Memorializing Authentic Heritage: An Examination of the UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity

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ABSTRACT

The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), yearly evaluates nominations for inclusion on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. While this program has been commended for protecting cultural practices that might otherwise be marginalized by majority communities, some have critiqued it for promoting a definition of culture that is grounded in problematic understandings of tradition and authenticity. In this thesis, I draw on theories from rhetorical genre studies, rhetorics of display, and public memorialization to identify the definition of heritage that UNESCO promotes through the Representative List. To do this, I examine the nomination process as a whole, in addition to the nomination forms, the photograph submissions, and the film submissions of the original (unsuccessful) and revised (successful) applications for two nominated cultural practices: the Fiesta of the Patios of Cordova (Spain) and Classical Horsemanship and the High School of the Spanish Riding School Vienna (Austria). From my analysis, I suggest that the UNESCO Representative List nomination process requires countries to align their cultural practices with a conception of heritage that prioritizes authenticity in order for those practices to be included on the List.

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INTRODUCTION

The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), founded in 1945, identifies a key component of its mission to be building peace "established on the basis of humanity's moral and intellectual solidarity" ("Introducing"). To work toward this peace, the organization manages multiple culture[1] protection programs, which it hopes will contribute to greater respect among the world's communities by recognizing and validating diverse cultural practices. The first of these programs, the World Heritage Convention, focuses on material representations of heritage, including cultural sites (such as Old Havana in Cuba) and natural sites (such as Yellowstone National Park in the United States). The second of these programs, the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, focuses on 'intangible heritage'—"the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, and skills transmitted by communities from generation to generation" ("Intangible"). Each of these programs oversees at least one heritage inventory—a list of aspects of heritage deemed worthy of international recognition. My work in this thesis focuses on the second, intangible cultural heritage, program.

Introduced in 2003 and fully ratified in 2006, the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (hereafter also referred to as the 2003 Convention) oversees three inventories: 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 Best Safeguarding Practices. In this thesis, I focus on the 2003 Convention's largest inventory: the Representative List. Since 2009, signatories of the

[1] I use the terms 'culture' and 'heritage' interchangeably in this thesis, as does UNESCO in many of its documents.

2003 Convention have nominated cultural practices to be included on the Representative List. If accepted, the nominated practices are inscribed on the Representative List and thus become official representatives of 'intangible cultural heritage,' a designation that UNESCO promotes on its website and social media channels and that often results in increased tourism activities in the nominating State.[2]

I first encountered the Representative List in 2010, shortly after completing my undergraduate senior thesis. For my thesis, I had traced the evolution of French food culture and had argued that a 2007 French food advertising law sought to protect a government-accepted French way of eating. When I learned that UNESCO had officially recognized the 'Gastronomic meal of the French'[3] as an 'element' (a UNESCO term that I will use for the remainder of this thesis) of intangible cultural heritage, I wished that the information had been released just a few months earlier, so that I could have used it to support my argument. In my mind, UNESCO's statement that France did indeed have a unique culture related to food would have definitively corroborated my own observations about French eating habits.

The following academic year, I lived and taught in Mons, Belgium, a town with three UNESCO-recognized sites: the baroque-style belfry of Mons, the neolithic flint mines at Spienne, and the Ducasse de Mons (Doudou festival). While editing an English translation of the town's tourist booklet during my stay, I noticed the frequency with which the text reminded readers of these UNESCO designations. I also found myself

[2] I use the UNESCO term 'State' to refer to the UNESCO Member States, or UNESCO-recognized sovereign states that hold membership in the organization. UNESCO also refers to these bodies as 'States Parties.'

[3] According to UNESCO's website, the gastronomic meal of the French "is a festive meal bringing people together for an occasion to enjoy the art of good eating and drinking" ("Gastronomic").

drawing on the UNESCO status to describe places that had become part of my everyday experience to friends and family. For example, when showing my friends and family the belfry, which I passed weekly on my walk to my scout troop's meetings and each time I rushed to the train station, I was sure to point out that it was a UNESCO World Heritage Site. When speaking with people from out of town, the belfry's UNESCO designation took priority in my mind over my own relationship to it.

I introduce these personal anecdotes to demonstrate the heightened authority that I have given the UNESCO label at various points in my academic and personal lives. The trends of States using the UNESCO label to promote their UNESCO-designated sites and cultural practices and of local and national newspapers publishing many articles after a site or cultural practice is added to a UNESCO list similarly point to the prestige of the UNESCO label. Multiple economics-based studies have also noted a rise in tourism activities in regions with recently-inscribed elements (Rodzi, Zaki, Subli; Cuccia, Guccio, Rizzo; Foster). These examples highlight the impact of the UNESCO Representative List to mark cultural practices as worthy of admiration from a public audience.[4]

Upon entering graduate school, I began to think more critically about the UNESCO label. Specifically, I began to notice a disconnect between the way that UNESCO promoted certain cultural practices and my own experience with those practices. For example, the UNESCO website describes the Ducasse de Mons, officially inscribed as part of the multi-national element, "Processional giants and dragons in

[4] Though UNESCO is an international organization whose Member States come from all regions, I see its primary audience as constituting European and North American communities. The public audience I refer to here, and throughout this thesis, then, is a Western audience, composed of individuals and institutions in European and North American social contexts that have historically understand heritage as being innately valuable, old, and authentic in its originality. I explore the construction of this understanding of heritage in more depth in Chapter 1.

Belgium and France," as a performance that "follow[s] a precise ritual in which the giants relate to the history, legend, or life of the town" ("Processional giants"). This is not an inaccurate description of the festival. However, my experience with the festival involved much more: I sang Doudou songs with friends and strangers and attended week-long celebrations leading up to the processional; and, I was simply a visitor to the festival. I therefore began to wonder how UNESCO's representations of other cultural practices more generally might obscure the full, nuanced meanings that the practices hold for their own communities.

With this personal interest in the topic, combined with my training in rhetoric, I approach the UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in this thesis with the following questions: What might be hidden from international understandings of unique cultural practices as States are encouraged to describe their practices with terms that align with a UNESCO-designated definition of heritage? How does the Representative List nomination process itself promote a specific definition of heritage? What can re-submitted successful applications demonstrate about UNESCO's priorities in defining heritage?

To respond to these questions, I consider how the process of nominating elements to the Representative List—including the nomination process structure, the nomination form, UNESCO's recommendations to nominating States, and individual nomination files—rhetorically constructs and reinforces a specific definition of heritage. I draw on rhetorical genre studies to examine how various genres interact within the nomination process 'activity system' to restrict possible ways of completing a successful nomination file. I also look to Kenneth Burke's concept of terministic screens and Lawrence Prelli's

articulation of rhetorics of display to identify the characteristics that UNESCO prioritizes in its definition of heritage. Above all, this thesis examines how heritage is rhetorically constructed through the process that cultural practices undergo to be inscribed on the Representative List and considers the consequences of this construction, given UNESCO's authoritative status.

From my analysis, I argue that the UNESCO Representative List nomination process encourages States to present their cultural practices with terms that align with a UNESCO-approved definition of heritage, which conceives of true heritage as being that which exists separate from institutional influences. I conclude that while UNESCO purports to resist definitions of heritage grounded in authenticity, the genre conventions it establishes for successful nomination files uphold already-established understandings of heritage as always-positive and authentic. Because of the intertextuality between the genres that the nomination process employs and the Representative List, I argue, the nomination process restricts how a public audience can understand elements once they are inscribed on the Representative List.

UNESCO and Intangible Cultural Heritage: An Evolution

At the 1972 Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, UNESCO instituted the first of its culture protection measures, the World Heritage List: an inventory of tangible sites—such as monuments and natural landmarks—"of outstanding universal value" ("1946-1981"). Following this convention, UNESCO's definition of culture progressively expanded to include what the organization now terms 'intangible cultural heritage,' a categorization first officially recorded at a

1982 Convention held in Mondiacult, Mexico. At the Mondiacult Convention, UNESCO broadened its definition of culture to include "all the values of culture as expressed in everyday life" ("1982-2000"), a step which led to the 1989 Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore. Critiqued for its use of the term 'folklore,' yet applauded for the attention it gave to to non-material aspects of culture, the 1989 Recommendation called for future programs that would recognize and safeguard[5] intangible culture specifically. This call was met in 1997 when UNESCO launched the Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity, which, in addition to encouraging States to document their own cultural practices, evaluated and inventoried "forms of popular and traditional cultural expressions and spaces" deemed to be of "outstanding value as masterpiece for the human creative genius" ("Proclamation"). UNESCO proclaimed masterpieces—such as polyphonic singing (Georgia); carnival festivals (Belgium; Bolivia); and sand drawings (Vanuatu)—to this list in 2001, 2003, and 2005. The program was then superseded by UNESCO's current intangible cultural heritage initiative: the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage.

Established in 2003 and fully ratified in 2006, the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage shifted the UNESCO inventories' focus from simply documenting culture to actively safeguarding it and increased ratifying

[5] UNESCO explains that 'safeguarding' "is about the transferring of knowledge, skills, and meaning" and that "any safeguarding measure refers to strengthening and reinforcing the diverse and varied circumstances, tangible and intangible, that are necessary for the continuous evolution and interpretation of intangible cultural heritage, as well as for its transmission to future generations" ("Safeguarding"). The organization distinguishes safeguarding intangible heritage from preserving tangible heritage sites. It emphasizes that safeguarding focuses on preserving the conditions for heritage knowledge to be transmitted while allowing the cultural practices to evolve (in order to remain relevant to their communities) throughout the transmission process.

States' responsibility to protect and promote their own cultural practices. It did this through requiring that States include their cultural practices on a national inventory and establish measures to safeguard those practices before they could nominate the practices to the Representative List. As of January 2016, the Representative List comprised 336 elements of intangible cultural heritage, including the 90 formerly proclaimed Masterpieces, which were automatically inscribed in 2008. In 2015, newly inscribed elements included "Arabic coffee, a symbol of generosity" (United Arab Emirates; Saudi Arabia; Oman; Qatar); "Lad's dances in Romania" (Romania); "Bagpipe culture" (Slovakia); "Summer solstice fire festivals in the Pyrenees" (Andorra; Spain; France); and "Tugging rituals and games" (Cambodia; Philippines; Republic of Korea; Viet Nam); among others ("Browse the Lists").

In addition to establishing the Representative List, the 2003 Convention officially defined intangible cultural heritage as "the practices, representation, 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" ("Convention"). Alongside this official definition, the 2003 Convention stressed the importance of intangible cultural heritage's being passed down from generation to generation, its adherence to international human rights considerations, and its role in promoting respect among communities.

The 2003 Convention further shifted UNESCO's overall heritage agenda from one focused on material-based understandings of heritage to one that acknowledges heritage as a dynamic, living entity. By envisioning intangible heritage as "performative, functional, and embodied" (Joy 390), the 2003 Convention attempts to preserve

intangible culture "by supporting the conditions necessary for cultural reproduction" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 53). In contrast to UNESCO's earlier intangible heritage programs—such as the Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity—scholars have noted, the 2003 Convention moved the organization's focus from heritage 'products,' (such as specific songs) to the process of creating those 'products' (such as individuals' knowledge about how to sing specific songs). As Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett writes, with the 2003 Convention, UNESCO shifted its "concept of intangible heritage to include not only the masterpieces, but also the masters" (53).

Critiques of UNESCO and Consequences of Inscription

Scholars have commended the intangible cultural heritage program for the recognition it gives to culture as comprising everyday activities in addition to the traditionally celebrated 'high arts' and for the role it plays in valuing and protecting cultural practices that might otherwise be marginalized by majority voices in the countries in which they exist; however, they have also critiqued it for reinforcing cultural hierarchies (Eriksen, Kuutma). By separating intangible culture from its other culture inventories and prioritizing practices viewed as endangered, some contend, UNESCO creates a specific definition of intangible culture that is grounded in problematic notions of tradition and authenticity (Eriksen, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett).

Thomas Eriksen, for example, argues that UNESCO exoticizes culture by privileging cultural elements seen as nearly extinct. He writes, "cultures are implicitly and explicitly seen as rooted and old, shared within a group, to be treated 'with respect' as one handles aging china or old aunts with due attention to their fragility" (132).

Eriksen provides the example of buying groceries at a 7-Eleven to illustrate this distinction. As a part of a particular way of life, he explains, buying groceries at a 7-Eleven is a specific cultural practice. Because this cultural practice does not align with commonly understood definitions of culture as being old and valuable, however, it is not considered 'culture.' In addition, Eriksen notes, because UNESCO stresses cultural elements as being grounded in distinct communities, "creole culture, hybrid forms, [and] global universals…must thus be seen as superficial; while tradition, associated with 'roots' and the past, is profound" (135).

A second critique of UNESCO's heritage programs addresses the paradox created by the organization's attempt to combine distinct cultural practices under one universal definition of heritage. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett contends that this process, through which cultural practices are made to adhere to universal standards, "obscures the historically and culturally specific character of heritage" (61). To be evaluated for inscription on culture inventories, Kristin Kuutma notes, intricate and nuanced cultural practices are codified "into manageable symbols of representation and argumentation," resulting in an exclusive celebration of the past that overshadows "lived elements of culture" ("Communities" 3). Through inscription on the Representative List, cultural practices assume the specific definition of heritage promoted by UNESCO and, in doing so, risk losing their own unique attributes.

Lastly, scholars have questioned how an element's inscription on a UNESCO heritage list impacts its community. Specifically, cultural anthropologists have "debated what cultural heritage might actually mean to people" when a community is required to implement safeguarding measures once an element is inscribed (Joy 389). Charlotte Joy

approaches this concern by exploring how UNESCO recognition impacts architectural restoration in Djenne, Mali, whose Old Towns are a World Heritage Site. According to heritage preservation guidelines, the town's architectural restoration projects should follow traditional restoration methods that use mud. Due to economic concerns, however, residents have implemented new preservation strategies, such as using fired clay tiles, to protect buildings. Joy notes that these new tactics "satisfy a need for permanence when the future economic outlook is uncertain" and are thus viewed positively by the community (398). Yet, because these practices deviate from the officially-protected traditional methods, heritage officials see them "as defacing and desecrating Djenne's architecture" (Joy 397). Because it mandates that residents use traditional preservation methods, Joy explains, the town's World Heritage status "fix[es] the identity of Djenne in the past through a continual concern with the preservation of its architecture and archaeology" and thus creates a "strange space for the town's inhabitants to live in" (395). Though Joy's work addresses elements of tangible, rather than intangible, heritage, it points to the complicated ways that inscription on UNESCO's heritage inventories can constrain evolving cultural practices.

Kristin Kuutma finds similarly in her work with Seto *leelo* singers in Estonia that inscription on a UNESCO heritage inventory can impact how communities enact their cultural practices. Whereas *leelo* songs were historically sung in spontaneous gatherings wherein a lead singer created a song for others to follow, they are now performed in official ceremonies in which collective choirs sing 'traditional' songs. Now that Seto *leelo* singing is considered a prominent heritage element, Kuutma explains, lead singers are no longer recognized for their ability to create new, innovative songs, but "are

expected to perform songs already categorized as 'tradition'" ("Who Owns" 35). Kuutma attributes this shift to UNESCO's view of intangible cultural heritage as being collective and community-based. From interviews conducted with Seto *leelo* singers, Kuutma determines that "in the framework of the UNESCO project, the 'cultural heritage' celebrated eventually foregrounds and relies upon the collective practice of Seto singing" ("Communities" 4). She argues that this emphasis on the community "leaves out the agency of an individual singer" ("Communities" 5) and places "the prominent spotlight of public awareness…more on a choir as a collective performer" ("Communities" 4). In the case of Seto *leelo* singing, the element's attaining official intangible cultural heritage status changed the community's subsequent everyday experience of the element.

The above examples demonstrate how having an element inscribed on a UNESCO heritage inventory can complicate communities' contemporary experiences of their cultural practices. Inscription can both restrict communities to traditional ways of living and shift future expressions of culture to more closely align with UNESCO's definition of heritage. These examples, however, all focus on the consequences of inscription after elements have been inscribed. In contrast to this anthropological work, I approach the Representative List through a rhetorical studies lens to examine how that definition of heritage is rhetorically constructed as States nominate, and UNESCO committees evaluate, elements for inscription. From this perspective, I explore the construction and reinforcement of a UNESCO-authorized definition of heritage that values elements seen as authentic in their distance from institutional influences. I examine how the nomination process for inscription on the Representative List positions UNESCO as a heritage expert that promotes a particular definition of heritage by

establishing genre conventions to which nominating States must adhere in order to submit successful nomination files.

Chapter Outline

In my first chapter, I introduce the theoretical framework I use for my analysis and contextualize my work within existing scholarship about UNESCO's heritage programs. I first introduce the concept of Authorized Heritage Discourse, which identifies historically understood definitions of heritage as being based on inherently valuable, authentic, material representations of the past. I then turn to rhetorical genre studies to explain how the Representative List nomination process functions as an activity system that creates and reinforces a particular definition of heritage. Next, I draw on theories of public memorialization to suggest that the Representative List can be viewed as a memorial that holds an authoritative power in determining which cultural practices constitute heritage. I then turn to theories of rhetorics of display and terministic screens to acknowledge how nominating States conceal certain characteristics of their elements as they reveal others in order to gain inscription on the Representative List. Finally, I discuss authenticity as being rhetorically constructed and distinguish multiple meanings of authenticity, including a visitor's desire to experience originality from a heritage site and an organization's power to authenticate heritage.

In my second chapter, I examine how the Representative List nomination process functions as an activity system to rhetorically construct and reinforce a particular

definition of heritage. Within this system, I explain, the Subsidiary Body[6] assumes the role of heritage expert and reinforces the genre conventions of a successful nomination file through a meta-genre: its yearly recommendations to nominating States. I determine that the nomination process encourages nominating States to highlight certain qualities in their nomination files, as they simultaneously conceal qualities that do not adhere to UNESCO's conception of heritage. Specifically, States are encouraged to use universal language and highlight communities while concealing institutional influences. While the Subsidiary Body urges nominating States to avoid claims of authenticity, I argue that their recommendations to conceal institutional influences encourage nominating States to rhetorically position their elements as original, authentic cultural practices.

