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THE NON-PHYSICAL HERITAGE

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THE WORLD's NON-PHYSICAL HERITAGE

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Abstract

This study-report provides a working definition and typology of the world's non-physical heritage: the non-material manifestations of culture transmitted and evolved by communal recreation over time.

The Sub-Program on Non-Physical Heritage involves the definition and identification of popular traditions, and their inventory, collection and conservation, interpretation, and promotion and preservation (see Figure II).

Non-physical heritage can be classified into material culture (traditional objects, art, and structures) and non-material culture (verbal and nonverbal traditions, cultural assets). Verbal traditions include oral literature, history, song, dialect and verbal customs; nonverbal forms include dance, instrumental music, gesture, nonverbal custom and ritual. Cultural assets are those practices which combine material and nonmaterial culture: folk cookery and traditional medicine, for example, which rely on both artifact and verbal ritual (see Figure III).

These distinctions between physical and non-physical traditions rest on the process of cultural transformation and evolution. This begins with a culture-specific worldview which is then transformed through that culture's expressive component into traditional forms. Thus a belief in demons gives rise to charms to avoid spells—and these charms may have a physical form (amulets) or a non-physical one (sayings such as Gesundheit).

For decades UNESCO has inventoried and helped protect the architectural treasures of the world. The Sub-Program on Non-physical Heritage will extend this protection to oral and expressive forms of culture to avoid their erosion, distortion, and exploitation.

Overview

This report is divided into six sections.

The Introduction discusses the importance and transfor-
mational structure of tradition.

Definition and Identification charts four central precepts
which define non-physical heritage and explores their
implications. Systems of identifying and classifying traditional
materials are discussed.

Inventory describes procedures and sources for an
international register of the non-physical heritage.

Collection and Conservation outlines basic methodologies for
documenting non-physical heritage (e.g. recording, notation) and
offers suggestions on storage, access, and retrieval of
traditional materials.

Interpretation suggests approaches to analyzing popular
traditions, across cultures and across genres, and discusses the
development of instruments for identifying and inventorying
traditions.

Promotion and Preservation explores procedures for
encouraging use and appreciation of the non-physical heritage: via
media, museums, festivals, education, and direct subsidies to
preserve traditional milieu. Legal questions of protecting
popular traditions from exploitation are briefly discussed.

Each of these subjects has had excellent book-length studies.
This report synthesizes some of this scholarship to provide a
typology and conceptual framework for an international effort to
document and promote popular traditions.

INTRODUCTION

The non-physical heritage of a people may be its best source of
collective identity and community. In the present age of globalization,
where a cultural product may be marketed in identical form in New York,
Paris, Bombay or Dakar, a nation's traditional popular culture reminds
its citizens of their ancestral history, literature, art, and
language--those traditions which help situate a people in time and
place, providing the cultural continuity needed by developing and
developed nations alike.

The popular traditions and folklore of a people also serve as a
basis for international cultural exchanges and as a source of
community/ethnic pride. For developed countries, the non-physical
heritage is the linkage to the origins of customs and institutions. For
developing countries, these traditions may be the only key to their
precolonial history and art, and may form the basis for development in
education, health, and nutrition.

Yet today, despite its worth, the non-physical heritage is
threatened by neglect and by technological innovation. The intangible
treasures of culture are just as much exposed to erosion and
expropriation as its physical ones. A sacred song can be copied and
sold as easily as a painting or altarpiece. Unique cultural forms fall
before the onslaught of international commercial cultural trends just as
a temple may weather into ruins before a harsh storm.

The decline of a physical structure, such as an ancient fresco, can
be monitored scientifically. But what of a nation's store of
traditional music or dance? The effect of an international commercial

trend, such as disco music, is far more subtle to detect. We may act to buttress a treasured church's crumbling facade but how do we restore the practice of and audience for traditional storytelling, in competition with reruns of the television series "Dallas"?

To prevent the deterioration of the world's architectural and artistic treasures, UNESCO developed programs to conserve and identify this physical heritage. Today, many Member States have asked for similar protection for their less visible but equally important heritage: traditional literature, history, language, music, dance, and customs. Though restoring a temple and preserving a specific oral tradition are by no means identical processes, they share a common foundation: that valuable works of culture concern peoples of all the world, forming a common global treasury of ideas and art. Products of a culture's collective unconsciousness are as important as its monuments.

Today, the pace at which oral traditions vanish increases geometrically as new technologies make it ever easier to consume rather than participate in a culture. In effect, new technological developments in cultural transmission--from satellite dishes to individual stereos--fragment cultural production. Originally, cultural creation was necessarily collective, prompted by individual innovation. This is the way traditions were developed and recreated. Industrialization and urbanization brought about a distinction between cultural experts (who perform professionally) and audiences (who listen and applaud).

Yet the development of exportable culture industries designed for centralized production and sale--cinema, discs, television--is a recent phenomenon. A dance tradition such as the Wayang of Indonesia has

evolved over a millennium; the media of mass entertainment are less than a century old. Before a dance-puppet tradition such as Wayang comes to be replaced by James Bond films, nations concerned about their cultural identities must find a means to collect and promote their own traditions.

Technology does not have to pose a threat to the non-physical heritage. When Wayang is creatively adapted to film or television—guided by producers who have grown up in that tradition—the effects are stunning, and serve to revive interest among young people and pride among the elders. As discussed later, in the section on Promotion, e'ectronic media have a major role to play in documenting and popularizing popular traditions. Solutions to the erosion of the non-physical heritage require sophisticated understanding of the constructive use of technology and cultural development theory applied to traditional practices. The comparative data contained in an international inventory of non-physical heritage could form a scientific basis for efforts at cultural preservation and promotion.

Before beginning the task of defining and classifying non-physical heritage, it must be pointed out that popular cultural traditions are fundamentally indivisible into spheres of physical and non-physical culture. These terms are but separate representations of a culture's unitary worldview. The same belief system which demands construction of a roadside shrine also expresses its religious impulse through ceremonialized pageants and traditional chants. Members of a culture do not divide these practices into physical and nonphysical forms.

Consider an amulet such as the Brazilian Figa, a traditional symbol of fertility and good fortune. The physical object is a carved hand

facing downwards with a thumb between the fingers. The figa's meaning and function, however, rest on intangible customs which surround and underlie it. In many parts of Brazil a _figa_ is rarely bought for personal use: its power is dilute or nonexistent unless received as a gift. Different materials and colors of a _figa_ are said to have different powers. Yet nowhere are these properties inscribed on the _figa_ itself; the amulet comes with no instruction book. Its meaning is a product of a cluster of traditional cultural associations. Taken away from this context, the _figa_ becomes in interesting _objet d'art_, as easily worn upside down as right side up.

Can we then say that the _figa_ belongs to the physical or the nonphysical heritage? That the _figa's_ "power" is inside or outside of its cultural context?

Another example, cited by the former UNESCO special adviser Dr. Madanjeet Singh in a paper conceptualizing non-physical heritage, is the Borobodur temple in Indonesia, which UNESCO helped restore. Modelled in stone after the Mount Kailasha in the Himalayas, sacred to both Buddhist and Hindu:

> Its architectural design was derived from the stupa or funeral mound containing the relics of Buddha. And its magic-mystic meaning acquired ah even greater spiritual significance when the stupa came to be identified with the mythical mountain Meru. . . . the central reliquary of the Borobodur temple represented the world axis, the hemisphere on the square base as the vault of the firmament, and the small enclosure on the top was interpreted as the abode of gods ruling over the earth. . . . how strange it would have sounded to the builders of Brobodur to have been asked is they were contributing towards a physical or nonphysical heritage--for that matter, a practising buddhist today would be equally scandalized.[1]

Distinguishing the physical from the non-physical is thus a judgment external to a culture. The key to distinguishing non-material dimensions of a material cultural object is an understanding of the transformational process of traditional culture (see Figure 1). At the

root of both material and non-material culture is the coherent worldview
which underlies custom. (Religion is only one dimension of this
worldview, as studies of the syncretism of old and new world religions
have shown.) This structured system of beliefs, involving a cosmology
and extending to every facet of life in a traditional society, is
transformed through the expressive component of that culture into unique
cultural products—
either material, non-material, or a combination of the two.

Thus a belief among the Hopi tribe of Native Americans—that needed
rain is given by gods as their approval of the balance of Hopi life—is
simultaneously expressed in the Kachina dolls and masks (physical) and
in the dances and chants which once a year accompany the ceremonial
arrival of the gods in Hopiland (non-physical). And, inevitably, as the
artifacts of Hopi life evolve (pick-up trucks instead of horses, farm
machinery instead of hand tools), the belief system may remain
essentially unchanged, while its expressive component produces and
incorporates new cultural forms, such as Hopi country-western dance
music or modifications of traditional silver work for the tourist trade.

