The Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage in England:

A Comparative Exploration

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ABSTRACT

This study explores intangible cultural heritage policy in the UK, and more specifically England, looking at national and international positions, as well as a view at community level, and focusing on the domain of traditional craftsmanship as expounded by UNESCO in the *2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* (ICH). The Convention attempted to show that UNESCO accepts that cultural heritage does not end at monuments. It also includes "living expressions ... such as oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe or the knowledge and skills to produce traditional crafts" (UNESCO 2003). However, since the UK is one of seventeen countries to have not ratified the Convention, research in this country has not had a high profile. This research has sought to address this lacuna by analysing the current heritage policy of the UK government, and the devolved institutions and NGOs, in order to assess options for the future of safeguarding ICH in England.

This national 'top down' perspective is balanced with a practical understanding of the experiences of traditional craftspeople in the Midlands of England, as part of a qualitative research strategy, where in depth interviews revealed the real concerns of people involved in an ICH domain within the wider issues of safeguarding. With those concerns in mind, the question was asked whether it is desirable for the UK to ratify the Convention. A case study analysis was conducted in two countries that have differing experiences of ICH and traditional craftsmanship safeguarding, one which has ratified the Convention, and one which has not. An examination of the ratification of the Convention in the Netherlands looked to see if it created the optimal conditions for safeguarding ICH practices. However, there has also been criticism of the UNESCO safeguarding paradigm and the perceived institutionalisation of culture. Therefore, the study also focused on a possible alternative course of action for the UK in the practices of one of the other States that have not ratified the Convention, namely Canada, with the provincial ICH safeguarding model in Newfoundland and Labrador.

This study identified a number of complexities for the safeguarding of intangible heritage in the UK, such as the continued authorised heritage discourse of the major heritage institutions and government bodies in England, compared to the rest of the nation, especially in Scotland, where intangible heritage is more readily embraced. The focus on the traditional craftspeople in the Midlands of England revealed a set of practical considerations which sometimes differ from the other ICH domains. Issues including awareness, transmission, training and skills and

business issues were examined thro0uygh an analysis of the strategies of cultural brokers involved in safeguarding; the Heritage Crafts Association in the UK, Dutch Centre for Intangible Heritage and the Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador.

The UNESCO paradigm has broadened the international discourse around the meaning of cultural heritage, increased awareness of ICH and prestige for practitioners. Whilst the increased role of community involvement is significant, the predominance of state control over the listing system and subsequent safeguarding measures continues to be an unresolved issue. Although the study demonstrates that models of safeguarding outside of the UNESCO paradigm have been successful, especially the public folklore model of North America, it is postulated that it may be prudent for the United Kingdom to ratify the Convention. It would align the heritage policy in Scotland with the rest of the United Kingdom and elevate intangible heritage to be considered equal to the built environment. The addition of intangible heritage to the remit of a national heritage body could lead to a more holistic strategy in the future.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

GLOSSARY OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACE	Arts Council England
ACOA	Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency
AHD	Authorised Heritage Discourse
AHRC	Arts and Humanities Research Council
DAI	Digital Archives Initiative
DCAL	Department of Culture, Arts and Leisure
DCMS	The Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport
Enrich	Edinburgh Napier University Research in Cultural Heritage
EU	European Union
FARO	Flemish Interface Center for Cultural Heritage
HC	House of Commons
HCA	Heritage Crafts Association
HFNL	Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador
HL	House of Lords
HLF	Heritage Lottery Fund
ICH	Intangible Cultural Heritage
ICHC	Convention on the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
IGC	Intergovernmental Committee
IREPI	Inventory of Ethnological Resources of Intangible Heritage
KIEN	Kenniscentrum Immaterieel Erfgoed Nederland
MERL	Museum of English Rural Life
MGS	Museums Galleries Scotland
MUN	Memorial University of Newfoundland
MUNFLA	Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
NHMF	National Heritage Memorial Fund
NHPP	National Heritage Protection Plan

NOM	Nederlands Openluchtmuseum
NONIA	Newfoundland Outport Nursing and Industrial Association
OCW	Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap (Ministry of Education, Culture and Science
RSA	The Royal Society for encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce
SPAB	Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings
UKNC	United Kingdom National Commission for UNESCO
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
VIE	Nederlands Centrum voor Volkscultuur
WBMNL	Wooden Boat Museum of Newfoundland and Labrador

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CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

1.1 RESEARCH PROBLEM AND RATIONALE

This research aims to explore the concept of intangible cultural heritage (ICH) within the sphere of national and international heritage policy. Specifically, it examines the intangible cultural heritage policy of the United Kingdom, and the constituent nation of England, focusing on the domain of traditional craftsmanship, as expounded by UNESCO in the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. In the past twenty years there has been a rapidly growing academic and professional interest in intangible heritage, see Kurin (2007), Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2004), Blake (2006; 2007), Smith and Akagawa (2009) Lira and Amoêda (2010), Stefano and Davis (2016) and Smith and Akagawa (2019), particularly following the widespread ratification by states in all parts of the world of UNESCO's 2003 Convention. The Convention attempted to show that UNESCO accepts that "cultural heritage does not end at monuments and collections of objects. It also includes traditions or living expressions" (UNESCO 2003a). The concept of intangible cultural heritage will be explored in greater detail in Chapter 3. However, as the key theme of this thesis, a general introduction is imperative. The 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage defined the intangible as:

> the means, the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills - as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts, and cultural spaces associated therewith - that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals, recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity.
>
> <div align="right">(UNESCO 2003a)</div>

Instances of intangible heritage are not limited to a single manifestation, instead UNESCO proposed five broad domains:

(a) oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage
(b) performing arts
(c) social practices, rituals and festive events
(d) knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe
(e) traditional craftsmanship

<div align="right">(UNESCO 2003a)</div>

Research in heritage has grown into a large, multidisciplinary field of scholarship, see Albert (2013), Bendix, Eggert and Peselmann (2013) and Sørensen and Carman (2009), and this can be witnessed in the development of research in intangible cultural heritage. One of the seminal works on the subject is *Intangible Heritage* (Smith and Akagawa 2009), which offers an interdisciplinary analysis of the ICH concept and the development of the 2003 Convention. *Safeguarding Intangible Heritage. Practices and Politics* (Akagawa and Smith 2019), updates their first offering, with an admission that the practice and discourse of ICH had expanded considerably (ibid: 1). *Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage* (Stefano, Davis, and Corsane 2012) provides conceptual analyses and ICH safeguarding case studies from around the world. *The Routledge Companion to Intangible Cultural Heritage* (Stefano and Davis 2016) critically engages with the UNESCO Convention, with legal and political analyses, and global case study examples which are examined through the disciplines of folklore, anthropology, and museum studies. The volume is thematically structured, including the challenges facing safeguarding, intangible heritage and place, local-level conceptualisations of intangible heritage, and alternative safeguarding approaches. Another recent publication has been a special issue of the *Santander Art and Culture Law Review* (2017), devoted to the topic of *successes, problems and challenges surrounding intangible cultural heritage ten years after the Convention came into force.*

There has been extensive analysis on the formation of the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Heritage (Aikawa 2004; Bedjaoui 2004; Blake 2006, 2017; Bortolotto 2007), critical appraisal of the Convention (Brown 2003; Kurin 2004a; Hafstein 2015) and examples of implementation in various countries such as Switzerland (Leimgruber 2010), France (Fournier 2013) and Italy (Broccolini 2012). Topics that are well represented include the relationship between museums and ICH (Pinna 2003; Kurin 2004b; Alivizatou 2012), ICH and legal frameworks (Deacon et al. 2004; Lixinski 2013, 2019; Labadi 2015; Blake 2017), intellectual and cultural property and ICH (Antons and Logan 2018), and experiences of grassroots practitioners of ICH in *UNESCO on the Ground: Local Perspectives on Intangible Cultural Heritage* (Foster and Gilman 2015). *Heritage Regimes and the State* (Bendix, Eggert and Peselmann 2013) attempts to create comparative evidence by focusing on the interpretation and implementation of the UNESCO Conventions through seventeen case studies from various states. There have also been Special Editions on intangible heritage in journals, such as *Museum International* in 2004, and *Ethnologies* in 2014, and a dedicated journal, the *International Journal of Intangible Heritage*, which was first published in 2006.

However, since the UK is among a number of high-profile countries which have not ratified the Convention, research on intangible heritage in this country has not had such a high profile. As David Howell (2013a: 105) points out, there has been limited research about the continued reticence of the Westminster Government to ratify the 2003 Convention, and "few volumes have been produced on the concept of ICH in Britain in more general terms". His research has looked at safeguarding ICH in Wales, with reference to the Eisteddfod, a festival of music and performance.

Research based on ICH in the United Kingdom has, for the most part, been concentrated in Scotland, where McCleery et al. at Napier University, Edinburgh, produced a report, *Scoping and Mapping Intangible Cultural Heritage in Scotland* (2008b) which looked at creating an inventory of ICH in Scotland. This will be examined in more detail in Chapter 4. Máiréad Nic Craith, as Chair in European Culture and Heritage at Heriot-Watt University, Edinburgh, has also researched intangible heritage and language in a European context, see Nic Craith (2008), and co-edited *A Companion to Heritage Studies* (Logan, Nic Craith, and Kockel 2015) which includes intangible heritage in the theme of 'expanding heritage'.

In England, intangible heritage research has been mainly concentrated on ICH and museums, such as Stefano (2010) *Outside Museum Walls: Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage in North East England,* Smith (2009) *Finding the 'first voice' in rural England: the challenges of preserving intangible heritage in a national museum* and Alivizatou (2012), who focused on ICH and museums, using the Horniman Museum in London as one of her case studies. It has also been noted by Kockel (2008: 149) that folklore in the Republic of Ireland and the nations of the United Kingdom other than England have aligned with European ethnology, "a term still little understood in England". He goes on to state that "at international conferences [in folklore and tradition] in the third millennium, it remains notable that England is not only underrepresented (relative to other countries),but is represented mostly by non-English scholars" (ibid). An example of this is the biannual International Conference on Intangible Heritage, held in Portugal, which has taken place since 2009. Of the 300 papers which have been presented over that time, 8 papers had England as a theme or location, which equates to 2.7% of the total. I have written two of those papers, *Tyranny of the Tangible – The Future of Intangible Cultural Heritage Policy in the UK* (Harrison 2015) and a focused paper, *The popularity paradox: issues of safeguarding mob football games in the East Midlands of England* (Harrison 2017).

Therefore, this research seeks to address this lacuna by shifting attention from museums to the institutions implementing heritage policy, cultural brokers and grassroots practitioners of intangible heritage, specifically in the Midlands of England and the UNESCO ICH domain of traditional craftsmanship. In an attempt to understand the position of English heritage policies, this study takes inspiration from the work of Laurajane Smith and Emma Waterton and the concept of the 'Authorised Heritage Discourse' or AHD. In *Uses of Heritage,* Smith (2006: 29) explains that the authorised heritage discourse focuses attention on aesthetically pleasing material objects, sites and places, and that heritage is not so much a 'thing' as a set of values and meanings (ibid: 11). Emma Waterton in *Politics, Policy and the Discourses of Heritage in Britain* (2010), offers a critique of British heritage policy, including ICH, using a critical discourse analysis to understand the AHD. Heritage policy and the AHD in England will be expanded upon in Chapter 4.

1.2 RESEARCH QUESTION

The focus on intangible cultural heritage in England and the UK leads to the central question of this research: is it desirable for the UK to ratify the 2003 UNESCO Convention, or are there superior safeguarding options outside of the UNESCO paradigm?

The United Kingdom is one of only seventeen countries to not have ratified the *2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Heritage.* This includes anglophone countries such as the USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, as well as two other European nations; the Russian Federation and San Marino.[1] Table 1.1 below shows the states which have not ratified within the UNESCO regions. Regional Groups I and II relate to Europe, regional Group III to Latin America and the Caribbean, Group IV to Asia and the Pacific, Va relates to Africa, and Vb to the Arab States.

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[1] Liechtenstein is not a UNESCO member; and the Holy See is only a Permanent Observer

Table 1.1 The Countries which have not ratified the Convention

Regional Group	Number of UNESCO States	Number of State Parties that have ratified	States that have not ratified
I	27	22	Canada, Israel, San Marino, United Kingdom, United States of America
II	25	24	Russian Federation
III	33	32	Guyana
IV	44	40	Australia, Maldives, New Zealand, Niue
Va	47	42	Angola, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Somalia, South Africa
Vb	19	18	Libya
Total	195	178	17

Data from: https://ich.unesco.org/en/states-parties-00024 and

http://www.unesco.org/eri/cp/ListeMS_Indicators.asp#5

This position is examined by analysing the current heritage policy of the UK government, devolved institutions, and NGOs to assess options for the future of safeguarding ICH in England and the UK. Though a national level analysis provides a measure of understanding, this is developed through a deeper, more practical, examination of the ICH safeguarding issues faced at community level. This approach is in line with the important role given to communities in the 2003 UNESCO Convention (UNESCO 2003a). Intangible heritage is a vast subject, therefore a focus on one UNESCO ICH domain, that of traditional craftsmanship, is used to explore the notion of safeguarding of ICH in the Midlands of England. This reasoning is explored in Sections 2.2.3 and 5.8. Through an overview of the safeguarding advocacy of the Heritage Crafts Association, and the use of semi-structured interviews to ascertain the safeguarding issues of traditional craftspeople in the region, key safeguarding themes of transmission and awareness, training/skills, and business/market issues are used to structure the debate.

The examination of national ICH policy and the safeguarding realities at community level provide an overview of some of the potential issues in attempting to identify the optimum ICH safeguarding strategy for England. An international perspective, with the insight that some countries have regarding forms of intangible heritage safeguarding and management, may be able to answer this question, by conducting two case studies in countries which have differing experiences of ICH safeguarding, one which has ratified the Convention, and one which has

not. In discussing the future priorities of ICH research, Deacon and Bortolotto (2012: 39) suggested that comparison is a key methodological tool which allows researchers to analyse the real conditions for implementation and impact of the Convention in different contexts and in different states. I contend that this is also true in the contrasting methods of safeguarding.

John Widdowson (2016: 263), writing after the Folklore Society's 2015 AGM Conference entitled 'Folklore: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow', admitted that "it is becoming increasingly clear that all those with an interest in the future of English cultural heritage would do well to embrace the principles of the Convention, which undeniably offers a way for the discipline and for heritage itself". This viewpoint is tested through an examination of the ratification of the 2003 UNESCO Convention in the Netherlands to see if it creates the optimal conditions for safeguarding ICH practices. However, there has also been criticism of the UNESCO safeguarding paradigm and the perceived institutionalisation of culture (see Konach 2015). Stefano and Davis (2016: 2) argue that it is important to question the concepts, definitions and recommended steps that it espouses and promises. Therefore, is there an alternative course of action for the UK in the practices of one of the other states which have not ratified the Convention, namely Canada, with the provincial ICH safeguarding model in Newfoundland and Labrador? In both case studies, an investigation into their heritage legislation is carried out, and a focused exploration of how one of the five UNESCO ICH domains, that of traditional craftsmanship, is safeguarded, using the four themes of identifying/ inventorying; transmission and awareness; training/skills; and business/market issues.

1.3 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

In order to examine the research question the following five aims and objectives have been developed. The first three aims focus on ICH as a concept and how it features within UK policy and the traditional craftsmanship domain in England. The fourth and fifth aims concentrate on the comparative case studies.

AIM 1: TO EXPLORE THE CONCEPT OF INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE WITHIN THE UNESCO FRAMEWORK

Objective 1.1: To identify the origins of ICH as a concept within earlier theories

Objective 1.2: To explore the development of the concept within the UNESCO framework

Objective 1.3: To examine and critique the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage

AIM 2: TO ANALYSE THE CURRENT POSITION OF INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

Objective 2.1: To identify the ICH position within heritage policy in the UK government

Objective 2.2: To examine ICH policy in English heritage legislative bodies

Objective 2.3: To explore ICH policy in the devolved legislatures of the UK

Objective 2.4: To examine the role of ICH in the policies of Non-Government Agencies in the UK

AIM 3: TO ANALYSE THE CURRENT SITUATION OF THE INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE DOMAIN OF TRADITIONAL CRAFTSMANSHIP IN THE MIDLANDS OF ENGLAND

Objective 3.1: To identify traditional craftsmanship within the wider context of 'craft' in the UK

Objective 3.2: To explore the role of the Heritage Crafts Association for the safeguarding of traditional craftsmanship

Objective 3.3: To identify how traditional craftsmanship is inventoried in the UK

Objective 3.4: To examine the safeguarding issues facing traditional craftspeople in the Midlands of England

AIM 4: TO EXPLORE THE RATIFICATION OF THE 2003 CONVENTION FOR THE SAFEGUARDING OF THE INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE IN THE NETHERLANDS

Objective 4.1: To identify the process of the ratification of the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage

Objective 4.2: To explore the academic and institutional responses to ratification

Objective 4.3: To examine and critique the practical implementation of the 2003 UNESCO Convention through an appraisal of traditional craftsmanship safeguarding policies.

AIM 5: TO EXPLORE AN ALTERNATIVE MODEL OF INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE SAFEGUARDING IN NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR

Objective 5.1: To identify the place of intangible cultural heritage within the framework of Canadian and provincial heritage policy

Objective 5.2: To explore the ICH provincial policy in Newfoundland and Labrador

Objective 5.3: To examine the safeguarding of the ICH domain of traditional craftsmanship in Newfoundland and Labrador

1.4 SCOPE OF THE RESEARCH

There are over 700 annual traditions and customs in the UK, 466 groups registered with the Morris Federation, countless number of traditional folk singers, and 445 traditional craft makers in the Heritage Crafts Association directory, with 209,390 people employed in the heritage crafts sector (Department for Business Innovation and Skills 2012). This does not even cover all the intangible heritage domains expounded by UNESCO. Therefore, the study of ICH in the UK is potentially vast in scope. Several decisions were made to design an achievable study.

Firstly, the decision was made to concentrate on ICH in England rather than the whole of the United Kingdom. However, it proved challenging to separate totally the intangible heritage of England from the rest of the United Kingdom. Although heritage is devolved to the four nation states, there is still much overlap. This is best demonstrated at international policy level, where treaties and conventions can only be ratified by the United Kingdom. Certain funding bodies and NGOs, such as the Heritage Lottery Fund and Heritage Crafts Association are also UK institutions. In Chapter 4, the ICH safeguarding policy of England is examined through an analysis of English Heritage/Historic England, and where heritage policy is enacted at a UK level, where possible, there is an emphasis on English decisions or projects.

Secondly, was the decision to focus on one UNESCO ICH domain – traditional craftsmanship. The practicalities of the time constraints of the study dictated that strict parameters were required to ensure that the research was feasible. Analysing all five UNESCO domains included in the ICH safeguarding strategy of the Netherlands would simply be too wide-ranging to adequately cover in one chapter. The decision to concentrate on traditional craftsmanship instead of one of the other four domains was partly in response to the interest in intangible heritage posed by the Heritage Crafts Association. On their website, a section exists on UNESCO and Intangible Heritage. Describing a desire to see the United Kingdom ratify the 2003 UNESCO Convention, it goes on to say that "Whilst the HCA believes that the UNESCO convention is a good model for supporting heritage crafts, it would be just as happy to see Government take a different route such as the Newfoundland model" (Heritage Crafts Association 2015). This statement influenced the decision to use the province of Newfoundland

and Labrador in Canada as a comparative model of ICH safeguarding outside of the UNESCO paradigm.

Furthermore, traditional craftsmanship is under-represented in intangible heritage research at national and international level, possibly as a result of the domain being the last to be considered ICH by UNESCO. At the 5th Intangible Heritage Conference in Barcelos, Portugal in September 2017, only one paper focused on traditional craft. The same can be said for representation in international journals such as the *International Journal of Intangible Heritage* where the percentage of papers with traditional craftsmanship as the predominant subject equates to 9% of the total number of papers over the lifespan of the journal.

One of the most prominent researchers has been Francesca Cominelli, who has focused on traditional craftsmanship in France, with her PhD, *L'économie du patrimoine culturel immatériel: savoir-faire et métiers d'art en France* (2013). In *Governing Cultural Commons: The Case of Traditional Craftsmanship in France* (Cominelli 2011), a definition of traditional craftsmanship is used to reclaim the participation of the community. In England, a focus on traditional craftsmanship and intangible heritage is being researched by Daniel Carpenter, PhD candidate at Exeter University. As a Human Geographer, he is using an ethnographic approach, focusing primarily on the experiences of craftsmen in the English counties of Somerset and Devon.

Thirdly, this study is aware of the importance of communities in intangible heritage. Article 2 of the Convention states that intangible heritage is "transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity" (UNESCO 2003a). All intangible heritage plays out in a layered context, from local, to national, to international. This study recognises the importance of communities for the convention and attempts to connect an analysis of an international convention to national policy, and local communities, where the practical elements of safeguarding occur. The experiences of traditional craftspeople in the Midlands of England link the real concerns of people involved in an ICH domain with the wider issues of safeguarding, revealed through international conventions, listing through inventories, and specific policies.

1.5 INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE KEY THEMES

1.5.1 The Safeguarding of Intangible Heritage

This study examines the 'safeguarding' of intangible heritage in various settings. As a crucial part of the UNESCO terminology, it requires further scrutiny. UNESCO is clear that safeguarding does not mean fixing or freezing intangible cultural heritage in a pure form (UNESCO 2018c). "Safeguarding means measures aimed at ensuring the viability of the intangible cultural heritage, including the identification, documentation, research, preservation, protection, promotion, enhancement, transmission, particularly through formal and non-formal education, as well as the revitalization of the various aspects of such heritage" (UNESCO 2003a). The Convention text does not explain in detail the practical measures which states should take to succeed in their safeguarding efforts, which leaves it open for interpretation by ratifying states.

An important distinction to be made is the difference between 'safeguarding' and 'protecting'. Safeguarding should not be considered tantamount to 'protection'. Lenzerini (2011: 109) defines safeguarding as a more dynamic concept, meaning that international action should 'simply' provide a favourable environment within which ICH is allowed to flow freely according to the expectations and needs of its creators and bearers. In a conference of the UNESCO Secretariat overviewing the first decade of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, the idea of 'safeguarding' versus 'protection' was discussed: "'Safeguarding' embraces a broader and more holistic understanding, changing the focus from products and manifestations to processes and people, and is in strong contrast to static or defensive notions of 'protection' and 'preservation' coloured by an objectified view on culture and with strong paternalistic connotations" (UNESCO 2013b). Alivizatou (2012: 37) suggests that safeguarding is less strong and static than 'conservation' and 'protection' and Blake infers that "safeguarding alludes to notions of 'flourishing' and 'sustainable development'" (Blake 2006: 40). In essence, safeguarding is the new 'salvage paradigm' (Alivizatou 2012: 37). Cominelli and Greffe (2011: 316) suggest three reasons why safeguarding is important: enhancing respect for human rights, supporting development and as a source of employment.

1.5.2 Traditional Crafts Safeguarding

As previously explained, this study is focusing on the ICH domain of traditional craftsmanship. The implications of this are the ability to concentrate on the practical considerations of safeguarding ICH, breaking down the issues which affect traditional craftspeople, some of which will be identical to the other ICH domains, and some more relevant to craftsmanship. Four specific themes have been identified, substantiated by similar criteria from the Heritage Crafts Association's Radcliffe Red List of Endangered Crafts - Identifying/Inventorying; Transmission and Awareness; Training/Skills; and Business/Market issues. The decision to thematise ensured that the criteria was consistently examined across the international case studies and the Midlands of England, though it is understood that in many respects, the four themes overlap and influence each other.

Identifying/Inventorying is a core component of the Convention, but is also key to any form of ICH safeguarding. An initial requirement is the knowledge of what needs safeguarding. These inventories can either cover all intangible heritage, as is the case in the two case studies, or focus on one element, such as the HCA Red List. Transmission between generations is fundamental for a tradition to survive. Before this can occur, there must be an awareness of the intangible heritage. This is especially important for the changing relationship in traditional craftsmanship, where traditions passed through families are becoming a thing of the past. Training/Skills overlaps with the theme of transmission, and is vital for the domain of traditional craftsmanship. In addition to increased awareness of a craft, the viability of ICH practices relies on the ongoing transmission of the special knowledge and skills. The final theme, Business/Market issues, refers to the practical financial situation in which traditional craftspeople create and maintain a business, the entrepreneurial zeal to find new markets, and the use of social media.

1.5.3 Best Safeguarding Practices

An aim of this study is to discern the practical advantages of using the UNESCO safeguarding paradigm. The 2003 Convention text is vague as to how to approach the requirements of ratification. In this respect, nations have taken different stances on how best to safeguard ICH and some have been more successful than others. UNESCO recognises this and raises awareness of these 'Best Safeguarding Practices', and describes them as:

sharing practices that can serve as a source of inspiration to States Parties, communities and anyone interested in safeguarding intangible cultural heritage. Learning more about effective safeguarding measures with proven success across various types of intangible cultural heritage, and in different geographic regions, can help those concerned to develop their own appropriate safeguarding measures.

<div style="text-align: right">(UNESCO 2014 :6)</div>

As well as UNESCO's description of Best Practices, others have taken up the premise. For instance, a funded project by Nordic Culture Point and Norwegian Crafts Institute created 'Nordic Safeguarding Practices' to present good practices in safeguarding intangible cultural heritage in the Nordic region. Their vision was "to generate synergies in wider and wider circles and facilitate processes of communication between different levels of stakeholders" (Nordic Safeguarding Practices, 2018). Good practices are described as actions and activities in the shape of projects, programmes, measures, which:

- demonstrate innovative, creative or effective approaches to safeguard intangible cultural heritage
- involve the participation of relevant stakeholders such as communities or practitioners
- involve one or several strategies concerning identification, documentation, research, preservation, protection, promotion, enhancement, transmission or revitalization

<div style="text-align: right">(ibid 2018)</div>

These descriptions of good practices can be attributed to *any* successful safeguarding measure and will be used to assess the practices in both case studies. Best safeguarding practices may be found in countries which have not ratified the Convention, including the United Kingdom. For instance, a guiding principle of the Newfoundland and Labrador ICH Strategy is that "Best practices for initiatives related to the safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage Strategy will be encouraged, including training for individuals engaged in those initiatives" (Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador 2008a: 2).

1.5.4 Cultural Brokerage

Having explained the notion of 'Best Practices', the question emerges as to who is responsible for implementing the safeguarding measures? In the two comparative case studies, organisations have been given roles by either the state or provincial governments to fulfil the requirements set out by either the UNESCO Convention or an intangible heritage strategy. It is these 'cultural brokers' which this research focuses on, such as the Heritage Foundation of

Newfoundland and Labrador, and the Dutch Centre for Intangible Cultural Heritage (DICH), known in the Netherlands as Het Kenniscentrum Immaterieel Erfgoed Nederland or KIEN.

In 1997, Richard Kurin in a reflection on his work at the Smithsonian Institute, classed himself as a cultural broker. "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" (Kurin 1997: 13), and he goes on to state that "Professionals in the cultural field who engage in the public representations of culture … are brokering culture" (ibid: 18). Jacobs, Neyrinck and van der Zeijden (2014: 251) add that the notion of brokerage characterises both the organisations as well as the people working there, and Jacobs (2014: 290) argues that cultural brokerage is a crucial part of the new safeguarding paradigm.

UNESCO recognises the use and value of cultural brokers in 171(d) of the ICH-Operational Directives, which suggests ICH safeguarding directives at the national level. "States Parties shall … facilitate cooperation with sustainable development experts and cultural brokers for the appropriate integration of the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage into plans, policies and programmes, both within and outside the cultural sector" (UNESCO 2016a).

Casteleyn, Janssens and Neyrinck (2014: 396) discuss intangible heritage mediation in Flanders, Belgium, and how a thematic network of coordinators for each of the UNESCO ICH domains has been developed. They suggest that these 'thematic domain coordinators' can be described as brokers who "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". Cultural brokerage is key to the concept of this safeguarding ICH network on every level (Casteleyn, Janssens and Neyrinck 2014: 401). In this study, the Heritage Crafts Association, in its advocacy for the traditional craftsmanship domain, could be described as a 'thematic domain coordinator', and this organisation will be explored in further depth in Chapter 5.

1.6 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH AND CONTRIBUTION TO KNOWLEDGE

This research advances current scholarly debates around the ratification and non-ratification of the UNESCO Convention. According to Arizpe (2012: 2) "the richness of current research and debates on culture has not been brought to bear on the work of the ICH Convention". Chiara

Bortolotto, whilst visiting fellow at Cambridge University, co-wrote a paper in 2012 which expounded the need for more research on intangible heritage. She has also noted that she was personally interested in better understanding UK non-ratification and considered the case study choices to be "very consistent and interesting" (Bortolotto 2013). This research therefore has targeted a specific area of ICH in which there is a demand by experts for further study, by applying the desire for more practical research to the international comparisons of ICH safeguarding in Canada and the Netherlands and a regional study of an ICH domain in the Midlands of England. The research targets an area of heritage that has relevance for different sectors in the UK, and could inform practice at national level, including bodies such as the UNESCO UK Commission, DCMS, Heritage Lottery Fund and Historic England. The focused research on the traditional craftsmanship domain offers an insight into the practical considerations and needs of a selection of craftspeople in the Midlands of England. With over 100,000 words of testimony from eighteen interviewees, it has the potential to increase knowledge of crafts as intangible heritage in England and provide useful data for the Heritage Crafts Association.

1.7 CHAPTER OUTLINE

This study consists of eight chapters. This first chapter provides an introduction, laying out the problem and rationale for the research, the research question, aims and objectives, scope of the research, context and significance of the research. Chapter 2 explains the qualitative methodological strategy and the literature analysis, case study and interview methods used to answer the research aims and objectives.

The purpose of Chapter 3 is threefold; to introduce and attempt to define the concept of intangible cultural heritage and reveal how it has emerged from the notions of 'heritage', 'culture', 'tradition', and 'folklore'. Secondly, to explore how the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) developed frameworks and legislation, initially using the terminology of folklore and traditional cultures, to that of intangible cultural heritage, over the course of a twenty-year period. And lastly, to explore the current international ICH paradigm, by critically examining the formation and governance of the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage.

Chapter 4 examines the intangible heritage policy in the United Kingdom, and more specifically England where appropriate, including the Parliamentary record of debates and

questions on intangible heritage, and the traditional craftsmanship domain. It analyses how the Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) and Historic England have definitions of heritage limited to the built environment and introduces the notion of the Authorised Heritage Discourse as a theoretical explanation for this disparity. The chapter also examines how certain NGOs in England are involved in the safeguarding of ICH, including the introduction of the Heritage Crafts Association as an important organisation linking ideas of intangible heritage safeguarding and the domain of traditional craftsmanship with the rest of the study.

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 provide an original contribution to the research on intangible heritage safeguarding through interviews with ICH policy makers, cultural brokers, and practitioners at grass roots level and two international case studies. Chapter 5 introduces a focused attempt to examine practical safeguarding issues at grassroots level. This is achieved through an exploration of the intangible heritage domain of traditional craftsmanship, and the safeguarding and advocacy role of the Heritage Crafts Association. The chapter identifies how traditional craftsmanship has been inventoried in England and also examines the safeguarding issues facing traditional craftspeople in the Midlands of England. This is achieved through the use of in-depth semi-structured interviews of eighteen people from a variety of different heritage crafts, to reveal an understanding of the practical issues of transmission and awareness, training/skills, and business/market issues, and how they impact the safeguarding of their ICH practices.

Chapter 6 explores the ratification process of the 2003 UNESCO Convention in the Netherlands, and examines the safeguarding strategy of the Dutch Centre for Intangible Heritage, again focusing upon the ICH domain of traditional craftsmanship, through a literature analysis of policy documents, and in-depth interviews with the key actors involved in the implementation of the Convention.

Chapter 7 is a case study of the approach that the Canadian province of Newfoundland and Labrador has taken to safeguard intangible cultural heritage outside of the UNESCO paradigm. Through a study visit to the province, it focuses on the ICH policy at the Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador and uses in-depth interviews with a variety of cultural brokers and practitioners to examine how ICH is inventoried and traditional craftsmanship safeguarded.

Chapter 8, the conclusion, appraises the intangible heritage safeguarding methods used in Newfoundland and the Netherlands to suggest potential best practice in England and makes recommendations for possible future research.

CHAPTER 2 – METHODOLOGY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims to describe the methodological choices made for this study and to present the rationale for their inclusion. From a Heritage Studies standpoint, only recently has there been a focus on research methods, with publications such as *Heritage Studies: Methods and Approaches*, edited by Marie Louise Stig Sorensen and John Carman (2009), and the *Palgrave Handbook of Contemporary Research*, edited by Emma Waterton and Steve Watson (2015). As Sørensen and Carman (2009: 23) admit, "Having developed as an in-between subject and with its practitioners working in academic institutions, governments and 'in the field', Heritage Studies, despite its long gestation and substantial and complex scope, has paid scant attention to methods". However, as Uzzell stipulates (2009: 327) "Methodologies are important in Heritage Studies because they are the hand which guides us into the past from the present. They show us how to look and see". As such, Heritage Studies has imported methods from a range of other disciplines, including anthropology, archaeology, architecture, art, history, psychology, sociology and tourism (Sørensen and Carman 2009).

Focusing on intangible cultural heritage, Filippucci (2009: 320) reminds us that "'heritage' has been convincingly redefined as a field concerned first and foremost with people … the use of qualitative methods of investigation is a corollary of this way of conceptualising heritage, as qualitative methods are used to document and analyse perceptions, attitudes and motivations of those involved in the heritage process". Since intangible heritage as a concept embraces the idea of the 'living heritage' of people, and as one of the main tenets of the 2003 UNESCO Convention is the role of communities, qualitative methods of research appear to be appropriate for this study. Additionally, there is the issue of the scope of the research, encompassing several layers of inquiry. There is a focus on international legislation at UNESCO, case studies and governmental and organisational documentation at a national level, and a focus on people involved in intangible heritage at grassroots level in different communities. Therefore, the methodology needs to reflect this varied research. As such, and taking into account the aims and objectives of the research, a multi-method qualitative approach was chosen for this study. A multi-method approach uses two or more qualitative methods, not to be confused with mixed method research which combines qualitative and quantitative methods (Creswell and Plano Clark 2007: 273). The next section of this chapter describes the research strategy, explaining

qualitative methodology and the methods used within this research; literature analysis, case studies and in-depth, semi-structured interviews.

2.2 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH STRATEGY

According to Denzin and Lincoln (2018: 9), "Qualitative research is a field of inquiry in its own right" and "crosscuts disciplines, fields and subject matter". Mason (2002:1) describes this form of research thus: "Through qualitative research we can explore a wide array of dimensions of the social world, including the texture and weave of everyday life, the understandings, experiences and imaginings of our research participants …" For Uwe Flick, qualitative research has become an established and respected research approach (cited in Gibbs 2007: ix) but equally he believes that it has become more difficult to find a common definition (cited in Gibbs 2007: x). He has established some common features of qualitative research. It is intended to approach the world 'out there' rather than in a laboratory, and this can be done by:

1. Analysing experiences of individuals or groups
2. Analysing interactions and communications
3. Analysing documents such as texts, images, film and music

<div align="right">(Flick, in Gibbs 2007: x)</div>

Mason (2002: 3) observes that qualitative research cannot be pigeon-holed and reduced into a set of principles, though she does accept some common elements which expands Flick's perspective. She defines qualitative research as grounded in a philosophical position which is broadly 'interpretivist' in that it is concerned with how the social world is interpreted, understood, experienced, produced or constituted. It is also based on methods of data generation which are both flexible and sensitive to the social context in which data are produced (ibid: 3). Denzin and Lincoln (2018: 11) use the analogy of the qualitative researcher as a bricoleur or maker of quilts in that they use the aesthetic and material tools of his or her craft, deploying whatever strategies, methods, or empirical materials which are at hand. As a strategy it can be critiqued, as Bryman (2001: 282-283) explains, qualitative research can be too subjective, that findings rely too heavily on the researcher's often unsystematic views about what is significant and important. Secondly, qualitative research is difficult to replicate "precisely because it is unstructured and often reliant upon the qualitative researcher's ingenuity, it is almost impossible to conduct a true replication" (Bryman 2001: 282). Furthermore, qualitative research suffers from a lack of transparency and it can be difficult to

establish how researchers arrive at conclusions. Finally, Bryman also suggests that generalisation is an issue since it is impossible to know how findings can be generalised to other settings and how one or two cases can be representative (ibid: 282). This chapter attempts to address some of these issues by explaining in depth how and why certain methods were chosen, which sampling technique was used for the interviews, and an awareness that certain limitations can be minimised. The multi-method approach helps to overcome generalisation and issues of reliability and validity through the triangulation of methods, which will be described in more detail later in this chapter.

Table 2.1 The multi-method approach to the research, visually demonstrating how different methods fulfil certain requirements for each chapter.

	Literature Analysis	Case Study	Interviews
Chapter 3 – UNESCO	✓		
Chapter 4 - ICH in the UK	✓		
Chapter 5 - Midlands of England			✓
Chapter 6 - Netherlands	✓	✓	✓
Chapter 7 - Newfoundland	✓	✓	✓

2.2.1 Literature Analysis

A significant element of the research methodology involves a desk-based literature analysis, including a literature review of academic texts and an examination of grey literature. Grey literature has been described as "that which is produced on all levels of government, academics, business and industry in print and electronic formats, but which is not controlled by commercial publishers" with a postscript added shortly thereafter "i.e. where publishing is not the primary activity of the producing body" (Farace and Schöpfel 2010: 1). According to Bowen (2009:

27) document analysis is a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating print and electronic documental materials. Among other examples, this includes manuals, background papers, books and brochures, press releases, organisational or institutional reports, and various public records. It is the latter two examples, that of organisational and institutional reports and public records which have proven to be of primary relevance to this study. Examples such as mission statements, policy manuals, and strategic plans from heritage organisations of the UK, Newfoundland and the Netherlands have added clarity and depth. The advantage of this method is that document analysis is a low-cost way to obtain empirical data as part of a process that is unobtrusive (Bowen 2009: 38).

Bryman (2001: 375) indicates that the state is the source of a great deal of textual material of potential interest, and this was particularly the case for finding and analysing data for Chapter 4, which looks at the safeguarding of intangible heritage in Britain. In order to analyse Parliamentary interest in ICH, a review was carried out for instances of the term "intangible cultural heritage" in Hansard, the transcripts of Parliamentary Debates in Britain. Documentary analysis was also conducted on the strategic plans and grey literature pertaining to English Heritage, Historic England, devolved administrations, and non-governmental organisations such as the Heritage Lottery Fund, Heritage Alliance and ICOMOS.

Concerning the description and analysis of the formation and governance of the 2003 UNESCO Convention in Sections 3.2 and 3.3, I have utilised the substantial online resources of UNESCO, known as UNESDOC, which contains over 146,000 UNESCO documents in full, published since 1945. For the purposes of this research, comprehensive searches of this database resulted in the analysis of technical documents, working papers, conference papers, and reports, as well as Governing Bodies documents, resolutions and decisions of the General Conference and Executive Board, and speeches of the Director-General.

Literature analysis has also been utilised within the case studies of the Netherlands and Newfoundland, since "documents play an explicit role in any data collection in doing case study research" (Yin 2014: 107). In the Netherlands, an overview of Dutch culture and policy was provided in English by the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, with publications such as *Cultural Policy in the Netherlands* (2006), and *The Dutch Cultural System* (2009). The website of The Dutch Centre for Intangible Heritage has numerous educational documents, including factsheets, a newsletter and digital copies of the public folklore journal *Levend Erfgoed* (Living Heritage). Some of these documents are published in English, but a significant

proportion were written in Dutch. The most pertinent documents, or parts thereof, have been translated by myself. This has obvious disadvantages, as it is a time-consuming process, and open to mistranslation. Documentation was also shared with me during my visit to the office in Culemborg and Arnhem, including the inventory application forms given to communities, and publications produced by the office.

In Newfoundland, textual analysis focused on the annual reports of the Department of Tourism, Culture and Recreation of Newfoundland and Labrador, and the annual reports and activity plans and occasional papers of the Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador (HFNL). Also, of significant interest was the monthly newsletter produced by the HFNL entitled *Intangible Cultural Heritage Update – News and updates on Newfoundland and Labrador's Intangible Cultural Heritage Program.* The 76 issues from December 2008 up to summer of 2018, all of which are archived on the Memorial University Digital Archives Initiative, provided a comprehensive narrative of the various projects, workshops and other news relating to intangible heritage in the province.[2]

As O'Leary (2014: 244) makes clear, textual analysis requires the same consideration as other data collection methods. An awareness of the original purpose of the document needs to be considered, it may not be as relevant as primary data, and biases may be difficult to identify. However, although Bryman (2001: 375) accepts that there can be questions of credibility and bias, such documents can be interesting because of the biases they reveal. In dealing with issues of representativeness, he also infers that "materials like these are in a sense unique and it is precisely their official … character that makes them interesting in their own right". Documents "can be important in triangulation, where an intersecting set of different methods and data types is used in a single project" (Punch 2001: 190). Furthermore, Yin (2014: 107) suggests that the use of documents is important to corroborate and augment evidence from other sources in case study research.

2.2.2 Case Studies

With reference to Aim 4 and Aim 5 in the Introduction, a case study approach was deemed to be a suitable method to identify and critique how intangible heritage is managed both within

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[2] From May 2016, the Intangible Cultural Heritage Update merged with the built heritage element of the HFNL into one holistic document entitled *News and Notes on the Heritage Foundation of NL's Built Heritage and Intangible Cultural Heritage Programs*

and outside of the UNESCO paradigm. Yin (2014: 16) suggests that a case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, or as Gillham (2000: 1) states, a case study investigates "specific research questions (that may be fairly loose to begin with) and which seeks a range of different kinds of evidence". With specific reference to Heritage Studies, Filippucci (2009: 322) adds that "Case studies are not simply designed to document diversity and variety in the experience of and attitudes towards heritage, but also to answer questions about the reasons for variation or indeed similarity across cases".

The two case studies in this research were chosen based on decisions with regard to both relevancy and issues of practicality. They are what Stake (2000: 437) identifies as *intrinsic and instrumental case studies.* An intrinsic case study is one in which a particular case itself is of interest and there is a desire to better understand it. The case is not representative of other cases or a particular trait or problem (ibid: 437). The Newfoundland case study represents this type, in that it is a specific approach to ICH safeguarding, chosen because of this trait. An instrumental case study is examined to provide a general insight of an external interest, by studying a particular case which may be seen as typical of other cases or not. The external interest in this study is the implementation of the 2003 UNESCO Convention, and although there were many examples which could have been chosen, the Netherlands was deemed the most appropriate, for reasons which will now be discussed.

Case Study 1 – ICH Safeguarding in The Netherlands: The UNESCO Paradigm

Figure 2.1 A Map of the Netherlands © CIA World Factbook. This work is made available under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 3.0 license, http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/

The first case study focuses on the UNESCO paradigm of safeguarding intangible heritage in the Netherlands. Since most countries have ratified the 2003 Convention, identifying a suitable case was based upon certain criteria. First, was the decision to choose a country which had only recently ratified the Convention, inferring there might have been some reticence to do so. This is an important consideration, in that the country may have debated other options, or, as was the case with the Netherlands, did not have historical precedent in legislating for cultural heritage. There also needed to have been enough time to have elapsed from ratification for the state to have implemented the obligations required of a signatory to the Convention. Additionally, to be able to analyse and critique the particular case, access needed to be

available, both logistically and linguistically. Since many Anglophone countries have not ratified the Convention [3], a country in which English is widely spoken as a second language was preferable to learning a new language to a standard where interviewing in depth would be possible. Research for Aim 4 of this study was gained through fieldwork which was carried out over the course of two weeks in January 2017, and for one week in February 2018. On the first visit, I was based in Utrecht, close to the Dutch Centre for Intangible Heritage/Kenniscentrum Immaterieel Erfgoed Nederland in Culemborg. Fieldwork here linked with Objective 4.3 (shown in table form below). As well as gaining an insight into ICH policy through documentary analysis, I used interviews with staff to gain a greater depth of knowledge of the workings of the centre. As Yin attests (2014: 110) "interviews are commonly found in case study research. They … resemble guided conversations rather than structured queries". To fulfil Objective 4.2, semi-structured interviews were also carried out at the Meertens Institute in Amsterdam, the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science and the Netherlands Commission for UNESCO in The Hague, to add depth to the inquiry surrounding academic and institutional responses to the Convention. The second field trip was centred at the Open Air Museum in Arnhem where DICH moved to in the summer of 2017.

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[3] The Republic of Ireland ratified in 2016

Table 2.2 Aims and Objectives for the Netherlands Case Study and Units of Analysis

AIM 4: To explore the ratification of the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Netherlands. Objective 4.1: To identify the process of the ratification of the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage Objective 4.2: To explore the academic and institutional responses to ratification Objective 4.3: To examine and critique the practical implementation of the 2003 UNESCO Convention through an appraisal of traditional craftsmanship safeguarding policies	
Unit(s) of analysis for Objective 4.2	Meertens Institute
	UNESCO Commission for the Netherlands
	Ministry of Education, Culture and Science
Individuals Interviewed	Peter Jan Margry - Senior Research Fellow, Meertens Institute
	Mareke Brugman - UNESCO - Senior Policy Officer
	Riet de Leeuw - Ministry of Education, Culture and Science - Senior Policy Advisor
Unit(s) of analysis for Objective 4.3	The Dutch Centre for Intangible Cultural Heritage
	Ambacht in Beeld Festival
Individuals Interviewed	Albert van der Zeijden - Knowledge Development Team Leader
	Pieter van Rooij - DICH - Heritage Care Team - Advisor
	Saskia van Oostveen – DICH - Heritage Care Team Leader
	Wendy van Wilgenburg - Ambacht in Beeld - Founder and director

Case Study 2 - ICH in Newfoundland and Labrador – An Alternate Model

Figure 2.2 A Map of Canada, showing the province of Newfoundland and Labrador
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Attribution-ShareAlike 3.0 license, http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/

The rationale behind opting for the Canadian province of Newfoundland and Labrador for the
second case study was the intention to examine the intangible heritage policies of a country
which had not ratified the 2003 Convention. Of the seventeen countries (other than the UK)
which have not ratified, six were immediately discounted, two because of their volatile political
status (Libya and Somalia) and three being either micro-states or small countries (San Marino,
Maldives, and Niue). This left Canada, the United States of America, Australia, New Zealand,
South Africa, Israel, Russian Federation, Guyana, Angola, Liberia, and Sierra Leone. Israel
and the United States were discounted because of their relationships with UNESCO (in 2017
both countries withdrew as members of UNESCO), as the research looks at how intangible
heritage is safeguarded in countries which could still choose to ratify the Convention. Of the
nine remaining, it made methodological sense to study an Anglophone country, as they have
heritages in common including linguistic similarities. Of these, the ICH policies of the province

of Newfoundland and Labrador in Canada had already been identified by the Heritage Crafts Association in the United Kingdom as a possible 'different route'. Heritage policy in Canada is legislated at a federal and provincial level. The ratification of the 2003 UNESCO Convention would be legislated for at a federal level, but since Canada has not ratified, intangible heritage safeguarding is devolved to the thirteen provinces and territories. Focusing on one Canadian province, that of Newfoundland and Labrador, negated the possibility of, as Yin (2014: 21) warns, "an unmanageable level of effort", which can occur in case study research. The research for Aim 5 of this study was gained through one fieldwork visit, in April 2016, where I was based in St. John's, the capital of the province, for three weeks. Research for Objective 5.2 was carried out at the Intangible Heritage office, which is part of the Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador in the centre of St. John's. As Gillham attests (2000: 2), there is no one source of evidence which is likely to be sufficient on its own, and this use of many sources is a key characteristic of case study research. This can be seen within the research. In order to gain insight into Objective 5.3, I interviewed representatives from the Wooden Boat Museum of Newfoundland and Labrador, Quidi Vidi Village Plantation, The Rooms, Fishing for Success, and Memorial University. Below is a table which charts the Aims and Objectives for the Newfoundland case study, with the Units of Analysis, which are the 'what' or 'who' being studied.

Table 2.3 Aims and Objectives for Newfoundland Case Study and Units of Analysis

AIM 5: To Explore an Alternative Model of Intangible Cultural Heritage Safeguarding in Newfoundland and Labrador	
Objective 5.1: To identify the place of intangible cultural heritage within the framework of Canadian and provincial heritage policy Objective 5.2: To explore the ICH provincial policy in Newfoundland and Labrador Objective 5.3: To examine the safeguarding of the ICH domain of traditional craftsmanship in Newfoundland and Labrador	
Unit(s) of analysis for Objective 5.2	Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador
	Memorial University
Individuals Interviewed	Dale Jarvis – ICH Development Officer
	Jerry Dick – Director of Heritage
Unit(s) of analysis for Objective 5.3	Anna Templeton Centre for Craft, Art and Design
	Craft Council of NL
	Quidi Vidi Plantation (Craft Incubator)
	Wooden Boat Museum of NL
	The Rooms (Provincial Museum, Art Gallery and Archives)
	Fishing for Success (Non-profit social enterprise for traditional fishing knowledge)
Individuals Interviewed	Anne Manuel – The Craft Council
	Gillian Davidge – The Rooms
	Crystal Braye – Wooden Boat Museum
	Nicole Penney – Memorial University
	Kimberley Orren – Fishing for Success
	Stephanie Micikyan - HFNL

There are limitations in case study research. For instance, although O'Leary (2014: 195) describes case study as "holistic understandings through prolonged engagement", there was a

limit as to how much fieldwork I could do in both locations. In Newfoundland and Labrador, the main issue for the fieldwork was the inability to visit areas of the province due to its size. I was limited to one, three-week visit, based in St. John's, where the majority of the province's population lives. Outside of St. John's I visited parts of the Avalon peninsula in Newfoundland, but not beyond it, and I was unable to visit Labrador, the part of the province situated on the mainland. Although Labrador has only 8% of the provincial population, it has important indigenous groups who are involved in some of the HNFL intangible heritage projects. There were also logistical issues in attempting to arrange interviews. For instance, on one occasion an interview had to be cancelled due to an unexpectedly severe spring snow storm in St. John's.

In the Netherlands, the main limitation was the issue of the language barrier, although this was not a problem with general conversation and interviews. This is because statistics suggest that 90% of the population of the Netherlands can speak conversational English, the highest in Europe (NationMaster 2017). Furthermore, the EF English Proficiency Index, which is a ranking of countries for English skills, has the Netherlands ranked first out of 80 countries for 2017 with a very high proficiency. The Index describes this very high proficiency as being able to use nuanced and appropriate language in social situations, be able to read advanced texts with ease, and negotiate a contract with a native English speaker (EF Education First 2017). This was my experience with all of the Dutch interviewees, who had a very high standard of English proficiency.

In all case study research, a common criticism concerns the inability to generalise, whereby one case study's conclusions can be extended to other cases. The Netherlands was chosen as an example of a country which had ratified the 2003 Convention, and as such there may be generalisations which can be extended to other nations implementing the Convention as there is a standard process for all involved, such as the creation of an inventory and nominations to the lists. However, there will also be some aspects of ICH policy and management in the Netherlands which are unique to the country and do not reflect common practice across all the ratified nations. This observation ties in with the view of Stake (1995: 7) that "case study seems a poor basis for generalization" as "the real business of case study is particularization, not generalization. We take a particular case and come to know it well …" (ibid: 8). As Punch adds (2001: 154) a case may be interesting or unique in its own right, that it is worthy to study without resorting to generalisation. The research in Newfoundland certainly follows this notion as it is not a typical case and therefore findings cannot be generalised across the remaining nations which have not ratified the convention, nor was that the point of that case study.

2.2.3 In-depth Semi-structured Interviews

For Seidman (2013: 8) an interview is a basic mode of inquiry, and as Kvale (2007: 7) adds, "an interview is a conversation that has a structure and a purpose" and that "the qualitative research interview is a construction site for knowledge". It can be an advantageous source of data gathering, as Sørensen states (2009: 166), "interviewing as a method can be used to engage with complex and abstract ideas, such as heritage, in an enlightening and constructive manner". The purpose of the interviews in this study was to meet key aims and objectives which could only be gained through a detailed understanding of the thoughts and processes of the individuals working in intangible heritage.

Although there are different forms of interview, this research uses in-depth semi-structured interviews, a data collection strategy in qualitative research, whereby the researcher asks informants a series of predetermined but open-ended questions (Ayres 2008: 811). Using semi-structured interviews ensures more control over topics within the interview and in contrast to structured interviews that use closed questions, there is no fixed range of responses to each question. The interviews were also in-depth, establishing a connection that allows for an openness of exchange (Rubin and Rubin 2005: 13). To achieve richness and depth of understanding, interviewers listen for keywords, ideas and themes using follow-up questions to encourage the interviewee to expand on what might be important to the research (ibid). For Seidman (2013: 9), "at the root of in-depth interviewing is an interest in understanding the lived experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience".

The interviews in the study consisted of individuals working in intangible heritage, either in management as intangible heritage policy officers, or in academic roles, and others who use forms of ICH in practice, in particular traditional craftsmanship. Firstly, the former of these examples, that of the expert or manager of ICH, were particularly important to garner information. As Rubin and Rubin (2005: 64) state, "Interviewees should be *experienced* and *knowledgeable* in the area you are interviewing about". For these interviews a type of purposive sampling technique known as expert sampling was utilised in the case studies in the Netherlands and Newfoundland, where individuals with specific expertise formed the basis of the research. For O'Leary (2014: 191) "the goal in rigorous research is to determine the best possible means for credible data collection, and … this might just mean working with key informants rather than samples … the answers to your research questions lie with select individuals who have specialized knowledge and know what's going on". These interviews

were used to develop knowledge of a particular area, such as the workings of the Intangible Heritage Office in the Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador and the Dutch Centre for Intangible Heritage. They supported and went beyond the analyses of literature by adding expert, detailed, first-hand knowledge within the settings of the case studies.

Secondly, interviews were carried out with traditional craftspeople of the Midlands in England. These interviews were also in-depth semi-structured interviews which focused on the experiences of participants in intangible heritage practices at a grass-roots level. The interview questions were designed to reflect work carried out previously by Creative & Cultural Skills, which produced *Mapping Heritage Craft* in 2012, see Jennings (2012). This was the first comprehensive study to define, categorise and examine the size and shape of the Heritage Craft sector in England. More significantly, the interviews in this study also take into account the work done by the Heritage Crafts Association. They employed Greta Bertram to produce the Radcliffe Red List of Endangered Crafts in 2017 (Heritage Crafts Association 2017), after a data gathering process from May 2016 to January 2017. According to the report describing the Red List, approximately 700 organisations and individuals were contacted directly by email and telephone and invited to contribute to the research. Participants were identified from lists of organisations and funding bodies, from internet searches for the craft, and by following up recommendations from other participants (Heritage Crafts Association 2017: 9). The resulting study categorised heritage craft at risk and detailed the issues affecting the viability of heritage crafts in the UK.

My intention was not to repeat the very comprehensive work which produced the *Radcliffe Red List of Endangered Crafts*, but to add a focused, in-depth study of the experiences of craftspeople in the Midlands. The Midlands was chosen for practical purposes as I am based in the area, and the thesis is funded by Midlands3Cities Doctoral Training Partnership. There is also ethnographic research being produced by Daniel Carpenter at Exeter University which looks at traditional craftsmanship in Devon and Somerset, so these two areas of research do not overlap.

1	Shropshire
2	Herefordshire
3	Worcestershire
4	Staffordshire
5	West Midlands
6	Derbyshire
7	Warwickshire
8	Leicestershire
9	Nottinghamshire
10	Northamptonshire
11	Rutland
12	Lincolnshire
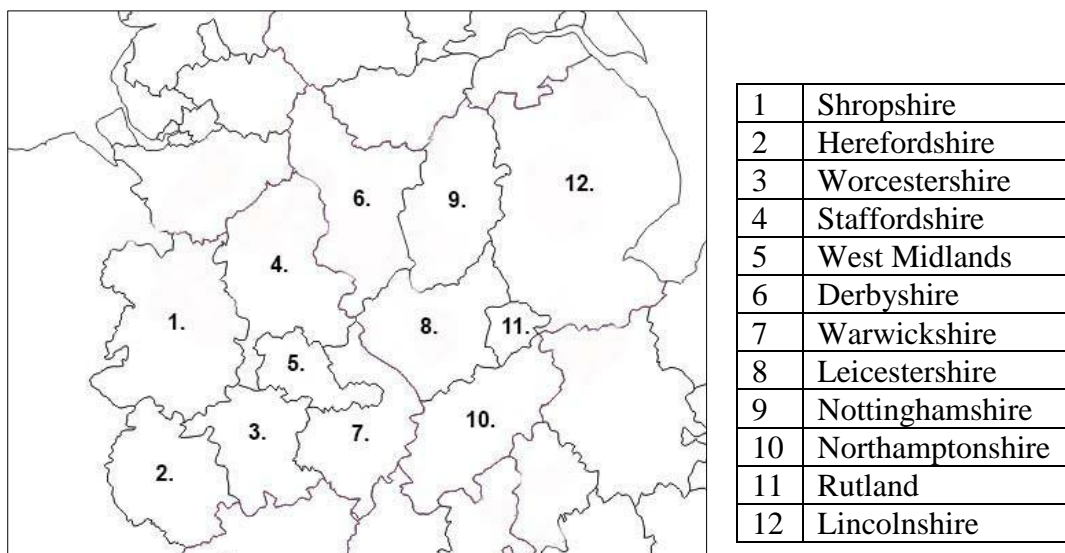
Figure 2.3 A Map of the Midlands of England with numbered counties

© D Maps.com. https://d-maps.com/carte.php?num_car=18183&lang=en. Modified by S. Harrison

The Midlands of England is a region which is commonly subdivided into the East and West. This includes in the East Midlands, the counties of Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire, and Rutland. The West Midlands comprises Herefordshire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Worcestershire, and the Metropolitan County of the West Midlands which includes the cities of Birmingham, Coventry and Wolverhampton. In *Mapping Heritage Craft* it is established that 61,270 people are employed in Heritage Crafts in the Midlands (Department for Business Innovation and Skills 2012: 34).

Interview participants were chosen with a sampling plan which aligned with the purposes and the research questions of the study (Punch 2001: 194), that is to reveal the state of heritage crafts in an area of England, in order to determine whether there is a need to safeguard it using methods associated with intangible heritage legislation. Although for many people a heritage craft is a form of recreation or hobby, this would create an unmanageably wide sample. For purposes of consistency, this study focuses on people for whom a heritage craft is a profession. The participants were chosen using non-probability sampling, which does not involve random selection. Denzin and Lincoln (2018: 312) describe non-probability sampling as that which seeks out groups, settings, and individuals where and for whom the processes being studied are most likely to occur. A suitable form of non-probability sampling, purposive sampling, also

known as judgmental, selective or subjective sampling, was selected, in which the study participants were chosen based on the study's purpose or because of some shared characteristic. In this case, the shared characteristic is that all the participants were members of the Heritage Crafts Association, have their presence in the Makers Directory on the HCA website, and are based in the Midlands region of England. It is accepted that the purposive sample being investigated can be small, especially when compared with probability sampling techniques. With this in mind, a list was drawn up from the HCA Makers Directory of all craftspeople within a certain mileage of my postcode, which is part of the search functionality of the Directory. Cross referencing with the online map function (see Figure 2.4), I was able to ascertain that there were 36 craftspeople registered who are based in the Midlands. This was a manageable sample from which to contact by email or telephone. From this list, I was able to produce an interview sample of 18 participants, spread across the whole region and reflecting a variety of different heritage crafts.
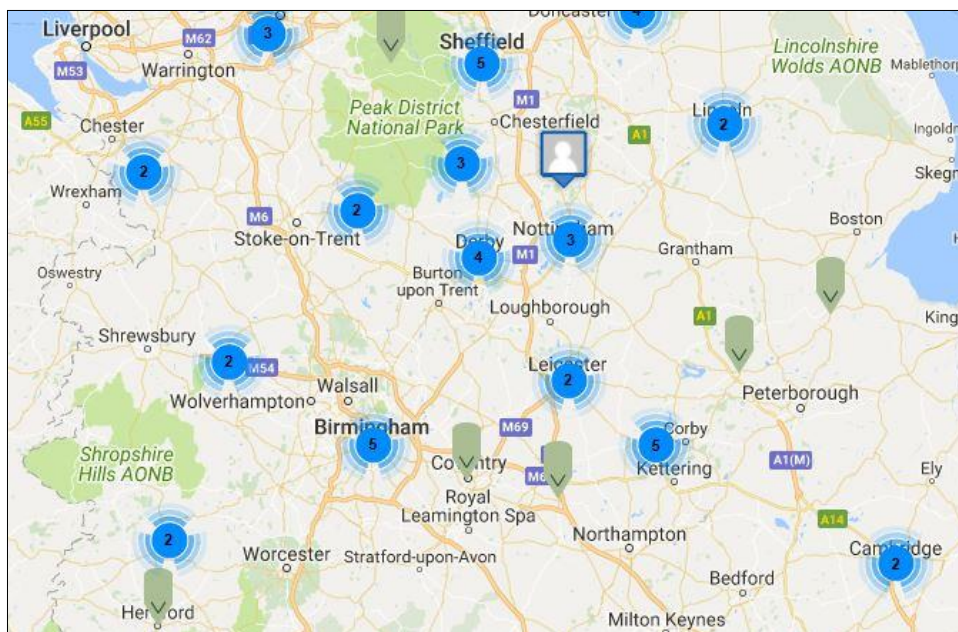
Figure 2.4 The Heritage Crafts Association Makers Directory. Focused on the Midlands area of England   © Heritage Crafts Association

In choosing the sample size for the interviews in the Midlands, this study was mindful that qualitative researchers have not agreed on optimal sample sizes. Beitin (2012: 243) quotes Thomas and Pollio as suggesting that an appropriate sample size can range from 6 to 12

participants. Creswell (2007: 126) notes that in grounded theory a recommended number would be between 20 and 30 participants in order to develop a well-saturated theory. A small sample size can be accused of a lack of representativeness and non-probability sampling has been criticised for the same issue. According to Davidson (2006: 197) in non-probability sampling it is difficult to defend the representativeness of the sample and to convince the reader that the judgement used to select units to study was appropriate. However, a small sample is not always considered a weakness, as O'Leary (2014: 186) states the "goal is often rich understanding that may come from the few rather than the many". It can also be difficult to convince the reader that research using purposive sampling can achieve forms of generalisation. Davidson (2006: 197) asks "if different units had been selected, would the results and any generalisations have been the same?" The sample in this study cannot be truly representative of the views of all professional traditional craftspeople in the Midlands of England, since they represent those who have deliberately joined the Heritage Crafts Association.

Interviews as a method have other limitations. For instance, all the interviews took place at the interviewees place of work. This had the advantage of the interviewee being in a familiar and relaxed environment. However, on many occasions the interviewee had to continue working during the interview process, which led to distractions, periods where the interview had to be paused, and regularly added background noise to the recordings.

Interviews are also time consuming, as the researcher needs to go through a long process, starting from establishing access to making contact with participants, conducting the interview followed by transcribing the data and making use of it (Seidman 2013). Another issue is that the construction of the written transcript is the researcher's responsibility. The researcher might therefore misconvey what the interviewee meant (Alsaawi 2014: 155). The problems with interviews are discussed in great depth by Nunkoosing (2005: 699). He states that "The intellectual rigor and validity of our interpretations have to meet with the requirements of the research community rather than the agreement of the people we interview. This is the case even when we seek the agreement of the interviewees about our interpretations, for the simple reason that we write for practitioners and researchers".