In my third and fourth chapters, I turn to the nomination files for two inscribed elements as case studies to illustrate how nominating States respond to the genre conventions established by the Subsidiary Body's recommendations. To do this, I examine the original (unsuccessful) and re-submitted (successful) nomination files for two elements: the Fiesta of the Patios in Cordova (Spain) and Classical Horsemanship and the High School of the Spanish Riding School Vienna (Austria). By focusing on changes made to the nomination files, I demonstrate how nominating States, in order to achieve inscription, present their elements, rhetorically, to conform to the genre conventions of a successful nomination file and, in doing so, align them with UNESCO's definition of heritage. My third chapter focuses on changes made to the nomination forms

[6] The Subsidiary Body is the committee that evaluates nominations to the Representative List. At its 2015 session, the Intergovernmental Committee changed the name of the evaluation committee from the "Subsidiary Body" to the "Evaluation Body." For purposes of clarity, I use the term "Subsidiary Body," as it was known from 2009-2014.

and photograph submissions, while my fourth chapter focuses on changes made to the video submissions.

Finally, I conclude with a discussion of the work I presented in Chapters 1 through 4. I address the impact of UNESCO's promoting a specific definition of heritage on public understandings of heritage, given the Representative List's memorial status. I also argue that while UNESCO positions its intangible cultural heritage project opposite historically understood definitions of heritage, the Representative List actually conforms to and upholds those definitions of heritage by prompting nominating States to rhetorically construct their elements as authentic. I also consider how certain nominating States (those from Western Europe, for example) might hold a greater burden to present their elements as more authentic than others. Ultimately, I suggest that by requiring nominating States to present their cultural practices in terms that align with a UNESCO-approved definition of heritage in order to gain inscription on the Representative List, the UNESCO Representative List nomination process obscures the meaning that inscribed elements hold for the communities that practice them. As a result, the Representative List's audience receives an incomplete view of the inscribed elements, a fact that ultimately counters UNESCO's goal of increasing understanding of and appreciation for the world's diverse heritage practices.

CHAPTER 1: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In the Introduction, I outlined the history of UNESCO's heritage programs and overviewed critiques of those programs. I noted scholars' concerns that UNESCO exoticizes culture and creates cultural hierarchies by privileging cultural practices seen as old and grounded in tradition. I also highlighted concerns that UNESCO's heritage programs obscure nuanced differences between cultural practices by creating a universal definition of heritage. Finally, I discussed anthropologists' concerns that heritage programs impact how communities experience their inscribed elements by imposing UNESCO-authorized values on those elements. In this chapter, I introduce a framework that allows me to address these critiques related to UNESCO's definition of heritage through a rhetorical studies lens. My work is grounded in five key understandings, upon which this chapter elaborates:

1. First, I understand historically accepted definitions of heritage to be based on inherently valuable, authentic, material representations of the past. I draw on Laurajane Smith's concept of Authorized Heritage Discourse to arrive at this understanding. As a description of the way a Western public has historically spoken about and understood heritage, I understand Authorized Heritage Discourse to represent the larger discursive context within which the Representative List exists.
2. Second, I understand the Representative List nomination process to be an activity system whose genres mediate relationships between nominating States and UNESCO committees. Within this activity system, I contend, the Subsidiary Body's recommendations to nominating States function as a meta-

genre that restricts how States may represent their elements in their nomination files.

3. Third, I understand the Representative List to be a memorial that, as such, gives an added authority to the elements inscribed on it. I invoke this comparison to a memorial because, once inscribed on the List, elements are frozen in a particular moment in time for consumption by a public audience. Though the elements may still evolve within their particular communities, how they are represented on the List remains constant, based on the information provided in the successful nomination file. With this understanding, I equate inscription with memorialization.
4. Fourth, I understand the nomination process to rhetorically privilege certain narratives over others as nominating States simultaneously conceal and reveal meanings to fulfill the genre requirements of a successful nomination file. This process thus shapes a particular view of inscribed elements that aligns with a UNESCO-authorized definition of heritage.
5. Fifth, I understand 'authenticity' to be a quality that an element does not inherently have, but that is rhetorically constructed by both public expectations of originality and UNESCO's authority to authenticate.

I explore these understandings, and their relationship to the Representative List nomination process, more fully in this chapter.

Authorized Heritage Discourse

A discussion of UNESCO's role in shaping definitions of heritage through the Representative List must begin with a summary of existing understandings of heritage. Because of this, I draw on research performed by Laurajane Smith, who provides the term Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD) to explain how public audiences, in a Western context, have historically understood and defined heritage.

To arrive at the characteristics of Authorized Heritage Discourse, Smith traces the evolution of Western conceptions of heritage, which she notes began to develop in Europe in the nineteenth century. By detailing previous work on this development, including research on the rise of museums, on the rise of legislation aimed at protecting national landmarks, and on the rise of heritage protection measures from international organizations like UNESCO, Smith identifies common themes in the way that people, governments, and organizations have spoken and written about heritage. These conversations and documents, she argues, have shaped how the West defines heritage. Smith's work provides a thorough overview of the discursive construction of a particular, agreed-upon understanding of heritage, which forms the context within which UNESCO's current heritage programs operate. It is from this context that the Representative List's public audience draws its already-held understandings of what constitutes heritage and that thus impacts the perspective that audience brings to the List.

At the core of Authorized Heritage Discourse is an emphasis on 'the past' as something that must be both revered and preserved for future generations, which promotes a "conserve as found ethos" (Smith and Waterton 291). This echoes Eriksen's critique, noted in the Introduction, that UNESCO's conceptualization of heritage values

old practices, which must be protected and preserved (132). Authorized Heritage Discourse's emphasis on the past influences common understandings of heritage by focusing on material/tangible heritage, conceiving of heritage as innately valuable and aesthetically pleasing, linking heritage to national identity, and creating a hierarchy of experts tasked with defining and safeguarding heritage. In the following section, I elaborate on these characteristics in addition to the critiques Smith raises about the consequences of this understanding of heritage.

Focus on Material/Tangible Heritage

Because they are easily-identifiable representations of the past, Smith contends, Authorized Heritage Discourse focuses on material aspects of heritage, such as landmarks, handicrafts, and landscapes and thus locates 'heritage' in concrete symbols. She writes, "heritage has traditionally been conceived within the AHD as a discrete 'site,' 'object,' building or other structure with identifiable boundaries that can be mapped, surveyed, recorded, and placed on national or international site registers" (31). As a result, within Authorized Heritage Discourse, heritage is a 'thing' to be found: heritage is "something visitors are led to, are instructed about, but are then not invited to engage with more actively" (31).

Within this discourse, those who come to heritage sites are positioned as 'tourists' rather than 'visitors,' a designation that Smith believes distances them from the people whose heritage they encounter. As Smith explains, "as tourists they are by definition culturally foreign to the heritage site in question and may be conceived as 'simply passing through'" (33). This focus on visitors as tourists—as those who are merely briefly consuming an experience—"helps to reinforce the idea that heritage is a 'thing'

that is passively and uncritically consumed" (34). Constructing visitors as "passive consumers" (33) of material heritage also overlooks visitors' role in constructing heritage sites through the expectations and understandings they project onto the sites with which they come in contact. As I will explain in this chapter's section on authenticity, for example, visitors' expectations about a site or object's status as an authentic representation of heritage influence their perception of that site or object as authentic.

Heritage as Innately Valuable

Authorized Heritage Discourse also defines heritage as being innately valuable and aesthetically pleasing. As Smith writes, "heritage is seen to represent all that is good and important about the past, which has contributed to the development of the cultural character of the present" (29). Therefore, "heritage is almost inevitably associated with comfortable, harmonious and consensual views about the meaning of the past" (Smith 81). Smith notes that this understanding of heritage as always-positive prompts the "discomfort…that is felt by many at the idea of commemorating sites of human trauma as 'heritage'" (81). Visitors to Auschwitz, for example, might feel uncomfortable labeling the site a part of heritage. Because of this, heritage discourse draws a distinction between 'heritage' and 'dissonant heritage,' with places like Auschwitz receiving the latter designation.

Conceiving of heritage as always-positive and separating it from dissonant heritage, however, fails to account for the inherent dissonance in heritage. As Smith writes, "all heritage is uncomfortable to someone" (81). This discomfort arises primarily from heritage's authority "to legitimize—or not—someone's sense of place and thus their social and cultural experiences and memories" (81). For example, as Smith notes, while

"the grand country houses of the rural elites in Europe and North America" represent noble, positive memories for certain segments of the population, these same symbols prove problematic "for those whose collective social experiences and memories are disinherited by this view, for instance the descendants of servants, slaves, or estate/grounds workers and so forth" (81). Prioritizing only those aspects of heritage that privilege the experiences of dominant groups ignores the experiences of entire communities while simultaneously giving the illusion of an uncontested heritage narrative.

Community and National Identity

Another result of Authorized Heritage Discourse's focus on 'the past,' which is often seen as speaking to "a sense of place, a sense of self, of belonging, and community," is that heritage becomes a symbolic representation of identity (Smith 30). Historically, this idea of heritage-based identity has been linked with national identity and has been used by governments to promote their own interests. Citing memorials for national heroes and battlefields, Timothy Dallen explains, "in most cases, a country's past, often its military or pioneer past, becomes a focal point for domestic tourism and education to develop nationalism" (45). Yet, this link between heritage and national identity proves problematic because, as Smith writes, "the heritage discourse, in providing a sense of national community, must, by definition, ignore a diversity of sub-national cultural and social experiences" (30). Within this historically-accepted understanding of heritage as being linked to national identity, then, subaltern and dissenting heritage discourses are pushed aside in favor of mainstream ideologies (Dallen 45).

Hierarchy of Experts

By linking heritage with 'the past,' a rather vague designation, Smith explains, Authorized Heritage Discourse also creates a hierarchy in which 'heritage experts' ultimately decide what is and what is not heritage: "The vagueness of 'the past,' its mystery and 'hard to pin downness,' immediately works to render it subject to the judgments of experts such as archaeologists and historians" (29). As a result, Smith argues, within Authorized Heritage Discourse, "proper care of heritage, and its associated values lies with the experts, as it is only they who have the abilities, knowledge, and understanding to identify the innate value and knowledge contained at and within historically important sites and places" (30).

Smith explains that this hierarchy impacts interpretations of the definition of heritage found in UNESCO's first heritage convention, the 1972 Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. The convention lists five criteria that classify world heritage, including that it must "represent a masterpiece of creative genius" and "exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world" (UNESCO qtd. in Smith 97). Absent clarifying terms, Smith notes, these criteria "make a number of existential assumptions about, for instance, what constitutes a 'masterpiece,' a 'human value' or a significant development in human history" (97). While this lack of specificity allows for a flexible and inclusive definition so as to consider nominations from multiple spectrums, it also positions UNESCO as an over-arching authoritative body that can narrow the definition's scope when and where it desires. In practice, Smith argues, UNESCO's vague official definition of heritage further reinforces Authorized Heritage Discourse's definitions

because, “AHD and the assumptions it frames nonetheless will fill in the gaps left by any ambiguity or lack of specificity” (97).

Challenging Authorized Heritage Discourse

Smith’s critiques of Authorized Heritage Discourse arise from her assertion that, rather than only existing in the past, heritage is a current, on-going process that is *always* intangible. She writes: “heritage, I want to suggest, is a cultural process that engages with acts of remembering that work to create ways to understand and engage with the present, and the sites themselves are cultural tools that can facilitate, but are not necessarily vital for, this process” (44). This understanding of heritage as a dynamic, active process of meaning-making aligns with cultural rhetoric scholars’ definitions of culture as practice (Powell et al. 1.2). Within Authorized Heritage Discourse, however, this understanding is often overlooked, as the focus on the past disengages people from the “very real emotional and cultural work” that communities do daily to negotiate and participate in their heritage practices (Smith 29). Because of this, Smith advocates a re-conceptualization of all heritage as a constantly evolving, ongoing process. While Smith believes this will not be achieved until the distinction between tangible heritage and intangible heritage is fully dismantled and all heritage is seen as inherently intangible, she sees potential for UNESCO’s Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage to address the shortcomings she identifies in these historical understandings of heritage.

Because the 2003 Convention officially acknowledges heritage as something that is continuously evolving and that is mediated through communities, Smith suggests the convention could deconstruct heritage discourse’s long-held emphasis on the past. The

discussions surrounding the 2003 Convention, Smith states, "represent an apparent shift in the AHD" and "challenge the dominant assumptions about the inherent nature of the value and meaning of tangible heritage" (108). At the time of her work's publication in 2006, however, the extent to which the 2003 Convention would indeed shift perceptions of heritage was unclear, as it had yet to become operational.

I put my work in this thesis in conversation with Smith's work on Authorized Heritage Discourse because, as the basis for commonly held understandings about the nature of heritage, Authorized Heritage Discourse forms the cultural context within which the Representative List activity system operates. Because of this, Authorized Heritage Discourse impacts UNESCO's past heritage definitions as well as a Western public audience's preconceived notions of what constitutes heritage. As such, the characteristics that UNESCO prioritizes in the definition of heritage that it promotes with the Representative List (through the genre conventions it establishes for successful nomination files) will necessarily either deviate from or align with the characteristics that Authorized Heritage Discourse assigns heritage. Because of this, my work addresses Smith's observations that the 2003 Convention has the potential to dismantle the definitions of heritage that Authorized Heritage Discourse promotes. By examining material from seven total inscription cycles, I can more closely examine the potential of the 2003 Convention to shift traditional definitions of heritage.

Activity Systems, Genre Systems, and Meta-Genres

To examine how the process that an element undergoes to be inscribed on the Representative List rhetorically constructs a particular definition of heritage, I look to the

rhetorical genre studies concepts of activity systems, genre systems, and meta-genres. These concepts provide a useful framework through which to understand the relationships between the different actors and genres involved in the processes of nominating elements to and inscribing elements on the Representative List.

Activity systems, Anis Bawarshi and Mary Jo Reiff explain, are the contexts within which actors use genres to create meaning. This definition draws on David Russell's assertion that an activity system is "any ongoing, object-directed, historically conditioned, dialectically structured, tool-mediated human interaction" (Russell qtd. in Bawarshi and Reiff 95-96). More specifically, every activity system includes subjects/actors who use mediational means (including genres) to work toward an object/motive (Bawarshi and Reiff 96). Bawarshi and Reiff provide the example of a first-year writing classroom to illustrate this:

> Within the activity system of the first-year writing classroom, the subjects would include teacher and students; the object/motive would be the production and improvement of student writing…and the mediational means include the physical space of the classroom…as well as, importantly, the various genre sets…that define the genre system of the classroom. (96)

Similarly, within the activity system of nominating an element to the Representative List, the Subsidiary Body and the individual nominating States are actors that work toward the object/motive of inscribing elements on the Representative List. The meditational means in this activity system include the nomination files that States use to submit their elements for evaluation and the recommendations the Subsidiary Body publishes to help States successfully complete their files.

Within the genre system, or the collection of genres that create meaning within an activity system, these recommendations from the Subsidiary Body function as a meta-genre. Meta-genres, as Janet Giltrow describes them, are atmospheres surrounding genres whose "function is to provide shared background knowledge and guidance in how to produce and negotiate genres within systems and sets of genres" (Bawarshi and Reiff 94). Meta-genres work within genre systems to regulate the genre conventions of other genres in the system and to reinforce genre conventions when they are not met (Bawarshi and Reiff 94). According to Giltrow, the most widely recognized, tangible examples of meta-genres "are guidelines: a kind of pre-emptive feedback, guidelines are written regulations for the production of a genre, ruling out some kinds of expressions, endorsing others" (190).

To demonstrate this regulation, Giltrow provides an example from René Galindo's work with Amish newsletters: Galindo identified guidelines given to the writers of Amish newsletters with directives to avoid certain topics, including instructions to "omit phrases like 'quite a few attended church from other districts' and 'church was well attended'" (Galindo qtd. in Giltrow 191). In the nomination process genre system, the recommendations to nominating States function as a meta-genre by suggesting that States use specific terms to describe their elements in their nomination files while avoiding others; these recommendations, then, create and reinforce the genre conventions of a successful nomination file. They also reveal the priorities that UNESCO values in its definition of heritage for, as Giltrow maintains, the topics that meta-genres encourage and prohibit reveal organizations' ideologies (100).

Considering activity systems, in addition to genres, can help identify how actors create meaning with genres in specific contexts. As Charles Bazerman notes, looking at activity systems "puts a focus on what people are doing and how texts help people do it, rather than on texts as ends in themselves" (319). Attending to the activity systems involved in the Representative List nomination process, then, looks at how this process creates meaning more generally, with an emphasis on multiple genres' roles in that creation. Within activity systems, however, actors have unequal access to genres and thus to the ability to create meaning due to external hierarchies. For example, within the first year writing classroom the teacher and students do not hold equal power due to "the rules and norms of school culture, the sense of academic community, and the division of labor that creates hierarchies between teacher and students" (Bawarshi and Reiff 97). Thus, the structure of the activity system can impact the roles that individuals in that system assume and the actions they may carry out. Alongside these external factors, individual genres mediate relationships between subjects within the activity system by assigning roles to actors in particular situations. As Bawarshi explains in his exploration of the genre function, "the genre function…constitutes the roles we assign to the actors and events within the discourse. The actors in the discourse…all assume subject roles within and because of the genre" (343). In the context of the Representative List, both the structure of the nomination process activity system and the genres it employs create a hierarchy wherein UNESCO holds the authority to define heritage and to establish the qualities that nominating States must highlight in order to gain inscription. The genres, specifically, position UNESCO as an evaluator and adjudicator with the power to determine what is and is not intangible heritage culture. They simultaneously position

nominating States as advocates and defenders of their elements' qualifications to be added to the Representative List.

The nomination process activity system then connects to another activity system, wherein UNESCO and a public audience use the Representative List to recognize and define intangible cultural heritage. Because of the intertexuality between the genres in the nomination process activity system and this second activity system, how nominating States respond to the genre conventions of a successful nomination file directly impacts how UNESCO eventually presents those elements, on the Representative List, to a public audience.

Representative List as a Memorial

As the final step in the nomination and inscription process, the Representative List functions as a memorial that honors the cultural practices that have gained UNESCO recognition. I invoke this comparison to a memorial because, once inscribed on the Representative List, elements are frozen in a particular moment in time for consumption by a public audience. Though the elements may still evolve within their particular communities, how they are represented on the List remains constant. With this understanding, I equate inscription with memorialization.