The _form_ of cultural expression distinguishes the physical from the
non-physical heritage. Separating the two may be conceived of as an
effective organizational device only when their unitary and evolutionary
nature is constantly in mind.

History of UNESCO efforts to protect non-physical heritage

UNESCO has had a long tradition of concern and research on the
world's non-physical heritage. Although the Sub-Program on Non-Physical
Heritage is new, UNESCO has previously been involved in areas such as

collecting oral traditions, preparing legal recommendations on the protection of folklore, and in developing cultural policies which favor maintenauce of popular traditions.

In 1970, the General Conference of UNESCO at its sixteenth session adopted a ten-year plan for the study of African oral traditions and languages.[2]

In 1973, the delegation from Bolivia requested the Director-General of UNESCO to begin studies of folklore. This effort focused, in the mid-Seventies, on the preparation of guidelines for protecting folklore as intellectual property. To this end a Committee of Governmental Experts on the Legal Protection of Folklore prepared reports on copyright and related issues. This Committee subsequently broadened its scope to include identifying "ways of providing protection for folklore on the international level," and discussed "an integrated framework covering the definition of folklore, its identification, its conservation, its preservation and its utilization."[3]

In 1979, UNESCO prepared and distributed an international survey of member state activities in this area. This survey yielded 92 replies from 70 member states. Recommendations of the panel of experts and comments from this survey were included in a 1983 Executive Board report, Preliminary Study of the Technical and Legal Aspects of the Safeguarding of Folklore (116/ EX/126).

In 1982, the World Conference on Cultural Policies (MONDIACULT) produced The Mexico City Declaration on Cultural Policies emphasizing the importance of individual country's popular traditions.

Throughout this period, various sub-programs of UNESCO were at work on related tasks collecting oral literature in Asia, Africa, and South

America; the preparation of regional histories, many of which depend on oral and non-material sources; and numerous exploratory studies on the utilization of folklore in cultural policy and promotion.

From these efforts has come the new Sub-Program on Non-physical Heritage: a comprehensive attempt to define, identify, collect, interpret, preserve and promote nonmaterial aspects of culture world-wide (see Figure II). Many of the conclusions of this report are based on UNESCO's earlier, thoughtful studies.

DEFINITION AND IDENTIFICATION

Defining the non-physical heritage is as complex (and perhaps as frustrating) as any search for a universal definition of human character and culture. This term is a recent one, and some idea of the problems in making its meaning precise may be drawn from the experience of defining an analogous term, "folklore." The Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology, and Legend lists twenty-one differing definitions; a UNESCO committee, after nearly ten years of deliberations, "unanimously emphasized the difficulty, not to say impossibility, of reaching a consensus on the concept of folklore." No program can begin operations, however, without a working definition, and in this section we outline key components of non-physical heritage.

"Non-physical heritage," "popular traditions," and "folklore" all share four common precepts: 1) the collective and spontaneous participation in the traditions by the community; 2) the impersonal or anonymous origin of the traditions; 3) the noncommercial and largely unwritten means of transmission; and 4) the tradition's core structure and techniques which have passed across generations.

Four Standards of Tradition

Collective and spontaneous participation refers to the way in which a tradition is recreated and carried on by a majority of people in a given community--not by experts or professionals. In traditional societies a high percentage of the community possesses the skills and knowledge of traditions in an active form, so that many performances

occur among co-creators rather than in fixed roles of performer and audience.

The impersonal nature of tradition refers to the fact that a tradition cannot be the original product of a single author; rather it is collectively recreated over time. By participating in a tradition, the community feels it owns a tale or dance. While individuals will innovate or stylize within the rules of that tradition, the effect is a cumulative one, creditable to no one individual.

The noncommercial and largely unwritten transmission of a tradition distinguishes what is traditional from what is ephemeral or outside the folk process because it is passed along in fixed form. A string quartet is not traditional because each time it is performed, it is repeated exactly from its written text. Likewise a set of directions for finding a train station is oral, but it is not traditional, since it is meant to be repeated and followed verbatim. Material which is traditional is constantly evolving in form as different groups adapt it to its differing circumstances, leading to parodies and variants.

The tradition's core structures distinguish them from cultural products created primarily for sale and which do not stand the ultimate test of tradition, continued existence and change over time. (This is the difference between a popular tradition and a popular culture form such as "breakdancing," a stylized dance movement popular in western countries. While "breakdancing" has travelled widely and exists in variations, it has not lasted any significant time; if the dance continues, particularly outside its media presentation, then we may call it a popular tradition.) The core structure of a tale (or its of narrative or representational technique) exists outside of formal

schooling; with a grounding in traditional technique a folklorist can incorporate new materials or technological innovation into tradition.

These are four central characteristics of the world's non-physical heritage. In recent years, subsidiary ones, such as orality, literacy, or urban development have faded, as anthropologists have come to accept oral as only one means of transmission; as popular traditions are recognized as developing in cities as well as in the countryside; as it is realized that all peoples constantly create and recreate folklore in their groups, and the antiquarian, rustic associations of "folklore" are sloughed off.

Our non-physical heritage is only one part of the cultural dimension of human activity covered by ethnography or folklore; a century ago Andrew Lang, in his 1884 Custom and Myth distinguished between "Archeology, which collects the material relics of old races," and "Folklore, which collects and compares the similar but immaterial relics. . . ." (emphasis added).

It is this intangible, non-material, and non-physical tradition that we explore here, but how is "intangible" or "non-physical" to be defined? By exclusion of the physical and the tangible? This approach, as mentioned above, violates the unitary nature of a worldview which produces both material and non-material representations: this broad usage incorporates "the totality of the creative genius of a society" into non-physical heritage: all culture, in effect.

Should non-physical heritage be defined by searching out the common basis and characteristics of oral traditions? While oral art has many common characteristics—origin, transmission, retelling and evolution, problems of translation and transcription—the non-physical heritage

includes more than oral art. While a basket from Australia or a mask from Dahomey have an independent existence as objects, their significance, as we have seen, derives from the folk beliefs, rituals, and production techniques which surround them: all parts of a non-physical heritage that requires protection--but not all of which is oral.

If in its broadest sense, "non-physical heritage includes virtually all culture," as one writer suggested, "in a narrower sense--in which the metaphysical connotation is excluded--the term could be taken as being coterminous with the concept of "tradition populaire," meaning the totality of the oral and popular tradition which has been handed down from generation to generation."[4]

Typology

Perhaps the most effective working definition of non-physical heritage will be a descriptive one, based on systems of identification and classification.* Thus, as illustrated in Figure III, the world's cultural heritage may be divided into two parts, a physical and a non-physical heritage.

Physical heritage refers to the objects made by humans: buildings,

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* The categories discussed here overlap. Thus we refer to a tradition as primarily verbal or nonverbal; the term "cultural assets" combines elements of the physical and the non-physical; and we acknowledge that some genres are artificially assigned to a single category--e.g. traditional song may include both verbal elements (lyric) and nonverbal ones, such as instrumental breaks or nonsense (vocable) parts.

structures, objects of all kinds, both traditional and nontraditional.
The non-physical heritage includes material and nonmaterial
manifestations of culture which have been transmitted and evolved by
communal recreation over time.

Material culture differs from physical heritage in that the
structures, art, handicrafts, artifacts, and instruments are created
exclusively by traditional design or technique. Material culture
objects illustrate and bear traditions by example, as a carved bow
displays the artistry and craft of the community's aesthetic even as it
serves a specific, nonartistic purpose. Included as material culture
are forms of folk art and craft without verbal ritual (i.e. traditional
painting).

Non-material culture refers to cultural practices without primarily
physical representations: all the customs, oral traditions, and
unwritten institutions of a people, together with techniques of
traditional production and style. Non-material culture can be divided
into three major categories: verbal traditions, nonverbal traditions,
and cultural assets. The majority of work for the Sub-program on
Non-physical Heritage will be in this area.

Nonverbal traditions include gestures, nonverbal custom and ritual,
nonverbal music (instrument and vocable), and traditional dance.

Verbal or oral tradition includes all of the various performed oral
arts: oral traditional history, song, folk speech and dialect, and oral
literature, including its narrative (myth, legend, riddles, tale,
proverb, joke, ballad texts, folk drama, epic) and non-narrative forms

(sayings, charms, chants, blessings, curses, insults, tongue-twisters, folk poetry, greeting and leave-taking formulae).[5]

Cultural assets (bien culturals) refers to those areas of non-material culture which are primarily a combination of artifact and oral art: folk medicine, folk cookery, and recipes, ceremonies and ritual festivals and holidays. These practices include both verbal and material elements, such as the folk healer or witch doctor whose medicine depends on a combination of herbs and oral spells. Folk art and craft is included in this category when a verbal ceremony is part of its context or function (e.g. string games, graffiti, cartoons, etc.)

