelen rond bv. de beëindiging van extreme armoede, het verzekeren van stabiele en vreedzame samenlevingen, het bevorderen van de positie van meisjes en vrouwen en behalen van gendergelijkheid, het faciliteren van kwalitatieve educatie en levenslang leren, het creëren van een wereldwijde mogelijkhedenscheppende omgeving, enzovoort. Door het delen van kennis, netwerken en bemiddeling kunnen NGO's effectief het bewustzijn wekken en verhogen bij "decision makers" omtrent het belang van de culturele dimensie van ontwikkelingsbeleid. Via het formuleren van innovatieve culturele ontwikkelingsprojecten met de

participatie van traditiedragers en -beoefenaars kunnen ze bijdragen aan lokaal verankerd beleid voor creatieve economieën. De grootste uitdagingen liggen in de mapping van culturele bronnen, het ontwikkelen van indicatoren voor sociaal-economische waarde en winst vanuit erfgoed, creativiteit en culturele bronnen, alsook in het ondersteunen van capaciteitsopbouw voor management in de culturele sector en het versterken van de waardeketen.

Bezig zijn met Zwarte Piet
Media, middelaars en de dilemma's van het makelen van immaterieel erfgoed

Binnen de UNESCO-Conventie ter bescherming van het Immaterieel Erfgoed wordt de laatste jaren veel gesproken over de rol van Niet Gouvernementele Organisaties en hun rol bij het borgen van immaterieel erfgoed. Meestal wordt hun taak vooral gezien als bijdragen aan het implementeren van beschermingsmaatregelen en aan het versterken van de gemeenschappen. Maar volgens een recent IOS rapport zouden deze NGO's ook een bemiddelende rol kunnen spelen bij het samenbrengen van de verschillende acteurs en belanghebbenden die betrokken zijn bij de dagelijkse praktijk van immaterieel erfgoed. Deze rol van NGO's lijkt vooral nodig in het geval van "controversieel erfgoed", dat wil zeggen immaterieel erfgoed waarover verschillend gedacht wordt. In dit essay wordt het verhitte debat over Zwarte Piet als uitgangspunt genomen, waarin sommigen ijverden voor afschaffing van deze als discriminatoir ervaren zwart geschminkte helper van Sinterklaas en anderen deze mythologische figuur juist zien als een onvervreemdbaar onderdeel van het Nederlandse Sinterklaasfeest, ja zelfs van het Nederlandse culturele erfgoed.
In zijn artikel analyseert de auteur, in navolging van Richard Kurin, dat de rol van expertinstellingen is gewijzigd door een veranderende rol van de media en door de opkomst van nieuwe, computer gestuurde *sociale* media, die allerlei groepen in de samenleving in staat stellen deel te nemen aan het maatschappelijk debat en daarmee ook aan het besluitvormingsproces. Aan de ene kant leidt dit tot een enigszins hijgerige sfeer, waarbij de waan van de dag soms de boventoon voert en de journalisten op zoek zijn naar sprekende en resonerende "sound bites", waardoor de uitersten vaak het debat domineren. Aan de andere kant leidt het tot een diversificatie van meningsvorming, interessant in verband met het grote belang dat in de UNESCO-Conventie wordt gehecht aan de inbreng van de gemeenschappen. Voor de *cultural broker* betekent dit dat hij zijn weg moet zien te vinden in een veelvoud aan elkaar betwistende meningen en opinies. Omdat, zeker in het geval van Zwarte Piet, immaterieel erfgoed onontwarbaar verbonden is met politiek en met strijd, dient hij ook reflectief te zijn op zijn eigen rol en inbreng in dit proces van "negotiating identities". Uiteindelijk dienen echter bruggen te worden gebouwd, waarbij de *cultural broker* dient te beseffen dat het presenteren van een mogelijk compromis hem kan vervreemden van de betrokkenen die hij juist dichter bij elkaar had willen brengen. Hier past

de kanttekening dat het zoeken naar consensus niet hetzelfde is als het voorstellen van een compromis.

Tradities in een nieuw en uitgebreider kader plaatsen
Immaterieel cultureel erfgoed en "public folklore" in Newfoundland en Labrador

Dit artikel schetst het verband tussen immaterieel cultureel-erfgoedbeleid en public folklore programma's in de Canadese provincie Newfoundland en Labrador. Het geeft achtergrondinformatie over de ontwikkeling van het immaterieel erfgoedbeleid en beschrijft de vierdelige strategie van de Heritage Foundation van Newfoundland en Labrador om projecten te ontwikkelen die zich richten op de documentatie, de transmissie, de culturele industrie en de praktijk van immaterieel erfgoed. Dit artikel presenteert vervolgens drie case studies om te laten zien hoe culturele makelaars en bemiddelaars deze strategie ten uitvoer brengen. De eerste case studie omvat gemeenschapstraining: initiatieven, waar begeleiders vaardigheden doorgeven die samenhangen met documentatie en het ontwikkelen van workshops. De tweede case study beschrijft lopende projecten die verbindingen willen leggen tussen immaterieel erfgoed en monumentenzorg, met een focus op publieksbetrokkenheid. De derde case study gaat in op de relatie tussen volkscultuur/volksleven en het Folklife Festival, waarin het festival gebruikt wordt om saamhorigheidsbesef te bevorderen.