2.3 LIMITATIONS OF RESEARCH STRATEGY AND TRIANGULATION

Stake (1995: 45) highlights the limitations of the method used in this study when he notes that "Qualitative study has everything wrong with it that its detractors claim". Despite the issues

which exist in qualitative research there are ways to ensure that the results are as valid as possible. For Kvale (2007: 123) "validation rests on the quality of the researcher's craftsmanship throughout an investigation, continually checking, questioning and theoretically interpreting the findings". Creswell (2009:190) describes qualitative validity as a check for accuracy by the researcher by employing certain procedures and Stake (1995: 114) argues that "with multiple approaches within a single study, we are likely to illuminate or nullify some extraneous influences". This refers to the use of triangulation, which attempts to create in-depth understanding through the use of multiple methods. Both Denzin and Lincoln (2018: 318) and Flick (2002: 227) suggest that triangulation is less a strategy for validating results than an alternative to validation. Denzin (1989: 234-247) suggests that there are varieties of triangulation, one of which is used in this study, that of methodological triangulation, which involves using more than one method to gather data, such as interviews, observations, questionnaires, and documents. This takes two forms, one of which is between-method triangulation, which combines dissimilar methods, because as Denzin (1989: 244) notes "the flaws of one method are often the strengths of another".
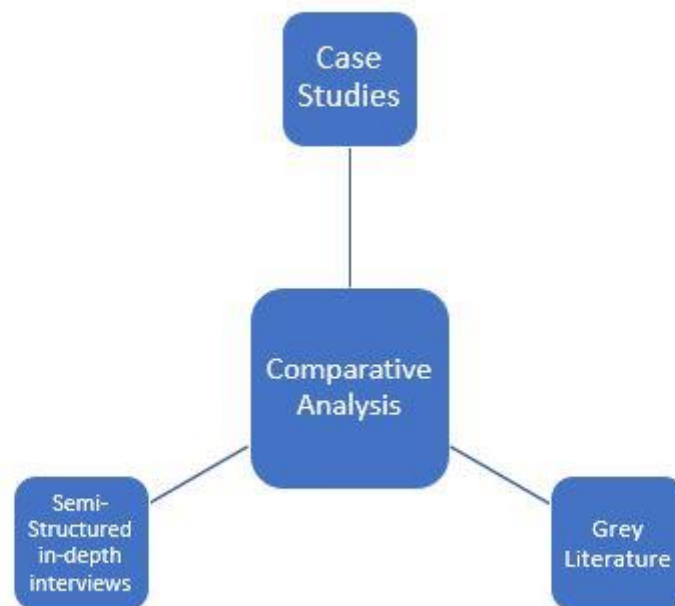
Figure 2.5 Triangulation of methods used in this study

2.4 ETHICS

In order to uphold the integrity of the research, this thesis complies with the ethical principles of Nottingham Trent University, and received approval from the Joint Inter College Ethics Committee. As Stake (2000: 447) asserts, "qualitative researchers are guests in the private spaces of the world. Their manners should be good and their code of ethics strict". He adds that there is usually an informal contract which exists between researcher and the researched. This contract exists in the process of informed consent. I produced a consent form which was given to all the interview participants (Appendix 1). The form was an invitation to participate in the research study and the purpose of the research was briefly explained. It was important that the interviewees understood that their participation was voluntary and an explicit statement made it clear that they could withdraw from the study at any time, without having to give a reason. The interviewees were made aware that their recordings would be transcribed and potentially used in academic conferences and publications or on websites. They agreed to have their recording catalogued as part of the project and that the specified recordings could be used for the purposes of this research. The interview participants were also informed that the material gathered as part of this study would be stored securely, in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998. In practical terms, this entailed taking the recording immediately after the interview and saving it to the secure Nottingham Trent University OneDrive cloud server. In relation to personal confidentiality, many of the interviewees were experts in their field who were familiar with the interview process and were happy to have anonymity waived, with a caveat that many of the expert interviewees made it clear when part of the interview was 'off the record', this was respected at all times. This was also the case for the interviews with the craftspeople of the Midlands. With certain interviews, it would be very easy to deduce the interviewee even without naming them, because of the specific professions they discuss.

2.5 DATA ANALYSIS

Rubin and Rubin (2005: 201) describe data analysis as "the process of moving from raw interviews to evidence-based interpretations". The interview process presented several practical considerations, such as the requirement to record and transcribe before analysis could begin. All interviews were recorded on a digital dictaphone to be able to concentrate on the dynamics of the interview and so that detailed transcriptions into written texts could be produced. Flick (2002: 172) admits that there has not yet been a standard established for

transcription and also that it is reasonable to transcribe only as exactly as is required as "an over-exact transcription of data absorbs time and energy which could be invested more reasonably in their interpretation". Kvale (1996: 171) also concedes that verbatim, detailed transcriptions are only needed for sociolinguistic analysis, and a certain amount of editing can be desirable if general impressions of the subjects' views are paramount.

2.5.1 Grounded Theory

The analysis of the data in this study has taken a grounded theory approach. Grounded theory emerged in the mid 1960s in a collaboration between Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss and their subsequent book, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* (1967). Since then, grounded theory has become the most widely used framework for analysing qualitative data (Bryman 2001: 390). It is a theoretical approach which gives preference to the data and the field under study as against theoretical assumptions (Flick 2002: 41). Charmaz (2006: 2) describes grounded theory as systematic but flexible guidelines for collecting and analysing qualitative data to construct theories 'grounded' in the data themselves. This is particularly relevant for the analysis of the interviews of the craftspeople of the Midlands of England considering the lack of previous research on ICH and traditional crafts.

The analysis of the data begins with coding, which Rubin and Rubin (2005: 207) describe as "systematically labelling concepts, themes, events and topical markers so that you can readily retrieve and examine all of the data units that refer to the same subject across all your interviews". Computer software known as computer-assisted qualitative data analysis (CAQDAS) can be used in place of the manual task of coding. However, for several reasons in this study the coding was done manually. Firstly, computer programmes work best for large qualitative databases, but is less necessary for a smaller sample as found in this study, and the need to learn how to use the software is time consuming. The first level of analysis consists of open coding, whereby "expressions are classified by their units of meaning (single words, short sequences of words) in order to attach annotations and above all 'concepts' (codes) to them" (Flick 2002: 178). The next step is axial coding which refines and differentiates the categories most relevant to the research question (Flick 2002: 181). Finally, with selective coding, the researcher may write a "story line" that connects the categories. (Creswell 2007: 67). For this study, the first step involved reading through the transcribed interviews and coding either sentences or paragraphs, and adding them to a table. For example, within the theme of

transmission and awareness, sub-themes or categories emerged. One of these sub-themes was 'Craft as a second career', and within that, it was broken down further and representative quotes were found:

'Second jobs' - "very few of us who were able to make a living from what we were doing. Some people had a second job to keep them afloat" (Interview 5:13).

'Help from spouse' - "I had a working husband, so I was very fortunate otherwise I wouldn't be here doing this. So, I had the financial backing to be able to stop work" (Interview 5:13).

This analysis can be seen in Appendix 3, which shows the table for the theme of transmission and awareness and the sub-themes which were formulated.

CHAPTER 3 - A HISTORIOGRAPHY OF INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is threefold; to introduce and attempt to define the concept of intangible cultural heritage and reveal how it has emerged from the notions of 'heritage', 'culture', 'tradition', and 'folklore'. Secondly, to explore how the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) developed frameworks and legislation, initially using the terminology of folklore and traditional cultures, to that of intangible cultural heritage over the course of a twenty-year period. And lastly, to explore the current international ICH paradigm, by critically examining the formation and governance of the *2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage.*

3.2 ICH – THEORETICAL BACKGROUND: FOLKLORE, TRADITION AND ANTHROPOLOGY

3.2.1 Folklore

The 2003 Convention was built upon the shoulders of twenty years of UNESCO meetings and research on folklore and traditional culture, and draws on earlier conversations in folklore studies (Noyes 2015: 299). The concept of 'intangible cultural heritage' is a recent construct, and was formulated in preference to 'folklore' which was not considered to be an acceptable term (Tora 2001: 222). Francioni (2001: 5) believes "that the term 'folklore' as used in the 1989 Recommendation is overly reductionist and scarcely reflective of the well-spring of living culture and spiritual values that underlie any manifestation of intangible heritage." At the Turin Roundtable on Working Definitions Peter Seitel stated that he did not support the use of the term 'folklore' because of his view that it cannot and need not be defined (UNESCO 2001a: 9).

For those who have attempted a definition, "'folklore' is notoriously difficult to define with rigour, and the term now covers a broader field than it did when invented … linking many aspects of cultural traditions past and present" (Simpson and Roud 2000: 1). However, we can pinpoint an exact moment when the term 'folklore' was coined. In 1846, William Thoms, a civil servant and antiquarian, added a new word to the English language, published in a letter in the Athenaeum; "what we in England designate as Popular Antiquities, or Popular Literature

(though by-the-bye it is more a Lore than a Literature, and would be most aptly described by a good Saxon compound, Folk-Lore – the Lore of the people)" (Thoms 1846). The popular antiquities intimated by Thoms had been a topic of inquiry since the seventeenth century[4]. The Victorian period saw the development of folklore in England, and according to Dorson (1969: 202-265) a 'great team' was formed, consisting of Andrew Lang, George Laurence Gomme, Alfred Nutt, Edwin Sidney Hartland, Edward Clodd, and William Alexander Clouston. Between them they produced a range of publications and established the Folklore Society. Widdowson (2016: 258) has described a 'lean period' for folklore in England in the interwar years, and that the torch was carried mainly by individual researchers. Comprehensive accounts of English folklore research in this period have been produced by Roper (2001, 2012), and Widdowson (2016). Whilst American folklorists, Alan Dundes (1965) and Richard Dorson (1972) were moving folklore studies forward in the 1960s and 1970s, in England there was a "remarkable burgeoning of research, publication, and institutional development of folklore studies from the 1960s up to the millennium" (Widdowson 2016: 258). Despite this, much has been written about the "(relative) failure of the folklore paradigm" in England (Roper 2012: 252). Opie (1957: 467) stated that "the fact is that England has the distinction of being so uninterested in itself that it has not yet even one full time professional folklorist" and Dorson (1965: 241) observed that London lacked a central folklore institute and fraternity of lecturers, researchers, archivists, collectors and librarians present in other European metropolises. Nearly fifty years later, a similar lament was provided by Jonathan Roper (2012: 252), "England is perhaps the only European country without a national folklore archive or dedicated academic unit for the study and documentation of its folklore".[5] This may partly explain why intangible heritage has not had such a strong academic presence in England.

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[4] See John Aubrey (1687) *Remaines of Gentilisme and Judaisme,* a collection of rites and customs; Henry Bourne (1725) *Antiquitates vulgares: or, the antiquities of the common people. Giving an account of several of their opinions and ceremonies;* John Brand (1777) *Observations on the popular antiquities of Great Britain: Including the Whole of Mr. Bourne's Antiquitates Vulgares*; William Hone (1826) *The Every Day Book : or, A guide to the year : describing the popular amusements, sports, ceremonies, manners, customs, and events, incident to the three hundred and sixty-five days, in past and present times;* Robert Chambers (1863) *The Book of Days: A Miscellany of Popular Antiquities in connection with the Calendar: including Anecdote, Biography, & History, Curiosities and Literature, and Oddities of Human Life and Character*.

[5] A new MA Folklore Studies will be commencing at the University of Hertfordshire in 2019.

3.2.1.1 Folklore and ICH

"Storytelling, craftsmanship, rituals, dramas, and festivals are prime examples of the sort of representations targeted by the new international instrument of heritage policy. These used to be called folklore - a term that UNESCO has largely abandoned …" (Hafstein 2007: 77). This change in definition developed slowly over several decades, and will be thoroughly examined in Section 3.4. As McCann et al. (2001: 60) explain "the term [ICH] makes sense within the administrative logic of UNESCO". Some academics, such as Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2006: 164) have intimated at acceptance of the term intangible heritage, "previously and sometimes still called folklore". She had argued in *Folklore's Crisis* (1998: 282) that the discipline had been suffering from a 'topic drift', that a gap was widening between the name of the field and what it now signified and that "those who presumably are dealing with folklore are uneasy with the designation" (ibid 281). It could be argued that the notion of 'intangible cultural heritage' can be used to allay these concerns.

Hansen (2016: 632) suggests that academics such as Regina Bendix and Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett reject the term 'folklore' because its intellectual history carries heavy political baggage. However, he argues that "placing folklore into history's dustbin" (ibid) is shortsighted, as problems with the term 'folklore' can be extended to other concepts relevant to ICH. "Terms *culture* and *heritage* are by no means value neutral" (ibid: 627). Indeed, the relationship between the terms 'folklore' and 'intangible heritage' has not always been an easy one, and certainly not all folklorists have welcomed the shift in terminology. This was evident at the Folklore Society's AGM conference 2015 "Folklore Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow", at the University of Sheffield. This conference reflected on the current state of folklore studies and from my own personal observation, there was a strong resistance to the encroachment of 'intangible heritage' upon Folklore Studies. However, John Widdowson, a former President of the Folklore Society, appealed to keep an open mind:

> Attempts to designate the subject [folklore] as traditional culture, cultural tradition, vernacular culture, traditional heritage, cultural heritage, and traditional studies have largely arisen in response to the denigration of the word 'folklore' by its detractors, especially in England, who wrongly associate it with bygone customs, superstitions, 'old wives' tales, and other apparent irrelevancies, as practised by the so-called 'twee and tweedy', 'tree huggers', and the like, or alternatively as nationalistic. The recent UNESCO-sponsored term 'intangible cultural heritage' has its merits … the UNESCO term now has considerable traction internationally, and while it might appear to favour the intangible over the tangible, its official definition is encouragingly much broader and far more inclusive.

Whilst folklorist Dorothy Noyes (2015: 299) berates the fact that "ICH … has commandeered our field's attention for the past decade", she concedes that many folklorists have become what John Kingdon calls 'policy entrepreneurs' or even 'policy groupies', "eager to be where the action is" within global initiatives (Noyes 2016: 339). Many folklorists were involved in the formation of the UNESCO Convention, and continue to sit on various committees and forums.

3.2.2 Tradition

When UNESCO (2018d) describes aspects of intangible heritage as "inherited traditions", the term 'tradition' requires a deeper understanding. According to Brumann (2015: 414) "cultural heritage overlaps with a number of other phenomena and terms, to the point of interchangeable usage … [including] tradition", and Lowenthal (1998: 3) points out that "much that was once termed history or tradition is now heritage … But neither history nor tradition ever commanded the ubiquitous reach that heritage has today". Nevertheless, it is relevant to briefly discuss 'tradition', as the term influences folklore, intangible heritage, and the domain of traditional craftsmanship. Like the other notions explored in this chapter, 'tradition' is inescapably ambiguous (Noyes 2009: 234) and Raymond Williams (1983: 318), much like his views on 'culture', considers that "tradition in its most general modern sense is a particularly difficult word". For Glassie (1995: 399) "tradition … emerges as a swing term between culture and history, the missing piece necessary to the success of a cultural history that would bring anthropology and history, with folklore as the mediating agent, into productive alliance". It was sociologist Edward Shils (1981: 12) who defined tradition broadly as "anything which is transmitted or handed down from the past to the present . . . having been created through human actions . . . [of] thought and imagination, it is handed down from one generation to the next". This definition compliments the UNESCO definition of intangible heritage

3.2.3 Anthropological Definitions of Culture

Folklore and cultural anthropology, which is concerned with the study of the customs, traditions, and institutions of living peoples, are closely related, see Malinowski (1944), Bascom (1965), and Leach (1983). "Folklore, to the anthropologist, is one of the important

parts that go to make up the culture of any given people" (Bascom 1965: 26). Culture is a central concept in anthropology and the term was first defined by Edward Tylor (1871: 1) as "The complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society". J.G Frazer's *The Golden Bough* (1890) compared the religious beliefs, mythologies and social behaviours of different cultures. Tylor and Frazer influenced the thinking of T.S Eliot, who described culture in anthropological terms as the way of life of a particular people living together in one place (Eliot 1948: 120). He also wrote about how much the term culture embraces. "It includes all the characteristic activities and interests of a people: Derby Day, Henley Regatta, Cowes, the twelfth of August, a cup final, the dog races, the pin table, the dart board, Wensleydale cheese, boiled cabbage cut into sections, beetroot in vinegar, nineteenth-century Gothic churches and the music of Elgar" (Eliot 1948: 31).

In the mid twentieth century, attempts were made by anthropologists to further the definition of 'culture'. The difficulty in such an undertaking was noted by Haring (1949: 26) who accepted that "attempts to define such a term invite confusion no matter how impressive the logic invoked". Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952) conducted a critical review of more than 150 definitions of the concept of culture. Although it remained the definitive study of the subject for years, Borofsky (2001:433) suggests that their own definition did not catch on within the discipline, it was not the authoritative definition they had hoped.

> Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behavior acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups, including their embodiment in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e. historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, on the other as conditioning elements of further action.

> (Kroeber and Kluckhohn 1952: 181)

For Goldstein (1957: 1075), Kroeber's and Kluckhohn's catalogue of definitions were futile. He suggests, rather, that while many anthropologists have urged that a definition of culture is required of their work, a precise definition is not empirically necessary. Borofsky (2001: 433) suggests instead that "Culture, then, is not a set term ...Culture is what various people conceive it to be, and, as these definitions make clear, different people perceive it in different ways for different ends".

UNESCO did attempt to define culture as part of its inception in 1946. "The word *Culture* … is used broadly ...it embraces creative art, including literature and architecture as well as music

and the dance, painting and the other visual arts … Then it can be used in the sense of cultivation of the mind … And finally, it can be employed in the broadest sense of all, the anthropological or sociological one, as denoting the entire material and mental apparatus characteristic of a particular society" (Huxley 1946: 26). This was updated in 1982 at the UNESCO Declaration on Cultural Policies in Mexico City. "['Culture' is] the whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterize a society or social group. It includes not only the arts and letters, but also modes of life, the fundamental rights of the human being, value systems, traditions and beliefs" (UNESCO 1982c).

3.3 FROM HERITAGE TO INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE

3.3.1 Defining Features of 'Heritage'

"Heritage, as a concept, is problematic" (Herbert 1995: 8) as it can be can be "anything you want" (Hewison 1989: 5), and as such "all attempts to define exactly what constitutes heritage have … met with failure" (Merriman 1991: 8). Harrison (2012: 3) shares a similar view, and reiterates that "we live in a time that is distinctive in the ways in which definitions of heritage have expanded to such an extent that almost anything can be perceived to be 'heritage'". Despite this warning, Heritage Studies has evolved over the past thirty years to include an in-depth discussion of the concept, see Smith (2006), Fairclough et al. (2008), Harrison (2012) and Waterton and Watson (2015). A defining feature of 'heritage' is that it can be described as a continuum between the past, present and the future. It is a creative engagement with the past in the present which focuses our attention on our ability to take an active and informed role in the production of our own 'tomorrow' (Harrison, 2012: 4). Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1995: 369) believes that "heritage produces something new in the present that has recourse to the past". However, for Spenneman (2007: 92) "the notion of "preserving the past for the future" is so ubiquitous today that few will query its origins or its validity. Cynics, on the other hand, may well argue that the heritage field appears to lack a clear sense of purpose and clings to clichés that seem to pull at the heartstrings of the audience in order to mask its own befuddlement". Nevertheless, ideas of heritage as an inheritance from past generations to be passed on to future ones (Blake 2000: 69) are evident across the field of Heritage Studies, and is a defining feature of intangible heritage within the UNESCO Convention. Another aspect of 'heritage' is that of change, specifically relevant to intangible heritage, as the Convention defines ICH as being constantly recreated, or as Hafstein (2012: 502) describes it,

cultural heritage is a new category of things, lumped together in novel ways under its rubric; things as motley as buildings, monuments, swords, dances, jewelry, songs, visual patterns, religious paraphernalia, literature, and woodcarving traditions … the major use of heritage is to mobilize people and resources, to reform discourses, and to transform practices … Don't be fooled by the talk of preservation: all heritage is change.

3.3.2 Definitions of Intangible Cultural Heritage

Intangible heritage has been defined by Logan as "heritage that is embodied in people rather than in inanimate objects" (cited in Ruggles and Silverman 2009: 1). This simple concept belies a more complex characterisation which has seen scholars and UNESCO search for a defining meaning. These definitions of intangible heritage have included languages, knowledge, knowhow, customs, and ideas (Lenzerini 2011: 102), knowledge skills and values (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004: 59), language, stories, art styles, music, dance, religious beliefs (Brown 2003), artistic expressions, knowledge and skills, dance, performing arts, as well as craftsmanship (Cominelli and Greffe 2012: 245), and sociocultural phenomena ranging from theatre and music to folklore and traditional royal and popular rituals (Nas 2002: 139). To a certain extent the term 'intangible heritage' is used for want of a better term. As Richard Kurin (2004a: 67) points out:

> The technical, somewhat awkward term 'intangible cultural heritage' was selected because of the many difficulties cultural workers and scholars have encountered in an international, comparative context, with the use and misunderstanding of such terms as 'folklore', 'oral heritage', 'traditional culture', 'expressive culture', 'way of life', 'folklife', 'ethnographic culture', 'community-based culture', 'customs', 'living cultural heritage', and 'popular culture'.

There are several issues regarding the concept of intangible heritage. A point of contention is the link between tangible and intangible heritage. They should be considered to be two sides of the same coin, see Bouchenaki (2003), Kirshenblatt-Glimblett (2004), Nic Craith and Kockel (2015) and some scholars expound the view that there is no difference between tangible and intangible heritage. Smith (2006: 54) says "If heritage is a mentality, a way of knowing and seeing, then all heritage becomes, in a sense, 'intangible'". Her thoughts are extended, see Andrews et al. (2007: 126), when she argues that heritage should not be defined by its materiality or immateriality, but rather by what is *done* with it in a broader cultural context. On these grounds all heritage is intangible, and Smith argues that "heritage mediates cultural and social change through the continual construction and negotiation of identity, place, and memory" (Smith cited in Andrews et al. 2007: 126).

Whilst there can be a debate about the differences between tangible and intangible heritage, there is less difficulty in understanding that they are inextricably linked. Mounir Bouchenaki (2003: 2), the Assistant Director General for Culture, UNESCO, stated that there is "a symbiotic relationship between the tangible and the intangible. The intangible heritage should be regarded as the larger framework within which tangible heritage takes on shape and significance". Appadurai (cited in Munjeri 2004: 18) says that intangible heritage "is a tool through which the tangible heritage could be defined and expressed [thus] transforming inert landscapes of objects and monuments turning them into living archives of cultural values". Arizpe (2004: 131) has a similar point in that "we must acknowledge that all human achievement stems from intangible cultural heritage, for it is ideas, desires and interests that drive people to create tangible or performative heritage".

Tangible and intangible heritage are thus 'fluid' and 'inseparable' and the creation of categories artificially separates them (Ardouin cited in Andrews et al. 2007: 125). Alivizatou (2008: 47) berates the 'institutional dichotomy' which has emerged. Although recent developments at UNESCO have shown a greater understanding of the holistic nature of heritage (such as the Istanbul Declaration), the Conventions still separate tangible and intangible heritage. Since this study focuses on the 2003 Convention and uses the UNESCO definitions of intangible cultural heritage, it has to concede that limitations result from such separations.

3.4 UNESCO - FROM FOLKLORE TO INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE

3.4.1 UNESCO Historical Background

The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), like many other institutions, was born out of a post-war desire for lasting peace and international cooperation. In November 1945, governments from thirty-seven countries sent delegations to London to participate in a conference which would lead to the foundation of UNESCO. The Constitution came into force after being ratified by twenty countries, and the first General Conference took place soon after (Singh 2011: 12). In its Preamble it states that "the wide diffusion of culture, and the education of humanity for justice and liberty and peace are indispensable to the dignity of man and constitute a sacred duty which all the nations must fulfil in a spirit of mutual assistance and concern" (UNESCO 1945). From the start cultural heritage was included in UNESCO's Purposes and Functions as found in Article 1, Paragraph

2 (c). "By assuring the conservation and protection of the world's inheritance of books, works of art and monuments of history and science, and recommending to the nations concerned the necessary international conventions" (UNESCO 1945). With a headquarters in Paris, and 65 field offices, institutes and National Commissions in almost every country, it is a large and complex institution, and according to Seeger (2015: 132) often overextended and under supported.

Singh (2011: 83) notes that "in most people's minds, the acronym UNESCO evokes something about culture". For a detailed discussion of the history of the cultural element of the organisation see Arizpe (2007). The most prominent consideration of culture by UNESCO has been the adoption in 1972 of the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (known widely as the World Heritage Convention). Its aim was to identify, protect and preserve cultural and natural heritage around the world and it defined cultural heritage as monumental constructions, ruins and landscapes. This created an imbalance towards a Western model of heritage, see Smith and Waterton (2009), Alivizatou (2012: 9) which led to UNESCO seeking alternative concepts of cultural heritage. "The fact that the World Heritage Convention neglected an important part of cultural heritage was considered from its adoption a shortcoming of international regimes focusing on protection of cultural heritage" (Lixinski 2013: 11).

3.4.2 Folklore Policy at UNESCO

This oversight by UNESCO initiated discussions concerning the development of policy around the terminology of 'folklore' and 'traditional culture', forms of cultural heritage not covered by the World Heritage Convention. This in turn led to the formation of the term 'intangible cultural heritage' by UNESCO, and it is this background that the first section of this chapter will focus upon, up to ratification of the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. The historical development of folklore to ICH at UNESCO has been discussed in detail, see Bortolotto (2007), Blake (2003) and Park (2013), and for a legal focus on the development of the ICH concept at UNESCO, see Blake (2007) and Lixinski (2011, 2013). Furthermore, Samantha Sherkin (2001: 42-56), a consultant in the Intangible Cultural Heritage Unit at UNESCO, discussed the formation of folklore policy at UNESCO in great detail, leading up to the 1989 Recommendation on the Safeguarding of the Traditional Culture and Folklore, including a comprehensive timeline from 1952 to 1989. Bortolotto (2007:

21) states that "the reflection on what was formerly known as 'folklore' by UNESCO was an important stage in the shift toward the idea of intangible heritage". She suggests that the history of folklore within UNESCO can be divided into two phases, separated by a shift in the 1990s at UNESCO from an archivist approach, rooted in Western academic method, to a process-oriented approach based on the Japanese paradigm, which is explored in Section 3.4.6. The first phase of folklore policy at UNESCO was initiated in the early part of the 1970s.

3.4.3 Folklore Policy at UNESCO: 1973 - 1979

On 24th April 1973, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Religion of the Republic of Bolivia submitted a formal inquiry to UNESCO proposing an international instrument for the protection of folk arts and cultural heritage (UNESCO 1973). This request was placed on the agenda of the Intergovernmental Copyright Committee, which entrusted the UNESCO Secretariat to study the issue. In December 1975, the Secretariat submitted a study to the committee entitled "Desirability of Providing Protection for Folklore at the International Level" (UNESCO 1971). The study defined folklore as "an impersonal, oral and traditional artistic creation". It suggests that "Legal protection of folklore is necessary today in view of (a) the increased importance of this cultural heritage, (b) the dangers which threaten it, and (c) the consequences attendant on the damage it suffers" (UNESCO 1971: 3).

In July 1977, the Director-General convened a Committee of Experts on the Legal Protection of Folklore in Tunis, where aspects of the protection of folklore were discussed in terms of definition, identification, conservation, preservation and exploitation, which should be considered together. As these issues were essentially cultural, there should be an interdisciplinary examination, and one that should be conducted under the sole auspices of UNESCO (UNESCO 1977; Sherkin 2001: 45). The Secretariat continued to look at the subject, firstly as a global study of the protection of folklore, and secondly, a study of the copyright and intellectual property issue involved, carried out jointly with the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) (UNESCO 1983a: 12). In August 1979, in order to achieve the first goal, a questionnaire on the protection of folklore (CL/2670), was circulated by the Secretariat to UNESCO member states, and received seventy-one replies which were utilised for the definition of folklore in the 1982 meeting of the Committee of Experts (UNESCO 1982a: 2).

3.4.4 Folklore/ Intangible Heritage Policy at UNESCO: 1980 - 1989

An important ICH development at UNESCO occurred at the 1982 World Conference on Cultural Policies, known as Mondiacult, between 26 July – 6 August in Mexico City. According to UNESCO (UNESCO 2017a), it was one of the first times that the term 'intangible heritage' was officially used. The Mexico Declaration makes clear in its definition of cultural heritage that it "includes both tangible and intangible works through which the creativity of that people finds expression: languages, rites, beliefs, historic places and monuments, literature, works of art, archives and libraries" (UNESCO 1982b: 43). A number of delegates also emphasised that the heritage of buildings should not be the main object of attention (1982b: 30). In the same year as Mondiacult, UNESCO set up a 'Committee of Experts on the Safeguarding of Folklore' and created a special 'Section for the Non-Physical Heritage' (Bouchenaki 2004: 7). The Committee of Experts meeting was significant because it was the first time a definition of folklore was firmly established (Sherkin 2001: 47), and it was decided that it was not only desirable but urgent that measures should be adopted to preserve folklore at an international level (UNESCO 1983b).

The relationship between the overall nature of folklore and intellectual property was addressed by UNESCO and WIPO between 1982 and 1985, see Sherkin (2001: 47). Regional Meetings of Expert Committees recommended international regulation of the intellectual property aspects of folklore. However, as Sherkin (2001: 48) makes clear, UNESCO began to assume a more active role independent of WIPO in the protection of folklore. In January 1985 the Second Committee of Governmental Experts on the Safeguarding of Folklore convened in Paris. Little attention was paid to the intellectual property aspects of folklore (Sherkin 2001: 49). Instead, focus was on whether international regulations would be in the form of a recommendation or a convention, and "it may be felt that a recommendation would be a more flexible method and might be better suited to the complexity of the problems dealt with in this study" (UNESCO 1985: 28). According to Lauri Honko (UNESCO 1987: 21), in his capacity as an advisor to UNESCO, a recommendation was not an inferior choice. "A recommendation passed by the General Conference, even if it is in no way legally binding, will enhance the status of folklore in Member States and internationally. It may be considered as a launching pad for future developments". And so, at the twenty-fourth session of the General Conference in October/November 1987, Resolution 15.3 was adopted and it was expressed that an international instrument on the safeguarding of folklore be prepared in the form of a recommendation.

3.4.5 1989 Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore

In November 1989, at the 25th session, the UNESCO General Conference adopted the *Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore*. It suggested that Member States should apply provisions concerning the safeguarding of folklore by taking legislative measures, bring the Recommendation to the attention of organisations or institutions concerned with folklore, and submit reports to UNESCO on action taken (UNESCO 1989: 3). There were positive reactions to the Recommendation, including Honko (1992: 3), who felt that "it certainly opens up broader vistas than nationally or regionally oriented folklorists have been used to. It calls for cooperation on the widest possible scale ...", and McCann et al. (2001: 57) said that it "represents an historic step in the formulation of cultural heritage policy, one that moves the global family of nations significantly closer to a convention on the important topic it addresses".

However, the Recommendation was not without its critics. McCann et al. (2001: 57) considered the main criticism is that it is too limited in the way it defined the elements. Park (2013: 20) noted the passive role of groups and individuals in the Recommendation, "ICH is treated as an object to be disseminated to the public by various means such as mass media, publications, events and organisations, rather than as a form that requires transmission between generations". In 1997 at the UNESCO-WIPO World Forum on the Protection of Folklore, in Phuket, Thailand, Marc Denhez prepared a follow-up paper on the 1989 Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore, which he described "as the highest profile declaration on the importance of intangible heritage in the world" (UNESCO-WIPO 1997: 2). He agreed that the Recommendation was limited, stating that "technically speaking, under the exact wording of the Recommendation, UNESCO itself is not given any specific mandate, and the Recommendation imposes obligations on Member States, but provides no explanation of how to implement them" (UNESCO-WIPO 1997: 5). Furthermore, the UNESCO Secretariat sent a circular letter on 8th April 1991, asking countries about their follow-up to the Recommendation. Only six members replied and "most answers were so general as to be essentially meaningless" (UNESCO-WIPO 1997: 7). Despite these issues, Janet Blake (2017: 17) suggests that the 1989 Recommendation was significant because its very existence opened the way for later developing the 2003 Convention.

Eight regional seminars were held between 1995 and 1999 that assessed the implementation of the 1989 Recommendation and evaluated the contemporary situation on the safeguarding and

revitalization of intangible heritage. The workshops enabled participants to identify more clearly the problems and solutions for safeguarding and revitalising intangible heritage in regions such as Western, Central and Eastern Europe, Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, and Central, South, Southeast and East Asia (Seitel 2001: 278). These seminars resulted in a conference held at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington D.C from 27th to 30th June 1999, entitled *A Global Assessment of the 1989 Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore*: *Local Empowerment and International Cooperation*. 37 participants from 27 nations took part and the event was brought together in a volume edited by Peter Seitel. He explains in the Preface that "Conference participants gathered in a wonderful spirit of intellectual and cultural fellowship. They discussed, debated, and deliberated upon both the similarities and differences in the ways to go about safeguarding traditional culture and folklore" (Seitel 2001: iii). Janet Blake (2001c: 151), speaking at the conference, gave an evaluation of the 1989 Recommendation. She conceded that it had positive points worth keeping such as the general principles in the Preamble, but that it had many limitations, including an emphasis on the scientific community, a too narrow definition, and a failure to safeguard folklore through the social and economic empowerment of its creators. "In sum, no existing Convention, Recommendation, or other UNESCO text fully addresses the needs of safeguarding folklore …" (ibid: 153).

A 'Questionnaire on the Application of the *Recommendation*' was issued to Member States in 1994 in order to assess its impact. Richard Kurin (2001a: 30), in discussing the results, stated that "it would not appear that the Recommendation is high on the agenda of the international community. Only a small majority of responding nations were aware of the Recommendation", but also that "the result of this survey is cause for optimism. There is a perceived need for much to do in the traditional culture and folklore field. There is a basis for moving ahead with national and international policies" (Kurin 2001a: 33).

3.4.6 Intangible Heritage Policy at UNESCO: 1990s

In 1992, UNESCO conducted a scientific evaluation of all activities carried out over the two preceding decades in the field of traditional popular cultures. After the evaluation, the title of the program "Non-Physical Cultural Heritage" was modified to "Intangible Cultural Heritage" (Aikawa 2001: 14). On 16-17 June 1993, the *International Consultation on New Perspectives for UNESCO's Programme: The Intangible Cultural Heritage*, took place at the Organisation's

Headquarters. The purpose of this consultation was twofold: firstly, to advise UNESCO on the new directions which might be taken by its programme to safeguard and enhance the intangible cultural heritage; secondly, to consider five pilot projects in China, Niger, Mexico, Tunisia and Central and Eastern Europe (UNESCO 1993b: 3). Many positive observations were made at the Consultation, but also that "the action taken by UNESCO was too widely dispersed and that the limited resources of the Organization were scattered between too many disparate actions: languages, oral traditions, traditional knowledge, techniques, games, rituals, music, dance, theatre etc. with no fixed order of priority" (UNESCO 1993b Annexe VII: 3).

In June 1993, a formal proposal to establish a UNESCO system of "Living Cultural Properties" was made by the Republic of Korea in a letter to the UNESCO Executive Board. In the same year, at its 142nd session, the Executive Board of UNESCO adopted a resolution on the Living Human Treasures (LHT) system (UNESCO 1993a). It invited Member States to establish, where appropriate, a system of Living Human Treasures in their respective countries. The UNESCO Secretariat was invited to compile a list of 'living cultural properties' (living human treasures) submitted by Member States and hoped that UNESCO could, as a next step, institute it as a 'world list' (UNESCO 1993a: 9). The establishment of a system of Living Human Treasures was aimed at encouraging Member States to take measures to safeguard traditional culture at all levels (UNESCO 2002g: 8). According to Park (2013: 22) "the LHT system must be considered a milestone in the development of the concept and implementation of ICH safeguarding systems" in that it significantly raised awareness of the role of communities and the importance of transmitting ICH.

Another important stride in the expansion of the definition of cultural heritage occurred at the 1994 Nara Conference, jointly arranged by the Japanese government, UNESCO, ICCROM and ICOMOS. For Akagawa (2016: 14) the Nara Conference was a catalyst for a major paradigm shift in heritage discourse as it had been defined in the Venice Charter in 1964. In an examination of the deliberations at the conference, she explains how the dominant 'Western' perspectives of international heritage were challenged, and how they had diverged from the methodology and philosophy of heritage conservation in 'the East'. The outcome of the conference was the adoption of the Nara Document on Authenticity, which, inter alia, states that "All cultures and societies are rooted in the particular forms and means of tangible and intangible expression which constitute their heritage, and these should be respected" (ICOMOS 1994: 46).

Further to the Nara Document in 1994, was the Report of the World Commission on Culture and Development, 'Our Cultural Diversity', which stated that "the intangible had for long been ignored heritage. Ways of life have been ignored because they are simple formats" (cited in Munjeri 2004:13). Another intangible heritage action which occurred in the mid 1990s was an initiative by Spanish writer Juan Goytisolo, and considered an original impulse for the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Heritage. His motivation was to protect the art of storytelling as found in Jemaa el-Fna square in Marrakesh, Morocco, from local authority development plans. Goytisolo contacted UNESCO with an idea to protect the square as an oral heritage of humanity (Schmitt 2008: 98). This was recognised by UNESCO as an interesting proposition, and capable of being formulated into a global scheme. In June 1997 an International Consultation on the Preservation of Popular Cultural Spaces was held in Marrekesh, organised by the UNESCO Cultural Heritage Division, in collaboration with the Moroccan National Commission for Education, Culture and Science. In the meeting, the concept of the oral heritage of humanity was raised, and it was emphasised that there was a pressing need to establish an international distinction to be awarded by UNESCO to the most remarkable examples. As a follow-up to the Marrakesh consultation, the Moroccan authorities, supported by a substantial number of other countries, submitted a draft resolution to the General Conference at its 29th session (UNESCO 1998a: 3).

3.4.7 Proclamation of the Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity

At the 1997 UNESCO General Conference, The Proclamation of the Masterpieces of Intangible Cultural Heritage was created, and the following year the Executive Board approved its regulations. The main objectives were: to raise awareness on the importance of oral and intangible heritage; to evaluate and list it; to encourage countries to create inventories; and to promote the participation of local practitioners in revitalising their ICH (UNESCO 2006: 4). The task of choosing the oral and intangible heritage to be proclaimed as a masterpiece was entrusted to a jury of a maximum of eight members designated by the Director-General of UNESCO, in consultation with Member States. Each Member State was allowed to submit a single example every two years (UNESCO 1998b). The Masterpieces programme sought models of ICH with outstanding value and the checklist for nominations had forty-nine criteria. They were categorised into two domains; cultural spaces, and forms of popular or traditional cultural expression. The first proclamation took place in 2001 – this included 19 cultural forms

such as The Mystery Play of Elche (Spain), The Carnival of Oruro (Bolivia), Kun Qu Opera (China) and The Hudhud Chants of the Ifugao (Philippines). There were another 28 proclamations in 2003, and 43 in 2005. More than 100 countries participated in the programme and more than 150 candidature files were submitted.

Several evaluations of the Proclamation of the Masterpieces of Intangible Cultural Heritage suggest that whilst it was successful in raising awareness of ICH, it was also met with scepticism over some of the deficiencies of the Proclamation, see Nas (2002), Alivizatou (2007), and Park (2013). Whilst Nas (2002: 139) suggested that "The initiative is important … in that it explicitly recognizes the value of the collective memory of peoples and the inventory of human cultural phenomena", both Park and Alivizatou point to several flaws, including the perceived hierarchy to which the term *Masterpieces* alludes, with an implication that some expressions are more worthy than others (Park 2013: 27; Alivizatou 2007: 39). Park (2013: 27) also noted that the programme was not binding and that States did not need to make a commitment to create inventories or to safeguard other elements of ICH, and that the whole process had been too reliant on academic opinions over those of communities involved in the elements under consideration. As Hafstein (2009: 95) points out, there were no financial resources allocated, it did not rest on a convention and did not have an executive committee. It was "a relatively weak programme established on a slight foundation". Richard Kurin (2002: 145), in response to Nas, had an insider perspective as a member of the jury to choose the first examples. He admitted that he was a "skeptical participant" and that the prospect of defining and identifying cultural expressions to promote was 'daunting'. His concerns included the politics involved in the selection process, suggesting that "Culture defined and selected by national governments may not be the best basis for deliberative and dispassionate consideration" (ibid: 145).

However, the Director-General of UNESCO, Koïchiro Matsuura, believed that the Proclamation programme achieved its objectives, in that it raised awareness among the international community as to the value of ICH, and the need to ensure its transmission (UNESCO 2006: 3). Indeed, it was the arrival of Japanese diplomat Matsuura to the position of Director-General in 1999 which was the strongest impetus to the development of intangible cultural heritage. He chose intangible heritage as one of the eight priority programmes for UNESCO (Aikawa-Faure 2009: 22). In his own words, he accepted that "it was urgent to act to preserve a fragile heritage that was often under threat of extinction and which had not, until then, enjoyed sufficient sustained attention from our Organization" (UNESCO 2006: 2).

3.4.8 The Formation of the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage

The deficiencies of The Proclamation of the Masterpieces of Intangible Cultural Heritage motivated UNESCO to focus further attention on intangible heritage, which gave rise to the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. According to Blake (2016: 18), the 2003 Convention "caught the international zeitgeist of the time and contributed towards a paradigm shift that was occurring … in the field of cultural heritage". The process from the 1997 Proclamation to the 2003 Convention, as examined by Early and Seitel (2002), Brown (2003), Aikawa (2004), Bedjaoui (2004), and Blake (2001c, 2006, 2007), saw UNESCO bring together experts from around the world to examine the definitions of intangible heritage and formulate a new set of safeguarding principles with would be formed into a new convention. The initial impetus for this process was aided by the international conference, *A Global Assessment of the 1989 Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore: Local Empowerment and International Cooperation,* jointly organised by UNESCO and the Smithsonian Institution, held in Washington DC in 1999. This meeting brought together participants from around the world to suggest ways to progress the 1989 Recommendation and develop the safeguarding of traditional culture and folklore.

At the 30th Session of the UNESCO General Conference in Paris, 26 October to 17 November 1999, 30 C/Resolution 25 Section B, para. 2(a) (iii) "Safeguard and revitalization of the tangible and intangible heritage", included carrying out a preliminary study on the advisability of regulating internationally, through a new standard-setting instrument, the protection of traditional culture and folklore (UNESCO 2000a: 63). This resolution formed the basis for the UNESCO led meetings on ICH which followed over the next three years.

In February 2000, UNESCO carried out a survey on the protection of intangible cultural heritage within Member States. The survey was based on a targeted questionnaire and the 36 replies provided definitions for ICH, whether the country had an established inventory, items covered by the inventory and institutions responsible (UNESCO 2001a). This was utilised at the International Round Table: "Intangible Cultural Heritage – Working Definitions" held in Piedmont, Italy, in March 2001. The meeting drew on the findings of the conference in Washington and on several information documents provided by Lourdes Arizpe, Peter Seitel, Janet Blake, Manuela Carneiro da Cunha and Francesco Francioni which focused on the scope

of ICH and working definitions.[6] At Turin, UNESCO accepted that they needed to revisit the definition of 'intangible cultural heritage' being used by Member States, inter-governmental and non-governmental organisations. Francesco Francioni presented a draft definition of intangible cultural heritage that could be used for the purpose of an "instrument" or "convention" (UNESCO 2001b: 17).

> Peoples' learned processes along with the knowledge, skills and creativity that inform and are developed by them, the products they create and the resources, spaces and other aspects of social and natural context necessary to their sustainability; these processes provide living communities with a sense of continuity with previous generations and are important to cultural identity, as well as to the safeguarding of cultural diversity and creativity of humanity.

Three months after the meeting in Turin, the UNESCO Executive Board met at the 161st Session in Paris where it was decided to proceed with the preparation of a new standard-setting instrument. This momentum was carried forward at the 31st session of the UNESCO General Conference, in October/November 2001. In preparation, a *Report on the Preliminary Study on the Advisability of Regulating Internationally, through a new standard-setting instrument, the Protection of Traditional Culture and Folklore,* based on a report by Janet Blake [7], was submitted to the General Conference for consideration (UNESCO 2001c). The resulting decision established "that the question should be regulated by means of an international convention" (UNESCO 2002a: 67).

The next step on the road towards a UNESCO Convention on intangible heritage saw an *International Meeting of Experts. Intangible Cultural Heritage: Priority Domains for an International Convention* convened in Rio de Janeiro in January 2002. In addressing the meeting, Koïchiro Matsuura, Director-General of UNESCO, reminded those present that 2002 had been proclaimed by the United Nations the International Year for Cultural Heritage, and it was highly symbolic that one of the first meetings of the year was to discuss the inclusion of the intangible heritage in a broader concept of the cultural heritage (UNESCO 2002b: 3). Present in Rio de Janeiro were twenty anthropologists, ethnologists, historians and lawyers invited to discuss the priority domains that should be included in an international convention

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[6] Arizpe, L. 2001. Intangible cultural heritage: perceptions and enactments; Seitel, P. 2001a. Proposed terminology for intangible cultural heritage: toward anthropological and folkloristic common sense in a global era; Caneiro da Cunha, M. 2001. Notions of intangible cultural heritage: towards a UNESCO working definition; Francioni, F. 2001. Intangible cultural heritage: working definitions; Blake, J. 2001a. Introduction to the draft preliminary study on the advisability of developing a standard-setting instrument for the protection of intangible cultural heritage
[7] Blake, J. 2001b "Preliminary Study into the Advisability of Developing a New Standard-setting Instrument for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage ("Traditional Culture and Folklore")"

on ICH. As described in a Progress Report for the 164th Session, among these experts were members of the Jury for the Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity, which made it possible to examine the impact of the Proclamation and best practices in safeguarding and protecting such heritage (UNESCO 2002c: 1).

Certain recommendations were adopted at the Rio meeting, one of which was the formation of a working group which met in Paris in March 2002, in order to draft the outline of the first version of the preliminary draft convention. Key issues were addressed including the possibility of following the model of the 1972 Convention, and the 'list' system was accepted in principle (UNESCO 2002c: 2). The other Rio recommendation was that terminological issues be addressed, which occurred in June 2002 at the *Expert meeting on "Intangible Cultural Heritage - Establishment of a Glossary"*. This was based upon a set of draft definitions which had been compiled by the Netherlands National Commission for UNESCO, as a national contribution to the debates. According to Wim van Zanten (2004: 38), who had been involved in compiling the draft glossary and represented the Netherlands at the meeting, "the group of experts agreed that the Turin definition was too academic for the purposes of the Convention". It was thus defined:

> For the purposes of the present Convention, intangible cultural heritage means the practices and representations – together with their necessary knowledge, skills, instruments, objects, artefacts and places – that are recognized as such by communities and individuals, and are consistent with universally accepted principles of human rights, equity, sustainability, and mutual respect between cultural communities. This heritage is constantly recreated by communities in response to their environment and historical conditions of existence, and provides them with a sense of continuity and identity, thus promoting cultural diversity and the creativity of humankind.
>
> (UNESCO 2002d)

This new definition was accepted at the *Second meeting of the select drafting group of a preliminary international convention on Intangible Cultural Heritage*, in June 2002, where Subgroup 1 established that the definition included four domains:

- Oral expressions,
- Performing arts,
- Social practices, rituals, festive events, and
- Knowledge and practices about nature.

(UNESCO 2002e)

Three months later, the *Round Table of the Ministers of Culture on Intangible Cultural Heritage, mirror of cultural diversity* discussed the links between sustainable development,

cultural diversity and intangible cultural heritage. The meeting established the Istanbul Declaration, which recognised the value of intangible heritage and voiced support for its safeguarding at all levels and proposed the adoption of a new international Convention (Deacon et al. 2004: 18).

In September 2002, *The First session of the Intergovernmental Meeting of Experts on the Preliminary Draft Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* was attended by 281 experts from 120 Member States, 10 experts from three Permanent Observer Missions to UNESCO, and representatives of interregional and international governmental and non-governmental organizations. The participants were invited to "define the scope and to take forward the work on the preliminary draft of an international convention" (UNESCO 2002f). Five months later in February 2003, the *Second session of the Intergovernmental Meeting of Experts on the Preliminary Draft Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* occurred in Paris. Here, a consensus emerged on three important issues:

- the purposes
- the definitions of the terms "intangible cultural heritage" and "safeguarding"
- the establishing of national inventories in order to ensure that this heritage can be identified.

<div align="right">(UNESCO 2003b)</div>

One of the most important changes to the draft at this stage was the creation of a fifth domain, that of 'traditional craftsmanship', which was suggested by several countries as part of a *Compilation of Amendments from Member States Concerning the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*. Colombia stated that it "is not clear where crafts are supposed to go. This knowledge is the result of historical techniques and practices, and symbolic interpretations of reality, and it is these characteristics which make this knowledge a vital element of the intangible heritage" (UNESCO 2003e: 24). Belgium, Spain, Italy, Uganda, Japan and China all contended that a new separate subparagraph 5 needed to be created and removed from the social practices' domain.[8]

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[8] Belgium: Keep crafts separate from social practices. (UNESCO 2003e: 25) Spain: New subparagraph (e) "skills and practices in the field of crafts, and traditional technologies used in transforming natural products". (UNESCO 2003e: 26) Italy: Add a new subparagraph (e) "traditional craftsmanship". (UNESCO 2003e: 26) Spain: The content of the Annex needs to be rearranged. Explanation: paragraphs 3 and 4 contain a listing of items of the intangible cultural heritage in which diverse practices are involved. It would be useful to make more orderly reference to social practices, rituals, festive events, crafts, etc. Knowledge and practices relating to crafts are mixed together and listed incompletely. We propose keeping craft knowledge and practices separate and providing a fuller listing of the latter, in accordance with the criteria we have mentioned in respect of new Article 5 (c) (iii). (UNESCO 2003e: 111) Japan: Craft skill (craftsmanship) appears in paragraphs 3 and 4 of the Annex (in

The *Intersessional Working Group of government experts on the Preliminary Draft Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* met at UNESCO Headquarters from 22 to 30 April 2003 and considered the articles concerning:

- the nature, composition and functions of the Committee
- the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding and the list of treasures of the world intangible cultural heritage
- finance and the creation of a fund for the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage
- the form and content of international assistance
- the Convention's general provisions   (UNESCO 2003f)

The results of this meeting were presented in the Preliminary Draft, which served as a basis for discussion at the *Third Intergovernmental Meeting of Experts* which convened in June 2003. It was noted that it had fulfilled its mandate, which was "to define the scope and to take forward the work on the preliminary draft of an international convention" (UNESCO 2003c: 1), and therefore unanimously adopted a recommendation expressing its satisfaction with the results achieved. The meeting informed the Director-General that the text of the preliminary draft convention had been adopted on second reading by consensus (UNESCO 2003d).

On 17th October 2003 UNESCO's General Assembly adopted the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. Mohammed Bedjaoui, who chaired the intergovernmental experts' meetings to draft the text, stated that "Despite all its complexity, this concept of intangible cultural heritage has affirmed and finally imposed itself on all of us as a key concept in understanding the cultural identity of peoples … Every word of this convention is a grateful tribute to the creators and artisans of this wonderful heritage, to the great and also to the humble and anonymous, to the authors and the guardians of the temple of the traditions and knowledge of peoples" (UNESCO 2003g).

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paragraph 4, it appears in the name of "textile knowledge") and these two paragraphs need to be rearranged. Craft skill as such constitutes a category of heritage and should be treated independently. We propose to add to Article 2.2: "(d) craft skill". (UNESCO 2003e: 113) China: Add new paragraph 5: "Traditional craftsmanship". (UNESCO 2003e: 113) Italy: Add new paragraph 5: "Traditional craftsmanship relating to: textiles such as silk, cotton, wool (sewing, dyeing, embroidery and motifs); wood (lathe-turning, carpentry, wood sculpture); iron (ironwork, cutlery), stone (stonecutting, mosaics); paper (paper manufacture, dyeing); ceramics and pottery; precious metals and stones; food and drink (cookery, wine)." As these have been included in the new paragraph 5, the words "culinary arts", "silk culture and crafts (production (fabrication), sewing, dyeing, cloth designs; wood carving; textiles" should be deleted from paragraph 3. (UNESCO 2003e: 113) Uganda: What is meant by the expression "the intangible cultural heritage" lies at the heart of the whole convention. Efforts should therefore be made to make it as clear as possible. ….. (a) forms of oral expression, including: ... (b) the performing arts, including: ... (c) social practices, rituals and festival events, including: ... (d) knowledge and practices about nature, including: ... (e) traditional craftsmanship, including: ..." (UNESCO 2003e: 24)

Table 3.1 A Summary of the Formation of the 2003 Convention

DATE	LOCATION	MEETING
14/17-03-2001	Turin, Italy	International Round Table: Intangible Cultural Heritage, Working Definitions
28-05-2001/13-06-2001	Paris, France	UNESCO. Executive Board; 161st session; 2001
15-10-2001/02-11-2001	Paris, France	UNESCO. General Conference; 31st session; 2001
22/24-01-2002	Rio de Janeiro	Expert meeting on "Intangible Cultural Heritage: Priority Domains for an International Convention"
20/22-03-2002	Paris, France	First meeting of the select drafting group of a preliminary international convention on intangible cultural heritage
21/30-05-2002	Paris, France	UNESCO. Executive Board; 164th session; 2002
10/12-06-2002	Paris, France	Expert meeting on "Intangible Cultural Heritage - Establishment of a Glossary"
13/15-06-2002	Paris, France	Second meeting of the select drafting group of a preliminary international convention on Intangible Cultural Heritage
16/17-09-2002	Istanbul, Turkey	Third Round Table of Ministers of Culture: the intangible cultural heritage, a mirror of cultural diversity
23/27-09-2002	Paris, France	First session of the Intergovernmental Meeting of Experts on the Preliminary Draft Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage
24-02-2003/01-03-2003	Paris, France	Second session of the Intergovernmental Meeting of Experts on the Preliminary Draft Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage
22/30-04-2003	Paris, France	Intersessional Working Group of government experts on the Preliminary Draft Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage
02/14-06-2003	Paris, France	Third session of the Intergovernmental Meeting of Experts on the Preliminary Draft Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage
15-09-2003/15-10-2003	Paris, France	UNESCO. Executive Board; 167th session; 2003

Data from: https://ich.unesco.org/en/events?meeting_id=00047

3.5 THE 2003 UNESCO CONVENTION FOR THE SAFEGUARDING OF INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE

3.5.1 The Content of the Convention

The 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage was adopted in October 2003, and came into force three years later on 20 April 2006, after the Convention received its 30th ratification. The text of the Convention sets out the reasons for adoption in its preamble and goes on to lay out provision for its implementation with the establishment of three organs, the General Assembly, Intergovernmental Committee, and the Secretariat, which is the administrative body. Since 2008, a comprehensive set of Operational Directives have been in place to guide implementation of the Convention.

Article 2:2 of the Convention defines 'intangible cultural heritage' as:

> The practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills - as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith - that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognise as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environments, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity.

The purposes of this Convention are:

(a) to safeguard the intangible cultural heritage
(b) to ensure respect for the intangible cultural heritage of the communities, groups and individuals concerned
(c) to raise awareness at the local, national and international levels of the importance of the intangible cultural heritage, and of ensuring mutual appreciation thereof
(d) to provide for international cooperation and assistance

After the deliberations in the build-up to the formation of the Convention, five domains were eventually fixed upon;

- 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

However, the domains are intended to be inclusive rather than exclusive and UNESCO accepts that states may use different criteria, systems or sub-categories.

3.5.2 Governance

3.5.2.1 General Assembly

Article 4 of the Convention appointed the General Assembly of the States Parties as the sovereign body of the Convention, which meets every two years at UNESCO Headquarters. It provides strategic orientations for the implementation of the Convention and elects the 24 members of the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. Half of the Committee members are renewed every two years (UNESCO 2003a). According to Blake (2006: 46) the establishment of the General Assembly as the sovereign body of the Convention was the result of a strong desire among Member States to ensure ultimate control over its implementation.

3.5.2.2 Intergovernmental Committee

Article 5 relates to the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, composed initially of representatives of 18 States Parties, elected by the States Parties meeting in General Assembly. This increased to 24 once the number of the States Parties to the Convention reached 50 in 2006. The Committee reports activities and decisions to the General Assembly. The functions of the Committee are to promote the objectives of the Convention; provide guidance on safeguarding best practices; prepare and submit to the General Assembly for approval a draft plan for the use of the resources of the Fund; seek means of increasing its resources; prepare and submit operational directives for the implementation of the Convention; examine the reports submitted by States Parties, and to summarise them for the General Assembly; examine requests submitted by States Parties, and to decide for inscription on the lists and the granting of international assistance (UNESCO 2003a).

3.5.2.3 Non-Governmental Organisations

Non-governmental organisations have an important role to play in the implementation of the Convention. The Committee proposes to the General Assembly the accreditation of NGOs

which have recognised competence in the field of the intangible cultural heritage to act in an advisory capacity to the Committee (UNESCO 2003a). According to Blake (2015: 14) "NGOs can play an important role … as the mediators and 'bridges' between various actors. Many specialised NGOs not only have an excellent understanding of the Convention and relevant expertise which situates them well to play a role in the implementation of the Convention". In Italy, NGOs have helped to develop ICH accreditation. Broccolini (2013: 294) sees this as a positive response against the Italian state's 'bureaucratization' of the ICHC implementation process, where the lack of expertise within the ministry is mitigated by the NGO movement creating an intermediary network to address the need for better dialogue between state and local communities.

The ICH NGO Forum is the platform for communication, networking, exchange and cooperation for NGOs accredited by UNESCO to provide advisory services to the Intergovernmental Committee (ICH NGO Forum 2017). As of September 2018, there are 176 accredited NGOs from 58 different countries, including from the Netherlands, the Dutch Centre for Intangible Cultural Heritage and the International Federation of Thanatologists Associations – IFTA. NGOs are also accredited from countries which have not ratified the Convention. For instance, from the United Kingdom, Museums Galleries Scotland, the Heritage Crafts Association and the International Council of Organizations for Folklore Festivals and Folk Art are all accredited, and from Canada, the Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador, The Folklore Studies Association of Canada and Conseil québécois du patrimoine vivant.

3.5.2.4 Funding

Article 7(c) of the Convention requests the Committee to 'prepare and submit to the General Assembly for approval a draft plan for the use of the resources of the Intangible Cultural Heritage Fund, in accordance with Article 25' (UNESCO 2017b). The Fund substantially replicates the World Heritage Fund mechanism (Forrest 2010: 383) and is at "the very heart of the Convention" as it provides a stable financial arrangement and requires a commitment from the international community in a show of solidarity (Blake 2003: 409). In 2008, the General Assembly agreed to set that contribution at 1% of the States Parties' contribution to the regular budget of UNESCO. Funding also occurs at a national level. Using the example of Belgium, Jacobs (quoted in Carvalho and Barata 2017: 174) explains that once an element is inscribed onto the national inventory, it is much easier to get project funding. The General Assembly

approved the plan for the use of the resources of the Fund for the period 1 January 2018 to 31 December 2019 (Resolution 7.GA 8) for an approximate amount of US$8.6 million (UNESCO 2018e).

3.5.2.5 Ethical Principles

In 2012, the Intergovernmental Committee invited the UNESCO Secretariat to initiate work on a model code of ethics and to report on it to a next session of the Committee (UNESCO 2017e). The Ethical Principles for Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage "represent a set of overarching aspirational principles that are widely accepted as constituting good practices for governments, organizations and individuals directly or indirectly affecting intangible cultural heritage in order to ensure its viability, thereby recognizing its contribution to peace and sustainable development" (UNESCO 2017i).

In 2015, an 'Expert meeting on a model code of ethics for intangible cultural heritage' met in Valencia, Spain, where a two-track process was discussed. Jacobs (2016: 79) describes how a detailed set of codes, forms, instruments, and blogs were welcomed, but also that a very short set of points that would fit on one side of A4 paper would be helpful. The Intergovernmental Committee officially accepted a set of twelve principles and the creation of an interactive platform on the UNESCO website for actors involved in safeguarding ICH to share ethical issues (Jacobs 2016: 79).

3.5.3 Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage at the National Level

3.5.3.1 Role of States Parties

The 'national level' in the Convention is represented in Article 11 which states that "Each State Party should take the necessary measures to ensure the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage present in its territory" and "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" (UNESCO 2003a). For States to be able to identify elements of intangible heritage it was decided that a system of 'inventories' would be created at the national level.

3.5.3.2 Inventories

The creation of inventories was established in Article 12 of the Convention "to ensure identification with a view to safeguarding, each State Party shall draw up, in a manner geared to its own situation, one or more inventories of the intangible cultural heritage present in its territory. These inventories shall be regularly updated" (UNESCO 2003a). Lists itemise culture, as Hafstein (2009: 105) clearly states, and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2004: 57) accepts that the list is "the most visible, least costly, and most conventional way to 'do something' - something symbolic – about neglected communities and traditions". Park (2013: 182) explains how an inventory is merely the starting point for the safeguarding of ICH. He suggests a tick list of three vital requirements: it should involve the community; it should be regularly updated; and it should also respect customary rules regarding access to certain kinds of sacred and secret ICH. According to Kuutma (2007: 8) "it should not be a 'rescue' campaign, but rather an identification of living practices that define the local community in the modern interpretation of past practices". She goes on to suggest important issues for the communities involved, including a desire for state recognition, pride in local identity and opportunities to voice different ethnic concerns, whilst also acknowledging that communities are not homogeneous entities and therefore consensus may be challenging.

In March 2005, an 'Expert meeting on inventorying Intangible Cultural Heritage' was held in Paris, to study various inventory-making methodologies and to debate issues in preparing the implementation of the 2003 Convention (UNESCO 2005a: 9). The meeting considered that there are some commonly shared problems when drawing up ICH inventories, such as restricted financial means and insufficient awareness at the community and political levels. The meeting also accepted that there was a need to involve the communities concerned in its identification and safeguarding. It also suggested that UNESCO set up regional training seminars and manuals (UNESCO 2005a: 36).

3.5.4 Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage at the International Level

For Blake (2006: 78) Articles 16 to 18 which establish a system of international listing of ICH, represent the core of the Convention. She discusses four main issues which arose in its drafting in 2002. Firstly, there was a fear of establishing a 'heritage list' for ICH which might lead to an excessive number being listed. Secondly the use of the terminology was a concern. As Forrest (2010: 378) explains, in a bid to avoid the creation of a hierarchy of intangible heritage

terms such as 'treasure', 'exceptional', 'outstanding', 'universal', 'masterpiece', and 'world' were rejected in favour of the term 'representative'. The third issue raised was the need to avoid confusion between the use of the terms 'list', 'inventory' and 'register'. Hafstein (2009: 98) recounts the *Intergovernmental Meeting of Experts on the Preliminary Draft Convention* in June 2003, at which he was present, where there was a divide between states that wanted a list of Masterpieces based on the Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity and those which preferred a register which was not based on a criteria of excellence. It was argued that a 'List of Treasures' would too closely resemble the World Heritage List, would likely divert attention from the aim of safeguarding to one of inscription (safeguarding should not be a competition), and it would be elitist much like the Proclamation of Masterpieces. Finally, Blake raises the fourth issue which argued that the model of the 1972 Convention should be substantially changed in that "it is the cultural significance of ICH that is to be celebrated and safeguarded by this Convention and reflects a one important way in which the 1972 model has been adapted to suit the needs of ICH" (Blake 2003: 409).

The debates led to the decision to create three lists: the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity; the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding; and the Register of Good Safeguarding Practices. The Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity (the Representative List) is described in Article 16, the purpose of which is "to ensure better visibility of the intangible cultural heritage and awareness of its significance, and to encourage dialogue which respects cultural diversity" (UNESCO 2003a). In December 2005, an expert meeting held in Paris debated the criteria for inscription on the Representative List, whereby eleven elements were proposed, including that elements nominated be recognised and rooted within a community, which gives free, prior and informed consent and which has participated in the submission process. The nominations must enhance the diversity on the List, and be compatible with human rights instruments. The meeting also discussed the notion of a 'sunset clause', to limit the duration of inscriptions. It was noted that the main objective of the List is to increase the visibility of ICH and raise awareness on the need of its safeguarding. Elements could be removed once a specific time limit is reached. The report recommended not to use the word delisting, but rather to transfer the ICH element to an archive or register (UNESCO 2005b: 8). In November 2008, the List of Masterpieces of Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity was incorporated into the Representative List. As of September 2018, there are there are 399 elements corresponding to 112 countries.