(One potential problem in deriving a working definition of non-physical heritage is that, unless specifically excluded, this term could also include "fine art" (opera, symphonic music, professional drama) as well as those parts of popular, commercial culture which borrow forms, techniques, and instrumentation from popular traditions.)

The major advantage of this typology is that it allows a unified understanding of the material and non-material dimensions of the non-physical heritage. An example may make this more clear. Supposing an ethnomusicologist studied the hand-lyre of East Africa. In this schema the field of study would include material culture (the traditional design and construction of the instrument) and non-material culture (instrumental and vocal technique). This could then be further broken down into verbal elements (vocal performance, formulaic openings and closings, verbal statements) and nonverbal ones (instrumental techniques, traditional gestures and responses). Thus the hand-lyre can be analyzed as traditional in different dimensions—a material one,

concerning development of an instrument's form, and a nonmaterial one, concerning musical form and performance characteristics.[6]

Identification

Defining the non-physical heritage and identifying it, case by case, are naturally two different processes. Definitions are ideal representations of a situation, based upon judgements external to a culture; whereas identification of a traditional genre or item is made in situ, using culture-specific internal standards and terms. Definitions are products of conceptualization and typology; identification involves systems of classification. Definitions provide us with universal characteristics; identification, with local and regional traits.

Identifying traditional culture is not uncomplicated. Take for example an urban legend such as the vanishing hitchhiker, which has been collected in parallel form in areas as diverse as Korea, Peru, and the American Southwest. This story, told as true, has persisted for forty years.

In one variant, a boy is driving home late one evening when he sees a girl dressed in white by the side of the road. He gives her a lift, only to discover, when he knocks on her parents' door, she has disappeared, leaving a puddle on the seat. The parent tells him that this is the anniversary of the girl's death.

Because the item has the characteristics listed earlier (traditional form, transmission, anonyminity), we define it as oral literature, part of non-material culture. After studying this further, we can identify this legend occurring in both traditional and

nontraditional forms, with traditional and nontraditional means of
transmission. It is told at night around cookfires, and it was made
into a pop music record, broadcast over the radio. We might identify
the former performance as traditional, the latter as nontraditional.
Often this distinction rests on the context of a tradition's
performance; the place, audience, and rules which govern the way the
tradition is performed. The same person saying the same words in a hut
after the cows come home and saying them in a concert hall in the city
before an audience creates a completely different effect: the two
performances are distinct communicative events with different
significations.

In a 1981 survey of member state policies for identifying
traditional culture, the great majority (fifty-one countries) used a
combination of two methods:

> (1) extensive method, establishing a wide survey network over
> the whole area under consideration and then sorting out the
> information; and
> (2) intensive method, a survey of specific, scientifically
> defined items carried out among persons qualified to provide
> this information: witch doctors, singers, storytellers, kids,
> heads of castes, scholars, priests, etc.

Within these two systems, a variety of identification methodologies
are possible, including: general questionnaires on different genres of
folklore and specific ones on items or techniques; sociological methods
including statistical socio-analysis; geographic mapping of traditions;
interviewing to document a culture's internal frame of reference for
traditions; methodologies of literary/folkloristic criticism, such as
the comparative, structural, semiotic, functionalist, historic-
comparative, and textual analysis. All of these methods depend on
judgements basic to identification: what forms of expression will be

counted as traditional; and what systems will be used, genre by genre
and region by region, for identification and classification.

Classification

Systems of classification rest on prior decisions of definition and
identification of popular traditions. There are of course hundreds of
different ways of classifying the non-physical heritage. Some major
criteria include: by type of item, theme, place, genre, parallel
tale-type or motif.

One effective system of classifying traditional music, for example,
includes more than formal musical elements (scales, intervals, rhythmic
systems, melodic contours, harmony, the interplay between metric and
musical patterns). These musical elements are only a fraction of the
tradition; others include contextual and performance factors; the
relation between the music makers and the audience; gestures, stances,
and muscular tensions; the social functions of the music; the way songs
are learned and transmitted; vocal timbres and pitch; psychological and
emotional content of text and tune; the number of (and cooperation
among) music makers in a culture.[8]

Though this classification system was designed for only one
genre—of the dozens to be included in the Sub-Program on Non-physical
Heritage—it illustrates some of the complexity of formulating
classification systems for use in comparative analysis. Since
classification also involves applying these variables across geographic
areas for comparative purposes, a breakdown of a genre must be done by
world cultural regions.

INVENTORY

The Sub-Program on Non-physical Heritage might create an International Register of Folk-Cultural Properties to catalogue cultural materials worthy of international and national preservation. According to a recent UNESCO report, "This inventory could be conceived on the lines of the inventory for the protection of the cultural and natural heritage, including items which, without being of outstanding cultural importance, are inseparable from their environment and contribute to its character."

The Register would include dynamic genres of the non-physical heritage and even specific traditional items, such as the Finnish epic Kalevala, where appropriate.

A tentative listing of these genres—based on a survey of UNESCO member states—would include (but not be limited to):

Non-material culture:

Custom, ritual, and cultural assets: ceremonies (marriage, birth, etc.), seasonal ceremonies and rituals, popular lore (of fauna and flora, weather, magic, popular imagery, inscriptions, folk costumes (including make-up and clothes), culinary practices, belief systems, folk medicines, kinship and family systems.

Nonverbal traditions: instrumental music, dance, craftwork, mime, gestures, folk agriculture, animal keeping, and hunting.

Verbal traditions: song, tales, proverbs, riddles, epic, myth, legend, oral traditional history, sayings, charms, folk speech and poetry, jokes, folk drama, games, greeting and leave-taking formulas.

Material culture: folk art and craft (pottery, sculpture,
painting, mosaic, carpets, vehicle and home decoration, sewing),
traditional tools and implements, instruments, and magical and religious
objects.

Format and design:

The format of the Register could be on computer data base, with
microfiche and hard copy print-outs widely available. This would allow
changes and up-dates to be incorporated quickly and provide computerized
retrieval and analysis. Copies (and Indices) of the Register could be
published in print form (in journals and bound volumes) for areas where
computers are not currently available. Other advantages to having the
Register as an on-line data base: subject access is more flexible
(according to the needs of users); material can be retrieved under
different names and cross-referenced; and regional and sub-regional
mapping of data can be compiled almost instantly.

Obviously, no computer data base is better than what it is fed.
The Register's originating documents should be a list of country
traditions and an index card for each item.

The list of country traditions would include the major genres to be
included, minor genres, a d the varieties of thematic or topical issues
relevant to that country. The UNESCO committee in charge of designing
this system will need to consult a specialist in computer listing of
folk-cultural items to design a system yielding consistent,
cross-cultural data. (The Irish and Finnish Folklore Commissions have
been successful in this computerization of traditional materials.)

A model index card could be prepared for each item designated for inclusion. This card could include: contextual information (where, when, and how the materials were recorded); comparative information (genre, variants, parallel versions internationally, tale- and motif-type, textual markings), and biographical information (age, location, repertoire, where and how the item was learned).

Considerable attention will have to be given to decisions on a final system for organizing and prioritizing this inventory. Who will make the final selection of input categories to assure that they include all possible traditional genres? And what assurance is there that what is called a proverb in Malaysia will emerge in parallel form in Uruguay?

One lingo-centric proposal for organizing the Register involves dividing a country's languages into principal families (for instance, in India: Tibeto-Burman, Dravidian, Indo-Aryan, Austro-Asian). These could be divided into ethno-linguistic groups corresponding to geographical areas. These groups could be sub-divided into dialect areas. This structure (suggested by Dr. R. Doctor) which is only one of many possible—including divisions by location,[9] ethnic-tribal-racial groupings—offers certain advantages: mapping an ethnographic atlas would be easy; the Register would feature cultural divisions by language group, a logical organizing device; and administrative divisions in member states might correspond to existing geo-linguistic areas.

Again, selecting one central organizing principle—whether by language- or ethnic-group—will surely be controversial. Every typology has its grey areas. In the schema outlined above, there may be a problem about where to include culture groups with significant non-linguistic differences, such as the Maasai people of Africa, whose

members cross the old colonial boundary lines. One Tanzanian clan of
the tribe, the Larusha, live an agrarian life style and raise few
cattle. Another clan, the Loita of Kenya's Great Rift Valley, is
pastoral and semi-nomadic; its culture centers on cattle raising and
they view agriculturalists with disdain. Problems such as these might
be resolved by dividing dialect areas into clan and sub-dialect areas.