Though their work focuses on physical memorial sites, the theories of public memorialization that Carole Blair, Greg Dickinson, and Brian Ott raise in their introduction to *Places of Public Memory* provide a useful perspective through which to understand the impact that UNESCO's conception of heritage has on the elements inscribed on the Representative List. This is because just as individual events of public

memory are memorialized in 'places of public memory,' specific cultural practices are memorialized through their inscription on the Representative List.

This memorial status increases the Representative List's authority to define cultural practices as heritage. This is due to public expectations that memorials present truthful, authentic representations of the places, people, and events they memorialize: Blair, Dickinson, and Ott note that individuals place more trust in narratives told by memorialized spaces, such as monuments and museums, than they do other sources of information, such as eye-witness accounts (25). This heightened authority that people give to memorials comes partially from the general scarcity of memorial sites. Because memory places are characterized by their rarity, the authors explain, "the establishment of a memory place already marks it for exceptional cultural importance" (28). Elements inscribed on the Representative List are also rare, as the List comprises only 336 elements and new inscriptions are limited each year.[7] Being included on the Representative List, following a successful nomination and evaluation process, then, similarly marks inscribed elements as being of "exceptional cultural importance"; through inscription, elements are elevated to the uncommon status of 'intangible cultural heritage of humanity.'

In addition, one reason that people are drawn to memory places is because the places are "frequently understood as offering a unique access to the past" (Blair, Dickinson, and Ott 26). When individuals visit memorials and museums, for example, they do so expecting to find an authentic depiction of the events the places memorialize. Similarly, individuals recognize UNESCO as a credible international organization tasked

[7] I elaborate on the details and consequences of these limitations in Chapter 2.

with documenting important components of world culture and heritage. As such, UNESCO is seen as an authority that can determine 'inauthentic' from 'authentic' heritage, and its heritage inventories are thought to comprise the latter.

Though individuals consider memorialized sites to be authentic representations of history, "memory places are characterized by an extraordinary partiality" (Blair, Dickinson, and Ott 27). This partiality comes from the fact that certain realities are inevitably prioritized above others when groups or individuals construct memorialized narratives of historical events: the process of memorialization solidifies a particular understanding of, and attributes specific values to, public memories (Gregory and Lewis 218). Reading the Representative List as a similarly rhetorically constructed memorial suggests the following: just as some realities are hidden when historical events are memorialized, certain characteristics of nominated cultural elements are also lost when the elements, through inscription on the Representative List, assume new identities as elements that represent a particular type of intangible cultural heritage.

Rhetorics of Display and Terministic Screens

At the level of language, this memorialization process that privileges certain narratives over others points to Lawrence Prelli's observation in his introduction to *Rhetorics of Display* that "whatever is revealed through display simultaneously conceals alternative possibilities" (2). In other words, as certain meanings are made present, others are left absent (11). Prelli's observations draw on Kenneth Burke's assertion that all language is inherently suasive in nature because "even if any given terminology is a *reflection* of reality, by its very nature as a terminology it must be a *selection* of reality;

and to this extent it must function also as a *deflection* of reality" (45, emphasis in original). From this, Burke explains his theory of terministic screens, which contends that "terms direct the attention to one field rather than to another" (46), or, as Prelli states, "words direct attention toward some possible meanings and simultaneously deflect from consideration meanings that would be implied with different words" (13). The terms, or words, that are used to describe elements inscribed on the Representative List, then, hold a particular power to promote specific understandings of heritage while obscuring others.

My analysis connects these theories of rhetorics of display and terministic screens with the previously mentioned theories of activity systems and genre to determine how the genre conventions of a successful nomination file dictate the various meanings that States reveal and conceal as they nominate elements to the Representative List. By recommending that nominating States conceal references to tourism when describing their elements, for example, the genre conventions encourage nominating States to direct attention in their nomination files away from meanings associated with commercial interests. In doing so, they simultaneously encourage nominating States to direct attention in their nomination files toward meanings that construct their elements as authentic.

Authenticity as Rhetorically Constructed

My analysis of how nominating States rhetorically present their elements to align with the genre conventions of a successful nomination file centers on constructions of authenticity. While UNESCO, in its recommendations for submitting nomination files, asks States to avoid using the terms 'authentic' and 'authenticity' to describe their elements, I argue that the organization encourages nominating States to rhetorically

construct their elements as authentic in their distance from institutional influences. I come to this conclusion from an understanding of authenticity as being always-rhetorically constructed and from a definition of authenticity that prioritizes originality.

Just as visitors to memory places expect memorials to depict history authentically (Blair, Dickinson, and Ott 26), tourists seek authenticity in their excursions and judge a location, object, or cultural practice based on the access it lends to a 'behind the scenes' experience of a place (Bowman; Bruner; Doorne and Ateljevic; MacCannell; O'Reilly). For these tourists, authenticity is linked with locations, objects, and places that they believe remain in their original states. In her analysis of backpacker identity, for example, Camille O'Reilly found that backpackers actively sought "cultures that have supposedly remained 'untouched,' 'traditional,' and unchanged by modernity" (O'Reilly 153). O'Reilly also notes the rise of 'anti-tourism,' which values traveller experiences that occur far from traditional, commercialized, or institutional tourist locations. She echoes MacCannell's finding that "for moderns, reality and authenticity are thought to be elsewhere: in other historical periods and other cultures, in purer, simpler life-styles" (MacCannell qtd. in O'Reilly 153).

Michael Bowman examines this quest for authenticity in depth at the Mary Queen of Scots House and Visitor Centre in Jedburgh, Scotland. Acknowledging that visitors "find value in experiences that occur 'off the beaten track,' in places the so-called mass tourist never sees" (202), Bowman stresses that, as a "small building in a small town in a corner of Scotland," the Mary Queen of Scots House fulfills this tourist desire to experience an 'undiscovered' location that has been seemingly unaltered by commercial interests (202). Through conducting on-site interviews, Bowman found that visitors

unanimously endorsed 'history' or 'heritage' as having "self-evident value and intrinsic interest" and thus felt "an imperative to 'preserve' or 'save' or 'care for' or 'look after' it…as well as to visit it" (203). One of his interviewees stated that 'history' should be "shown the proper respect and care" (203) while another lauded the fact that, at the Mary Queen of Scots House, "they haven't done anything to it—they've left it as it was" (203). These sentiments echo Smith's findings that Authorized Heritage Discourse identifies heritage as being innately valuable and worthy of admiration, based on its connection to the past. Visitors largely considered the Mary Queen of Scots House to be an authentic representation of history because they perceived it to be preserved and undiscovered.

As these examples demonstrate, tourists often position authenticity—that which is old and preserved—opposite inauthenticity—that which is new and commercialized. In emphasizing a strict authentic/inauthentic, true/false dichotomy, however, these understandings overlook visitors' own roles in determining what they deem authentic. As Bowman writes, conceiving of authenticity and inauthenticity as mutually exclusive "neglect[s] how visitors ascribe meaning to and inscribe their own practices within heritage sites" (194). Authenticity is not a characteristic that a place or thing simply 'has.' Rather, authenticity "is a rhetorical effect, an impression lodged with visitors by the rhetorical work a place does" (Blair, Dickinson, and Ott 27). What visitors find when they visit 'authentic' heritage sites or observe 'authentic' cultural practices, then, is not 'authenticity,' but a conception of authenticity rhetorically created by various characteristics of the site and reinforced by their own understanding of that site as authentic.

Resisting work that separates authentic and inauthentic representations, Bowman draws on Edward Bruner's discussion of multiple authenticities. This framework that can also address how heritage sites, visitors, and authoritative heritage bodies like UNESCO interact to designate a site, location, or cultural practice as authentic. Bruner identifies two meanings of authenticity that are applicable to these interactions: 'originality' and 'authority' (151).[8] 'Originality' "refers to the original, as opposed to a copy" (150) and 'authority' deals with the power dynamics that influence what is ruled authentic. This last meaning, Bruner explains, "is always present in the background, at least for museum professionals, insiders, locals, and scholars…however, most tourists are not aware of authenticity in this fourth sense" (151).

These two meanings of authenticity inform my understanding of the way that public audiences and UNESCO interact to construct authenticity. In the previously-mentioned examples, the backpackers, the individuals who practice anti-tourism, and the visitors to the Mary Queen of Scots House seek originality. They admire the locations they visit because they believe them to be in their original, true forms, and thus to be authentic. The historical understanding of authentic heritage that Authorized Heritage Discourse promotes also lies in these equations of authenticity and originality: "the authenticity of heritage is deemed to lie in the degree to which it may be perceived to be in its 'original' state" (Smith and Waterton 291). As I will demonstrate in Chapters 2

[8] Bruner identifies two additional meanings of authenticity: 'verisimilitude' and 'genuineness' (151). These definitions speak primarily to the authenticity of historical reproductions. As 'verisimilitude,' authenticity means "credible and convincing" (149)—the reproduction is built to accurately give the appearance of a particular time period. Closely linked to this meaning, 'genuineness' equates authenticity with being a perfect reproduction of the original, "a complete and immaculate simulation" (149). Because of these meanings' direct relationship only to reproductions, such as historic villages like Colonial Williamsburg in Virginia, they are not immediately useful to my work with the Representative List.

through 4, however, though UNESCO resists this type of authenticity, the genre conventions for a successful nomination file for inscription on the Representative List closely align with this particular type of authenticity-as-originality.

The fourth meaning of authenticity—authority—provides a useful lens through which to understand UNESCO's role in lending a sense of authenticity to the elements inscribed on the Representative List. Conceiving of authenticity as coexisting with authority, Bruner writes, "the more fundamental question to ask…is not whether an object or site is authentic, but rather who has the authority to authenticate—or, to put it another way, who has the right to tell the story of the site" (150). In its intangible cultural heritage initiative, UNESCO assumes the authority to authenticate the elements it inscribes.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I outlined the characteristics of heritage as established by Authorized Heritage Discourse. These include: being focused on the past, being contained in material elements, being innately valuable, and being representative of identity. I also demonstrated how these qualities create a hierarchy of experts responsible for defining and preserving heritage for future generations. I then explained how the Representative List nomination process works as an activity system wherein the Subsidiary Body and nominating States use genres, including a meta-genre, to inscribe elements on the Representative List. Next, I discussed how conceiving of the Representative List as a monument that memorializes elements through inscription allows for a reading of the Representative List that stresses 1. the added authority inscription

lends to an element and 2. the fact that, once inscribed, elements take on the values promoted by the List. Within this framework, I introduced the concept of rhetorical display and terministic screens to question the various meanings that are simultaneously concealed and revealed as elements are inscribed on the Representative List. I noted that this process impacts the perspective a public audience is afforded of inscribed elements. Lastly, I established that authenticity is rhetorically constructed both by visitors, or outsiders, who seek originality in the cultural practices they encounter and by the power of authoritative bodies, such as UNESCO, to authenticate cultural practices as authentic representations of heritage.

In the chapters that follow, I will use this theoretical framework to demonstrate how UNESCO promotes a specific understanding of heritage through the Representative List by establishing genre conventions for a successful nomination file that encourage States to reveal and conceal certain characteristics of their elements, during the nomination process, to construct them as authentic. From this, I determine that while UNESCO's intangible heritage project does shift Authorized Heritage Discourse's emphasis on material representations of heritage, it upholds the definition of heritage as something that is authentic and innately valuable.

CHAPTER 2: ESTABLISHING GENRE CONVENTIONS

The previous chapter introduced activity systems, genre systems, and meta-genres as a framework through which to understand the process that connects nominating States and UNESCO committees as the former nominate, and the latter evaluate, elements for inscription on the Representative List. In this chapter, I examine the nomination process as an activity system to identify how it rhetorically constructs a particular definition of heritage. This system positions the UNESCO Subsidiary Body as a heritage expert with the authority to define heritage and to authenticate specific cultural practices as heritage by inscribing them on the Representative List. The Subsidiary Body does this primarily through its recommendations to nominating States, which work together as a meta-genre to establish, and regulate adherence to, the genre conventions of a successful nomination file.

I begin with an overview of the nomination process activity system and the actors it involves. Next, I identify how the nomination process structure positions the Subsidiary Body as a heritage expert. I then consider how three specific genres—the evaluation priorities, the nomination form, and the Subsidiary Body's recommendations to nominating States—function as a genre system and mediate the relationship between the Subsidiary Body and nominating States. Finally, I examine the Subsidiary Body's recommendations as a meta-genre that restricts how nominating States can craft successful nomination files. This meta-genre encourages States to reveal the aspects of their cultural practices that conform to a UNESCO-approved definition of heritage that values heritage as something always-positive and authentic in its distance from institutional influences.

Activity Systems: Multi-Leveled Nomination Process

As explained in Chapter 1, activity systems are the contexts within which individuals use genres to create meaning. Each activity system includes actors that, through mediational means (including genres), work toward an objective to accomplish an outcome (Bawarshi and Reiff 96). Often, individual activity systems connect to other activity systems in an 'overarching activity system,' which then connects to other overarching activity systems (Bawarshi and Reiff 99-100). This constellation of inter-connected systems of activity provides a useful framework with which to understand the steps elements undergo to be inscribed on the Representative List.

In order to be inscribed on the Representative List, an element moves through an overarching activity system from its community, through the UNESCO committees, to a public audience. This overarching activity system, visually represented in Figure 1, involves four main actors:

1. the community that practices the element (local level),
2. the State that nominates the element (national level),
3. the UNESCO committees that evaluate the nomination file, including
    a. the Intergovernmental Committee, which determines how many nomination files can be evaluated each year and officially makes inscription decisions, and
    b. the Subsidiary Body, which evaluates nomination files and makes inscription recommendations
4. the public audience that observes the element once it is inscribed on the Representative List.

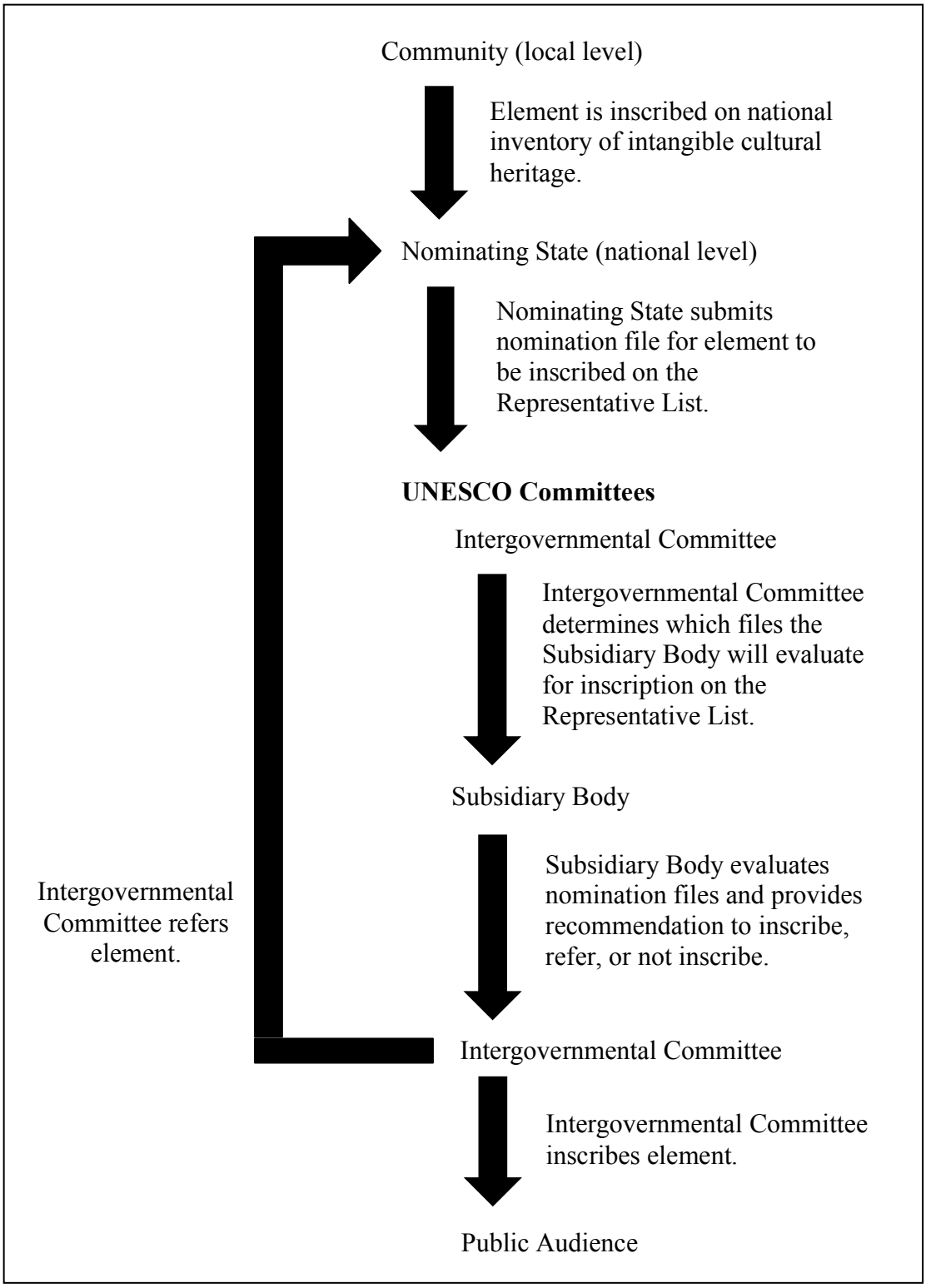


Figure 1. Steps through which an element progresses to be nominated to and inscribed on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity.

Within this overarching activity system, these actors make meaning across three different activity systems: the process of gaining inclusion on a national inventory, the process of gaining inscription on the Representative List, and the process of gaining public recognition as a representative element of intangible cultural heritage on the Representative List. I detail the structure of these three activity systems below, before later explaining how they produce a certain definition of heritage.