Het gebruik van netwerken in de ontwikkeling van de Nationale Inventaris van immaterieel cultureel erfgoed in Hongarije

Dit artikel geeft een overzicht van de belangrijkste stappen die zijn gedaan na de toetreding van Hongarije tot de Conventie van 2003 en hebben geleid tot het opzetten en ontwikkelen van verschillende netwerken ten dienste van de uitvoering van het verdrag. Het vormen van netwerken tussen deskundigen en gemeenschappen werd gebruikt om efficiënter te werken in het proces van identificatie en documentatie van de erfgoedelementen, alsook om aan te dragen aan de promotie en de transmissie, en de toegang tot immaterieel erfgoed te vergemakkelijken.

Zes jaar ervaring in immaterieel erfgoedbemiddeling in Vlaanderen (België).
Van erfgoedcellen en een immaterieel erfgoednetwerk naar www.immaterieelerfgoed.be

Dit artikel brengt in beeld hoe erfgoedbemiddeling en -makelaardij een cruciale rol spelen in de ontwikkeling van een wijd vertakt netwerk rond immaterieel cultureel erfgoed in Vlaanderen. Spelers zoals geografisch georganiseerde cultureel-erfgoedcellen en thematische expertisecentra voor cultureel erfgoed worden geïntroduceerd en toegelicht. Dit netwerk van erfgoedmakelaars verbindt de ervaringen rond het borgen van immaterieel erfgoed gaande van lokale elementen en gemeenschappen tot landsbrede thema's en uitdagingen. Ervaringen vanuit de opgebouwde 6 jaren

werkingspraktijk rond immaterieel cultureel erfgoed worden gedeeld. Ten slotte wordt de digitale makelaar www.immaterieelerfgoed.be voorgesteld en krijgen we inzicht in de wijze waarop dit platform de werking en de borging in netwerkverband faciliteert en versterkt.

De rol van niet-gouvernementele organisaties in het levensvatbaar houden en promoten van immaterieel cultureel erfgoed in Oeganda

De Cross-Cultural Foundation van Oeganda

Oeganda is een van de meest cultureel diverse landen ter wereld, maar tegelijk blijkt er weinig waardering noch inzet om het potentieel van die diversiteit aan cultureel erfgoed te erkennen en te valoriseren. De verklaring daarvoor is te vinden in een samenloop van politieke, (religieus-)culturele en educatieve ontwikkelingen die het land in de recente geschiedenis heeft gekend. Ook in het postkoloniale beleid vormt cultuur geen prioritair aandachtspunt; de armoede is groot en er zijn tot op vandaag erg weinig ontwikkelingen waarin cultuur en erfgoed als bronnen of wegen voor duurzame ontwikkeling geïdentificeerd worden. Sinds Oeganda de UNESCO-Conventie van 2003 in 2009 ratificeerde, liggen er echter kansen om hier verandering in te brengen. De opname van immaterieel erfgoed uit Oeganda op de UNESCO-lijsten werkt als eye-opener en een groeiend aantal NGO's en Community Museums gaan actief aan de slag rond het borgen van immaterieel erfgoed. Eén van die NGO's is de "Cross-Cultural Foundation of Uganda" die in haar werking sterk inzet op erfgoededucatie vanuit de overtuiging dat bewustzijnsverhoging en de overdracht van erfgoedkennis en -praktijken naar de jonge generaties cruciaal zullen zijn voor een duurzame borging. Het is tegelijk ook een noodzakelijke inzet om het respect en de appreciatie voor de culturele diversiteit in het land ten volle te bevorderen.
De internationale netwerken rond de UNESCO-Conventie (2003) bieden voorts allerlei mogelijkheden en vooruitzichten op uitwisseling van ervaringen, op competentieverhoging en samenwerking omtrent borging van immaterieel erfgoed en duurzame ontwikkeling. Een inzet voor meer coördinatie en bundeling van krachten zou de impact van de culturele activiteiten op nationaal, regionaal en internationaal niveau verder kunnen versterken.

Projecten van erfgoedgemeenschappen als nieuwe uitdagingen voor antropologen

Italiaanse perspectieven op het borgen van immaterieel cultureel erfgoed, bemiddeling en culturele makelaardij

Om de huidige discussies in Italië te begrijpen rond het borgen van immaterieel cultureel erfgoed, het implementeren van de UNESCO-Conventie van 2003 en vooral de spanningen rond de procedures voor het maken van een nationale inventaris in functie van een kandidatuur voor de opname op de Representatieve Lijst (artikel 16 van de Conventie), is

het nuttig de voorgeschiedenis mee in beeld te nemen. Zoals blijkt uit publicaties van Pietro Clemente was er geen goede "match" tussen het officiële erfgoedbeleid, fenomenen die we vandaag immaterieel cultureel erfgoed noemen en die door demo-etno-anthropologen bestudeerd worden. Demo verwijst naar volk of populatie (zoals in demografie) en de combinatie met etnologie en antropologie leverde dat neologisme op. De beweging van onderop via kleine musea en de rol van antropologen die actief zijn in het veld openen nieuwe perspectieven. De combinatie met andere referentiekaders, naast de erfenis uit de vorige eeuw alsook de net genoemde Conventie van UNESCO of de kaderconventie van de Raad van Europa over de waarde van cultureel erfgoed voor de mensheid, zijn veelbelovend, net als de eerste experimenten in Venetië en Cocullo.

CONTRIBUTORS

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