In any case, the design of an international inventory for non-physical
heritage ought to be a central concern for the first phases of this
project. In the next two years, a working document could be prepared,
with genres defined broadly by international specialists and affirmed by
a group of member state delegates.

Collection of listings

The steps to compiling the Register would logically consist of
archival research, data collections, data analysis, and publication.

Archival research would take place at four levels: district,
national, regional, and international. There is no reason not to profit
from the vast quantity of materials already collected. Research on a
particular country's inventory entry might begin at the international
level, to identify holdings of major research institutions, and
government and private collections. Then national archives and
universities could be searched, with cross-references to archives on the
international and local levels. Finally district-level records and
administrative reports should yield previous surveys on the most local
levels.

Additional research could be carried out using available data
bases, such as the British Museum's Blaiseline (UKCMARC and LCMAC),

DIALOG (Modern Language Association, Dissertation Abstracts), the
inventory of the International Folk Music Council and Telesystemes-
Questel (H & S). Because these data bases will never be entirely
current, a conference on traditions of that country should be sponsored
before the end of the data collection phase. This would include studies
in-progress and in-press.

Data Collection. Data collection can begin as archival research
comes to a close, to avoid duplication of materials already collected.
This effort should start on the national level for a country and proceed
to the local level, relying on local officials and tribal leaders as
field contacts. Ideally, the field workers should begin with a careful
picture of areas which need surveying, and they should work by the
external method described above, followed by an internal, more precise,
search to elicit specific items or variants.

Those conducting field work should, in most cases, be nationals of
that country who have received the equivalent of an international
education in the sciences of folklore and anthropology. (This training
will naturally not always be available, and will have to be supplemented
by UNESCO workshops.) It is desirable to avoid, if at all possible,
having different groups collecting field data and analyzing that data,
for the contextual insights gained in fieldwork are a critical part of
analysis.

A model for a national inventory may be found in the District
Socio-Cultural Profiles Project sponsored by the Ministry of Planning in
Kenya. In this effort, the government of Kenya began comprehensive
ethnographic surveys of Kenya's forty districts over a ten-year period.
Work has been conducted by trained ethnographers introduced and situated

by local officials and chiefs and translated from ethnic languages into
national languages by young research assistants. Each year, four
volumes of the survey appear, with comparative data ranging from
patterns of shelter to oral literature. These volumes are nationally
distributed to colleges, the Ministry of Education (which uses them in
revising curricula), and to the Ministry of Planning, which guides
development efforts by local tradition. The work is directed by the
Institute of African Studies, a joint venture of the University of
Nairobi and the National Museum of Kenya.[10]

The Data analysis and publication phases of the Inventory could be
carried out once comparative data was provided by field work and
archival research. A country-specific system of classification and
identification could be used by fieldworkers to channel information to a
central office handling the computer input. This would avoid imposing
external definitions of tradition onto a culture, yet yield data which
would be comparable. Once archival and field research are coordinated
and spurious items rejected, a national meeting could be held to discuss
the listing of genres and items, and to begin prioritizing which items
to include on an international inventory, and which on a national one.
These, in turn, would be ranked as to their currency, with the more
endangered traditions receiving immediate attention. This prioritized
list would assist university teachers and ministries in directing
national research and in evaluating research proposals from scholars
outside the country.

The publication of this inventory could take place at multiple
levels. The international Register would of course be published by
UNESCO. The national inventory could go to a government agency or

national university press. Both of these inventories should eventually be available in microfiche and in data base form. Then, to return this information to the people whose traditions are catalogued, popular editions could be prepared for mass sale, with the selection done by the ethnographers who collected the information. Popular authors could be encouraged to base their writings on these collections, and national broadcasters could incorporate them into local production. These systems of inventory and classifications possess conceptual, methodological, and logistical problems. The importance of assuring that those who classify the data are those who collect it has already been discussed.

Another difficulty may be the availability of funds and trained personnel. With severely limited budgets for cultural research and promotion, many member states will not have the resources to dispatch field workers and provide needed supplementary training. (Training fieldworkers in the use and coding of the inventory will almost certainly have to be a UNESCO-sponsored task—as may be the provision and maintenance of the recording equipment.) Spare parts is a particular problem for ethnographers in the developing world: for too long international organizations provided machines without the training and materials necessary to make sure the equipment was used to its fullest capacity.

A more theoretical issue is the application of an inventory model—based on physical heritage programs—to the more transitory items of popular tradition. The physical heritage programs of UNESCO conserve and protect essentially static forms of tradition. But non-physical traditions are inherently evolutionary, which poses subtle difficulties.

Are all variants of an item (all that can currently be collected) to be
included? If only one is to be listed, how will that be chosen? In
addition, since collecting a living tradition is akin to photographing a
bird in flight, the Register should include some indications of the
local folk process and currency of the items collected.

COLLECTION AND CONSERVATION

Once an international cultural inventory has been prepared, the traditions still have to be collected and conserved. In collecting data in the field, there is a wide range of possible methodologies: survey-questionnaires, field notation, still photography, audio and video recording.

None of these collecting techniques can truly capture the original performance of an item, for several reasons. The most important of these is that traditions are interactive and communally recreated, whereas the documentation of these events is necessarily static, selective, and focused on the performer of an event, rather than on his audience's response. Collecting a tradition with microphones or cameras aimed simultaneously at the audience and narrator does not solve this problem, for the tradition itself is a dynamic, evolutionary entity, changing from audience to audience and situation to situation.

At best, our recording techniques are bi-dimensional records of multi-dimensional, thickly layered events, to use the terminology of cultural anthropologist Clifford Geertz.[11] No recorder can capture the feel of a story-teller's warm breath, the intimacy of a momentary flash in a traditional performer's eye, the smells and snugness of a tale told in a rural hut at night. And when these traditional communicative events are streamlined to include a single performer in a unique performance and transcribed into immobile words on a page, the results are barely evocative.

Ethnographic methodologies are well documented in anthropological literature, such as Ivan Polunin's "Sound and Film Recording and Field

Work," and Kenneth Goldstein's <u>A Guide for Fieldwork in Folklore</u>, to name but two works in a growing area of interest. Underlying all these works is the documentarian, nonjudgemental stance of the ethnographer, for the best equipment is of little value in fieldwork without the humanistic and scientific insights of ethnographic training.

<u>Survey-questionnaires</u> allow the fieldworker to accumulate a quantity of easily classifiable data, ideal for comparative purposes but sometimes lacking in the color and vitality of traditions considered on their own terms. Training in survey research is an easy introduction to ethnography and local high school and college students can participate in this work. The survey approach can be used to create an inventory without collecting individual items. .

<u>Field Notation</u> is the most common and least expensive means of collecting traditions. It has the dual advantage of avoiding equipment problems (handling and maintenance) and their distorting effect on the performance of traditional items. It is the most flexible means of collecting, enabling the collector to stop and start inobtrusively, at the informants' own speed. The obvious disadvantage is that the record is not verbatim or exact, and that the notation often can be used for only the purpose that the collector had in mind, as opposed to open-ended electronic recording, which can be used for multiple applications in different fields. In disciplines such as linguistics and ethnomusicology, field notation is extraordinarily difficult and . hence even less exact. Trying to catch the precise tonal pattern of a dialect or chart a melodic contour are exercises in transcription best suited to laboratory work.

Still Photography provides a valuable visual representation of a traditional event or performer. For static traditions, such as folk architecture, multiple exposures from a still camera is the preferred method of documentation. Another advantage is the relatively widespread availability of cameras and film: almost every collector has access to one, though cameras vary greatly in their adaptability to the visual situation. To some extent the photograph is a nonselective representation, that is, unfiltered by the interpetations found, of necessity, in field notes. (Naturally the process of framing the photograph—with the implications of what is included or left out—is a selection.) For events which are dynamic, however, the still photograph may be unsatisfactory (though a motor-driven film advance can create interesting sequences), and the omission of sound information can be misleading.

Audio Recording is, after notation, probably the second most common form of field documentation. The method is particularly suited to oral literature and traditions, because it utilizes the very substance of the tradition's sound. Clearly, for ethnomusicology, linguistics, oral traditional history, and oral literature, there is no substitute for sound recording. Another advantage of the sound recording is that cassette recorders—which vary wildly in quality and fidelity—are widely available, though quality microphones are less common. If ethnographic recordings are to have a dual application in promotion, the sound record can be easily used in radio and slide-tape presentations. But it must not be forgotten that the sound record is selective as well. Depending on the type and positioning of a microphone, as much can be excluded from an event as included.