The first activity system exists at the local level and involves the process of including an element on a national inventory. Before an element can be nominated for inscription on the Representative List, it must first be inscribed on a national inventory of intangible cultural heritage. The process begins with local communities—the people who experience the nominated element as part of their lives. In this activity system, the local communities and national heritage organizations are actors that, through various genres, achieve the goal of including the element on a national heritage inventory.[9]

The second activity system involves the process of nominating an element, once it exists on a national inventory of intangible cultural heritage, to the Representative List. In this activity system, the nominating State and the UNESCO Committees are actors that use genres such as nomination criteria, nominating guidelines, and the nomination file, among others, to achieve the goal of inscribing elements on the Representative List. The required steps to do this include the following:

First, to be eligible for inscription the nominated element must fit into at least one

[9] Because the process for inscription on national inventories varies from State to State, I cannot describe it in detail here. Further work on this topic could examine how the national inventory nomination and inscription processes differ across States.

of five "domains":[10]

- 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. ("Convention" 2.2)

The nominating State submits a nomination file for an eligible element to the UNESCO Intergovernmental Committee. Complete nomination files include a nomination form; evidence of the free, prior, and informed consent of the community concerned; evidence of the element's inclusion on a national culture inventory; 10 high definition photographs; and a 5-10 minute long video.[11] The Subsidiary Body then evaluates the file to determine whether it meets five main criteria:

- the element must satisfy the definition of intangible cultural heritage,
- its inscription should contribute to ensuring visibility and awareness of the significance of the intangible cultural heritage and to encouraging dialogue, thus reflecting cultural diversity worldwide and testifying to human creativity,
- the nominating country should elaborate safeguarding measure that may protect and promote the element,
- the element's nomination must have involved the widest possible participation of the community, group, or, individuals concerned,

[10] Many elements fit into more than one domain and States are encouraged to nominate elements that cross multiple domains.
[11] The video component of the nomination file was optional until the 2013 nomination cycle.

- and the element must be already included on the nominating State's inventory of the intangible cultural heritage. ("Operational Directives" 1.2)

If the Subsidiary Body determines that the nomination file meets all five criteria, the nominated element is inscribed on the Representative List.[12] If the Subsidiary Body decides that it cannot determine whether the nomination meets all five criteria, the file is referred back to the nominating State with an encouragement to resubmit. And, finally, if the Subsidiary Body determines that the file does not meet one or more criteria, the element is not inscribed. Since the Subsidiary Body began evaluating nomination files in 2009, 16 elements that were either 'referred' or 'not inscribed' when initially nominated were inscribed in a later cycle after the nominating State made changes to and resubmitted the nomination file.[13]

The third activity system involves the process of establishing elements as internationally-recognized representatives of intangible cultural heritage. In this system, UNESCO and the public are actors that use the Representative List to achieve the goal of recognizing and celebrating intangible cultural heritage. How an element is represented on the List, however, depends on how it is portrayed in the nomination file from the second activity system. This is because it is the element as portrayed in the successful file, which adheres to specific genre conventions, that is ultimately inscribed. Therefore, how a nominating State rhetorically presents the element in the nomination file directly

[12] The Subsidiary Body gives its inscription recommendations to the Intergovernmental Committee, which then makes the official decision to inscribe, refer, or not inscribe. Since this evaluation process began in 2009, the Intergovernmental Committee has consistently followed the Subsidiary Body's recommendation. For simplicity's sake, my explanation here of the evaluation and inscription process assumes that the Intergovernmental Committee will follow the Subsidiary Body's recommendation.

[13] These numbers represent my own calculations after I reviewed the Reports of the Subsidiary Body for each nomination cycle from 2009-2016.

impacts how the element is then presented to a public audience on the Representative List. Thus, these activity systems build on each other, as the meanings created by the genres in the second activity system restrict the meanings that the genres in the third activity system can make.[14] This connection between the two activity systems has an added consequence on public conceptions of heritage because of the memorial status of the Representative List. As a memorial, the List holds the authority to authenticate cultural practices as heritage. By being inscribed on the Representative List, then, cultural practices gain authority, prestige, and international recognition as 'intangible cultural heritage.' Because of this increased visibility and elevated status, how the elements are rhetorically presented in the nomination process impacts how those elements are subsequently understood by a public audience that is likely to trust UNESCO's representation of elements as accurate.

Because of the impact of the second activity system and its genres on public understandings of elements once they appear on the Representative List, I focus my analysis on this system: the nomination process. It is at this level within the overarching activity system that individual nominating States and UNESCO negotiate their authority to define heritage and align nominated elements with a particular understanding of heritage. As such, the second activity system acts as an intermediary between the communities who experience the elements on a day-to-day basis and the public audience that consumes the representations of the elements once they are inscribed on the Representative List. Within this process, community agency decreases, as the role of the

[14] Charles Bazerman and Amy Devitt both explore this intertextuality in their respective analyses of patent applications and tax accountants' documents. In both of their studies, they identify the ways that the creation of one text—whether it is a patent application or tax form—impacts the creation of future texts that draw on information from the texts that came before.

Subsidiary Body in defining heritage increases. In exploring how this activity system reinforces a specific definition of heritage, I look both at how the activity system functions structurally and at how specific genres work within the activity system to position the Subsidiary Body as a heritage authority.

Fluid Composition of the Evaluation Committee

In Chapter 1, I noted that forces other than genres in the structure of an activity system often create hierarchies within that system. In the nomination process activity system, the Subsidiary Body's fluid composition works as one of these external factors to position the Body as a heritage expert. Each year, the Intergovernmental Committee appoints members to the Subsidiary Body, which evaluates nominations for inscription on the Representative List. From 2009-2014, the Intergovernmental Committee appointed representatives from six States, one from each geographic region (or, Electoral Group[15]) to the Subsidiary Body. As a requirement, two of the represented States in each nomination cycle must have served on the Subsidiary Body in the previous cycle. In 2011, for example, the Subsidiary Body comprised representatives from Italy, Croatia, Venezuela, Jordan, the Republic of Korea, and Kenya; representatives from the Republic of Korea and Kenya had both served on the Subsidiary Body in the previous cycle in 2010.[16] This two-representative carry-over from one year to the next was instituted in

[15] UNESCO divides Member States into six Electoral Groups, based on geographic region. The group designations are as follows: Group I (Western European and North American States) – 21 States, Group II (Eastern European States) – 24 States, Group III (Latin-American and Caribbean States) – 30 States, Group IV (Asian and Pacific States) – 33 States, Group IV(a) (African States) – 40 States, Group IV(b) (Arab States) – 18 States ("The States Parties").

[16] The Subsidiary Body members from 2009-2014 include: 2009 and 2010 – Estonia, Kenya, Mexico, Republic of Korea, Turkey, United Arab Emirates ("Evaluation" 4); 2011 – Italy, Croatia, Venezuela, Republic of Korea, Kenya, Jordan ("RSB 2011" 2); 2012 – Spain, Croatia, Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, Islamic Republic of Iran, Burkina Faso, Morocco ("RSB 2012" 2); 2013 – Spain, Czech

order to provide consistency in the determinations made in each cycle. In 2015, the composition of the Subsidiary Body expanded to include six representatives from six "accredited non-governmental organizations" (one from each Electoral Group) in addition to six "expert representatives of States Parties," bringing the total committee membership to twelve ("Report" 2).

While the goal of having two repeat members on the Subsidiary Body each year is to maintain consistency in the evaluation process, the annual reports submitted by the Subsidiary Body indicate disputes within each Body about evaluation policies. These disputes point to the fluid nature of the definition of intangible heritage and of the criteria against which nomination files are evaluated. For example, in 2011, the members "deliberated at great length over the question of how to deal with similar elements proposed by a single State Party" ("RSB 2011" 16). The summary of this deliberation—printed in the Subsidiary Body's annual report—demonstrates the degree to which Subsidiary Body members themselves do not unanimously agree on rules for inscription on the Representative List:

> Some members pointed out that variation is a characteristic feature of intangible heritage, and therefore that inscription of similar yet distinct elements could promote awareness of the internal diversity of what may appear to outsiders to be uniform, but to the communities concerned involves important differences. Other members emphasized that it was the responsibility of the submitting State to offer selected representative elements that better reflect the wider diversity of

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Republic, Peru, Japan, Nigeria, Morocco ("RSB 2013" 2); 2014 – Greece, Latvia, Peru, Kyrgyzstan, Nigeria, Tunisia ("RSB 2014" 3).

> expressions found within its territory, and that the Convention could never aspire to include all of those expressions. ("RSB 2011" 16)

Disputes such as this point to the subjectivity of the selection process, which is based on the inherently flexible and vague description provided for 'intangible cultural heritage.' The 2003 Convention officially 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 recognize as part of their cultural heritage" ("Article 1"). Yet, as the above disagreement between committee members displays, this definition can be interpreted differently, depending on the individual committee member.

The consequences of this vague definition combined with the Subsidiary Body's fluid composition works similarly to the issue that Smith identified in the fluid definition of heritage used in UNESCO's first heritage program. Because that program's definition of heritage was vague, Smith argued, UNESCO assumed the role of a heritage expert, with the power to interpret the definition as it desired. Similarly, UNESCO's allowing the Subsidiary Body to re-interpret the definition of intangible heritage each year could result in inconsistent evaluation criteria. In practice, the ultimate decision of what qualifies as heritage falls to the Subsidiary Body as a heritage expert, which perpetuates the always-constructed nature of UNESCO's definition of heritage.

Genres: Evaluation Priorities, Nomination Form, and Recommendations

The genres that the activity system employs reinforce this positioning of the Subsidiary Body specifically, and the UNESCO committees generally, as heritage experts.

In this section, I identify three of the genres within the genre system that position the Subsidiary Body as a heritage authority while simultaneously positioning nominating States as defendants of their elements' status as heritage: the evaluation priorities, the nomination form, and the Subsidiary Body's recommendations. I first detail the unique roles of these genres in positioning actors within the activity system and in creating and restricting the meanings those actors can express. After this, I explain how the genres interact with each other to create and negotiate meaning within the genre system as a whole.

Evaluation Priorities

The first genre that mediates the relationship between the UNESCO committees and nominating States is the list of priorities used to determine which nominated elements will be evaluated for inscription on the Representative List. These priorities are explained in the Operational Directives, which outline the rules by which the 2003 Convention is governed. Though they are printed within the broader Operational Directives document (a genre in itself), the priorities are independently applied to nominated elements each year. Thus, I consider them to be an independent genre within the activity system.

Since 2009, over 100 nomination files for inscription on the Representative List have been submitted annually. However, excepting the first year, only 38 to 61 files have been evaluated in each cycle.[17] This is because the Intergovernmental Committee sets

[17] The number of evaluated nomination files out of total submitted nomination files each year from 2009 to 2015 were: 2009 – 111 evaluated of 111 total ("Evaluation" 3); 2010 – 54 evaluated of 147 total ("Evaluation 2010" 2-3); 2011 – 54 evaluated of 107 total ("RSB 2011" 2-3); 2012 – 38 evaluated of 214 total ("RSB 2012" 2); 2013 – 61 evaluated of 192 total ("RSB 2013" 2); 2014 – 46 evaluated of 205 total ("RSB 2014" 3); 2015 – 35 evaluated of an unreported total ("Report" 4).

limits for how many total nominations can be evaluated (across four lists, including the Representative List) two years prior to the nomination cycle, based on "the available resources and its capacity" ("Operational Directives" 1.10). Then, during each nomination cycle, the Intergovernmental Committee determines how many and which files can be evaluated for the Representative List specifically. In order to narrow the number of total nomination files to the allotted number of possible evaluations, the Intergovernmental Committee uses the following priorities:

1. Files from States that have no elements currently inscribed
2. Multi-national nominations
3. Files from States with the fewest elements currently inscribed. ("Operational Directives" 1.10)

Each of these criteria also prioritizes nominations to the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding before nominations to the Representative List.

To alleviate the responsibility of the Intergovernmental Committee in making these distinctions, UNESCO asks that States submitting multiple nominations indicate the order in which they would prefer their nominations be evaluated. This option gives nominating States some agency in determining which of their elements could be inscribed on the Representative List. At the same time, however, this process could cause tension between the national and local levels within a nominating State. Because nominations are ultimately submitted by States at the national level, national authorities would end up making priority decisions about elements from the various communities within their borders.

By enabling the actions detailed above, the evaluation priorities work as a genre in the nomination process activity system to restrict which elements are evaluated and thus eventually represented on the Representative List. In mediating the relationship between the UNESCO committees and nominating States, these evaluation priorities position the Intergovernmental Committee as an authority with the power to determine which nominated elements will be evaluated. The genre also positions nominating States as evaluators, for it requires States to evaluate their own elements to determine which they will request be given priority in the evaluation process.

These intricacies about how nomination files are selected highlight the authority the UNESCO committees hold within the activity system to construct the type of heritage that the Representative List memorializes and promotes. By using the evaluation priorities to narrow the pool of considered elements at the beginning of the nomination cycle, the Intergovernmental Committee imposes UNESCO's priorities concerning heritage on the elements before they are even evaluated. As such, the evaluation priorities restrict which elements, and which States, have access to the Representative List. In addition, though UNESCO publishes the nomination files for all elements that are eventually evaluated, it does not make easily available the files that are submitted but that the Subsidiary Body does not evaluate. Thus, public knowledge of the world's cultural practices is limited to those that 'make the cut' for evaluation.

Nomination Form

The next genre that mediates the relationship between the UNESCO committees (in this case the Subsidiary Body) and nominating States and that impacts potential expressions of heritage is the nomination form. The current nomination form is divided

into eight general sections. The first, Questions A through E, deals with the name of the element and of the nominating State. The other sections, each of which features multiple questions, are:

1. Identification and definition of the element
2. Contribution to ensuring visibility and awareness and to encouraging dialogue
3. Safeguarding measures
4. Community participation and consent in the nomination process
5. Inclusion of the element in an inventory
6. Documentation
7. Signature on behalf of the State(s) Party(ies). ("Form ICH-02 Revised")

These sections align with the general criteria for inscription on the Representative List; therefore, they could streamline the Subsidiary Body's evaluation of the element based on the stated criteria. However, dividing the nomination form into strict categories also reduces the element to those specific categories. Just as Kuutma warns that intricate and nuanced cultural practices are codified "into manageable symbols of representation" through UNESCO inventories ("Communities" 3), asking States to submit strictly segmented information about their cultural practices restricts how those practices can be represented on the List.

The nomination form mediates the relationship between the Subsidiary Body and nominating States by placing the Subsidiary Body in a place of authority over nominating States. The genre positions the Subsidiary Body as an evaluator and adjudicator with the power to determine what is and is not intangible heritage. It simultaneously positions nominating States as advocates for and defendants of their elements' qualifications to be

inscribed on the Representative List. Through enacting these positionings, the nomination form reinforces the activity system's hierarchy wherein UNESCO holds the authority to define the qualities that nominating States must highlight in order to gain inscription.

Subsidiary Body's Recommendations: A Meta-Genre

The last genre that mediates the relationship between the Subsidiary Body and nominating States is the cumulative set of recommendations that the Subsidiary Body annually publishes for nominating States. After each nomination cycle, the Subsidiary Body reflects on the nomination process and provides a report on that year's deliberations, which includes recommendations to States planning to submit future nominations about how to submit a successful nomination file. After providing similarly-themed recommendations in five consecutive years, the Subsidiary Body created the *Aide-Mémoire for Completing a Nomination to the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity for 2015 and Later Nominations*, comprised of a summary of its recommendations from 2009 to 2014. Since creating the document in 2014, the Subsidiary Body has simply updated the *Aide-Mémoire* each year instead of providing recommendations in its annual reports.

Like the other genres in the system, the recommendations in both the annual reports and the *Aide-Mémoire* position the Subsidiary Body as a heritage expert with the power to define heritage. The recommendations also position nominating States as defendants of their cultural practices. By defining the terms that States should reveal and conceal in their nominations, the Subsidiary Body's recommendations work as a meta-genre that establishes genre conventions and regulates nominating States' adherence to those conventions. As noted in Chapter 1, meta-genres are genres, such as guidelines, that

influence the conventions of other genres in the genre system by "ruling out some kinds of expressions, endorsing others" (Giltrow 190). As a meta-genre, the Subsidiary Body's recommendations restrict the range of meanings nominating States can use to describe their elements to gain inscription and, in doing so, influence the genre conventions of a successful nomination file.

The Subsidiary Body points to the recommendations' meta-generic function by noting the link between nominating States' adherence to the Body's suggestions and the chances that their elements will gain inscription. First, the Subsidiary Body stresses nominating States' obligation to submit a file that will be accepted. In its 2009 report, for example, the Subsidiary Body wrote that it

> wishe[d] to remind States Parties that when nominating an element for inscription on the Representative List, they take on an obligation to prepare and submit a nomination that affords the element, and particularly the communities, groups and individuals concerned with that element, the best possible conditions for inscription. ("Evaluation" 10)

In this directive, the focus is not on States' accurately representing their elements, but on States' representing them in a manner that the Subsidiary Body will find agreeable.

In addition, the *Aide-Mémoire* notes that the Subsidiary Body makes inscription determinations not on the attributes of nominated elements themselves, but on "the adequacy of the information presented in the nomination file" ("Aide-Mémoire" 7). If an element is not nominated, it is not because the element itself is deemed 'unworthy' of nomination, but because "the submitting State has not met its burden of demonstrating how the element constitutes intangible cultural heritage" ("Aide-Mémoire" 31). Here,

there is a clear focus on *how* an element is rhetorically presented as essential to its subsequent nomination. The decision to inscribe, then, does not come from the qualities of the element itself, but from how well the nominating State aligns its presentation of the element with the genre conventions of a successful nomination file.

In order to successfully recognize and adhere to these genre conventions, the Subsidiary Body contends, nominating States must pay attention to and heed the Body's recommendations, a suggestion that points to the recommendations' role as a meta-genre. In 2013, the Body noted, "it is particularly important" that nominating States "should draw lessons from the decisions taken by the Committee and apply them carefully while preparing nominations" ("RSB 2013" 7). The Subsidiary Body also complained that "States Parties continue[d] not to fully respect the instructions and suggestions already offered by the Subsidiary Body and even by the Committee" ("RSB 2013" 7). These directives indicate that the recommendations function not as mere suggestions to nominating States, but as prescriptions for how an element must be presented in order to earn inscription on the Representative List. Thus, they establish the genre conventions of a successful nomination file, which I identify as:

1. Consider the purpose of the list,
2. Use generalized language,
3. Emphasize process over product,
4. Conceal uniqueness and authenticity,
5. Conceal tourism,
6. Emphasize communities, and
7. Conceal conflict.

