

practice of collecting memorabilia such as pin badges serves to memorialize heritage experience and emotion. Everyday cultural items are not equal in the commemoration of heritage: Jones discusses the finding that consumer items associated with the popular memory of the state socialism era are, for example, underrepresented and not sufficiently memorialized in current-day Romania, Hungary, and Germany. In Sather-Wagstaff's chapter it becomes clear that not only man-made objects but also trees can be utilized and appropriated to memorialize. Recent tragedies are, for example, remembered through trees.

The themes discussed in this review show that this volume is dynamic and socially relevant. This makes it an ideal resource for those interested in heritage tourism in a world in which heritage at different levels has never been more open.

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UNESCO on the Ground: Local Perspectives on Intangible Cultural Heritage. Michael Dylan Foster and Lisa Gilman, eds. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015, 180 pp. \$30.00, paper.
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In this edited volume, six case studies explore the consequences of UNESCO's recognition of Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) on local populations. The premise of the volume is that folklore studies can offer unique insight into the ways in which intangible cultural heritage is becoming globalized through UNESCO. The ambition is to provide a "tree-eyed view" of things by seeing how ICH, once transformed into a "metacultural artefact" by UNESCO, becomes reinserted into people's everyday lives.

Having explained how UNESCO came to adopt the category of intangible cultural heritage and launched its "masterpieces" program, the authors are tasked with exploring how such a designation plays out in a variety of settings: India, South Korea, Malawi, Japan, Macedonia, and China. Each case study is structured in a broadly similar way in order to allow for comparison and inform the three discussion pieces that make up the second part of the volume. As a consequence, the volume's "choose your own adventure" format allows the reader to combine case studies with discussions according to interest.

The case studies are deliberately diverse: the Kutiyattam Sanskrit Theatre of Kerala; The Yōngdūng rite at the Ch'ilmōri shrine (South Korean shamanic ritual); Vimbuza, a Malawian healing ritual; Toshidon, a visiting deity ritual that takes place on the island of Shimo-Koshikijiman in Japan; Teškoto, a "heavy" men's dance in Macedonia; and the worshipping of ancient sage-kings Yao and Shun in Hongtong County, China.

The breadth of case studies illustrates that UNESCO's categorization of ICH is a collective act of imagination mediated through nation states. For practitioners on the ground, interaction with UNESCO is experienced in a multiplicity of ways, including alienation, pride, and confusion.

The need for collapsible themes for comparison emerges throughout the case studies and discussions. As Noyes explains, "The category of ICH does not only generate comparability but itself emerged from recurrent and cumulative acts of comparison" (p. 162). The valorization of ICH therefore has to organize itself around "representative anecdotes" needed for these acts of comparison (for example, Homeric texts) and allow for a feeling of measurable "authenticity" of cultural practices. For local audiences, authenticity is less of a concern than audience and efficacy, as in the case of Toshidon in Japan, a cultural practice that takes place in people's homes on New Year's Eve and sees masked figures visiting young children to scare them or praise them for their behavior during the previous year. The ceremony's central purpose is the disciplining of young children and is being challenged by the rapid depopulation in the remote areas in which it is performed. The author asks whether it could carry on without children and whether opening it up to tourism or film and photography could in fact alter the ceremony or cause it to stagnate. There is a sense throughout all the case studies that the recognized ICH is at once remote and immediate, it both matters and yet doesn't fundamentally offer solutions to the challenges faced by many of the cultural practitioners involved.

Hafstein's critical discussion stands out as an entertaining prism through which the emerging themes identified in the first half of the volume can be seen. He suggests that the recognition of intangible cultural heritage is "first of all, a diagnosis. It gives a name to a condition that is increasingly common in industrial and post-industrial societies under circumstances of economic, political, technological and demographic change—for which the shorthand is globalization" (p. 146). If "having ICH" is a diagnosis (a symptom of globalization), then "safeguarding" ICH is the cure whose side effects often destroy the very thing they are trying to save. Safeguarding ICH is often a form of dispossession of cultural practitioners from the very thing that anchors them to locality and tradition, and therein lies the paradox of UNESCO's project.

As Noyes reminds us at the end of the volume, UNESCO, although central to the legitimacy of the ICH labeling exercise, is itself rarely present: "In a Kafkaesque moment one would be tempted to conclude that neither UNESCO nor local communities exist at all except as enabling fictions of state bureaucracy" (p. 168). Perhaps this is at the heart of why folklorists experience some discomfort with a subject that has animated anthropologists for some time now. It is nevertheless refreshing to have their insights, and *UNESCO on the Ground* is a welcome addition to the discussion on the bureaucratization of cultural heritage.

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