The List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding is introduced in Article 17 "with a view to taking appropriate safeguarding measures, the Committee shall establish, keep up to date and publish a List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding, and shall inscribe such heritage on the List at the request of the State Party concerned" (UNESCO 2003a). The submitting State Party has to demonstrate that an element proposed for inscription on the Urgent Safeguarding List satisfies certain criteria, including that the element is in urgent need of safeguarding because its viability is at risk despite the efforts of the community or is in extremely urgent need of safeguarding because it is facing grave threats as a result of which it cannot be expected to survive without immediate safeguarding. The element also needs to be included in an inventory of the intangible cultural heritage present in the territory of the submitting State Party. As of September 2018, there are 52 elements corresponding to 28 countries (UNESCO 2017f). Blake (2006: 83) notes that it is the urgency rather than the scale of the threat which is emphasised, which is in keeping with the difference between 'safeguarding' and 'protection' in that the latter is more defensive in nature.

The Register of Good Safeguarding Practices contains programmes, projects and activities that best reflect the principles and the objectives of the Convention. In September 2018, there were 19 elements corresponding to 15 countries. This included the example of *The Regional Centres for Craftsmanship: a strategy for safeguarding the cultural heritage of traditional handicraft*. It was selected in 2016 to highlight the three centres in Austria which are run by local, traditional craftspeople who, for the past 15 years, have been collaborating with other entities to help safeguard their practices for future generations (UNESCO 2017g).

3.6 AN EVALUATION AND CRITIQUE OF THE 2003 CONVENTION

According to Aykan (2014: 2) "the ICH Convention ... is not without its problems". He is not alone in this insight, and the time elapsed since the formation of the 2003 Convention is sufficient for there to have been a significant amount of critical analysis, including Blake (2007), Smith and Akagawa (2009), Bendix et al. (2013), and Foster and Gilman (2015). More specifically, there have been a number of volumes dedicated to specific subjects, such as intangible cultural heritage and international law (Blake 2006; Forrest 2010; Lixinski 2013; 2018), intangible heritage and safeguarding governance (Park 2013) and intangible heritage and intellectual property (Kono 2009; Antons and Logan 2018).

UNESCO has reflected upon the outcomes of the Convention with a conference, *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*. This was held in Chengdu, China from 14 to 16 June 2013. The conference discussed the achievements of the Convention, including the swift pace of ratification, how it has transformed global understandings of ICH and its safeguarding, and how it introduced new terminology and definitions which have since gained global prominence which "has established a fundamentally new paradigm" (UNESCO 2013a). However, it was noted that there are also challenges, in that the rapid rate of ratification has not always been matched by adequate institutional capacities for effective implementation (ibid).

In the same year, the *Evaluation of UNESCO's Standard-setting Work of the Culture Sector Part I – 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage FINAL REPORT October 2013* was published, which evaluated the ratification of the Convention; integration of the provisions of the Convention into national/regional legislation; and implementation of the legislation, policies and strategies at the national level (UNESCO 2013c):

> The 2003 Convention has significantly broadened the international discourse around the definition and meaning of cultural heritage. The concept of ICH itself is quite new and its use has largely been credited to the 2003 Convention. As recently as ten years ago the term ICH was almost unknown and was only used by a small group of experts. Intangible Cultural Heritage is today recognized as a valuable and integral part of people's cultural heritage.

> (UNESCO 2013c: 6)

The report also accepted that there was still work to be done. It established that periodic reports provide a valuable source of information on the implementation of the Convention (UNESCO 2013c: 8). However, a search on the UNESCO ICH website shows that 39 out of 176 States, or 22%, have not submitted expected periodic reports on the implementation of the Convention and on the status of elements inscribed on the Lists. This is problematic as it results in a lack of data and makes evaluations incomplete.

The report also lists recommendations, such as: acknowledging the over-importance of the Representative List and the need to utilise the other mechanisms; that increased attention needed to be given to strengthening community participation in safeguarding; the provision of entry points for NGO contribution nationally and internationally; establishing the link between

ICH and sustainable development; gender and ICH; knowledge management and inter-conventional cooperation (UNESCO 2013c: 75). Beyond the Chengdu conference and the 2013 UNESCO Evaluation Report, there has been analysis from academics and researchers in the field, adding critiques on the UNESCO ICH terminology, the concept of safeguarding, the role of States and communities within the Convention, inventories as a method of documentation, and budgetary issues.

3.6.1 ICH Terminology

Richard Kurin (2001b: 42) believes that the ICH concept "has suffered the problem of vagueness long associated with the term 'culture'. 'Heritage' and 'intangible' just compound the difficulty" and that "it is hard to imagine the term 'intangible cultural heritage' sliding off the tongue of any laureates". The Turin Roundtable on Working Definitions admitted that the term 'intangible heritage' was problematic and not necessarily the most adequate expression because tangible heritage has chronologically preceded intangible heritage in the history of UNESCO programmes. However, it was stressed that the term 'intangible heritage' avoids the problem of the conservative meanings associated with the term 'tradition', and that 'heritage' implies tradition and intergenerational transmission (UNESCO 2001a: 12). Hafstein (2014: 112) concedes that "in spite of its etymological roots in bureaucratese", the term had rapidly gained acceptance, and Marc Jacobs, in an interview with Carvalho and Barata (2017: 168) expressed his liking of the neutrality of the term intangible cultural heritage. This is in contrast with 'popular culture' and 'folk culture' which he believes suffer from the political connotations linked with extremist parties.

Murphy (2001) appears to mock the term, suggesting that the scope of intangible heritage can be a range of inventive possibilities from the white lie, weekends, the passive voice, irony, self-fulfilling prophecies, hindsight and procrastination. Kurin (2004a: 69) argues that the scope of intangible heritage is much broader than that assumed by the Convention formulators. He sees no reason why it cannot include "cultural forms as rap music, Australian cricket, modern dance, post-modernist architectural knowledge, and karaoke bars". Although "such a definition may seem all-embracing, ... it is not without its problems – particularly in relation to language, which it seems to demote to a status of a vehicle of transmission rather than a dimension of heritage to be valued in and of itself" (Nic Craith 2008: 57).

3.6.2 Safeguarding

The UNESCO Convention defines safeguarding as "measures aimed at ensuring the viability of the intangible cultural heritage, including the identification, documentation, research, preservation, protection, promotion, enhancement, transmission" (UNESCO 2003a). This definition is open to critique. For instance, Nic Eoin and King (2013: 656) make the point that "at no point in the Convention is it discussed whether these measures are mutually inclusive, whether any one measure (identification or documentation, for example) constitutes sufficient safeguarding, or whether all measures must be adopted before a form of intangible culture is considered 'safe'". Another issue of safeguarding is that of competition, ownership and control. For instance, Lidija Nikočević (2012), from her position as an ethnologist on the Committee for Intangible Cultural Heritage in Croatia, describes the tensions between communities of bell ringers resulting from inscription to the UNESCO Representative List. Miscommunication during the process led to one community, the Halubaj bell-ringers, claiming sole official recognition, creating discontent amongst the other communities which were also part of the inscription. From her position working within the administrative process of safeguarding ICH, she said, "This is one of the paradoxes of the paradigm because if a phenomenon is living, it doesn't require preservation; if it vanished, preservation will not help, and is not of interest to the approach" (Nikočević 2012: 60). Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2004: 56) also argues that if a cultural phenomenon is "truly vital, it does not need safeguarding; if it is almost dead, safeguarding will not help".

3.6.3 State v Communities

Kurin (2001b: 42) asks the question, "Is it more important to safeguard vanishing or fragile traditions than popular, vital ones? To preserve the tradition, it is necessary to preserve the ability of people to practise it". At the heart of the debate lies the role of communities within the Convention text and how this has been interpreted by States Parties, see Blake (2009: 45-73; 2019: 17-35). Article 15 of the Convention focuses on the participation of communities, groups and individuals within the framework of its safeguarding activities. It states that "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" (UNESCO 2003a). This was seen as a profound shift in heritage policy, where the key actors were now the communities that identify with a

particular cultural element, and therefore have a key role in recognising such traditions as 'heritage' and in safeguarding them (Adell et al. 2015: 10). However, as the 2013 Evaluation Report stipulates "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". These challenges begin with the wording of the Convention, which Blake (2015: 17) argues does not specify how communities are supposed to effectively influence government policy, and according to Smeets and Deacon (2016: 35) "no formal processes have been set up to involve communities concerned in the examination system, and increasingly complicated forms make it difficult for communities … to manage the drafting of nomination files without external assistance".

Since it is written into the Convention that implementation is operated through States Parties there is a criticism that an excessive focus on sovereignty and 'State-centrism' weakens its reach (Lixinski 2013: 52, see also Lixinski 2011: 82). Laurent Sébastian Fournier (2013: 327) expanded upon a report he wrote for the French Ministry of Culture looking at the impacts of UNESCO ICH policies in France. One of his observations was that "selection of the cultural elements … often leads to struggles between the local and the national levels". In a highly centralised state, the French Ministry of Culture is the predominant actor involved in the ICH process and "no proper relations with local actors and "tradition bearers" have been built up yet" (ibid: 332).

Entrusting States Parties with the ICH identification and nomination process raises concern that certain elements which relate to communities which are not validated by State authorities may be ignored, or as Mountcastle (2010: 355) states, "Placing in the hands of states the duty of safeguarding threatened intangible cultural heritage of, say, ethnic minorities, is like putting a fox in the henhouse". Aykan (2014: 5) agrees that State parties are still the leading actors in the Convention. He uses the case of Nevruz (the Turkish new year celebration as opposed to Newroz, the Kurdish version of the festival) in Turkey to show that it is the Ministries of Culture which decide on the cultural elements to be proposed as intangible heritage, often at the expense of minority groups, whose versions are rejected as 'inauthentic'. In this instance, Nevruz (as a State-sponsored version) is legitimised as a UNESCO approved listing, representing Turkey's national heritage (Aykan 2014: 13). However, as Aykan (ibid) notes, "stateless Kurds, as ethnic minorities divided between several countries, cannot be represented in UNESCO's state-centered heritage system, and thus do not have the opportunity to nominate *Newroz* for the intangible heritage lists".

Mountcastle (2010: 348) contends that states have used the ICH Convention in a cynical way "to further policies of cultural domination and even eradication". Using Tibetan intangible heritage as an example, he suggests that the Chinese sanctioned listing of three forms of Tibetan ICH is "less an act of cultural preservation than it is one of cultural expropriation" (ibid: 354). And therefore, the Chinese recognition of the idea of cultural rights by way of ratification of the 2003 Convention does not reflect a commitment to the ongoing vitality of minority cultures (ibid: 352).

Cultural appropriation also crosses state boundaries. Bortolotto (2016: 50) discusses tensions that arose between Armenia and Azerbaijan over certain nominations which were present in both nations. She notes that "by presenting the nation as an ethnic community that gathers around its heritage, States seek to appropriate a practice by associating it to the nation as a whole. This is particularly problematic in cases in which a tradition is shared by groups scattered across national boundaries". Although against the 'spirit' of the Convention, Bortolotto (2016: 54) charges UNESCO with endorsing boundaries that separate transnationally-distributed communities of practice.

3.6.4 Lists / Inventories

Although the idea of a listing mechanism was hotly debated during the formation of the Convention, the establishment of ICH inventories has become one of the most visible results of the implementation of the Convention. As Park (2013: 168) states, despite problems associated with the formation of inventories, safeguarding cannot begin if we do not know what we are safeguarding. Hafstein (2015: 152) suggests that "Recognition by UNESCO and national authorities … very often elicits a response that people themselves describe variously as pride, confidence, self-respect, or self-belief". However, lists are inherently problematic (Hafstein 2009; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004). Park (2013:166) observes that the Convention does not precisely define the format of the inventories and Kurin asks whether inventories are the best method of safeguarding as "Listing is a somewhat 19th century form of social science activity … On its own it is a cumbersome data collection activity with no practical consequences" (Kurin 2003a: 2).

Nevertheless, inventories were chosen by UNESCO as the primary method of recording intangible heritage. After a prolonged period of implementation by States, there is now an awareness of specific problems which have come to light through a series of case studies. As a

general point, it is noted that the listing system has created competitiveness among states (Bendix et al. 2013: 18) and fosters hierarchies and divisions (Pietrobruno 2009: 231). One such hierarchy has been between the West and other areas of the World. "By admitting cultural forms associated with royal courts and state-sponsored temples, as long as they are not European, the intangible heritage list preserves the division between the West and the rest" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004: 57).

How are decisions made regarding which aspects of culture are more 'worthy' of attention than others? In the case of intangible heritage, the nomination need only be 'representative'. Jacobs classes the Representative List as 'world heritage light', and argues that the meaning of 'representative' is vague. He suggests that the List is good at drawing attention, but not so good at safeguarding. "The Representative List has a negative effect in many cases. If you go and look, it has not helped the local communities" (Jacobs cited in Carvalho and Barata 2017: 170). The issue of listing as a poor method of safeguarding has been highlighted in a study by Nic Eoin and King (2013) of the attempts to record intangible heritage at the Metolong Dam in Lesotho. There was an awareness that the UNESCO listing method did not sufficiently capture the need to 'salvage' the intangible heritage of the catchment affected by the dam's construction.

> In a situation where an entire landscape (and its constitutive culture) will be lost, mitigation ('safeguarding') … must account for impacts on daily practices, memories and narratives embedded in place … Consequently, selecting *representative* specimens of culture (intangible or otherwise) is insufficient … the lack of practical guidelines for how to produce such an inventory remains problematic, and the possibilities offered by UNESCO are the same regardless of the context in which they are applied.
>
> (Nic Eoin and King 2013: 658)

Although several inscriptions on the Representative List are cross-national, such as *Falconry, a living human heritage* and *Processional giants and dragons in Belgium and France,* the ICH Convention does "not acknowledge the highly global nature of cultural forms that may have developed through extensive migrations of people and cultures across vast territories and regions …" (Pietrobruno 2009: 232). Although intangible heritage and migration is now being addressed through the notion of 'superdiversity', see van der Zeijden (2017b), it is an area which needs to be acknowledged by UNESCO.

There are also the practical implications of the information prepared by the Secretariat to aid the completion of nomination files being only available in English and French which means

many local experts and NGOs around the world do not have ready access to information about how to complete the forms (Smeets and Deacon 2016: 26).

3.6.5 Budgetary Issues

Hüfner (2017: 99) discusses the financial crisis at UNESCO after the United States stopped paying its membership dues as of 2011 when the General Conference of UNESCO admitted Palestine as a Member State. This has caused a permanent financial gap of 22%, and as of 17 November 2016, the United States had reached a total debt level of US$470.84 million. Whilst this initially led to reductions in budgets for implementing UNESCO Conventions, it has since recovered. Nevertheless, as Smeets and Deacon (2016: 34) state, the budget for the 2003 Convention is roughly half that of the 1972 Convention. Seeger (2015: 132) adds that "in my experience, UNESCO does not have a great deal of money to fund specific projects: much of its budget is spent holding meetings where plans are made and wording is hammered out. The actual funding for most cultural activities comes not from the UNESCO budget but from the budgets of each country". Park (2013: 173) concedes that governmental assistance for ICH bearers involves considerable expense. He gives the example of South Korea which, in 2013, was supporting 114 items of designation, 58 holder organisations, 179 holders, 299 apprentices, 4,429 graduates, and 73 scholarship students. It is clear that some governments are not in a position to provide that level of assistance on an on-going basis. Indeed Fournier (2013: 338) notes that neither the French Commission for UNESCO in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs nor the *Mission ethnologie* in the Ministry of Culture have the means to give subsidies to local administrations in the cities where ICH is listed. The Intergovernmental Committee report on the use of the Intangible Cultural Heritage Fund and the Financial Report for the period 1 January 2016 to 30 June 2017 raise some interesting issues regarding lack of resources:

> Currently there are eight professional and four general fixed term staff working at the Intangible Cultural Heritage Section, including the Secretary of the Convention and the Chiefs of the two units (Programme Implementation Unit and a Capacity-building and Heritage Policy Unit). These numbers are not even sufficient to allow the Secretariat to respond to all its core statutory obligations (such as preparing statutory meetings including drafting documents, supporting the Evaluation Body with its work, treating nominations and non-governmental organizations requests for accreditation and reviewing and following-up on periodic reporting) and other vital functions (regional officer roles and capacity building programme). As a result, many of these core obligations and functions are currently undertaken by temporary staff.

> (UNESCO 2017d: 7)

3.6.6 Alternatives to the 2003 Convention

The above analyses could lead to the contention that such a flawed system requires a rethink, to the extent that Stefano et al. (2012) suggest that perhaps it is time to move beyond the 2003 Convention in search of other possibilities for recording ICH. Although the UNESCO paradigm is now the predominant ICH safeguarding mechanism, there are other approaches, most notably in North America where a public folklore framework has existed for some time. As Stefano and Murphy (2016: 608) contend,

> Public folklorists in the US are not bound to the official ICH definition and, thereby, it's conceptual and methodological framework for designation and related efforts. A core difference between public folklore and the UNESCO-ICH framework concerns actual safeguarding and promotional work at the local level. Most often, public folklorists have the opportunity to learn from cultural communities about how they define their cultural practices face-to-face and in places that they deem relevant and important.

They believe that flexibility has been a hallmark of US public folklore (ibid), which aids the safeguarding of living traditions in collaboration with cultural community members, which is a crucial component that the UNESCO-ICH framework lacks (ibid: 609). Marc Jacobs (2014: 279) notes that there is an international demand for appropriate methods and good practices in safeguarding ICH, especially 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. Unfortunately, this intercontinental link seems, as far as institutional and intergovernmental bridges are concerned, to be moving more towards a lose-lose drifting apart.

(ibid)

This North American style of public folklore is also evident in Newfoundland. This will be examined in Chapter 6. Dale Jarvis explains how public folklore strategy in Newfoundland is influenced by the work of Baron and Spitzer. They describe acts of public folklore as involving folklorists "purposefully reframing and extending tradition in collaboration with folk artists, native scholars, and other community members" (Baron and Spitzer 2007: 3). Accordingly, for Jarvis (2014a: 364), "this idea of 'purposefully reframing and extending tradition' provides a conceptual model around which we can place HFNL's four-part practical strategy".

The flexible approach which Stefano describes in the public folklore of North America, is evident in the intangible heritage policy in Scotland. Unable to ratify the Convention separately from the United Kingdom, the nation has looked to UNESCO for inspiration, but has also been able to experiment and produce its own best practice. This will be analysed in more detail in the next chapter, which focuses on intangible cultural heritage policy in the United Kingdom.

CHAPTER 4 - INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE POLICY IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In December 2012, Baroness Andrews, Chair of English Heritage, opened the ICOMOS-UK's World Heritage for Tomorrow conference. In her speech she made a statement about heritage being finite: 'we're not making it anymore,' she said (Deufel 2012). This would contradict UNESCO's stance on "living heritage … [which is] transmitted by imitation and living experience" (UNESCO 2017h). It was also a less than subtle nod towards heritage practice in the UK and the "prevailing vision of cultural inheritance as residing solely in the materiality of the past" (Hassard 2009: 270). This focus on material heritage is a strong indication as to why the United Kingdom, as previously discussed, has not ratified the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. This chapter examines the reasons for such a stance, focusing on the 'historic environment', the dominant heritage narrative which is described by Laurajane Smith as the 'authorised heritage discourse'. Through an analysis of grey literature and a search of the Hansard record of government debates, the United Kingdom's parliamentary testimony toward the notion of intangible cultural heritage is revealed. As heritage is devolved to the four nations of England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, an understanding of differing attitudes by these administrations needs to be considered. The Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), as a department of the United Kingdom government, has responsibility for culture and sport in England. Heritage policy in England is administered through Historic England, an executive non-departmental public body, and before 2015, by English Heritage. International heritage legislation, such as the signing of UNESCO conventions, is also the domain of the United Kingdom government. Finally, the role of NGOs is examined and the level of involvement with intangible heritage safeguarding.

4.2 HERITAGE POLICY IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

4.2.1 The Historical Background

Current heritage policy in the United Kingdom has been influenced by over a hundred years of legislation regarding various forms of national heritage protection. It was only in the nineteenth century that heritage was formally recognised, with the formation of the Society for the

Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) founded in 1877 and the National Trust in 1895. Heritage preservation in Britain has been described in detail (see Uzzell 1989; Hunter, 1996; Drewry 2008), but for the purpose of this study, only a brief overview is necessary, to gain an insight into the focus of heritage legislation.

The first legislation on the preservation of archaeological and historic sites in Britain was the Ancient Monuments Protection Act of 1882. It arranged for the 'guardianship' of 50 prehistoric sites and appointed a single inspector of ancient monuments (United Kingdom Parliament 2018). It was not until 1913 that legal powers were provided for compulsory prevention of damage to or destruction of monuments (Drewry 2008: 193), with the Ancient Monuments Consolidation Act which involved the creation of the Ancient Monuments Board. Powers were given for the Board to issue preservation orders to protect monuments, and extended the public right of access. The term 'monument' was extended to include the lands around it, allowing the protection of the wider landscape (Mynors 2006: 8). In 1931, the Ancient Monuments Act was passed to extend the definition of an ancient monument to include a cave or an underground archaeological artefact, and extend the powers of the state to manage development in the area around an ancient monument (Mynors 2006: 8). In 1947, the Town and Country Planning Act began the system of listing buildings and structures of special historical, architectural or cultural importance. However, the demolition of listed buildings, particularly in the countryside, continued almost unchecked until new planning procedures were laid down in the Planning Act of 1968. This Act also explicitly introduced for the first time the concept of a listed building (United Kingdom Parliament 2018).

Emma Waterton (2010: 38) believes that "this period is characterized by nothing short of the fetishization of materiality and an overpowering belief in the cultural value of objects". However, at the same time as the burgeoning material preservation movement, 'popular antiquities' were being rebranded as 'folklore' by William Thoms (1846), which in turn led to the formation of the Folklore Society, albeit in parallel to the movement for the preservation of material heritage. This was not always the case, as Michael Hunter (1996: 3) reveals, the first person in Britain to take an interest in architectural antiquities was John Aubrey (1626-97). But he was also an influential folklorist, responsible for *Remaines of Gentilisme and Judaisme,* one of the first books on customs and traditions. Furthermore, in the late 19th century, the skills of traditional craftsmanship and material culture combined in the Arts and Crafts movement. Nevertheless, for the most part, the material and intangible heritage protection of this time followed separate trajectories. As Table 4.1 shows, from the late nineteenth century

onwards, there were numerous acts, organisations and departments formed for the protection of built heritage. During the same period, intangible heritage, whether it be traditional dance and song, storytelling, folklore, or traditional craftsmanship, was also being formed into organisations to aid its welfare.

Table 4.1 Selected Built Heritage and ICH Timeline

Built Heritage		Intangible Heritage
	1846	William Thoms coins term 'folklore'
	1861	National Eisteddfod of Wales
Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB)	1877	
	1878	Folklore Society
Ancient Monuments Protection Act	1882	
National Trust	1895	
	1898	Folk-Song Society
	1911	English Folk Dance Society
Ancient Monuments Consolidation Act	1913	
	1932	English Folk Dance and Song Society (EFDSS)
	1934	Morris Ring
Town and Country Planning Act	1947	
	1948	Welsh Folk Museum opens at St. Fagans
	1961	Society for Folk Life Studies
	1967	Ulster Folk and Transport Museum
	1971	Crafts Advisory Committee
	1973	Morris Federation
Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act	1979	Crafts Advisory Committee renamed the Crafts Council
National Heritage Act	1980	
National Heritage Act / English Heritage	1983	Common Ground
Cadw	1984	
Historic Scotland	1991	
Department of National Heritage	1992	
	1993	Society for Storytelling
Heritage Lottery Fund	1994	
DCMS	1997	
Heritage Alliance	2002	
	2005	Sword Dance Union
	2010	Heritage Crafts Association
Historic England	2015	

4.2.2 From National Heritage to Culture, Media and Sport

As previously stated, heritage policy for the United Kingdom is the responsibility of the Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS). Previously, from 1992 to 1997, under John Major's Conservative government, a Department of National Heritage was formed within the Department of the Environment. Creigh-Tyte and Gallimore (2009: 26) argue that the creation of the department improved opportunities for coherent policies on the protection of national heritage. Their views on the national heritage, though, are focused on the built heritage in England. The department was subsumed into the Department for Culture Media and Sport by the Labour government under Blair, and "did not create a favourable policy climate for the heritage sector" (Hewison and Holden 2014: 5). Dame Jenny Abramsky, as she stepped down from the position of Heritage Lottery Fund Chair, opined the change in name, stating that "I wish the word 'heritage' was still in the DCMS's title … It was dropped under a real mistaken belief that heritage was defined in a very narrow way. But it isn't just about stately homes ... I want a public recognition that it has a broad definition" (Singh 2014). In July 2017, the department did broaden its name, not by acknowledging 'heritage' in all its forms, but by adding the term 'digital'. However, the Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport remains known as the DCMS.

An analysis by Baxter (2015: 35) of the British Coalition government, made up of the Conservative and Liberal Democrat parties, which was in power between 2010 and 2015, focused on the complicated nature of political engagements with heritage "not least as a result of the continued downsizing of the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) and the need to articulate the role of heritage across wider policy platforms." Since 2010, the position of Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport has been a revolving door, with an average of twelve months in the role.[9] Baxter (2015: 36) notes that this reinforces an impression that the department is an exceedingly low priority for governmental attention. This can be evidenced in the static government departmental spending. In 1997/98, heritage spending was £183 million (Creigh-Whyte and Gallimore 2009: 35), and as shown below in Figure 4.1, in 2016/17 the amount was £181 million. However, in real terms, adjusted for inflation, that

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[9] Since October 2014, when this study commenced, there have been five Secretaries fo State for Culture, Media and Sport: Sajid Javid - 9 April 2014 to 11 May 2015; John Whittingdale - 11 May 2015 to 14 July 2016; Karen Bradley - 14 July 2016 to 8 January 2018; Matt Hancock - 8 January 2018 to 8 July 2018; and Jeremy Wright – from 9 July 2018 to present

amount should be approximately £306 million, with inflation averaged at 2.7% a year (Bank of England 2018).
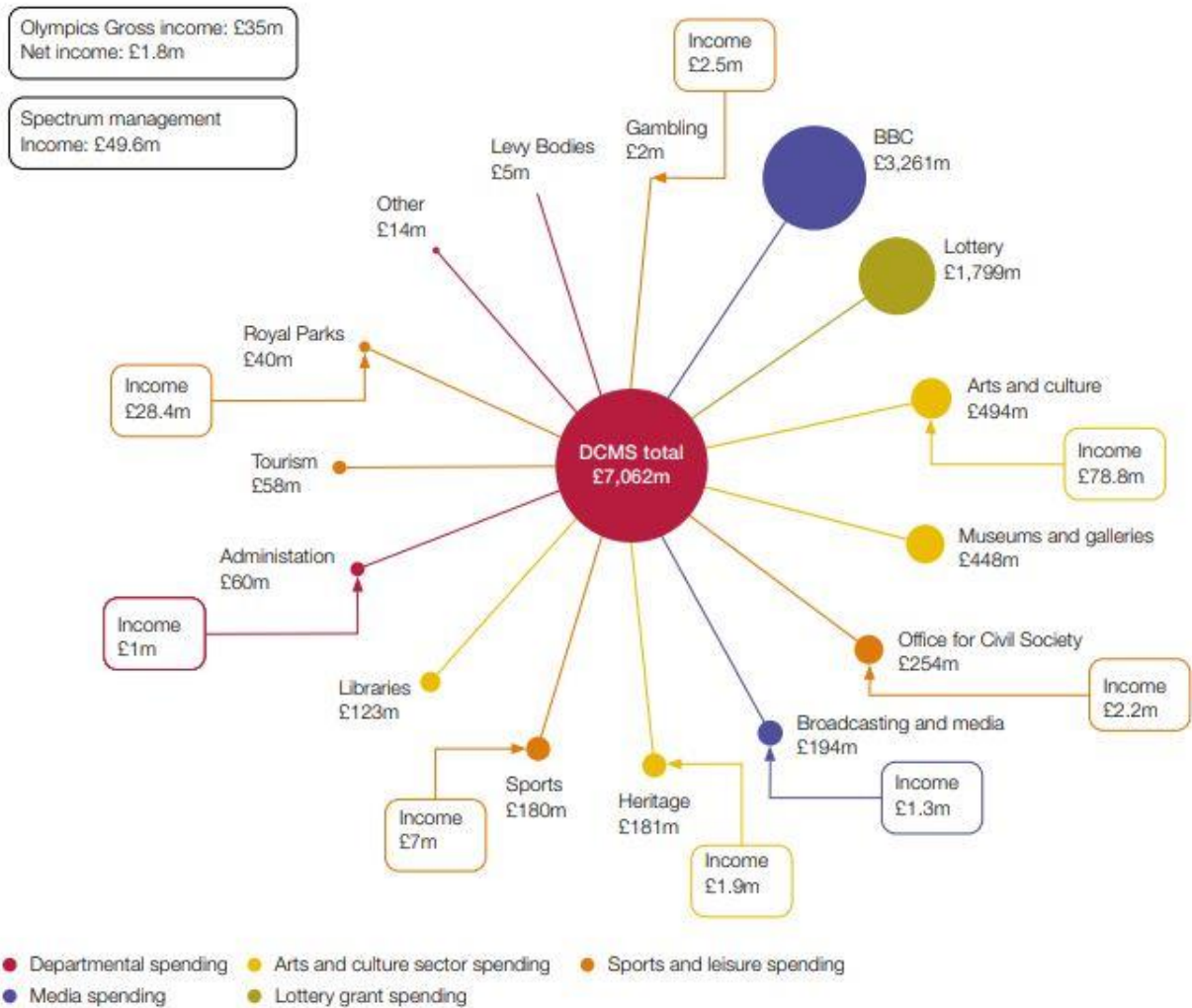
Figure 4.1 DCMS Departmental spending 2016-17 (£m) (National Audit Office 2017a: 11)

Equally, local authorities and their ability to finance heritage and culture, have been hit by austerity since 2010, with a 23.5% decrease in local authority spending power between 2010-11 and 2015-16 (National Audit Office 2017b: 4), which has seen a reduction of 34.7% for cultural services (ibid: 11). In this environment, it is perhaps unsurprising that the DCMS and local councils would not wish to add extra financial pressures associated with intangible heritage legislation. If the UK were to ratify the Convention, additional funding from the government would have to be taken into account.

4.3 THE HISTORIC ENVIRONMENT

On their website, Historic England (2018d) uses a definition of heritage first adopted by English Heritage in 2008; "All inherited resources which people value for reasons beyond mere utility". Whilst this is a broad definition, it also goes on to describe cultural heritage as "inherited assets which people identify and value as a reflection and expression of their evolving knowledge, beliefs and traditions, and of their understanding of the beliefs and traditions of others" (English Heritage 2008: 71). In reality, Historic England describe themselves as "the public body that looks after England's historic environment. We champion historic places, helping people understand, value and care for them" (Historic England 2017a). But what is the 'historic environment', how does it differ from other definitions of 'heritage', and why does the United Kingdom government use this term?

Gibson and Pendlebury (2009: 12) note that the historic environment was first used as a key term in English heritage policy in 1994 with the publication by the Department of National Heritage of Planning Policy Guidance 15: Planning the Historic Environment (PPG15), which defined the historic environment as "the physical survivals of our past" (Department of National Heritage 1994: 6). The current description by Historic England (2017b) is "All aspects of the environment resulting from the interaction between people and places through time, including all surviving physical remains of past human activity, whether visible, buried or submerged, and landscaped and planted or managed flora." This definition is limited to the past and focuses on the physical and natural aspects of heritage. For Gibson and Pendlebury (2009: 13) "the nomenclature of 'historic environment' still mitigates against the possibility of more active and contemporary engagements with landscapes which might produce new versions of the past … The 'historic environment' therefore is constitutively limited". This criticism exposes the problematic terminology - if heritage is 'historic' then it cannot be 'living' and by emphasising the 'environment' it ignores heritage lived through people, which is the basis of intangible cultural heritage.

Look closer at the Historic England website, and there is a definition of Heritage Conservation which appears to accept that heritage goes beyond the 'historic environment' notion. "Heritage is also found in our moveable possessions, from our national treasures in our museums, to our own family heirlooms, and in the intangible such as our history, traditions, legends and language" (Historic England 2018b). Equally, in 2010, a report by the DCMS entitled The

Government's Statement on the Historic Environment for England 2010, added that "Our heritage embraces much more: from the smallest preserved objects of our past to historic ships and trains, and our intangible heritage of folklore, skills, traditions and biodiversity. All these things are of significance and deserve to be cherished" (Historic England 2010: 5). Nevertheless, the rebranding of heritage as the 'historic environment' has for many years been the de facto terminology used by the DCMS, English Heritage and now Historic England. This focused definition has meant that wider concepts of heritage, which include ICH, have struggled to be accepted within heritage policy frameworks at UK and English levels of governance. This has been explained by Laurajane Smith and Emma Waterton through the concept of the 'Authorised Heritage Discourse' (2009: 289-300).

4.4 THE AUTHORISED HERITAGE DISCOURSE

In 2006 in *Uses of Heritage*, Laurajane Smith coined the term 'Authorised Heritage Discourse' (AHD), which "takes its cue from the grand narratives of Western national and elite class experiences, and reinforces the idea of innate cultural value tied to time depth, monumentality, expert knowledge and aesthetics" (Smith 2006: 299). The AHD is focused on aesthetically pleasing material objects, sites, places and landscapes that current generations 'must' care for and protect so that they may be passed to future generations (Smith 2006: 29). Thus, Emma Waterton makes it clear that "'tangible' … heritage … has become 'naturalised', that is, largely unquestioned" (cited in Andrews et al. 2007: 126). She goes on to explain that this is why the idea of intangible heritage has not been wholly adopted by scholars and policy makers. "All too often, policy simply falls back on these traditional representations, thereby constraining the different ways heritage is imagined" (Waterton 2010: 2).

In one of only a few scholarly pieces of work to identify recent ICH policy in England, Laurajane Smith and Emma Waterton argue that this AHD is apparent in English Heritage (what is now Historic England) strategy. They suggest that "the palpable discomfort with which intangibility has been greeted in England reflects a wider failure to recognise the cultural legitimacy of the concept" (Smith and Waterton 2009: 289). Smith and Waterton attested to the "tightening of the AHD" by English Heritage at the beginning of the twenty first century in the Governmental Review of Policies relating to the Historic Environment. It was asserted that "[the review] must be about tangible not intangible culture" (ibid: 296). They also conducted interviews with English Heritage staff in 2005, which highlighted the lack of interest

in ratifying the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Heritage and revealed a telling remark that "the UK has no intangible heritage" (ibid: 297). In a previous interview it had been asked who in English Heritage deals with intangible heritage, and the answer was that "no one, nobody deals with intangibles" (ibid: 298). There is further evidence of this stance from an answer to a question from the International Federation of Arts Councils and Culture Agencies (IFACCA) on the interpretation of the ICH definition and the way in which it is currently being applied globally. English Heritage answered that "The UK looked at the convention and concluded that a) it would be very difficult to monitor and enforce and b) it duplicated efforts that the UK was already undertaking…"(McCleery et al. 2008b: 46). Smith and Waterton (2009: 300) suggest that it is not that intangible heritage does not exist in the UK, but that there is a problem with the ability of English Heritage/Historic England to comprehend it, over the dominant understanding of heritage, and therefore an unwillingness to manage it.

Assertions about the 'authorised heritage discourse' have continued, and have been raised as a concern following the results of the EU Referendum. Sykes and Ludwig (2016: 2) commented that "in [the referendum campaign's] wake, one issue is whether there is a risk of an insularisation and narrowing of our definitions of what constitutes heritage and culture and how space for the recognition of alternative and subaltern views of heritage beyond the Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD) (Smith, 2006) might be kept open." Equally, Marc Jacobs (2014: 268), with his expert knowledge of intangible heritage and UNESCO, contends that "the dominance of the Authorized Heritage Discourse continues to block progress in English heritage networks in relation to UNESCO".

4.5 INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE POLICY POSITION FOR THE UNITED KINGDOM

With the influence of the 'Authorised Heritage Discourse' on the predominance of the 'historic environment' in English heritage conservation, it is unsurprising that Marc Jacobs has also suggested that "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 … tried to ignore, neglect or downplay the UNESCO instrument and the worldwide movement that was stirred up" (Jacobs 2014: 268). This section of the chapter examines this contention, through a literature analysis of the position of the United Kingdom parliament towards international intangible heritage legislation.

The United Kingdom's position on international intangible heritage legislation can be traced back to a UNESCO meeting in 1982. The UNESCO Committee of Governmental Experts on the Safeguarding of Folklore met in Paris to analyse aspects of folklore with a view to defining measures to safeguard folklore and traditional popular culture. The report of the meeting contained a statement on the views of the UK delegate, "As regards the recommendations aimed at ensuring the preservation, enhancement and reactivation of folklore, and among them those addressed to the Member States … the delegation of the United Kingdom declared that while it was in favour of the intentions behind these texts, its government would have administrative difficulties in implementing all of them" (UNESCO 1982a: 10). As UNESCO shifted its definition from folklore to ICH through the 1990s, a meeting of the UNESCO Executive Board in 2000 witnessed UK representative, David Stanton, state that "Disproportionate attention should not be given to the intangible heritage unless it demonstrably helped to reduce poverty, the real aim of all of UNESCO's work in culture" (UNESCO 2000b: 43). This guarded response to intangible heritage from the UK was further emphasised in 2002 at a UNESCO Table of Ministers of Culture on Intangible Cultural Heritage in Istanbul. Norwegian, Halfdan Freihow, was at the meeting with observer status. He commented that "Influential European countries such as France, Germany and the Netherlands were not represented by their ministers, while oddly enough, neither Sweden nor the UK were represented at all" (Freihow 2002).

After the 2003 UNESCO Convention came into effect, one by one, countries around the world began to ratify it. As already noted, the United Kingdom was not among them. In 2010, a spokesman for the DCMS said that "It is not UK practice to legislate on cultural issues unless absolutely necessary, and it has been successive governments' policy to maintain a healthy distance from cultural operators and artists: we do not believe in state intervention in these areas" (Kennedy 2010a). The UK's attitude towards the UNESCO Convention has been documented in parliamentary debate, after a number of Members of Parliament and in the House of Lords have specifically asked questions surrounding possible ratification. Barbara Follett, the Labour Party Minster for Culture and Tourism in 2009 stated in the House of Commons that:

> Ratifying the convention and setting out strict definitions of what our intangible cultural heritage is, and might be, could be constricting and controversial. For example, there are issues surrounding languages and dialects in the devolved Administrations and in Cornwall.
> (HC Deb 25 June 2009, C1042)

This policy was consistent for both the Labour Party administration and the subsequent Coalition government which came to power in 2010. In a question by Nigel Dodds MP to John Penrose (the Minister for Tourism and Heritage) in the House of Commons on 17th May 2012, it was asked what plans he had to ratify the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Protection of Intangible Cultural Heritage. Mr Penrose's response was that:

> [The government has] no plans to ratify the convention, although we support many of its aims and spirit. We are keen that the rich intangible cultural heritage of the United Kingdom is properly valued, when necessary, preserved. However, we are wary of legislation on such a sensitive matter as culture, especially in an area such as intangible heritage which, by its very nature, changes rapidly and is difficult to define.

> (HC Deb 17 May 2012, C264W)

And yet, when pressed by Mr Dodds as to what assessment had been made of the effectiveness of the Convention, his response was that "The Department has made no formal assessment of the effectiveness of the 2003 convention" (HC Deb 17 May 2012, C264W). This position has not changed under the Conservative government, which came to power in April 2015. A written question asked by Baroness Hooper in the House of Lords two months after the election result "To ask Her Majesty's Government when they plan to ratify the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Heritage" (House of Lords 2015), was answered two weeks later by Baroness Neville-Rolfe "The government has no plans to ratify the convention at present, but we will keep the situation under review" (ibid).

There has been some acknowledgement that intangible heritage has been ignored at a UK governmental level. A House of Commons Committee on Culture, Media and Sport report *Protecting and Preserving our Heritage* (2006: 65) asked about 'the remit and effectiveness of DCMS, English Heritage and other relevant organisations in representing heritage interests'. The response was that current structures work well with regard to traditional definitions of heritage, with regard to historic environment. But that "The areas where perhaps the current systems work less well are where a more modern definition of intangible heritage is needed, for example local or group pride expressed through oral history, dance, environmental interpretation and so on" (ibid: 65). In the same document a Memorandum submitted by the British Museum answered a question 'What the Department for Culture, Media and Sport should identify as priorities in the forthcoming Heritage White Paper'. Part of its reply was

that: "The Government should support moves to extend protection to the intangible cultural heritage" (ibid: 65).

As discussion on intangible heritage in Westminster has quietened since 2015, contact was made with the DCMS to confirm current policy. The letter below is the response from Dempster Marples (2018), in the Ministerial Support Team. It established that, as of May 2018, "the Government has no current plans to ratify the Convention". The reasoning behind the decision was that "the Government must carefully prioritise its resources to focus on those Conventions which will have the most impact in addressing the safeguarding of heritage". This is the first time that the notion of impact has been raised, and no further explanation as to why the 2003 Convention might have a low impact in the safeguarding of heritage was proffered. Another observation is the use of the same stock quotes whenever the question of ratification is asked. In October 2017, the Earl of Clancarty asked for clarification, and Lord Ashton of Hyde replied in virtually the same terms as written in the letter (Figure 4.2). [10] The letter was a response to a query made 4 April 2018 to the DCMS regarding current policy on intangible cultural heritage and the reason for non-ratification.

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[10] "It is necessary to carefully prioritise resources towards those Conventions that will have the most impact on the safeguarding of our heritage, such as recent ratification of the 1954 Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property. However, the Government fully recognises the contribution that the UK's oral traditions, social practices and festive events make to the country's cultural fabric, and continues to encourage communities to celebrate these practices and to continue them for future generations" (HL Deb 11 October 2017 HL1884)

Figure 4.2 A letter to Suzy Harrison from the DCMS dated 1 May 2018

4.6 THE UK NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR UNESCO

The UK National Commission (UKNC) is an independent body working in partnership with the government and in close collaboration with the UK Permanent Delegation to UNESCO in Paris. It provides expert analysis and advice to UK policy makers on key UNESCO programmes, and facilitates the management of UNESCO activities in the UK. The UKNC comprises a National Steering Committee and five Sector Committees, including Culture. The Culture Committee's key aims are to advise and work with the government on UNESCO's cultural activities which have specific relevance to the UK, Conventions, World Heritage Sites' matters, and cultural education. UKNC members are independent experts, appointed in fields covering the range of UNESCO's programme of activities. Meetings are also attended by Government Department representatives, including those from the DCMS. The UKNC Culture Committee was re-established in the summer of 2005 (House of Commons Culture, Media and Sport Committee 2007).

During a meeting with Michelle Stefano in Baltimore, USA, she made me aware that there existed pertinent archive material from the UKNC which she had used for her doctoral thesis. Wanting to conduct my own primary research, in June 2017, I contacted the Research and Administration department of the United Kingdom National Commission for UNESCO. The reply from Research Assistant, Shannon McNaught, explained that, "Regarding any archival information on the UKNC, our organisation was restructured in 2011 so no on-site material includes documentation from before that year" (McNaught 2017). With the realisation that all the documentation on ICH has been destroyed, this section of the study relies entirely upon the research undertaken by Michelle Stefano. She found that "the committee is in favour of the 2003 Convention and has expressed, throughout the past four years, a desire to recognise ICH within the UK despite the fact that the 2003 Convention has not been ratified" (Stefano 2010: 128). She goes on to describe in detail some of the information on ICH meetings at the UKNC:

> Most noteworthy is that a representative of the DCMS, who had been present at the Culture Committee meetings since 2005, has provided insight into why the UK Government has not ratified the 2003 Convention … two months after the 2003 Convention entered into force, the representative had commented that the UK Government 'understood the objectives of the 2003 Convention' (UKNC, 2006). However, it had been stated at another, more recent meeting that the 2003 Convention cannot be 'translated' into the UK's system of primary legislation (UKNC, 2008). Moreover, the same individual also added that the Government is not convinced that the 2003 Convention is the best way forward for "preserving" ICH

(ibid). Nevertheless, it is important to mention that this individual had also represented the UK as an "observer" at a meeting for the 2003 Convention's States Parties, which was held in Paris in November, 2008.

<div align="right">(Stefano 2010: 128)</div>

The more recent communication with Shannon McNaught at the UKNC established that very little has changed in the nine years since Michelle Stefano's research. When asked about the current views on ICH at the UKNC, McNaught (2017) replied, "Although there is some interest in certain sectors to ratify the UNESCO Convention on Intangible Cultural Heritage in the UK, we are not aware of any intention for the UK Government to do so in the short term".

4.7 INTANGIBLE HERITAGE IN ENGLAND

The examination of intangible heritage has thus far concentrated on policy at the national United Kingdom level, and offered an analysis of the terms 'historic environment' and 'authorised heritage discourse' as a rationale for the lack of focus on ICH. This next section of the chapter explores the notion that this is the prevailing approach to intangible heritage in England, and differs from the other nations of the Union, in particular, Scotland.

4.7.1 English Heritage (1984 – 2015)

The United Kingdom has had two National Heritage Acts in 1980 and 1983. The second of these created the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England (known as English Heritage), which was formed to care for the National Heritage Collection and run the national system of heritage protection, including listing buildings, dealing with planning issues and giving grants. "These Acts prescribe what can be undertaken in the name of the concept that gives the legislation its title, without ever defining that concept" (Hewison 1989: 16). However, this section of the chapter attempts to show that English Heritage tacitly defined heritage, and that English Heritage strategy over the course of its existence appeared to focus on the tangible, built or historic environment.

In their document *English Heritage Strategy 2005-2010 – Making the Past Part of Our Future*, there is no mention of intangible heritage (English Heritage 2005). The emphasis is on the historic environment. The section regarding 'Aims of English Heritage' looks to 'Help people develop their understanding of the historic environment', 'Get the historic environment on

other people's agendas', 'Enable and promote sustainable change to England's historic environment', 'Help local communities to care for their historic environment' and 'Stimulate and harness enthusiasm for England's historic environment' (ibid: 5). Another strategy, *English Heritage Corporate Plan 2011-2015*, also omitted intangible heritage from its pages. English Heritage's overriding priority remained to "safeguard for the future the most significant remains of our national story. These are both the great National Heritage Collection … and nearly 400,000 buildings, monuments, shipwrecks and landscapes that make up the much wider national collection of designated sites" (English Heritage 2011: 8). To illustrate the point even further, a DCMS White Paper called *Heritage Protection for the 21st Century* had no mention of intangible heritage (Department for Culture, Media and Sport 2007). It does not challenge the core values and meanings of heritage and instead the review process "accepted a naturalized understanding of "heritage" and the "historic environment", revolving around materiality and the fabric of the past" (Waterton and Smith 2008: 199).

There are some signs that English Heritage addressed intangible heritage, albeit in a small way. Interestingly, as far back as 2000, John Yates, English Heritage's Inspector for Historic Buildings in the West Midlands, stated to Libby Fawcett (2000) that "Heritage is not just about sticks and stones. It's about people's memories and it's about things making sense to people, part of the accumulated culture of their communities".

In September 2012, English Heritage produced a report on *Responses from the consultation on under-represented heritages*. The report took place within the context of English Heritage's National Heritage Protection Plan (NHPP), an initiative to determine how the organisation manages a prioritised programme to identify and protect England's heritage over the coming years (English Heritage 2012a). The consultation paper looked at what is being overlooked. It states that:

> there is a need to place greater emphasis on the 'intangible' heritage, i.e. the 'hidden stories' behind historic sites that might be relevant for the under-represented groups. Such narratives include:
>
> - The history of 'ordinary' and working-class people – as opposed to the stories of the elite
> - The history of transient, migrant communities who would pass through/temporarily use historic sites
> - Significant events that are not necessarily confined to one particular site
> - The stories of interaction between communities – e.g. at sites that have been used by, and are relevant to, a number of different communities
>
> (English Heritage 2012a: 1)

A participant in the consultation added that "I think we should always bear in mind that there is the human aspect and it is not just a particular building" (English Heritage 2012a: 8). In the same document there was an admission from English Heritage that "stories behind the sites are not just as, but in fact more, important than the sites themselves. Moving beyond and away from the tangible heritage inevitably has implications on the kind of heritage protection processes that are most useful, which might include EH characterisation work, web resources or partnership projects with organisations for which intangible heritage is more central to their work" (English Heritage 2012a: 8).

English Heritage responded to this consultation on under-represented heritages with an acknowledgement that intangible heritage had been raised as an issue. However, their reply was that:

> The NHPP is centrally concerned with the understanding and preservation of the historic environment. There will be other partners in the sector, such as HLF, museums and archives, with a stronger role to play in documenting the intangible heritage in and for itself. EH will always focus on the material evidence for heritage in the historic environment.
>
> (English Heritage 2012b: 7)

4.7.2 The Restructuring of English Heritage into Historic England

On 1ˢᵗ April 2015, the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England, commonly known as English Heritage, split into two separate bodies. The English Heritage name was retained as a charity to operate the National Heritage Collection, which includes Stonehenge, Hadrian's Wall and 420 other sites and monuments, under the terms of a licence agreement that will last for eight years. The Government invested £80 million into the Charity for conservation defects and investments to improve the visitor experience (English Heritage 2014: 4). The changes to the National Heritage Collection did not affect the other services that English Heritage provided and it remains within an Executive Non-Departmental Public Body of the DCMS and was rebranded as Historic England. It continues to be responsible for preserving England's wider historic environment.

A series of consultations to consider the changes were set up at the end of 2013, and a broad spectrum of heritage professionals and bodies were invited to respond. The consultation took place between 6 December 2013 and 7 February 2014, with approximately 600

responses (Department for Culture, Media and Sport 2014). In October 2014, the DCMS published the results in an English Heritage New Model Consultation response document. The majority of respondents recognised the need for change and the benefits the new model would bring, with 60% agreeing with the proposed benefits of the new model for the Collection (Department for Culture, Media and Sport 2014: 7). However, this is hardly a ringing endorsement, and there were misgivings and questions about the new plan. In April 2014, Jenny Chapman, Labour MP for Darlington, initiated a debate on the future of English Heritage. "In principle, there is no objection to the proposal, but there is deep concern about how realistic it is. All Governments have a track record of rushing into reforms with the best of intentions, but it would be a disgrace if this were allowed to fail" (HC Deb 2 April 2014, C267WH).

Nick Clark (2013) writing in *The Independent* noted concern from consultation respondents. "The proposal in its current form 'does not give confidence', one respondent said. Another criticised the plans as 'hurriedly developed' and said that many of the financial assumptions were 'unconvincing'. Another demanded a 'more imaginative vision'". That imaginative vision could have included broadening the definition of heritage to include intangible cultural heritage. The decision to remodel English Heritage should have been an opportunity to examine their fundamental values and responsibilities, including the definitions of heritage used by the organisation.

Focus on a couple of the New Model Consultation responses reveals that the Heritage Crafts Association and National Parks England both raised the issue of intangible heritage within the remit of English Heritage. For instance, "… the Heritage Crafts Association wishes the new English Heritage to formally recognise the existence of intangible cultural heritage, and to take account of it in developing policy and practice, as it currently does for tangible cultural heritage" (Heritage Crafts Association 2014a). Later in the consultation it states that "The Heritage Crafts Association wishes to see Historic England take on the lead for protection and promotion of intangible cultural heritage in England" (ibid). This response from the Heritage Crafts Association will be discussed in more depth in Chapter 5. The Heritage Crafts Association were not alone in their request for Historic England to consider a wider heritage remit. National Parks England replied in their survey:

we believe that the creation of Historic England … provides an opportunity to consider the inclusion of intangible heritage in the duties and responsibilities … The current framing of 'historic environment' prioritises tangible and physical heritage and neglects England's rich intangible or non-physical heritage. Duties and responsibilities framed around 'cultural heritage' would be more inclusive … [and] would remove the current artificial barrier.

(National Parks England 2014)

As the English Heritage new model consultation progressed, a further programme of consultation took place by English Heritage on behalf of the National Heritage Protection Plan Advisory Board. The National Heritage Protection Plan (NHPP) "aims to identify those parts of England's heritage that matter to people most and are at greatest risk – and then to concentrate efforts on saving them" (English Heritage 2012c: 2). Historic England administers the NHPP. The consultation included 364 valid and complete online surveys, 36 telephone interviews, and 13 workshops delivered in all regions of England and attended by 317 people. I attended a workshop on 28ᵗʰ April 2014 at Fitzroy House, in Nottingham. Present at the meeting were a mix of local authority conservation officers, community archaeologists, academics from local universities, and heritage crafts education specialists. The consultation was broken up into three sessions: Looking Back; Looking Forward: Opportunities, Threats and Priorities; and Session 3 looked at Making the New Plan Work. Discussed in the first session were 'Looking Back, the scope and priorities of the current National Heritage Protection Plan'. This was introduced by Antony Streeten, English Heritage's Regional Director East Midlands. He made it very clear before the discussions began that the current plan "focuses primarily on managing physical heritage (that is, not intangible heritage or the arts for example)" and that the consultation would follow the same line.

A Final Report was published in May 2014, summarising the results from the various consultations. From the workshops it was noted that a number of individuals (myself included) commented on areas that they felt should be included. Jura Consultants, which ran the consultations, added the caveat that these areas "often reflected the participants' areas of interest or research" (Jura Consultants 2014: 33). This does not make them any less valid. In fact, it shows that there are heritage professionals working in areas that were not represented by English Heritage. One area identified was "Generally intangible heritage" but it was also stated that other participants disagreed and felt that the NHPP should focus on the English Heritage definition of heritage and that one participant had commented that "intangible heritage is a distraction and there is a need to focus on tangible bulk heritage" (Jura Consultants 2014:

33). However, not all respondents agreed with this comment. Section 1.4.2 of the NHPP Review Consultation Report focused on the scope of the current plan. Within the survey, 49% of respondents thought the scope of the plan was too focused on the tangible protection of heritage assets. Only 28% disagreed. It also reported that 45% of all respondents believed that the heritage categories covered within the Plan were not broad enough and that there was concern over "the choice of heritage to include and the perception that if a particular asset type was not included then it wasn't important" (Jura Consultants 2014: 3). Of those interviewed, 26 gave an opinion on the scope of the plan and 15 felt that it should expand, with intangible heritage as one of the suggestions. They thought that "the existing focus was too narrowly defined by architectural or archaeological value … and did not correspond sufficiently with the active role that heritage plays in the lives of individuals and society as a whole". Overall Jura comment that "the interviews suggest that the scope of the plan is not broad enough in its definition of 'heritage'" (Jura Consultants 2014: 32).

After the reviews of the consultations had been published, the Heritage Lottery Fund, in partnership with the Royal Society for the Arts, launched the Heritage Exchange conference in July 2014. For the conference, academics Robert Hewison and John Holden wrote a 'provocation' on behalf of the Heritage Lottery Fund entitled *Turbulent Times. The Prospect for Heritage*. In it, they asserted a bold vision of how heritage policy *could* be, by suggesting far-reaching reform of the agencies regulating and funding the heritage sector. They suggested that:

> Historic England could be merged with Natural England to provide single oversight of the historic environment ... In this way the institutional structures would logically follow the convergence that is occurring both through policy definition and in practice ... This new body, possibly called the Historic Environment Agency, would also take on responsibility for policy advice on intangible heritage and national and regional museums.
>
> (Hewison and Holden 2014: 23)

Hewison and Holden admitted that this was "a bold challenge to a sector where conservation is too often confused with conservatism" (Hewison and Holden 2014: 23), and insisted that a common language must be found. This seems highly unlikely to occur in the near future, which was confirmed by Ed Vaizey, then Minister for Culture, Communications and Creative Industries, who commented at a House of Commons debate that "Change is happening, but the fundamentals will not change" (HC Deb 2 April 2014, C286WH). Indeed,

in the three years since the formation of Historic England, nothing has changed. The first Historic England strategy, Valuing Our Past, Enriching Our Future. Historic England Corporate Plan 2015 to 2018 (Historic England 2015), has no reference to intangible heritage, and neither does the *Three Year Corporate Plan 2018-21* (Historic England 2018a).

4.8 INTANGIBLE HERITAGE IN WALES AND NORTHERN IRELAND

4.8.1 Wales

As explained earlier in this chapter, heritage policy is devolved to the four constituent countries of the United Kingdom. In Wales, following a referendum in 1997, the Welsh Government was created, and the National Assembly for Wales. This is the democratically elected body that represents the interests of Wales and its people, makes laws for Wales, agrees Welsh taxes and holds the Welsh Government to account (National Assembly for Wales 2018). The National Assembly has the right to pass laws (known as Assembly Acts), but only in areas where those powers have been expressly conferred. These powers include Ancient Monuments and Historic Buildings and Culture (National Assembly for Wales 2017). The Welsh Government's heritage activities are discharged by Cadw, its historic environment division. One of the parties within the Assembly, Plaid Cymru, have in a personal correspondence, explained their stance towards intangible heritage and the 2003 Convention. Ben Lake, the Plaid Cymru spokesperson for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport, confirmed that:

> we are in support of the ratification of the convention. Wales is a country with a rich history of intangible culture and heritage. It is important to Plaid Cymru that we do all we can to preserve that heritage. Whether that be our language, our traditions, our folklore, or our many unique skills and practices which have been passed down through the generations. Intangible cultural heritage has a crucial part to play in the identity of a nation such as Wales … A culture cannot be understood by tangible artifacts alone.
> (Lake 2018)

David Howell has focused research on intangible heritage in Wales (see Howell 2013a, 2013b) and suggests that:

> despite the increased political devolution granted to Wales, the ability to act on the international stage (in this case in the ratification of international treaties) is still beyond the control (and it would be a fair assessment to suggest beyond the ambition) of the Welsh Government. So long as the 'British' Government in Westminster does not

recognise the relevance of ICH to any part of the British Isles, the ICH of Wales will remain isolated.

<div align="right">(Howell, 2013a: 106)</div>

He also recognises that although there is international provision for both tangible and intangible heritage, Wales only benefits from legislation designed to support tangible elements, which he notes "might create a two-tier system of heritage protection which leaves much of the Welsh heritage resource isolated and underdeveloped" (Howell 2013b: 18). This legislation in question includes the Historic Environment (Wales) Act 2016. In 2012, the Welsh Government announced its intention to introduce a Heritage Bill, and in 2013 an inquiry was held into the Welsh government's Historic Environment policy. The National Trust gave oral evidence: "It is a difficult challenge to embrace the intangible, but it is such an important part of life in Wales" (National Assembly for Wales 2013: 25). Equally, the Federation of Museums and Art Galleries of Wales felt that intangible heritage could be addressed in the Heritage Bill: "it is essential, in our view, that the historic environment includes portable objects and the intangible heritage, but we suspect that these are being ignored" (National Assembly for Wales 2013: 25). David Howell argues that the Welsh Historic Environment Bill considers heritage to be all about "buildings, sites and structures" and says "you'll find no mention of our intangible heritage in this legislation" (Howell, cited in Suryavanshi: 2015).

In a personal correspondence, David Howell lamented the current situation of intangible heritage in Wales. "The short version is that political leadership in Wales has very little time for it. I suspect much of this is born through ignorance rather than disregard, though the consequences are largely the same. There are some individuals fighting the corner, but generally speaking, it is quite bleak in a Welsh setting" (Howell 2018). It can be argued, therefore, that whilst Plaid Cymru, the nationalist party of Wales, is interested in intangible heritage for the same reasons of national identity as some political parties in Scotland, the prevailing institutional direction at Cadw seems to be following the same trajectory as Historic England and the DCMS.

4.8.2 Northern Ireland

Heritage and culture in Northern Ireland cannot be discussed without an understanding of the political background and the national and religious identities of its people, see Nic Craith (2002), and Hayes and McAllister (2013). Following the partitioning of Ireland in 1921, which

led to the creation of Northern Ireland, there was conflict between the Protestant majority (identifying largely as British), and Catholic minority (identifying largely as Irish) (Ramsey and Waterhouse-Bradley 2017: 195). The Belfast Agreement of 1998 set out a framework for the creation of several institutions, including the Northern Ireland Assembly and Executive. This unique history has impacted upon the ability to legislate for heritage and culture. Nic Craith (2012: 23) notes that using the term 'heritage' in the plural has had a deliberate function in the context of the peace process in Northern Ireland, in that it "was designed to reflect recognition for different cultural heritages of Northern Ireland – a society which has been moving away from a singular British narrative towards a "two or more" shared traditions model of society". These different cultural heritages in post-conflict societies "face complex challenges in the development of cultural policy, particularly where some cultural markers have become associated with antagonism or political affiliation" (Ramsey and Waterhouse-Bradley 2017: 195). Sedden (2016) uses the traditions of sectarian parades in Northern Ireland as cases in point. He contends that "preservation of intangible cultural heritage sometimes overlaps with more familiar humanitarian objectives, such as protecting freedom of religious practice; but not all cultural practices will favour such objectives".

In Northern Ireland, the Department for Communities is responsible for the Historic Environment. The department was created in May 2016 following the dissolution of several departments, including the Department of Culture, Arts and Leisure (DCAL). In a similar vein to the criticism of the loss of the word 'heritage' from the corresponding department in England, the "elimination of 'art' and 'culture' from the Department name is indicative of what Ramsey and Waterhouse refer to as a cultural policy of 'avoidance' and 'ambiguity'" (Durrer and McCall Magan 2017: 190). The Historic Environment Division works to "record, protect, conserve and promote our heritage in ways which support and sustain our economy and our communities" (Department for Communities 2017), although this is reserved for buildings and archaeological heritage only. Elements of intangible heritage are present with other forms of arts and culture, and in November 2015, prior to the re-structuring of departments, DCAL published a consultation document, seeking views on the development of a *Strategy for Culture and Arts 2016-2026*. The aim was "To promote, develop and support the crucial role of arts and culture in creating a cohesive community and delivering social change to our society on the basis of equality for everyone" (Department of Culture, Arts and Leisure 2015: 11). However, nothing has come of this, and according to Durrer and McCall Magan (2017: 191), "the lack of official recognition of arts and culture in the form of an articulated public policy

raises concern regarding the Executive's capacity and commitment to supporting the cultural rights of Northern Irish citizens". Presently, the development of the *Strategy for Culture and Arts*, or any other form of legislation or strategy pertaining to forms of heritage, is on hold along with other government business since Northern Ireland has had no government since January 2017, when the power sharing deal collapsed. With Northern Ireland achieving an unwanted unofficial world record for a democracy going without an elected government (Belfast Telegraph 2018), civil servants are effectively in charge. The Department for Communities "says it has been unable to take decisions on issues that would require a change in departmental policy" (McCormack 2018), so the likelihood of any policy involving intangible heritage in Northern Ireland in the near future is extremely slim.

4.9 INTANGIBLE HERITAGE IN SCOTLAND: A DIVERGING NARRATIVE

Since 1999, Scotland has had a devolved parliament responsible for certain affairs including heritage. The Scottish government is the executive of the parliament, and includes a Cabinet Secretary for Culture, Tourism and External Affairs. Since 2009, this position has been held by Fiona Hyslop. In contrast with England, ICH in Scotland has been positively embraced and integrated into descriptions of heritage in national organisations. Furthermore, institutions such as Heriot-Watt University, Edinburgh Napier University, and the Elphinstone Institute at the University of Aberdeen have nurtured ICH research. This part of the chapter will explain the Scottish parliament's position on the ratification of the 2003 UNESCO Convention, the formation of a wiki style inventory through research at Edinburgh Napier University, and the involvement of Museums Galleries Scotland in the management of the inventory and as an NGO accredited with UNESCO.

Historic Environment Scotland, the Scottish equivalent of Historic England, has a more inclusive view of heritage and is defined in such terms. The definition of the historic environment by the agency seeks to address a broad range of meanings and 'embrace the intangible': "Scotland's historic environment is the evidence for human activity that connects people with place, and includes the associations we can see, feel and understand" (Scottish Government 2013: 9). In *Our Place in Time, the Historic Environment Strategy for Scotland* "The historic environment could be said to be 'the cultural heritage of places', and is a combination of physical things (tangible) and those aspects we cannot see – stories, traditions and concepts (intangible)" (Scottish Government 2014: 2).