In addition to establishing genre conventions, Giltrow explains, the characteristics that meta-genres encourage and discourage also point to the ideologies of the organization that uses the meta-genre (100). Because of this, I read these genre conventions both as guidelines for nominating States as they complete their nomination files and as the characteristics that UNESCO prioritizes in the definition of heritage it promotes through the Representative List.

Consider the Purpose of the List

The first genre convention the meta-genre establishes is that successful nomination files should show that the nominating State considered the purpose of the Representative List when preparing the file. The recommendations stress that the "fundamental purpose of the Representative List" is "to ensure better visibility of the intangible cultural heritage and awareness of its significance and to encourage dialogue which respects cultural diversity" ("RSB 2011" 14-15). The List's focus, the recommendations make clear, is not on the individual elements it includes, but on intangible cultural heritage in general. As such, elements inscribed on the List lose their specificity as they are generalized as intangible cultural heritage.

The requirement that nominating States account for the fundamental purpose of the List influences the elements that are inscribed in two ways: it restricts the number of similarly-themed inscribed elements and it draws hierarchical distinctions between elements. First, this emphasis on the "fundamental purpose" restricts the number of similarly themed elements that can be added to the List. For example, in 2011, the Subsidiary Body expressed ambivalence about inscribing two similar elements nominated by separate States, because, according to the Body, including seemingly 'duplicate'

elements on the List diminishes the List's 'representativeness' ("RSB 2011"). To remedy this issue, the Subsidiary Body recommends that nominating States choose elements for submission that, rather than mirror elements already inscribed, show the diversity of intangible cultural heritage worldwide. This recommendation could limit which heritage practices are included on the List because it could cause States to selectively choose elements to nominate based on other inscribed elements, rather than on the meaning an element holds for the nominating community. For example, if a nominating State finds an element similar to the one they would like to nominate is already inscribed on the Representative List, they may decide to nominate a different element in order to avoid being denied inscription and thus not being represented on the List at all.

Ideologically, the recommendations' focus on the larger purpose of the Representative List draws a strict distinction between elements UNESCO considers 'representative' and those it considers 'endangered.' Because the Representative List's goal is to bring awareness to intangible cultural heritage more widely, with the elements serving as representative examples of that heritage, the Subsidiary Body cautions against nominating States' mentioning the potential endangered status of their elements ("RSB 2012" 10; "RSB 2011" 12). This suggestion comes from the belief that an endangered element will be less able to 'stand for' intangible cultural heritage as a whole. As the 2011 report explains,

> Someone who is in ill health does not wish to be responsible for entertaining large crowds of neighbours or strangers in his or her hospital room, and by the same token an element that is endangered may not be well-suited for the exponential

increase in visibility that would follow inscription on the Representative List. ("RSB 2011" 12)

Instead, if an element is indeed threatened or fragile, the Subsidiary Body suggests that the State nominate it for inscription on the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding. By drawing this distinction between the Representative List and the Urgent Safeguarding List, however, UNESCO creates a hierarchy between the elements inscribed each. As UNESCO's primary, more robust list, the Representative List may be more highly regarded by the public, while the Urgent Safeguarding List may be seen as inferior. This is because elements added to the Urgent Safeguarding List do not receive the same visibility and increase in public interest or tourism activities as elements added to the Representative List. In addition, separating 'representative' heritage from 'endangered' heritage further exoticizes cultural practices.[18] By critiquing nominating States' desire for their cultural practices to be included on the Representative List, the Subsidiary Body overlooks the added prestige that inclusion on the Representative List, versus the Urgent Safeguarding List, brings to a community.

Use Generalized Language

The recommendations also establish the genre convention that successful files should use generalized, rather than specific, language. Because the Representative List is created for a public, international audience, the recommendations contend, States must prioritize language that is universally understandable in their nominations. This

[18] See Chapter 1 for a discussion of interdisciplinary concerns about the problematic cultural hierarchies created by UNESCO's heritage inventories.

suggestion could be helpful to States as they attempt to increase the visibility of their elements internationally. However, in practice it could cause elements to be misrepresented on the Representative List. This is because the eventual descriptions could conceal details that are required to fully understand the elements' relevance for their communities. As nominating States direct attention in their generalized descriptions toward the details they image a global audience would want to know about their elements, they could be simultaneously directing it away from details that more accurately represent those elements' roles within communities' heritage practices.

This issue of understandable language arises in the recommendations concerning the names that nominating States assign their elements. The 2011 report argues that the goal of promoting intangible cultural heritage to an international audience "cannot be well served if an element's name is understandable only to those already familiar with it" ("RSB 2011" 11). In this report, the Subsidiary Body articulates its concern about the titles nominating States chose for their elements, lamenting that "certain of the proposed titles suggest that the submitting State is focused on its own population or only on the community concerned, and not oriented towards the wider visibility of the element or of intangible heritage in general" ("RSB 2011" 11). These recommendations culminate in the suggestion that nominating States re-name their elements so that they are immediately recognizable to an unfamiliar audience ("RSB 2011" 11). This recommendation to States to change the names of their cultural practices in order to conform to the demands of the Representative List highlights how the nomination and inscription process rhetorically changes cultural practices as they become internationally-recognized representations of heritage. By asking nominating States to change the names of their cultural practices, the

Subsidiary Body asks them to directly alter how those practices are defined and identified.

The Subsidiary Body also asks nominating States to *describe* their elements differently for an international audience: by using generalized language. To do this, the Subsidiary Body warns nominating States against using language that is too technical—as people unfamiliar with the elements may not understand the specific words associated with them—or too general—as those unfamiliar with the elements may not be able to understand what the elements are from a vague description. For example, rather than including details about the elements, such as "the names of melodies, styles, instruments, tools, and techniques" ("RSB 2011" 14), the Subsidiary Body "encourages submitting States to find a middle ground between overly general, all-inclusive and indefinitely bounded elements, on the one hand, and micro-elements—important as they may be to their own community—whose specificities may not be apparent or easily demonstrated to outsiders" ("RSB 2011" 16). These recommendations to nominating States to "find a middle ground" in their language point to critiques raised by scholars regarding the paradox in combating globalization by enacting an overarching global list (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett). In asking nominating States to describe their elements for a global audience, the Subsidiary Body asks them to conceal the details of their cultural practices in favor of more generalized descriptions, a step that could limit that global audience's understanding of how the elements are actually experienced by their communities.

Emphasize Process Over Product

The recommendations also establish the genre convention that successful nomination files should emphasize the processes inherent in their elements' transmission, rather than the elements themselves. For example, when dealing with "the nominations of

handicrafts," the Subsidiary Body lamented nominating States' tendency "to focus on the objects produced rather than on traditional craftsmanship and the processes and know-how of the craftspeople" ("RSB 2012" 10). This recommendation comes primarily from the belief that intangible heritage is separate from tangible heritage and exists within those who practice the elements, rather than in the elements themselves. In these recommendations, the Subsidiary Body shifts its definition of heritage away from the emphasis on material heritage emphasized by Authorized Heritage Discourse toward an understanding of heritage as a dynamic, evolving process.

Conceal Uniqueness and Authenticity

Next, the recommendations establish the genre convention that nominating States should conceal uniqueness and authenticity in successful nomination files: the annual reports lament States' writing of "the uniqueness or rarity of specific elements, their outstanding or precious character, their highly artistic nature" ("RSB 2011" 12). The Subsidiary Body discourages these descriptions of elements' uniqueness, it explains, because the descriptions conceive of elements in competitive and idealized terms. The 2003 Convention, the Body argues, "does not aim to promote competition among elements" ("RSB 2011" 12); therefore, nominating States should not describe their elements with superlatives. By conceiving of heritage as being un-competitive, the Subsidiary Body reveals an ideological preference for representations of heritage that align with Authorized Heritage Discourse, which conceives of heritage as always-positive. While the Subsidiary Body explains that these recommendations are necessary because of the Representative List's peaceful purpose, the recommendations stand at odds with the consequences of inscription. Specifically, this recommendation overlooks

the reality that inscribing an element on the Representative List in itself creates a hierarchy—inscribed elements are more valued, because of their status on a memorialized list, than cultural practices that are not inscribed.

In addition, both the *Aide-Mémoire* and the annual reports caution nominating States against using terms that highlight elements'‘authenticity.' The *Aide-Mémoire* directs nominating States to avoid using the words 'authenticity,' 'pure,' 'true,' 'unique,' 'original,' 'essence,' and 'masterpieces,' because, it states, these words suggest that cultural practices are frozen in time, rather than living entities (*Aide-Mémoire* 10). In this recommendation, the Subsidiary Body addresses critiques raised about Authorized Heritage Discourse's emphasis on heritage as something of the past, in addition to work that deconstructs notions of authenticity. This recommendation reflects the apparent evolution in UNESCO's definition of heritage from the tangible to the intangible. However, while the Subsidiary Body asks nominating States to avoid these terms, it does little to provide alternatives or explain the history behind these terms. Simply avoiding these words does not eliminate an emphasis on either the past or on 'authentic' understandings of culture.

Conceal Tourism

The recommendations also establish the genre convention that nominating States should conceal activities related to tourism (38). These recommendations, though, counter the Subsidiary Body's previous recommendations to nominating States to avoid mentioning authenticity in their nominations. In this recommendation to conceal tourism activities, UNESCO prioritizes the type of authenticity valued by those seeking anti-tourism experiences. As scholars in heritage tourism have noted, 'tourist' is often viewed

as a negative term. In her work on backpacker identity, for example, O'Reilly found that "'tourist' is generally seen as the most pejorative [label] from the perspective of the independent traveller" (154). Opposed to 'travellers,' O'Reilly explains, tourists "desire a mediated experience – they do not want to get to know a place, local people or their culture. The epithet 'tourist' is reserved for short-term, non-exotic travel or package tourism" (154-155). The extent to which 'tourist' is deemed negatively has prompted segments of the tourism industry to rebrand themselves as being socially responsible, by using terms like "eco-tourism," "culturally sensitive travel, charity tourism, and so on" (O'Reilly 156). As these moves direct attention away from tourism, they direct it back toward those 'off-the-beaten-track' locations that travellers consider authentic. Within this context, the Subsidiary Body's recommendation to avoid mentioning tourism reveals a preference for a type of authenticity based in anti-touristic, off-the-beaten-track experiences.

Emphasize Communities and Individuals

The recommendations also emphasize a requirement that, in order to be considered heritage, elements must function as a source of identity for nominating communities. They thus establish the genre convention that nominating States should emphasize the roles of communities and individuals in their nomination files. Many of the Subsidiary Body's suggestions ask nominating States to explain how elements function in the social lives of community members in the present time. The *Aide-Mémoire* encourages nominating States to highlight their elements' relationships to women, children, and youth (17). In addition, in a suggestion about multimedia components of the application, the 2013 report states, "it is important that the video

capture ordinary members of the communities that practice and appreciate the element in question and not only emblematic figures or celebrities, so that viewers can appreciate the social function of the element" ("RSB 2013" 8). This recommendation again acknowledges heritage as a social, ever-changing process of meaning making. Yet, its emphasis on "ordinary members of the communit[y]" also shifts the attention to images that have historically been viewed by travellers as authentic, based on their existing off-the-beaten-path, rather than in commercialized areas. By asking States to highlight the roles of everyday individuals while hiding the roles of "emblematic figures or celebrities," the Subsidiary Body promotes a definition of heritage grounded in authenticity as that which is local and untouched by authorities.

Conceal Conflict

The recommendations also establish the genre convention that nominating States should conceal conflict in preparing their applications. The *Aide-Mémoire*, for example, cautions against using "language that risks inciting tensions or awakening grievances" (10) and asks nominating States to "avoid formulations within the nomination that could give rise inadvertently to competitive feelings among communities" (21). In addition, the 2013 report laments nominating States' use of "vocabulary that was inappropriate because it was not conducive to dialogue or that had political connotations to be avoided" ("RSB 2013" 7). In these recommendations, there is an imperative to eliminate, and thus direct attention away from, any less-than-pleasant aspects of nominated elements' histories.

Alongside suggesting that nominating States avoid language that could incite conflict, the recommendations specifically encourage nominating States to highlight

'positive' aspects of their elements. The 2012 report, for example, states that the Subsidiary Body was "pleased in particular" when States "framed their nominations to emphasize the important contribution of intangible cultural heritage to such larger processes as conflict resolution, peace-building and environmental sustainability" ("RSB 2012" 6). Though this recommendation does not specifically ask nominating States to explain the "conflict resolution, peace-building and environmental sustainability" aspects of their elements, the Subsidiary Body's highlighting such nominations as successful examples demonstrates the value that UNESCO places on elements that direct attention toward these functions.

The Subsidiary Body makes these suggestions to conceal conflict and highlight positivity, both the annual reports and the *Aide-Mémoire* explain, because the Representative List is meant to promote harmony. In specifically encouraging, and seemingly rewarding, States for linking their elements to "conflict resolution, peace-building and environmental sustainability" while simultaneously reprimanding them for mentioning "political connotations," the Subsidiary Body demonstrates a clear preference for cultural practices that ignore dissonant components. As Smith reminds in her critique of Authorized Heritage Discourse, however, heritage cannot be separated from its dissonant characteristics. Thus, commending nomination files of elements that either do not have a conflicted history or that successfully hide that history equates to asking communities to hide a part of their elements' histories in order to be inscribed on the Representative List. By encouraging States to direct attention away from potentially uncomfortable aspects of their cultural practices, UNESCO prioritizes those elements of heritage that are seen as aesthetically and emotionally pleasing. In doing so, the

Representative List obscures heritage elements that might have a more conflicted history and eliminates dissonant realities from its definition of heritage. This, in turn, further reinforces Authorized Heritage Discourse's definition of heritage as being innately valuable and always-positive.

Intertextuality Within the Genre System

Through the aforementioned recommendations, the Subsidiary Body establishes the genre conventions of a successful nomination file. In addition to influencing how nominating States complete their nomination files, the set of recommendations, as a meta-genre, connects to other genres in the genre system to constantly revise and re-establish these conventions. For example, if a nominating State does not adhere to the genre conventions of a successful nomination file, and element they nominated is thus not inscribed, the Subsidiary Body may add new recommendations to the meta-genre based on the State's failure to properly adhere to the conventions. The two genres go back and forth continuously to establish, attempt to satisfy, and correct adherence to genre conventions. As the actor that creates the recommendations in the meta-genre, and that regularly updates those recommendations, the Subsidiary Body continually asserts its authoritative role in defining intangible cultural heritage in the genre system.

The intertextuality between the Subsidiary Body's recommendations as a meta-genre and successful nomination files is also evident in the relationship between the recommendations, the evaluation criteria, and the nomination form. Each year since 2009, recommendations from the Subsidiary Body have focused on how nominating States complete the application form itself. First, the Subsidiary Body lamented nominating

States' seeming inability to include information "in its proper place" ("RSB 2011" 9; "RSB 2012" 8). These frustrations led the Body to determine, in 2012, that "information that is out of place cannot be taken into consideration during evaluation and examination" ("RSB 2012" 8). In addition, the Body expressed displeasure with nominating States' not using the entire allotted word limit. For example, in 2011 the Body wrote that "in a number of instances…the state had only used a quarter or a third of the words allotted for a given section of the nomination, or even fewer" ("RSB 2011" 10). At the same time, the Subsidiary Body complained about States going over word limits ("RSB 2011" 10). In order to remedy this apparent issue, the Subsidiary Body suggested implementing a word minimum and maximum for future nominations in 2012 ("RSB 2012" 9). These examples of the Subsidiary Body's changing its evaluation policies based on its displeasure with nominating States' responses points to the Body's authority in defining heritage; it controls the genre through which States submit nominations for inscription on the Representative List.

The Subsidiary Body has also asserted its authority and reinforced the genre conventions its recommendations have established by altering the nomination form that States must submit with their nomination files. In 2010, the Subsidiary Body revised the nomination form in order to encourage nominating States to more closely adhere to the genre conventions of a successful file. Whereas the original nomination form allowed for free-form descriptions (it asked open-ended question with guidelines of what the answer might include), the revised nomination form segmented each section into specific questions about the element. For example, the first question of Section 1, "Identification and definition of the element" in which States were given a maximum of 1000 words to

describe the nominated element,[19] became, in the new form, five sub-questions with a limit of 250 words per question. Similarly, the second section, "Contribution to ensuring visibility and awareness and to encouraging dialogue," originally a free response (1000 word limit) question, was divided into three sub-questions of 150 words each.

The original questions allowed States to expand upon whatever they wanted in relation to the nominated element, as long as they were sure to touch on certain topics. These revised versions, in contrast, constrain States' options by limiting responses to the information the Subsidiary Body wishes to consider. In sub-sectioning the nomination form into these new questions, the Subsidiary Body highlighted, in the revised genre, what it believed were important parts of the element. The impact of the recommendations, as a meta-genre, on these changes is clear, as many of the changes align with the genre conventions that they had established for successful nomination files.

First, the changes reflect the recommendation that nominating States use generalized language to appeal to an international audience. For example, in Section 1, the original nomination form simply states, "Identification and description of the element" ("Form ICH-02"). The revised nomination form, on the other hand, directs: "Provide a brief summary description of the element that can introduce it to readers who have never seen or experienced it" ("Form ICH-02 Revised"). The revised question emphasizes the List's global audience, by reminding nominating States that the description of the element should be directed toward "readers who have never seen or experienced it."

[19] Nomination form instructions included the directive that the description should include: "a. an explanation of its social and cultural functions and meanings today, within and for its community, b. the characteristics of the bearers and practitioners of the element, c. any specific roles or categories of persons with special responsibilities towards the element, d. the current modes of transmission of the knowledge and skills related to the element" ("Form ICH-02").

In addition, the revised nomination form reveals the value that the Subsidiary Body places on heritage as being always-positive: it includes two new questions that specifically ask nominating States to highlight positive aspects of their elements:

1. (ii) How can inscription encourage dialogue among communities, groups and individuals?
2. (iii) How can inscription promote respect for cultural diversity and human creativity? ("Form ICH-02 Revised")

By asking nominating States, in two separate questions, to expand on these 'positive' aspects of their elements, the nomination form perpetuates the definition of heritage as being valuable and free of conflict. In asking "how" (rather than "if") the element encourages dialogue and promotes respect, this question assumes that the element does indeed conform to the conflict-free definition of heritage.