Video and film recording is currently the most comprehensive and costliest form of field documentation. By combining a sound record with a portable visual record, a great deal of data is recorded simultaneously. With the future availability of home video recorders, at least in the developed world, this record may eventually be available to individual homes, if not through theatre and television presentation. Naturally the greatest barriers to this technology's use is its expense, difficulties of maintenance, and the training required to use the medium effectively. Again, this record is also a selective one, despite the panoply of information recorded at every instant: the sound and image is constantly framed, often to the exclusion of the environment and the audience of the tradition. This form of documentation is still relatively new, and its applicability as an ethnographic document only scarcely understood. A final problem is the considerable dislocation of the tradition which occurs from the lighting and recording requirements of video or film.

Conservation

The conservation of folk materials can be classified into four major areas: processing, storage, access, and retrieval. These are fields where information and practices are changing monthly, as computers are used for data analysis, storage, and access. In the future, today's methods of storing and accessing popular traditions may seem primitive indeed.

Processing may be the most complex step in conserving traditional materials, and one whose implications are often neglected. For oral

traditions, this refers to the entire process of transfer from tape to type: transcribing, auditing, editing, and cataloging.

In each of these steps the tradition is distanced from its performance. Transcription involves guessing at the narrator's words in a verbatim or near-verbatim record. When this distance is complicated further by difficulties of translation or by a different cultural set of the transcriber, the written representation may be alien from the original event. The audience and the immediate context are also invisible to the reader of the transcript.

Processing also involves great expense: as many as thirty hours may be required to render an hour's interview accurately. All over the world, archives cope with masses of untranscribed and untranslated material. It is far easier to find the funds and enthusiasm to collect material than it is to render them usable.

Processing still photographs and field notes share some of these same contradictions: handwriting must be made legible (and meanings guessed at), photographs must be printed and labeled, with permissions for later use obtained. Surveys must be tabulated accurately and run, with non-codable entries synthesized into qualitative measures.

Storage of traditional materials varies greatly according to the nature of the collection. Material culture objects, cared for by museums and institutions, have been the subject of considerable study. Protection from the elements, theft, and vandalism are only the bare starting points of museology. Proper storage of recorded materials is similarly complex; basically what is needed is: a clean, dust-free environment (with limited access, vacuumed and filtered air, and no eating or smoking); stable humidity (40-60%); and stable temperature

(15-22 degrees centigrade). Traditional materials, once processed into usable form, with the master collection stored under controlled circumstances, must be made accessible to the public and researchers.

Access refers to the actual physical availability of materials (or duplicates) to users: making material usable while conserving its original state. This is most often done by limiting users to an area free of dust, direct sunlight, and corrosive gas. For most purposes, a duplicate copy of a cassette or photograph will suffice. Other users will simply need a xeroxed transcript. Using basic security precautions (controlled access, identification papers) would be wise, with more elaborate installations needed for objects of great worth.

Retrieval of data should occur in different modes, according to the user's needs. A card catalogue remains the basic starting point, with a complete listing available along the lines of the model index card discussed in the section on Inventory. The entry must be completely cross-referenced: by title, genre, subject, and narrator/source. Computer-assisted retrieval cannot be ignored. The International Folk Music Council has pioneered systems of data access which have application beyond this genre. A series of keywords is provided to cross referenced information, according to subject, provenance, genre, and narrator/source. Then retrieval must be periodically checked to insure the system is in working order, and sub-systems need to be backed up by transference to another memory bank. In many developing countries, data in a computer poses special problems due to fluctuations of electric current, the difficulty of proper maintenance and of obtaining trained personnel.

An even more basic problem in retrieval is that of classification, discussed earlier. The archivist must anticipate which subject headings will be most useful in the future, a difficult task. With the possible development by UNESCO of a uniform classification system, this task will be made far easier.

INTERPRETATION

Oral and traditional sources can be analyzed in limitless ways; the intent here is to offer a few primary categories. Each of UNESCO's member states will have its own research priorities for its non-physical heritage.

> Some principal possibilities are:
> 1) Cross-cultural research (motifs, types, transmission and distribution, comparativeevolutionary mapping);
> 2) Cross-genre (parallel themes across traditional forms, techniques of narrative, gesture, language and dialect, transmission and distribution, structural analysis of types, motifs, including semantic and semiotic implications);
> 3) Performance-Context (techniques of performance, situational variation, audience response) and
> 4) research to develop instruments for standard-setting and inventories.

Cross-cultural research presupposes comparative data, which in turn depends on parallel systems of classification and identification of the non-physical heritage. The classic works of international scholarship on popular traditions rely on international indices of proverbs, folktale-types and motifs, and linguistic features. This allows researchers to compare a version of "Cinderella" from Germany with one collected in Argentina, since each shares a core of structural elements. Whether this comparison occurs in the context of a larger research framework such as the historic-geographic method or a semiotic critique, the comparativist searches the particular for the universal. Again, the possible applications for these approaches are so numerous as to defy comprehensive listing. Some might include: variants and their cultural significance; patterns of transmission and distribution; idiomatic language use, and innovation and traditional style in craft or artwork.

Cross-genre research involves comparing different traditions of the same culture to illuminate common themes. Historical legends, such as those surrounding Bolivar in the Andean nations, find expression not only in tales and jokes, but in folk art, embroidery, songs, etc. To interpret the appeal of Bolivar, the researcher would not want to be limited to only one form of tradition. Cross-genre studies might include research on the archetypes found across genres (e.g. the returning hero); mapping; transmission and distribution studies; and computer analysis of occurrence and frequency of items and genres. Among the themes of a study of Andalusian gypsy poetry are: anecdotal, historical, lyrical, mythical, religious and philosophical, sociological, and symbolic.[12] The Register of non-physical heritage could include a thematic index to facilitate this study. The cross-genre approach is particularly effective for building national/ethnic identity and cohesion in developing nations.

Performance-context research is based on the fact that popular traditions exist in practice, not theory. Each performance of a traditional dance will differ subtly; in studying that dance we either select one performance or work from a composite of many. Witnessing a live performance of a tradition resolves ambiguities about its meaning. Among the variables important to this approach are: facial expressions, gestures, vocal inflections, instrumentation, tempo, phrasing, pauses, and variable pitch. Because of the complex interplay between these elements and the tradition's "text" (its structural elements, whether words, music, brushstrokes, movements, etc.), every performance of a tradition is unique. Restricting the study of popular traditions to items as recorded in books or on tape is like building a house from an

instructional manual: it can be done, but direct experience is the ultimate teacher.

Even when the same performer greets the same audience, the performance will vary according to its physical and social situation. Anyone who has tried to tell a joke to his friends sitting in the kitchen and then up on a stage at a banquet knows this difference. This is the focus of contextual studies, which illuminate elements in the immediate surroundings of a tradition that channel its meaning and function. Contextual studies of the non-physical heritage could include audience expectation (their knowledge of the tradition and how they expect it to be performed) and audience participation (encouragements such as gritos or cries and amens, clapping, humming, and unison singing or dancing).

Among the behaviourial scientists already exploring the performance-context dimension of popular traditions are cultural anthropologists, enthnomusicologists, and socio-linguists.

Instruments for setting standards and preparing inventories are another topic for interpretation. Any genre of tradition can be used to test applicable theses on the nature of folklore or anthropology. In the past, the best instruments for typifying international traditions have been developed by those immersed in field work in one genre or area, thus proving the value of field researcher-interpreters.

Too often in the past, instruments and indices have been devised on one continent for use on another. By tying the development of the instruments used in the Register to results from local and national fieldwork, we could assure that criteria are derived from field experience, rather than the other way around. By the last biennium of

the Sub-Program on Non-physical Heritage, the Register should be
field-tested among member states. Because of the central importance of
the classification and identification systems included, each state may
want to prepare survey questions and classification schemes judged
appropriate to world-wide traditions.

PROMOTION AND PRESERVATION

For the popular traditions of a people to continue, more than
documentation and conservation are needed: concentrating UNESCO's
efforts on collecting and conservation would be, in a traditional North
American saying, "to lock the barn door after the horse has gotten out."
Whether we call the process of re-establishing interest in tradition
"enhancement," "reactivation," "promotion," or "popularization," the
common point is that some way must be found to continue their existence
in vital form.

At first it might seem contradictory to discuss reactivating
traditional lore: if one tradition has died, an anthropologist might
argue, then another will emerge to take its place. An old practice has
undergone the transformational passage through a culture's expressive
component and emerged with a tradition synthesizing old and new. How
can we revive what can never die?