A Thought Leadership seminar chaired by Heriot-Watt University, Edinburgh, in May 2015, entitled 'Can Scotland Play a Leading Role in Redefining Heritage?' saw many academics and leaders of heritage organisations in Scotland discuss this salient issue. At the debate, Luke Wormald (2015), Head of Historic Environment Strategy in the Scottish Government, confirmed that had Scotland won independence in 2014, the Holyrood administration would have taken the decision to ratify the UNESCO Convention. Máiréad Nic Craith (2015) of Heriot-Watt University, spoke of the separate trajectories for tangible and intangible heritage as laid out by UNESCO as problematic. Joanne Orr (2015), CEO of Museums Galleries Scotland (MGS), conceded that not being a state party could be quite liberating, but was concerned that by not signing the Convention, it left the UK sitting on the side-lines. In 2012, Museums Galleries Scotland became the first UK organisation to be accredited as an expert NGO advisor to UNESCO on the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. Joanne Orr, who left MGS in March 2018, was an active member of the ICH NGO Forum, as part of the inaugural Forum Steering Committee, and in 2017 represented MGS at the 12th Intergovernmental Committee (IGC) meeting held in Jeju, Korea. Personal correspondence with Joanne Orr revealed a level of Scottish influence (through MGS) such as the discussions of ethics at the Intergovernmental Committee in Namibia (Orr 2016). This suggests, on the one hand, that British ratification would lead to more involvement at an international level, but equally that it can be proven that influence can be achieved in ICH policy outside of the UNESCO paradigm.

4.9.1 Intangible Heritage and the Scottish Parliament

As one of four members of the UK nation-state, Scotland is not legally in a position to ratify the 2003 UNESCO Convention, despite the fact that "the Scottish Government supports the initiative and therefore … Scotland is now in the vanguard of activity as far as taking the Convention forward is concerned" (McCleery et al. 2009b: 145). Within the Scottish government, Fiona Hyslop has been a leading proponent for the recognition of ICH as a part of heritage in Scotland. At an International Symposium on Intangible Cultural Heritage at Summerhall, Edinburgh in November 2015, she stated that:

> We must both acknowledge our roots and recognise the value and essential role that intangible cultural heritage plays in defining and shaping our national identity, our sense of belonging, our stories as individuals and our stories as communities … whilst the UK has not ratified the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible

Cultural Heritage, Scotland's cultural policies have embraced the concept of intangible cultural heritage and framework of the Convention supported by Museums Galleries Scotland and local authorities across Scotland and I have formally requested the UK sign the convention in writing and in meetings with previous UK government ministers and will continue to do so with their successors.

(Hyslop 2015)

This political drive from Fiona Hyslop has continued, and on 29th March 2018, she brought forward a motion (S5M-11347) "Intangible Cultural Heritage, which was adopted by UNESCO in 2003, and calls on the UK Government to ratify it" which was debated in the Scottish parliament. She commenced the proceedings with a short speech in which she noted that "with the United Kingdom's non-ratification of the convention, we are clearly out of step not only with Europe but with the world, where other Governments fully recognise and acknowledge the importance of intangible cultural heritage". She went on to state that "being late to the gate with the Hague convention cannot be used as an excuse not to sign up to the Convention" (Scottish Parliament 2018). Of interest was the clear consensus among the different political parties in the Scottish parliament. Rachael Hamilton, of the Scottish Conservatives, intimated that "Conservative members will support the Government motion … the Scottish Conservatives agree that the UK should ratify …" (ibid 2018). Clare Baker, from the Scottish Labour party, was equally favourable of the motion, "if the UK were to ratify the convention, it would provide us with an opportunity to collectively identify and protect ICH, as well as enabling us to raise awareness and seek support on an international stage". However, she also commented that "membership of the convention would mean that the UK would have two obligations; first, it would have to take necessary measures to safeguard ICH; secondly, it would have to identify and define, with community and expert involvement, the elements of ICH … [but] *not being part of the UNESCO convention does not prevent a country from doing any of that*" [emphasis added] (ibid 2018).

4.9.2 Edinburgh Napier University and Museums Galleries Scotland Wiki Project

Beyond the general acceptance of ICH as a concept by the Scottish parliament and institutions, in 2008, Museums Galleries Scotland commissioned a report called 'Scoping and Mapping Intangible Cultural Heritage in Scotland', which also produced a summary report entitled 'Intangible Cultural Heritage in Scotland: The Way Forward'. It was researched and written by the ENrich (Edinburgh Napier University Research in Cultural Heritage) project team

consisting of Alison McCleery, Alistair McCleery, Linda Gunn and David Hill. In its opening chapter, it stated that "while the UK is not a signatory to the Convention, it is not hostile to its intentions. While it is not mandatory upon constituent administrations at national level to meet its requirements, there is, particularly in Scotland … a willingness to adhere to best practice in the matter of the safeguarding of ICH" (McCleery et al. 2008a: 9). Following the publication of the report, Napier University was awarded a Knowledge Transfer Fellowship grant from the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) to create an inventory of ICH in Scotland. For a substantial overview of the project, see McCleery and Bowers (2016). It was hoped by the Edinburgh Napier team that Scotland's inventory would "include the ICH of all cultures within its borders, whether outward or inward-facing, urban or rural, longstanding or new" (McCleery et al. 2009b: 153). Part of this was to clarify the distinction between 'ICH in Scotland' rather than 'Scottish ICH'. This distinction allows for a wider range of practices and avoids the problem of defining what is specifically Scottish (McCleery et al. 2008a: 13).

It was decided that the inventory would be produced in the style of a 'wiki' - a website in which its contents can be modified by contributors from communities, and not simply academics or other cultural brokers. McCleery and Bowers (2016: 190) suggest that an online inventory offered a streamlined, cost-effective approach to the collection of data for inclusion, with the use of structured templates eliminating as much variation and therefore error as possible. In 2011, 'Intangible Cultural Heritage: Living Culture in Scotland' was published to provide an account of the project since 2008. It states that the project had two clear goals, to establish an inventory for ICH in Scotland; and to promote knowledge of the nature and value of ICH. "In both these goals it has succeeded" (McCleery et al. 2010: 29). However, it was also accepted by those involved in the project that it had limitations, and McCleery and Bowers (2016: 193) discuss a number of these challenges. Firstly, the lack of awareness by older generations that they are experts in their traditions, which results in few putting themselves forward. This is further compounded by a lack of familiarity with social media and other digital technologies, therefore making it harder to record their ICH knowledge. A further issue relates to the method of input, originally designed to involve local authority personnel, who, according to Giglitto (2017: 103), were obliged to go, and therefore did not have the genuine interest to keep up the momentum. A shift to a crowdsourcing model saw technical issues and a need for a moderator, but as McCleery and Bowers (2016: 199) state, "the real challenge lies, as ever, in socio-cultural rather than technical issues. Promoting a wiki to communities of practice, and

encouraging the members of those groups to input their data, has proven to be a more difficult hurdle to overcome than expected".

In 2012 stewardship of the ICH inventory was handed over to Museums Galleries Scotland, which initially allowed it to fall into a state of neglect and attack by spammers due to a lack of monitoring. This created hundreds of thousands of inappropriate pages over the period of several months and an eventual decision was taken to redevelop the site (Giglitto 2017: 105). It was relaunched in 2015, and an example of a page from the website can be seen below in Figure 4.3.
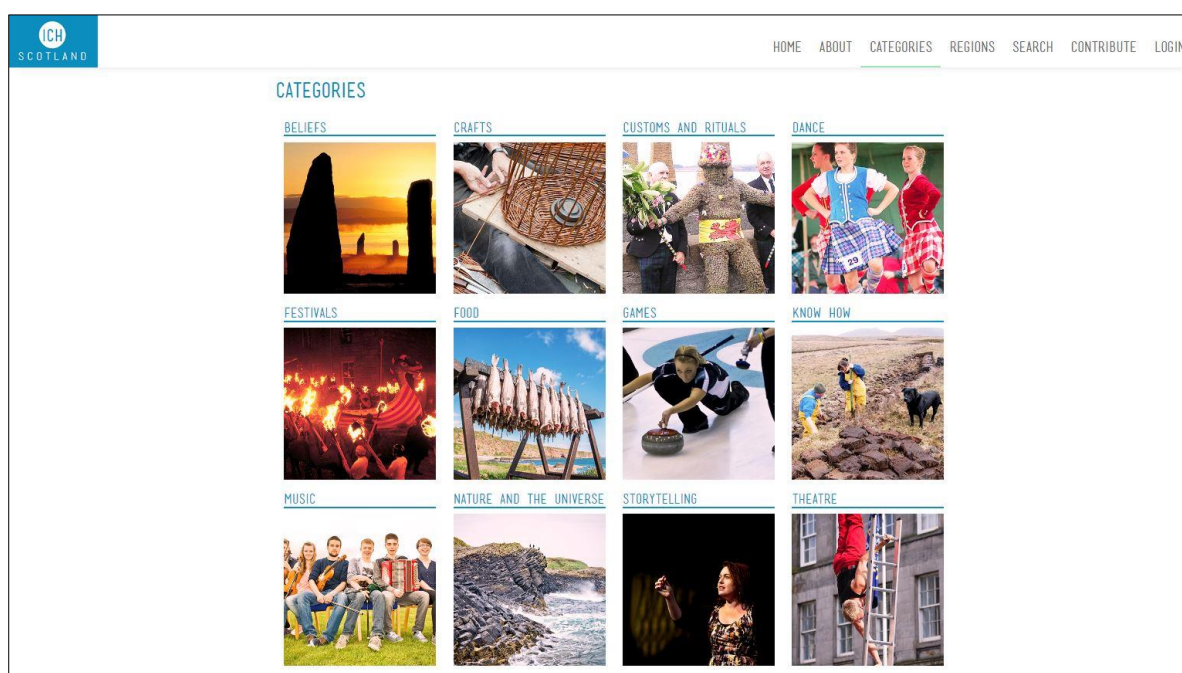
Figure 4.3 ICH Scotland Website – Categories front page   © Museums Galleries Scotland

Danilo Giglitto was employed by MGS to run and subsequently update the wiki site. He has discussed this and the limitations of the project in his PhD thesis *Using wikis for intangible cultural heritage in Scotland: Suitability and empowerment.* In his analysis, he regarded a pan-Scottish design as representing a significant limitation towards its success (Giglitto 2017: 168), arguing that a local approach is better suited to a wiki style ICH inventory. His exanimation of a wiki dedicated to collating and documenting the ICH of the Isle of Jura, Scotland, showed that "in Scotland - whose ICH is characterised by a strong regionalism as well as shaped local identities ... this suitability is conditioned to the preference towards projects focusing on a specific locality or a series of thoughtful engagement activities" (ibid: 168). It should also be

noted, however, that whilst the ENrich team state that "it remains to be seen as to whether the wiki is sustainable as a tool for safeguarding and recording Scotland's ICH" (McCleery and Bowers 2016: 196), the Scotland ICH wiki has generated a lot of interest from countries pursuing their own ICH inventory, and has directly influenced examples in Finland (Elävä perintö) and in South Korea (ICHpedia).

4.10 HERITAGE LOTTERY FUND AND ICH

Having analysed the governmental position on ICH, and that of the devolved parliaments, attention turns to an examination of a heritage organisation with a UK wide remit, namely the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) and its role in safeguarding intangible heritage. The letter from the DCMS (Figure 4.2), argues that work is already being done though "the Heritage Lottery Fund and Arts Council [which] makes grants to projects promoting and supporting intangible cultural heritage" (Marples 2018). This statement is reinforced by a question asked in the House of Commons in 2012. Nigel Dobbs MP asked John Penrose (the Minister for Tourism and Heritage) what steps he was taking to protect and promote intangible cultural heritage. His response was that "We recognise the importance of intangible cultural heritage, principally through the Heritage Lottery Fund, who provide grants for a wide variety of intangible cultural heritage projects, including heritage skills". Mr Dobbs then pressed Mr Penrose on how much funding his Department had allocated to the promotion and protection of intangible cultural heritage in each year since 2003. The reply was that "The Department does not directly fund intangible cultural heritage. However, the Heritage Lottery Fund, in addition to funding work to buildings, collections and landscapes, has invested £256 million in over 19,000 intangible heritage projects across the UK" (HC Deb 21 May 2012, C380W).

This confirmation from the government establishes that it is the Heritage Lottery Fund, and not Historic England or any other governmental body, which is seen as the predominant agency for the funding of intangible cultural heritage in the UK. The Heritage Lottery Fund is a non-departmental public body accountable to the DCMS. It was set up following the creation of the National Lottery Act in 1993, which recognised the National Heritage Memorial Fund (NHMF) as the body to distribute funds raised by the National Lottery to the heritage sector throughout the UK. Since its launch in 1994, The National Lottery has raised over £38 billion for good causes, supporting 535,000 individual projects (National Lottery 2018). The Heritage Lottery

Fund receives 20% of National Lottery good causes income. It is the largest dedicated funder of the UK's heritage, with around £375 million a year to invest in new projects (Historic England 2018c). Since 1994, the HLF has invested £7.9 billion in almost 43,000 heritage projects across the UK (Heritage Lottery Fund 2018).

Originally, intangible heritage was not among the key funding areas, although oral history projects were funded from the late 1990s onwards. The change in government in 1997 to New Labour saw a shift in policy, with a desire to see HLF grants spent on the widest range of projects (Reilly 2015). This meant a broadening of scope, which was aided by Chairs of the HLF, Liz Forgan and Dame Jenny Abramsky, who refused to limit the definition of heritage. Abramsky, who chaired the HLF from 2008 to 2014, said, "I feel very strongly … that heritage is so much more than beautiful buildings … my definition is really anything that people value and that they want to hand on to the future" (Singh 2014). She was also of the opinion that the UK should be a signatory of the UNESCO 2003 Convention. "I would like to see it signed, and I think it's sad that it hasn't been signed. But that is for politicians to decide" (Abramsky 2014).

As demonstrated by Jenny Abramsky, the ability to fund areas of intangible heritage exists due to the exceptionally broad definition of heritage and its desire to encourage "people to identify their own heritage and explain why it is valued by themselves and others" (Heritage Lottery Fund 2012a: 10). This stems from the formation of the National Heritage Memorial Fund in which the 1980 Act contained no definition of the word 'heritage'. According to Hewison and Holden, the first Trustees discussed the question of how the national heritage could be defined, as they explained in their first annual report. "We decided that [the question] was unanswerable; we could no more define the national heritage than we could define, say, beauty or art… So, we let the national heritage define itself" (Hewison and Holden 2004: 12). This attitude has allowed for a substantial redefinition in practice of what heritage is, moving away from what appeared to its critics in the 1980s to be a patrician, backward-looking and object-based set of values towards something much more dynamic and democratic (Hewison and Holden 2004: 21). This view continues to be a core principle. The HLF defines heritage as "everything tangible and intangible that we have inherited from the past, and value enough to want to share and sustain for the future" (Heritage Lottery Fund 2017). Hewison and Holden (2004: 12) see this definition as "a more socially inclusive one that, in addition to material objects, involves less tangible matters such as language and customs … heritage will always

be a mobile, and often contested, concept, and HLF shows that it understands this through its policies and practices".

To prepare its second Strategic Plan 2002-2007, HLF conducted a thorough consultation exercise, receiving 315 responses to a consultation document and taking the views of nearly 600 people at workshops, seminars and focus groups (Heritage Lottery Fund 2002: 16). The resulting plan in 2002, known as 'Broadening the Horizon of Heritage' led to a more pluralistic and inclusive definition of heritage. The plan states that "We will also support projects based on heritage (such as oral history and traditions) which is intrinsically intangible or ephemeral, where there is a genuine heritage component to the project. We believe this new direction opens up an approach to heritage where Lottery funding can make a real difference. Neither of these areas receives anything like adequate funding from other sources" (Heritage Lottery Fund 2002: 24). Therefore, from 2002 onwards, as well as the established oral history projects, other intangible heritage projects began to be funded. This has been overseen by Jo Reilly, current Head of Participation and Learning. For her, "HLF's support for intangible heritage is a small but significant part of their business. Oral history projects account for the bulk of investment but the definition also includes projects that focus on the heritage of language and dialects, customs and folklore, the history and significance of various art forms, and the preservation of local crafts and traditions" (Reilly 2015).

Despite this extra focus on ICH, in a House of Commons Committee meeting, Carole Souter, Chief Executive of the HLF from 2003 to 2016, accepted that intangible heritage has not had a fair share of the funding in the past and that more can be done to support applicants. She said that:

> … heritage matters to, is relevant to, and should be available to everybody. Very often, that means making sure that the more local, perhaps intangible, heritage projects are supported and do have funds available to them … Because it is so important that we have a whole range of engagement in heritage, we have development teams within all of our regional and country groupings that specifically focus on … those groups that have not had, if you like, a fair share of that funding in the past.

> (House of Commons Culture, Media and Sport Committee, 2006)

Carole Souter has been a strong advocate for intangible heritage funding, demonstrated by her participation at the inaugural 'Intangible Cultural Heritage in the UK: promoting and safeguarding our diverse living cultures' conference in London in 2014. As one of the speakers

at the conference, she promoted the work done by the HLF and highlighted the Strategic Framework.

4.11 ARTS COUNCIL ENGLAND

The Arts Council is the other organisation singled out for attention in the DCMS letter (Figure 4.2). The Arts Council in question is Arts Council England (ACE), a non-departmental public body of the DCMS, formed in 1994 when the Arts Council of Great Britain was devolved into three separate bodies. It is responsible for championing, developing and investing in arts and culture in England, and since 2011, for supporting and developing museums, libraries and archives (Arts Council England 2015: 5). The Arts Council shares a responsibility for distributing Lottery money in England with the British Film Institute, the Big Lottery Fund, the Heritage Lottery Fund and Sport England (Arts Council England 2013: 15), and between 2018-2022, an investment totalling £1.64 billion will be received (Henley 2018). In the Arts Council's 10-year strategy *Great Art and Culture for Everyone*, it explains that "Our remit for 'the arts' includes a wide range of visual and performing artforms, music, dance, theatre and literature" (Arts Council England 2013: 13), much of which can be described as elements of intangible heritage, and yet are not defined in those terms. Indeed, when asked about intangible heritage, Arts Council England replied that "…this is slightly outside Arts Council England's remit and expertise" (McCleery et al. 2008b: 46).

In researching Arts Council England's stance to intangible heritage, this study uncovered examples of projects which are funded through ACE and have intangible heritage as part of their description. This includes a project headed by the Museum of English Rural Life (MERL), entitled 'Making, Using and Enjoying', which explores the potential of intangible cultural heritage and digital practice to improve research and understanding of collections which are held at The MERL and to extend engagement (Museum of English Rural Life 2018). Another area of interest will be discussed further in Chapter 5, analysing the domain of traditional craftsmanship. The Crafts Council is one of ACE's National Portfolio organisations which receive funding. Between 2015-18 it received £7,511,559, and for 2018-22 it will increase to £10,015,412 (Arts Council England 2018). However, as traditional crafts are not part of the 'contemporary' remit of the Crafts Council, this ACE funding stream is limited.

4.12 NGOs AND SOCIETIES

Whilst the Heritage Lottery Fund is accountable to the DCMS, it is important to recognise the existence and importance of a number of national non-governmental organisations (NGOs) which advocate for varied heritage and cultural forms and influence policy. One of the most prominent heritage NGOs in the UK is The National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty, known as the National Trust. Its primary focus is the preservation of historic places, although elements of intangible heritage are addressed through the Trust's ideas of space and identity. Other heritage NGOs, such as The Royal Society for the Arts (RSA), ICOMOS-UK, and the Heritage Alliance, have, to greater or lesser degrees, accepted that intangible heritage is part of a wider heritage narrative. The Heritage Crafts Association, as discussed in the Introduction, has positively embraced the concept within the work they do as the advocacy body for traditional heritage crafts in the UK.

4.12.1 Royal Society for the Arts

The Royal Society for encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, known as the RSA, partnered with the Heritage Lottery Fund in 2015 to compile a Heritage Index, part of a Heritage, Identity and Place project. The Index brought together over 100 indicators into a single score of heritage vitality (Schifferes 2015). It deliberately took a broad view of what constituted heritage, and this included intangible heritage as one of the seven themes, described in the Index as 'cultures and memories'. Jonathan Schifferes, from the RSA, wrote a report after the initial stage of the project entitled *Heritage, Identity and Place. Seven Themes from the Heritage Index*, exploring how the Index was formed. In his discussion of how intangible heritage was accounted for, he accepted that this heritage is harder to list or to map to a specific location. "We found this was most apparent when we sought to collect and map datasets relating to the 'cultures and memories' theme which was intended to ensure we incorporated intangible heritage within the Index. We have had some success here. For example, the Heritage Index draws on an emerging dataset of cultural events which includes traditions from the Notting Hill Carnival to the Coopers Hill Cheese Rolling in Gloucestershire" (Schifferes 2015: 22).[11]

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[11] The dataset used by the RSA for the Heritage Index refers to data collated by myself during this study. I was contacted by Jonathan Schifferes to ask permission to use my research.

4.12.2 ICOMOS-UK

ICOMOS-UK is the national committee for the UK of ICOMOS, the International Council on Monuments and Sites. The role of ICOMOS is to work for the conservation and protection of cultural heritage sites. There exist several themed sub-committees within its organisation including the ICOMOS-UK National Scientific Committee on ICH. This sub-committee was formed after the creation in late 2005 of the International Committee on Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICICH). This recognition of intangible heritage was highlighted in 2003 at the ICOMOS 14th General Assembly and Scientific Symposium entitled "Place, memory, meaning: preserving intangible values in monuments and sites" at Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe. In an introductory lecture, Dawson Munjeri, the Deputy Permanent Delegate of Zimbabwe at UNESCO, and former Vice President of ICOMOS, said that "The recent adoption by the UNESCO 32nd General Conference of the Convention of the safeguarding of intangible heritage behoves upon us to adopt that perspective lest ICOMOS becomes extinct" (Munjeri 2003).

In September 2014, the ICOMOS-UK National Committee on ICH organised the inaugural Intangible Cultural Heritage in the UK, hosted by the Museum of London Docklands. The primary aim of the UK conference was to raise awareness about the different types of intangible heritage, both rural and urban, and to explore key issues and challenges relating to the safeguarding and transmission of traditions or living cultural expressions (ICOMOS 2014). As well as members of the Heritage Lottery Fund, there were delegates from the UK National Commission for UNESCO, the Heritage Crafts Association, English Folk Dance and Song Society, Society for Storytelling, the Horniman Museum, Edinburgh Napier University, and experts Steve Roud, and Harriet Deacon. With many others present, there were talks and panel presentations, with concluding remarks from Dr. David Thackray, President of ICOMOS-UK. He accepted that "the term ICH is a difficult one and may be off-putting". He felt that the UK must not rush to ratify the UNESCO Convention, but by creating a larger network, and through dialogue and linking with political agendas, those involved with ICH could help to move the concept forward in the UK (Thackray 2014). However, despite the genuinely positive mood at the conference, there has been no follow up by the organisers or any subsequent conferences. Furthermore, Daniel Carpenter, representing the Heritage Crafts Association on the ICOMOS-UK sub-committee on ICH, suggested that "the relationships we

have developed through that have been quite useful, but the committee itself is not that effective … it didn't result in much activity" (Interview 5: 19).

4.12.3 Heritage Alliance

The Heritage Alliance, established in 2002, is the largest coalition of non-government heritage interests in England, and advocates on their behalf to influence legislation and policy. Although the predominant focus has been on built heritage, there is awareness from the Heritage Alliance that the organisation must be inclusive. Chairman of the Heritage Alliance, Loyd Grossman has stated such a belief at several Heritage Days. "We have to look at intangible heritage too. The way in which we do things – heritage crafts and skills such as hurdle weaving. Those of us in the tangible heritage sector should build bridges with intangible heritage" (Grossman 2013: 3). A year later, he reiterated his point. "No matter what our individual interests we need to recognize the broad church of heritage that includes our moveable, natural and intangible heritage: the seamless and diverse web of heritage that is so culturally rich" (Grossman 2014: 8).

Kate Pugh, who was Chief Executive for 13 years until 2016, was present at the Intangible Cultural Heritage in the UK conference, which shows further evidence that the Heritage Alliance acknowledged ICH and the groups involved. This desire to include intangible heritage groups was included in the Heritage Alliance Strategy 2012-15. One of the strategic aims revolved around development, to "achieve greater representation of non-national and intangible heritage groups" (Heritage Alliance 2011: 3). Also of relevance was research carried out at the seventh Heritage Alliance debate in November 2015, involving one hundred and eighty professionals from the heritage sector looking at what the word 'heritage' means to the public. The findings showed "that the challenges faced in the sector are profoundly unique. Heritage, for many, is intangible …" (Wicks and Ali 2015).

The most recent Heritage Alliance Strategy 2016-2020 makes no mention of intangible heritage (Heritage Alliance 2016), and Joe O'Donnell, the Policy and Communications Officer at the Heritage Alliance, clarified this position. "I think many of our … members have intangible elements to their work & [sic] this is often in inseparable/integral. We have no specific aims in this area at present. Though we are currently starting a membership review" (O'Donnell 2017).

4.12.4 Heritage Crafts Association

The Heritage Crafts Association (HCA) is the advocacy body for traditional heritage crafts in the United Kingdom and are transparent in their use of the term intangible cultural heritage to describe the skills and knowledge which are intrinsic to the transmission of traditional craftsmanship. It is one of the most conspicuous and vocal organisations to support the ratification of the 2003 UNESCO convention by the UK. In the next chapter, the HCA is examined as an organisation which attempts to support craftspeople through a variety of methods. An analysis of its position towards traditional craftsmanship as intangible heritage, their role as an accredited NGO of the 2003 UNESCO Convention, and the formulation of an inventory of endangered craft, identifies the organisation as a champion of safeguarding ICH outside of the UNESCO paradigm. Through interviews with traditional craftspeople in the Midlands of England, a clearer picture emerges of the genuine, practical concerns faced by practitioners of a domain of intangible heritage. It begs the question if either of the ICH case studies examined in this study are fulfilling their safeguarding mission.

CHAPTER 5 – ICH IN THE MIDLANDS OF ENGLAND: A SURVEY OF TRADITIONAL CRAFTSMANSHIP

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In the final conference report for *Safeguarding traditional cultures: a global assessment,* it states that "Intangible cultural heritage is at once rich and diverse, yet for a variety of reasons many producers of traditional and popular culture are abandoning their crafts or ceasing to transmit them to younger generations" (Seitel 2001: 278). Seventeen years on, is this statement still relevant and what are the main concerns for traditional craftspeople? As one of the five domains of intangible heritage as described by UNESCO, traditional craftsmanship is mainly concerned with the skills and knowledge involved in craftsmanship rather than the craft products themselves. Fu et al. (2017: 69) describes craftsmanship as a "process that ranges from the preparation of raw materials to the final product, which reflects the living nature of intangible heritage".

Within this process the focus for this study lies in the *why* people engage with traditional craftsmanship, as opposed to *how* products are made. There are many interesting accounts of the practical processes that are involved in many different traditional crafts, see Jenkins (1961, 1972), and Wymer (1946). However, the emphasis here extends beyond the physical skill into the reasons why people take up a particular craft and how they are able to maintain a business. The chapter looks at the decisions taken to continue to function, and the obstacles, issues, and practicalities which link traditional craftsmanship with the wider framework of intangible heritage safeguarding practices.

The previous chapter explored the position of intangible heritage within the organs of government and other non-governmental organisations in England and the UK, and it also concluded with a brief introduction to the Heritage Crafts Association (HCA). In recent years the HCA have been one of the more vocal organisations in the country in the campaign for recognition of intangible cultural heritage. An objective of this chapter is to explore the role of the HCA for the safeguarding of traditional craftsmanship through inventorying, advocacy, funding and awareness. Their desire to see heritage crafts safeguarded through the ratification of the 2003 UNESCO Convention by the United Kingdom will be tested in the following chapters. The current situation for the intangible cultural heritage domain of traditional craftsmanship in the Midlands of England will be examined through the interviewing of craftspeople in the area. The methodology for the interviews with the craftspeople has been

detailed in Chapter 2 and will also be discussed briefly later in this chapter. In Section 1.5.2 of the introduction, it was established that a focus on one UNESCO ICH domain could be used to explore the notion of safeguarding through an investigation of safeguarding issues. Four key areas were identified as specifically relevant to the safeguarding of the traditional craftsmanship domain: identifying/inventorying, transmission and awareness, training/skills, and business/market issues. The work of the HCA and the safeguarding issues raised by the craftspeople in this chapter will be compared with the approaches of the Netherlands, and Newfoundland and Labrador to safeguard their intangible heritage and more specifically, the traditional craftsmanship domain.

5.2 WHAT IS TRADITIONAL CRAFT?

"The word 'craft' is, like so many important words in English, brief, pungent and ambiguous" (Lucie-Smith 1981: 1), but according to (Frayling 2011: 9) "the commonsense definition of the word 'craft' seems clear enough: an activity which involves skill in making things by hand: derived from the old English *cræft* - meaning strength or skill". Alex Langlands, in *Cræft. How Traditional Crafts Are About More Than Just Making,* suggests that in defining the word 'cræft', along with knowledge, power and skill, there is an extended definition which describes a quality or state of being: an almost indefinable knowledge or wisdom (Langlands 2017: 17). Jennings (2012: 17) suggests that most craft practice will reflect some if not all of the following:

- Understanding of and engagement with materials
- The application of haptic skills and hand-controlled tools
- The honing of skills learnt over time
- One-off or relatively small batch rather than mass production
- Maker impact on conception, design and aesthetics or finished product
- Cultural embedding of finished product

She goes on to provide a definition for heritage craft as "practices which employ manual dexterity and skill, and an understanding of traditional materials, designs and techniques to make or repair useful things" (Jennings 2012: 4). Francesca Cominelli (2011: 8), who has extensively researched traditional craftsmanship and intangible heritage in France, suggests that:

> traditional craftsmanship becomes heritage when it is recognized as such by the individuals, the groups and the communities that create, maintain and transmit it. The skills and knowledge that are inherited from the past live in the present in the body of craftsmen that hold them and are passed on to future generations. As expressions of

intangible cultural heritage, traditional craftsmanship is strongly related to the space and time where it takes place, and it is continuously transformed and innovated upon.

There should also be an understanding that traditional craftsmanship does not equate with being 'old fashioned'. A review of heritage trade training, *Heritage is in our Hands*, considers this perception. "UNESCO's definition … establishes a highly flexible framework for embedding 'new' heritage trades that invariably arise over time. If the creativity of past craft masters is to be continued, it must be recognised that heritage, by its very nature, is dynamic" (Cobb+Co Museum and Southern Queensland Institute of TAFE 2008: 13).

5.3 TRADITIONAL CRAFTSMANSHIP AS INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE

As described in Section 3.2.8 examining the formation of the 2003 Convention, the domain of traditional craftsmanship was the last to be included. At a meeting at UNESCO Headquarters in June 1993 entitled *International Consultation on New Perspectives for UNESCO's Programme: The Intangible Cultural Heritage,* areas of action and priorities were discussed. It was noted that, "The proposal by UNESCO that priority should be given in the short term to music, dance, the theatre, oral traditions and languages, was received favourably. A number of experts expressed the view that craft techniques formed part of the intangible heritage and hoped that traditional handicrafts – which were often on the point of disappearance – might be included among the activities for preservation as a matter of priority" (UNESCO 1993b: 6). It was this term, 'handicrafts', which appeared over the next twenty years in UNESCO discussions over 'Traditional Culture and Folklore'. For instance, it was part of the definition of folklore as provided in the Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore:

> Folklore (or traditional and popular culture) is the totality of tradition-based creations of a cultural community, expressed by a group or individuals and recognized as reflecting the expectations of a community in so far as they reflect its cultural and social identity; its standards and values are transmitted orally, by imitation or by other means. Its forms are, among others, language, literature, music, dance, games, mythology, rituals, customs, *handicrafts*, architecture and other arts.

(UNESCO 1989: 4, emphasis added)

Trubshaw (2002: 159) in *Exploring Folklore* accepts that craft is "an important aspect of folk activities but one largely ignored by British folklorists", unlike in America where 'material culture' is an integral aspect of folklore studies. Dorson (1972: 235) argues that although much

has been written on folk crafts in certain European countries, he suggests that relatively little has been written of a scholarly nature in Great Britain. He does, however, accept that important work on traditional craft in England was written by members of the Society for Folk Life Studies (see Jenkins 1961, 1972). "'Folk life' emphasizes the holistic approach to the study, embodying the whole life as shaped and influenced by tradition. Studies under this designation have also typically paid special attention to traditional arts, crafts, and material culture" (Widdowson 2016: 263).

Traditional craftsmanship is perhaps the most tangible manifestation of intangible cultural heritage. For Bertram (2013: 204), in the case of traditional craftsmanship the tangible and intangible are inextricably linked, in that a craftsperson uses their skills, knowledge and experience (intangible) to use tools (tangible) and implement techniques (intangible) to manipulate a material (tangible) to make a product (tangible) to perform a function (intangible). For UNESCO, the goals of safeguarding traditional craftsmanship are the same as with other forms of intangible cultural heritage, that is, "to ensure that the knowledge and skills associated with traditional artisanry are passed on to future generations so that crafts can continue to be produced within their communities, providing livelihoods to their makers and reflecting creativity" (UNESCO 2018a).

5.4 THE SAFEGUARDING OF TRADITIONAL CRAFTSMANSHIP

Having defined traditional craftsmanship as intangible heritage, the safeguarding of it has been described by Kennedy (2010b: 81) as challenging due to its changing nature:

> Alterations to the essence of traditional craftsmanship are often the result of, or subject to, a number of varying factors: the changing nature of the knowledge that is passed on from master to student with each successive transmission; the changing fashions, influences and technologies to which traditional craftsmanship may be exposed; the changing market place to which artisans must respond; the inadequacy of documentation when recording a mutable intangible heritage and the nature of intervention from parties or organisations outside crafts communities and groups.

However, there have been a number of global examples of specific safeguarding of traditional craftsmanship. For instance, in 1974, the Japanese Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry enacted a law with the intention of promoting traditional craft industries. Over 200 items have been chosen from all over Japan, ranging from different types of textiles, lacquerware, bamboo, woodcraft and metalwork to Buddhist altars, wooden *kokeshi* dolls, and *washi* paper, and

designated crafts can apply for projects funded by the economy ministry (Maruko 2015). France has a system created in 1994 by the Ministry of Culture to preserve French heritage crafts. The title of Master of Art (Maître d'Art) is awarded for life as "a professional of excellence who masters exceptional techniques and know-how ... [who] must be able to pass on his knowledge and skill to a student to perpetuate them". An allowance, currently set at 16,000 euros per year, is allocated for three years to the Master of Art to finance this transmission (Les Maîtres d'Art 2018). However, this system has been criticised for bestowing advantages and a privileged position on the selected person which could crush competition (Cominelli and Greffe 2013: 416). In Norway, the Norwegian Crafts Institute, has had a register of craftsmen and craft enterprises since its establishment in 1987, and it is assigned by the ministry of Education and Research to monitor the state of small and vulnerable crafts and promote their existence. It runs a national network on strengthening vulnerable and traditional crafts (ICH NGO Forum 2013c). It has successfully incorporated its activities into the implementation of the UNESCO Convention, through its accreditation as a non-governmental organization by UNESCO and cooperation with Arts Council Norway (Kulturrådet).

5.5 TRADITIONAL CRAFTSMANSHIP IN ENGLAND

These global examples of safeguarding practices offer an insight into how traditional crafts can be acknowledged and supported. But what of traditional craftsmanship in England? An in-depth historiography of craft in England would be excessive, since this research has a specific focus on traditional craftsmanship as intangible cultural heritage. However, a short review of some of the most important developments and research helps to add context.

The idea of a threat to the continuation of traditional craftsmanship is not new, in the late 19th century, the Arts and Crafts Movement, influenced by the work of William Morris and John Ruskin, advocated the use of traditional methods for crafts, which they felt had been impacted by the effects of industrialisation. Harrod (1999: 211) in her work *The Crafts in Britain in the 20th Century*, noted that although a Crafts Centre of Great Britain was established in 1946, it only supported 'fine craftsmanship', rural and vernacular crafts were excluded. A Scottish Crafts Centre was set up in Edinburgh in 1949. As Harrod (1999: 212) identifies, the Centre differed from its London counterpart in that it promoted some rurally based industrial crafts like knitwear and leather works, and that 'traditional' goods were as important to the Scottish Crafts Centre as innovative craft. In 1964, the Crafts Council of Great Britain was formed, in

co-existence, and often in opposition with the Crafts Centre. Harrod (1999: 217) notes that while this new organisation issued well-argued pamphlets and annual reports, put on a handful of interesting shows and pledged to support the work of amateurs, like the Crafts Centre, it struggled to maintain funding. It was the introduction of The Crafts Advisory Committee (CAC) in 1971 which was to be the pre-cursor for contemporary crafts advocacy still seen today. This new body was to advise the government "on the needs of the artist craftsman and to promote a nation-wide interest and improvement in their products" (Crafts Council 2018). In 1979, it was renamed the Crafts Council, whose objective was to "advance and encourage the creation of works of fine craftsmanship and to foster, promote and increase the interest of the public in the work of craftspeople and in the accessibility of those works to the public" (ibid 2018).

Craft has been counted as one of the 'creative industries' since the term was first adopted by the British government in 1998 (BOP Consulting 2012: 11). This designation enabled both the Crafts Council and HCA to enter the policy arena (Jakob and Thomas 2015: 500). Of further interest is the Creative and Cultural Sector Skills Council, which was set up in 2005, which gives young people opportunities to work and learn in the creative industries. They are an independent charity that provides career advice and guidance, promotes apprenticeships and delivers activities for young people through the National Skills Academy network of industry and education supporters.

Important research on traditional craftsmanship in England has occurred in the 21st century. *Crafts in the English Countryside: Towards a Future*, was the first study of rural crafts in 80 years and was carried out between 2001 and 2004, led by Professor E.J.T Collins of the University of Reading. The object of the research was to assess the position, future prospects and sustainability over the longer term of the rural crafts in England, and to make policy recommendations. One of these recommendations was the suggestion of setting up a Vernacular Crafts Council to serve as an umbrella organisation for all crafts in the heritage sector (Collins 2004: 323). It also advised that crafts which are currently endangered should be identified and added to a national data bank (ibid: 324). These recommendations have been achieved with the establishment of the Heritage Crafts Association.

A decade later, the HCA produced a reflection on *Crafts in the English Countryside,* which suggested that "things are much darker … despite the excellent report being well received and publicised in the media not only were few of the key recommendations taken forward but existing support was removed" (Reynolds 2014: 1). It suggested further research to understand

the geography of craft production across the UK, and to understand the situation of crafts in urban settings. It also recommended research and advocacy "to help funders and policy makers understand and respond to the significance and value of crafts as intangible, living, heritage and the risks faced by particular crafts" (Reynolds 2014: 4).

This desire for further research was realised in 2012, with a Creative & Cultural Skills commissioned paper, *Towards a Definition of Heritage Craft*, written by Hilary Jennings, which sought to map out the history and current landscape of support for craft (and in particular heritage craft) in England, including placing it within the sphere of intangible heritage and explaining the important contribution it has to tourism and a sense of place, to the rural economy, to sustainability, and to wellbeing.

Another report in 2012, *Mapping Heritage Craft*, was the first comprehensive study to define, categorise and examine the size and shape of the Heritage Craft sector in England. According to the report, in 2012 the sector provided employment for 210,000 people, delivered just over £10.8 billion in revenue and £4.4 billion in gross value added (GVA) to the UK economy. These businesses employ 170,000 people who use Heritage Craft skills and knowledge for the majority of their working time (Department for Business Innovation and Skills 2012: 108). Interestingly, this is £1 billion more than was reported for those working in the contemporary craft sector at a similar period (Jakob and Thomas 2015: 504).

5.6 TRADITIONAL CRAFTSMANSHIP IN SCOTLAND, WALES AND NORTHERN IRELAND

Although the focus of this study is on England, and traditional craftsmanship in the Midlands, the HCA is a national organisation, and a brief overview of heritage craft in the other nations of the United Kingdom provides consistency with the previous chapter which summarised ICH in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland.

In Scotland, Craft Scotland is the national development agency supporting makers and promoting craft, and is supported by Creative Scotland, who "lobby for craft as an essential part of our cultural, economic and social life and work in partnership with other like-minded agencies to achieve this …We want Scotland to be a place where craft is valued as culturally significant, essential to our economy and integral to our communities" (Creative Scotland 2018). In 2000, the Scottish Arts Council produced *Glorious Obsession: Scottish Indigenous Crafts Today*, in which three case studies linked indigenous crafts to education, tourism and

economic development. "Contemporary practice of these crafts is based on received traditions, making them distinct from the innovative and expressive crafts developed through the art colleges … Today, these crafts offer a livelihood to a significant number of people and additionally represent an opportunity for promoting a positive image of Scotland's cultural inheritance" (Scottish Arts Council 2000). Traditional craftsmanship in Scotland is now part of the intangible heritage policies of Museums Galleries Scotland, including the wiki inventory, which was discussed in more detail in Section 4.9.2. There are fourteen examples within the 'Crafts' category on the ICH Scotland website, including Fair Isle knitting patterns, fishermen's ganseys (a type of woollen jumper), Harris tweed, and the Shetland yoal (a type of boat).

In Wales, craft is supported by the Arts Council of Wales which has a vision that "Wales forms, attracts and fosters a broad, viable and ambitious Crafts sector where makers have access to a resourced network of galleries, services and facilities, allowing their work to flourish and reach an ever-increasing number of people locally, nationally and internationally" (Arts Council of Wales 2018). This again, though, is centred on contemporary, innovative craft. Of more relevance to traditional craftsmanship in Wales is St Fagans National Museum of History. Established in 1948 as the Welsh Folk Museum, historically it has afforded greater prominence to crafts than other comparable institutions in the UK, which is largely attributable to the museum's founder Dr Iorwerth Peate, who wrote extensively on Welsh folk life and crafts (see Peate 1945; 1972). Williams-Davies (1989: 218) notes that the museum has successfully trained many apprentices, in fields such as coopering, weaving and woodworking. "On an informal level the museum has also helped in the training of a very large number of individuals ranging from schoolchildren to full-time practising craftsmen interested in traditional techniques. Happily, many of this latter category are now utilizing these skills and earning a living as independent craftsmen". St Fagans will also see a new £30 million redevelopment project, funded by the Heritage Lottery Fund, and the Welsh Government. Gweithdy, translated from the Welsh as 'made by hand', a new sustainable building celebrating the skills of makers past and present, has been introduced to encourage visitors to experience traditional skills first-hand. Opening in 2018, it allows people to participate in a wide range of courses and craft workshops run by skilled craftspeople and artists (St Fagans National Museum of History 2018). Daniel Carpenter was involved from the beginning "in that I got together the network of craftspeople that they consulted on what would be in the Gweithdy … it's supposed to be a centre for craft skills rather than craft objects, so the whole thing, it's going to be ICH, so

brilliant, first place in the UK to have such an emphasis" (Interview 5:19). His main concern was his recommendation to have more long-term courses to make heritage crafts attractive as a career "but the funding that they had access to wouldn't allow that … they were saying the right things, and I still think it will be good as there'll be a place devoted to craft skills, but it might be on a slightly more superficial level" (Interview 5:19).

In Northern Ireland, the newly formed Craft NI, which is funded and supported by the Arts Council of Northern Ireland, like the Crafts Council and other UK craft agencies, appears to omit traditional crafts from its remit as "the sector-lead body for the promotion and development of the design-led contemporary craft industry in Northern Ireland" (Craft NI 2018). A stronger advocate for heritage craft in Northern Ireland is the Ulster Folk and Transport Museum, through its Creative Arts & Crafts Programme 2017-2018, which provides a variety of workshops in traditional crafts, such as woodwork, blacksmithing or basket weaving (Ulster Folk and Transport Museum 2017). A more ambitious project is the ÉCONOMUSÉE Craft Reach Northern Ireland – Artisans at Work! which provides a network for artisans to develop and combine culture, craft and tourism, creating an economic platform from which the artists can encourage the promotion and development of traditional crafts, involving local communities and creating new job opportunities. The project includes six artisan workshops where visitors can have the opportunity to meet the artisans and learn about the history of the craft and the business (Causeway Coast and Glens Heritage Trust 2018).

5.7 THE HERITAGE CRAFTS ASSOCIATION

The Heritage Crafts Association was launched in 2010, with a mission to support and promote traditional and heritage crafts for current and future benefit. Its remit is to advance public knowledge and appreciation of traditional and heritage crafts, in particular, but not exclusively, through education, advice and training (Heritage Crafts Association 2014b: 3). As part of this study, interviews were conducted with Robin Wood (Interview 5:18) and Daniel Carpenter (Interview 5:19), who have both been involved with the HCA since its inception, to provide an insight into its workings and policies.

The raison d'être for the formation of the Heritage Crafts Association has been summed up by Robin Wood. "In Britain heritage crafts fall between the Crafts Council, which supports the artistic, innovative end of the crafts spectrum, and English Heritage, which only deals with buildings. We come under the Department for Culture, Media and Sport, but in reality we don't

fit in anywhere. So, there's no co-ordination, no promotion, no funding of anything at all. Almost every country in the world is doing more to support these crafts than we are – helping maintain them as real, thriving, evolving businesses, not just objects in a museum" (cited in Henley 2010).

The HCA Strategic Plan of 2014 offers five key aims:

- Surveying - researching the status of heritage crafts, identifying those crafts in decline
- Advocating - communicating the vital importance of the heritage crafts to Government, key agencies and organisations
- Celebrating - raising awareness and raising the status of heritage craft skills
- Safeguarding - working in partnership with key agencies in the education and learning sectors to identify and support new and innovative ways to ensure that the highest standard of heritage skills which are passed from one generation to the next and where necessary recorded for posterity
- Supporting - to support heritage crafts through a range of means, including advice, networking training and access to public and private funding

(Heritage Crafts Association 2014b: 3)

5.7.1 Surveying – Inventorying of Traditional Craftsmanship in the UK

In 2015, the HCA received a grant of £7650 from The Radcliffe Trust to assess the vitality of traditional heritage crafts in the UK and identify those crafts most at risk of disappearing. A secondary aim of the project was to create a comprehensive list of heritage crafts in the UK (Heritage Crafts Association 2017: 3). This is of interest as the Red List performs many of the requirements set out by UNESCO for the drawing up of inventories. Since UNESCO leaves the choice of whether to create one or several inventories to the States Parties, "One can think of discrete inventories for different domains of intangible cultural heritage" (UNESCO 2018b).

The Radcliffe Red List was launched in 2017, after collating the data from approximately 700 organisations and individuals, who were contacted directly by email and telephone and invited to contribute to the research. This grassroots-led bottom-up approach was specifically chosen by the HCA, in line with the important role of communities in the 2003 UNESCO Convention

(Heritage Crafts Association 2017: 3). Participants identified issues which affect the sustainability of their crafts, and from that eight themes were recognised by the HCA: Training issues, recruitment issues, ageing workforce, loss of craft skills, market issues, supply of raw materials, small business issues, and miscellaneous issues (Heritage Crafts Association 2017: 4). The list created a traffic light system of red, amber and green, reflecting those crafts which are critically endangered, endangered and currently viable. Four traditional crafts are extinct, cricket ball making, gold beating, lacrosse stick making, and sieve and riddle making. There are seventeen crafts that are classified as 'Critically Endangered', which are those at serious risk of no longer being practised. This includes, amongst others, clog making (hand-carved soles), coachbuilding and wagon making, fan making, hat block making, parchment and vellum making, piano making, saw making and swill basket making. There are 45 on the list that are classed as 'Endangered', those which currently have sufficient craftspeople to transmit the craft skills to the next generation, but for which there are serious concerns about their ongoing viability. Finally, there are 93 crafts which are considered to be currently viable. The Red List also offers a number of recommendations, including that the Government clarify the role of DCMS in supporting heritage crafts and other areas of intangible heritage and that "The UK should sign up to the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage to ensure that traditional craftsmanship, as well as other forms of intangible cultural heritage, are safeguarded for the future" (Heritage Crafts Association 2017: 15).

Daniel Carpenter, as part of a PhD funded work placement, will be recording endangered crafts and how things are changing, and a new Endangered Craft Officer will be intervening whenever a craft is discovered which is struggling. "There's going to be an element of action research, so they are going to be working out what ways will be most effective within the capacity that they've got. So, it could be things like providing training in marketing or social media. It could be help with accountancy or just finding ways of doing things more efficiently, or free up their time for actual production. Or it could be to do with finding them apprentices to pass on their skills" (Interview 5:19). Although this is yet to commence, it shows that the HCA are looking at practical solutions to safeguarding issues.

5.7.2 HCA Advocacy

The HCA argue that traditional crafts fall outside of the remit of support provided by government agencies, being neither identified as 'heritage' by Historic England with their focus on buildings and monuments, nor as 'arts' which favour the innovative over the traditional, as

is the case with the Crafts Council. A small handful of heritage crafts which are outside of the built environment authorised heritage discourse have received funding from heritage agencies, such as wheel-wrighting (National Trust) and reed-bed cutting (Heritage Lottery Fund) (Jennings 2012: 10). "We are between business, heritage and arts, we just fall straight down the middle. Rather than it being a strength, having a foot in all those camps, we are just fobbed off, in that people think, you don't fit with us, you need to speak to somebody else, and then you end up going round in circles. It's strange because when you think of the activities, traditional crafts should be no less legitimate than contemporary dance … it's almost impossible I would say to challenge the structure. If we got what we think we are due, a share of money through DCMS, it would probably mean the end of the Crafts Council, or at least in the form it is currently in. I don't think there is enough impetus to push that through, to see off the Crafts Council" (Interview 5:19).

The subject of traditional crafts safeguarding has been raised in Parliament. In 2009, Tom Levitt, Member of Parliament for High Peak, raised the topic of traditional crafts in the House of Commons:

> It seems that only once these crafts are dead do they come under the remit of the heritage industry, as their products find their ways into museum displays and people take pride in their conservation and celebrate their memory. Why can we not give the same attention to the ailing small industries that create these iconic objects? Are not the skills as worthy of conservation as the products that they create? We assess the relative importance of protecting, preserving and finding new life for older buildings that we see as part of our heritage: why should we not take a similar approach to heritage craft skills, and allocate a budget to do so?

(HC Deb 25 June 2009 C1037)

In 2017 Sharon Hodgson, Member of Parliament for Washington and Sunderland West, asked the DCMS what steps were being taken to ensure the safeguarding of heritage crafts in the UK. The answer from John Glen (Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Arts, Heritage and Tourism) was that "We take the protection and promotion of Heritage Crafts seriously" and went on to explain a number of initiatives from the Heritage Lottery Fund (HC Deb 18 October 2017 W108578). As Daniel Carpenter has explained though, the HLF fund is concentrated on traditional crafts which are linked with historical buildings. "If it's to do with preserving an historic building, they do a lot of that, but not if it's just for the skill in its own right". He goes on to add that "it's recording stories of crafts rather than preserving the craft, or it's preserving them as museum artefacts and that's not intangible heritage" (Interview 5:19).

Both Robin Wood and Patricia Lovett have been lobbying government as representatives of the HCA. "They have been trying to get various government ministers to understand ICH and how crafts fit into it, and just to raise awareness … Most of the people that Patricia and Robin have spoken to are hugely sympathetic, it's just more than within their realm of power to influence" (Interview 5:19). The HCA have successfully influenced the formation of an All Parliamentary Group for Craft, established on 12 June 2018, "To enhance the understanding and promotion of craft in the UK, and to ensure craft skills are supported and passed on to future generations" (Parliament 2018). They are also in favour of the government ratifying the UNESCO Convention. According to Robin Wood, "there has been absolutely no government action of any sort that would help safeguard living heritage in the UK. Despite asking the question to consecutive governments, numerous ministers and their civil servants, I have yet to see a straight answer as to why the UK have not signed and are not thinking of signing the 2003 convention" (Interview 5:18).

Not all of the HCA Trustees are necessarily so adamant that ratification is the answer to the safeguarding issues surrounding heritage crafts. Daniel Carpenter has mixed feelings:

> We've had Harriet Deacon come to one of our committee meetings and she advised us not to put all of our efforts into ratification because she said, you are pretty much doing it anyway, with the Red List ... it would be a symbolic gesture, mostly, it probably wouldn't involve any more government investment, other than the ratification process itself. But she also said on the flip side of that, it could be a good way of persuading them to ratify, because we are doing most of it already ... So, I've got mixed feelings. I'd rather put our efforts into things that are going to help people on the ground, and ratification won't necessarily do that, unless a lot of other things come along with it, and that's not a given.

(Interview 5:19)

In 2014, the HCA was awarded UNESCO NGO accreditation at the sixth session of the General Assembly for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, the first UK-wide organisation for safeguarding intangible heritage craft skills (Heritage Crafts Association 2018). Although there is limited capacity in the UK (as a non-ratifier of the Convention), there are opportunities as an accredited NGOs to engage in international networks and may be invited to Committee meetings for consultation.

Despite some limited success for the HCA, Daniel Carpenter admitted that a broader approach may provide a stronger pressure group. "I think what we could have done a bit more that we

haven't, is to link in with the other ICH domains and create a single lobby for all ICH" (Interview 5:19).

5.7.3 HCA – Celebrating, Safeguarding and Supporting

The final three aims of the HCA, celebrating, safeguarding and supporting heritage crafts, has been focused around the support and creation of apprenticeships and other educational support, and the promotion of traditional crafts through the HCA website, their conference, and on promotion through television appearances and other media. The HCA 2014 Strategic Plan (Heritage Crafts Association 2014b) discussed the possibility of taking part in Craft Trailblazer, an apprenticeship standard. However, Daniel Carpenter commented that HCA took a step back because "we thought it wasn't going the way that would suit the kind of craftspeople that we represent … in terms of creating brand new apprenticeship frameworks for niche crafts, there's just not the numbers going through to support it" (Interview 5:19). The HCA are looking at other possibilities for apprenticeships. "We are speaking to somebody at City and Guilds … he seems to think that they are going to relax some of the standards around creating apprenticeships. So, they won't require such a big consortium of employers to put a standard together, and they can be a bit more modular, so we are hoping that will allow for more niche crafts to develop their own apprenticeships standards" (Interview 5:19). There is also the thought that accreditation is not as important with heritage crafts, so the HCA are also looking at peer accreditation, although as Daniel Carpenter explains "the only problem is funding tends to follow qualifications" (Interview 5:19). Part of the new Endangered Craft Officer role is going to be working towards an HLF funding bid, "so we think we are going to do something to develop qualification standards or look at the potential of unaccredited …" (Interview 5:19).

The Heritage Crafts Association also understands the importance of self-promotion, and that of the craftspeople they represent. Through the annual HCA conferences in London, traditional craftspeople have had the opportunity to network, see talks from keynote speakers, and be involved in the Heritage Craft Awards. At the 2018 London Craft Week, an event called 'Making It! QEST and the HCA at the Worshipful Company of Carpenters' witnessed the bringing together of many together to demonstrate their skills to the public. Rebecca Struthers, a craftsperson from the Midlands was a participant. She noted that "it was great. We met some really interesting people, including our fellow makers. It's nice getting everyone out" (Interview 5:12).

Figure 5.1 The QEST HCA Making It! At the Worshipful Company of Carpenters, London © Suzy Harrison

Finally, opportunities to appear in the media, especially on television to promote the HCA vision are encouraged. In September 2017, HCA vice-chair Patricia Lovett was interviewed by BBC Countryfile programme. However, "the challenges of craft continuing into the future are more complicated than the short sound bites they really wanted. The fact that we [have] not signed up to the UNESCO Convention of Intangible Cultural Heritage was cut out, although I was allowed to mention the Convention itself" (Lovett 2017).

5.7.4 HCA Funding and Awards

The HCA receives no funding from the UK government, and so is totally reliant on donations, on membership fees, and the assistance of private foundations, through which the HCA is almost entirely funded, such as the Headley Trust, which has funded the post of an HCA Administrator, the Foyle Foundation and the Dulverton Trust. "A lot of them have either heritage or craft remits, so we fit in with them. A lot of it depends on the interests of the trustees … We found it easier to go through private philanthropy than through public funding" (Interview 5:19). The Radcliffe Trust funded the HCA/Radcliffe Red List of Endangered Crafts and the launch of the research at the House of Lords in May 2017. The Ernest Cook Trust

funded the SEPE Countryside Crafts project. This was an apprenticeship scheme in Somerset whereby the craftsperson was paid for their time, "which is the main intervention we could make, to take the financial risk away from them … we did a day a week for 6 weeks, and if they took a day out of their production that would be a big hit on their income … It was quite successful, but particularly in one case, where Zoe Collis was given a full-time apprenticeship at the Two Rivers paper mill".

The HCA have also had a small amount of funding from the HLF to revamp the website and develop The Makers Directory (Interview 5:19). Other organisations have been involved in providing funding through the Heritage Crafts Awards, which the HCA established in 2012. The HCA Heritage Crafts 'Maker of the Year' is a £1,000 award which recognises a heritage craftsperson who is outstanding in their specific craft and the contribution they have made to crafts in general. The Queen Elizabeth Scholarship Trust (QEST), was established in 1990 to support craftspeople of all ages and from all backgrounds, at a critical stage in their careers to sustain traditional British craftsmanship. It has awarded over £3.5 million to 442 craftspeople, aged between 17 and 58, across 130 craft disciplines (QEST 2014). The HCA/QEST Apprenticeship in Heritage Craft provides funding to enable apprentices to learn craft skills (Heritage Crafts Association 2013a). The HCA/QEST Scholarship in Heritage Craft provides a bursary of up to £18,000 over three years for those who have completed an apprenticeship or equivalent and wishes to take their training further (Heritage Crafts Association 2013b). The Marsh Christian Trust provides £1,000 each for the Marsh Heritage Crafts Endangered Crafts Award, Marsh Heritage Crafts Volunteer Award, and The Marsh Heritage Crafts Trainer Award. They also provide £1,000 for the Marsh Heritage Crafts 'Made in Britain' Award, which recognises individual craftspeople and small manufacturers who are making great quality British products (Marsh Christian Trust 2018). Finally, the Arts Society (previously the National Association of Decorative and Fine Arts Societies), and the HCA provides a Bursary for £1,500 which is primarily aimed at assisting the training of apprentices (Heritage Crafts Association 2013c).

When asked about other funding streams, including why the HCA have not had support from Arts Council England, Daniel Carpenter replied, "any time we approach Arts Council England they always channel us to the Crafts Council, because they consider all their crafts funding as going through the Crafts Council. They take away all responsibility from themselves because they fund the Crafts Council to do that on their behalf … [but] The Crafts Council aren't

interested in intangible heritage or anything other than innovation and contemporary crafts" (Interview 5:19).

The desire of the Heritage Crafts Association to ratify the ICH Convention originates from a small group of highly knowledgeable craftspeople involved in the organisation. What is needed, however, is a closer examination of traditional craftspeople at grass roots level – the 'communities' described by UNESCO. Have they even heard of the UNESCO Convention? What are the main concerns for these practitioners, and do these issues relate to the safeguarding methods found in countries who are implementing the Convention? Or can inspiration be found elsewhere? The following section of this chapter focuses on the results of interviews with traditional craftspeople carried out across the Midlands of England.

5.8 HERITAGE CRAFTS ASSOCIATION IN THE MIDLANDS

As noted in the methodology, the rationale for focusing on the Midlands of England was one of logistical practicality. Of the 48 counties of England, 12 are in the Midlands, which equates to 25%, which is sufficient for a suitable sample to be made. Jennings (2012: 3) explains how the heritage crafts sector has been difficult to map.

> The UK's heritage craft sector is … one of the hardest to reach with practitioners often geographically spread, working alone or in small workshops and outside of conventional networks. The sector has traditionally proved difficult to map, ranging as it does from skilled semi-industrial trades such as pottery in Stoke to one-person workshops practising traditional crafts and composed of many niche practices with relatively limited communication and sense of common cause across specialisms.

With this in mind, the sample of heritage craftspeople for interviews was taken from The Makers Directory of the Heritage Crafts Association. The Makers is a showcase for Heritage Crafts Association members who are practising craftspeople, and within the Midlands area there are 36 heritage craftspeople listed. All were contacted by email or telephone call, and of those, 18 were prepared to be interviewed, a 50% success rate. This methodology has its limitations. Heritage Crafts Association members do not have to be on the Makers Directory, and of course not all heritage craft practitioners in the Midlands are members of the Heritage Crafts Association. There is the possibility of certain attributes of those on the Makers Directory. They may be more in tune with technology, and potentially more successful as they are aware of the HCA and Makers Directory as a marketing tool. There is also the possibility that they are engaged with heritage crafts as a political concept, and wider connotations

attached to traditional craftsmanship as intangible heritage because of their association with the HCA.

However, using the Makers Directory also had advantages as a sample method. Firstly, it provided a random selection of heritage craftspeople, based on location, and not on gender, age, or type of craft. The table below gives an account, in alphabetical order, of the craftspeople who were interviewed as part of this study.

Table 5.1 A list in alphabetical order of the craftspeople interviewed in the Midlands

Interview	Name	Type of Craft	Location
5:1	Shalini Austin	Copper Worker	Stamford, Lincolnshire
5:2	Hannah & Chris Barker	Traditional Letterpress	Derby
5:3	Jim Barrett	Leather Worker	Northamptonshire
5:4	Ann Bates	Ceramicist	Matlock, Derbyshire
5:5	Chris Baxter	Basketry	Nottingham
5:6	Phil Brown	Blacksmith	Ashbourne, Derbyshire
5:7	Rachel Evans	Basketry	Froghall, Staffordshire
5:8	Stephanie Gaston	Rug Maker	Telford, Shropshire
5:9	Hattie Kerrs	Knitter	Wirksworth, Derbyshire
5:10	Quentin Smith	Marquetry	Staffordshire
5:11	Martin Somerville	Green Woodwork	Nottingham
5:12	Rebecca Struthers	Watch Maker	Birmingham
5:13	Toni Watts	Manuscript Illuminator	Welbourn, Lincolnshire
5:14	Louise West	Lace Maker	Derby
5:15	Claire Williamson	Stained Glass Maker	Loughborough, Leicestershire
5:16	Jojo Wood	Clog making / spoon carver	Birmingham
5:17	Peter Wood	Green Woodwork	Leicestershire
5:18	Robin Wood	Pole Lathe Wood Turner	Edale, Derbyshire
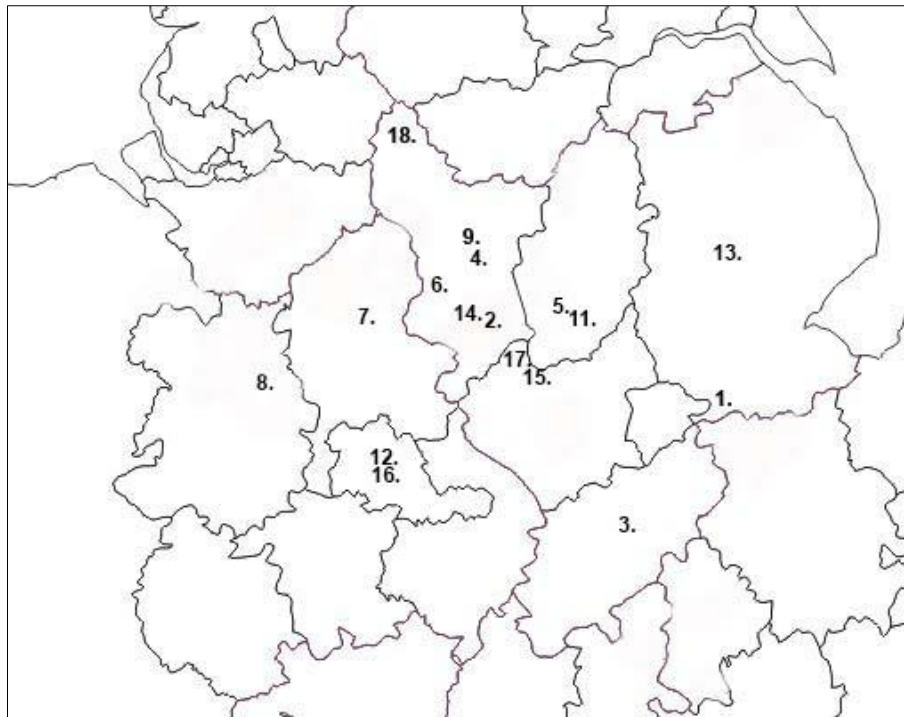
Figure 5.2 A map of the Midlands with the locations of each interview – each number correlates with the interview number allocated in Table 5.1

© https://d-maps.com/carte.php?num_car=5597&lang=en

5.9 ANALYSIS OF HERITAGE CRAFT INTERVIEWS

Table 5.1 shows the variety of heritage crafts which the interviewees specialise in, with only basketry and green woodwork appearing more than once. The interviews were also spread across the Midlands region, apart from the counties of Herefordshire, Rutland, Warwickshire and Worcestershire. As explained in the Methodology, the interviews were in-depth semi-structured, and on average lasted an hour. Although there were certain questions and themes which were covered in all the interviews, these topics were often raised without prompting. Such areas included why they chose a particular craft, how they learned, and issues surrounding passing on the knowledge and how to maintain their craft as a business. The resulting 18 interviews produced 18.08 hours and 100,516 words of transcribed data, and a transcription can be viewed in Appendix 3. All of the interviewees were members of the Heritage Crafts Association, from Robin Wood who helped form it, to a craftsperson who had only joined 3 months earlier.