These changes to the nomination form indicate the extent of the Subsidiary Body's influence on shaping and regulating the criteria that it determines qualify an element as heritage. The changes made to the nomination form align with the genre conventions of a successful nomination file presented in the Subsidiary Body's recommendations. As such, they further push nominating States to describe their elements within a framework that supports a UNESCO-authorized definition of heritage.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have demonstrated that the nomination process is an activity system that establishes a definition of heritage that prioritizes universalized language and conceives of heritage as positive, process-based, and authentic. Within this activity

system, the Subsidiary Body assumes the role of heritage expert, through which it establishes and reinforces genre conventions. It does this through its recommendations to nominating States, which function as a meta-genre that both establishes the genre conventions for a successful nomination file and reinforces those conventions when they are not followed by altering the evaluation criteria and the nomination form. The specific genre conventions that the meta-genre establishes ask nominating States to consider the purpose of the List, use generalized language when describing their elements, emphasize process over product, conceal uniqueness and authenticity, conceal tourism, emphasize communities, and conceal conflict. In my next chapter, I examine the original and resubmitted nomination files for two inscribed elements to illustrate how nominating States made changes to their files to respond to these guidelines in order to gain inscription, and discuss the rhetorical consequences of those changes.

CHAPTER 3: NOMINATION FORMS AND PHOTOGRAPH SUBMISSIONS

The previous chapter detailed how the Representative List nomination process activity system and its genres, including the evaluation priorities, nomination form, and recommendations from the Subsidiary Body, promote a specific definition of heritage. As a meta-genre, the Subsidiary Body's recommendations establish genre conventions that encourage nominating States to highlight certain qualities in their nomination files as they simultaneously conceal qualities that do not adhere to UNESCO's definition of heritage. As a whole, the Subsidiary Body's recommendations urge nominating States to use universal language and prioritize communities while de-emphasizing institutional influences. In doing so, the recommendations ask nominating States to rhetorically construct their elements as authentic heritage practices in order to gain inscription.

This particular type of authenticity aligns with Bruner's third meaning of authenticity: originality. As noted in Chapter 1, visitors to heritage sites consider the sites to be authentic if they believe the sites have remained untouched in their 'original' states, separate from commercial or institutional interests. Similarly, the Subsidiary Body's recommendations encourage nominating States to highlight their elements' connections to ordinary people and communities while concealing tourism and institutions. Thus, I argue that while the Subsidiary Body urges nominating States to avoid claims of authenticity, the genre conventions that it establishes for successful nomination files encourage nominating States to rhetorically position their elements as authentic cultural practices. To demonstrate how these genre conventions impact how nominating States present their elements in actual nomination files, I turn to the original and revised files for two inscribed elements as case studies. Complete nomination files include a nomination

form; evidence of the free, prior, and informed consent of the community concerned; evidence of the element's inclusion on a national culture inventory; 10 high definition photographs; and a 5-10 minute video. My analysis focuses on the nomination forms, the 10 high definition photographs, and the 5-10 minute videos.[20]

Since 2009, only two nominated elements that were initially 'not inscribed' (rather than 'referred')[21] were later successfully inscribed after being resubmitted: the Fiesta of the Patios in Cordova (Spain), inscribed in 2012, and Classical Horsemanship and the High School of the Spanish Riding School Vienna (Austria), inscribed in 2015.[22] It is for this reason that I turn to these files for my analysis. As those that were initially outright rejected and then, after revision, accepted for inscription on the Representative List, these nomination files demonstrate how nominating States rhetorically present their cultural practices so as to adhere to genre conventions and thus gain inscription. The various meanings that are revealed and concealed by the changes made to the nomination files point to the rhetorical construction of a UNESCO-authorized definition of heritage. These changes reflect an adherence to a definition of heritage that employs generalized

[20] I examine these components of the nomination file because they are the components that, in the Subsidiary Body decisions that I read, seem to have the most impact on a nominated element's chances of being inscribed. In addition, I was limited by the amount of time I had to complete this project. Future work in this area could explore the rhetorical choices that nominating States make as they present the consent of the communities, including looking at different formats (official letters vs. petitions, for example) or languages (English/French, the official UNESCO languages vs. the languages of those who practice the element, for example).

[21] As a reminder, elements are 'referred' when the Subsidiary Body decides they do not have enough information to determine whether the element meets the requirements for inscription. Elements are 'not inscribed' when the Subsidiary Body decides that the element does not meet the requirements for inscription. See Chapter 2 for a fuller explanation of these distinctions.

[22] According to the Operational Directives, nominating States must wait four inscription cycles before they can re-submit an element that received an initial decision to 'not inscribe' (10). Both the Fiesta and the Classical Horsemanship files were re-submitted before this required waiting period had passed, for reasons that I have not been able to determine through my research. My impression of these elements as having been initially 'not inscribed' is based on the language of the Reports of the Subsidiary Body for the 2011 and 2013 nomination cycles.

language, sees heritage as innately valuable, and privileges appeals to authenticity grounded in local communities, free from institutional authority. I focus in this chapter on the nomination form and the photograph submission components of the nomination files, before turning to the film submissions in my next chapter.

Fiesta of the Patios in Cordova

In 2011, Spain nominated the Fiesta of the Patios in Cordova for inscription on the Representative List. During this annual festival, individuals who live in patio homes in Cordova, and who have decorated their patios with flowers throughout the year, open their patios to the public in a city-wide celebration. The festivities include traditional singing and dancing and a competition of the most-well-decorated patios. The Subsidiary Body recommended to not inscribe the Fiesta in 2011 for two main reasons. First, it decided that the nomination did not explain how the festival "provides a community with a sense of identity and continuity" and second, it believed the nomination did not "explain how its inscription…would contribute to ensuring visibility and awareness of the significance of the intangible cultural heritage in general" ("RSB 2011" 62). Spain re-submitted the nomination in 2012, at which time the Subsidiary Body determined that the nomination file did indeed fit all of the criteria and thus the Intergovernmental Committee inscribed the Fiesta on the Representative List.

Classical Horsemanship and the High School of the Spanish Riding School Vienna

In 2013, Austria nominated Classical Horsemanship and the High School of the Spanish Riding School Vienna, a particular style of breeding, training, and riding Lipizzaner horses, including a formalized progression from young eleve to experienced rider, practiced at a riding school in Vienna. The Subsidiary Body recommended to not

inscribe the element in 2013 for two reasons. First, it decided that "the nomination file [did] not adequately explain the nature or scope of the element nor [did] it describe its social functions or cultural meanings" ("RSB 2013" 17). Because of this, the Subsidiary Body decided that the element's inscription "would not contribute to enhancing the visibility of intangible cultural heritage" ("RSB 2013" 17). With this decision, the Subsidiary Body also "[recalled] the importance of using appropriate vocabulary and avoiding expressions such as 'authenticity,' 'carrying on the tradition in its purest form' and 'virtually unchanged over centuries'" ("RSB 2013" 17). Austria re-submitted the nomination in 2015, at which time the Subsidiary Body determined that the nomination file did indeed fit all of the criteria and thus the Intergovernmental Committee inscribed Classical Horsemanship on the Representative List.

Nomination Form

Changes made to the successful nomination forms for both elements point to the rhetorical construction of a definition of intangible cultural heritage that universalizes heritage and prioritizes 'authentic' heritage. First, the changes indicate a trend to generalize specific cultural practices into universal terms by favoring broad characterizations over detailed explanations. Second, the changes demonstrate UNESCO's promoting heritage grounded in authenticity by concealing references to economic and institutional influences and by emphasizing the nominated elements' connections to people and communities.

Use Generalized Language

The changes made to the nomination forms for both the Fiesta and Classical Horsemanship indicate a shift from using language that reveals specific details about the elements to using language that conceals these details by favoring generalized descriptions. This shift is apparent at the beginning of the Fiesta's nomination form. One of the first questions on the nomination form asks nominating States to name the groups concerned with the element. The response to this question in the Fiesta's original form is very specific. It lists three different types of patio houses and the different categories of people who live in each, including, for example, "elderly lower-middle class people," "alternative and minority youth," "craftspeople," and "middle and upper-middle class young families with children" ("Nom. 00362" C.i). In the revised, successful nomination form, however, these details demonstrating the intricate demographics of the patio community are eliminated. The revised response reads: "the Fiesta…involves all the city's inhabitants, who consider it to be their most important fiesta, identify with it and collaborate and participate each year to different degrees" ("Nom. 00846" C). The original response directs attention toward the people who actually live within the patios; as such, the response values the patios for the importance they hold for their direct inhabitants. The successful response, on the other hand, overshadows the experiences of the people who live in the patios as it directs attention toward the patios' relevance to the entire city's inhabitants. In addition, the response describes this relevance in vague terms; rather than learning how people connect to the element from a thorough explanation, the reader must simply trust the nominating State that the city's inhabitants really do "identify with [the festival]."

The successful nomination form's description of the Fiesta's location also conceals specific details about the Fiesta. The original nomination form states that the Fiesta takes place in Cordova, a city "in southern Spain, in the geographic centre of the Autonomous Community of Andalusia and on the banks of the River Guadalquivir" ("Nom. 00362" C.ii). The response also provides the city's specific surface area (1,245 km^2) and population (over 324,000), as well as descriptions of the surrounding regions and the exact number of patios located in each region. Contrary to this detailed account, the response to the same question in the successful nomination form notes that the Fiesta "takes place exclusively in the Historic Quarter of the city of Cordova, in Andalusia, more specifically in its inherent cultural space: the Cordovan patios. However, the festivities also spill out onto the streets and public squares" ("Nom. 00846" D). Again, the successful form favors more generalized, all-encompassing descriptions of cultural events over language that describes, in great detail, the reality of how the Fiesta operates from day-to-day.

This glossing over of detail occurs in the successful Classical Horsemanship nomination form primarily in the response to questions that ask States to describe the nominated element and its functions. In response to the question about the responsibilities of the practitioners of the element, the original nomination form identifies specific training periods through which riders progress. The response explains, "after 4-6 years their apprenticeship is concluded with the promotion to the rank of an assistant rider. Having served another 6-8 years, the assistant riders are rewarded with the regalia of a rider" ("Nom. 00857" 1.ii). The successful form's response replaces the details of this progression with a description that reads, "the careers of the eleves are marked by

important tasks and ceremonies at each step of their education, documenting their progress within the community (riding a stallion, getting a special hat and uniform as a visible symbol for the advancement, etc)" ("Nom. 01106" 1.ii). While this revised response does include details about the tasks and ceremonies that document the riders' progress, it lists those details as examples of "important tasks" rather than as essential steps that riders must undertake, which directs attention away from the integral role the training periods play in organizing hierarchies within the element.

Changes that favor broad over detailed descriptions are also evident in the differences in the original and successful Classical Horsemanship forms' responses to a question that asks how knowledge related to the nominated element is transmitted. The original form's response begins by noting that "the minimum application age is 17 when a person's growth is relatively completed ensuring that riders are no taller than 172 cm" ("Nom. 00857" 1.iii) and explains that "daily from 07:00am to 12:30pm the eleves receive lessons for half an hour on the lunch from experienced riders" ("Nom. 00857" 1.iii). The revised response conceals these details. Instead of explaining the day-to-day activities of the riders and the qualifications they must meet to become riders, the response simply states that "the young rider has to overcome many challenges on his long way from inexperienced cadet to fully qualified rider" ("Nom. 01106" 1.iii).

In these examples from nomination forms for both elements, the changes adhere to the genre convention, as established by the Subsidiary Body's recommendations, that nominating States should avoid technical, detailed language to describe their elements. In providing general rather than detailed descriptions of the nominated elements, however, the successful nomination forms erase important distinctions that identify how the

communities that practice the elements actually experience them. By favoring these broad generalizations, the successful nomination forms categorize active cultural practices into definitions of heritage that limit nominating States' ability to represent their elements on their own terms.

Conceal Economic and Institutional Influences

Changes made to the nomination forms for both elements also follow the genre convention to conceal conflict by obscuring themes related to economic and institutional influences. In the successful Fiesta nomination form, this erasure of economic influences occurs most noticeably in the responses to the question that asks States to list proposed measures to safeguard the nominated element. In response to this question, both original and successful nomination forms list identical protection measures; however, only the original assigns these measures monetary values. For example, the original nomination form states that the Patios of Cordova Employment Workshop "has an annual cost of €642,287.70" and that to conduct a study on the physical maintenance of the patio buildings "the investment will be €30,000" ("Nom. 00362" 3.b). The revised, successful form, on the other hand, does not provide estimated costs for any of its proposed safeguarding measures.

In eliminating the cost associated with these protection measures, the successful form ignores economic concerns associated with cultural protection projects. Yet, the task of protecting culture is inextricably linked to monetary concerns. As Joy found in her work with the Old Towns of Djenne, which I discussed in the Introduction, concerns about the economic impact of maintaining cultural practices are very real to communities that cannot on their own afford to protect their elements with 'approved' safeguarding

measures. By erasing this reality, the successful Fiesta form supports an idealized image of heritage as 'priceless.'

The successful Classical Horsemanship nomination form conceals economic influences through subtle changes in vocabulary. In response to a question that asks how proposed safeguarding measures will be supported, the original nomination form notes, "the Spanish Riding School represents the imperial heritage both for the Austrian people as well as for the tourists" and states that "Piber is not only a breeding centre but also a tourist attraction" ("Nom. 00857" 3.b.ii). The revised form repeats this response almost verbatim, save for a few differences in word-choice: "The Spanish Riding School represents cultural heritage both for the Austrian people as well as for the visitors…Piber is not only a breeding centre but also an attraction to visitors" ("Nom. 01106" 3.b.ii). In the revised version, "tourists" become "visitors" and "a tourist attraction" becomes "an attraction to visitors."

These changes align with the genre conventions, established by the Subsidiary Body's recommendations, to de-emphasize the nominated element's relationship to tourism, as UNESCO does not consider "tourism-related activities" to be acceptable safeguarding practices. However, in concealing the element's connection to tourism, these changes also deny the fact that some States rely on funds gained from promoting their elements as tourist attractions in order to maintain those elements. These changes also conceal the inevitable link between the Representative List and touristic endeavors. Though this recommendation may have been created out of a concern for cultural practices that might be exploited for monetary gain, it ignores UNESCO's own role in giving its inscribed elements touristic value. Once an element is memorialized on the

Representative List, it gains an importance that makes it, in the public eye, more worthy of attention from tourists. Tourism-related activities, then, become a consequence of inscription itself. By asking nominating States to eliminate references to tourism, UNESCO denies the reality of its cultural protection programs as being inextricably linked to the tourism industry.

Concealing these links to tourism rhetorically constructs the element as authentic, as tourism-related activities are often conceived of as inauthentic. As noted in Chapter 2, the term 'tourist' is negatively viewed within heritage and traveller discourses, as it connotes a desire for mediated experiences; 'visitor,' on the other hand, is viewed positively because 'visitors' want "to get to know a place, local people, or their culture" in their original, untouched states (O'Reilly 155). With this change from 'tourist' to 'visitor,' the successful Classical Horsemanship nomination form directs attention toward a type of authenticity defined by its opposition to touristic endeavors.

Also of note in the aforementioned excerpts is that, in the successful form, "imperial heritage" becomes "cultural heritage." This revision conceals institutional and political influences as it highlights "cultural relevance," a change that again points to UNESCO's defining heritage as authentic in its distance from institutional interests. This erasure of institutional authority occurs in other sections of the nomination form that suppress references to Classical Horsemanship's connection to Austrian royalty. For example, in a response to a question about customary practices, the original nomination form explains the role of guided tours of the riding facilities, which "provide background information on the general history of Vienna, the Habsburg family, and their unique role in creating this centuries old tradition" ("Nom. 00857" 4.c). The successful nomination

form also points to the role of these tours but stops its description after "the general history of Vienna," concealing the Habsburgs' influence as founders of the Riding School ("Nom. 01106" 4.c). In addition, whereas the original form explains that "the glorious Winter Riding School is the centuries-old home of the Lipizzaners and their riders. Its creator Emperor Charles VI is honoured every time the riders set foot in the arena with their traditional salute directed at the emperor's portrait in the imperial box" ("Nom. 00857" 1.iv), the successful nomination form does not mention this component of the riding rituals at all.

These changes that conceal references to the Hapsburgs and Charles VI direct attention away from the element's connection to the Austrian government. In doing so, they adhere to genre expectations that nominating States avoid referencing "political connotations." Changing "imperial heritage" to "cultural heritage" directs attention in the successful nomination form toward a more positive understanding of the element, as Austria's "imperial" history could be uncomfortable to some. In doing so, however, these changes overlook undeniable details of the element's history. As the founders of the Classical Horsemanship school in Vienna, the Habsburg family makes up an integral part of the element's identity and helped shape the school into its present form. The changes that eliminate any mention of the school's institutional past give an inaccurate portrayal of the school as being independent of this royal authority.

Though UNESCO claims to conceive of culture as contemporary and ever-changing and to recognize all cultural expressions as holding equal value, this suppression of references to institutional authority suggests that the organization does value certain types of culture above others. By privileging nominations that conceal

institutional influences, UNESCO sends the message that true, or real, heritage, is that which evolves *separate* from institutional involvement.

Emphasize Communities

Changes to the nomination forms more broadly reinforce these conceptions of authenticity by shifting the focus from the nominated elements themselves—the patios and accompanying festival and the Spanish Riding School curriculum—to the people involved with the elements. In its brief summary of the element, the original Fiesta nomination form notes that the Fiesta is "a representative icon of the city" ("Nom. 00362" D) whereas the revised form describes it as "a festive event and regular ritual" ("Nom. 00846" 1.i). This change shifts the Fiesta from being a symbol of a city tradition to being an active, participatory event. In describing the actual Fiesta, the original nomination form states, "the patios that have entered into this competition are open to visitors so that they can be admired" ("Nom. 00362" D). In this description, the focus is on the patios. In the revised form, the focus moves to the people who visit and decorate the patios: "inhabitants freely welcome all visitors to admire their beauty and the skill and wisdom of their creators" ("Nom. 00846" 1.i). Again, these descriptions shift attention from the beauty of the patios themselves to people's participation, grounded in "ritual" and "wisdom," in the event.