One reason this is not accurate is that for the folk evolutionary
process to continue, the material situation of that culture must
continue intact: a community can preserve and refine a traditional
dance or ceremony only when it has the opportunity to perform it. When
anything breaks that continuity, the tradition at first becomes
moribund—fixed in the form remembered by a few surviving
performers—then gradually ceases to exist in living form. Some young
people in a community might seek out this past and "revive" it. Or some
professional performer will uncover the tradition and popularize it;
Rabindranath Tagore in India and Pete Seeger in the United States are
both examples of this possibility. But how much more useful it is to

intercede and promote an endangered tradition while it is still popular, while the community as a whole partakes of it—rather than waiting till a group of dedicated amateurs begins the uphill fight of revival.

A popular tradition loses vitality as its function and milieu disappear. A circumcision ceremony in Central Africa stops not because a ruler decrees it—for songs and ceremonies often thrive on repression—but when the belief system which mandates circumcision as an entry into adulthood loses sway, as other, newer, customs supplant it (graduation from school, marriage, pilgrimages to the city).

Function must here be understood in the broadest possible terms: the place and utility of a tradition in a complex belief structure or worldview. This refers both to listening to a weather report on the radio instead of watching clouds or planning a party around the availability of a cassette player for music—instead of bringing forth ancestral instruments.

Function is tied to milieu, the immediate surroundings in a culture where that tradition occurs. Once the scene is shifted, a tradition, if still performed, must be adopted to new circumstances. A young girl, used to bringing flowers to a roadside shrine of the Virgin of Guadeloupe in Colombia, travels to the city, and places these flowers in a towering church, which neither she nor her family helped construct or maintain. Her relation to her icon is transformed in the urban surroundings, and her ritual with it.

Several world culture trends are already shifting local popular traditions: the urbanization of developing countries; the availability of radio and television receivers and tape players; the inexorable spread of a cash-market economy; the world-wide economic recession and

energy shortage; and the existence of an international cultural industry which exports to developing nations.

When the wealthier nations of the world sell television shows and pop music records across the world, their success comes from more than the smooth voices and effective production methods. Ultimately the attraction of a James Bond film is its fantasies of wealth (and its corresponding thrills, violence; sex) rather than high acting standards or dramatic invention. That is what is sold on the screen: a transnational fantasy of the wealth of the developed nations. Video cassettes reach Singapore with these powerful images with the first planes traveling from Los Angeles.

Face to face with the quieter, rural traditions of their ancestors, the young of the planet find these glittering worlds more scintillating. The old ways seem pallid and unpromising.

Thus, though the most comprehensive means of maintaining tradition would be to maintain traditional life-styles and occupations, these are challenged by forces so large as to be overpowering. Direct subsidy of an artisan community is still possible, but this is a piecemeal solution to a near-universal problem: how to foster pride and interest in local traditions? It sometimes seems that only when a tradition is performed on television does a community recall how it used to practice that long ago.

Promotion

For the Sub-Program on Nonphysical Heritage, the task of promotion can be divided into the media by which traditions can be reactivated and

enhanced: museum exhibits, festivals, electronic media, education, and through direct subsidy to artist and community.

Museum exhibits are a proven way of reviving interest in traditions. Almost every nation already has a national museum which could (or already does) promote popular traditions. In museology today, the museum administrator has vast new possibilities: the so-called living museums, where craftspeople are paid to participate themselves in exhibitions, teaching young people their craft face-to-face, the way artisanship was traditionally communicated. These living exhibits can travel to areas in open-air form, set up in a local church or administrative building. Audio-visual exhibits offer the possibility of using the most attractive media forms with popular traditions, and lend some of the media's charm and drama to traditional lore. A collection of artifacts can be enriched by recording a traditional tool-maker's comments and replaying this through a circular loop tape player at the exhibit site. Folk art exhibitions benefit from traditional music played in the background. Slide-tape shows inexpensively capture some of the motion and dynamism in a traditional dance or ritual, while stereo high-fidelity recordings recreate three-dimensional sound (including audience participation).

Festivals today are a common means of reviving interest in popular tradition, though often in the artificial context of a performer/craftsperson vs. an audience/consumer. Festivals offer the dual possibility of giving city audiences a taste of traditional food and costume, at the same time offering employment to those craftspeople who might otherwise never find markets. While at times the festival context distorts performances into extravaganzas and folk art into

tourist art, the festival form is an accessible one, combining recreation with mass patronage of traditions. Often a successful festival must rely on its organizers' vision and on their ability to include genuine handicraft (eliminating the ersatz) and sponsor authentic traditional music and dance in an atmosphere conducive to their appreciation.

One of the reasons for the success of the recreated traditional festival is that it most closely resembles the rites which preceded it (syncretism). In days before radio and television, for example, communities would stage their own impromptu festivals when a puppet player, such as the Pakistani Putliwala, arrived at a village with his entertainment.[13] Frequently smaller, more local festivals attract more comprehensive community participation and carry more local pride than larger, regional ones. The Nordic countries and Canada have been particularly successful at promoting popular traditions through small, well-run festivals.

Electronic and print media offer the greatest promise of reaching mass audiences with their country's traditions. In one fundamental respect, however, they differ from festivals and museum efforts to revive traditional culture: these media are one-way, offering little or no possibility of interaction with the tradition presented. The major forms are television, film, radio, disc, and print forms of magazines, newspapers, and books. In addition, scholarly research publications also help promote traditional culture, though to a limited audience.

Television offers vast creative potential, notwithstanding its limited audio capacity and subservience to commercial ends. As an ethnographic tool, the camera can document, but as a promotional tool,

it can excite and evoke as well. A well-made documentary on a popular tradition can range far afield from the item/tradition itself. It can include biographical studies of the creator or narrator; a visit to the environment and workshop in which the tradition thrives, or explore the process of transmission through a reflexive study of a single item over time and place. Another advantage is that since video equipment will be available in the future to ever greater numbers of people, viewers at some point may become producers as well.

Film has many of the same advantages as video, plus a greater visual clarity and far higher quality audio. While more expensive than video and lacking its instantaneous replay, film has been one of the most successful instruments for promoting and documenting anthropological work, from the time of Robert Flaherty in Canada to present day filmmakers such as Les Blank, who recorded musical and cooking traditions from the Mexican American border: In both film and video, a high standard of selectivity and sophistication in handling equipment is required, as well as a steady supply of spare parts, film, and expert maintenance. The equipment, in addition to being complex, is also expensive, which may place this media beyond the means of many nations.

Radio, by contrast, costs less than one-eighth of the production expense of television and film. The medium also relies on relatively inexpensive and widely available tools, such as microphones and cassette recorders—which fieldworkers themselves often own or have access to. Thus radio may be the medium of choice for promoting nonvisual traditions where limited funds are available. This is particularly true where promotional campaigns focus on oral materials, for radio avoids

the unnecessary expense of having to illustrate sound, which film and television must do. In countries where television is relatively new and electricity not universally available, radio reaches vast numbers of people--and it is already widely used for development and education.[14] Many nations, notably West Africa and India, have successfully used radio broadcasts to help revive popular traditions.

Discs can simultaneously document and arouse pride in national traditions: series of international music on labels such as La Chant Du Monde or Folkways Records have been successful in finding small scholarly markets for traditional music. Cassettes are replacing discs, for they are less expensive and the technology for their playback is spreading widely, even into areas where electricity (which discs usually require) is absent. The possibility of mixing traditional and pop music idioms--such as King Sunny Ade of Nigeria and Bob Marley of Jamaica have done--can help reactivate traditional musics.

Print Media continue to be an effective means of transmitting folk culture. This is done in any number of ways, for different readerships; the newspaper column on popular traditions; the magazine feature on festivals or a unique traditional craft; the book of popularized oral literature, designed for a mass audience. Each of these media deserves encouragement, even in countries where the literacy rate is growing slowly. Other forms of popular literature, such as the photo-novela and comic strip, also deserve consideration as a means of popularizing selected traditions. What is most important is to vitalize the media which people already use to keep alive traditions, even if these media are nontraditional or nonliterary.

<u>Education</u>. In a 1981 UNESCO survey of member states' promotional
efforts, education was a principal means of preserving traditions.[15] On
the elementary school level arranged folk melodies and dance are already
included in curricula. At the secondary level, field research projects
in oral traditional history and community mapping are effective in
motivating students, as are dance and music troupes. An ethnographic
mode is appropriate for advanced students, involving scientific methods
of collection and sampling as well as exercises in interpretation of
traditions.