5.9.1 Transmission and Awareness

There are many factors which influence the transmission of a craft. Kennedy (2010b: 81) notes that "written, visual or other documentation of the transmission of knowledge can only record limited aspects of a craft tradition, by its very nature falling short of a full account". In the past, the hereditary tradition was used, by which skills were handed down through the generations, 'from father to son'. According to Collins (2004: 318) "[the hereditary tradition] is very largely dead ..." This creates a problem for transmission, and the HCA Radcliffe Red List raises the issue of an ageing workforce, "with few or no younger people entering the craft. In some cases, the youngest known craftsperson may be in their 50s or 60s" (Heritage Crafts Association 2017: 12). From the small sample of craftspeople in this study, the average age was 45, with the youngest being 24 and the oldest 67. A telling reason for this was the high number of craftspeople who entered the trades as a second career. Interviewees came from an eclectic background of work including working in the NHS, as a police officer, legal secretary, house wife, video gamer and animator, or working for the Milk Board, in an auctioneers, for the Wildlife Trust, or running a motor home business. Part time work in bars and cafes was also a necessity whilst establishing themselves in the craft, and there was an admission that "very few of us who were able to make a living from what we were doing. Some people had a second job to keep them afloat" (Interview 5:13).

Entering the traditional craft trades as a second career suggests that transmission is now a middle aged and middle-class phenomenon. Those already with the financial means are seen as better equipped to make the transition. Toni Watts was able to retrain to be an illuminator because "I had a working husband, so I was very fortunate otherwise I wouldn't be here doing this. So, I had the financial backing to be able to stop work" (Interview 5:13). Basket maker Rachel Evans notes that, "my generation, it's almost seen as a posh thing to do, a middle-class thing. Middle class people have the leisure time to experience these things and to get into them" (Interview 5:7). Rebecca Struthers also commented on this issue.

> People say it's coming around and changing, and people are getting more engaged with craft and things, I see it on one side but I'm yet to see the uptake amongst young people … There are very few young people who are able to set up doing their own things from a working-class background. It's a real shame because it's kind of what the industry used to be … some of the most brilliant makers were from working class backgrounds (Interview 5:12).

The issue of youth awareness of traditional craftsmanship was raised by Toni Watts.

> There doesn't seem to be a lot of provision for youth engagement with heritage crafts. I looked in America and they have traditional arts summer schools, where kids can go and do a variety of traditional work … I don't think we have the same encouragement for the children and teenage groups. For the intangible heritage crafts point of view, there's not a lot out there (Interview 5:13).

Additionally, Jojo Wood, who grew up surrounded by heritage craft, discussed the pressure in the English education system to conform to a particular path. "Even though I was very aware of it, and knew it could be done for a job, even despite of all that awareness, still the pressure was from school, which made me feel like it wasn't a viable option, despite it being under my nose … The schooling system is very geared towards pushing you into university" (Interview 5:16). Also, the lack of school careers service knowledge meant that awareness of craft options were limited. As Rebecca Struthers attests, "I had never heard of watch making as a career, I had no idea it existed" (Interview 5:12).

Another factor in the transmission of traditional crafts is the solitary nature of the work, and the prevalence of working from home. In this study, 67% worked on their own, and 56% worked from home, the rest either having a workshop, studio or shop. Some of the interviewees who work from home saw it as a positive way of working. "It's better working here at home than having a studio away from home because I can just juggle everything. And I feel otherwise I would be having whole days at the studio and then whole days here to catch up, and I don't like to live like that" (Interview 5: 4). This flexibility was reiterated, "it's good being at home because in the evenings I can still be working, if I've got loads on I can work all evening but still be in touch with the family and what's going on" (Interview 5:3). For one craftsperson, the issue was not working from home, but the desire to have an allocated work space. "I would like to continue working from home but from a proper studio rather than my living room" (Interview 5:1).

Whilst some liked working from home, a theme arose of the isolating nature of their craft. One interviewee stated that "it is a bit isolated, being in a shed all day" (Interview 5:6), another felt that "you can go a week without talking to anybody" (Interview 5:10), and "it's one of the major issues with craft, it's such a solitary thing, and there are very few opportunities for crafts people to interact with one another" (Interview 5:16). Another craftsperson observed, "everybody works in isolation. Wouldn't it be great if there was some sort of community, but there isn't" (Interview 5:13).

The issue of isolation is not the preserve of working from home. Even working from a studio in central Birmingham, Rebecca Struthers explained that:

> It can be very isolating, we certainly suffered with that at times, especially in the darkest times when we weren't making any money at all ... Networking was really hard and isolation is a big issue for independent craftspeople. You do start to disconnect, whether what you do is any good, does anyone care? And realistically speaking, there's probably a lot of people out there who care very much about what you do, but they don't even know that you're there because you never get out of your workshop and nobody sees you. It's really important to get that balance right.

(Interview 5:12)

For others who work in studios and workshops, there is a positive effect of how the act of being in a public space can impact on the awareness of a craft. Rachel Evans, who rents a studio at Froghall Wharf in Staffordshire understands that "just being here, because people come in, even if they don't buy anything, they'll bear you in mind" (Interview 5:7). An interesting case is the workshop of Martin Somerville, who rents a unit in Sneinton Market, Nottingham. The market was redeveloped in 2015 and offers workshops and studio spaces of varying sizes suitable for creative sector Small & Medium Enterprises (SMEs) on flexible market terms as part of a wider Cultural Quarter initiative (Nottingham City Council 2018). His workshop's glass frontage allows visitors walking past to see inside.

Figure 5.3 The front of Martin Somerville's workshop in Sneinton, Nottingham. © Suzy Harrison

Martin Somerville is aware of this feature:

> The area's changing, there's a lot more people, a lot more footfall than there used to be, it was a very derelict area. There's a lot of artists' studios around here but they are very closed, and we wanted in particular a space that was very open to the public. It was almost like craft theatre where people could walk by, and part of the experience is watching what's going on through the window and seeing interesting things … even if people aren't coming in to buy anything, they are getting an experience, a flavour of it, it's part of our way of giving crafts back to the world.

> (Interview 5:11)

Jojo Wood, who moved into new premises on a high street in Stirchly, Birmingham, is looking for a similar experience. Although Jojo has an international reputation, she is hoping to promote her new workshop locally (Interview 5:16).

5.9.2 Training/Skills

Part of the issue of transmission is how craftspeople are trained and learn their craft. Traditionally many crafts where transmitted through apprenticeships, but higher education courses and shorter workshops are also modern methods of training. Ten of the craftspeople who were interviewed were either entirely self-taught, or attended a few short courses. Shalini Austin considered herself to be completely self-taught. "I haven't been on a course with somebody … I learned from watching videos … Thankfully now because of the internet … there's always information coming down, so you think, oh yes, I would like to learn that. And that is how I have learned everything" (Interview 5:1). The issue of being self-taught was not necessarily a negative one. "It's been more good for me to teach myself because I've been able to make what I wanted to make all the time" (Interview 5:6), and "I can teach myself now quite easily if there's something new that I wanted to know, and because it is so accessible, you can get a YouTube video to learn specific things" (Interviews 5:9). Robin Wood was also self-taught, reviving the pole lathe bowl turning skills of George Lailey, whose machine was on show at the Museum of English Rural Life. Through watching videos of Lailey at work, he was able to construct his own pole lathe and teach himself the craft. He admitted that "there's a lot of the ICH which was lost", but also that "I now feel that, 20 years on, I can make bowls better than Lailey could and I understand it better" (Interview 5: 18).

The two basket makers in the study both went through a form of apprenticeship. Rachel Evans received funding from the Basket Makers Association for some training with a well-known

basket maker. "I did a sort of apprenticeship with him, so it wasn't an apprenticeship as I was sitting with him all the time, I would go to him for 4 days then come home and practice everything that I had learned, then I would go back again a few months later" (Interview 5:7). Chris Baxter persuaded another basket maker to take her on as an unofficial apprentice, since "there is no proper official way of becoming a basket maker … the traditional way of doing it was to be an apprentice to somebody" (Interview 5:5). Claire Williamson, although originally trained to degree level, saw a small advertisement in the Leicester Mercury for a 16-year old school leaver to learn how to make traditional stained glass. She applied for it, explaining she was not a school leaver, but wanted the job anyway. She was successful, "they gave me the job, paid me like a sixteen year old, but I was [there] for about a year and a half, and basically just sucked them dry of all the skills and all the information I could get" (Interview 5:15).

Three others were also apprenticed, or continue to be so. Jim Barrett maintained a part time career with the Metropolitan Police whilst being apprenticed one day a week with Robin Coleman, one of the last traditionally bench trained saddle makers in the country. As it was not a traditional apprenticeship, he was unable to become a member of the Society of Master Saddlers "if you don't follow their specific route they won't let to take membership". However, the pragmatic reality of working to pay the bills and learning the craft mean that this was a better form of development for him (Interview 5:3). Chris Barker was apprenticed as a printer but after a series of redundancies, decided to use his interest and skills to set up a traditional letterpress business to take advantage of the revived interest in making things by hand. "When you buy something that you know has been hand crafted and hand produced, you value it a lot more than something you know has just been churned out" (Interview 5:2). Jojo Wood has been apprenticed with Jeremy Atkinson, the last traditional wooden clog maker in England. He was not looking for an apprentice, "I went to him and asked him to teach me … He was willing to teach me because he was approaching retirement" (5:16).

Rebecca Struthers, Louise West, Hattie Kerrs and Claire Williamson have been trained up to Masters degree level. None found their Masters programmes to be entirely suitable. Louise West did an MA in Art and Design which had a programme leader who was a ceramicist with little understanding of textiles, and Rebecca Struthers "wanted to do a Masters in Horology but there isn't one, or in watch making … I managed to tailor the MA in the History of Art and Design to be around Horology, I just tailored the assignments to what I wanted to do" (Interview 5:12). She has also successfully completed a PhD, and both have gone on to write

books on their subjects. Hattie Kerrs noted that "it was very conceptual what we were doing on the course, and I wanted something I could just make for the sake of making … I really disliked knitting as art and I still have a real hatred for it. I cannot see, I don't want them to be the same thing" (Interview 5:9). Claire Williamson discussed her educational experiences, whereby she was taught "half Business Studies and half glass but the Business Studies modules were just so ridiculous, they didn't actually relate to real life at all … I don't see why you can't come out of a degree with the knowledge of how to be self- employed in the discipline you are doing. Especially in the Arts. Why shouldn't you know how to do a tax return or know how to quote properly, or know where you can go looking for customers and what's a really good way and a bad way of doing it" (Interview 5:15). This issue of the lack of training opportunities, or lack of quality training was highlighted by several of the interviewees. "The problem that we've got is there is nowhere left in the UK that trains people with the skills we need them to have, we have to teach them on the job" (Interview 5:12), and "a lot of the courses I took don't exist anymore. So, if anybody wanted to follow the same pathway I have done to get into this industry, it no longer exists" (Interview 5:12).

5.9.2.1 Apprenticeships

As previously stated, a number of the craftspeople learned their trade through an apprenticeship. The HCA (2017: 11) raised "the loss of traditional methods of skills transmission, such as apprenticeships" as a potential issue affecting the viability of heritage crafts. Chris Baxter understands how training in heritage craft trades has changed. "Years ago, a boy would start an apprenticeship at 15, and if you got an apprenticeship as a basket maker, it was a good job, it wasn't a glamourous job, it wasn't a well-paid job, but it was a skill, a trade and you would be set up for life then. It's just not like that anymore" (Interview 5:5). Whilst many of the interviewees were self-taught, blacksmith Phil Brown wanted an apprenticeship but, "I couldn't find anyone who wanted to apprentice me because of the cost of insurance and the risk of burning yourself" (Interview 5:6).

Some of the interviewees were not willing to take on apprentices themselves, either through lack of self-belief, "I don't think I would. I would love to feel as if I had the skills to teach somebody else, but I'm not sure I have. I'm very self-conscious" (Interview 5:3), or the knowledge of the time it takes to gain competency, "it's difficult with illumination. You have to want to do it. It's difficult. And like a lot of the heritage crafts, I guess that's why a lot of people don't do it" (Interview 5:13). Jojo Wood explained that one of the main issues of

apprenticeships was the cost of training for the craftsperson in taking on a trainee, both in terms of both money and time. "Most of the practitioners are one-man bands, there is no incentive for them to take on an apprentice, because it's going to cost them in work and time and then at the end of the apprenticeship, that person who has come to them because they want to learn the craft, is going to go off and set up as competition" (Interview 5:16). Rebecca Struthers has taken on an apprentice, who she hopes she will be able to train to eventually take on responsibility for a department. But she too accepts that having an apprentice is problematic:

> Training someone on the job … it takes us away, because we can't work and you can only get funding schemes that help you hire and pay an apprentice, but I always find those really problematic, because firstly the wage allowance that they give you for an apprentice is pitifully poor and ... realistically a young adult cannot afford to work for that much money … So, I need more money than those schemes will allow for to pay my staff and then on top of that, it's the amount that it takes you away from your job, and none of them seem to pay the additional amount of money you'll be losing for at least the first six to twelve months it will take before they are capable of doing stuff on their own.

(Interview 5:12)

However, there were others who understand the importance of apprenticeships and are willing to offer the opportunity at some point in the future. Green woodworker, Peter Wood, is already in the process of hiring an apprentice. "I'm in negotiations with some people for an apprentice at the moment, who would start next year … I'm busier so I could do with an apprentice, and I think it is a good place to do an apprenticeship, because you get exposed to lots of different crafts, before you decide what you want to do". The apprenticeship would be advertised locally and be for three years (Interview 5:17). Hannah and Chris Barker at the Smallprint Letterpress Company want to "get to a point where we can take on staff and provide an apprenticeship, whether that's an ongoing thing or whether we can find an individual who I can invest in" (Interview 5:2).

5.9.3 Business / Market Issues

Business and market issues are some of the most important aspects for the safeguarding of traditional crafts trades, whether there is a demand for the product, and how craftspeople market and sell their trade. The interviews revealed an interesting trend for flexibility - many of the craftspeople were doing workshops and teaching instead of making, or diversifying into different areas. For instance, Jim Barrett was trained in saddlery, but has found new market opportunities making straps for vintage cars and carry handles for foldable bicycles.

Woodworker Peter Wood offers team building events, birthday parties, stag and hen dos, and basket maker Rachel Evans also does hen parties. "If you wanted to, you could make a really good living, and I mean a really good living out of teaching hen parties, and private lessons" (Interview 5:7).

One of the most intriguing diversifications involved the use of workshops to teach heritage craft as a means of improving mental health and wellbeing. Martin Somerville has used woodworking as a way of helping grieving parents after experiencing it himself.

> Making together was a really powerful way of healing that grief, or moving through the grief process. We started a little charity and we work with the City Hospital now. We've created a space for bereaved parents specifically to come together to be together through that grief which is very marginalised. Death in general is taboo. So now through this space we're giving parents a chance to make little memorials or teaching them wood carving so they can make little objects, little boxes that they can have keepsakes in, or if someone feels ready for that, then making a coffin. We'll be running coffin making courses for adults soon because there's been some interest from people wanting to make their own before they die to get in touch with it. There's something really powerful about doing that. So, for me this craft is bound up with those sort of emotions.

> (Interview 5:11)

Jojo Wood's new studio in Birmingham has been established as a social enterprise. "We call it a workshop and it's also an education space … and we are looking at the positive benefits of craft on mental health. So, we are running courses, both in woodwork and in some different crafts ... we are also looking at working with various local charities to do work trying to bring craft to the people who need it most, but never usually get to access it" (Interview 5:16). Another aspect of the business is using traditional craft to help local youths. Jojo Wood commented that they are "looking at doing outreach work with people who are risk of knife crime, disenfranchised youths ... and teaching them to use knives as tools rather than as weapons, so you are changing the perspective of the knife and also then providing a vocation and training to these people" (Interview 5:16).

5.9.3.1 Cost of Products

Part of the issue of demand, is the willingness for customers to pay more for hand made products. The interviewees were asked the question of whether this causes problems for traditional craftspeople. Although some craftspeople had struggled to convey the cost, with comments such as, "The odd one or two don't understand the hours and the effort that go into it" (Interview 5:4), and "not everybody appreciates and understands, especially because they

could go to half the shops on the high street and buy something that looks similar" (Interview 5:1), others also explained how flexibility and communication plays a part. "I can make something to your budget rather than you tell me what you want and I'll tell you a scary price and you'll run a mile" (Interview 5:15). Many other interviewees noted that customers were often well educated on the price of handmade goods, "they don't appear to be surprised … nobody seemed to baulk at the price" (Interview 5:13).

Equally, some craftspeople talked of the importance of using local heritage as part of the narrative. "I try to talk to people about how buying my baskets is part of the heritage, it's buying into a product that has been hand-made … The materials are grown in this country, some of them are grown very close to where we are now" (Interview 5:5). This was affirmed by the statement, "People like the local aspect" (Interview 5:15). As well as the importance of locality, what also emerged from the interviews was the understanding of how ideas of sustainability and authenticity can influence buyers. Hattie Kerrs said that "luxury used to be about high value materials and quite blingy aesthetics and now there's a move to where luxury is handmade, it's the skill, the luxury is tied to the authentic now" (Interview 5:9). Chris Barker similarly stated that "I think with the economic climate as its been, I think people are re-evaluating what they spend their money on. I think more people now would probably be inclined to spend more on something that is quality, rather than paying for something they know they are going to throw out" (Interview 5:2). Rachel Evans and Jojo Wood also added that how you market the 'story' behind the product is important. "There are certain clientele who are willing to pay a lot more … There are a lot of people who would say I buy your stuff because its good quality and it lasts and I'll pay a bit more for it because I know you … I think people like a story, they like your face" (Interview 5:7). "You have to tell them the story. So, if you are just putting it alongside everything else without explanation, then they go, oh that's a bit expensive. But that's where the marketing comes in" (Interview 5:16).

5.9.3.2 Raw Materials

A business issue raised by the HCA concerned the materials used by heritage craftspeople. "Some crafts are affected by the availability and cost of raw materials, allied materials and tools" (HCA 2017: 13). Many of the interviewees discussed raw materials, and for the majority, the availability of raw materials did not seem to be a problem. However, a few craftspeople did raise some points, such as problems with glass and lead which was discussed by stained glass window maker Claire Williamson. "I used to always use a manufacturer in Britain … for my

lead, but in the last few years, a box of lead has gone from £30 to £170 a box and it's got to the point where I've had to stop using it because it is too expensive, I'm having to use a different type of European lead which I don't like". (Interview 5:15) Availability of glass was also causing worry. "The main produces of fusable glass that I use, all got shut down because of emissions coming out of the factories. Another company moved down to Mexico and are starting to manufacture it again ...the thought of one not being manufactured anymore is quite terrifying, we've lost so many different types of glass over the years already that it's starting to get quite narrow" (Interview 5:15).

Chris and Hannah Barker at the Smallprint Letterpress Company discussed a special problem for traditional printers, that sets of vintage wood type were being bought up above market value and separated. "People like to buy it up so they can break them up and sell the letters individually. So, they'll go into an auction, buy a tray of letters, the last thing I saw was people turning them into keyrings. And it really breaks my heart when I see that. It pushes the price up for me, because I can't afford to go out and do that ...once they are broken up, the chances of those letters coming back together and being used, it's not going to happen" (Interview 5:2).

For basket makers Rachel Evans and Chris Baxter, growing a small amount of willow themselves is a good way of ensuring they have the materials they need. However, according to Chris Baxter, "it's quite difficult to get a range of colours, buff willow is the most commonly used, that's very easy to get hold of … [but] Flanders Red and Dicky Meadows, a lovely bright green, is so hard to get" (Interview 5:5). Rachel Evans discussed the issue of supply problems due to diseases and bad weather. "Obviously it's a natural material, so each year will be completely different, some varieties get canker, some varieties don't grow well in certain places" (Interview 5:7). She also complained of suppliers running out of a particular size of willow, "last year there was no 4ft to be had, so I was scratting around. If I do a sculpture course or a basket course I need quite a bit of it. So, I managed to get a little bit of it this year but this year it's going to be exactly the same" (Interview 5:7).

None of the green woodworkers interviewed had any issues with supply. Martin Somerville receives some of his wood from the local city council. "The city is great actually because there is so much tree work going on all the time, a branch over hanging something on a bus route or street trees … Our issue is persuading the council of the value of this kind of work and letting us know in a timely manner when the trees are coming down so we can be there and get it,

rather than chip it … We are working with the council at the moment trying to get a more thought out plan for their tree management for the next ten years or so" (Interview 5:11).

Hattie Kerrs has an ingenious way of sourcing her materials, by owning her own sheep from which she makes her yarns to knit. "The satisfaction and sense of pride you get from being able to turn the raw material into the material, you know knitting by wool, but to be able to make your own materials is so intrinsic to the craft, and that's what connects your craft to everything else and the world around you. Tied to the landscape" (Interview 5:9).

5.9.3.3 Affordability of Workshops

Another issue is affordability for those with workshops and studios. There is a realisation amongst some home workers that the prohibitive cost of renting leaves no other option. For Phil Brown, who has his blacksmith's workshop in his parent's back garden, "It would be difficult if I was renting, yes. If I bought somewhere to work … it would be tricky ... because it's not public, because the electric runs off the house electric, all my bills come through the house and it's in a shed in the garden, so it's fairly low key. Most people in Ashbourne don't even know I'm here" (Interview 5:6).

For those who do have a workshop, an element of luck and serendipity can play a part. The workshop of Rachel Evans at Froghall Wharf, Staffordshire, came up for rent at the right time. "We were so lucky to get this workshop, but we were looking at other places and it was so expensive. Now this place is owned by the Council, it was a Ranger Station and Visitor Centre and they were closing it down and they wanted somebody who was similar to us. So, we just live up the road. And it's really low cost" (Interview 5:7).

Martin Somerville in central Nottingham saw the benefits of the location, but admitted that rental expense could be an issue. "We're making it work. I think it wouldn't be possible without running courses and things like that. That would be prohibitive. It's a city centre location which is great in one way because we get loads of people passing by, it's quite an unusual thing for people to be walking down the street of the city and see someone hewing a big lump of wood. You don't expect it" (Interview 5:11).

5.9.3.4 Need for business skills as well as craft skills

Since 78% of those working in heritage crafts in England are self-employed (Jennings 2012: 16), to succeed, craftspeople require skills beyond the craft in which they specialise. "The difficult thing is that to get into craft, to be self-employed, you need to not only be good at making things, you need to be good at selling them as well" (Interview 5:16). Business skills are needed to create a sustainable enterprise and to distinguish the craft from being a hobby. Bureaucratic issues such as insurance and health and safety legislation, can be viewed as taking time away from making, and therefore earning an income. Rebecca Struthers noted this problem. "The average maker, independent maker, spends something like 40% of their time making, 40% of the time on admin and the remaining 20% on marketing, PR and social media, so you are spending less than half your time making" (Interview 5:12). She also discussed the problems associated with a lack of business experience.

> It is a nightmare and it's a minefield. We found that very early on setting up our business the number of pitfalls you can hit without having any idea. We nearly got sued twice within our first couple of months, once by PRS music licencing company, because we had a radio on and we had never even heard of PRS licencing, because if you are starting up a small company it's not even on your radar of things to be considering. We are a husband and wife, working just the two of us, we didn't think that listening to the radio was something that you could end up paying a fortune.
>
> (Interview 5:12)

Basket maker Rachel Evans made an astute observation regarding the help offered to small businesses in general.

> On a government level … they talk about helping small businesses, but their idea of a small business is entirely different to your idea of a small business when you're a one-man band … I did a craft fair at the weekend and there were loads of people like me there, quite often women actually, doing things at home because they can fit it in with other things, and that is making the economy go round. Their money is going back into the economy isn't it? But there's no value in that, it doesn't seem from up high.
>
> (Interview 5:7)

However, a couple of the interviewees did have a positive experience in learning business skills as part of an incubation unit. Banks Mill Studios in Derby has 38 studios, in a similar vein to Cockpits Arts craft business incubator in London, but with a more diverse range of creative industries. Applicants are offered up to a maximum of six-years occupancy with rent reduced by 50% in the first year of incubation and steps increasing annually. One-to-one business support sessions, workshops and events on topical and relevant business issues, opportunities

to network, promotion of the business and options to exhibit through an annual Open Studios event (Banks Mill Studios 2017). Both Chris and Hannah Barker from The Smallprint Letter Company and lace maker Louise West have had studios at Banks Mill. Hannah Barker commented that they found the incubator hugely useful as a stepping stone and "for business support and just the community atmosphere of it. Lots of mentoring opportunities. When we moved in they launched an EU initiative called Let's Do Business, so there was a lot of money being pumped into small businesses at that time" (Interview 5:2). Louise West had a studio for four years and noted that "they ran courses and workshops and sessions, mentoring sessions which helped with various things" (Interview 5:14).

5.9.3.5 Social Media

How craftspeople market themselves is an important issue, and in the 21st century, the use of websites and social media avenues are a ubiquitous tool for all businesses. Social media, such as Facebook, Twitter and Instagram, offer makers new means for communicating value and brand image building; new routes to global markets; new opportunities to engage with customers; and possibilities for growing professional networks (Woolley et al. 2015: 6). As illuminator Toni Watts commented "social media in relation to heritage crafts, in a way are odd bed fellows, but that's the way the world works" (Interview 5:13).

> It's all very well having a traditional skill but we are in the 21st century, we have to live and move with the times. If we want people to see what we are doing, if you are not on the internet, then there is a chance a lot of people will not see what we are doing. And then it will still carry on being a dying art because, especially if you want to give it to youngsters, they are not going to go into the wood to look for a blacksmith or a woodworker. If they see it on the internet then they might go and find it.
>
> (Interview 5:1)

From the interviews, 100% had a website, half of whom created it themselves. Facebook also had a full quota, with 67% using Twitter and 56% Instagram. Generally, the discussion of social media was positive, with comments such as "the best thing I did was build a website" (Interview 5:3), and "it has connected me with interesting people I wouldn't have met otherwise" (Interview 5:11). Some of the craftspeople spoke of the utility of social media; "I use Twitter, Facebook, LinkedIn, Instagram, Pinterest. Twitter is very good for connecting to business, Facebook is better for selling the products" (Interview 5:14), and "I'm quite out there in those kind of forums. It brings stuff to my door all the time" (Interview 5:5). For Jojo Wood,

aged 24, the youngest of the interviewees, she suggested that her youth influenced her ability with social media.

> For me personally, I do all of my own marketing and social media, it's something I got really into, the marketing side of it, I'm quite into that sort of stuff. I think also being younger has helped me … having grown up around social media, I got my Facebook account when I was 13, it's like picking up a new language, you have to put a lot more into it when you are older.

(Interview 5:16)

For one craftsperson, the internet has been a source of further income. Quentin Smith had experience of the internet from its earliest incarnations and now 10% of his business is offering a website maintenance service with a yearly fee, for eight or nine clients (Interview 5:10).

There is also a realisation that for some craftspeople, the use of social media and the internet is a massive adjustment. "A lot of people choose this line of work because it is solitary, they are a bit of a hermit and they want to work alone, but they don't realise in order to succeed nowadays you need to be your own photographer, website designer, marketer, you know, all these jobs have nothing to do with [the craft]" (Interview 5:6). A very small number of the interviewees, when asked about the use of social media, had a negative response, with replies like "I can't cope with all of that" (Interview 5:10), and "I'm not that way inclined" (Interview 5:4). Both of those respondents were in their sixties which perhaps reflects the notion that it is harder for older professionals to adapt to new technologies. However, Phil Brown, who is aged 31, had a surprising response, stating that "I'm quite technophobic. I don't even have a mobile phone" (Interview 5:6). One of the younger interviewees, Rebecca Struthers, also had a negative experience with licencing and copyright. "Getty came after us because we had commissioned a web designer to do our website and we paid him for all the licencing for the images that were on our website, and we assumed that was fine, and then we get a letter from Getty demanding thousands of pounds because we have used one of their images without permission" (Interview 5:12). The issue was resolved and she now controls photographic input.

Another issue is a lack of time, which pervades all aspects of small businesses, and as expressed by some of the craftspeople, on social media and other marketing aspects. "I'm not on Instagram, all my friends keep telling me I should go on Instagram. But it's time isn't it? When there's one of you and you're making and you've got to make things fast and you don't get paid, then you don't have time" (Interview 5:7). Others stated that, "It takes time. It's another

craft, a modern craft. It changes so quickly that … I've never been a big social media user" (Interview 5:11), and "I'm not really social media savvie. And I was finding it was taking far too much time. So, I've scaled back" (Interview 5:8).

For one of the interviewees, Quentin Smith, television has been another form of media which he has utilised for marketing and sales. He has appeared several times on Hochanda TV, the Crafts, Hobbies and Art channel, which can be viewed on Sky, Freeview and Freesat. He stated that "doing these TV programmes, you generate a lot of sales. You don't generate a lot of profit, because of the mark ups they are taking, but people see those kits, I know I've sold somewhere around 900 kits, that's 900 people who intend to have a go at marquetry" (Interview 5:10).

5.10 CONCLUSION

This chapter has focused on the UNESCO domain of traditional craftsmanship, and attempted to reveal the practical, demonstrable issues which influence traditional craftspeople in the Midlands of England, and effect the ways in which they are able to safeguard their intangible heritage. This study postulates that some of these concerns will translate to other countries which may have particular methods of safeguarding. The next chapter examines the organisations and cultural brokers in the Netherlands which manage ICH and traditional crafts within the UNESCO paradigm. It considers if this mechanism offers an insight into successful safeguarding which could provide a template for traditional craftsmanship and other forms of ICH safeguarding in England.

CHAPTER 6 – THE UNESCO APPROACH: A CASE STUDY OF RATIFICATION BY THE NETHERLANDS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In 2012, the Netherlands became the 144th country to ratify the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. As a safeguarding paradigm, the UNESCO Convention leads the way. There are so few countries outside of the UNESCO intangible heritage system, it seems inconceivable to many that a better approach could be found elsewhere. However, this should not deter critical analysis. As Chapter 3 revealed, there has been much reflection from academics and cultural brokers on the implementation of the Convention. By focusing on one country, culturally not too dissimilar from the United Kingdom, this chapter aims to interpret how the Convention functions. It will do so by identifying the background and ratifying process for the 2003 Convention. The main focus concerns the examination and critique of the practical implementation of the 2003 UNESCO Convention through the analysis of safeguarding processes involved in the traditional craftsmanship domain. As previously discussed in the methodology, the observations in this chapter are based on a literature analysis, two field trips to the Netherlands in January 2017 and February 2018, and interviews with key individuals associated with intangible heritage in the country.

As discussed in the Introduction, the decision was made to analyse a country which did not immediately ratify the Convention. As de Leeuw (2010: 11) notes, the Netherlands is usually not quick to ratify international treaties. For instance, the World Heritage Convention was not ratified until 1992, twenty years after its inception. "The Netherlands also took its time for the ratification of the Intangible Heritage Convention. The new policy area initially raised many questions" (de Leeuw 2010: 11). She added that a Dutch principle stipulates that treaties are only ratified if the instrument has a demonstrable added value for - in this case - cultural policy (ibid). Van der Zeijden (Interview 6:1) accepts that they were latecomers in ratifying the Convention, reasoning that it may have been considered unnecessary. De Leeuw (2010: 12) agrees with this assessment, stating that the Netherlands had doubts about the usefulness and necessity of a new, separate convention.

This reticence is pertinent for the study of the UK's non-ratification of the Convention. It highlights similar reasoning between the two countries, especially the hesitancy to legislate for

culture. This parallel narrative is a useful indicator of how the UK could come to a decision in the future whereby the Netherlands can be used as an example of a measured response.

6.1.1 Scope of the Case Study

The activities supported by the Netherlands via the Convention fund include building capacity for the safeguarding of intangible heritage on the former Netherlands Antilles and in Suriname (Ministry of Education, Culture and Science 2013: 16). The practical implementation of the Convention in Dutch overseas territories is relevant for the United Kingdom's three Crown Dependencies and thirteen British Overseas Territories, which would require similar consideration if ratification occurred. These parallels, then, are of interest, and a brief examination of the recent measures in the Dutch Caribbean will be discussed in this chapter. However, for logistical reasons, the focus of the research is on the Netherlands, rather than the Caribbean. The historical background of heritage policy and folklore studies, as a precursor of the present-day management of intangible heritage will be examined, as will the decision to ratify the 2003 Convention.

A general overview of how intangible heritage safeguarding has been implemented in the Netherlands has been documented through a literature analysis of the Activity Reports and Plans of Het Kenniscentrum Immaterieel Erfgoed Nederland (KIEN), translated into English by the centre as the Dutch Centre for Intangible Heritage, henceforth shortened to DICH, as it is in the Netherlands. Interviews were also conducted with Albert van der Zeijden, and Susanne Verburg from the Knowledge Development Team, and Saskia van Oostveen from the Heritage Care Team at DICH on two separate occasions – in January 2017 at the Culemborg office near Utrecht, and again in February 2018 at the office at Het Nederland Openluchtmuseum, (the Dutch Open Air Museum), in Arnhem. The role of the Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap (OCW), or Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, henceforth shortened to OCW, is examined through a literature analysis of Ministerial briefs and an interview in February 2018 with Riet de Leeuw, Senior Policy Advisor at the OCW. An interview with Marieke Brugman from the Netherlands National Commission for UNESCO expands the understanding of Dutch heritage bureaucracy. The views of Peter Jan Margry, of the Meertens Institute, the leading national institution for the study and documentation of Dutch language and culture, added a critical eye to the process.

As explained in the Introduction and Methodology, a focus on the UNESCO domain of Traditional Craftsmanship is utilised in order to look in more detail at the practical application

of safeguarding policy. Again, policy documents are scrutinised, and in two interviews with Saskia van Oostveen, and Pieter van Rooij from the Heritage Care Team at DICH, the safeguarding of traditional craftsmanship as intangible heritage is discussed.

A view beyond DICH is established in an interview with Wendy van Wilgenburg of the Windy Miller Foundation, which provides a perspective of how traditional craft is being celebrated and made more visible through film and an annual festival in Amsterdam.

Table 6.1 A list of the interviewees in the Netherlands

Interview	Name	Position	Company / Location
6:1	Albert van der Zeijden	Knowledge Development Team – Team Leader	Dutch Centre for Intangible Heritage (DICH / KIEN), Culemborg
6:2	Albert van der Zeijden	Knowledge Development Team – Team Leader	Dutch Centre for Intangible Heritage (DICH / KIEN), Culemborg
6:3	Saskia van Oostveen	Heritage Care Team – Team leader	Dutch Centre for Intangible Heritage (DICH / KIEN), Culemborg
6:4	Pieter van Rooij	Heritage Care Team - Advisor	Dutch Centre for Intangible Heritage (DICH / KIEN), Culemborg
6:5	Peter Jan Margry	Senior Research Fellow	The Meertens Institute, Amsterdam
6:6	Marieke Brugman	Senior Policy Officer	Netherlands National Commission for UNESCO, The Hague
6:7	Riet de Leeuw	Senior Policy Advisor	Ministry of Education, Culture and Science (OCW), The Hague
6:8	Wendy van Wilgenburg	Founder and director	Ambacht in Beeld Festival, Amsterdam
6:9	Saskia van Oostveen	Heritage Care Team	Dutch Centre for Intangible Heritage (DICH / KIEN), Arnhem
6:10	Pieter van Rooij	Heritage Care Team	Dutch Centre for Intangible Heritage (DICH / KIEN), Arnhem
6:11	Albert van der Zeijden	Knowledge Development Team – Team Leader	Dutch Centre for Intangible Heritage (DICH / KIEN), Arnhem

6.1.2 Kingdom of the Netherlands

The Kingdom of the Netherlands consists of four autonomous countries; the Netherlands, and the Caribbean islands of Aruba, Curaçao and Sint Maarten. The country of the Netherlands consists of the territory in western Europe, and Bonaire, Saba and St Eustacius in the Caribbean, which have a position close to that of Dutch municipalities (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2015: 1).

The Netherlands is a constitutional monarchy, with the monarch as head of state within a parliamentary democracy based on proportional representation with a bicameral Parliament (known as the States General). The Upper House has 75 members who are elected by the members of the Provincial Councils, making it an indirectly elected regional chamber. The Lower House has 150 members who are appointed directly in general elections. There are twelve provinces and 458 municipalities, and each province is governed by a Provincial Council (Ministry of Education, Culture and Science 2006: 22).

6.2 HERITAGE AND FOLKLORE POLICY IN THE NETHERLANDS

Although an interest in the cultural identity of the Netherlands arose in the sixteenth century (Margry 2006: 236), according to van der Meer and Raadschelders (2008: 137) the Netherlands established national policies for the preservation of cultural heritage relatively late in comparison to France, Germany and the United Kingdom. Cultural policy in the Netherlands was shaped by the 19th century liberal opposition to active state involvement, and by liberal politician Johan Rudolph Thorbecke, whose 'Thorbecke principle' "states that the government should refrain from making an artistic judgement on cultural expressions. For this judgement, the Minister relies on the Council for Culture (Raad voor Cultuur), the body that advises government and parliament on all matters concerning culture and media policy" (Ministry of Education, Culture and Science 2013: 4).

The care for heritage as an objective of government policy in the Netherlands can be mostly traced back to Victor de Stuers, who became chief of the new Arts and Sciences Department, which was created at the ministries in 1875 (Dibbits et al. 2011: 34). Whilst this early heritage policy mainly concentrated on buildings and monuments, it was Dirk-Jan van der Ven who had a huge influence upon the incorporation of folklore and landscape heritage into Dutch culture. He played an instrumental role in the establishment of the Netherlands Open Air Museum in

Arnhem in 1912 (van der Meer and Raadschelders 2008: 138). In 1934, the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences started a first institutionalisation of the subject by establishing a national body for folklore studies, the Volkskunde Commissie (Folklore Studies Commission) which was primarily dedicated to compiling a Volkskunde-Atlas voor Nederland en Vlaams-Belgie (Folklore Atlas for the Netherlands and Flanders) (Margry and Hoodenburg 2007: 250). The commission was institutionally affiliated with the Dialects Commission and the Commission on Names, established in 1930 and 1948, respectively. Pieter Meertens united all three commissions which was renamed in his honour after his death in 1985 to the Meertens Institute (Margry and Hoodenburg 2007: 250).

The Second World War witnessed a controversial chapter for folklore studies in the Netherlands. It has been noted by van der Zeijden (2000a: 12) that Dutch folklorists did not always offer resistance. Jan de Vries, the most prominent folklore scholar of the Netherlands, had been tempted to close cooperation with the German government. After the war he had to give up his Leiden chair and was punished with a publication ban, together with other known folklorists, Dirk-Jan van der Ven and S.J. van der Molen (ibid: 12). Meertens Institute academic Barbara Henkes (Henkes and Johnson 2002: 137), states that post-war, in the Netherlands as in England, Folklore Studies failed to gain an academic foothold or much official recognition. Meertens and his successor Han Voskuil maintained a low disciplinary profile and concentrated on documentation (Margry and Hoodenburg 2007: 251).

Margry and Hoodenburg (2007: 252) note that in the 1990s folklore studies thrived in the Netherlands. "Folklore Studies in the Netherlands (recently renamed Dutch Ethnology) is now very much orienting toward the present, especially through an interest in contemporary representations of the past in public folklore and other forms of heritage" (Henkes and Johnson 2002: 139). Likewise, "since the 1990s, the Dutch equivalent for "heritage", *erfgoed*, has become a buzzword in the Netherlands" (Ronnes and van Kessel 2016: 1). Grijzenhout in *Erfgoed: De geschiedenis van een begrip* (Heritage: The history of a concept), suggests that the word *erfgoed* was first mentioned together with art and science as recently as 1952. Historian Willem Frijhoff observed in his 2006 work, *Dynamisch erfgoed* (Dynamic heritage), that currently almost everything that belongs to the past is considered 'erfgoed' (Ronnes and van Kessel 2016: 3). Frijhoff's definition of cultural heritage was influential in defining intangible cultural heritage in a 2005 report of experts which will be explored further in this chapter.

Politically, a Department for Art and Culture has been in existence since 1945. Two years later, in 1947, the Council for the Arts (Raad voor de Kunst) was created by the Cabinet. In 1994, the political responsibility for arts and cultural affairs was given to a State Secretary, in combination with media affairs within the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science (Ministry of Education, Culture and Science 2006: 13). Intangible cultural heritage is the responsibility of this ministry and the flowchart below helps to visually interpret this complicated relationship within the Dutch political system.
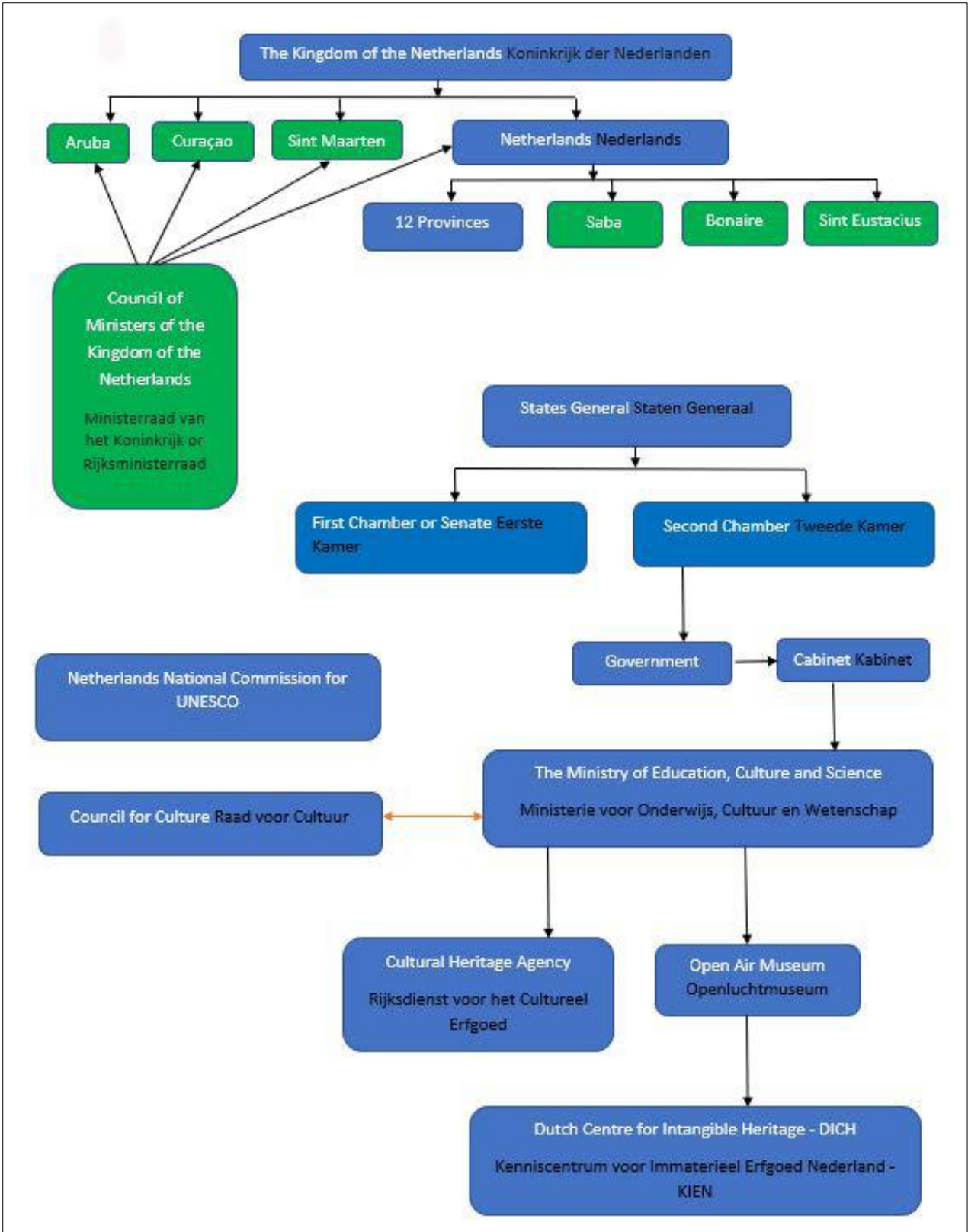
Figure 6.1 Flowchart showing the political system and heritage institutions of the Netherlands

6.3 THE ROAD TO RATIFICATION OF THE 2003 UNESCO CONVENTION

In 2003, Medy van der Laan, the Secretary of State for Culture, decided that the Netherlands would vote for the Convention during the UNESCO General Conference, arguing that for ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands, just as for African, Asian and South American countries, the Convention was of great importance. Moreover, the Netherlands did not want to isolate itself from the international field where the Convention would be adopted (De Leeuw 2015: 316). At the General Conference, the explanation of the vote from the Netherlands was: "In an era of globalization, the concept text is based on respect for cultural diversity, as well as recognition of the power of culture. The Netherlands endorses these basic principles..." (De Leeuw 2015: 316). Despite voting in favour of the Convention, the Netherlands were not amongst the first wave of ratifiers. Albert van der Zeijden (Interview 6: 1) noted that it always takes some time to ratify conventions in the Netherlands, suggesting that perhaps it was more in the country's nature to wait to see how it worked. This view was also espoused by Riet de Leeuw, who suggested that ratification was dependent upon further research: the need for policy in the relatively new area, for existing activities in the field of intangible heritage and the role of government (De Leeuw 2010: 13).

Therefore, in 2005, the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, Cultural Heritage Directorate commissioned a report on intangible cultural heritage in the Netherlands, in order to obtain a better picture of the effects of ratification. This report was based upon interviews with thirty-three experts, including Peter Jan Margry (ethnologist, senior researcher at the Meertens Institute), Marc Jacobs (director of the Flemish Centre for Folk Culture), Wim van Zanten (ethnomusicologist, department of anthropology at Leiden University; advisor National UNESCO Commission), Hester Dibbits (historian / ethnologist, researcher material and everyday culture at the Meertens Institute), Ineke Strouken (director of the Dutch Centre for Folk Culture) and Albert van der Zeijden (historian, scientific collaborator Dutch Centre for Folk Culture). The report discussed folk culture and intangible heritage in the Netherlands and included a list of conclusions and recommendations (Muskens 2005: 5).

The report states that "The UNESCO Convention for the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage is not entirely without controversy in the Netherlands" (Muskens 2005: 27). The Meertens Institute made critical comments on the Convention following consultations with the National UNESCO Committee in 2002. It argued that "Safeguarding intangible heritage is not possible and is undesirable, certainly not to the extent that it entails measures to steer, preserve,

protect or even preserve, or revitalize specific parts of intangible heritage" (Muskens 2005: 27). However, experts such as Susan Legène, Wim van Zanten and Peter Nas, professor of cultural anthropology at Leiden, were clearly in favour of a Dutch commitment to the Convention, partly because it provides an appropriate framework for non-Western countries (ibid: 27). The report concluded that almost all experts were in favour of Dutch ratification. However, most of them indicated that objections such as those voiced by the Meertens Institute also applied to them. Measures that involve more than care and attention for intangible heritage go too far, which did not fit with the approach followed in the Netherlands (ibid: 27).

In 2009 Minister of Education, Culture and Science, Ronald Plasterk informed the House of Representatives of his intention to ratify the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. "The National UNESCO Committee has advised me positively about the Netherlands' accession to the Convention ... I believe that the Convention makes an important contribution to cultural policy as an instrument to strengthen awareness, visibility, knowledge and the preservation of intangible heritage (and new forms) at national level" (Plasterk 2009: 3). The aim was to submit approval to the Chamber by mid-2010, but the fall of the government delayed proceedings.

In April 2011, a debate was organised at SPUI25, an academic-cultural centre in Amsterdam on the occasion of the publication *Immaterieel erfgoed en volkscultuur. Almanak bij een actueel debat. Intangible Heritage and Folk Culture. Almanac on a current debate*. The subject of discussion was the imminent ratification of the 2003 UNESCO Convention (Gubbels 2011). Whilst Cas Smithuijsen, director of the Boekman Foundation was in favour of the Convention, speaking of the importance of catching up with other European countries, Prof. Rob van der Laarse at the University of Amsterdam and VU University Amsterdam, expressed himself as a staunch opponent of the Convention and stated that questions about 'the making of heritage' were important and that the distinction between material and immaterial was not necessary (ibid 2011).

The following March, in the build-up to ratification, Nederlands Centrum voor Volkscultuur (VIE) and the Fonds voor Cultuurparticipatie organised an International Conference on Intangible Heritage in Duerne, to mark the commencement of Dutch intangible cultural heritage policy and the Year of the Intangible Cultural Heritage 2012. The conference was attended by over 150 participants, government representatives, and policy makers, including

Cécile Duvelle, chief of the Intangible Cultural Heritage Section of UNESCO (Nederlands Centrum voor Volkscultuur en Immaterieel Erfgoed 2015).

The 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage was approved by the Dutch parliament in April 2012, and came into force in August 2012 (Ministry of Education, Culture and Science 2013: 16). The Netherlands made €500,000 available for the implementation of the Convention on an ongoing annual basis. Part of this budget was placed at the disposal of the Intangible Heritage Fund established under the Convention as an earmarked voluntary contribution (ibid). Commenting on the Dutch ratification of the Convention, Albert van der Zeijden (Interview 6: 2) has said that:

> For us [VIE] it was very important, and also for the National UNESCO Commission and for the Open Air Museum, and also I hope for the Meertens Institute, to be part of this international discourse on heritage … So not staying outside this Convention, which almost everyone else in the world has ratified, but … taking part in this international debate and discussion, was also very important for us.

The misgivings which had been aired in the discussions surrounding ratification did not dissipate. Peter Jan Margry of the Meertens Institute agreed that "you cannot withdraw from international conventions, so it's not wise to be one of the sole countries to stay out of the whole project" (Interview 6: 5). However, he also admitted that "there is hardly one element of intangible cultural heritage that needs support in the Netherlands, we have 10,000 small groups and associations dealing with cultural heritage" (ibid). Margry has continued to question the merits of the Convention, such as in his 2014 article *UNESCO and the Paradox of Protection. Intangible Heritage in the Netherlands*, in which he asks "was such a treaty necessary in the Netherlands in such a structured way?" (Margry 2014: 58). Nevertheless, the Netherlands chose to ratify, and the next section of this chapter looks at the practical ways in which the 2003 UNESCO Convention has been implemented at DICH.

6.4 THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE UNESCO CONVENTION

6.4.1 Dutch Centre for Intangible Cultural Heritage (DICH) - Kenniscentrum Immaterieel Erfgoed Nederland (KIEN)

Minister of Education, Culture and Science, Jet Bussemaker (2013: 3), explained in a ministerial brief of 2013 that the implementation of the UNESCO Convention in the

Netherlands was being carried out, not by a new institution, but by the 'Nederlands Centrum voor Volkscultuur en Immaterieel Erfgoed' (VIE) - the Dutch Centre for Folk Culture and Intangible Heritage. It was established in 1984 with the support of government funds as the Informatiecentrum Volkscultuur - the Information Centre for Folk Culture, a professional institution for popularising knowledge about tradition and trends (van der Zeijden 2007a: 10). In 1992 the name was changed to Nederlands Centrum voor Volkscultuur (VIE) - the Dutch Centre for Folk Culture, and in 2011, Intangible Heritage was added to reflect the changes in heritage practice.

Albert van der Zeijden, who has worked at the centre since 1987, explained that the Dutch Centre for Folk Culture and Intangible Heritage had a number of roles, including issuing practical guides, organising projects, cooperating with other institutions in the field like the Open Air Museums in Arnhem and Enkhuizen and the Meertens Institute in Amsterdam. They also published several magazines including *Traditie* and *Volkscultuur Magazine* (van der Zeijden 2007a: 10). Finally, in 2015, the name changed to its current form, that of the Kenniscentrum Immaterieel Erfgoed Nederland (KIEN), or the Dutch Centre for Intangible Heritage (DICH). In 2016 the office moved from Culemborg, near Utrecht, to the Nederlands Openluchtmuseum (NOM), the Dutch Open Air Museum in Arnhem. This merger saw DICH become a department within the Museum as part of a larger strategy of the OCW to consolidate smaller units across the arts and heritage into larger organisations (Interview 6: 7). DICH conceded that "the merging of two entirely different institutions [is] initially difficult to bring together in one organization with a like-minded goal" (Kenniscentrum Immaterieel Erfgoed Nederland 2017a: 5).

DICH's main objectives are:

• to disseminate knowledge about and study intangible heritage in the present and the past
• to promote research into intangible heritage
• to stimulate and support activities and advise governments in the Netherlands and abroad in the field of intangible heritage in the Netherlands
• to realise the 'competent body' designated by the Netherlands as implementing the UNESCO Convention on the Intangible Cultural Heritage in the broadest sense of the word

(Nederlands Openluchtmuseum 2016: 3)

Financially, DICH receives funding through the Open Air Museum, which in turn receives subsidies directly from the OCW. In 2016, NOM made €588,606 available to VIE [DICH] (Nederlands Openluchtmuseum 2016: 18). For the period 2017-2020, the NOM submitted a grant application. An amount of €802,000 per year has been allocated for DICH (ibid).

6.4.2 Implementation of the Convention in the Dutch Caribbean

As previously explained, the Kingdom of the Netherlands also comprises the Dutch Caribbean. From the start of the ratification process, these constituent countries and municipalities were included in the process, and as Albert van der Zeijden (Interview 6: 1) expresses, the Netherlands considered the Dutch Caribbean as an important reason to ratify the Convention. He also admits that it took some time for approval from all the islands. As part of the implementation of the Convention a two-year project, from 2014 to 2016, was developed using an earmarked funding contribution from the Netherlands to the UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage Fund of US$531,718.00 (UNESCO 2017j: 6). Entitled 'Strengthening the capacities of Suriname and the Dutch Caribbean Islands (Aruba, Curaçao, Saba, St Maarten and the special municipalities of Bonaire, Saba and St Eustatius) to implement the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage', it was assigned to the UNESCO Kingston Cluster Office for the Caribbean in coordination with the Intangible Heritage (ITH) Section, UNESCO Headquarters. The project looked to strengthen capacities on each island to inventory and safeguard ICH; to develop inventories and assess the state of safeguarding intangible heritage on each island; and to carry out island consultations to involve all stakeholders and to build awareness of the 2003 Convention (UNESCO 2017j: 2).

Marieke Brugman at the Dutch UNESCO Commission explained that "it's difficult sometimes because we have this colonial history with the islands, and we shouldn't be deciding everything ... but also we are obliged to ... they weren't very happy with someone from the Netherlands telling them what to do" (Interview 6:6). Nevertheless, a UNESCO report at the end of the project indicated a number of successful outcomes, including the direct training of 44 people, the training of practitioners in various methodologies from the inventory workshop and in the use of the audio-visual equipment (UNESCO 2017j: 15), and "of note was the predominance of youth in field inventorying activities in Saba, Sint Eustatius, Sint Maarten and Suriname" (UNESCO 2017j: 6). Furthermore, the Dutch islands developed the Willemstad Declaration, a strategy for the implementation of the Convention to contribute to the safeguarding of ICH, as well as a platform for cooperation (UNESCO 2017j: 15).

6.4.3 The Intangible Heritage Safeguarding Strategy

In order to implement the UNESCO Convention, DICH is divided into two separate departments: Knowledge Development and Heritage Care. These two teams work on different policy aspects, knowledge development specifically on the more academic side. There are four members of the Knowledge Development Team: Albert van der Zeijden (team leader), Sophie Elpers (scientific staff member), Miriam Geerdes-Gazzah (academic staff member) and Susanne Verburg (scientific assistant). For the purpose of this research, I have concentrated more on the workings of the Heritage Care Team, as this focuses on the application of the inventory and other outreach with heritage communities. However, a brief description of certain relevant practices of the knowledge development team is necessary to show the holistic approach applied to intangible heritage policy in the Netherlands. Firstly, at the end of 2016, Albert van der Zeijden started a five-year Research Fellowship in Intangible Heritage Studies at Utrecht University, working two days a week, whilst also remaining in the service of DICH. As part of the Department of History and Art History, he participates in research and education programmes that are linked to the focus of public history and the further development of heritage studies at the university (van der Zeijden 2017a: 37). The programme at the university links to the themes of DICH. A number of these fields have been selected for further research and reflection. Those are superdiversity and processes of social belonging; controversial heritage; youth cultures; and the relationship between tangible and intangible heritage (van der Zeijden 2017a: 39).

Another important feature of the knowledge development agenda is the utilisation of conferences as a way of ongoing communication and increasing the flow of information by bringing together academics and practitioners from across the Netherlands and other countries, especially Belgium who are regular collaborators. An international conference in March 2018, entitled *Urban Cultures, Superdiversity and Intangible Heritage* was organised by DICH, with assistance from other organisations.[12] Present at the conference was Tim Curtis, the Head of the UNESCO Intangible Heritage Section, and ICH policy implementers from Bulgaria, Spain, and Germany. This provided an opportunity to network and consider best practices, and further academic interest in the subject by publishing a book of the proceedings.

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[12] This included tapis plein – the expertise centre for intangible heritage in Flanders; FARO, Flemish Interface Center for Cultural Heritage; the German Commission for UNESCO; and in cooperation with the University of Utrecht and the Free University of Brussels UNESCO Chair on critical heritage studies and safeguarding ICH; and the National Commissions for UNESCO in Belgium and the Netherlands.

Finally, and linked to the idea of international cooperation in intangible heritage, is the role Albert van Der Zeijden and DICH has in the ICH NGO Forum. The 2013-2016 Activity Report notes that the international exchange of knowledge, and learning from each other's experiences, is an important objective of the Convention, and as such DICH has been involved from the start in the formalisation of cooperation between NGOs internationally accredited to the Convention (Kenniscentrum Immaterieel Erfgoed Nederland 2017a: 11). The ICH NGO Forum is the platform for communication, networking, exchange and cooperation for NGOs accredited by UNESCO to provide advisory services to the Intergovernmental Committee (ICH NGO Forum 2013a). Albert van der Zeijden is chairman and coordinator of the Research Working Group, which was established in Windhoek, Namibia, in 2015. Its aim is to encourage exchange of knowledge and information among the members of the ICH NGO Forum and strengthening cooperation between heritage workers in the field and researchers (ICH NGO Forum 2013b).

6.5 THE SAFEGUARDING OF TRADITIONAL CRAFTSMANSHIP

The Heritage Care Team, as part of DICH, is responsible for supporting heritage communities through the inventory system and other forms of assistance. The team is made up of Saskia van Oostveen (team leader), Arie Koelemeij (advisor) and Pieter van Rooij (advisor). This section of the chapter examines the activities of the heritage care team, through an analysis of how the inventory has been created and implemented for intangible heritage as a whole, but also a closer inspection of other initiatives and how they may help with the safeguarding the traditional craftsmanship domain.

6.5.1 Identifying / Inventorying

One of the first tasks for DICH was the formation of a National Inventory. The assignment from the OCW was to compile one broad inventory from the bottom up with a central role for the carriers, and to reflect diversity in the Netherlands. A Plan of Approach was drawn up in 2012, which became the guideline for DICH (Kenniscentrum Immaterieel Erfgoed Nederland 2017a: 24, 33). In October 2012, the first three traditions were placed on the inventory and by September 2016 this had reached one hundred. The inventory uses the five domains of UNESCO with food traditions merged into the traditional craftsmanship domain. The plan called attention to safeguarding for the future, whereby communities must pay attention to good

practices and methods of protection (Kenniscentrum Immaterieel Erfgoed Nederland 2017a: 24).

The implementation of the inventory requires funding. This has been explained in detail in the Open Air Museum Year Report for 2016 (Nederlands Openluchtmuseum 2016: 22). In 2015, the OCW allocated an amount of €600,000 for the activities related to the National Inventory for Intangible Heritage in the Netherlands for the years 2015 and 2016. In 2016, €300,000 was paid out and €306,515 was spent on the activities. The OCW approved to spend the remainder of the project subsidy (€ 43,356) in 2017 (Nederlands Openluchtmuseum 2016: 16).

All nominations for placement on the inventory must submit a heritage care plan, and a SWOT analysis is made of strengths and weaknesses and issues of transmission. The communities are aided by DICH in their nominations and heritage care plans through information meetings. The documentation is broken up into four separate categories: Notification for the List, Nomination Placement, a Heritage Care Plan and Heritage Care Evaluation. The two latter documents have detailed questions. Table 6.2 lists the questions in the Heritage Care plan.

Table 6.2 DICH Heritage Care Plan Questions

Heritage Care Plan Questions

1. Name of tradition
 	
2. Date
 	
3. Contact details
 	
4. Why do you want to place your tradition on the National Inventory of Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Netherlands? What are the advantages and disadvantages?
 	
5. Describe Your Tradition
 	
6. Can You Describe Which Participants and Organisations are Involved in Your Tradition?
 	
7. Describe the history of your tradition. How has your tradition changed over time?
 	
8. Analysis of the tradition:
      a) What components does your tradition consist of?
      b) Which components do you wish to pass on?
      c) Which core values of your tradition do you want to retain?
      d) How has the knowledge of your tradition been recorded?
      e) What does the archive / collection consist of?
 	
9. Significance of your tradition
a) What makes your tradition significant for the bearers?
b) Why should younger generations want to adopt your tradition?
c) How is your tradition presently transmitted to the next generation?
Which steps were taken in the past in order to solve the problems in this respect?
 	
Question Number 10 is the SWOT Analysis, which is divided up into four sub questions on each of the strands: strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats.
 	
11. Which problems / points of concern in keeping your tradition alive and passing it on do you want to work in the years ahead?
 	
12. Which actions will you execute in practice, in the years ahead, to keep your tradition alive and pass it on to next generations?

The Heritage Care Evaluation document asks for a brief resumé of the problems in keeping the tradition alive for the past period, and the actions which are to be taken. It also asks what has and what has not been achieved and why, then asks which problems will be worked on in the next period and actions to overcome them. This forms the basis of a monitoring process, which works within the framework of the six-yearly accountability to UNESCO, the States Parties'

Periodic Report, but also in the context of systematic support and supervision of the communities (Nederlands Openluchtmuseum 2016: 39). In 2016, 67 elements were monitored which provided insight into common issues which communities would like to receive help with, such as volunteer management, fundraising, recruiting and retaining young people, problems of increasing legislation and regulations, image problems, ageing, management skills and establishing knowledge. In addition, they ask for help in developing teaching materials, documenting the tradition and writing project plans and grant applications (Nederlands Openluchtmuseum 2016: 39).