This shift to a focus on people also occurs in changes made to the Classical Horsemanship nomination form. In response to the question asking how knowledge of the element is transmitted, the original nomination form details, once again, the progression that riders make, through formal ceremonies and "6-8 years of skill perfection" ("Nom. 00857" 1.iv). The revised form, however, stresses the communal

aspects of this process, noting that "the teaching of the young people through mentoring by a senior person is characterized by values of mutual respect, help for each other, patience, and strong empathy" ("Nom. 01106" 1.iv). In these changes, the focus moves from the riding curriculum itself and the steps that riders take as they learn about Classical Horsemanship, to the people and community involved in that process. The changes also pay particular attention to the role of a "senior person" who "mentors" younger riders, a move that stresses UNESCO's understanding of heritage as something that is passed down from generation to generation and that adheres to the genre convention to highlight communities and individuals.

The successful response to this question also stresses the importance of the element to the surrounding community. While the original nomination form explains that the Riding School is comprised of "select few chief riders, highly respected due to their mental, behavioural, physical, and representative skills" ("Nom. 00857" 1.iv), the successful nomination form downplays the school's exclusivity by connecting it to the local community. The nomination form explains that "pupils are introduced to this tradition by regular excursions" and, each summer, "the local population celebrates the safe coming home of the horses" ("Nom. 01106" 1.iv). This shift again aligns with the Subsidiary Body's recommendations that nominating States highlight community involvement with their elements and specifically portray ordinary people's involvement. Accordingly, the changes made to the nomination form direct attention toward a particular type of people: those located outside the Riding School's walls. While the school itself is exclusive, admitting an elite group of students based on strict standards (including age and height requirements), the revised application obscures this reality by

focusing on regular community members. As such, the successful form constructs the element to fit a UNESCO definition of heritage that prioritizes community participation.

As the above analysis demonstrates, the changes made to the nomination forms for the Fiesta and Classical Horsemanship files adhere to the conventions established by the meta-genre to use generalized language to describe elements, to conceal institutional influences, and to emphasize communities in order to gain inscription. The changes to the Classical Horsemanship form conceal the institutional influences in more instances than do the changes to the Fiesta form; as an official, elite riding school closely linked to the Austrian government, the Classical Horsemanship may need to do more to distance itself from the institutions it represents. As a result of all of these changes, the successful forms rhetorically construct both elements as constituting authentic heritage.

Photograph Submission

The nominating States for both the Fiesta and Classical Horsemanship also made changes to the photograph submission components of their nomination files. Each nomination file to the Representative List includes ten required photographs. Changes to the photograph submissions provide a different perspective than do the textual changes because the Subsidiary Body does not provide many specific recommendations regarding the photograph submissions like they do for the nomination forms. Therefore, the changes in the successful submissions can be understood as the nominating States' adherence to more generally understood genre conventions, rather than to specific suggestions from the Subsidiary Body. In each submission, the photographs and their captions work together to direct attention toward certain qualities of each element. Like

the textual changes, the changes made to the photograph submissions prioritize broad generalizations and rhetorically construct the elements as authentic by concealing references to economic and institutional influences while simultaneously emphasizing people and communities.

Original Fiesta Submission: Patios on Display

The photographs in the original submission for the Fiesta focus primarily on the patios and the decorations within the patios. Six of the originally submitted photographs, for example, position the patios as tangible objects that individuals should visually consume, yet not necessarily interact with. This rhetorical positioning aligns with traditional understandings of heritage as being linked with material representations of culture.

Two of the photographs—Figure 2 and Figure 3—prominently display two different decorated patios. The first shows a narrow two-story area with walls covered in potted pink and red flowers. These flowers consume almost the entire frame and thus capture the reader's attention. The second image shows a larger courtyard area, whose walls are decorated with pink flowers in bright blue pots. An open cutout doorway and window lead to additional spaces decorated with the same potted flowers. The colorful flower decorations in both images sit on white walls, which creates a contrast that highlights the flowers' overwhelming color. In addition, both photographs are taken from within the decorated patio space, which creates a sense for the reader of being surrounded by floral decorations. By drawing the eye to the patio decorations, these photographs position the reader as a passive consumer of the patios.



Figure 2. Patio at San Basilio, 50.



Figure 3. Patio at Calle Treuque, 4.

The captions for each of these images reinforce this construction of the patios as objects to be visually consumed. The caption for Figure 2, "View of the Patio House at San Basilio, 50," explicitly states that the photograph is simply a "view" of the patio, seen from afar ("Nom. 00362"). And the caption for Figure 3, "Well in the patio of the house at Calle Treuque, 4," points the reader to a specific object within the patio space ("Nom. 00362"). Both of these images direct attention to the final, physical product of the festival: the decorated patios.

Two additional photographs in the original submission add to this sense of the patios as physical spaces on display by positioning the people *in* the photographs as consumers of the patio decorations. Figure 4, for example, shows a long, hallway-like patio with dark pink flowers running along both walls. Again in this image, the contrast between the colorful flowers and the white walls highlights the vibrant decorations. At the end of the hallway stand three people who, though situated at the image's center, almost blend into the background because of the overwhelming floral decorations. While this image includes people in the patio, the overall focus is still on the patio itself. The caption for this image reinforces the emphasis on the patio by highlighting the photographed individuals' identities as visitors: "Visitors admiring the patio in the house at Calle Marroquies, 6" ("Nom. 00362"). Just as the bright flowers in this photograph demand attention from readers, the patio also exists here as an object to be admired by visitors in the photograph.

Figure 5 also emphasizes the patios' status as tangible, easily consumable aspects of heritage. This image is set inside a patio; however, unlike the aforementioned photographs, it does not visually prioritize the flower decorations. Hanging flowers can



Figure 4. Patio at Calle Marroquies, 6.



Figure 5. Patio at Casa Isabel II, 1.

be seen in the upper part of the frame, but their color does not overwhelm the image. Instead, the people in the photograph reinforce the patio's status as a consumable object. The three individuals in the foreground of the image, for example, all look beyond the photograph's frame at the patio walls. One woman in the center of the patio prominently looks up toward the flower decorations. While the reader does not visually consume the decorations, as the flowers sit outside the frame, the image draws their attention to individuals within the photograph who do. The image's caption, "The Festival of Patios in Cordova. Visit to a Patio House at Casa Isabel II, 1" ("Nom. 00362") reinforces this notion of consumption in noting that the photograph portrays a "visit."

In Figure 4 and Figure 5, the patios are portrayed as tangible objects to be visited, observed, and admired by outsiders. Labeling the individuals in these photographs as visitors limits their interactions with the patios and thus emphasizes a voyeuristic side to the festival. In these images, those who do not live in the patios are simply visiting, viewing, and passing through the patios, rather than interacting with them more meaningfully. These photographs, however, contradict the genre convention to emphasize the connection of communities and individuals to the element. The original photograph submission does include a few images of activity occurring within the patios. However, these images are in the minority, comprising only four of the ten total images. The overall focus of the entire submission is on the decorated patios themselves.

Successful Fiesta Submission: Community- and Tradition-Based Authenticity

The successful photograph submission shifts the attention from the patio decorations to the activity that occurs within the patios. Whereas the original submission includes many photographs that focus on the patio decorations, the successful submission

prioritizes photographs that display activities occurring within the patios. In these images, the people in the photographs enjoy the patios as active participants, rather than as passive observers. The successful photograph submission thus directs attention away from traditional understandings of heritage as material-based toward a more nuanced understanding of heritage as an active, meaning-making process.

Figure 6, for example, shows a circle of people clapping as two women dance in the middle of the excitement. This activity takes place in a patio space, evidenced by the arched open walls and hanging flowers; however, the patio itself is not the photograph's primary focus. Rather, the celebration within the patio is central. In this photograph, there is a clear shift from the original submission's emphasis on the patios as things to be admired, to the successful submission's focus on the patios as backdrops for social community participation. The demographic representation shifts in the successful submission as well. Whereas the originally submitted photographs feature mainly middle-aged people, the successful submission includes people of all ages, including children and elderly community members.

Only three of the originally submitted photographs were re-submitted in the successful nomination file: each highlights activity in the patios. Because they move from being in the minority in the original submission to being part of the majority in the successful submission, these three photographs exemplify the shift from representing the patios as objects to be admired to representing the patios as sites of community participation. Each of these photographs demonstrates the role that community members play in relationship to the Fiesta through displaying the 'behind-the-scenes' work that goes into preparing the patios as well as the social events that take place during the



Figure 6. Dancing in a patio.

festival. Including these three photographs in the revised file represents a strategic choice on the part of the nominating State to highlight activity within the patios. Examining these three photographs more closely, in context with their captions, points to an additional stress, in the successful file, on authenticity. The changes made to the three photographs' captions in the revised submission reveal an added emphasis, in the successful file, on the Fiesta as an authentic aspect of heritage that is grounded in tradition preserved by ordinary people.

Figure 7 shows a man and a woman caring for potted plants: the woman pauses while watering a group of pink flowers to look at the white flowers on a plant that the man examines. By displaying these two individuals as they care for the plants, this image highlights community members' roles in preparing the flower decorations. The caption for the originally submitted version of this photograph, "The generational care of plants. Patio House at Calle Marroquies, 6," also brings the relationship between these individuals into focus ("Nom. 00362"). With this caption, the image evokes the community-oriented nature of the Fiesta: it includes individuals who span generations.

The successful caption also brings this intergenerational relationship into focus; it does so with words that add a distinct positive spin to the element. The caption states: "'Two generations: the same passion.' There is time everyday to share, teach, and learn. Everyday life is built on the basis of a common objective that goes beyond the private sphere. Spring flourishes out of collective sensitivity and emotion" ("Nom. 00846"). By highlighting the "common objective that goes beyond the private sphere," this caption generalizes the photograph of two individuals working in their garden to represent the sentiments of an entire community. In addition, the appeal to "collective sensitivity and



Figure 7. Woman and man caring for plants.

emotion" adds a positive, affective element to the Fiesta. With these changes, the successful caption adheres to the genre conventions to portray heritage as community-based and as always-positive.

The next re-submitted photograph, Figure 8, displays an elderly white-haired woman tending to a potted plant that will presumably be used to decorate a patio. In contrast to the brightly decorated white patio spaces featured in the originally submitted photographs, the wall behind the woman is a tan-colored brick, and all of but one of the plants sit close to the ground. In addition, none of the plants have bloomed. These details suggest that the photograph displays a type of workspace, and invoke an in-process feeling to the image. The original caption, "Life in the patio. Patio House at Calle Guzmanas, 4" ("Nom. 00362"), suggests that tending to plants is part of the ordinary, everyday life of someone who lives in a house with a patio.

The caption for this photograph in the successful submission, however, brings another theme into focus: authenticity grounded in tradition. The new caption reads, "'Living archives of collective tradition.' The elderly, whom the community treat and respect as exceptional bearers of the memory of the Fiesta of the Patios, continue to offer their wise gestures every day" ("Nom. 00846"). Accompanied by this new caption, the meaning of the photograph shifts to highlight the woman's identity as "the elderly," who offer "wise gestures." The caption also emphasizes the elderly's importance to the community—they are "respect[ed] as exceptional bearers of the memory of the Fiesta." The addition of this caption in the successful submission directs the reader to see the photographed woman specifically for the generational wisdom and memory she brings to the process. In this focus on the past, the caption highlights the element as being



Figure 8. Elderly woman caring for plants.

grounded in an old tradition that must be protected.

The next re-submitted photograph that evokes this theme of authenticity found in both community and tradition features a group of singing men and women, standing behind two seated men who play stringed guitar-like instruments. In this photograph, Figure 9, an arch on the back wall and hanging flowers indicate that the scene is another patio; however, the focus is on the activity occurring within the patio, as the group of people fill much of the frame. The photograph exudes action, by capturing the guitarist mid-strum and the women in the front row mid-song. The original caption, "Music and Dance Festival in Cordova Patios," reinforces this reading of the photograph ("Nom. 00362"). This description points to this image as displaying part of a larger festival that includes dance, in addition to the visually represented musical performance. This photograph's inclusion in the successful file portrays the social aspect of the element.

The change in caption for this image inserts the theme of tradition into the photograph's meaning. The new caption reads: "'The conventions of tradition.' Women and men interpret local popular songs to the sound of 'bandurrias' and flamenco guitars in the patios, adding the voice of tradition to the floral atmosphere created in this May ritual" ("Nom. 00846"). Again, the successful caption aligns the element with "tradition" and "ritual." In doing so, the caption links the present-day Fiesta with the past.

As a whole, the photographs in the successful submission rhetorically reinforce a definition of heritage as that which is community-based, positive, and grounded in tradition. They do so through displaying individuals from multiple generations working together to prepare the patios and celebrate within them. This focus on the activity that occurs within the patios shifts attention away from the patios as consumable objects to be



Figure 9. Singing in a patio.

admired by visitors and tourists toward the patios as interactive spaces, where community members go about their daily lives. In addition, the captions that accompany the photographs in the successful submission direct attention toward an understanding of the patios as being part of a longstanding, positive tradition. Each of these changes aligns with the genre conventions, set forth by the Subsidiary Body's recommendations, that successful nomination files should emphasize processes and highlight communities.

Original Classical Horsemanship Submission: Regal History on Display

The changes made to the photograph submission for the Classical Horsemanship nomination file similarly rhetorically construct a type of authenticity grounded in community activity, free from institutional influences. The original submission very prominently displays institutional influences on the element, which the successful submission then conceals.

The original photograph submission for the Classical Horsemanship file proudly displays Classical Horsemanship's regal, Hapsburg history. All ten of the originally submitted photographs display horses and riders in an arena in the Riding School. Most fully visible in Figure 10 and Figure 11, the column-lined arena serves as a dramatic setting for the element. In both these photographs, the white marble, gold wall adornments, large windows, and chandeliers evoke an opulence that fits the element's exclusive membership. The large portrait of Charles VI, visible at the far end of the arena in Figure 10, reinforces the institutional influences on the element. In addition, eight of the ten originally submitted photographs include the Austrian flag. By including this national symbol in the majority of the photographs, the original submission links the element with the Austrian government. These details point to the influence of the



Figure 10. Arena performance.



Figure 11. Horse and rider in arena.

Hapsburg family's history in developing Classical Horsemanship, a history that the resubmitted photograph submission rhetorically obscures.

Like the originally submitted Fiesta photographs do, the original Classical Horsemanship photographs put the element on display as a consumable object, aligning it with historically understood definitions of heritage. First, the horses and riders exist in these photographs in an arena that includes seating for an audience. In Figure 10, two individuals stand in this spectator area—they look down at the horses and riders below. In addition, the horses in the originally submitted photographs seem to pose for the camera. The horse in Figure 11, for example, is raised on its hind legs, a stance that grabs the reader's attention. Both the horses and the people in the ten originally submitted photographs are polished in their appearance: the people riding the horses wear black and white riding outfits, complete with double-buttoned coats. In addition, the horses in the photographs are all white, which gives the images a crisp, clean look. As a whole, the originally submitted photographs depict the riders and horses as trained performers; the focus is on the final product of the element—the performance—as worthy of a spectator's attention.

Successful Classical Horsemanship Submission: Community-Based Authenticity

The successful photograph submission takes a distinct turn from portraying Classical Horsemanship as a polished performance grounded in the Hapsburg family to displaying it as an authentic, community-based tradition. By concealing the institutional influences so apparent in the original submission, the successful submission rhetorically constructs the element as authentic. This is done by highlighting a behind-the-scenes

view of the element that favors representations of ordinary people and their relationship to the horses.

The successful submission emphasizes the horses and humans involved with the element as integral parts of the community beyond the arena's walls. For example, the submission begins with two photographs of horses in town. The first, Figure 12, depicts the "homecoming of the colts"—the time, in early fall, when the horses return from spending the summer in the mountains. The green trees and grass in this photograph immediately set the image apart from the originally submitted photographs by establishing a natural, seemingly unrestricted setting. In addition, whereas the originally submitted photographs feature only white horses, this photograph shows only a few white horses, alongside many grey colts. The horses' varied tones give the photograph a softer, less-polished look. In addition, rather than pose as they do in the original photographs, the horses in Figure 12 walk along a winding road, performing for no one. Portraying the horses in this manner directs attention away from the polished image of the element that the original submission evokes.

The second photograph in the submission, Figure 13, highlights the relationship of the horses to the community. In this photograph, the horses, their human guides, and ordinary townspeople stand on a cobblestone village street. The frame is split, with a crowd of people on the left and the horses on the right. A temporary fence separates the two; however, a young girl with pigtails reaches across this divide in the foreground of the photograph to pet one of the horses on the nose. This image of a child petting a horse creates a visual connection between the horses, which represent an elite riding school, and the ordinary people who live in the town. By beginning the photograph submission



Figure 12. Homecoming of the colts.



Figure 13. Child petting horse.

with these two images, of the horses first in the countryside and then in town, the successful photograph submission creates the sense that the element itself draws its roots from this more humble setting, instead of from the regal, wealthy setting portrayed in the original submission.

The next set of photographs in the successful submission highlight the daily tasks associated with the element that physically occur behind-the-scene of the performance arena in the Riding School. These photographs direct attention toward the activities that function as part of the element and to the roles of individuals from multiple levels of the Riding School hierarchy. Figure 14, for example, shows a man braiding a horse's tail. The photograph provides a close-up view of this activity: the man and the braid fill most of the frame—only the end of the horse's tail is visible. By focusing on the man and the braid, this photograph highlights the steps that create the horses' polished performance look. Figure 15, a photograph of two individuals in a stall with a horse and hay similarly focuses on behind-the-scenes tasks. A container of hay sits prominently in the foreground, which unveils the reality of the horses as animals that eat and exist beyond their roles as polished performers. Finally, Figure 16, also set in a stall, shows two young eleves brushing a horse's hair. Each of these photographs places individuals alongside the horses. By showing individuals caring for the horses—feeding and grooming them—these photographs highlight the relationship between human and horse. In addition, by revealing the multiple steps that go into creating the final, polished performance so prominent in the original submission, these successful photographs break down the perception of the element as something to be strictly admired by an external audience. These changes instead rhetorically present the element as an evolving process grounded



Figure 14. Braiding horse's tail.



Figure 15. Cleaning stables.



Figure 16. Brushing horse.

in individual and communal activity.