A major advantage in using education to promote popular traditions
is that every nation already has a school system. Expanding traditional
materials in the curriculum is far easier than, for example, setting up
a folklore commission. Educational systems have prestige and
wide-spread participation among urban and rural populations.

When considering the place of popular traditions in the school
curriculum one controversial issue is whether to include all folklore,
uncensored, or to filter out those traditions considered unsuitable for
students. Brazilian folklorist Paulo Carvalho-Neto discusses this
problem in <u>Folklore and Education</u>; here he refers to folklore
"aprovechable" (usable) and "desaprovechable" (inappropriate). There is
no easy answer to this question. On one hand, students deserve exposure
to uncensored traditions, which frequently treat subjects such as sex
and excretion precisely <u>because</u> they are taboo; ignoring lore does not
make it disappear. On the other hand, schools must not violate
community standards. Whatever the approach, steeping children in
tradition and encouraging both imitation and innovation is a powerful
vehicle for promoting traditions.

Direct subsidy as a means of preservation for a traditional community or genre is necessarily complex and costly. In effect, a country creates a cultural import duty favoring local traditions--to make international culture products less appealing. This could be done through a grant-giving system, such as Europe and the United States favor, or through direct allocation of funds to co-operatives and local cultural development agencies, which is more common in Latin America and China. But how does a nation determine which traditions are the most endangered and the most deserving of this subsidy? And how does it protect itself against charges of favoring one tribe or group over another in their selection? These are fundamental questions of cultural policy, which other programs within UNESCO are exploring. A comprehensive inventory of traditions is the first step to making these determinations.

Modes of promotion

All these media of promotion will be aimed at multiple audiences, with different educational and interest levels. One approach might be to use three modes of promotion: the ethnographic, the documentarian, and the popular, as illustrated in Figure IV.

In the ethnographic mode, museums and archives prepare displays and exhibits which are comprehensive, accurate, and fully annotated. The performers and traditions represented are wholly traditional, and texts are presented in their original (or ethnic) language. This audience consists of scholars, advanced students, and members of the public interested in exact representations of traditions.

In the documentarian mode, museums design popular exhibits, and broadcasters feature accurate, semiannotated traditions and texts. This audience is the formally educated public; the performers or tradition-bearers shown draw on both traditional and popular culture. The language of presentation could be either the ethnic or the translated national language which reaches large numbers of people.

In the popular mode, promotion efforts reach out to a mass audience with imaginative, unannotated versions of traditions. In this category are popularized collections of folktales or adaptive and dramatized dance/ performing arts, involving popular entertainers. The emphasis here is not on representing a tradition exactly but on building a public appreciation for the genres and forms of tradition. The audience is deliberately a mass one, and the language for the traditions should be a cross-cultural national one (or an international language for presentations designed for the exterior).

Each media for promoting popular traditions can be used in either of these modes. A museum might decide, in its efforts to promote folk art, to work simultaneously in all three: an ethnographic display of folk painting, with charts of distribution and origin; a documentary exhibit featuring a folk painter working on museum grounds, surrounded by photographs of his or her native region and material culture. On the popular level, the museum might produce a children's film combining traditional music and the painter's work and sell inexpensive reproductions of folk painting.

A serious effort at promotion will use all of these media and modes, coordinated through central and regional agencies, to have exhibits, performers, and festivals tour the country. The interplay of

the annotated authentic forms with the lighter, imaginative ones makes the process of promotion circular, keeping both high standards and entertainment value.

Preservation

Preserving non-physical heritage has two major components: legal protections of items and traditions, and social interventions to prevent traditions from deterioration or exploitation.

Legal protection has been the subject of ten years of meetings between UNESCO's Committee of Government Experts on Safeguarding Folklore and the World Intellectual Property Organization. To summarize these findings briefly, these groups agreed that: 1) legal protections are only one aspect of an overall approach, including identification, conservation, and promotion of traditions; 2) international and national copyright law can be adapted to include traditional materials: several countries, including Bolivia and Kenya, have already taken this approach, with the state claiming publisher's royalties which revert to a national fund for the promotion of folklore; 3) performance copyrights could be extended to performances and recordings of traditional materials; and 4) laws protecting other uses of traditions, such as industrial design, archetectural design, broadcasting and moving picture use, could also be modified to protect the rights and forms of traditional culture.[15]

Social interventions are designed to protect traditions from crass commercial or undesirable aesthetic distortion. These include provisions of licensing for areas such as traditional cooking and medicine; classifications schemes for the export of folk art (according

to origin and quality); and prohibition of export of certain classes of
traditional materials.

Controversial issues in preservation

Because folklore is a dynamic phenomenon, preserving and protecting
it against expropriation is difficult. A folksong might originate in
ten verses, be reduced to an "emotional core" of four verses over a
hundred years. Then, in another era, the song might be so well known
that it is parodied in a version ten verses long. Which is the "proper"
version? Should the parody be legislated against, even if such
legislation proves ineffective? And isn't parody as much a part of the
folk process as the original reduction from ten to three verses?

Cultural theft is clear when a performer takes a traditional song
and changes a single line in order to copyright this as "adapted and
arranged by" and draw royalty. But should that performer be actually
prevented from performing his own version?

Protecting the milieu of a tradition also leads to tricky
decisions: who can say whether one fishing village or another is
responsible for a particular knot-tying tradition? Were a direct
allocation to be given to one village for its preservation, won't two
hundred towns advance their claims? When preservation of the milieu is
carried to a local level, there may be an impermissible interference of
the state on local custom. Can a folklore protection agency tell a
daughter, the last member of a three generation carpet-weaving
tradition--that she must follow family tradition and remain in her
village? Perhaps a more constructive approach to preservation would be
to require a "Cultural Impact Statement" for development planning--

similar to required environmental impact statements in many countries when new construction is proposed. This statement might describe popular traditions endangered by development and encourage alternative methods to allow the tradition-bearers to continue with their craft.

Questions of promotion and preservation are enormously complex, involving all the elements of a nation's development and its central institutions: schools, colleges, museums, publishing houses and newspapers, broadcasting stations. Co-ordinating these institutions is an extraordinary (if not impossible) effort unless the nation is small indeed. Yet ultimately, agencies such as UNESCO could help member states prepare comprehensive plans for cultural development to protect local and regional traditions.

Notes

1. Madanjeet Singh, "Some Conceptual and Methodological Aspects of Non-Physical Heritage," UNESCO Monograph, February 22, 1984, p. 3.

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3. "Study of the Measures for Preserving Folklore and Traditional Popular Culture," Committee of Governmental Experts on the Safeguarding of Folklore, UNESCO Document Number CPY/TPC/I/3, Paris, 8 January 1982.

4. Singh, "Non-Physical Heritage," op. cit.

5. Additional detail on specific traditional genres is found in Jan Brunvand, The Study of Folklore. NY: Norton, 1982.

6. Henry Anyumba, "Contemporary Hand Lyres of Eastern Africa," African Musicology, Vol. 1, no. 1, Sept. 1983.

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11. Clifford Geertz, The Interpretation of Cultures. NY: Basic Books, 1973.

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14. David Dunaway, "Radio and Oral History," Dunaway and Baum, Oral History: An Interdisciplinary Anthology. Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1984.

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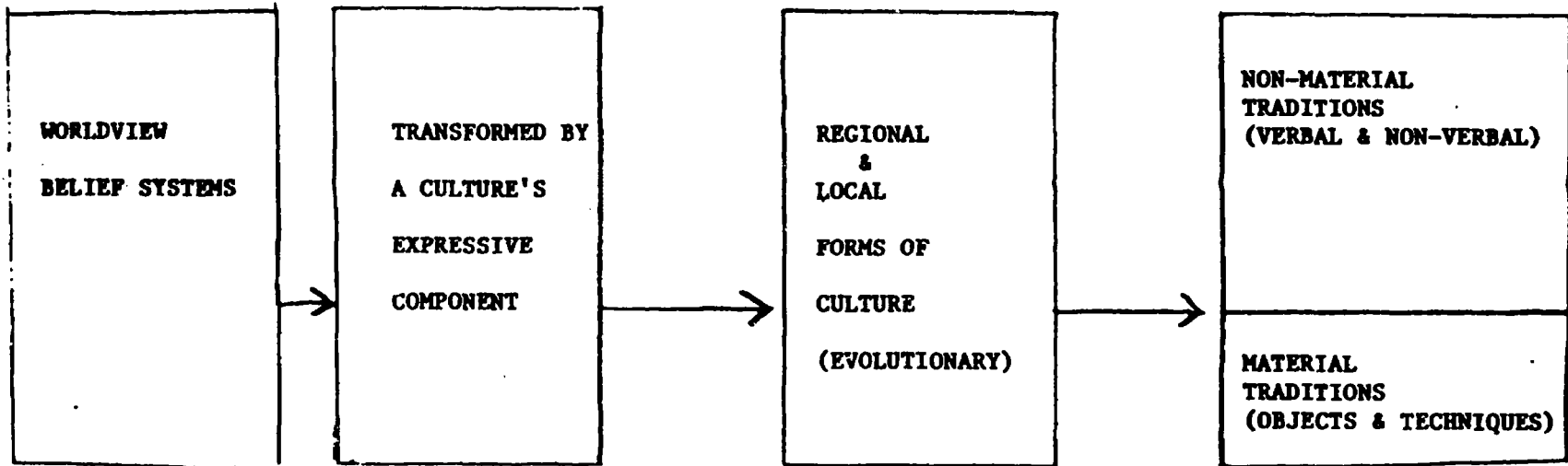| WORLDVIEW BELIEF SYSTEMS | TRANSFORMED BY A CULTURE'S EXPRESSIVE COMPONENT | REGIONAL & LOCAL FORMS OF CULTURE (EVOLUTIONARY) | NON-MATERIAL TRADITIONS (VERBAL & NON-VERBAL) / MATERIAL TRADITIONS (OBJECTS & TECHNIQUES) |