The Heritage Care Team information days to help with the documentation process were held on one day. However, the 2013-2016 Activity Report notes that guiding communities in setting up their heritage care plan is intensive work. It was found that one information meeting was insufficient to adequately inform the communities (Kenniscentrum Immaterieel Erfgoed Nederland 2017a). Pieter van Rooij (Interview 6:9) commented that, "our lessons from the past, when we just had one information day and they worked on their plans at home, and there was only contact with them by telephone, you were talking about it over and over again. When you are talking to a community by telephone it's only one person. So now there's a minimum of two people per tradition, preferably more". The new system is a short course over three days, which are given two or three times a year. The course consists of:

Part 1: Information about the UNESCO Convention and the National Inventory
Part 2: Setting up the Heritage Care Plan
Part 3: Placement on the Inventory and how to address the press

<div style="text-align: right">(Kenniscentrum Immaterieel Erfgoed Nederland 2017a: 25)</div>

For the Heritage Care Team, they expect from the heritage communities "that they keep in touch with us in regards of their safeguarding efforts, sometimes in context with other communities which have some similar problems or safeguarding activities so they can exchange their knowledge on safeguarding" (Interview 6: 3). Saskia van Oostveen noted that the communities involved had pride in their involvement. "They see it as a recognition that their tradition is very important … recognition of your safeguarding efforts, of why you are working to safeguard your tradition, that's the recognition. It's not us or the government, saying your tradition is very important, it's unique, it's typically Dutch, because that's what they think, it's very old, that's not why it's inscribed on the inventory. It's because you want to do that as a community" (Interview 6: 3). "In general, the inventory was and is a success", the view being

that it aroused discussion and contributed to a better visibility of intangible heritage in the Netherlands (Kenniscentrum Immaterieel Erfgoed Nederland 2017a: 14) and "the conclusion is that the inventory already gives a good picture of the wealth of traditions in the Netherlands" (Kenniscentrum Immaterieel Erfgoed Nederland 2017a: 24).

There are issues however, which those involved at DICH willingly admit. For instance, there is often some confusion from the heritage communities as to the purpose of the inventory and the role of the elements within it. "Some people seem to think that you fill out a form and you're on the inventory and that's it ..." (Interview 6: 3). Pieter van Rooij commented that "they presume that once you are on the inventory you're not allowed to change your tradition anymore, because [once] you are on the inventory it should stay as it is" (Interview 6: 4).

Furthermore, van Oostveen acknowledged that some communities did not want to be on the inventory. The fear is that once inscribed in the inventory, there will be increased exposure with the public. "Some traditions and communities actually say no, we don't want to be on the inventory because we want to keep it to ourselves and keep it small, don't get too many spectators watching and visitors from outside who don't understand the roots of our tradition and why we celebrate it this way" (Interview 6: 3).

Peter Jan Margry, in another criticism, explained that:

> If people are starting to describe their expression of intangible cultural heritage, they can write what they want more or less, exaggerating maybe a little bit. People do not know about their past and it's the community's responsibility to describe, it must come out of the community, but these communities are people who are practising it maybe, but they often don't have any idea about the past of their own element of cultural heritage. So, they start inventing, they just write Wikipedia entries in their applications for the Culemborg centre [DICH] and then all kinds of nonsense comes into being and then in Culemborg they say "Well that's what the community writes so it's their story, so it's true".

(Interview 6: 5)

There were also criticisms from the Council for Culture, the OCW, and other advisors. According to van der Hoeven (2016: 6), "The Dutch Council for Culture … has argued that in the Netherlands the national inventory of intangible heritage might be biased towards well-organised groups, because they have the resources and willingness to complete the paperwork required for official recognition of their heritage". Furthermore, it was acknowledged that the inventory was not broad enough. "Metropolitan phenomena are hardly yet included in the lists or inventories" (De Leeuw 2015: 321), and youth and migrant cultures are still insufficiently represented in the national inventory (Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur, en Wetenschap 2015:

3). Peter Jan Margry also criticised the perceived notion that it was the communities in command of the process. "In practice, the intended input from below appears to be primarily a delegated guiding cultural policy from above that is undesirable and continually breaks into the everyday culture of society" (Margry 2014: 65). He goes on to say that "what I have seen passing, that really shocked me. I did that [evaluation committee] for one year, and at every meeting I gave my criticism about how selections were made, what was accepted or not, but I was in the minority position" (Interview 6: 5).

DICH acknowledged that the system was not perfect and that much could be learnt from other countries. In May 2016, at the invitation of the Hungarian Department of Intangible Heritage, DICH was present at the Hungarian Open Air Museum in Szentendre to participate in a European expert meeting on National Inventories. Representatives from many European countries presented their own experiences, including Finland, whose wiki style inventory was of interest to DICH in their consideration of providing more accessibility (Kenniscentrum Immaterieel Erfgoed Nederland 2017b: 21).

In 2016 DICH held a major evaluation, partly in response to the Council for Culture, which advocated the wiki-like way of making an inventory (Kenniscentrum Immaterieel Erfgoed Nederland 2017a: 10). The Activity Report 2013-2016 notes that "looking back, we dare not say that the inventory is ideal … the chosen method of evaluation is especially suitable for 'organized' traditions, and less for what is called 'informal heritage'" (ibid 2007a:10).

An Activity Plan drawn up in 2016 was deemed by the Council for Culture as showing too little vision on intangible heritage, and that the described activities lacked focus and coherence (Kenniscentrum Immaterieel Erfgoed Nederland 2017b: 3). The Council also noted too little added value of the merger between DICH and the Open Air Museum (ibid). As a result, a new Activity Plan 2017-2020 was developed after discussions with a number of stakeholders, including the OCW, UNESCO Commission, Cultural Heritage Agency, Council for Culture, Fonds voor Cultuur Participatie (Fund for Cultural Participation), Meertens Institute, tapis plein (Flemish ICH centre) and the DICH Advisory Board and Review Committee of the National Inventory (ibid). The new plan, as discussed in the Activity Plan 2017-2020, established the three v's: verbreding, verdieping and verbinding, which translates in English as broadening, deepening and connecting. Changes were made to the inventory system which reflected DICH's new focus.

A new three-step system came into effect from 1 January 2017. With the Council for Culture suggesting that "The current inventory is by no means the interactive, public-friendly online database that was originally intended", a new, more accessible and interactive inventory system was developed without compromising the criteria of UNESCO (Kenniscentrum Immaterieel Erfgoed Nederland 2017a: 34). The new system comprises of three circles. The outer circle is called the network; middle circle, the inventory (which is the re-imagining of the original inventory); and the small inner circle represents the UNESCO Representative List.

Step 1: Network. This is the outer circle and consists of all practitioners of intangible heritage in the Netherlands. According to the DICH Activity Plan, the aim of the network is to show what is happening across the full range of intangible heritage in the Netherlands and promote mutual cooperation and exchange (Kenniscentrum Immaterieel Erfgoed Nederland 2017b: 6). Saskia van Oostveen (2018) described the new process, whereby the website receives a notification of a new application, "so sometimes it's not ICH and we talk to the community and say, well it's not ICH the way you describe it … if you look at it this way, then it is ICH, so you can maybe rewrite your application … it's only a very small amount of text … sometimes it's only a few lines, and that's okay because it has to be easy access, not too much trouble". As of December 2017, the network has new, more flexible criteria. In the inventory it is impossible to have language or dialect, but it is acceptable in the network (Interview 6: 10). An application was submitted for the North Frisian dialect which was accepted (Interview 6: 9).

Step 2: Inventory of Intangible Heritage. The middle circle represents the updated version of the original inventory. All elements within this circle will have made a heritage care plan for the active safeguarding of their heritage and is monitored every two years.

Step 3: Register of Good Examples. This third, smallest circle is the result of practices being nominated for the UNESCO Representative List and the Register of Best Practices. Communities that are eligible for international nominations will be recommended. The 'Craft of the Miller' is the only example so far on the register.

In total, as of March 2018, there were 94 elements in the network (26 traditional craftsmanship), 130 elements in the inventory (32 traditional craftsmanship), and 1 element in the register. The graphs below show the distribution of the five domains within each of the main inventories.

Figure 6.2 The Different Domains within the ICH Network

Figure 6.3 The Different Domains within the ICH Inventory

A closer focus on the traditional craftsmanship domain shows a variety of elements from around the Netherlands (see Table 6.3). Personal correspondence with a number of craftspeople who were involved with the nomination of their crafts has identified a generally positive experience. Lex Roeleveld (2018) was involved in the nomination of his craft, 'Hedge Weaving' (Heggenvlechten). He explained that it was important to be listed to have a "greater familiarity of the craft, especially among audiences that are not directly part of our target group" and that it "has brought the Heg & Landschap Foundation and the craft of 'hedge weaving' to the attention of a wider audience". For Rien Stuijts (2018), involved in 'Chair Caning in Zundert' (Stoelenmaken in Zundert), the importance of being on the list is to "pass on the craft, retain the craft". He considered the DICH Open days to be useful for making

contacts and obtaining information, and that it has helped his business by providing "more name recognition, trust with customers". Guus de Haan (2018), secretary of the Dutch Association of Paper Cutting agrees. "I have been to the contact days of DICH. These days are very meaningful, you meet other intangible heritage communities and can do so in this way share and exchange ideas with each other". For Friesian tile painter … It was important to have her craft listed in the inventory as "it seems to be disappearing, that is a pity, in the past almost every village or city had several tile factories in Friesland, it was part of life here". The nomination of henna art, an example of ICH which originated from outside of the Netherlands, has been encouraged by artist Fatima Oulad Thami (2018). She believes that "with the placement on the inventory there is recognition for the art form, the craft and the mastery that I strive for. It is decisive for what Henna Kunst actually is. And with that, it strengthens me as a craftsperson to continue to carry out my craft with the accompanying vision … I proudly state on my website the recognition from the inventory and it contributes to a professional image". However, despite the mostly positive correspondence, for organ maker Herman Jurrius (2018), "after registration with DICH, we did not go any further in the process". He states that they have not attended any of the workshops, citing a lack of time as the main obstacle. Organ making now appears in the Network element of the inventory, where less input is expected. A list of the variety of crafts in the Network and in the Inventory can be viewed below in Table 6.3 and table 6.4.

Table 6.3 Traditional Crafts in the Network of the Dutch ICH Listing System

TRADITIONAL CRAFTS IN THE NETWORK
Lilac Picking
Intangible Heritage of West Kruiskade
Dutch Folklore Dances, Music and Traditional Costume
Maternity Care
Zwolse Balls
Weir Fishing
Dutch Pastry
Midwinter horn making in Gelderland and Overijssel
Tin Cast Makers
Embroidery of samplers
Friesian Tile Painting
Sailing Cargo Ships
Organ Building
Damask Weaving
Hoop Making
Cargo barges on the North-South Shipping Route
Milling of Linseed Oil

The Baking of Poffertjes (small fluffy pancakes)
Flax Making
Analogue Photography
Pancakes Cooked in Iron Pans
Saddle Making
Haarlem Oil
Baking of Syrup Waffles
Delft Blue Hand Made and Hand Painted
Tobacco Growing

Table 6.4 Traditional Crafts in the Inventory of the Dutch ICH Listing System

TRADITIONAL CRAFTS IN THE INVENTORY
Weaving
Maas Hedge Laying
Cigar Making in Ijsselmuiden
Fine Distillation of Genever and Liqueur
Forging in Andelst
The Culture of the Brabant Sausage Roll
Parchment Making in Wierden
Making Limburg Syrup
Chair Caning in Zundert
Making Farmstead Cheese
Groningen Egg Ball Tradition
Knitting woollen mittens
Hat Making
The Tradition of the Tiel Carnival Cake
The Snuff Miller's Craft
Hedge Weaving
Pottery Painting in Gouda
Embroidery Making
Making Useful Basketry Objects
Schiedam Malt Wine Distillation
Angisa Folding and Koto Making
Gouda Clay Pipe Making
Mechanical Clog Making
Home Canning in Roden
Henna Art
Staphorst Dot Work
Paper Making in Utrecht
The Diamond Cutters' Craft
The Culture of Hindeloopen
The Art of Paper Cutting
The Craft of Manual Clog Making
Frisian Woodcarving in De Knipe

Whilst the inventory system is useful to assess the overall level of intangible heritage, it is less suited to more specific practical issues which may need safeguarding attention for certain ICH domains, such as traditional craftsmanship. For the Heritage Crafts Association in the UK, those issues have been highlighted in the Radcliffe Red List, first published in 2017, which has been discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5. As explained in the Introduction, I have reduced these issues into three broad categories - transmission and awareness, training/skills, and business/market issues, which are particularly pertinent for traditional crafts. This section of the chapter focuses on how DICH and other bodies in the Netherlands may have dealt with these issues for traditional craftsmanship, through interviews with Saskia van Oostveen and Pieter van Rooij from the Heritage Care team, and Wendy van Wilgenburg from the Windy Miller Foundation, an independent organisation working closely with DICH.

Funding has been discussed earlier in the chapter as part of the wider remit of DICH and the Open Air Museum (NOM). However, funding for traditional craftsmanship has also occurred through the Cultural Participation Fund (Fonds voor Cultuur Participatie), which has been in operation since 2009, and is directly funded by the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science. In 2013, the Cultural Participation Fund set up a subsidy scheme for intangible cultural heritage, and in 2013 and 2014 only applications could be submitted for crafts. Due to this focus, approximately 50 out of the 84 projects in the intangible heritage scheme were for traditional crafts (Fonds voor Cultuur Participatie 2014b). The aim of the scheme was to support projects that increased the visibility of craft and to pass on knowledge and skills. A variety of projects were funded, including many that are on the intangible heritage inventory. Examples of projects which were funded during this scheme are listed below.

- Training volunteers to become cigar makers
- Traditional crafts sailing heritage
- The craft of musical instrument makers
- Preserving the craft of the Gouda clay pipe makers
- Preservation of Hindelooper painting
- Craftsmap
- Made in Gelderland Heritage Festival
- Revival of the hedge weaving craft
- Staphorster dot work
- Textile Festival

Michelle Jacobs, Programme Advisor for the Cultural Participation Fund, has said that "the most important result in relation to the scheme (supporting pilot projects aimed at making

intangible heritage future-proof) is that contacts have been made between various heritage organizations, cultural organizations and companies ... is an exemplary project of how you can guarantee crafts: through collaboration between organizations, by creating a network and by linking crafts to interest in history and cultural tourism". Gelderland Heritage Festival, Festival Director Dolly Verhoeven spoke of the "important contribution the €80,000 from the Fund" provided for resources and support, but also the desire to continue the momentum after a successful festival which saw 215,000 visitors. "We are investigating whether we can make a tradition of annual craft and industry days. By linking craft to stories, more appreciation can be gained for working with the hands. If the province and the business world will bear the tradition, it has a future".

6.5.2 Transmission / Awareness

Traditional craftsmanship, like other ICH domains, relies upon transmission for safeguarding to be successful. As Strouken (2013: 9) states, "craft can only remain meaningful if it has value for us and for future generations". For that to occur, firstly there has to be awareness of traditional craftsmanship, maintaining relationships and opening up new avenues. This can come in many guises, and for DICH, there appears to have been a broad approach in the championing of craft, and as they state in the Activity Report, crafts have had their attention for several years (Kenniscentrum Immaterieel Erfgoed Nederland 2017a: 32).

6.5.2.1 The Year of Craft 2013-2014

Craft was a focus in 2013-2014 when DICH, in consultation with the Cultural Participation Fund, organised the Year of Craft. Craft was brought to attention through various media: book publications, exhibitions and contact and information days for craftsmen (Meier 2016: 7). In March 2014, DICH and the Cultural Participation Fund also organised an international conference, 'The Power of Craft' in Eindhoven and Tilburg, with speakers from Japan, Germany, Norway and France. Relevant stakeholders were present from the various branch organisations, vocational training, government and policy makers and a wide range of museums and other heritage organisations involved in craft (Nederlands Centrum voor Volkscultuur en Immaterieel Erfgoed 2014: 4). The aim of this conference was to find ways to work together in the future, to try to ignite the enthusiasm of young people and the renewal of craft through the use of materials, new technologies, entrepreneurship and product renewal (Nederlands Centrum voor Volkscultuur en Immaterieel Erfgoed 2014: 7).

6.5.2.2 Publications

Coinciding with the Year of the Craft was one of two books focusing on craft. Written by Elise Meier and Pieter van Rooij, Ineke Strouken and Albert van der Zeijden from DICH, and entitled *Golden Hands*, *Crafts in the Netherlands* (Gouden Handen, Ambachten in Nederland), this book discusses the importance of crafts for society and the future for crafts. In the book, craftspeople speak for themselves, alternated with interviews with some opinion leaders from the world of heritage, art, culture, science and economy. As Ineke Strouken (2013: 7) states in her introduction, "it is still a sector that handles around 110 billion annually, a sector with a lot of innovative power".

Figure 6.6 *Looking for the New Craft. The State of Affairs of Crafts in the Netherlands* publication © Kenniscentrum Immaterieel Erfgoed Nederland

The second publication was entitled *Looking for the New Craft. The State of Affairs of Crafts in the Netherlands* (Op Zoek Naar Het Nieuwe Ambacht. De Stand Van Zaken Van Ambachten in Nederland). Broken up into three parts, it centred on advocacy, craft organisations and craftspeople. The knowledge, experience, history and symbolism, and also the passing on of all these facets to the next generation, were put in the spotlight. The book aimed to provide a broad overview of the present situation for craft and focused on organisations such as the Dutch Crafts Council, Fonds voor Cultuur Participatie (Fund for Cultural Participation), Craft in

Focus Festival, Dutch Open Air Museum, Zuiderzeemuseum, Welcome to the Village Festival and SintLucas Boxtel.

6.5.2.3 Films

The Convention states in Article 14 that awareness raising can be done through 'non-formal means of transmitting knowledge' (UNESCO 2003a), such as the creation of short films and animations. The DICH Activity Report 2013-16 explains how it made nine films in 2016, in conjunction with the Amsterdam Film Foundation, including several involving traditional craftsmanship: the Craft of the Miller (Ambacht van Molenaar); Staphorster dot work (Staphorster stipwerk); handmade clogs (Handmitag klompen maken); and Maas hedge weaving (Maasheggenvlechten). The films work as a promotional tool for communities and can also be used for broadcasters, on websites and social media, as well as for lectures and school visits and in discussions with governments, funding bodies and sponsors (Kenniscentrum Immaterieel Erfgoed Nederland 2017a: 40). Muskens (2005: 21) explains that "To a certain extent, all the tricks of the craft subjects can be accurately documented and recorded on film and video. As a result, the professional knowledge does not have to be lost or not completely lost, while the public can also see how the craft products were made and should be made".

In addition to the short films, DICH commissioned Amsterdam animation studio, in60seconds, to create an animated video explaining intangible cultural heritage. The short animation (lasting 1 minute 27 seconds), is prominently displayed on the DICH website and is also available to view on YouTube at (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r_YulxDD32E). It is to be used for educational purposes and on websites for young people. A still from the animation can be viewed in Figure 6.7.
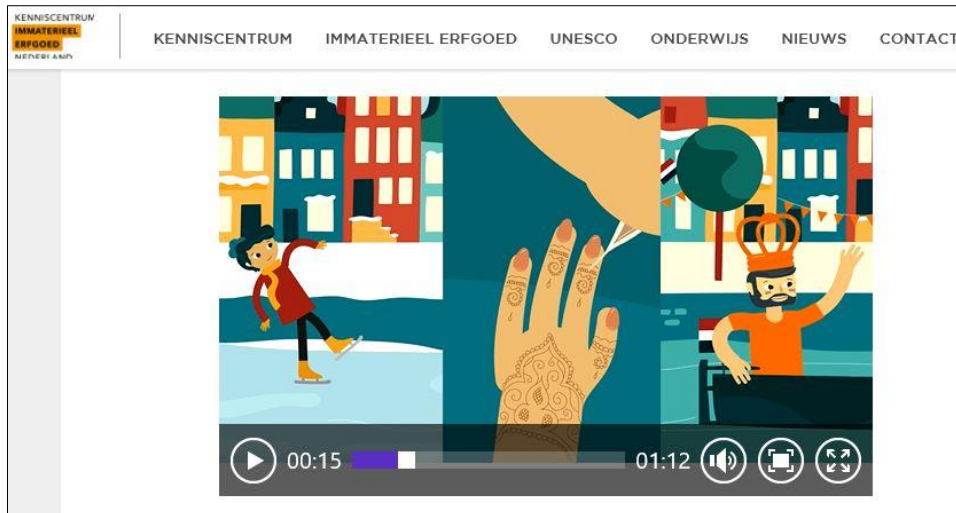
Figure 6.7 A Screenshot of the Animated Video   © DICH 2017

6.5.2.4 Windy Miller Foundation and Ambacht in Beeld Festival

The Windy Miller Foundation was established by cultural anthropologist and film maker Wendy van Wilgenburg. It aims to produce and write documentaries and other film productions on craftsmanship and films aimed to conserve cultural heritage, as well as initiate and teach workshops and other forms of education in this area (Windy Miller Foundation 2018). The first project concerned a documentary *De Huisman: On Craftsmanship, Insight and Authenticity,* about the restoration of De Huisman windmill at Zaanse Schans. The work that she does with traditional craft in the Netherlands is not directly tied to the Dutch Centre for Intangible Heritage, although in a similar vein to the many connections discussed in the next chapter, it is important to show how they sometimes interlink. "We have the same vision [as DICH], empowering craftsmen, making sure people understand and that its safeguarded and that's what I try to do in a very public way, attracting a large audience, young, old, students, professionals, international …" (Interview 6: 8). Wendy van Wilgenburg has recently been involved closely with DICH, who commissioned her to produce six films about dying crafts, closely documenting the process. The films follow the machine clog makers, the making of parchment, the distilling of jenever in Amsterdam, snuff making and pottery painting in Gouda (Interview 6: 8). Wendy van Wilgenburg is also involved in policy making. She explained that an annual symposium is produced focusing on a certain theme. The first year looked at finding successors for craftsmen. She invited craftsmen to brainstorm alongside people from the municipality, from government, political parties and craft associations. Another theme was education, and in 2017 it focused on crafts in the city. This is a problem as a lot of workshops have closed due to higher rents, "it's awful because what happens in the cities, there are no craft workshops

anymore, people don't see the crafts, so people are not educated about crafts, so it becomes distant" (Interview 6: 8).

The Windy Miller Foundation also organises the Ambacht in Beeld Festival – the Crafts in Focus Festival. The first Craft in Focus international film festival took place in Zaandam, north of Amsterdam, from 17 to 19 May 2013. The idea was to offer documentary films on crafts from around the world, as well as lectures by guest speakers, and an in-depth filmmaking workshop on local crafts. The film festival has continued every year since, moving to De Hallen in Amsterdam. The films are only a part of the festival. Van Wilgenburg describes the festival as being made up of four pillars (documentaries, workshops, lectures and master classes). "In a very interactive way they learn from master craftsmen everything about craftsmanship. With the aim that these artisans meet the necessary successors, get new appreciation for handmade quality products, that the immaterial knowledge they possess remains and that the public get the pleasure of doing something beautiful with your hands" (Interview 6: 8). The move from Zaandam to Amsterdam saw the number of visitors rise in two years from 120 in the first year to between 15-25,000 people in 2015 and with sold out workshops.

Since 2014 the festival has been supported by the Fonds voor Cultuur Participatie (Fund for Cultural Participation) within their Intangible Heritage scheme, receiving €20,660 (Fonds voor Cultuur Participatie 2014a). "The Fund considers it important that traditions, rituals and crafts be made future-proof. By bringing new generations into contact with it, developing new applications or improving the image … Crafts change over time. And the Ambacht in Beeld Festival succeeds in combining this innovation with tradition and making it attractive for a large audience" (Fonds voor Cultuur Participatie 2018).

The Crafts in Focus Festival is not a fair, something Wendy van Wilgenburg (Interview 6: 8) makes very clear. "I don't want it to be about the price, about buying and selling … there's enough opportunities for markets … it's about the skills and exchange of knowledge". She also acknowledged that the festival is successful in aiding craftspeople to connect. "They find new customers, but they also find successors, people say, I love this, now I know what I want to be, I want to be a diamond polisher, it works, it's happened. The diamond polishers, they have a hard time finding people … And they find people to do follow up workshops … it's a great publicity event for them" (Interview 6: 8).

In June 2017, Wendy van Wilgenburg extended the festival to New York, where Craft in Focus took place at Industry City in Brooklyn. In collaboration with various museums such as the

Museum of Arts and Design and with the support of the Dutch Consulate, a programme was drawn up with local artisans, but also with attention for shared cultural heritage. A number of top artisans from the Netherlands traveled to give masterclasses and workshops, and to exchange knowledge with American colleagues (Ambacht in Beeld Festival 2016). Although van Wilgenburg (Interview 6: 8) admitted that the numbers in the first year were too low "because it's new, and it's something they don't know yet, and Industry City is not very centrally located, so that was a bit of a problem", she is going to do it again in 2019, learning from the experiences.

Van Wilgenburg also teaches film workshops at schools. She explains that:

> Children do not know what craft is, they don't know the word ambacht, they don't know it anymore because they don't get trained in it … if you ask, 'What is an ambacht?', they don't know … we teach them how to make a film, and film making is cool … so we teach them how to make a film on a craft … for them it's a really nice way to come into contact with a craftsperson. They have to film it, they film the process, go to the workshops, they see the passion with which craftsmen make things, and they can try it, see how hard it is, and they make a film which is nice for the craftsperson, it's on our YouTube channel, so it works really well, and they are the most beautiful films that they make … it's important that the value of crafts will not go away.
>
> (Interview 6: 8)

6.5.3 Training / Skills

Another issue in safeguarding traditional craftsmanship is the need for training and improvement of skills. UNESCO has been aware of this issue, with an example on the Register of Good Safeguarding Practices, the Austrian 'Regional Centres for Craftsmanship: a strategy for safeguarding the cultural heritage of traditional handicraft' which looks to "create a platform for a contemporary discourse with crafts and foster an exchange of experiences" (UNESCO 2016b: 4).

Likewise, DICH have been considering a way to bring craftspeople together in an innovative way. Their idea is the AmbachtenLab or Crafts Lab, which will commence in 2018 states that the aim of the Crafts Lab is to "preserve the traditional craft knowledge and skills that were passed on from generation to generation in the past century(s)" (Kenniscentrum Immaterieel Erfgoed Nederland 2018). According to Pieter van Rooij (Interview 6: 10) "We want to have a place, a studio, and it could be here in the museum and it can also be somewhere else, where craftsmen are coming together, to work together. And it could be for a week in a row, or six weeks, one day a week, that's all up to them". Saskia van Oostveen (Interview 6: 9) added,

"not only craftsmen ... but depending on the need of the specific craft, bringing in maybe designers, or communications specialists". She goes on to say that "the main goal is to give the crafts a sustainable future. We're experimenting and then letting them go to do it themselves. So, it's not a continuing workshop here. Maybe a continual workshop, but for different crafts, I think only for a certain period of time, they're experimenting and setting up their innovations. And, of course we'll stay in touch. The main goal is that they can look after the future of the craft themselves, they don't need our help any more" (Interview 6: 9).

Wendy van Wilgenburg, from the Windy Miller Foundation, has written a report for DICH to suggest requirements for establishing the Crafts Lab. Through a survey and talking to stakeholders, educational facilities, schools, craft museums, craftsmen, and designers, the thoughts and expectations of those who would be involved in the Crafts Lab were expressed. While there was some interest and hesitation over whether the location would be in Arnhem at the museum or places where there are already facilities, there was a lot of willingness to share knowledge, to learn new skills and to look at new markets (Interview 6: 8). Amongst those interested was the Wood and Furniture College, who specifically stated that they wanted to be involved, through sending interns to the Crafts Lab. For Saskia van Oostveen (Interview 6: 9), this vindicates the reasons behind the project. "I think that's very good that the schools are interested as well, just to look after the long-term transmission of the knowledge and techniques".

6.5.4 Business / Market Issues

The practical issues of maintaining a business lie at the heart of any debate on safeguarding traditional craftsmanship. Whilst many people partake in traditional crafts as a hobby, DICH is intent on promoting craft as a sustainable business. Certain practical issues are prevalent for traditional craftspeople. For instance, as Pieter van Rooij (Interview 6: 4) commented, "most of them [craftspeople], especially those on the inventory, are working alone. They don't have staff, they're just small businessmen, they have to work all day long, they don't really have time, for example, for their websites or all kinds of other activities, so you really have to support them".

Discussed at 'The Power of Craft' conference in 2014, was the notion of entrepreneurship as a necessary business component, besides tradition and artistic innovation, and the skill required to market traditional products. Francesca Cominelli spoke in this context about an ecosystem,

in which the craft is dependent on raw materials, knowledge and know-how gained in learning systems, economic conditions and a sales market. The latter, in turn, is associated with social appreciation for the artisanal product. Innovation and good entrepreneurship are important key words and artists can play a role in the renewal of the craft (Nederlands Centrum voor Volkscultuur en Immaterieel Erfgoed 2014: 43). The Heritage Care team noted that this entrepreneurial element often needs assistance, and one way they have tried to help is by bringing different craftspeople together.

"We started off with five craftsmen designers, because a problem for a lot of them is, they are fantastic craftsmen, but they lack the inspiration for new products … you have to develop new products … We had a wooden shoe maker, a paper maker, Hindlelooper painter, a blacksmith. Just getting them inspired, to work together, to think out of the box" (Interview 6: 4). For van Rooij (Interview 6: 4), the importance of contact between craftspeople is paramount "because together you are stronger". DICH also helps to present crafts at fairs across the Netherlands. Van Oostveen (Interview 6: 3) noted that "at these fairs, being in contact with the craftsmen themselves about their work, their passion for it, experiencing the life of the craftspeople … I think that's also important. And they also have the opportunity there to promote their own workshops".

As previously discussed, the Contact Days are important for the traditional craftsmanship domain. Saskia van Oostveen (Interview 6: 3) explained that many craftspeople meet at one of DICH's 'Contact Days' which they have twice a year, to bring ICH elements on the inventory together:

> There's enough time for them to just catch up. That's how they met. They started this group together, and inspiring each other, trying out each other's crafts … They have nothing in common, you think. They visit each other's events, or crafts shops and start working together and I think that's really nice. And that's what we had in mind, but we weren't really sure if it would work.

There are other business issues which were raised by Pieter van Rooij. One of which was the use of pop up shops. He would like to see empty shops filled by craftspeople, perhaps using a pop-up shop format, "so they are visible for the public, you can find them, because a lot of the time people don't know where to find them because they don't have a really good website or location" (Interview 6: 4). His other concern was the high rate of VAT (craftspeople pay 21%), compared with the lower rate of 6% which some businesses pay (such as hairdressers and bike repair shops), which makes it impossible for them to be competitive (Interview 6: 4).

One way in which a province is trying to help is with a project in Overijssel, the first province to take stock of its intangible heritage. In 2014, Overijssel granted a subsidy for the project 'Overijssel traditions on the National Inventory of Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Netherlands'. The total subsidy amounted to €93,750 to be executed in 2015 and 2016. This subsidy has continued into 2017 - 2018 with an additional €105,500 (Nederlands Openluchtmuseum 2016: 17). The project provided vouchers worth €5000, and extra support from DICH to implement their heritage care plan and to solve problems in the transfer to future generations (Nederlands Openluchtmuseum 2016: 44). Interestingly, as Ineke Strouken pointed out, in some cases the support was rejected, two traditions deciding that the voucher was 'not necessary' (Strouken 2017: 3). However, many other did take up the offer, including, out of the fourteen elements on the inventory at that time, four which were part of the traditional craftsmanship domain; Staphorster dotwork, handmade clog making in Enter, cigar making in Ijsselmuiden, and Parchment making in Wierden.

The clog makers used some of the voucher to partially fund promotion days. The rest of the provincial contribution has been used for school projects. Thirty clog makers took part, including some from Germany, Belgium and England. The certificate of placement on the National Inventory for Intangible Cultural Heritage was awarded again, which also attracted the necessary media attention. A number of foundations and associations involved in manual clog making committed to work together for safeguarding the tradition. Furthermore, 900 pairs of tiny clogs were created by primary schools in the area and exhibited in Enter (Kenniscentrum Immaterieel Erfgoed Nederland 2017c).

For Dick Timmerman, who makes parchment in Wierden, "there are not many clients, so it makes little sense to train many people as parchment makers. Nevertheless, I would like to pass on the craft ... That is one of my most important goals: finding a good successor. Another goal is to spread knowledge about this craft" (quoted in Kenniscentrum Immaterieel Erfgoed Nederland 2017c: 34). That particular successor is his daughter, and he used the provincial ICH voucher to purchase materials and tools to learn about the craft. In addition, Timmerman also used the province's contribution to make lesson materials for primary schools and teaching kits for the Academy of Pedagogy and Education at Saxion vocational university.

6.6 THE CRAFT OF THE MILLER DESIGNATION

The first Dutch designation on the UNESCO Representative List has been *The Craft of the miller operating windmills and watermills,* inscribed in 2017. After the Council for Culture advised that the Craft of the Miller should be nominated, a working group was set up to prepare the file alongside DICH. Albert van der Zeijden (Interview 6: 11), explained that a 10-minute film was created with the assistance of the Amsterdam Film Foundation. It was felt that it should show diversity which exists in milling, so young millers and female apprentices were chosen for the film. One such person was Christa Bruggenkamp, an apprentice miller in Friesland. In a personal correspondence with Bruggenkamp (2018), she suggested that the designation would help young millers, "it is something important that we can refer to. Recently I had an interview on Radio 1 [in the Netherlands] and an article in a bakers' trade journal, both times it was headlined". However, when asked about how the UNESCO designation will help transmission, training and skills and the business of the millers, she replied that the "questions are a little bit difficult to answer". It can be argued that this is simply because it is too early in the process to have any tangible outputs. She also is aware that "the UNESCO designation creates obligations for safeguarding … A group of people from different organisations will work together on this list and share knowledge and insights to secure the craft of the miller for the future" (Bruggenkamp 2018). Albert van der Zeijden (Interview 6:11) accepted that while some millers were positive about this increased recognition that UNESCO designation provides, there were others who are more sceptical, those who were aware that it did not generate extra funding. He admitted that "it doesn't bring in much money I think, but it gives some publicity". It will be interesting to observe if this listing will generate a safeguarding mechanism for the craft of the miller, that the additional awareness and publicity in the Netherlands will provide a stimulus, or if it will be an empty gesture, simply an exercise in international heritage box ticking.

6.7 CONCLUSION

Albert van der Zeijden feels strongly that the Convention is the right method for the Netherlands to be safeguarding its intangible heritage. He states that, "I'm a believer. I think this Convention can make the difference for these communities, and this is why I'm in favour of it. Because it's about something important … it shapes identities, you should see it in a dynamic way, just as the Convention does" (Interview 6:2). If looked at objectively, it might

be argued that he is too closely involved to have an unbiased opinion, that his own position is a reflection of the need to implement the Convention. However, he has been involved in intangible heritage (albeit in a different guise) for a considerable amount of time before the Netherlands ratified.

In general terms, there is an argument that delaying ratification enabled debate in the Netherlands, and offered an opportunity to see how other countries were dealing with the obligations of the Convention. Once the decision was made to ratify, the Dutch heritage system, with experts in the Ministry, such as Riet de Leeuw, and advice coming from the Council for Culture and academic institutions such as the Meertens Institute, helped to coordinate a robust policy.

The transition from Culemborg to the Open Air Museum in Arnhem, becoming part of a larger organisation required some adjustment, but it can now be argued that DICH is in a stronger position, both politically and financially. It may also open up avenues to explore a joined vision with the Open Air Museum, linking tangible and intangible heritage and provide a favourable environment for experimentation. There is also a willingness to engage with what could be problem areas, such as controversial heritage, encouraging more youth involvement, and issues of diversity, which the Knowledge Development have the time and resources to adequately focus upon. Another positive is the connection that DICH has with other organisations. Whilst this study has not concentrated on the wider safeguarding of ICH through museums and educational facilities, it has shown that DICH has sensibly worked with partners with suitable skills, such as film maker Wendy van Wilgenburg.

The Open Air Museum's 2016 financial statement for DICH accepts that there has been much positive action, and that communities feel much more appreciated and supported at a local level. "In the involvement of young people and the recruitment of volunteers, many communities have taken significant steps. Their image has also been strengthened considerably and they manage to get things done better and to recruit sponsors. Some communities have already indicated that they will no longer see problems in the coming period. Of course, they will continue to work to keep the tradition alive and pass it on" (Nederlands Openluchtmuseum 2016: 40).

However, as demonstrated in this chapter, there have been some issues, especially when considering the implementation of the inventory system. As Peter Jan Margry (2014: 65) argues, "the implementation of the Convention on Intangible Heritage has so far proved to be

a more than flawed compromise in the Netherlands, which did not involve a clear system. In addition, there may be ... an undesired direction from above, instead of allowing initiatives to arise from below".

Despite the criticism, or perhaps because of it, DICH has shown that it is able to adapt and learn from policy missteps. When strategies have not worked as well as expected, DICH has absorbed best practices from other countries which are also grappling with the minutiae of implementing a Convention, where the text keeps practical workings deliberately vague. They have adapted the inventory into a more flexible, broader structure, understanding where documentation may have been a deterrent for some communities. The new system, closely resembling wiki style inventories, reflects a strategy which appears to have gained credence in places like Finland and Norway. Equally, there appears to be an acceptance from DICH that, reflecting the nature of intangible heritage as constantly changing, so too must policies and strategies in the future.

Focusing on traditional craftsmanship has enabled this research to examine the different safeguarding methods utilised by DICH and other organisations, including the inventory. The Contact Days have been a successful mechanism for bringing together craftspeople who would not otherwise have an opportunity to do so. This has aided joint projects and entrepreneurial partnerships. The Overijssel Project, shows that the implementation of even a small amount of direct financial assistance at provincial level can be a simple and effective means of providing practical safeguarding. An element which cannot yet be properly analysed is the AmbachtenLab or Crafts Lab, which is in its preliminary stages. However, it is a promising concept, providing practical guidance for traditional craftspeople, who may have different safeguarding requirements to the other ICH domains.

Besides the official state sponsored role of DICH, initiatives such as the Crafts in Focus Festival, which is independent from DICH, shows a model which can be used to promote and safeguard traditional crafts aside from the UNESCO system of inventories and cultural brokers attached to ministries. This approach, away from the UNESCO intangible heritage paradigm, is analysed in the next chapter focusing on the Canadian province of Newfoundland and Labrador.

CHAPTER 7 – ICH MANAGEMENT IN NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR. AN ALTERNATIVE MODEL?

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter examined the ratification of the 2003 Convention in the Netherlands and identified how it has been implemented by the Dutch Centre for Intangible Heritage, including a focused exploration of methods used to safeguard the ICH domain of traditional craftsmanship. The text of the Convention is vague enough to allow for a varied response from ratifying nations, and the case study showed that the Netherlands has taken a more proactive stance than some countries, with a focus on a comprehensive inventory and a range of projects and publications.

Nevertheless, for those nations who have yet to ratify the Convention, the Netherlands provides a cautionary tale of trial and error, bound by the rules of UNESCO. While the focus lies with complying with UNESCO on inventories, it can be argued that this limits the ability of ratifying countries to concentrate on innovative safeguarding initiatives. This begs the question whether a different approach is preferable. As previously stated throughout this study, although the UNESCO Convention is the prevailing safeguarding paradigm, there is another model in North America which, as the Heritage Crafts Association suggested, could work as an alternative. As Dale Jarvis, the ICH Development Officer of Newfoundland and Labrador stated, "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" (Jarvis 2014a: 363). The aim of this chapter is to identify the place of intangible cultural heritage within the framework of Canadian and provincial heritage policy, and to examine the ICH provincial strategy in Newfoundland and Labrador. This strategy is implemented by the Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador (HFNL), and this research has sought to focus attention on this organisation as a 'cultural broker'. Dale Jarvis (2014a: 364) accepts that:

> 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.

As well as the Heritage Foundation, other organisations in the province are the focus of study, as part of an exploration of the safeguarding of the ICH domain of traditional craftsmanship in Newfoundland and Labrador, which reveals a series of connected relationships.

7.1.1 The Province of Newfoundland and Labrador

The province of Newfoundland and Labrador, the most easterly of the thirteen provinces and territories of Canada, is made up of the island of Newfoundland, and the mainland region of Labrador, located east of Quebec. The total land area of 405,720 km^2 is almost one and three quarters times the size of Great Britain (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador 2015), and the island of Newfoundland is the fifteenth largest island in the world. In 2015 the population of Newfoundland and Labrador was 527,756, which equates to 1.47% of the total population of Canada (Newfoundland & Labrador Statistics Agency 2015a). Most of the population can be found in the eastern part of Newfoundland, in and around St. John's, the provincial capital and the oldest city in North America. The ethnicity of the population reflects the colonisation of the province. About two-thirds of Newfoundland's European population came from the English West Country, mainly from Somerset, Dorset and Devon. Over a quarter probably came from Ireland. Early settlers also included French Acadians and Scottish Highlanders who came over from Nova Scotia (Parker 1950: 11). Subsequently, a small number of South Asian, Black and Chinese immigrants have made Newfoundland their home, making up only 1.4% of the population (Newfoundland & Labrador Statistics Agency 2015b). The province of Newfoundland and Labrador today is home to four peoples of aboriginal ancestry: the Inuit, the Innu, the Mi'kmaq and the Southern Inuit of NunatuKavut, a total of 35,800 people (Newfoundland & Labrador Statistics Agency 2015c).

This mix of mainly English, Irish and Scottish settlers, bringing with them their cultures, traditions and dialects has helped to form a rich intangible cultural heritage of storytelling, knitting, fishing traditions and mummering, which can be found in the province today. Some of these traditions can be traced back to the early voyages, such as that of Sir Humphrey Gilbert in 1583, who annexed Newfoundland for England. The voyage was described by Edward Hayes, captain of the Golden Hind in Gilbert's fleet, in Richard Hakluyt's *The Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques and Discoueries of the English Nation*. In it, Hayes describes the importance of bringing along their heritage – their crafts, music, and rituals.

> We were in number in all about 260 men: among whom we had of every faculty good choice, as ship-wright, masons, carpenters, smiths, and such like requisite to such an

action: also mineral men and refiners. Besides, for solace of our people, and allurement of the savages, we were provided of music in good variety: not omitting the least toys, as Morris dancers, hobby horses, and May-like conceits to delight the savage people, whom we intended to win by all fair means possible.

(Morgan 1923: 313)

Thomas and Widdowson (1991: XXI) talk of a rich heritage of traditional culture which still pervades Newfoundland society, in the form of a shared experience and identity. At provincial level "many Newfoundlanders … see themselves defined in relation to Canada ... [and] it is matters of culture that are brought forward most frequently to support such distinctions".

7.1.2 Scope of the Case Study

As explained in the Methodology chapter, practical research decisions had to be made owing to the size of Newfoundland and Labrador. As the Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador is based in St. John's, this was an obvious base for the research. Cultural brokerage organisations involved in the research, such as The Craft Council, The Rooms (which is the provincial Art Gallery, Archives and Museum), Memorial University, and Quidi Vidi Plantation are also in the capital. The Avalon Peninsula makes up the southeast portion of the island, and as well as being the location of St. John's, it is home to 51% of the island's population. Winterton, the base for the Wooden Boat Museum is also in the Avalon Peninsula. Therefore, the research concentrated solely on this area. The biggest limitation, therefore, was the inability to include Labradorian efforts to safeguard intangible heritage. In particular, traditional crafts are strong in Labrador, especially among the indigenous populations, and this was something I was unable to explore.

Figure 7.1 shows a map of Newfoundland with numbers representing areas and towns on the island which are significant to this study. The main interest lies in the east of Newfoundland where all the interviews took place. Table 7.1 lists the interviewees, their place of work and position.

1	Avalon Peninsula
2	St. John's
3	Petty Harbour
4	Winterton
5	Trinity
6	Bonavista
7	Grand Falls-Windsor
8	Corner Brook

Figure 7.1 Map of Newfoundland and the Avalon Peninsula including all towns mentioned in this chapter   © clipartxtras.com

Table 7.1 A List of the interviewees in Newfoundland

Interview	Name	Position	Company / Location
7:1	Dale Jarvis	Intangible Cultural Heritage Development Officer	Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland, St. John's
7:2	Stephanie Micikyan	Intangible Heritage Intern	Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland, St. John's
7:3	Crystal Braye	Folklorist	Wooden Boat Museum, Winterton
7:4	Gillian Davidge	Manager, Education and Public Programming	The Rooms, St. John's
7:5	Anne Manuel	Executive Director	The Crafts Council, St. John's
7:6	Nicole Penney	Archival Assistant	Memorial University, St John's
7:7	Dale Jarvis	Intangible Cultural Heritage Development Officer	Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland, St. John's
7:8	Jerry Dick	Director of Heritage	Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland, St. John's
7:9	Kimberley Orren	Executive Director	Fishing for Success, Petty Harbour

7.2 FEDERAL HERITAGE POLICY IN CANADA

Before focusing on the heritage of Newfoundland and Labrador, the question of how heritage is perceived at a national level needs to be addressed. C.A. Sharpe, in discussing issues surrounding the erosion of heritage in St. John's, looked at the wider issue of definition. He observed that despite the federal government's role as a steward of national heritage, it provides little in the way of a definitive and clear view of heritage as a concept.

> The Department of Canadian Heritage Act (C-17.3) is one of 30 pieces of legislation identified on the department's website as "related to Canadian heritage", which suggests that there is no official definition of heritage, and that the overall responsibility for its protection has not been defined.

(Sharpe 2003)

This Act, to establish a Department of Canadian Heritage in 1995, stipulates twelve powers, duties and functions of the Minister of Canadian Heritage, one of which is "cultural heritage and industries", but does not go on to define exactly what is meant by cultural heritage (Government of Canada 1995). This lack of clarity is also recognised by John A. Foote, in a paper he prepared for the Council of Europe as part of the Strategic Policy and Research Branch Department of Canadian Heritage in 2003. He states that:

> As with Canada's approach to cultural policy, there is no single, comprehensive, overarching statement of federal objectives in the area of heritage. The existing heritage framework reflects the evolution of a wide array of instruments, mostly targeted to specific areas of heritage such as museums, archives, historic sites, and libraries.

(Foote 2003: 26)

It is within this area of historic sites, museums and archives that the true focus becomes clear. Gerald Pocius (2010b: 43) suggests that the focus of heritage in North America has been on objects such as old buildings, and that "Canada has largely followed the path of heritage as things … The heritage models from central Canada … saw heritage as static things in need of preservation". In a Mandate Letter to the new Minister of Canadian Heritage, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau stipulated thirteen priorities, the only one of which fell into the area of intangible heritage being the promotion, preservation and enhancement of indigenous languages and cultures (Office of the Prime Minister 2015). Nevertheless, Canadian heritage agencies have provided broader definitions: "Heritage has a variety of meanings to Canadians, ranging from the built and tangible evidence of history, such as historic places and heritage institutions, to the history, both tangible and intangible, that represents our personal and collective traditions" (Statistics Canada 2011: 17).

7.3 INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE POLICY IN CANADA

Why the narrow focus of heritage protection in Canadian federal policy? In common with the United States and the United Kingdom, Canada has not signed the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage. There have been several reasons posited, including an answer in 2009 to a 'D'Art' question on approaches to mapping and defining intangible cultural heritage, which was distributed by Museums Galleries Scotland to selected members of the International Federation of Arts Councils and Culture Agencies. The response from Canada was that:

> Canada has not ratified this Convention, not because it does not support the safeguarding and preservation of ICH, but because as a federal state some of the issues that the Convention addresses fall within the purview of the provinces. To ratify the Convention, therefore, would require the approval of, and possible negotiation with, the 10 provinces and three territories in Canada. There are nonetheless active organisations such as Folklore Canada International (http://www.folklore-canada.org/) and individuals…who are keeping the prospect of signing this Convention very much alive in Canada.

> (McCleery et al. 2009a)

In addition, Antoine Gaulthier, the Executive Director of the Quebec Council for Intangible Heritage (CQPV), states that, "the reasons officially invoked for this abstention relate to the argument that the Convention contains a definition of ICH that is too vague, and creates significant obligations for the state that are almost impossible to fulfill (i.e. inventories and their regular updating), especially due to Canada's multicultural population" (Gaulthier 2011: 2). MacKinnon (2014: 389) also suggests a reason for not being a signatory is because "the discipline of Folklore Studies is not well developed throughout Canada, particularly in the corridors of power in central Canada".

There has been some scholarly attention directed at intangible heritage in Canada, much of it concentrated at provincial level (Pocius 2002, 2010b, 2014; MacKinnon 2014; Gaulthier 2011). For an historical narrative of events surrounding the attempts to include intangible heritage in federal policy, Gerald Pocius (2014) gives a comprehensive account in *The Government of Canada and Intangible Cultural Heritage. An Excursion into Federal Domestic Policies and the UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention,* published in a special addition of *Ethnologies* journal. In it he explains the chronology of events surrounding his appointment in 1998 by Catherine Spencer-Ross, Head of the Policy Division in the Department of Canadian Heritage to advise the federal Canadian government on the history and study of folklore in Canada. In 2002 he represented Canada at a UNESCO meeting of experts in Rio de Janeiro

where an early draft of the 2003 Convention was worked on. In the same year he was appointed to the Canadian Commission for UNESCO, to advise on intangible heritage issues. However, despite assurances that Canadian Heritage was working both domestically and internationally to develop Canadian ICH policy, neither were realised. For Gerald Pocius, this outcome was regrettable, though he went on to use this experience to help develop policy at a provincial level in Newfoundland. Through this provincial work on ICH, he sees a way to influence federal policy in the future. "Many of us interested in a coherent federal ICH policy – and a signing of the ICH Convention – believe these will come only through pressure from the provinces … Only initiatives on the provincial municipal level could potentially change viewpoints federally. A number of ICH projects, then, are ongoing in Newfoundland and Labrador, Nova Scotia and Quebec" (Pocius 2014: 87).

In 2004, Quebec undertook an online inventory known as the Inventory of Ethnological Resources of Intangible Heritage (IREPI) which was led by a research chair at Université Laval (Gaulthier 2011: 5). Although, as Gaulthier (ibid: 5) has also admitted, "very few people use this tool" and "a wide-ranging inventory may not be the best vehicle to present cultural content, techniques, or manifestations in order to promote their use by practitioners". The other province, other than Quebec and Newfoundland and Labrador, which has had some interest in intangible heritage is Nova Scotia, and in particular, Cape Breton island, at the eastern end of the province. Dr. Richard MacKinnon, at Cape Breton University, became the Canada Research Chair in Intangible Cultural Heritage, with a goal to "continue to show leadership in the study of folklore and endangered traditional cultural expressions" (MacKinnon 2007: 343). However, MacKinnon (2014: 397) points out that "there has been little discussion within government, to date, of intangible cultural heritage in Nova Scotia, notwithstanding its importance for the cultural groups and citizens who live in this province".

"Other jurisdictions haven't been as quick to embrace ICH, though I have really seen an increase" (Interview 7:1). Through speaking in Alberta about ICH and making contacts with heritage professionals in Saskatchewan, the approach in Newfoundland has been imitated in Saskatchewan, where Kristin Catherwood has been the Intangible Cultural Heritage Development Officer for Heritage Saskatchewan since 2015. She, like many others now working within the field of intangible heritage, had graduated from the Masters programme in the Folklore department at Memorial University. As Dale Jarvis recognises, "we are definitely having an influence over what's happening [in other provinces]" (Interview 7:1).

7.4 INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE IN NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR - BACKGROUND

Whilst some of Canada's provinces have been shown to have considered intangible heritage within their wider heritage protection policy and documentation, it is Newfoundland and Labrador which has for many years led the way. This is due first and foremost to the work of Gerald Pocius, who was University Research Professor at Memorial University of Newfoundland, where he taught from 1977 until 2016. As previously stated he had been involved for a number of years as an advisor to the federal government on intangible cultural heritage. When a federal approach to safeguarding ICH failed to materialise, a provincial strategy in Newfoundland and Labrador was a logical next step. According to Pocius (2010a: 1) "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 own 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".

In November 2002, the Department of Tourism, Culture and Recreation produced a document entitled *Cultural Policy for Newfoundland and Labrador*. This twelve-page document set out to be a base from which to develop a Strategic Cultural Plan. The plan outlines goals, objectives and key actions. It is a cultural policy which recognises inter alia:

·   access to tangible and intangible cultural heritage, natural heritage and the works of our creative community

·   the role of tradition bearers in preserving and passing on our intangible heritage

(Government of Newfoundland and Labrador 2002: 2)

The document defines culture as "the arts and the tangible and intangible heritage of the people of Newfoundland and Labrador. This encompasses the activities of artists and arts professionals, heritage professionals and volunteers, and Aboriginal and European-based tradition bearers" (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador 2002: 3). In the glossary, the Cultural Policy describes intangible heritage as "the intangible aspects of our culture which include oral traditions, customs, language, religion, music and song, knowledge of landscape and navigation, skills and belief systems ..." (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador 2002: 9).

The Cultural Policy of 2002 developed into a strategy from recommendations brought forward by the Association of Cultural Industries (ACI) and the Association of Heritage Industries (AHI), who consulted the Newfoundland and Labrador Arts Council, the Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador, the Newfoundland and Labrador Film Development Corporation, the Rooms Corporation, Memorial University of Newfoundland, the Government of Canada and the Culture and Heritage Division of the Department of Tourism, Culture and Recreation. This strategy was published in 2006 by the government of Newfoundland and Labrador, entitled *Creative Newfoundland and Labrador: The Blueprint for Development and Investment in Culture.* In the introductory message the Premier of the Province, Danny Williams, makes clear that:

> This Blueprint addresses all of our cultural resources, including the living heritage that comprises the traditions and customs, traditional knowledge, languages, religion, music and song, skills and belief systems of our diverse cultures. We take great pride in who we are as a people and attach great value to our cultural diversity, and as a Government we will continue to promote this, especially for our children.
>
> (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador 2006: 5)

The blueprint is made up of ten strategic directions, the seventh of which focuses specifically on 'Safeguarding and Sustaining Intangible Cultural Heritage ("Living Heritage")'. The ICH Strategic Direction recognises that there are challenges and opportunities including the awareness of a lack of legislation or programming that addresses the subject. The goal as stated by the strategy is to "Recognize, record, disseminate and promote the intangible cultural heritage ("living heritage") of Newfoundland and Labrador and develop strategies for its safeguarding" (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador 2006: 35). This goal is realised through several objectives, including raising awareness of intangible cultural heritage in Newfoundland and Labrador; assessing specific issues and areas of particular vulnerability; developing a vision and mission for the safeguarding of our province's ICH; identifying an enabling mechanism for the partnership and actions for ICH among stakeholders; and identifying steps in developing an overall strategy and action plan (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador 2006: 35).

The Cultural Plan envisages five key results, which are:

> • Our province's intangible cultural heritage is safeguarded and transmitted as a living heritage and source of contemporary creativity
>
> • Our intangible cultural heritage is recorded and documented
>
> • Our intangible cultural heritage and tradition-bearers are recognized and promoted
>
> • Local groups and organizations are trained in documentation and dissemination of the province's intangible cultural heritage
>
> • Best practices in intangible cultural heritage are showcased
>
> (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador 2006: 35)

A key action from the Blueprint was the setting up of a conference on the theme of ICH which was held at The Rooms in June 2006, sponsored by the Association of Heritage Industries. This 'Living Heritage Forum' included a keynote address on why intangible heritage matters by Rieks Smeets, head of the ICH office at UNESCO in Paris. In attendance were also "a lot of community heritage people, who were engaged in heritage in some way throughout Newfoundland and Labrador ... we had these great sessions and people presented their thoughts on what we should be doing as a province. It was an opportunity for people to say, this is the type of heritage that matters to us" (Interview 7:1).

The recommendations set out by the Forum were written into a Strategic Plan in April 2007 by Anita Best, and was "probably the first province in Canada to have a plan devoted exclusively to ICH" (Pocius 2010a: 1). It was also decided that the Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador, primarily focused on built heritage, would be the chosen institution to lead and implement the province's Intangible Cultural Heritage Strategy.

7.5 HERITAGE FOUNDATION OF NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR - ICH POLICY

The Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador (HFNL) was established in 1984 to promote, preserve and protect the architectural heritage of the province. There are five permanent members of staff, including an Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) Development Officer, and additional staff are hired by the Foundation, generally through student employment and internships. The Foundation receives grant funding from the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador. In 2017 this amounted to $596,430 (Heritage Foundation of

Newfoundland and Labrador 2017: 2), of which $150,000 was allocated to the Intangible Cultural Heritage Strategy (Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador 2017: 18).

The original focus of the Foundation was expanded in 2008 to include intangible cultural heritage with a mission to:

> Safeguard and sustain the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Newfoundland and Labrador for present and future generations, as a vital part of the identities of Newfoundlanders and Labradorians, and as a valuable collection of unique knowledge and customs. This will be achieved through policies that support initiatives that celebrate, record, disseminate and promote our living heritage and help to build bridges between diverse cultural groups within and outside Newfoundland and Labrador.
>
> (Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador 2008b: 10)

The Intangible Cultural Heritage Development Officer position was filled by Dale Jarvis. He already worked in the department as the Provincial Registrar, but had a strong background in folklore, having studied for an MA at the Department of Folklore at Memorial University. The post was intended to be a one-year pilot programme which was extended, initially for three years and then became a permanent position. His skills as a cultural broker have been pivotal for the development of ICH awareness in the province. He has also written extensively on intangible heritage in Newfoundland including ICH and communities (Jarvis 2012a); inventorying of ICH in Newfoundland, which was presented in Flanders, Belgium (Jarvis 2013b); ICH and documentation (Jarvis 2013a); an overview of the ICH strategy (Jarvis 2014c); and ICH and coastal culture in Newfoundland, presented in Vietnam (Jarvis 2015). He was also published in a special addition of Volkskunde in 2014 which focused on cultural brokerage, and regularly contributed to the HFNL monthly online newsletter 'Intangible Cultural Heritage Update', and the ICH Blog (available at www.ichblog.ca).

The Intangible Cultural Heritage Strategic Plan "provides direction for both the Provincial Government and other groups and stakeholders interested in safeguarding ICH. As such, it is not a 'government strategy', rather one that is shared between a variety of groups and agencies that have a role to play in safeguarding ICH" (Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador 2008a: 5).

A four-goal approach to the safeguarding and sharing of ICH consists of:

1. Documenting (archives, inventories, audio visual records)
2. Recognizing and celebrating ICH with festivals and commemorations

3. Supporting practitioners and encouraging the transmission and dissemination of knowledge and skill

4. Exploring the potential of ICH as a resource for community development

(ibid)

The strategy focuses on some of the themes which have already been highlighted in previous chapters, including documentation and transmission. The second goal of recognition and celebration can be viewed in a similar vein to the idea of awareness, an area in which the HFNL is particularly strong. Dale Jarvis admitted that the fourth notion of ICH as a resource to build community development, also described as cultural industry, has been the hardest to achieve results. He reflected on some of the issues. "We want to build sustainable communities and that's a challenge, how do we do this stuff to create work? There can only be so many professional knitters in the province. Only so many professional wooden window makers. We don't need many farriers … So, there are always going to be challenges … and that's the piece we have struggled with in the strategy" (Interview 7: 1). He suggested that a problem is the need for money upfront in setting up programmes. "It requires the government to say okay we are going to invest a chunk of money in internships and business development programmes" (Interview 7: 1). Interestingly, however, he also suggested that "we are doing well here in terms of craft, there's a real interest in traditional craft here right now because there is a growing tourist market" (Interview 7: 1).

To implement the four strands of the strategy, from the start, the importance of community involvement was paramount and there was much interest. As Dale Jarvis attested, "there was a real sense from the beginning that it was meant to be a community driven exercise" (Interview 7: 1). Communities were consulted on the nature of intangible cultural heritage and the UNESCO domains and then given the opportunity to set priorities based on local needs and perceptions of what may be at risk in their area. Dale Jarvis explained how, in some instances, participants identified ICH in their neighbourhoods and in their communities in the region. From that list of ICH items, five or six items which were considered most at risk were selected through a voting system (Jarvis 2013b: 3). Another way in which communities have been at the forefront of the ICH inventory in Newfoundland is through opportunities to learn the processes of documentation for themselves. Communities are provided with "advice in project planning digital recording, oral history, interview techniques, digitization of archival collections, metadata, cemetery conservation, tombstone rubbing, community Google

mapping, whatever skills they are lacking to do local cultural documentation work themselves" (Jarvis 2014b).

As well as implementing the provincial ICH strategy, the Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador Intangible Cultural Heritage Office is also involved at an international level. In February 2011, the ICH office was recommended for Observer Status to the UNESCO Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, and it was granted the following year. Gerald Pocius observed that "Having observer status will enable HFNL ICH Office to learn from the many international activities involving intangible cultural heritage that are happening worldwide" (Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador 2011: 1). It also provided the opportunity to actively participate, and Dale Jarvis wrote about his experiences serving on a UNESCO committee, assisting in the evaluation of ICH heritage files. The eighth session the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (Baku, Azerbaijan, December 2013) designated the Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador as one of the twelve members of the Consultative Body for the 2014 cycle. Made up of experts and NGOs, it was responsible for the evaluation of nominations to the Urgent Safeguarding List, proposals to the Register of Best Safeguarding Practices and requests for International Assistance (Intangible Cultural Heritage Update 2014a: 1). This involvement in the UNESCO process, as can also be witnessed by Museums Galleries Scotland, demonstrates the benefit of being able to influence decision making within the UNESCO paradigm, but without any of the constraints.

The ICH strategy in Newfoundland is fluid, adapting to challenges as they arise and proactively consulting with communities. Asked about future ICH objectives, Dale Jarvis (Interview 7.7) observed that a goal was to bridge the divide between tangible and intangible heritage. "I think there is still sometimes this divide out there among the heritage sector, the professional heritage sector, that 'oh we do built heritage', or you do intangible cultural heritage and communities don't think like that. Communities don't have built heritage and intangible heritage, they just have heritage, it's all interwoven, so we want to focus a little bit more on how we get that message across, that you can have both". One way that the HFNL have attempted this is by adapting the monthly newsletter from focusing on intangible heritage to include everything and is published as the 'Heritage Update'. In October 2017, a forum on Adapting NL's Intangible Cultural Heritage took place in St. John's, and its subsequent report, *From Sealskin to Science Fiction: Taking Tradition into the Twenty-First Century* looked at a decade of work safeguarding intangible cultural heritage in Newfoundland and Labrador, and produced a future

'wish list'. This included a need for more open dialogue between heritage organisations, communities, and stakeholders. Education and intergenerational learning were also noted, hoping to see intangible cultural heritage taught in the school curriculum, with experiential and hands on learning, instilling a sense of understanding in young people. Finally, there was the desire to have living traditions in sustainable communities. "ICH-based businesses might focus on food products, publications, experiential tourism, or learning vacations. As this moves forward, we need to develop further processes for incubating skill sets in communities, and remove barriers to enterprise development" (Harvey and Jarvis 2018: 41).

7.6 THE SAFEGUARDING OF TRADITIONAL CRAFTSMANSHIP IN NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR

The province's Department of Business, Tourism, Culture and Rural Development defines the craft sector as "comprised of individuals involved in the design, production and marketing of products that bear the distinctive 'hand of the maker' and where the craftsperson maintains direct control over hand, tool and machine operations used in the production process", and that "craft can range from traditional to contemporary" (Department of Business, Tourism, Culture and Rural Development 2015). In Newfoundland and Labrador there are many expressions of traditional craftsmanship. The Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador (2008b: 7) lists "traditional crafts such as hooked mats, tea dolls, carvings, knitted goods, and boots and slippers made from animal skins" and Memorial University adds "tools; clothing; costumes and props for festivals and performing arts such as those worn in traditional Pow Wows; storage containers, objects used for storage, transport and shelter … musical instruments and household utensils, and toys" (Memorial University 2018b).