Figure I.
Transformational Process of Traditional Culture

	Definition/ Identification	Inventory	Collection/ Conservation	Interpre- tation	Promotion/ Preservation
ACTIVITY					
METHODOLOGY	1. Typology of Non-physical Heritage	1. Archival and Database Research International- Regional-Local	1. Survey/ Questionnaires	1. Cross-Cultural (motifs, types, techniques)	1. Museum Exhibits (aural, visual, photo, slide-tape)
	2. UNESCO Studies	2. Data Collec- tion	2. Field Notation	2. Cross-Genre (themes expressed in different forms)	2. Media (radio, video, film, disc, print: magazines, papers, books)
	3. Standard References	3. Local County and Current Research Surveys	3. Photography	3. Performance- Context	3. Festivals (local, regional, national, inter- national)
	4. Expert-Member State Review	4. Data Analysis	4. Audio Recording	4. Instruments for Standard- Setting, Inventory	4. Education
		5. Publication	5. Video and Film Recording		5. Direct Subsidy (artists & community)
			6. Processing- Transcription		
			7. Storage and Access		
			8. Retrieval		

Figure II.
Activities of Sub-Program on Non-Physical Heritage

Non-Traditional Creation

Physical Heritage
(all objects &
structures)

Material Culture
(physical
representation
of tradition)

folk architecture
non-verbal folk art and craft
instruments
house and vehicle decoration
costume and dress

World Cultural
Heritage

Non-Physical Heritage
(popular traditions)

Non-Material
Culture

Cultural Assets
(combined representations
of tradition: verbal art
& artifact)

medicine
cookery
games
ceremonies &
ritual

Non-Verbal Traditions

gestures
non-verbal custom
& belief
dance
music (instrumental
& vocable)

Verbal Traditions

Narrative

myth, legend, tale,
riddles, joke,
ballad text, epic
folk drama, oral
traditional history

Non-Narrative

folk speech, dialect,
chorus, blessings,
curses, insults,
tongue-twisters,
word play, folk
poetry, chants,
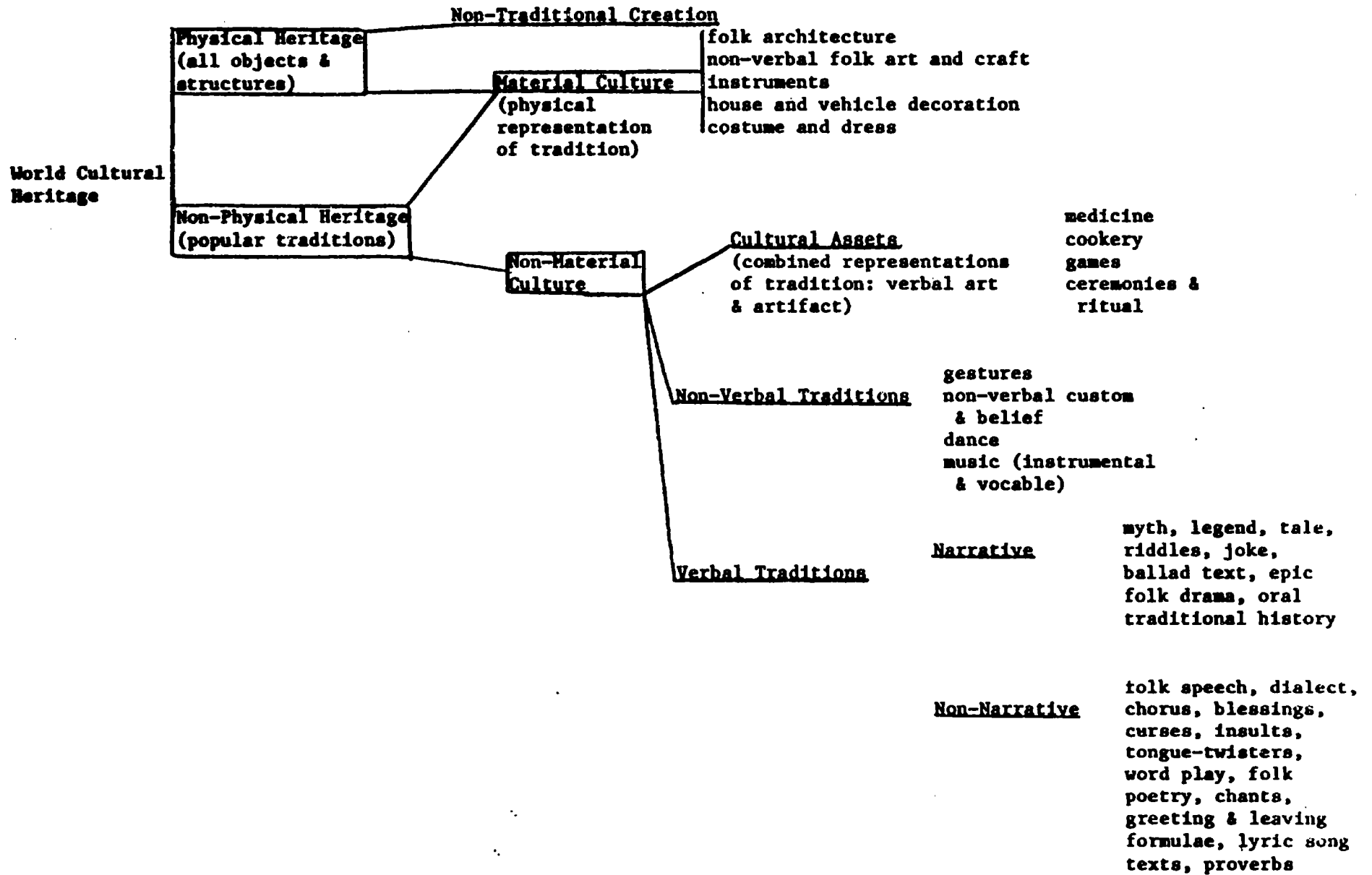greeting & leaving
formulae, lyric song
texts, proverbs

Figure III.
Typology of Non-Physical Heritage

MODES OF PROMOTION

MEDIA OF PROMOTION	Ethnographic (for scholars & educated public)	Documentary (for general public)	Popular (for general public and children)
Radio & Television	verbatim presentation of recordings	edited presentation with music & effects	imaginative, dramatized versions
Print	university & national press-journals, verbatim transcription, scholarly analysis	commercial press anthologies, popular magazines	commercial & government magazines, popular preserves of lore/newspapers
Discs	field recordings of purely traditional, extensive annotation, bibliography	recordings of traditional & popular, annotation	popular & children's records, partial annotation
Festivals	traditional ceremonies, isolated "pure" traditions, seasonal, ancestral rites	popularized traditional festivals, large scale recreations of traditional ceremonies	popular-mass festivals based on tradition, pageants, broadcast festivals: TV, film, radio
Education	university & teachers' college: field research, criticism, ethnomethodology	secondary: individual culture surveys, classes in appreciation of popular traditions	elementary: basic traditions of music, dance, oral literature, folk arts in curriculum
Museums & Archives	exhibits fully annotated, performance/artifacts purely traditional, original-ethnic languages	exhibits semi-annotated, artifacts traditional & popular-traditional, national language	exhibits: imaginative, unannotated; dramatizations of tradition; national & ethnic languages; popular performers & writers

Figure IV.
Modes of Promoting Popular Tradition