In a direct comparison with the previous chapter on the Netherlands, this section of the chapter examines the ICH safeguarding practices of the HFNL by focusing on the creation and implementation of a digital inventory, and a closer assessment of some of the practical initiatives by the HFNL and other organisations in the province to safeguard traditional craftsmanship. Table 7.2 provides a snapshot of some of the projects, surveys, workshops and forums which the HFNL have achieved with communities, youth groups, and other organisations within the domain of traditional craftsmanship. Some of these are discussed in the next section of this chapter.

Table 7.2 A Selection of Traditional Craftsmanship and broader ICH Projects 2008 - 2017

2008
Needs Assessment Survey
2009
The Living RICH (Rural Intangible Cultural Heritage) group hosts two days of events, including a cultural open house in Placentia, a Singing Kitchen in Branch, and a day-long symposium on ICH in St. Brides
Tea, Heritage and Hookers - discussion on the history, tradition and art of rug hooking and matmaking
"Wrigglin' Fence Exhibition - Corner Brook
Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Program - aims to build capacity among Aboriginal groups in the areas of knowledge and skills development related to the safeguarding of ICH
Hobby Horse Making Workshop
2010
'Coffee and Culture' at The Rooms begins
Cécile Duvelle, Chief of the Section of Intangible Heritage Section of UNESCO visits
ICH Technical Workshop Series
BRANCHING OUT Exhibition in Corner Brook (Spruce Root Basketry)
Snowshoes Exhibit at the Labrador Interpretation Centre (including skills demonstration)
Gander River Boat Restoration
Culture Days
The Great Northern Peninsula Textile Project
Hobby Horse Workshops
Conception Bay South Heritage Series of booklets
2011
Google My Maps Workshops
Tradition Bearers Spotlight - a series of 12 feature articles highlighting local contributions to cultural heritage
Boxes Under the Bed Workshop: Dealing with backlog interview collections
Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Grants - ACHP supports applicants in the safeguarding of traditions and culture including language, traditional knowledge and skills, storytelling, music, games and other pastimes, knowledge of the landscape, customs, cultural practices and beliefs, food customs, and living off the land. Successful applicants can receive up to $15,000 for projects that document, pass on, and celebrate cultural traditions.
Folklife Festival - Seeds to Supper
Root Cellar Project
Culture Days Tweetup
Local Hookers Work on Display - Heart's Content
2012
Tea and Baskets
Public Talk - Rooted in History: The Tradition of Acadian and Mi'kmaw Basketry
Make and Break Engines: Running the Past into the Future
ICH Workshops - Norris Point, Trinity
Coffee and Culture. Historic baskets at The Rooms
Pillow Top Workshop at Cochrane St. United Church

2013
Living Spaces Launch -Department of Folklore Field School and booklet
The Hookers of Heart's Content project
Talking Shop: Metalworking
ICH Workshops in South East Bight
Rugelach on the Rock (a pastry baking workshop)
ICH Mini Forum - a showcase for what the Heritage Foundation has been working on
2014
The Petty Harbour Memory Store
Fishing for Folklore: An Introduction to Intangible Cultural Heritage - Petty Harbour Maddox Cove – 4 day workshop
Quidi Vidi Village: A Part of St. John's, Apart from St.John's - booklet produced by Folklore Department
Root Cellar Talk and Walk in Cupids
Heritage Canada Conference - Charlottetown, PEI. Dale Jarvis gave a lecture on NL's Intangible Cultural Heritage and the link between culture and place.
2015
Heritage Saskatchewan Forum - Dale Jarvis gave conference keynote on NL's ICH strategy
1St Youth Heritage Forum
First Living Heritage Podcast
2016
Grey Socks Project
2nd Annual Youth Heritage Forum
Documenting Traditions at Risk
2017
3rd Annual Youth Heritage Forum

7.6.1 Identifying / Inventorying

As one of the four strands of the strategic plan, documentation has been a focus of attention. As Dale Jarvis notes, "identifying and documenting ICH is an important part of maintaining tradition" (Jarvis 2012b: 3), and as such was one of the priorities after the formation of the ICH office in 2008. The formation of an inventory in Newfoundland was not envisioned to simply be a list of intangible heritage in the province, but "a repository of collected ethnographic material, including, but not necessarily limited to, audio interviews, oral histories, video interviews and recordings of events and practices, photographs, ephemera, and print material including maps, drawing, floorplans, and tombstone rubbings" (Jarvis 2013b: 3). This is a different approach to many of those produced within the UNESCO paradigm, it being more of a repository than a list style of inventory.

The inventory was envisioned to be organised in two different ways. The first, by community, allowing collections to be grouped in various topics relating to a location. The province was broken into five regions, then within each region a town or municipality could create its own collection. Secondly, material could be arranged by thematic categories, using the five ICH categories defined by UNESCO, and then into sub categories. Traditional craftsmanship examples represented in the collection include boatbuilding, root cellars, forestry, fishing, and basket making (Jarvis 2013b: 3). HFNL regularly organises workshops on ethnographic collection techniques and cultural documentation; workshops on the technical aspects of collecting ethnographic materials, such as photography, Google mapping, cognitive mapping, audio recording; and workshops on project planning (Jarvis 2013a: 9). Funding was not allocated specifically for inventory work. ICH inventory work is seen as an integral part of all ICH projects, although the total budget does include funds dedicated to assist with the salary of a technician working on the Digital Archives Initiative, who works primarily on the technical side of the inventory (Jarvis 2013b: 2).

7.6.1.1 The Digital Archives Initiative (DAI)

Memorial University of Newfoundland provides the Heritage Foundation with a home for all the intangible heritage material gathered over the years. The Digital Archive Initiative (DAI) is a long-term project to digitise holdings at Memorial University, with the HFNL as a partner. As such, it is the ideal location for the digitisation of ICH documents and a repository for new ICH material. The Department of Folklore and the HFNL have created a website portal devoted to ICH activities (www.mun.ca/ich), including an inventory of intangible heritage in the province. The ICH Inventory is arranged geographically by region and community, and thematically by subject, following the five UNESCO categories of ICH (Jarvis 2014b: 1). Memorial University describes how this inventory has been produced. "The hope is that every community in Newfoundland and Labrador will be able to have an inventory completed and submitted to this collection. Communities decide which traditions they feel are important to document" (Memorial University 2011). Rather than simply listing their ICH, communities have included photographs, videos of performances and interviews, journals, and manuscripts into their collections. Guidelines have been produced which include an ethnographic thesaurus of keywords, based on a similar resource created by the US Library of Congress, and modified to better reflect the ICH of Newfoundland and Labrador, and new consent forms for ethnographic fieldwork (Jarvis 2013b: 5).

Figure 7.2 shows a page from the rug hooking collection within the ICH Knowledge and Skills to Produce Traditional Crafts section of the ICH inventory, including audio and photographic material.
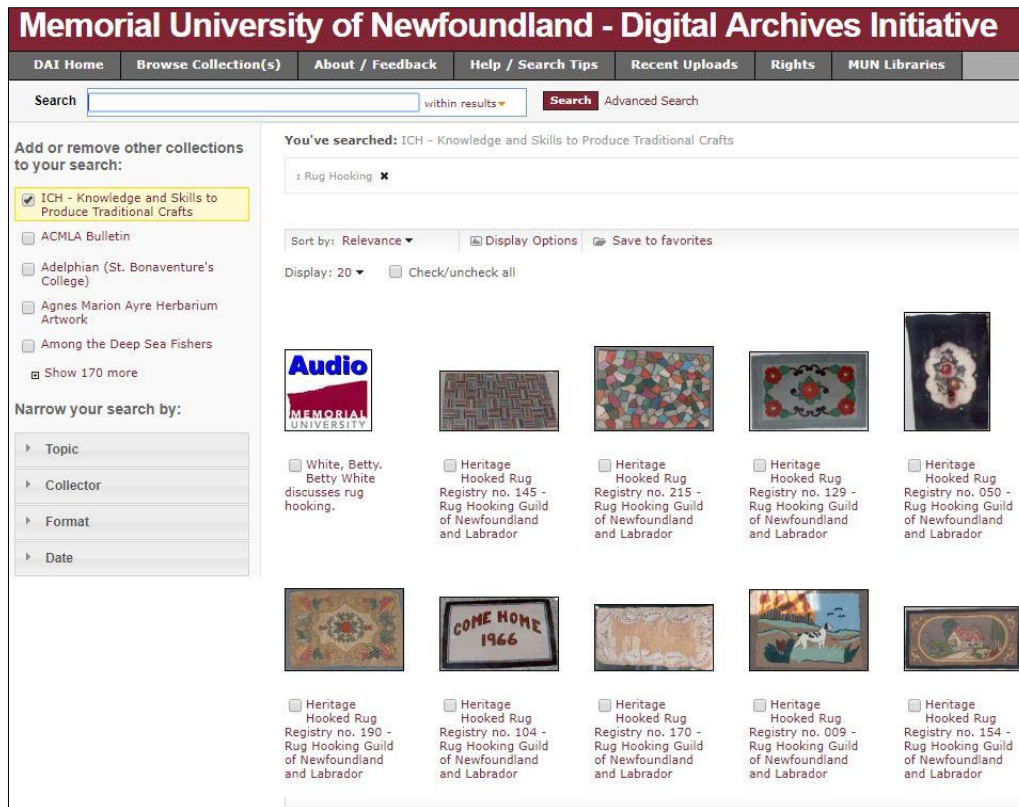
Figure 7.2 The Digital Archive Initiative – ICH Knowledge and Skills to Produce Traditional Crafts

The original field recordings are deposited in the Memorial University Folklore and Language Archive (MUNFLA), Memorial University's other great asset for intangible heritage in the province. This was established in 1968 as a joint venture between the Folklore and English departments and is recognised as "Canada's foremost repository for recorded and collected items of Newfoundland and Labrador folklore, folklife, language, oral history, and popular culture" (Memorial University 2018a). Nicole Penney has been an Archival Assistant at MUNFLA since March 2016. She is another alumnus of the MA Folklore programme at the university, and also a practitioner of heritage crafts, specialising in pillow tops. "I've been involved in folklore archives and intangible cultural heritage since around 2004, but I really feel like the past ten years there's been a real rejuvenation in our culture and heritage and the idea of what we can do with it in the sense of public programming based around ICH, and this idea that it doesn't have to be built heritage" (Interview 7: 6). Regarding the strategy at

MUNFLA, she pointed out that they are aware of a disconnect between the Folklore Archives at Memorial University and public awareness. She stressed that MUNFLA is "trying to do a lot more public outreach because it's a bit of a misconception that we're not open to the public, because we're tucked away here on the fourth floor of a building on campus, so we're trying to do little things to get our name out there more" (Interview 7: 6).

As well as providing the platform for the ICH inventory, Memorial University and specifically the Department of Folklore, became linked with the concept through the work of Gerald Pocius, and was involved from the outset with the formation of the Intangible Cultural Heritage office at the Heritage Foundation. The department was established in 1968 by Herbert Halpert, an American anthropologist and folklorist. According to Dr. Neil Rosenberg (1991: 154), who taught in the department from 1968 until his retirement in 2004, "the creation of the Department of Folklore at Memorial reflected a longstanding belief among the intellectual elite of Newfoundland that folklore was one of the nation-province's important and unique social resources". It is the only Anglophone university in Canada to offer folklore programmes from undergraduate level to PhD. There is a symbiotic relationship between the university and the HFNL ICH office. Dale Jarvis has taught sessions on the MA in Public Folklore programme, which has been offered since 2010. Many of the students produce work related to intangible heritage and have worked on some of the ICH publications. Some have also worked as interns at the ICH office on projects, and graduates go on to professions in the province and other parts of Canada, taking with them a knowledge of intangible cultural heritage.

7.6.2 Transmission and Awareness

As the third strand of the Newfoundland and Labrador ICH strategy, transmission is a key objective. "We want to see traditions live. So, where we can, we create opportunities to pass along traditional skills and knowledge" (Jarvis 2014c: 2). The HFNL ICH office has targeted this objective is through the creation of a number of publications, public programmes, a podcast and youth forum.

7.6.2.1 Publications

Since December 2008, the ICH office at the HFNL has produced an Intangible Cultural Heritage Update newsletter on a monthly basis. There have been 62 newsletters up to April 2016 focusing on ICH, and from that date the newsletter merged with the rest of the heritage

output from the HFNL to provide a more holistic offering. This includes many articles and updates on elements of ICH including traditional crafts. They are all available to view on the Heritage Foundation website and the Memorial University Digital Archive Initiative. (http://collections.mun.ca/cdm/search/collection/ICH_Update).

There have also been many publications which have been produced by the HFNL with the help of local communities and students from Memorial University. For instance, there have been ten occasional papers on ICH, nine from the Community Living Heritage Series, six from the Collective Memories series and ten from the Oral History Roadshow Series. Again, these are all available to view at https://www.mun.ca/ich/resources/.
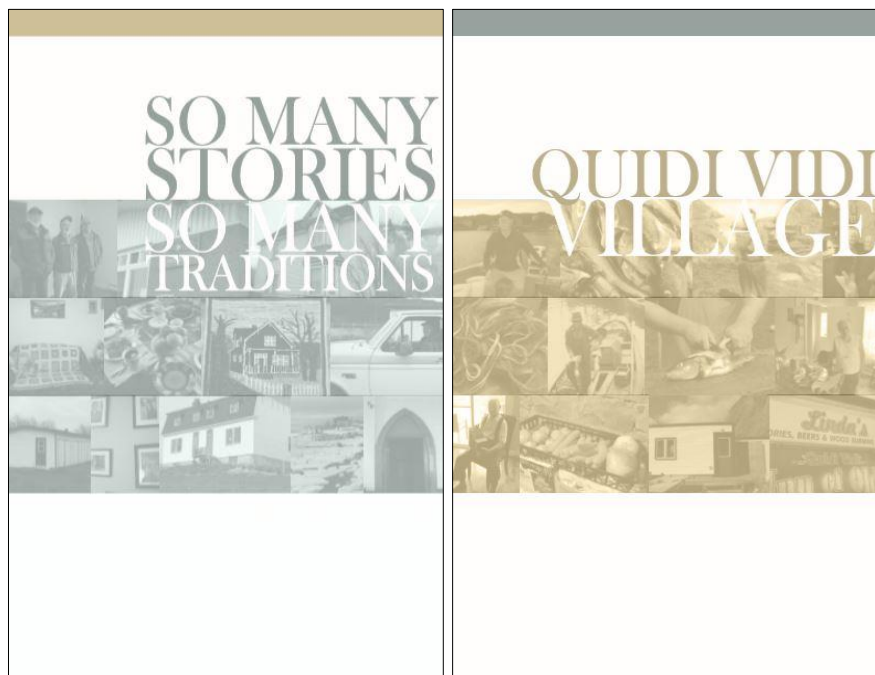
Figure 7.3 HFNL Publications including ICH

7.6.2.2 ICH Programmes at The Rooms

Some of the HFNL ICH workshops have taken place in The Rooms, which is one of the main cultural spaces in St. John's and houses the provincial Art Gallery, Archives and Museum. Opened in 2005, it presents exhibitions, talks, public programmes and workshops. From the start, the term 'intangible cultural heritage' was embraced by The Rooms as part of its vision. The Rooms Corporation Strategic Plan 2011-2014 had a number of strategic directions, one of which was that "Tangible and intangible heritage resources are preserved and safeguarded for the benefit of present and future generations; and to maximize their impact on sustainable tourism and community development" (The Rooms 2011: 19). This was to be achieved through

focusing on a few key areas, such as the notion to "further safeguard Intangible Cultural Heritage" and to "strengthen the links and opportunities between tangible and intangible heritage and tourism" (The Rooms 2011: 19). The Rooms Strategic Plan of 2014-2017 similarly attests to "A strengthened cultural sector that preserves our tangible and intangible heritage, celebrates our creativity, and grows our cultural enterprises" (The Rooms 2014: 17).

Although the Strategic Plans of The Rooms did not specify their objectives in detail, speaking with Gillian Davidge, the Manager of Education and Public Programming, it was clear that the policy at the outset was to include elements of intangible heritage in as many areas of The Rooms as possible. She states that:

> I think in this Province … people just know that what makes this place unique is, not our grand houses, … it's our songs, our stories, it's the way people interact, it's those kind of things, it's the intangible stuff. So even from the beginning of The Rooms, that was always part of what Programming tried to capture, so that's been in place since we opened.

> (Interview 7: 4)

The decision to include intangible heritage in the preliminary stages of the development of The Rooms came from recommendations which were established following a consultation process. Gillian Davidge notes that:

> It started with a really broad consultation process, they went on radio shows, they had meetings, people emailed in, and so from that they got these broad topics that people wanted to see in the gallery … what consistently came up was intangible cultural heritage, in fact I think it was the top item.

> (Interview 7: 4)

Mindful of the public's opinion, The Rooms added elements of intangible heritage to some of their exhibitions and utilised the space for purposes beyond traditional forms of interpretation and museum experiences. For example, in 2010, The Rooms started 'Coffee and Culture', for people interested in culture and heritage to meet for a series of talks, films and workshops, many of which could be considered to be focused on elements of intangible heritage. Dale Jarvis and the HFNL ICH Programme have collaborated with The Rooms to host various events, including those with a traditional craftsmanship focus. In October 2012, as part of 'Coffee and Culture', he presented 'Tea and Baskets', which focused on historic baskets from Mi'kmaw traditions to mill baskets and spoke of the people who used them. The following year, folklorist Crystal Braye gave a talk on root cellars in collaboration with the HFNL, and Dale Jarvis hosted "Talking Shop: Metalworking", an exploration of the craft of metalworking

to highlight The Room's exhibit Silver: a Noble Metal. More recently in 2017, at another Coffee and Culture event at The Rooms, entitled 'Waste Not - Rugs, Rags, Ropes, and Recycling!', Dale Jarvis focused on traditional craft and adaptive reuse by interviewing two craft recyclers: Trent Hardy, mat maker and owner of Waste Knot Want Knot; and Ruth Noseworthy Green, rug hooker. Finally, the Wooden Boat Museum has been involved with ICH interpretation at The Rooms. In 2007 Jerome Canning built a rodney, a form of boat, onsite at The Rooms as an experiential living exhibit, "a first of its kind for The Rooms, allowing visitors to learn about the tools and techniques involved with boat-building and share in stories" (The Rooms 2007).

7.6.2.3 HFNL / CHMR Radio Living Heritage Podcast

Another way in which the ICH office of the HFNL is able to promote intangible heritage awareness is through the Living Heritage Podcast. This is a partnership between the HFNL and CHMR Radio, which is the radio station broadcasting from the campus of Memorial University. Started in July 2015, there have been 116 episodes to June 2018. Guests on Living Heritage are engaged in the heritage and culture sector, mainly in Newfoundland. Past episodes are downloadable in the Newfoundland ICH blog (www.ichblog.ca), and through the Libsyn podcast hosting platform and iTunes. Examples of traditional craftspeople who have been interviewed include: knitter Christine LeGrow; Jim Dempsey, the President of the Wooden Boat Museum; Ruth Green, who spoke about hooked mat making; letterpress printer Marnie Parsons; and Clare Fowler, who works with seal fur and leather.

In April 2018, a special ten-part series on craft in Newfoundland and Labrador was broadcast, in partnership with the Memorial University Public Folklore graduate course and the Craft Council of NL, to give the students practical skills in research and interviewing techniques. This started with an interview with Anne Manuel, former Executive Director of the Craft Council, and Katie Parnham, who worked on the Textiles, Craft, and Apparel Design programme, and helped with the formation of the Quidi Vidi Plantation, both of which are discussed in more detail in this chapter. Other speakers included craftspeople, Anna Murphy, Erin McArthur, and Keri Ivany, who have had studios at the Plantation.

7.6.2.4 Youth Forum

Transmission involves the passing on of knowledge by harnessing the interest of younger generations. This has been acknowledged by the HFNL, and in March 2015, the first Youth Heritage Forum took place in St, John's, bringing together sixty young people aged 18-35 to give young people engaged in heritage a voice. The second forum in 2016 introduced a Heritage Skills competition, with a choice of darning, rug hooking, knot tying, net knitting, Northern games, and Morse code. These were taught by local experts including Christine LeGrow, who taught the darning, and rug hooker Ruth Green. The Wooden Boat Museum were amongst the sponsors of the forum, and Fishing for Success was also involved, two organisations which will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter. Re-branded in 2017 as the 'Heritage Tomorrow Forum', heritage skills were again practised and networking opportunities were given priority.

7.6.3 Training / 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. 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.

(Jarvis 2014a: 366)

7.6.3.1 HFNL ICH Workshops

A variety of training programmes and community-based workshops have been developed by the HFNL and have proved to be an effective way of creating awareness around ICH in the province and help transmit elements. Dale Jarvis (2014: 365) notes that they were created not only to introduce the concept of ICH to community members but also to provide practical training. As previously noted in the discussions around the inventory, training workshops fall roughly into two categories: training in ethnographic documentation and ICH safeguarding; and training in traditional skills and crafts. It is the latter category which is the focus of this chapter subsection.

HFNL matches people who have skills with people who need them (Jarvis 2014a: 366). These people are community members who are experts in their respective fields. For the ICH training in traditional craftsmanship, this has included Jerome Canning and traditional boat building; Elizabeth Murphy and Nicole Penney and pillow top making; Christine LeGrow and knitting; Anne Green and rug hooking; and Kimberley Orren and fishing skills. Four examples of the HFNL providing traditional craft workshops not all in St. John's but around the Avalon Penninsula.

2012 - Tea 'n' Baskets.

In March 2012, Dale Jarvis and public folklore intern Nicole Penney took the Intangible Cultural Heritage office on the road to do a series of workshops, talks and public events in Corner Brook and Grand Falls-Windsor, and conducted a series of folklore interviews on baskets and basket-making. Part of this series included two HFNL hosted events called "Tea 'n' Baskets". These events offered an opportunity for those who still had mill lunch baskets to show them and share their memories. The baskets were photographed to become part of an educational website (ICH Blog 2012).

2012 – Pillow Top Workshop
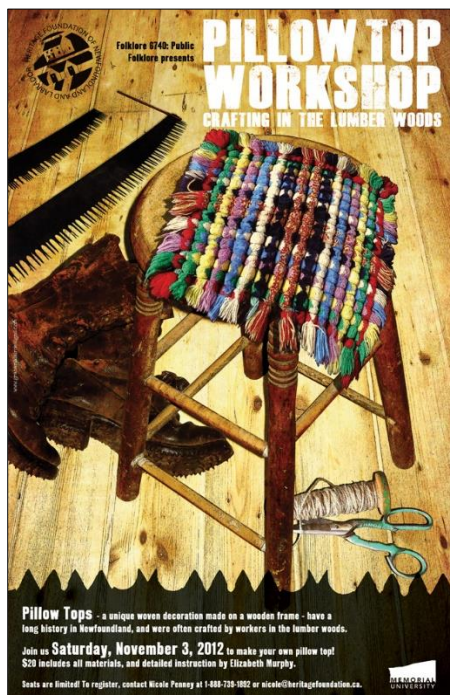
Figure 7.4 Pillow Top Workshop Poster © HFNL

In 2012, the ICH office, in partnership Memorial University's Public Folklore 6740 graduate students, organised a pillow top workshop. The students were given the opportunity to plan the

running of the workshop, to interview the tradition bearer involved, to create media releases, and to work with a graphic designer to create a poster. During the workshop, the students documented the process and participants (Intangible Cultural Heritage Update 2012b: 2). Nicole Penney explained the history of pillow tops. Crafts, such as pillow tops, would have been a popular pastime for men in the lumber camps in Bonavista Bay. "These were square-shaped textiles woven from wool using a wooden frame. They were made and gifted to girlfriends, wives and mothers for the purpose of sewing on the top of a pillow for decoration" (Intangible Cultural Heritage Update 2012a: 4). Nicole Penney had learned the skills from Elizabeth Murphy, one of the few remaining craftspeople with the knowledge of making pillow tops. After the workshop in November 2012, Nicole Penney provided another workshop in South East Bight, a small isolated fishing community off the coast of Placentia Bay on the Burin Peninsula. She taught students how to make pillow tops as an end of the school year activity. The group was made up of nine students ranging from five to fifteen years old (Intangible Cultural Heritage Update 2013a: 5).

In 2013, Nicole Penney continued the pillow top workshops when she was invited by Connie Penton and Penny Houlden of The Rooms to train the staff at The Logger's Life and Mary March Provincial Museums in Grand Falls-Windsor, on how to make the traditional craft. The staff then put these skills to work to instruct a community workshop the following day (Intangible Cultural Heritage Update 2013b: 2). These workshops show a holistic approach to safeguarding a form of traditional craft, through working with university students to hone their practical research skills, with schoolchildren to raise their awareness and interest to pass on the traditions, and working with local heritage professionals to give them the skills the pursue workshops themselves. Nicole Penney understands the importance of sharing, "the knowledge of this craft with communities in the hope that the intangible cultural heritage of this traditional weaving activity will be passed along to future generations" (ibid).

2014 - Fishing For Folklore: An Introduction to Intangible Cultural Heritage

In September 2014, the HFNL ICH office ran an intensive 4-day workshop in co-operation with the 7th Annual Wooden Boat Conference in the historic fishing community of Petty Harbour Maddox Cove. The workshop focused on intangible heritage aspects, and was intended for museum employees, cultural workers, members of heritage committees, researchers. According to Dale Jarvis (2015: 6), the participants met with local fishermen and were able to learn first-hand about the fishery, mending nets, and boat building techniques. They were also taught about planning an ICH project, writing field notes, oral history

interviewing, safeguarding traditional crafts and skills, creating memory maps of communities, documenting traditional techniques, public folklore programming, and report writing (The ICH Blog 2014).

2016 - Grey Sock Project

The Grey Sock Project materialised as part of the commemorations for the 100th anniversary of the First World War, in which soldiers from the Newfoundland Regiment had fought in many campaigns including the Somme and Gallipoli. The Women's Patriotic Association of Newfoundland, formed at the start of the war to "assist in aiding the British Empire by providing the necessities needed by our soldiers at the front" (Intangible Cultural Heritage Update 2014b: 4), and it was estimated that by the end of 1916, members had produced 62,685 pairs of socks to be sent to soldiers (Newfoundland and Labrador in the First World War 2015). The goal of the project was to create opportunities to teach traditional skills in knitting, and then oversee the knitting of socks which were collected centrally and distributed to a worthwhile cause (Intangible Cultural Heritage Update 2014b: 4). A knit-along was organised by the HFNL ICH office, whereby experienced knitters, including Shirley "Shirl the Purl" Scott and Christine LeGrow of Spindrift Handknits, provided guidance to new knitters, thus providing opportunities for the transmission of traditional skills and knowledge. Stephanie Micikyan, Intangible Cultural Heritage Intern with the HFNL ICH office, worked on the Grey Sock Project. She observed that "some people had never knitted a sock before, barely knew how to knit, I was actually really impressed that younger generations were there too, which is really nice, people in their twenties and younger" (Interview 7: 2).

7.6.3.2 Anna Templeton Centre for Craft, Art and Design

The Anna Templeton Centre for Craft, art and Design in downtown St. John's, offers a wide range of adult evening classes and weekend workshops, and is also the location of the Textiles: Craft & Apparel Design programme of College of the North Atlantic. The course provides a foundation in the skills and knowledge of design and construction for craft, including skills in drawing, design, sewing, embroidery and quilting, apparel construction, knitting, weaving, print and dye, and related areas (College of the North Atlantic 2018). As Anne Manuel (Interview 7.5) states "it's really important to have a training programme in craft in the province, and so the Craft Council fights for it, whenever it needs fighting for". The centre has

a symbiotic relationship between the City who owns the building, the College, and the Crafts Council.

7.6.3.3 Wooden Boat Museum of Newfoundland and Labrador (WBMNL)

In early 2016, the ICH Office of the Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador developed an ICH at Risk survey to respond to previous surveys which had looked into the intangible heritage concerns of communities. The results of this survey were published in a report made public in April 2016. In it, 'Knowledge of land and sea' was rated as the most important form of intangible cultural heritage and was said to be the most at-risk tradition by the majority of respondents (Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland Labrador 2016).

Two organisations within this study look to help safeguard 'knowledge of the land and sea' in the province, one of which is the Wooden Boat Museum of Newfoundland and Labrador (WBMNL). It started life as The Winterton Boat Building and Community Museum in 1997, inspired by the work of Dr. David Taylor, who obtained a PhD from Memorial University looking at boat building in Winterton, and who went on to work at the Folklife Center at the Library of Congress, Washington D.C. The museum is very aware of the term intangible cultural heritage, which it uses regularly to describe what it does. It states that "The Wooden Boat Museum of Newfoundland and Labrador strives to safeguard the Intangible Cultural Heritage associated with the historical design, construction and working life of Newfoundland and Labrador's traditional wooden boats" and also that "The Wooden Boat Museum of Newfoundland and Labrador Boats and Builders Project documents the intangible cultural heritage of our tradition-bearers and records their knowledge for future generations" (Boats and Builders 2016). The museum receives federal and provincial funding and from the Atlantic Canada Opportunity Agency. The total income in 2016 was $333,855, which included over $10,000 from workshops (Wooden Boat Museum of Newfoundland and Labrador 2016: 29).

Figure 7.5 Wooden Boat Museum of Newfoundland and Labrador   © Suzy Harrison

The use of the term intangible cultural heritage has been embraced by Crystal Braye, who is the Folklorist at the Wooden Boat Museum, one of five positions at the museum. She started in 2012 having trained in Public Folklore at Memorial University. She is responsible for the Wooden Boat Museum's cultural heritage research including documenting the boats and collecting the stories which surround them throughout the province. Asked about the role of intangible heritage at the Wooden Boat Museum, she replied, "We are doing really awesome things here, and just being able to teach boat building and have those workshops … and having someone like me and Jeremy [Harnum] to actually go out and do the research, do the documentation, collect it and archive it and put it on the Digital Archive Initiative so it's available for the public" (Interview 7: 3).

An important feature of the Wooden Boat Museum is the use of workshops to introduce people to the skills of boat building, with participants from across Newfoundland and Canada. Headed by Jerome Canning, and with on average eight people per session, the workshops are a week in duration, and teach the components of building a punt or a dory.

Children's workshops offer an age appropriate (ages 5-12) approach to learning about traditional boat building, who put together a dory kit specifically for children. Crystal Braye emphasised the importance of passing on the knowledge and interest in boat building in the province to the next generation. "Getting more kids and youth involved is a big thing for us … Having more school tours, really getting the younger generations, that's what we need right now, because without people coming up and being interested in it, that's why are we doing it" (Interview 7: 3).

In October 2016, the museum hosted a conference entitled Wooden Boat Heritage 2016, designed "to explore non-traditional roles for the traditional wooden boat. Putting the intangible cultural assets associated with the design, construction and operation of wooden boats to new purpose" (Wooden Boat News 2016). The three-day event focused on the celebration and use of wooden boats and traditional skills, with speakers from the Basque Country, Connecticut, New York, Washington, Scotland, Nova Scotia, and many parts of Newfoundland (The ICH Blog 2016). One of the guest speakers was Adam Green from Rocking the Boat in The Bronx in New York City. They have developed a programme which uses the process of building wooden boats to educate and empower young people from underprivileged communities. As part of the conference, the Heritage Skills Challenge took place in Petty Harbour, and was organised in partnership with Fishing for Success, which is discussed in more detail below. Participants from the conference and youth volunteers learned how to use a variety of traditional tools and skills used in building boats and fishing (The ICH Blog 2016).

7.6.3.4 Fishing for Success

In a similar vein to The Wooden Boat Museum's focus on maintaining the traditional knowledge of boat building, 'Fishing For Success' looks to transmit traditional fishing skills. Established in 2014 by Kimberley Orren in Petty Harbour-Maddox Cove, near St. John's, Fishing for Success is "a non-profit community of fisher men and women, concerned citizens, educators and youth dedicated to the preservation, celebration, and transmission of traditional fishing knowledge and culture that sustained generations of Newfoundlanders and Labradorians" (Fishing for Success 2016). The mission is to teach children to fish and to reconnect with their Newfoundland heritage. Kimberley Orren spent most of her childhood in Newfoundland, though moved away to Florida for much of her adult life. Her formative years fishing in the province influenced a desire to return to Newfoundland, where she bought a property in Petty Harbour-Maddox Cove to rebuild into a traditional family fishing premise to teach the skills she feels are being lost as generations change. As she points out, "Newfoundlanders were once known as the best small boatmen in the world … so where are those skilled small boatmen? They're not here, because the kids are not going to the water, they're not getting in boats" (Interview 7: 9). She attributes this to the changes to the fisheries over the past twenty-five years, but also the changing nature of childhood with new technologies and urbanisation.

Historically, nearly all Newfoundlanders and Labradorians were involved in the fishing industry in some capacity. When the boats came in the whole community would go down to help, with the women cleaning the fish, and children cutting out cod tongues. These traditions can be viewed on a number of murals found in St John's. Many changes occurred after the cod moritorium of 1992 which halted the industry due to the plummeting cod stocks. The result of this saw those employed by the fishery drop from 30% to 2% (Project Wet 2016). For Kimberley Orren, these changes were profound and visible - where the community wharf had once been the centre of the community, it was now quiet. "Fishery was multi-generational … it built a resiliency in our communities … now there's no intergenerational exchanges of this heritage … so what do we do? We need to create new pathways for exchange of this heritage information, because we are talking about a basic human right to know how to get food, know where your food comes from" (Interview 7: 9).

With this desire to safeguard the knowledge surrounding fishing in Newfoundland, Orren chose Petty Harbour as a location for Fishing For Success. There were several reasons for this location; firstly, its close proximity to St John's where the main population of Newfoundland is situated; and secondly, since 1895, Petty Harbour has been a protected fishing area. From the outset, practical workshops and programmes were conceived to engage with local communities. A grant was co-written with Wellness Coalition-Avalon East to transmit traditional rope work skills. This was promoted as a family friendly event at the Watershed Coffee Shop in Petty Harbour, a renovated fishing shed. The event saw fishermen teach these traditional skills and encouraged those involved to take a different slant on it, so instead of knitting a net, the idea was to knit a scarf using the same skills. Another project took Choices for Youth, a local youth shelter for 'at risk' youth, out for a day fishing. This was a free project, made possible by Fishing For Success' deliberate policy of targeting tourism to fund community projects at low or no costs. Many of the local youth group had never been in a boat, or been fishing, they were Newfoundlanders and live just a few minutes from the sea – exactly the issue which Kimberley Orren is trying to address.

> Our heritage is vital … UNESCO talks about heritage being important to sustaining any kind of development, and heritage is your identity … Heritage gives you your connection to your past and describes who you are … so it's very important. Heritage has to be lived and it has to be taught to every generation who comes along ... It's important to celebrate it so it becomes something that you're proud of … it should something that is a source of happiness. … I see heritage as a way of bringing people together.

> (Interview 7: 9)

This idea of the celebration of heritage, and a source of bringing people together is simplified by Kimberley Orren into a three-word motto of 'Live – Share – Celebrate'. For her, "today's generation reinterprets it [heritage] for their use, that it's lived, it's a breathing thing. … Live, Share, Celebrate is the ICH" (Interview 7: 9).

7.6.4 Business / Market Issues

7.6.4.1 Craft Council of Newfoundland and Labrador

The Craft Council of Newfoundland and Labrador is a voluntary, charitable organisation and a member of the Canadian Crafts Federation. Formed in 1972 as the Newfoundland and Labrador Craft Development Association (NLCDA), "at that time there were very few working crafts people who were trying to make a living, or even a part time living at making and selling craft" (Interview 7: 5). In contrast to the Crafts Council in England, there is no distinction between traditional and contemporary craft within their mandate. Speaking with Anne Manuel, the Director of the Craft Council until retirement in December 2016, she explained that initially the NLCDA thought that craft could play an economic development role in the province, and as such received funding from the provincial government to work as an economic development organisation to support the growth of professional craft and craft activity. "The intention at the beginning was less about the culture … although … our mandates and missions have always had the core phrase 'to enhance excellence in craft for the cultural and economic benefit of the province', … it's about excellence, it's about cultural development and it's about economic development" (Interview 7: 5).

The Craft Council have been involved with various workshops around the province. For instance, on the Bonavista peninsula, a project was formulated with five organisations that each have a facility and a shop, such as the Trinity Historical Society which operates a forge and cooperage, as they wanted to do some joint marketing, events, and upgrade the quality of work in the shops. The Craft Council helped with the business development, providing workshops with craftspeople about designing products which could be used to interpret the history of the local culture, and workshops with the shop managers about long term planning.

The Craft Council have also partnered with other organisations in the area. For instance, although Anne Manuel admitted that the Craft Council did not specifically have a lot to do with industrial crafts, in 1997, Jerome Canning from the Wooden Boat Museum built a boat in the

Craft Council gallery, the first time he had done so in public. Furthermore, there have been "exhibitions at The Rooms, or we have worked together with curators at the gallery at The Rooms to have exhibitions there … trying to get our audiences up there, and their audiences down here" (Interview 7: 5). Two of the biggest collaborations have been with the Anna Templeton Centre and Quidi Vidi Plantation, which will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

Future plans for the Craft Council involved help within the themes of transmission and business skills, in particular helping craftspeople make a living. "I think that will involve, at least in the medium term, more about helping young people get established, and then more about crafts and tourism and developing products … a lot of people here are self-taught, which means they have excellent technical skills, but they don't necessarily have good design skills or good business skills, and so it's easy enough to provide business skills in little modules and advice one-on-one" (Interview 7: 5). Anne Manuel admitted that the Craft Council were not doing enough to document traditional crafts, "that is something on our list that we need to be doing more of" (Interview 7: 5). When asked about the best ways to safeguard traditional craftsmanship in Newfoundland and Labrador, she suggested that:

> It's not an easy question to answer because it takes a lot of time and money to do that, but it is certainly a necessary thing to do. Craft, even contemporary craft, is based in the traditional techniques and materials and designs that have been part, they are inbred … Traditional craft skills, especially in Labrador, are in much danger, and there are things that can be done. For example, here on the island, mat hooking is a strong traditional Newfoundland skill, but for a while there were not many mat hookers around, it was quickly disappearing. A group of dedicated mat hookers in central Newfoundland started a guild, and now today they have hundreds of members … It often needs a champion or a small core group of champions to say, this is important to us, and we're going to do the work to make it happen.

(Interview 7.5)

7.6.4.2 NONIA

A prominent craft on the island continues to be knitting. There was a history in the province of rural production groups, whereby a production line would be designed and then marketed under one name. Flynn (2004) notes that "working at craft production was seen as a last-resort job because the pay was so low [and] women made up most of the 2500 or more producers selling their crafts in Newfoundland and Labrador; they were usually knitters. The work was an alternative to unemployment; it could be carried out at home, where children could be cared for as well". There are still those that operate, the best known being NONIA, the Newfoundland

Outport Nursing and Industrial Association, which is still in operation and has a retail presence in central St. John's. NONIA is a manufacturing and a retail operation which employs approximately 175 knitters and weavers across the province, who produce hand-knit sweaters, socks, hats and mitts. "Some of these women have been knitting and weaving for NONIA for over 50 years. We continue to recruit new knitters and weavers who supplement their family income through this traditional method" (NONIA 2018).

7.6.4.3 Quidi Vidi Village Plantation

Quidi Vidi is an historically significant fishing village to the east of St. John's in Newfoundland, which has retained much of its unique character. This community was identified as an ideal location for economic regeneration and development as a cultural and tourist destination. In 2006 a Quidi Vidi Village Development Plan was finalised in which the Eli's Wharf property was discussed as a location for a General Store and Visitor Centre, which was seen as a priority "anchor" project. Several benefits of using this building were established, including tourism investment: food, retail and crafts (City of St. John's 2006: 11). Attention was focused upon the latter of these proposed benefits, and an idea emerged for an artisan incubator to provide space for emerging craftspeople in the province to cultivate their work. This would also support tourism development by offering visitors a unique experience to view crafts being made on-site by the local artists. In April 2010, the plan came to fruition when the Federal Government announced an investment of more than $1.5 million to assist the City of St. John's, which invested a further $1.1 million, to develop what would become known as the Quidi Vidi Village Plantation (Quidi Vidi Village Plantation 2018).

The Quidi Vidi Village Plantation officially opened on 27 June 2012, supported in partnership between the Anna Templeton Centre for Craft, Art and Design; the Craft Council of Newfoundland and Labrador; the City of St. John's; the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador; Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency; and Royal Bank of Canada (Business and Arts Newfoundland & Labrador 2015). The Plantation is run by a steering committee of people from the Anna Templeton Centre, the City and the Craft Council. The City has a Tourism Officer and a Tourist Information Desk at the Plantation and the City owns and is responsible for the building. They pay for maintenance such as utilities and snow clearing. The Craft Council and the Anna Templeton Centre is responsible for selecting the artisans, providing the training programme, and the guidance they need in their studio.
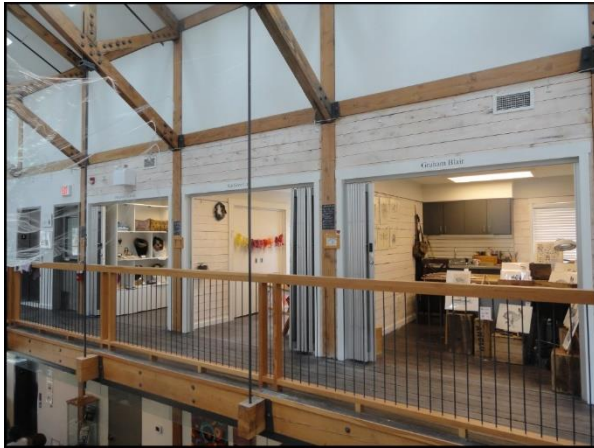
Figure 7.6 Quidi Vidi Plantation   © Suzy Harrison

The centre provides ten studios for aspiring craft businesses, where the public can come and watch the crafts people at work. Speaking to Anne Manuel at the Craft Council about the formation of the studios, she indicated that from the outset there were consultations between herself at the Craft Council, staff at the Anne Templeton Centre and the City of St. John's, to look at the design of the incubator studios, and to ensure the correct number and size. There was a desire to help the next generation of crafts people, many of whom had graduated from the Textiles: Craft & Apparel Design programme of the College of the North Atlantic at the Anna Templeton Centre. As Anne Manuel notes, "they've got rent to pay and student loans to pay and they go and get a part time job which turns into a full-time job and they get lost … we can't afford to do that because there are too many crafts people who are getting older and retiring, it needs new and young and energetic" (Interview 7: 5). Since it started in 2012 to 2016, eleven people have been through the process. According to Anne Manuel, of those eleven, eight have gone on the set up full time professional craft businesses outside their home. "It's a great partnership that has been achieving what it set out to achieve" (Interview 7: 5). There have been connections between the Quidi Vidi Plantation, The Crafts Council and the Intangible Heritage Office of the HFNL. According to Anne Manuel:

> Over the years, we haven't had a lot of contact with the Heritage Foundation, but we have had with Dale [Jarvis] since the Intangible Cultural Heritage thing started. So often we'll jointly promote things … one of the projects was about weaving these pillowtops which men used to make in the logging camps. So, she [Nicole Penney] did that at the Plantation and we've promoting things together.

> (Interview 7: 5)

Those working at Quidi Vidi share Anne Manuel's enthusiasm. Kerry Ivany, as one of the artisans at Quidi Vidi has stated that "with the Plantation you have these other dedicated craftspeople trying to make themselves known as well, so it's a great place to bounce ideas from and be inspired, and the building itself is just a beautiful place, a beautiful location, just the atmosphere of the whole place is inspiring" (Ivany 2018). In a personal correspondence with former Quidi Vidi craftsperson, Anna Murphy, it was established that she was not only aware of the term 'intangible heritage' but that she also used it frequently.

> I think it perfectly describes what we are trying to do here. I believe so deeply in the appreciation and education of our traditions. People are always talking about logging, mining and fishing industries. But they sometimes forget about the home traditions that are so important in our provincial make-up. The recipes, the songs, the stories, the socks, the quilts. Those are the things that link us together. Those are the things that built us. It is one of the most important things to take care of in this province.

(Murphy 2016)

Murphy recently opened her own dye studio and shop in Bonavista, Newfoundland, and serves on the board of directors for the Craft Council, which would suggest a successful transition from her Quidi Vidi studio. However, for Graham Blair, whilst the Plantation has been a positive experience, the concern lies in the adjustment period post Quidi Vidi.

> The problem I face now is this is my last year here, and the income I make in this space has become a significant part of my yearly profits. The real estate situation in St. John's is still way too expensive, and renting commercial space is worse. It is too bad that there was no foresight in building affordable commercial spaces for artisans after leaving the Plantation because most of us will end up moving back into home studios. I will have to do this, and make up for the income by doing more shows out of province.

(Blair 2016)

7.7 CONCLUSION

Whilst the previous chapter on the Netherlands concentrated solely on the role of DICH/KIEN as a cultural broker safeguarding ICH as part of the UNESCO paradigm, this case study in Newfoundland has deviated slightly, by not just focusing on the HFNL, but also including other organisations, museums and educational facilities. This decision was made due to the interconnections which became apparent during the field trip. The strong connection with the Public Folklore programme at Memorial University has produced graduates who have found employment with local organisations, and in other provinces. Being familiarised with intangible heritage, it has influenced policy which can be observed with the Wooden Boat

Museum. Crystal Braye (Interview 7: 3) spoke of the importance of links between various organisations, that there is "definitely a lot of playing together".

The success of the provincial model of safeguarding in Newfoundland relies upon three key aspects. Firstly, as a relatively new part of Canada, it retains a strong regional identity, influenced by the traditions of settlers from south west England and Ireland, but also open to the small number of recent immigrants. The small population has a history of traditional music, storytelling, and importantly to this study, traditional craftsmanship. Secondly, key individuals such as Gerald Pocius and Dale Jarvis have successfully promoted intangible heritage. According to Jarvis (2014a: 377), 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. He goes on quote Rahn, who notes that "public folklore takes the conversations out of the academy and restores them to the community, where they began." (cited in Jarvis 2014a: 377). Jarvis believes that the HFNL works to do just this, encouraging conversation about what communities feel to be of local importance (ibid). This leads to the third key aspect – the importance of community. The HFNL strategy of working closely with local communities to collate their own ICH for the Digital Archive Initiative helps to foster a legitimate 'bottom-up' safeguarding model. When asked about the Heritage Foundation and his ambitions for its future, Jerry Dick replied that he would like to see even more community engagement, "that we go into a community, that we engage them in terms of identifying and developing and understanding their broad range of heritage resources" (Interview 7: 8).

However, the Newfoundland model is not perfect, there are challenges which have been identified by Dale Jarvis, especially for traditional craftsmanship.

> I think the biggest challenge, and something we've not been able to do yet, is really figure out long term intensive ways to pass along tradition, in terms of apprenticeship programmes. We've done lots of workshops on different traditional skills. I think there's been some successes with wooden boat building, there's some new people learning wooden boat building, and the Wooden Boat Museum deserves full credit for that. It is hard for some very specific technical skills to ensure that those skills are going to continue … I think in general Newfoundland heritage is very healthy, I do worry that some things that we kind of take for granted will vanish slowly. But that's the nature of ICH
>
> (Interview 7: 7)

Asked whether the Newfoundland strategy has been a success, Dale Jarvis replied that "I do think we've done a lot. Part of the strategy is that we need to be reflective and keep coming back and say, okay what have we done, what have we not done" (Interview 7: 7). This flexibility is key to the success of the ICH strategy and specially the method of inventory, which is seen as a process rather than a final product. "It is in a constant state of evolution, reflective of the organic nature in which information is collected by and from communities" (Jarvis 2013b: 6). Since Canada is not a signatory to the UNESCO Convention, the listing of elements is not a priority, instead, the safeguarding of living traditions, and development of best practices, are considered paramount (ibid: 4).

Asked if Canada should sign the 2003 UNESCO Convention, Dale Jarvis stated that "I don't know if we will ever have the Convention signed in Canada or not, but what is very clearly happening is that there is a growing interest around the Convention and the work that we do here" (Interview 7: 7). For Jarvis, signing the Convention does not necessarily equate to positive safeguarding. "Some nation states were very quick to ratify the Convention and then quite simply haven't done anything. Signing the Convention is one thing, actually doing something is another" (Interview 7: 7).

8.0 CONCLUSION

In 2007, Richard Kurin reiterated that he welcomed the Convention, 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.

(Kurin 2007: 18)

This research has attempted to test this assumption by focusing on the non-ratification by the United Kingdom. As one of only seventeen countries in the world not to have ratified, this offered the opportunity to examine the reasons for such a stance, to critically examine the UNESCO Convention and offer alternative modes of safeguarding. UNESCO is aware of its own limitations. It is "aware of the intricate and complex nature of safeguarding as well as its own limited reach at the local level. Moreover, as an intergovernmental organization, UNESCO cannot single-handedly safeguard the world's living heritage" (UNESCO 2014: 8). This study has, therefore, analysed the safeguarding strategy of the Netherlands, as an example of a nation which has ratified the Convention, and the Canadian province of Newfoundland and Labrador, as part of a nation that has not ratified, has taken its own ICH safeguarding path.

In the report of the first ICH-Researchers Forum, Deacon and Bortolotto (2012: 40), focused on future directions for ICH research related to the Convention. They suggested that researchers can "offer important critical perspectives on the Convention and its implementation, as well as practical suggestions for the management and safeguarding of the ICH". Through the analysis of parliamentary and organisational grey literature, academic output pertaining to the 2003 Convention, case studies of differing ICH safeguarding methodologies in the Netherlands and Newfoundland, and thorough examination of the practical issues regarding the UNESCO domain of traditional craftsmanship, this study has offered the critical perspective proposed by Deacon and Bortolotto, and added an original contribution to knowledge through practical suggestions for safeguarding ICH based on the research findings.

This research reaffirms some of the many complexities associated with ICH. The five domains as described by UNESCO are all very different, ranging from performing arts and festive

events, to knowledge concerning nature and traditional craftsmanship. Whilst the first four chapters discussed intangible heritage in broad terms, this study has also attempted to understand some of the practical issues found at grassroots level, to understand what, if anything, requires safeguarding. Since there is little homogeneity among the practitioners of ICH and their domains, and such a wide range of safeguarding issues, focus has been given to the UNESCO described domain of traditional craftsmanship, the reasons for which have been explained Section 1.4. Concentrating on this one area has provided a level of consistency, by examining the same safeguarding concerns in the Midlands of England, the Netherlands and Newfoundland. The results, as discussed in Chapters 5, 6 and 7, highlighted problems and best practices.

8.1 RESEARCH FINDINGS

The following section of the conclusion examines the research findings of the original aims and objectives of this study, as explained in Section 1.3.

8.1.1 Aim 1: To explore the concept of Intangible Cultural Heritage within the UNESCO framework

At the outset of this study, Objective 1.1 considered the need for a comprehensive historiography of the term 'intangible cultural heritage' through an identification of the origins of the term within earlier theories. It was established that ICH is a technical term formed by UNESCO, with influences from folklore, tradition and anthropological notions of culture. The decision to move from 'folklore' to 'intangible heritage' made administrative logic for UNESCO, who considered ICH to the broader and more inclusive. Objective 1.2 set out to explore the development of the concept within the UNESCO framework. In order to examine the UNESCO paradigm in contrast with a different ICH safeguarding approach, it was important to understand the structure of the Convention. This was achieved through a comprehensive analysis of its historical development, from notions of folklore and traditional culture in the 1970s and 1980s, to a description of intangible cultural heritage in the 1990s and beyond. It was established that the deficiencies of previous non-binding policies led to a decision to move from recommendations to a convention with legal obligations.

Section 3.5 examined the content of the text of the Convention, to understand how it is governed, through the Intergovernmental Committee and General Assembly, and the role of

NGOs. It was established that national governments had ultimate control over the creation of inventories, and that three international lists were established to raise ICH visibility and dialogue, within a system devoid of hierarchy. Points of contention arose from the detailed critique of the Convention, which fulfilled Objective 1.3. Whilst the 2003 Convention is going to be the main source of ICH safeguarding for the foreseeable future, this study has revealed in Section 3.3.5 that the rapid rate of ratification has not always led to effective implementation. Table 8.1 below summarises this critique.

Table 8.1 A Critique of the 2003 Convention

PROS	CONS
Broadened the international discourse around the definition and meaning of cultural heritage	For some states, listing has becoming an end in itself, rather than a tool that encourages safeguarding
Evidence of parity with tangible heritage from UNESCO	Predominance of state parties over communities - state centrism
Increased community involvement	Ethnic minorities within states, and across state boundaries
Increased pride and prestige for communities listed	Cultural appropriation and cultural domination
Benefit of network of states parties for international cooperation, assistance and exchanges of experience	Has created a duel system of World and Intangible heritage – artificial dichotomy

8.1.2 Aim 2: To analyse the current position of intangible cultural heritage in the United Kingdom

This study began one month after the Independence Referendum in Scotland and has been undertaken amidst the backdrop of massive political change and uncertainty, namely the decision of the UK to leave the European Union, colloquially known as Brexit. Had the result in Scotland been different, my research may have taken a divergent path, and Chapter 4 looking

at ICH policy in the UK would certainly have been altered. Whilst the Brexit decision has not directly impacted upon this study, the uncertainty it has created, both politically and financially, cannot be ignored, and questions will undoubtedly continue over the next few years regarding Britain's international political landscape. The DCMS has had its own fluctuations, with a name change and five different Secretaries of State in the four years since this research commenced. It is perhaps unsurprising that international heritage law is not a priority in such circumstances.

Amidst this political backdrop, intangible cultural heritage policy has had an almost non-existent profile within the UK government. This may be attributed to the consistently slow track record of the UK signing international heritage agreements – 12 years to sign the World Heritage Convention, and 63 years to finally ratify the Hague Convention. Objective 2.1 set out to identify the ICH position within heritage policy in the UK government. Through comprehensive research of the Hansard official record, it showed that there has been consensus across the Westminster political spectrum, with the Labour, Coalition, and Conservative governments all offering a similar response, that ratification is not a priority. The letter from the DCMS (Figure 4.2), also re-enforced this policy and revealed a prevalence of using stock quotes to answer queries regarding ICH. This position towards ICH was further investigated for Objective 2.2, the examination of ICH policy in English heritage legislative bodies. This was achieved in Section 4.7, which affirmed that English Heritage/Historic England strategies and corporate plans failed to acknowledge intangible heritage as part of their remit, and when the subject was raised in consultations, it admitted that "EH will always focus on the material evidence for heritage in the historic environment" (English Heritage 2012b: 7). The restructuring of English Heritage into Historic England (see Section 4.7.2*)*, could have been the 'imaginative vision' as reported by Clark (2014), an opportunity to examine fundamental values and responsibilities, including the definitions of heritage used by the organisation. Instead, it can be argued that the consultations were a form of tokenism for the sake of transparency, and the resulting decisions about Historic England were therefore mired in the conservatism alluded to by Robert Hewison and John Holden (2014: 23). This perspective can be attributed to the Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD), as described by Laurajane Smith, and discussed in Section 4.4. It is prevalent in English heritage institutions, which creates a limited narrative of the 'Historic Environment' as the main focus of heritage policy. At best, lip service is given to the idea of intangible heritage without any discernible output beyond the occasional online description.

The AHD is prominent within the heritage institutions of England, but to examine if this is the case in the rest of the United Kingdom, Objective 2.3 explored ICH policy in the devolved legislatures of the UK. It was shown that the AHD can also be witnessed to a degree in Wales, with its new Historic Environment Act, but the political situation in Northern Ireland makes it difficult to determine whether the Assembly would be more amenable to intangible heritage policies as in Scotland. When political will merges with academic curiosity, interested organisations, and funding opportunities, it can provide the ideal atmosphere for intangible heritage. This has been witnessed in the diverging narrative in Scotland, as examined in Section 4.9. The work of ENrich (Edinburgh Napier University Research in Cultural Heritage) and the creation of the ICH wiki, though originally flawed, was a successful attempt to create a dynamic way of inventorying intangible heritage, as evidenced by the emulation of the method in other countries. The added ingredient has been the assistance from Museums Galleries Scotland, as an NGO which has been willing to embrace the idea of intangible heritage and take over the running of the wiki. Time will tell if the wiki is ultimately successful, but the positive advocacy from individuals such as Joanne Orr shows that countries within the UNESCO framework welcome 'outsider' input, which has been witnessed with the active participation of MGS in the UNESCO ICH NGO Forum.

The question remains whether the conditions for ICH safeguarding in Scotland are specific to the nation, with ideas surrounding national identity and whether there is a distinct difference with the rest of the UK to hinder a unified approach in the future. McCleery and Bowers (2016: 199) point to a distinct contrast between ICH in Scotland and England, arguing that "Attention is drawn to the 'Little England' cultural characteristic of much ICH in Scotland's larger southern neighbor [sic], whether expressed in 'nice' ICH as in Morris dancing or 'nasty' ICH as in the English Defence League's hate rallies. This contrasts with ICH in Scotland, which is simultaneously more inclusive and more outward looking". I would argue that this is an overly simplistic viewpoint. This is not to naively suggest that this description of ICH in England does not exist in parts of rural England and elsewhere but, in a population of 55 million people, it is far more nuanced than that. Whilst Brexit may have highlighted divisions and emphasised the 'Little England' mentality, my own research in the Midlands of England has revealed that, as well as the very traditional ideas of ICH, such as annual festive events, heritage crafts, and the Morris dancers described by McCleery and Bowers (2016: 199), a vibrant multi-cultural ICH exists alongside. Although this study focused on the domain of traditional craftsmanship, I am aware of the broader ICH within the sphere of my research. For instance, the largest Diwali

outside of India occurs in Leicester, and the Caribbean Carnivals in Nottingham, Derby, Leicester and Birmingham, very much evidence the 'ICH in England' over 'English ICH'. The issue lies not with the people at grassroots level, who value their ICH and wish to see it safeguarded, but with the heritage institutions in England - the DCMS, Historic England and UKNC - those who advise government.

The final element of the second aim, was Objective 2.4, which examined the role of ICH in the policies of Non-Government Agencies in the UK. This was achieved through an analysis of the Heritage Lottery Fund, and to a lesser extent Arts Council England as non-departmental bodies of the DCMS. The HLF is systematically adopted by the DCMS or government as the apparent main funder of ICH when asked anything on the subject. The positive spin from the broader definition of heritage belies a reality in which intangible heritage funding still lags significantly behind other forms of heritage by the HLF. It funds projects with a quantifiable end goal, such as the setting up of an archive or museum exhibition, not the funding to continue the running of an ICH event. Furthermore, with regard to traditional crafts, the HLF is good at supporting crafts related to buildings such as thatch or stonemasonry, but is less involved with the funding of 'movable' crafts, such as basketry or wheelwrighting. Arts Council England has played a much smaller role in ICH funding, compared with the HLF, but it has the potential to position itself in the same way as MGS in Scotland. Other agencies without connections to government, such as the Royal Society for the Arts, ICOMOS-UK, and Heritage Alliance have to differing degrees addressed intangible cultural heritage. The RSA has made inroads, with the creation of the Heritage Index, using a holistic approach to definitions of heritage, and ICOMOS-UK has at least put its name to a conference and an ICH committee. However, it is the Heritage Crafts Association which stands apart in England with their advocacy for traditional craftsmanship as intangible cultural heritage.

8.1.3 Aim 3: To analyse the current situation of the ICH domain of traditional craftsmanship in the Midlands of England

Chapter 5 focused on traditional craftsmanship, the most tangible and last of the domains to be adopted by UNESCO. A definition of heritage crafts and their relationship with the notion of intangible heritage was explored, and examples of traditional craftsmanship safeguarding in countries such as France and Japan were considered. These practices show that traditional

craftsmanship was safeguarded in a variety of innovative ways before the 2003 Convention, but that, as shown in the case of Norway, some craft organisations have also adapted and become integral to the administration of ICH. Although traditional craftsmanship in the Midlands of England is at the forefront of the chapter, a brief overview of the Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland perspective showed that there are some promising safeguarding techniques. In Scotland, the wiki inventory has already set an example. In Wales, the formation of Gweithdy has the potential to be an exemplar of traditional craft laboratory style learning and safeguarding, and in Northern Ireland, the Économusée is a template which deserves further investigation as a way of tapping into a local economy, crafts and tourism as a safeguarding model.

Objective 3.2 was achieved through an exploration of the role of the Heritage Crafts Association, which established that the HCA was born out of a need for representation for traditional crafts which the Crafts Council was not providing. In the last 8 years, the HCA has been instrumental in raising the awareness for the safeguarding of traditional crafts in parliament, culminating in the formation of the All-Party Parliamentary Group for Craft. As a politically informed pressure group, it is one of the few NGOs in the UK which is actively seeking the ratification of the 2003 Convention. Whilst they have thus far been unsuccessful, it reveals a desire, at least in one corner of the intangible heritage field in England, to explore avenues to safeguard ICH, and this includes the possibility of greater interaction with the international paradigm. There are many positives that have resulted from HCA activities, such as practical initiatives including the Makers Directory and Making It! The HCA and QEST at the Worshipful Company of Carpenters. The method of funding awards, such as the Apprenticeship in Heritage Craft and Scholarship in Heritage Craft respect the realities of the heritage craft sphere, where craftspeople need opportunities, especially finance, to progress. However, despite the enterprising nature of these awards and grants, the small number of awards is a drop in the ocean compared with the probable need of traditional craftspeople, and the over-reliance on philanthropic organisations suggests a problem with long term sustainability. Another problem which this study identified is the reliance upon a small group of traditional craft enthusiasts for the upkeep of the HCA. With personnel such as Greta Bertram and Daniel Carpenter stepping down as Trustees (though not from all participation), it could become an issue in the future. Add to that the precarious nature of its funding, and the lack of a permanent base of operations, and it becomes clear that the Heritage Crafts Association existence in the future is not guaranteed.

With this in mind, Objective 3.3: To identify how traditional craftsmanship is inventoried in the UK explored the inventory created by the HCA. With an incredibly small budget, the HCA was able to start the process of inventorying traditional crafts in the UK, through its aim to create a Red List of Endangered Craft. With the red, amber and green format, the list provides an accurate snapshot of the traditional crafts found in the UK. It is a starting point, from which it can be improved upon and adapted. The Red List, along with the wiki in Scotland, reveal that multiple examples of inventories already exist in the UK, outside of the UNESCO paradigm.

Having examined the role of the Heritage Crafts Association, the main objective (3.3) of the chapter was to analyse the safeguarding issues facing traditional craftspeople in the Midlands of England. This research achieved the goal of investigating a 'community' at grass roots level, as interpreted by UNESCO as integral to the safeguarding of ICH. Chapter 3 explained the international UNESCO model of safeguarding ICH, and the exploration of ICH in the UK in Chapter 4 focused upon the interests at play within national level institutions, both far removed from the practical day to day realities for people performing elements of ICH. Using a grounded theory approach as explained in Section 2.5.1, the study began with no preconceived notions about what the issues might be for traditional craftspeople. However, a dissection of what constitutes 'safeguarding' was necessary, in order to structure the questions and provide a consistent line of enquiry through the research in England, the Netherlands and Canada. Key areas specifically relevant for traditional craftsmanship were proposed: transmission and awareness, training/skills, and business/market issues. Whilst this was not an exhaustive list of safeguarding issues, these were the central themes which influenced the practical considerations of practitioners of the ICH domain of traditional craftsmanship. What were the concerns for the future of their craft and business? Did they correlate with the priorities set by the cultural brokers administering ICH strategies in the Netherlands and Newfoundland, or with the Heritage Crafts Association in the UK? Table 8.2 provides a concise outline of the many issues raised by the interviewed craftspeople.

Table 8.2 Issues and Challenges of Traditional Craftspeople in the Midlands of England

TRANSMISSION AND AWARENESS
Ageing workforce
Traditional Crafts as second careers
Financial issues of retraining – middle class phenomena?
Lack of awareness among youth
Positive experiences of working in public workshops / studios
TRAINING / SKILLS
Self-taught – common practice and not negative
Issues regarding apprenticeships - unofficial, over many months
Apprenticeships often a pro-active choice – seeking out mentors
Requirement of working a second job
Further Education – not always as useful as practical training
BUSINESS / MARKET
Flexibility – diversification into non-making streams, ie. Workshops
Cost of Products
Availability and cost of raw materials
Affordability of public workshops / studios
Need for business skills
Pros and cons of social media

Section 5.9.1 focused on the issues surrounding transmission and awareness of traditional craftsmanship. It was established that the average age of the interview participants was 45, possibly as a result of the high number of craftspeople who entered the trades as a second career. Interviewees came from an eclectic background and it was argued that the retraining required for a second career suggests a predominantly middle-class phenomena, with those who already have the financial means being better equipped to make the transition. It has been argued by one of the interviewees that traditional crafts are now seen as a 'posh thing' to do.

One of the most concerning issues to come from the interviews was the solitary nature of the work, with 67% working on their own. Although some interviewees liked the flexibility which came with working from home, or in a studio on their own, the isolation has a detrimental effect on contact with other practitioners and with the public. This disconnect is a contrast to the

positive effect that studios have in providing a public space for some craftspeople. The positive impact of public workshops, and diversification into new areas of health and wellbeing, has shown a flexibility which bodes well for the safeguarding of traditional craft.

Section 5.9.2 examined the training and skills required by traditional craftspeople. It was established that many of the interviewees were self-taught, which was not considered to be negative, but provided flexibility. Those who had undergone apprenticeships had often pro-actively sought out mentors themselves in an unofficial capacity, and had been taught over a prolonged period, again, with flexibility a high priority. This appears to be a very successful method of training. However, there was sometimes a requirement for some craftspeople to have second jobs, which tended to be a necessity rather than a choice. The interviewees also acknowledged the realities of apprenticeships – time, effort and money to pass on the skills themselves were a deterrent to take on apprentices in the future, though some were determined to do so. An interesting discovery was that the further education needs were not always met by structured university or college courses. The practical skills required were better met through concentrated one-to-one tuition.

The business and market issues discussed in Section 5.9.3 revealed that most customers were well versed on the cost of products, accepting of the time and expertise that goes into the crafts. The issue of raw materials, with rising costs and availability, was raised as potentially problematic. Affordability of workshops was another area of concern, many craftspeople work from home because of the lack of affordable workshops, but those who had studios were positive in the increased visibility, workshop opportunities and diversification they provided. Since many traditional craftspeople are self-employed, the need for business skills, such as knowledge of insurance and health and safety legislation, meant time away from craft production. A successful arrangement for some has been the availability of incubation units, as a useful first step, in the form of mentoring and business workshops. Finally, social media usage is a double-edged sword. It has a utilitarian purpose which is vital to most of the interviewees, as a way of marketing and selling produce. But it is also another time-consuming distraction from the primary issue of working on the craft.

These realities faced by grassroots practitioners of ICH leads to the question of what practical measures need to be in place to help safeguard it. Does either of the present safeguarding models described in this study offer possible solutions to the issues raised above? This was

investigated in Chapters 6 and 7, which compared the practical safeguarding outcomes of the UNESCO paradigm and a different approach in Newfoundland and Labrador, Canada.

8.1.4 Aim 4: To explore the ratification of the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Netherlands

Aims 4 and 5 examined two case studies in the Netherlands and Newfoundland, Canada. Much of the analysis is scrutinised in the following sections of this conclusion, focusing on a critique of inventory systems and safeguarding methods for traditional craftsmanship. At the start of Chapter 6 the background of intangible heritage policy on the Netherlands was explored in order to answer Objective 4.1. It was revealed that despite adherence to the 'Thorbecke principle' of governmental non-interference in cultural policy, in the twentieth century folklore (or ethnology) was represented within academia and institutionally, which eventually led to the Dutch Centre for Folk Culture, the precursor of the Dutch Centre for Intangible Heritage. The desire to avoid international heritage isolation was explained as a reason for the ratification of the 2003 Convention.

Objective 4.2 explored the academic and institutional responses to ratification. It was revealed that there was not a consensus among experts in the field as to the desirability of ratifying the Convention. It was suggested that the distinction between material and immaterial was not necessary. Objective 4.3 was achieved through an examination and critique of the practical implementation of the 2003 UNESCO Convention through an appraisal of traditional craftsmanship safeguarding policies. The first element of analysis was the safeguarding plan and inventory, focusing on ICH as a whole. The role of the Dutch Centre for Intangible Heritage (DICH/KIEN) was scrutinised, both the knowledge development aspect and the work of the heritage care team. In establishing that a successful inventory must be adaptable, DICH was able to accept criticism of its initial model, and provide an improved inventory, which took into account the different levels of involvement requested by ICH practitioners. The practical ways in which DICH supports ICH was examined through the work done to safeguard elements of traditional craftsmanship, which is compared to the Newfoundland model in Section 8.2.1.2.

8.1.5 Aim 5: To explore an alternative model of intangible cultural heritage safeguarding in Newfoundland and Labrador

Chapter 7 focused on the provincial ICH safeguarding model of Newfoundland and Labrador in Canada. Objective 5.1 identified that although Canada at a federal level had not ratified the 2003 Convention, intangible cultural heritage had become integral within the framework of several provincial heritage policies. One such province was Newfoundland and Labrador, and Objective 5.2 was achieved through an exploration of the ICH provincial policy in Newfoundland and Labrador. It was established that ICH became part of the wider cultural heritage strategy of the province, and that the Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador have been the principal organisation tasked with safeguarding all forms of heritage in the province. Key to the success of this model is the strong regional identity of Newfoundland, influenced by the traditions of settlers from England and Ireland, but also open to the small number of recent immigrants. Another important aspect is the interconnections between the HFNL and other local organisations, including Memorial University, The Rooms gallery and archive, Wooden Boat Museum and the Craft Council. This reciprocity benefits the HFNL, with its limited resources. The role of the broker is central to the ICH strategy. Key individuals such as Gerald Pocius and Dale Jarvis have successfully promoted intangible heritage through academic literature, the teaching of ICH at Memorial University, and thus instilling a knowledge of the subject to carry though to heritage careers around the country, and also through community workshops and projects. The pre-eminence of community involvement runs throughout the strategy and shows that this safeguarding model, in many respects, adheres to the ideals of the UNESCO Convention fair more successfully than many states which have ratified. The inventory system supports participation from local communities, and the HFNL encourages conservation of what communities feel to be of local importance. The repository system, in comparison to other models, has at its core an accessibility and depth.

Finally, Objective 5.3 examined the safeguarding of the ICH domain of traditional craftsmanship in Newfoundland and Labrador, the small population has a strong history of traditional craftsmanship, including rug hooking, knitting, basket making, boat building and traditions relating to the sea and fishing. A closer inspection of the traditional craftsmanship good practices in Newfoundland is focused upon in Section 8.2.1.2 of this conclusion.

8.2 THOUGHTS ARISING FROM THE RESEARCH FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.2.1 ICH Safeguarding Good Practices

There are safeguarding examples described in this study, from both models, which could be argued to represent 'good practice', either for ICH as a whole, or more specifically for the traditional craftsmanship domain. This section of the conclusion offers an analysis of what constitutes a good inventory and what conditions need to be in place for traditional craftsmanship to thrive. Thus, an attempt to attribute good practices from the case studies is provided.

8.2.1.1 Inventories

One of the most significant safeguarding tools is the use of inventories to list the intangible heritage elements of a country or area, and this study does not dispute that it is the most convenient starting point for the safeguarding of ICH. Previous chapters examined a system in the Netherlands within the UNESCO paradigm, a provincial model of inventorying in Newfoundland, and the Radcliffe Red List of Endangered Craft by the HCA in the UK. Table 8.3 shows the different models, including the type of inventory and who administers them.

Table 8.3 The differences between the three inventories

Inventories		
ENGLAND / UK	NETHERLANDS	NEWFOUNDLAND
Heritage Crafts Association	Dutch Centre for Intangible Heritage	Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador – ICH Office
Type of Inventory		
National - UK	National – UNESCO structured	Provincial
1 Domain – Traditional Craftsmanship	All Domains	All Domains
The Radcliffe Red List of Endangered Crafts	Network Inventory Register	ICH Inventory in the Digital Archive Initiative

What are the traits of a good inventory system? From the critique of the UNESCO Convention, case studies and interviews with the craftspeople of the Midlands of England, this study has formulated an inventory 'check list' of best practice.

1. Should be a starting point only – inappropriate emphasis on inventories over safeguarding practices should be avoided
2. Needs to be bottom up with community involvement - but with input from cultural brokers
3. Not overly complicated
4. Should avoid stagnation
5. Should be accessible
6. Needs to include forms of ICH that are truly multi-national and multi-cultural – listing system needs to reflect changing global realities
7. Should avoid fostering hierarchies and divisions

Park (2013: 182) emphasises that an inventory is merely the starting point for the safeguarding of ICH. It needs to be regularly updated with community involvement. This can be observed in all the models in this study. The HCA has produced the Red List to highlight those traditional crafts which need extra help, and is now putting into place practical measures with the help of an Endangered Crafts Officer. Although the UNESCO listing system has been criticised for sometimes appearing to be an end in itself, in the Netherlands, there has been a correlation between listing, monitoring and providing safeguarding assistance. Equally in Newfoundland, the system of workshops on ethnographic collection techniques and cultural documentation ensures that communities are at the forefront of both initiating the listing of ICH, and having the capacity to maintain it. This element of community involvement is best observed in the Newfoundland provincial model, where the localism implicit in the strategy creates a detailed regional inventory. It could be argued that this creates a complicated repository system, with the Netherlands and HCA lists providing a greater level of simplicity. Certainly, the traffic light model of the HCA is a striking visual tool which could be emulated. The changes to the Netherlands model, with the three-step system of circles could be construed to be more complicated now, but the inclusion of 'informal heritage' in a more interactive inventory has produced a more flexible tool.

This flexibility, along with accessibility, are key aspirations for an inventory to avoid stagnation and irrelevancy. The wiki model of listing has been discussed throughout this study, with a critical analysis of the wiki in Scotland. As a method which has been adopted in other countries recently, it has also come under the scrutiny of Albert van der Zeijden in the Netherlands. "Could such a wiki method be suitable for us, was our question? ... a wiki method does not necessarily lead to a more diverse list ... The wiki method also requires a lot of moderation to prevent all kinds of fantasy traditions from entering the inventory or making political or commercial abuse". Wikis are also easily hacked, and as observed in the Scottish wiki, it is not always indicative of strong community involvement. Although wikis are the most accessible forms of inventory, the new system in the Netherlands offers a middle ground, providing access to communities to add their own interpretation, but moderated by the cultural brokers at DICH. In Newfoundland, the digital archive is not without flaws. The Digital Archive Initiative experienced an unexpected power interruption which has affected online services since July, and as of 1st September 2018, it is still unavailable.

The Netherlands model shows promise in including forms of ICH that are multi-cultural. Although some criticism pointed to migrant cultures being insufficiently represented in the national inventory, there are elements from migrant cultures, such as henna art, and this is likely to be a growth area with the 'broadening, deepening and connecting' strategy. Again, the ICH in Scotland wiki must be cited as a prime example of an inventory, which from the start, had a deliberately inclusive policy towards ICH that had originated from outside of the country. Any future model in England would be wise to follow its example.

Table 8.4 A synopsis of the pros and cons of the UNESCO inventory system in the Netherlands

NETHERLANDS	UNESCO BASED INVENTORY SYSTEM
POSITIVES	NEGATIVES
Prestige for those on inventory	Some communities did not want to be involved due to increased exposure
Increased awareness of intangible heritage	Inventory biased towards well-organised groups
Structured assistance for those on the inventory by DICH	Not broad enough – urban, youth and migrant cultures insufficiently represented
Knowledge exchange among communities	Not actually a bottom up process – a "delegated guiding cultural policy from above" (Margry 2014: 65)
Allocated funding for inventories	

Table 8.5 A synopsis of the pros and cons of the provincial inventory system in Newfoundland

NEWFOUNDLAND	PROVINCIAL MODEL
POSITIVES	NEGATIVES
More a repository than inventory, therefore more detailed	No allocated funding for inventorying
Flexibility of local nature of inventory – no national or international policy to adhere to	Lack of prestige and exposure which comes with UNESCO listing
Photographs, audio, video and other ethnographic material available to view	Repository system could be seen as too complicated
Greater input from communities	No obvious stratification system to highlight ICH in need of safeguarding
Technical support from university	Technical problems involving server failure – can lead to DAI being unavailable for months

8.2.1.2 Traditional Craftsmanship Safeguarding Good Practices

In Chapter 5, the issues faced by practitioners of traditional craftsmanship was discussed in detail. This has been summarised in the conclusion, with a synopsis of the main areas of concern. The question remains as to whether either ICH safeguarding method adequately addresses these concerns. The results from the case studies in question are a snapshot of what is happening in these two ICH NGOs. The demarcation of the safeguarding of traditional craftsmanship into three main areas was a decision based on the need for consistency. In reality, they all overlap and influence each other. Transmission and training are clearly two sides of the same coin, and the organisations which manage the safeguarding practices do not differentiate in the same way. Furthermore, there will certainly be examples of safeguarding that this study has inadvertently overlooked, and since the focus is on traditional craftsmanship, there are numerous illustrations of safeguarding of the other domains carried out in Newfoundland and the Netherlands which are also omitted. These limitations aside, Table 8.6 below presents a summary of the various ways in which traditional craftsmanship is being safeguarded in each case study.

Table 8.6 Safeguarding practices for traditional craftsmanship

NETHERLANDS	NEWFOUNDLAND	HCA
TRANSMISSION AND AWARENESS		
DICH website	Publications	Advocacy – Government Craft group
Inventory designations press releases	ICH Programmes at The Rooms	TV appearances ie. BBC Countryfile
Year of Craft	Podcasts	Press releases
Publications	Youth Forum	Exhibitions ie. 'Making It!'
Films		
Ambacht in Beeld Festival		
TRAINING / SKILLS		
Crafts Lab	Anna Templeton Centre	Apprenticeships – City and Guilds
	HFNL Workshops	SEPE Countryside Crafts Project
	Wooden Boat Museum	HCA Awards - QEST, Marsh Christian Trust, Arts Society
	Fishing for Success	
BUSINESS / MARKET ISSUES		
Contact Days	Craft Council	The Makers Online Directory
Pop Up Shops	NONIA	
Overijssel Project	Quidi Vidi	

From the responses of the craftspeople in England, and from the case studies, it can be deduced that in order for traditional craftsmanship to be safeguarded effectively, these conditions need to be in place:

- Awareness of traditional crafts as a career for youth and as a second career
- Apprenticeships
- Vocational training
- Business skills, including knowledge of social media
- Affordable workshops/studios
- Communication among craftspeople
- Diversification / entrepreneurial enterprise

None of the ICH safeguarding models fully satisfy all of these requirements. Overall, all three case studies appear to be most successful in raising awareness through a variety of means, including publications and having a good online presence. Both systems in the Netherlands and Newfoundland are potentially effective in combating the lack of awareness among youth, through the use of technology to produce websites, films, and podcasts, and the Youth Forum in Newfoundland. Through sheer persistence, the HCA is helping to make traditional crafts more visible within the UK parliament, but nationally the profile is low.

The promotion which ICH receives nationally in the Netherlands, through coverage of designated elements helps to elevate the UNESCO paradigm. It can be argued that the prestige now afforded to ICH in the Netherlands, as a form of heritage which is equal to built heritage, might help to entice people into forms of ICH, including traditional crafts. This may combat the problem of an ageing workforce, though this is merely conjecture. The Ambacht in Beeld (Craft in Focus) Festival, although outside of the strategy of DICH, has links with the centre, and shows how awareness of ICH and traditional craftsmanship in the Netherlands has a wider reach.

Focusing on training and skills, many of the practitioners in the Midlands noted how they were self-taught, which was not considered to be a negative experience. In contrast, those who had some university education often found it to be ineffective to train as a craftsperson. Instead, vocational courses seem to fair better, and practical workshops offer the most flexible form of education. In Newfoundland, opportunities to learn craft skills abound, whether it be through

HFNL workshops, boat building workshops at the Wooden Boat Museum, or skills relating to fishing with Fishing for Success. These workshops may lead to the creation of a new business, help improve skills, or simply keep the new-found knowledge as a hobby.

The provincial nature of the ICH safeguarding in Newfoundland provides for a collaborative effort, with those trained in Public Folklore at Memorial University being employed in various institutions throughout Newfoundland and Canada. This often leads to a symbiotic relationship with workshops arranged between the HFNL and other organisations. This has helped to spread 'intangible heritage' as a term which is now more widely understood in Newfoundland than in parts of England.

The need for apprenticeships is one of the most important issues to arise from the interviews with craftspeople. Only the HCA has shown a capacity for providing a system which understands the need for apprenticeships, and the funding which this requires, through their annual awards. Though this conclusion has already admitted that this has a limited reach, it is at least recognition that the issue is in need of redress, which neither safeguarding case study has been able to produce. For those who are already established craftspeople, the focused and practical approach of the new Crafts Lab in the Netherlands, may be an interesting addition to the safeguarding efforts of DICH.

In relation to the business and market skills discussed by the practitioners in the Midlands, some of the concerns are being addressed in the safeguarding practices of the Netherlands and Newfoundland. The need for business diversification can be witnessed in the contact days in the Netherlands, which are a successful way of bringing together craftspeople to share experience and knowledge, and to help with entrepreneurial ventures through the diversification of products. The positive experiences of working in a studio highlighted by some of the interviewees in the Midlands is beyond the ability of either ICH safeguarding systems to provide. However, as evidenced in the Netherlands, pop up shops are a flexible way for craftspeople to showcase their businesses and promote new lines. The HCA does not have the funding capabilities to provide access to studio facilities. However, the Making It! event at the Carpenters Guild shows that the HCA is aware of the benefits of bringing traditional craftspeople together in a high-profile London environment, to promote their businesses.

In Newfoundland, the HFNL is not in a position to provide business help directly, their annual budget does not extend that far. However, Dale Jarvis (2018) noted that the HFNL is hoping to "look at the link between ICH and business development, so I'll be doing some case study

research with craft practitioners, seeing how they build small businesses out of traditional craft. That is very much in the early stages". The primary reason why the HFNL have focused on other ICH domains has been explained by Dale Jarvis (2018), "In a sense, I haven't been doing as much craft stuff as other things because there are already really good organizations locally doing a lot of that stuff, primarily the Craft Council. My work with them has largely been about documentation, which is the bit they don't have time/skills to do". The Craft Council, with its wide remit including traditional crafts, has worked with heritage craftspeople in the province, a different outlook to its namesake in the UK.

The need for business skills appears to be best accounted for in incubation units, as described by a couple of interviewees in the Midlands, with their experiences at Banks Mill Studios. The example of the Quidi Vidi Plantation in Newfoundland offers an affordable and practical solution, where new craftspeople can hone their craft skills, and have the time needed to learn new business skills, which will be required to succeed. It is not a perfect model, the limited time period of the units means that the issues of affordable public workshops and studios is simply shifted further down the line.

Finally, many traditional craftspeople have taken advantage of technological advances, most visibly the use of social media, which has changed the way in which they do business, making it easier to reach out to new customers, advertise workshops and source raw materials. This is available without the need for intervention by an ICH agency or cultural broker and may be one of the leading methods for safeguarding traditional crafts in the future.

Ultimately, many of the safeguarding issues for traditional craftsmanship result from a lack of finance. The costs involved with retraining as a second career, of paying to be apprenticed to a craftsperson, or paying tuition fees, the costs of materials, and potentially having to keep a second job to pay the bills, added to the costs of running a studio, are not met by any of the ICH safeguarding strategies.

8.2.3 Intangible Cultural Heritage – What's in a name?

Having considered the ICH best practices for an inventory and traditional craftsmanship safeguarding, the question remains regarding the wider issue of intangible heritage protection in the UK. The first hurdle to overcome is the term 'intangible cultural heritage'. The varied descriptions in Section 3.3.2 show that there is not a conclusive definition of intangible

heritage, but that it is now being used in countries which have ratified the Convention as an umbrella term to include tradition and folklore. Whilst Dorothy Noyes (2016: 326) accepts that "folklore has recently benefited from a broader euphemistic move in global discourse" she draws the line at using the term intangible heritage, favouring tradition or folklore (Noyes 2016: 363). She explains her unwillingness to clarify definitions "as with the U.S government's definition of pornography, it's enough for the present purpose that we all know folklore when we see it" (ibid). But do we 'see' intangible cultural heritage to the same degree? In the United Kingdom, England certainly, I would argue not. The term has gained usage in Scotland within governmental institutions, but in England it has neither achieved favourable usage in Historic England or other organisations, or as a description that the general public would recognise. It can be argued that this would change once the UNESCO Convention was ratified, with the media attention and other forms of promotion this would entail. However, Stefano and Davis (2016: 5) hint at a disconnect. "There is an 'ICH' that derives its meaning at the international and national levels, and then there are the living cultural traditions, practices and expressions that are valued at the local level under an immeasurable array of names. A conceptual bridging of the two – somehow – will need to happen for the 2003 Convention to truly work". This would certainly be the case in England – with a need for heritage, folklore, tradition, storytelling, heritage craft, traditional dance, to name but a few, to harmonise under the umbrella term of intangible cultural heritage.

8.2.4 To ratify or not to ratify?

The central question lies in whether the United Kingdom should ratify the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Heritage. A critical appraisal of the Convention in Chapter 3 concluded that UNESCO had "established a fundamentally new paradigm" (UNESCO 2013a), but that there were challenges, in that the rapid rate of ratification has not always been matched by adequate institutional capacities for effective implementation (ibid). Throughout this study, evidence has been presented which questioned the safeguarding realities for traditional craftsmanship as a form of ICH, and looked into the practical application of the Convention compared with an alternative approach. Neither is perfect but there are positives to be found in each system. The UNESCO paradigm evident in the Netherlands offers a form of recognition and prestige lacking elsewhere. With the help of the Heritage Care team at DICH, allocation on the national inventory can provide an opportunity for reflection and lays

the groundwork and impetus for grassroots practitioners to safeguard their own traditions. In Newfoundland, the flexibility of being outside the UNESCO paradigm allows for a pragmatic approach which has not concentrated on listing as a primary safeguarding tool, but used expertise at the HFNL to forge networks across the province. This localism, working with communities on projects has been a strength.

Even without ratifying the Convention, there are many good practices which could be emulated at a regional or county level in England. Many of the examples in this study of projects used to safeguard ICH, should not be prohibitively expensive, even for arts and heritage departments with limited budgets. A problem remains in the lack of ICH within heritage strategies, both nationally and in regions of England, through the continued authorised heritage discourse, which creates a system of heritage professionals trained only within the built environment narrative, who lack the diverse skills of public folklorists in North America, or those trained in ICH and ethnology on the continent.

It has been argued that the United Kingdom, along with other non-ratifiers, are already involved in much of the safeguarding activity stipulated by UNESCO. This has been described by Nic Craith and Kockel (2019: 119) as ratification of the Convention by proxy. The intangible heritage sector in England is already strongly represented by the English Folk Dance and Song Society (EFDSS), Folklore Society, Society for Storytelling, and of course, the Heritage Crafts Association. As well as the ICH wiki in Scotland, and the Red List by the HCA, EFDSS also has a repository called The Full English, which is the largest online collection of English folk manuscripts. "Absentees from the ICHC who engage with the process of inventorying may argue that they already fulfill the spirit of the Convention – thereby drawing on …[an] 'assertion of fulfillment'" (Nic Craith and Kockel 2019: 126). So why sign a convention if the most important elements are already in place? One argument turns the question on its head. If the UK is already engaging with safeguarding by proxy, then ratifying the Convention is potentially less difficult to implement than other countries starting from scratch. The logistics for much of the early collation of ICH elements is already in place, especially in Scotland. Furthermore, Nic Craith and Kockel (2019: 126) make the argument that inventories are only the starting point. Concrete ICH safeguarding plans are formed from inventories, which are a state commitment if bound to the UNESCO Convention.

Therefore, despite all the positives that have been discussed within the provincial model of Newfoundland, this study proposes that ratification of the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the

Safeguarding of Intangible Heritage is desirable for the United Kingdom. Nic Craith and Kockel (2019: 121) have also drawn the same conclusion. Their judgement is that "not signing the ICHC is an act of, at best, neglect or, at worst, denial of recognition of people's living heritage". Ratification would seem to be the logical conclusion. It would align the heritage policy in Scotland with the rest of the United Kingdom, and elevate intangible heritage to be considered equal to the built environment, which has dominated the authorised heritage discourse for too long. The addition of intangible heritage to the remit of a national heritage body could lead to a more holistic approach in the future, with the natural and built environment and intangible elements under one roof. Ratification by the UK would also move the Convention one step closer to being truly global. This international perspective is important. The influence that the United Kingdom has played as a signatory of the World Heritage Convention for the past 24 years can also be pursued in intangible heritage, with the ability to become involved in decision making in the Intergovernmental Committees to a far greater degree than is currently available through the affiliated NGOs.

Whether or not the United Kingdom should ratify the 2003 UNESCO Convention continues to be a complicated question. Although this study has proposed reasons why it may be of interest for the nation to ratify, it is also mindful of the nuances at play. By no measure can the decision on ratification be classed as straightforward. It is a complex issue, and there are equally compelling reasons to keep the status quo, including the difficulties of administration and the realities of ratification by proxy, as described above. The fact remains that the UK has no plans to ratify, and therefore the focus in the near future should be on the attempts being made by various specific organisations to safeguard elements of ICH.

Furthermore, although this study indicates that the UK would be wise to ratify the 2003 Convention, I would contest that neither the UNESCO paradigm, nor the Canadian alternative offer a perfect model for safeguarding ICH. In the view of Michelle Stefano (2010: 332), "there exists a need for ICH to be viewed, as well as treated, holistically in order to be safeguarded effectively". This is reiterated by Nic Craith and Kockel (2015: 31) who talk of a motivation to link built heritage with intangible elements as part of "the yin and yang of heritage", and suggest that a symbiotic relationship exists between landscapes, buildings and intangible heritage to form a 'sense of place'. This is especially the case for traditional craftsmanship, where intangible skills are needed to create a tangible object, often in an interrelated physical environment, such as Peter Wood teaching green wood working in the forests of Leicestershire. But until a new, more holistic form of international heritage protection is introduced, the choice

is reduced to ratifying the UNESCO Convention, and emulating the good practice examples from other ratifiers, or working outside the UNESCO paradigm.

8.2.5 Administration of the Convention in the United Kingdom

The United Kingdom, with its four nation states and crown dependencies, would not find a quick and simple solution in effectively translating the UNESCO Convention into national heritage policy. Article 13 of the Convention allows for 'one or more competent bodies' to be responsible for safeguarding functions in the territory (UNESCO 2003a), and this would undoubtedly be the way forward after ratification in the UK. It seems logical, based on current heritage policy, that a decentralised mode of operation would ensue, with each nation state and overseas territory taking control of its intangible heritage safeguarding, within the wider UNESCO system.

The UNESCO model of intangible heritage inventorying is deliberately vague, stating that each country must produce "in a manner geared to its own situation, one or more inventories of the intangible cultural heritage present in its territory" (UNESCO 2003a). This offers the opportunity to have many inventories in the United Kingdom, and though likely to be more complicated than systems elsewhere, this would also allow for inventories such as the HCA Red List on one ICH domain, to be included within a wider framework.

It is unlikely that a new central body like the Dutch Centre for Intangible Heritage would be established and Richard Kurin (2016: 42) has also advised against it in the USA. "If the US were to sign the treaty, it would need some designated agency to be the compiler of information reflecting a large number of activities undertaken by the diversity of organizations involved. But I would strongly counsel against using the ICH treaty to create some larger, more centralized ICH 'regulator'". Whilst Scotland has a head start, in England, a heritage organisation would have to be assigned to oversee the creation of an inventory and safeguarding strategy. Perhaps a newly designated body would be created, and ICH would be elevated to the same stature that buildings have received in English Heritage. Or perhaps more likely, it would be subsumed within the remit of Historic England or Arts Council England. This is not necessarily an inferior solution, as it could allow for greater synergy between tangible and intangible heritage policy in the future.

8.3 DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

As a result of this study, further research might be conducted in order to examine some of the questions which have arisen as part of the process of analysing an under-researched area of intangible heritage. For example, the decision to focus on one domain of ICH was made out of necessity. There is a wealth of fascinating intangible cultural heritage in England which would be classed by UNESCO as oral traditions and expressions; performing arts; social practices, rituals and festive events; and knowledge and practice concerning nature and the universe. These areas of interest have been studied in isolation by academics affiliated with the Folklore Society, English Folk Dance and Song Society and Society for Storytelling, and very rarely as intangible heritage. Focus on the other domains will offer different perspectives on safeguarding issues which are not as prevalent in traditional craftsmanship. One of the major differences is that those involved in this study in traditional crafts are making a living from it, all year round. Many examples in the other domains occur once a year, such as carnivals, or the celebration of an equinox or religious festival. This will generate distinct complications and present new angles to contribute to the discussion. For example, rituals and festive events such as the Sussex Bonfire tradition or the folk football games of the Midlands, have seen issues surrounding the 'popularity paradox', see Harrison (2017), whereby increases in numbers going to certain events have created problems regarding health and safety and security.

Outside of the UNESCO paradigm, this study has concentrated efforts on the province of Newfoundland and Labrador in Canada. Much of the discourse around intangible cultural heritage in Newfoundland and Labrador has been through the lens of North American folklore scholarship (Jarvis 2014a: 364), specifically the notion of 'public folklore'. The term has not acquired traction in the United Kingdom, and to a lesser extent in continental Europe, see Bendix and Welz (1999) and Jacobs (2014). As discussed in Section 3.4.6, the model of public folklore in the USA provides an established form of ICH safeguarding. Michelle Stefano works within the parameters of 'public folklore' in the United States:

> I realised, what a gap, and I knew it in England as well, what a gap between what's going on in the US and this international heritage discourse pretty much everywhere else …With ICH and public folklore, I think, again I'm biased, that whole ICH UNESCO paradigm has a lot to learn from the public folklore work that we do, for many decades, far longer than the ICH concept … the reflexivity that we have as well.

> (Stefano 2016)

Baron and Spitzer (2007: xiii), in an update of their influential work *Public Folklore,* considered the ICH Convention, which they argue addresses fundamental issues concerning the safeguarding of folklore, most of which are familiar to American public folklorists. They suggest that American public folklorists could share their experiences of safeguarding traditions, and that they "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". In relation to traditional craftsmanship, Baron and Spitzer give the example of apprenticeships, which they view as a critically important vehicle of transmission. "The American experience with folk arts apprenticeships could serve as a model for other countries and UNESCO's efforts to operationalize ICH objectives" (ibid). Future research could attempt to draw upon these observations and attempt to link North American public folklore to the wider ICH narrative.

From the specific research on traditional craftsmanship, there are a number of areas which could benefit from further investigation. One such area is the safeguarding of traditional crafts jobs through the diversification of workshop offerings to include a focus on the use of craft as a way of aiding health and well-being. Craft workshops held by Martin Somerville in Nottingham and Jojo Wood in Birmingham reveal an innovative way of helping people to cope with grief and mental health issues, and to connect with urban youth. As the Centre for Critical Heritage Studies at Gothenburg University and UCL have identified Heritage and Wellbeing as a priority area of research, this connection of intangible heritage, craft, and health as a way of safeguarding, appears to be a germane topic. The creation of crafts laboratories, as a means to bring craftspeople together, to provide a space for learning, and creating new ideas, have been developed in Wales with Gweithdy, and in the Netherlands, with the AmbachtenLab (Crafts Lab). It is interesting that they have been created independently, at the same time without any cross-fertilisation of ideas. The staff in the Netherlands are only aware of Gweithdy through this research. As they have a similar opening in the autumn of 2018, it is too early to evaluate any initiatives which may have an effect on crafts safeguarding, though the use of craft laboratories will be ripe for research in the near future. Similarly, the use of incubation units was raised as a useful bridge in the formative stages of building a career in traditional craft and learning business skills. There were examples in the Midlands of England where craftspeople had taken advantage of having units in Banks Mill Studios, and in Newfoundland, a similar scheme is offered at the Quidi Vidi Plantation. As a specific method of safeguarding

the domain of traditional craftsmanship, this could be studied in more depth to ascertain how it could fit within various ICH safeguarding paradigms. Finally, in the Netherlands, the 'Craft of the Miller' designation to the Representative List of the 2003 Convention is in its early stages. The joined up approach, whereby both DICH and the Cultural Heritage Agency, which cares for the built aspect of windmills, have been involved in the nomination, could be studied to show how heritage safeguarding could be a holistic venture. It will be of interest to see if the World Heritage site of Kinderdijk, and the new intangible heritage designation will work in harmony, thus creating a best practice which could be emulated elsewhere.

8.4 FINAL THOUGHTS

As Akagawa and Smith's (2019: 1) most recent work "provide[s] a snapshot of issues currently exercising the field" with a hope to generate debate, this study too has attempted to focus on an area of intangible cultural heritage research in need of closer attention and reflection. For Blake (2016: 18), the UNESCO safeguarding paradigm is "one of the most significant evolutions in our understanding of cultural heritage protection". It is also flawed and open to criticism. For Foster (2015: 10) "in some places a UNESCO designation is seen as a financial boon, in some places it is a point of pride and identity, in some places it is a burden, and elsewhere it is merely an adornment or, for that matter, not even on the radar screen". When asked about the future of the 2003 convention, former Chief of UNESCO's Intangible Cultural Heritage Section, Cécile Duvelle commented that "I am not sure where it is going to go. What I am sure about is that it depends very much on the people. Both those who are running the UNESCO Secretariat and those within States. Life is made of people, and people make the world; not the texts, not the institutions" (Schreiber and Lixinski 2017: 32). For the safeguarding of intangible heritage there is no truer sentiment. In Africa there is a proverb: "When an elder dies, a library burns" (Zanganeh 2013). Some of our most important heritage is contained not in houses or monuments, but in the living knowledge of people and communities, embedded in local customs, skills and practices, and passed on from one generation to the next, which gives a country its rich and diverse culture. Unless England acknowledges its intangible heritage through the ratification of the UNESCO Convention or by some other means, there is a danger that it "will end up a nation of wonderfully preserved buildings, but with no customs and no soul" (Hastings Observer 2008).

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APPENDIX 1 – INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM

Suzy Harrison, PhD Researcher

NOTTINGHAM
TRENT UNIVERSITY

The Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage in England: A Comparative Exploration

Research Consent form

I understand that this project will be carried out in accordance with the Research Ethics Codes of Practice of Nottingham Trent University, which can be viewed at:

http://www.ntu.ac.uk/research/document_uploads/81937.pdf

Material gathered as part of this study will be stored securely, in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998.

I have read and I understand the information sheet given to me.	Yes ☐	No ☐
I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the project and they were answered to my satisfaction.	Yes ☐	No ☐
I understand that I can withdraw my consent to use the recording at any time, without having to give a reason.	Yes ☐	No ☐
I agree that the specified recordings may be used for the purposes of this research.	Yes ☐	No ☐
I agree that short sections of the specified recordings may be transcribed and used in academic conferences and publications or on websites.	Yes ☐	No ☐
I agree that the specified recordings may be catalogued as part of the project and may appear on publications or the internet.	Yes ☐	No ☐

Name [PRINT] ....

Signature ....

Date ....

APPENDIX 2 - INTERVIEW QUESTIONS TO MIDLANDS CRAFTSPEOPLE

How did you first become involved in your chosen craft?

Why that particular craft?

How long have you been involved in your craft?

   a) As an amateur
   b) As a professional

Do you work on your own?

Are you a member of a craft guild or association?

How long have you been a member of the Heritage Crafts Association?

   a) Why did you decide to join?

Are you self-trained or trained via apprenticeship/university course?

Are there plenty of training opportunities for your craft?

   a) If so, is that training good quality?

Have you been involved in the recruitment of trainees?

Have you had any apprentices?

Are you aware of any difficulties in recruiting new entrants in your craft?

One of the concerns of the HCA is the ageing of skilled practitioners, may I ask you your age please?

Has there been a change of focus within the way the craft is practised?

How have teaching methods changed?

Have new technologies been introduced?

Is there a demand for your product?

Is there a willingness from customers to pay higher prices for hand-made products?

Is there competition from overseas?

Is it difficult to earn a living from the craft alone?

Are raw materials readily available?

Are the cost of raw materials an issue for you?

Are there any issues with the supply of raw materials?

Is there a sense of an increase in business bureaucracy?

Are workshops affordable?

Is there a need for business skills as well as craft skills?

Have you heard of the term intangible cultural heritage?

    a)   If so, are you aware that UNESCO considers heritage craftsmanship to be a domain of ICH?

APPENDIX 3 – EXAMPLE OF AN INTERVIEW WITH TRADITIONAL CRAFTSPERSON

| Interview 5:1 |
| Shalini Austin – Copper Worker |
| Stamford, Lincolnshire |

SH: First of all, I would like to know how you got involved in the craft that you are doing now.

SA: It was more the case that I used to run a motor home rental business, which was eight, nine, ten hours a day working from home. And I realised I should have a hobby, I should do something different, just to chill out. Because you can't garden in this country all the time. Initially I tried painting, but I can't draw to save my life, so it wasn't happening. Photography is one of those things, today with camera phones … So I was just in a (?) mode, what should I do with my life just to relax. And I bought a necklace in Peterborough. In India, jewellery is there all the time, it's everywhere. And I said, gosh, this is so expensive, £ for a simple little necklace, and my husband said, you could so that. How? 'You could do that'. I didn't even know how to use pliers. I wasn't brought up to make things. Mum used to sew for the heck of it, because she enjoyed it. That's what I was looking for, something to pass time like my mum used to knit and sew. And I bought a couple of beading kits off ebay and started doing that kind of thing, and I just thought everybody is doing it, so I may as well earn some money out of it. So my husband again looked on the internet and bought me a couple of wire working courses online, DVDs and things like that. That's how it started. And after I had done that for a while and you realised its boring doing the same thing all the time, I started exploring metal more, got into sheet metal and rocks, so that's how I started.

SH: So are you completely self-taught?

SA: Completely self-taught. I haven't been on a course with somebody. The only thing I've ever done a workshop for in relation to craft was in felting flowers and stained glass. Just little workshops. And that again was to do something different. But I learned from watching videos. That's how it started, I still remember how I had to cut sterling silver wire and I spent 10 minutes just saying, Dave will you cut it for me, I was so scared I didn't know what I was doing. Now I take a sheet and go cut it, it comes with confidence I suppose. But, yes, I'm totally self-taught. Practice is important, very important, and you can never say, that's it, I've learned everything I need to learn because you are constantly learning, constantly finding out about new things with a tool you've been using forever, you say, ooh, I didn't know I could do that. Then it starts a whole new chapter of, let's try these things. Thankfully now because of the internet being subscribed to magazines, there's always information coming down, so you think, oh yes, I would like to learn that. And that is how I have learned everything. Oh that looks interesting I'd like to learn more about that. Bought a couple of DVDs off a US site, they've got tutorials for everything, everything, from some very well-known jewellery artists in the US, so that's how I do it, keep taking a step forward.

SH: So I know you class yourself as a metalworker, is copper the main metal you use, do you use other metals as well?

SA: I do a little bit with brass occasionally, I'd love to do more with sterling silver but it's expensive and copper, I love copper, I love the colour of copper, it's something you can do so much with. I think I'm going to stick with copper as my main metal. If someone asked me to do something in gold or silver I'll do it. Maybe not so much gold unless they were paying for it. But I just like the idea of working with copper. People say, oh you are a jewellery maker, and I say yes I mainly make jewellery, but I consider myself a metalworker because there's so much more I can do with copper. That I couldn't do with beads.

SH: So how long have you been doing this for now?

SA: I started in 2007, that's when that first conversation happened in Peterborough. In 2008 I thought right let's start this as a business. Launch Jewellery by Shalini 1st November as a business, and then selling in craft fairs and things and slowly moving on to having an online shop selling through stockists, so that's when I started. But the actual metalsmithing side, 2014, that's when I started with the, enough of making wire jewellery, let's take this to a level that is more satisfying.

SH: Why was that?

SA: When I started doing wirework, there weren't that many people doing it, and then suddenly you find out that everyone is making wire jewellery, especially when you are selling at craft fairs, and you suddenly get, oh no we have enough jewellery makers, they don't even want to know what kind of jewellery they make. It got to the point of, what am I doing, I do want to work on this as a main business. That's how I started looking at it further. In the meantime my husband was looking at rocks, cutting and polishing rocks, so I was introduced to the world of lapidary and while he was setting all that up more as a hobby business, but also cutting and polishing rocks for me. That's where the metal comes in more useful.

SH: So at what point do you think you classed yourself as full time?

SA: As I said, I used to run a rental motorhome business. After the economic crash it started going down, it wasn't, we didn't do anything to stop getting clients, people just didn't have the money. A lot of our customers were from all over the world and a chap from Spain called and said we can't book a motorhome this year because I've been made redundant. And that was happening a lot. The money just wasn't there. A couple of our suppliers went under, so it was a knock on effect. At that point I was also diagnosed with a spine condition, so it was just one of those things, where I wasn't sure if I could keep a regular nine to five job, day in, because if it flares up, it flares up. So I thought, maybe I should try to earn a living out of my metalwork and out of rocks. So the rocks are a part of the business, but rocks are not something that I work on myself. So in an ideal world this would be a full time job and I wouldn't be doing anything else and making enough to pay our mortgage and live a comfortable life. But that's why we started selling rocks, cutting and polishing of rocks. I have finally reached the point now where I'm making enough out of the business to be able to afford to buy my new tools, through the business and personal funding from my personal account and I'm making enough now, not quite reached the tax threshold yet, but it pays my bills. It pays 50% of the household bills, so it's a living.

SH: yeah, you're never going to be a millionaire from this

SA: It's not even an ambition. If someone came to me and said can you make me one thousand tea light holders, I would probably go, no. Because yes it would be a lot of money, but if I'm making a thousand tea light holders without a lot of people working and setting up a production line, it's going to really defeat the purpose of being a metalsmith. I wouldn't have time to explore other ideas and learn new things and create beautiful things. My whole thing is, yes, I would love to make a living out of it, but at affordable prices. I have no ambition to be 'designer Shalini Austin'

SH: That leads into one of my questions. This is a craft, its handmade, are people aware of the cost involved in that, and at craft fairs or online, that people are aware that they are not going to be buying something that's cheap, are they accepting of the price?

SA: 50% of the time, but 50% of the time you get the very soul destroying, "how much?!", or "I could make that", or "my daughter has done a jewellery making course", which is great, pleased encourage her to go ahead and make more, even if she just wants to do it for herself, but it is very discouraging because not everybody appreciates I have in the past an occasion when this woman has said, it's too expensive, because it was at the end of a very tiring not successful day, and I said, would you work for two pounds an hour? And she gave me a nasty look and walked away. But another couple there clapped their hands. So no, not everybody appreciates and understands, especially because they could go to half the shops on the high street and buy something that looks similar, it's not the same obviously because it's been made on a production line somewhere for a couple of quid. If I try to sell a pair of earrings for ten pounds that took two hours to make, then I'm basically working for nothing.

SH: Do you find a lot of people are appreciative of things that are handmade, local and British, that idea of it being handcrafted?

SA: You know, it's very interesting that there are times when you find yourself very frustrated watching TV where you have programmes where you can just do it or craft your own things on Channel 4 etc., and you sort of go, yeah they make it sound so easy, but what that has also done is given people a better understanding of yes, if nothing else, time, you have to put time into doing something. And yes it is being appreciated a little bit more and I suppose also with me as I've moved along, I've been able to afford to go to slightly better quality events where people are appreciating it a little bit more. It is improving but I'll be very honest, it all depends on who you talk to, it depends on where you are selling. If you are selling at your local market stall, no, if you are selling at a nice exhibition, then you are getting a different kind of clientele, and they will understand, and they will take their time to ask you, which is important. Its important people ask, how did you do it? So this year's plan is, I'm going to make a video of everything.

SH: To what end?

SA: If I'm doing an exhibition , it would be nice to have a tablet or something running, showing the process for people to understand it better. Its educating people a little bit more on what goes into it. Someone sitting in the corner, hammering away, it's quite important, its education, always about educating people, instead of saying you don't understand, try to explain it to them to make them understand.

SH: Do you think crafts should be taught more at school?

SA: Yes, I'll tell you why. Traditionally it was drawing in school, I was very lucky in the schools I went to probably. In Year 6 I learnt batik as an art, sitting there painting wax, doing the whole thing when you are 12 years old is very exciting. I did a little bit of art. One of the schools I was at I had no choice, I had to learn embroidery. It wasn't my thing, but I had to learn it. So it was always taught but then in India it is the done thing, and there is that thing that girls should know how to embroider and so on. But I was very lucky in the schools I went to, I had an option to choose to learn arts and crafts, and it wasn't just about music and dance, but actual crafting. I think it's very important. I've been asked a few times if I can talk to kids, nobody has ever got back to me because maybe it's too complicated.

SH: With education its almost more about the awareness of the existence of certain crafts that you could go into, that there is that option out there

SA: You don't just have to do it to earn a living, do it for the sense of enjoyment it will give you, then it's up to you where you take it. You could be a nuclear physicist and still spend an hour a day silversmithing. But it's about exploring the opportunities, it could be any crafts, but if you take up crafts that are lesser known it's more fun, because half the fun is researching it and finding out more about it and what you could do with it.

SH: Is that something you did yourself when you started working with copper, did your research its history and metalwork in this country?

SA: A little bit, not enough, it's something I want to spend more time on, because I want to create for myself really with a reference guide to what's been done. But the problem these days is, you don't go to the library any more to look at things. If you want something you google it and go, oh yes, look at that, that's great. And then you know it's out there and you don't collate it properly. So I should be doing a lot more research than I do but that is because if I want to see something I just look on a computer. Which is a great thing! I should research it more, but I look it up as I go along. YouTube is my favourite thing now.

SH: Well, it's made life so much easier

SA: Information is out there, and I am very guilty of not researching it enough. And I was guilty of, I want to try this, and this, and now I set myself, it's about knowing all the different things, and then I can pick and choose what aspect excites me more. Some of it is traditional heritage and some of it is a modern take on it, and it's great to be able to mix and match.

SH: Talking about the idea of heritage, I know from looking on your website and how I found you originally, that you are a member of the Heritage Crafts Association. How long have you been a member for?

SA: Three months. I was aware of them, and for a while it was a case of, I suppose its self-doubt really. There are some very well-known artists there, the gurus of the form. When I broke out of the mould of just doing small craft fairs to looking at its art rather than something to make a little bit of money and exhibitions at the Stamford Arts Centre gallery, I suddenly realised that actually I was good enough. And it's not about being good enough, it's getting there at some point in time. So I thought let's just do it. And what triggered that was that they [the HCA] recently brought out that study, the Red List. And I looked at that and I went … coppersmithing … I'm doing it. And I have an artist friend who is constantly pushing me to do more, and I'm very grateful to her for making me do some of the things that I have

done. You don't realise how good you are, there are not that many people doing it, unless you put yourself out enough it's not going to happen. So I realised I was always talking to other people about putting themselves out there, and not doing it myself. So that was the first step, earlier I used to be involved with UK Handmade, it's mainly online, and it was great. I don't want to sound disparaging towards it but I'm not going to be into that thing of just doing a little bit on the side. It was more about going into the crafty thing and I wanted to take it more seriously

SH: I think the HCA is aware that a lot of people do it as a profession

SA: Exactly, plus it's more a case of, I have to just do it, I'm on that list, in a way I'm on that list of crafts

SH: Where is it on the Red List?

SA: There's two things about copper metalsmithing, and one of them borderlines the kind of work I do because I am actually creating it. So it is craft from scratch. And coppersmithing is one it, and I thought, yes, that makes sense. Within copper there were different things, because there is copperwork done for buildings, and then there's as a creative, and that was, I think, third up from extinct.

SH: So we've been talking about the HCA and you joining and the Red List, are you aware of any other coppersmiths in the country?

SA: I'm not in touch with any coppersmiths as such, or any people on that list. Having said that I came across a plumber recently, who said, oh I work with copper and he gave me a big copper tank, which I want to make a piece for my exhibition from that. And he has no training, nothing, he's a plumber, he's got loads of copper and he's made these little bird baths and all kinds of absolutely awesome things, and he's just doing it because he feels like it. There are a lot of people like that, who are completely off the radar. I wouldn't have known about this chap, if he and his wife hadn't walked into this gallery in Peterborough just to look at some stuff. He asked me, what do you do? And I told him, and he said, oh I make stuff with copper, and I was like, oh, how interesting. And he said, shall I show you the pictures? And I was blown away. Because he's made weathervanes and all kinds of really beautiful things using his imagination. He knows about how to solder, he knows about how to weld things because that's his trade, but he's taking it in a different direction. Just doing it for fun. He's got a massive garden that is filled with copper sculptures. And I was thinking, I could so some of these things, beautiful things, using copper pipes and bits of copper, and there are lots of people who are doing that. It's like how I started, I needed a hobby away from my high pressured work.

SH: In terms of raw materials, obviously he's a plumber

SA: Yes, he's taking off tanks

SH: I'm asking about raw materials, because for some people, it's hard to get hold of certain materials, is copper easy to get hold of? Is it expensive?

SA: It can be expensive if you start going bigger, but at the moment because of the size I am in, I can get away with buying for the jewellery side of things, buying offcuts. Or smaller strips of copper. I have found one supplier on eBay, but they are metal suppliers of

aluminium and brass, all kinds. And they are just great, because if I have needed something bigger I can contact them and request. Like if I wanted a 4 metre by 4 metre sheet, in my dreams, they could sort it for me. Because they deal with a lot of modern makers. So for me, raw materials, and I'm also a bit of a forager that way, hoarder. I have a very lovely neighbour, anywhere she's going, if she sees copper pipes she picks them up. There are bits of copper pipes everywhere.

SH: So how do you use copper piping then?

SA: You heat it up, with all metal it's very hard, you have to soften it, and then you hammer it down to create. I have made bracelets and jewellery and little sculptures out of it. That's the nice thing about copper. Yes, I can buy copper, but there's a lot of copper that can be recycled and it is very satisfying to do. It is so satisfying to say, I've found a piece that somebody had put in a skip and I've done something from it. It's extra work, but it's so rewarding and that's why I'm doing it, it's not just for the fact that I can make money out of selling it. Yes I will make some money out of it, but it's just a wonderful feeling. People are throwing it away, it was going in the bin, or the copper tank the plumber gave me, yes he could have got some money for it, because there is money to be made out of this, but he gave it to me which was very kind of him. I can say in an exhibition that it's made from a reclaimed water tank which was given to me by a friendly plumber.

SH: Makes a nice story.

SA: For me it makes me feel good, that I didn't just throw it away.

SH: Moving on, I have a question I am asking everybody, can I ask you how old you are?

SA: 47

SH: Thank you. It will be merged with everybody else's age for an average.

SA: I would be happy to pass this on. People keep saying, why aren't you teaching, why aren't you doing workshops? The only reason I'm not doing workshops is, for a long time I didn't think I was good enough, but I am getting more confident about my work now. It's the cost of the tools. I could do a beading workshop, all I need to do is spend maybe £50, £60 and buy some pliers. If you are doing what I do, I'll have to equip each bench with an anvil, with gas, and a vice, for all the things that I do. And I haven't got the funds to equip all the space for something like that. But I would love to pass it on, yes.

SH: Is it something that you would teach individually, if someone came to you in the future and said I want to do this as a profession, almost as an apprenticeship?

SA: Yeah, I'd be very happy to. You see, I'm totally self-taught and I know it can be done . Because I have learnt it from scratch, from cutting my hand on sheets of copper and breaking stones, because I didn't know how to hold them properly when I was polishing them. I've learnt the hard way and if I can do it, starting at the age of almost 40, that's when I started doing it, anybody can do it. But I would love to teach more people, and talk to kids, tell them they can do it.

SH: I suppose you are still in the early days of your profession, it's something that you can move into

SA: I suppose in the future if I could move into a house with a bit more land, I'd happily set up a wooden shed as a workshop.

SH: You're obviously working from home, is a studio something you aspire towards, is it something you've looked into?

SA: I would like to continue working from home but from a proper studio rather than my living room. We've talked about putting a conservatory up. Because sometimes you want to just close the door and go away and do stuff. We don't get many visitors so it's not such a big deal.

SH: I understand as a PhD student working from home, it's nice to have that away space.

SA: Yes, I would love it, love it, if I could just have a studio to go away into and work

SH: I know some people have started their careers in a craft incubator where there's lots of little studios where you can work for a few years to build the business up and move out, is there anything like that in Lincolnshire?

SA: I don't know, to be honest it's not something I have explored.

SH: I know in Lincoln there's the Traditional Crafts Centre, so I wonder if Lincoln has something. Another question for you, off on a tangent, you've only been on the HCA for three months, so you may not have looked at the website in detail. Have you heard of the term, which is on their website, of intangible cultural heritage?

SA: No, I haven't looked at it yet.

SH: They talk about it on the website, but it's a term that interested me a while ago. It refers to living heritage, so its everything that is heritage based that isn't the built environment. So it includes things like traditional craftsmanship, and this is what UNESCO have looked at as a parallel form of heritage to the World Heritage convention. It's the most tangible form of intangible heritage, so it's not the finished product, it's the idea of the skill involved that's passed down from generation to generation. So a blacksmith has an apprentice and for hundreds of years the methods are taught. Until they are not anymore because they die out. So UNESCO have this parallel convention from 2003. We haven't signed it. India has.

SA: There are so many traditional crafts in India. When I lived in India, it wasn't about me doing it. I used to work with chikan embroidery, which is a certain style of embroidery, which is amazing, the most awesome embroidery there is. And it is quite popular. But I didn't even think about learning to do it. It was all about telling people how wonderful it was. It's a completely different mind-set. I get that over here as well when people say, oh it's a nice hobby isn't it.

SH: So that's what intangible heritage is, and what my PhD is doing, looking at traditional craftsmanship as one of the domains and talking to people at grassroots level. The HCA discuss it on their website and are quite keen for the government to sign it.

SA: There are a few things that I keep saying I need to look at this more. The Artists Network with whom I have my insurance, there's so much information, especially about the whole EU Brexit thing, arts and how it effects, it's all saved in folder, but between trying to learn new skills, earning a living, its stuff that just gets put away. And then you look at it a year later,

and go, I haven't learned it. But it's something I'm going to look at. It would give me so much pleasure, whatever limited skills I have, to pass it on, because somebody else could probably take it many steps further, in whatever form they wanted to. That would be great. I would love it. But I am one of those people, I don't believe in, if somebody asks me, where did you get something from, I'll tell them. People say, why are you sharing photos of things you are working on? It's a craft, it's a traditional craft, everyone has their own take on it. Just do it. What's the point in hiding it away. You can't copyright coppersmithing.

SH: It's something you have to learn anyway

SA: Exactly, and because I'm learning because of the kindness of random strangers, who put a video up on YouTube, I think that's its only right that I should pass that on in the same way. Somebody else may make something even more spectacular than me out of it and sell it and become a famous artist, good for them.

SH: A few final questions. Was your website done by yourself?

SA; It's the other thing that I am totally self-taught on. I'm self-taught on web designing. I first built a website back in 1998 for a travel company I had

SH: That's back in Netscape territory

SA: It was Netscape! I learned how to make a website in Netscape. Dave [her husband] knew a little bit about it because he was in the Air Force and new some web stuff. So I was taught basic html, and I started building websites for myself really, and for other people. And WordPress came along, and WordPress was brilliant, so, I used to blog a lot once upon a time.

SH: So your business skills were already in place before you started this as a business?

SA: Yes, the business skills were there I'd say because before that I was self-employed in India since '95, I have been self-employed since '95, twenty two years. My initial work started in marketing and PR, event management, then I started working with this guy who ran a crafts business as his dogsbody really and learned everything on the job.

SH: That's how you learn isn't it

SA: That's how I learned, it was like, go and sell stuff in the shop. I think most of my skills are self-taught. I have a Batchelor in English Literature from Delhi University which I've never used.

SH: I've got a degree in Politics I've never used either.

SA: And a Diploma in Marketing from the YMCA in Delhi. I wanted my independence, if I wanted to study I would have to carry on living with my parents, then it came to the point of either you get married or you find yourself a job. My dad wasn't particularly bothered which one it was. So everything I've learned has been on the job. So when somebody asks what are your qualifications … it's just, call it what you like

SH: A lot of the skills you've had before, some people I've spoken to had the skills of the craft but realised when they started the business that they'd never been taught how to fill in a

tax return or how to negotiate a contract, those are things they've had to learn quickly by either doing workshops or day courses.

SA: That is also more about, a lot of us have tunnel vision, about just doing one thing, that's how we are all brought up. I was brought up with dad's dream that I was going to be a doctor. But that was my parents dream, it wasn't mine. My brother was brought up with the thing that he was going to join the forces. And I think that's the same, it doesn't matter which part of the world you live in, at a certain point you have to get a job. Some people have a better idea of what kind of job you should get, just more about, you just have to grow up and get a job. And you never broaden your horizons enough to go, I could get that skill, that skill, that skill. Most of us don't do it. I'm like the jack of all trades thing, it's fine, I know a lot of things. If I went for a job interview I haven't any certificates to show for any of those things. But I understand about this thing of people coming in and not knowing how to have a website, because some of the websites I've seen looking through the HCA website are ..oh I could do so much with this site …

SH: Some craftspeople don't have websites or even, the blacksmith I contacted doesn't have a mobile phone. He has a very good website but no mobile.

SA: And sometimes people say, oh I don't like the internet or Facebook.

SA: And I say, l I don't like Facebook, but I need Facebook.

SH: I can imagine the way you have grown your business over the past 5 years, social media and your website must have been very important for you.

SA: Yes. I first built a website when funding wasn't a problem, now I take something off the shelf, work on it and put my stamp on it. Which is the same as taking a sheet of copper and using a skill that has been used for hundreds of years but putting my stamp on it and saying I did that. It is very important, if any artists wants to survive in the real world, they have to educate themselves, it's not about, oh I don't understand it. It's all very well having a traditional skill, but we are in the 21st century, we have to live and move with the times. If we want people to see what we are doing, if you are not on the internet, then there is a chance a lot of people will not see what we are doing. And then it will still carry on being a dying art because especially if you want to give it to youngsters, they are not going to go into the wood to look for a blacksmith or a woodworker. If they see it on the internet then they might go and find it, maybe.

SH: So with the internet, do you find that most of your sales are from your internet site, or craft fairs.

SA: Most of my sales are from stockists and shows. My internet sales, people see them, and I get bespoke work. But what I do find is that people look at it, and go, can you do this? Which is great, because I don't mind that I have created things that I   a couple of bracelets there that I've had for a year   their time will come. But what that's doing is its showcasing what I do out there, and what it does is it puts you in touch with me. That's what my website is, it's not just about the sales you make in your online shop, it's the cheapest form of advertising. I've recently linked to a blog site which is linked to the website and on that I've just written a post on how to set up. I'm happy to talk to them more about it. It's like someone saying can I come and see how you do it, I'll be quite happy for them to come and see how I do it.

SH: So final question for you, do you see this as being your career for the next 20 years

SA: Yes, absolutely. I want this to be my career in the sense of wanting to earn a living, but its more about living a more enriched life. It also gives me the flexibility to work at my pace, days when I'm not feeling very well, with back ache, I can just sit back and maybe watch a couple of videos about things, do some work on the website. For me it's very important that I do things at my pace. I've always been like that, but more so as I'm growing older, it's got to be on my terms or nothing at all. And yes I see it as a career for that reason, it gives me the opportunity to take several different directions at the same time if I need to, I'll just find a path and go that way. If I move from Stamford to somewhere else, maybe a more touristy place, I'll have a shop, why not. Set up a studio, teach people.

SH: Short term goals over the next five years then?

SA: Survive. Survive enough to not have to go out and get a job, not because I'm work shy but because this is my job. And just keep learning, because specifically with coppersmithing as a craft for decorative items, there a lot still to learn. There's so much more I can do. And occasionally if the opportunity comes up, of going on a course with a coppersmith I'd happily do it. But there isn't any in the local area.

SH: One final question, talking about funding, I know it's something you said you hadn't done in the past

SA: I'm one of those people who doesn't have a credit card, so if I haven't earned it, I don't want to ever be in a situation where somebody says we gave you money, what did you do with it. So yes, there is funding available, but I'm very proud of the fact that every business I have ever run, has been run without a loan, maybe a little bit of a personal loan, but my money from one account to another. But I have never taken a bank loan for a business. I would like to be able to carry on running my business without a loan but having said that I'm not completely closed to the idea of funding that's out there. If its funding that allows me to expand with an opportunity to maybe have something where it's going out to more people either as a product to buy or as a skill to teach, then yes, so never say never.

APPENDIX 4 - EXAMPLE OF DATA ANALYSIS

ISSUES FOR CRAFTSPEOPLE IN THE MIDLANDS OF ENGLAND

THEME - TRANSMISSION AND AWARENESS		
SUB-THEMES		**QUOTE**
Craft as a second career	Second jobs	"very few of us who were able to make a living from what we were doing. Some people had a second job to keep them afloat" (Interview 5:13)
	Help from spouse	"I had a working husband, so I was very fortunate otherwise I wouldn't be here doing this. So, I had the financial backing to be able to stop work" (Interview 5:13)
Class issues	Middle-class phenomena	"my generation, it's almost seen as a posh thing to do, a middle-class thing. Middle class people have the leisure time to experience these things and to get into them" (Interview 5:7)
	Working-class youth problem	"People say it's coming around and changing, and people are getting more engaged with craft and things, I see it on one side but I'm yet to see the uptake amongst young people … There are very few young people who are able to set up doing their own things from a working-class background. It's a real shame because it's kind of what the industry used to be … some of the most brilliant makers were from working class backgrounds" (Interview 5:12)
Youth Awareness	Lack of encouragement from formal education system	There doesn't seem to be a lot of provision for youth engagement with heritage crafts. I looked in America and they have traditional arts summer schools, where kids can go and do a variety of traditional work … I don't think we have the same encouragement for the children and teenage groups. For the intangible heritage crafts point of view, there's not a lot out there (Interview 5:13)
		"Even though I was very aware of it, and knew it could be done for a job, even despite of all that awareness, still the pressure was from school, which made me feel like it wasn't a viable option, despite it being under my

		nose … The schooling system is very geared towards pushing you into university" (Interview 5:16)
	Lack of awareness	"I had never heard of watch making as a career, I had no idea it existed" (Interview 5:12)
Solitary nature of the work	Positive of working from home	It's better working here at home than having a studio away from home because I can just juggle everything. And I feel otherwise I would be having whole days at the studio and then whole days here to catch up, and I don't like to live like that" (Interview 5: 4)
		"it's good being at home because in the evenings I can still be working, if I've got loads on I can work all evening but still be in touch with the family and what's going on" (Interview 5: 3)
		"I would like to continue working from home but from a proper studio rather than my living room" (Interview 5: 1)
	Isolation of working from home	"it is a bit isolated, being in a shed all day" (Interview 5: 6)
		"you can go a week without talking to anybody" (Interview 5:10)
		"it's one of the major issues with craft, it's such a solitary thing, and there are very few opportunities for crafts people to interact with one another" (Interview 5:16).
		"everybody works in isolation. Wouldn't it be great if there was some sort of community, but there isn't" (Interview 5:13)
	Isolation of working in a studio	"It can be very isolating, we certainly suffered with that at times, especially in the darkest times when we weren't making any money at all ... Networking was really hard and isolation is a big issue for independent craftspeople. You do start to disconnect, whether what you do is any good, does anyone care? And realistically speaking, there's probably a lot of people out there who care very much about what you do, but they don't even know that you're there because you never get out of your workshop and nobody sees you. It's really important to get that balance right" (Interview 5:12)

Positive nature of working in studios / workshops	Public awareness	"just being here, because people come in, even if they don't buy anything, they'll bear you in mind" (Interview 5: 7)
		"The area's changing, there's a lot more people, a lot more footfall than there used to be, it was a very derelict area. There's a lot of artists studios around here but they are very closed, and we wanted in particular a space that was very open to the public. It was almost like craft theatre where people could walk by, and part of the experience is watching what's going on through the window and seeing interesting things … even if people aren't coming in to buy anything, they are getting an experience, a flavour of it, it's part of our way of giving crafts back to the world" (Interview 5:11)