These three photographs notably highlight the roles of individuals other than the elite riders. Whereas the original submission only represents the performers, the successful submission shows people interacting with the horses at all levels of the Riding School hierarchy. The captions affirm these individuals' roles by naming them specifically: Figure 14—"Braiding stallion's tail (Yusuf Türel)"; Figure 15—"Cleaning stables – groom (Andreas Haipl) and eleve (Andreas Schorn)"; and Figure 16—"Eleves (Georg Sattler and Ulla Reimers) at work" ("Nom. 01106"). By including these names, the captions acknowledge the important work that the pictured individuals do within Classical Horsemanship. This change adheres to the Subsidiary Body's recommendation to nominating States to reveal the roles of ordinary individuals involved with nominated elements.

The successful submission also includes photographs that re-orient the role of the riders and eleves from performers to members of a community. In the original submission, the riders and eleves are always on display as they perform in the arena. The successful submission, on the other hand, shows these groups in off-screen moments. Figure 17, for example, shows four riders in a stable room. The riders wear their formal riding wear; however, their relaxed stances and crossed arms indicate that they are in a casual setting. By displaying the riders together, outside of the performance arena, this photograph evokes a sense that the element is a socially-oriented piece of heritage.

In addition, Figure 18 shows a female eleve being promoted to the status of rider. In this photograph, a man and woman face each other, holding a red pillow with yellow tassels between them. From the caption ("Promotion to rider (Florian E. Zimmermann)"),



Figure 17. Riders in stable room.



Figure 18. Promotion ceremony.

the reader learns that this is a promotion ceremony, during which the female eleve will attain the designation of rider ("Nom. 01106"). In addition to the two individuals in the center of the frame, the photograph includes eight other people, who surround the two with smiling faces. One of these individuals appears to be a fellow rider, evidenced by his brown double-buttoned coat. The others, however, appear to be from the community—perhaps the family and friends of the eleve being promoted—as they are dressed in individually unique outfits. One holds a camera, either photographing or filming the ceremony. By portraying this mix of individuals clearly celebrating the success of the eleve-become-rider, this photograph directs attention toward both the importance of the Riding School to individual riders, as they move up through the school's ranks, and status of the school as a congenial organization, within which individuals celebrate the achievements of others. In doing so, this photograph further humanizes the element and constructs it as being connected to a larger community that positively interacts with it outside of the performance arena.

The successful submission does include a few photographs of the riders and horses in the arena. However, these photographs assume a different role than they do in the original submission. For example, while Figure 19 shows a rider and horse in the arena, the two are practicing, rather than performing. This is clear from the fact that another individual guides the horse by holding its rein. In addition, the photograph shows only the section of the arena immediately surrounding the horse, rider, and other individual. While the Austrian flag is still visible in the frame, the chandeliers, high ceiling, and tall windows displayed prominently in many of the original photographs are not. Including this image as a minority in the submission allows the nominating State to



Figure 19. Rider training in arena.

acknowledge the final performance aspect of the element, while still downplaying the extent of the Hapsburg influence on that performance.

In contrast to the ten originally submitted images, the photographs in the successful submission demonstrate the full process of the element, from the horses returning to civilization from the mountains, to individuals preparing the horses for their performance, to the off-stage life of the riders, to the performance itself. Throughout this progression, the images depict relationships between the horses and people, including community members, children, grooms, and riders. These images conceal the institutional influences so prominent in the original submission while emphasizing the element's connection to the community and to individuals behind the performance walls.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have shown how the changes that two nominating States, Spain and Austria, made to their nomination files conform to UNESCO's definition of heritage. The changes made to the nomination forms and photograph submissions for both the Fiesta and Classical Horsemanship highlight behind-the-scenes, community-based aspects of the elements while concealing references to economic and institutional influences. At both the textual and visual levels, these changes rhetorically position the nominated elements as authentic.

In the Fiesta file, this construction of authenticity occurs in the changes that portray the element as a site of positive community interaction. For example, whereas the original photograph submission focuses on the patios as objects to be admired, the successful photograph submission highlight the roles of individuals in creating and caring

for the patios decorations, rather than simply showing the end result of these individuals' work. This construction of authenticity also occurs in the changes that erase the economic reality of safeguarding the element by eliminating the price tags associated with the proposed safeguarding measures highlighted in the original nomination form.

In the Classical Horsemanship file, this construction of authenticity occurs in the changes that showcase the roles of all people involved with the element. Whereas the original photograph submission focuses only on the elite riders, for example, the successful photograph submission displays ordinary people interacting with the element and specifically names the grooms and eleves featured in photographs. By acknowledging the roles of individuals who were originally invisible, the successful file represents a more inclusive version of the element. This construction of authenticity also occurs in the shifts in language in the successful nomination form that conceal the element's connection to the Austrian government and the tourism industry.

These shifts give greater agency to the individuals involved with the nominated elements and provide more inclusive views of the elements. As such, these changes indicate a positive move from Authorized Heritage Discourse's emphasis on material aspects of heritage—they acknowledge the roles of individual community members as practitioners of heritage. Yet, at the same time, these changes reinforce an understanding of authenticity as that which exists in the community, off-the-beaten path, and free from institutional influences. In concealing references to economic and institutional influences and to imperial histories, the changes also deny inherently dissonant characteristics of the elements. In my next chapter, I examine how this rhetorical construction of authenticity occurs in the film submission components of the nomination files.

CHAPTER 4: FILM SUBMISSIONS

The previous chapter explored how the successful nomination form and photograph submission components of the nomination files for the Fiesta of the Patios in Cordova and Classical Horsemanship and the High School of the Spanish Riding School Vienna promote a universalized definition of heritage that prioritizes a type of authenticity grounded in off-the-beaten-track, community-based representations of both elements. The film submission components of the Fiesta and Classical Horsemanship nomination files similarly promote this definition of heritage.

While the nomination forms and photograph submissions are viewed primarily by the Subsidiary Body—as part of the evaluation process—the film submissions enjoy a wider audience. The entire nomination file for every evaluated element is accessible on the UNESCO website; however, a visitor to the site would need to click through at least six pages to access a file from UNESCO's homepage and would need to know exactly which file they were looking for. Accessing only the photograph submission, the film submission, and a brief excerpt from the nomination form (the description of the element) for an element would require only five click-throughs; however, again, the visitor would need to know exactly which element they were looking for. The successful film submissions, on the other hand, are posted in their entirety on the UNESCO YouTube channel once elements are inscribed on the Representative List, making them more easily accessible to an outside audience. As of May 9, 2016, the official UNESCO YouTube video for the Fiesta of the Patios in Cordova had 6,720 views, and the official UNESCO YouTube video for Classical Horsemanship and the High School of the Spanish Riding

School Vienna had 4,286 views.[23] Because YouTube is such a widely-visited site and videos on the site can be viewed with ease on both desktop and mobile devices, the film submissions' inclusion on this site could give them a larger audience than they would have were they only posted on UNESCO's website. In addition, because of YouTube's suggestion algorithms, the film submissions' being posted on the site could increase the chance that an Internet user would see them, even if the user were not specifically searching for them.

Because of these differences in platform, of which nominating States are aware when completing their files, the three components address different groups—the nomination form is directed to and viewed almost solely by the UNESCO committees; the photograph submission is directed to UNESCO committees and a public audience, but is viewed primarily by the UNESCO committees, with individuals who specifically search for the images and thus already have an interest in UNESCO's projects as a secondary audience; and the film submission is directed to and viewed by the UNESCO committees and a widespread public audience. Because of the public platform that the successful film submissions occupy, how each submission rhetorically constructs its element directly impacts how a global audience conceives of both the element and the community that practices it. Like the nomination forms and photograph submissions, the film submissions for both the Fiesta and Classical Horsemanship present the elements as authentic heritage practices.

[23] The successful Fiesta film is viewable at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zYjTK_DnX_k and the successful Classical Horsemanship film is viewable at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_PIdziSlGzU.

Fiesta of the Patios in Cordova

Similarly to the changes made to the nomination form and photograph submissions, the changes made to the successful film submission for the Fiesta of the Patios in Cordova conceal the details of the festival and shift attention from the patios as decorated spaces to be admired by visitors to the patios as locations of dynamic community activity. The main difference between the two films pertains to the amount of detail provided in each: the original submission includes many historical details about the Fiesta, which are then eliminated from the re-submitted, successful submission. Because the successful film does not include these details, it conceals the impact governmental, touristic, and economic considerations have had on the element. The successful submission also provides a behind-the-scenes view of the element, generalizes the community's relationship to the element, superficially aligns the element with UNESCO-approved values, and portrays the element as a tradition that has remained consistent over time. These changes construct the element as authentic and limit a public audience's understanding of how the Fiesta functions for the community that practices it.

Original Submission: Detailed History

The original film submission for the Fiesta of the Patios in Cordova recounts the history of the Cordovan patios from their initial function as communal living spaces in the 3rd millennium BCE to their contemporary role as hosts of year-round celebrations, including the Fiesta of the Patios in May. The film progresses like a documentary, with a narration that reveals the nuanced details of the element's evolution. These details include the importance of the patio lifestyle to those whose homes surround the patios

and the role of the local and national governments in shaping the patio celebration into its contemporary form.

The original film promotes a specific view of the Fiesta as a celebration that evolved from a small, individual neighborhood celebration into a robust, internationally-recognized, city-wide festival. The narration starts at the beginning of the film, which opens with a distanced shot of the city of Cordova, against a red and yellow sunset sky. A female narrator speaks: "Cordova is situated in southern Spain, in the heart of Andalusia, on the banks of the Guadalquivir, on a fertile plain at the foot of the Sierra Morena" (City Council of Cordova 0:07-0:17). As the film continues, the viewer sees photographs and video clips of the inside of buildings and patios while the narrator recounts the town's multi-cultural history, which includes Arab, Jewish, and Christian traditions. The combination of these three cultures, the narrator later explains, influenced the patios' architectural designs. From the narration, the viewer also learns that the patios originally functioned as shared spaces for families living in the urban city centers; these families began to decorate the external patio walls, the narrator notes, at the end of the Middle Ages. By beginning the film with this explanation of the history of the city of Cordova and the significance of the patios to the people who lived around them, the original film highlights the patios' historical importance to their communities. These details about how the patios functioned outside of their role as the site of the Fiesta, however, are absent from the successful film.

Through the narration and visual images, the film reveals three specific forces that shaped the patio into its present form: governmental, touristic, and economic. First, the narrator explains that the government developed many characteristics of the present-day

Fiesta in response to the patios' rising popularity with visitors. Originally, the narrator explains, those who lived in the houses surrounding the communal patios would decorate crosses and place them in "streets, squares, and courtyards in their neighborhood" each May on The Day of the Cross (City Council of Cordova 5:24-5:26). Then, through governmental intervention, this neighborhood celebration grew to include the general public. As the narrator explains,

> In order to promote this tradition, the city council organized the first municipal internal courtyards competition in 1921. From then onwards, the Feast of the Courtyards is no longer associated with the crosses. During 10 days in May, these simple houses with internal courtyards are open to the general public. (City Council of Cordova 5:29-5:50)

This narration is accompanied by three main visuals: visitors walking through the patios, a brochure for the courtyard competition from 1933, and a woman unlocking a gate to greet visitors as they enter a patio. By providing the visual of the pamphlet advertising the first courtyards competition, alongside these other images, the film highlights the government's role in intentionally publicizing and promoting the patios as destinations for visitors.

The viewer later learns that this governmental intervention continued to influence the celebrations as the patios grew in popularity. The narration states, for example: "In 1956, the city council made the feast even more important by holding the first Cordova Courtyards Festival. It organized a varied program of Andalusian folk singing and dancing in the city" (City Council of Cordova 6:02-6:15). This narration is again accompanied by an image of a poster for the Cordova Courtyards Festival, which further

emphasizes the government's role in actively promoting the element to increase participation. A montage of photographs and video clips of singing and dancing performances follows this narration, visually representing the "varied program" that the city council organized.

The film also highlights the inextricable connection between the Fiesta's evolution and its touristic appeal. For example, the narrator reveals that "the festival became so important that the Spanish government declared it a feast of national touristic interest in 1967" (City Council of Cordova 6:36-6:43). In addition, the narrator explains that changes to the activities associated with the patios grew directly out of rising interest from tourists: "The increased demand to visit them has given rise to the organization of different activities around them at other times of the year, such as Christmas" (City Council of Cordova 7:06-7:13). To accompany this explanation, the film displays video clips from Christmas celebrations, including children visiting a nativity scene and a table covered with holiday desserts. By displaying the images of promotional brochures and video clips of the specific activities that were added to the festival over the years alongside the narration about tourist interest in the festival, the original film visually reinforces the direct impact of tourism on the element's evolution.

The original film also reveals the reality of the monetary cost of maintaining the activities associated with the Fiesta. During a video clip of an elderly woman watering flowers in the patio, for example, the narrator explains that decorating the patios requires a time commitment from the individuals living within them. In addition, she states, "official support is essential in order to help with the financial and material resources needed for their proper maintenance" (City Council of Cordova 7:43-7:49). By

highlighting these economic concerns, the original film acknowledges the undeniable connection between rising touristic interest in the element and the tangible monetary consequences that the element's growth brings to its community.

As a whole, the original film includes very specific details about the Fiesta. In addition to providing a nuanced understanding of how people initially used the patios, these details reveal and emphasize the institutional influences—governmental, touristic, and economic—that have shaped the element over the years. This detailed account is similar to the details presented in the original nomination form. The film's stressing the need for support in order to continue the robust Fiesta celebrations, in particular, aligns with the original nomination form's giving specific dollar amounts for each safeguarding practice. Yet, these acknowledgements of the impact that tourism, government authorities, and financial concerns have on an element contradict the meta-genre's guidelines to avoid mentioning tourists and institutions. The revised, successful film remedies these genre transgressions; and, in doing so, obscures the details presented in the original.

Successful Submission: Behind-the-Scenes View of Community-Based Tradition

The successful film begins similarly to the original, with a distanced shot of the town of Cordova. The film is then divided into three broad sections: Preparing the Patio, Communal Life in the Patio, and The May Ritual. Each of these sections features photographs and video clips of individuals doing something in the patios: tending plants, securing decorations, laughing with friends, dancing, singing, and more. While the original film primarily includes recent photographs and video clips, the successful film uses both recent and older (black and white) images. In addition, whereas the original

film prominently features the roles of the government and of tourists' desires in expanding the Fiesta celebrations over the years, the successful film conceals these influences. Instead, it gives a behind-the-scenes view of individuals preparing the patios, aligns the activities within the patios with generalized UNESCO values, and portrays the element as a tradition that has remained consistent over time.

The camera's position in much of the successful film gives the viewer a behind-the-scenes perspective of the element. For example, in the beginning scene of the first section, Preparing the Patio, the camera is positioned inside a home and looks out into the patio. A sheer-curtained window fills the frame, and the title "ARREGLANDO EL PATIO" ("Preparing the Patio") sits in the center of the frame. In a jump cut, the camera then looks out the window at two individuals working in the patio below with their backs to the camera. After moving closer to these individuals in another jump cut, the camera switches angles: still looking out to the patio from inside a building, the camera is positioned at patio-level, revealing that the individuals are two women, tending to potted plants that sit on a table. At 0:40, the camera position finally enters the patio, with a close-up shot of the same individuals securing the potted plants on the patio wall. By locating the viewer inside the home in this section's opening scene, the camera angle includes the viewer in the process of decorating the patios. While the viewer still watches the individuals complete the activities involved in preparing the patios, they do so from within the community itself. By providing this interior perspective, the film creates a more intimate connection between the viewer and the element.

The next section, Communal Life in the Patio, more subtly portrays an insider's perspective of the element for the viewer by using close-up shots to display activity in the

patios. This gives the effect that the viewer is watching activity unfold from within the patios. For example, at 2:24, the viewer sees a close-up shot of an adolescent girl seated in the patio, completing a needlework project. The girl, from mid-torso up, and her needlework fill the frame, creating the effect that the viewer could be sitting next to her. Other close up shots include a man laughing in a group of friends (the camera looks over his shoulder), an elderly woman sitting in the patio, and a cat walking through the patio.

One clip from the last section, The May Ritual, also strategically and significantly positions the viewer as one of the patio inhabitants. In this scene, the camera is positioned inside a dark room. In the left of the frame a middle-aged man sits on a chair, smoking a cigarette. To the right of the man is an open door that looks out into the patio area, where three visitors walk past. At the end of this video clip, the man nods to the visitors, acknowledging their presence, before returning to his cigarette. The camera angle in this scene—inside the room, looking out the door at the visitors outside—positions the viewer as an insider who sits alongside the man with his cigarette, rather than as a tourist outside.

In each of these sections, the camera angles give an insider's view of the patios. By placing the camera inside the patio buildings and allowing the viewer to look out windows and doors to the patios on the other side, the successful film aligns the viewer with the individuals who spend time in the patios every day. This perspective constructs the Fiesta as authentic by separating the viewer from the tourists that occupy the space on the other side of the windows and doors and thus creates the sense that the viewer receives an un-filtered, 'original' view of the element.

The successful film also generalizes the details of the Fiesta. While the original film provides a specific, detailed history of the Fiesta, the successful film gives a more

open-ended, generalized view of the element. Most notably, the successful film obscures the details of the Fiesta's evolution, so prominent in the original film, by eliminating the narration. With no narrator explaining the photographs and video clips, the film leaves the viewer to independently assume the images' meanings.

The difference in the amount of detail the original and successful films provide is immediately apparent when comparing their opening scenes. Visually, the two are similar: they both display images of the town of Cordova from multiple distances and angles. However, whereas the original film reveals specific details about the town's setting, such as the names of the nearby river and mountain range, through the narration, the successful film simply displays three headings: "Cordova," "328,547 inhabitants," "12 days in May, the Fiesta of the Patios in Cordova." By only displaying these statistics, the successful film limits its viewer's understanding of the role that the patios, and the Fiesta, have historically played for the city of Cordova and its inhabitants.

The second section, Communal Life in the Patio, also glosses over the detail provided in the original film. This section includes photographs and video clips of individuals caring for the floral decorations in the patios: women carry buckets of water, women and men water hanging plants, and an elderly man and a young boy work together to tend to their flowers. The section also includes video clips of individuals engaged in other activities: laughing with friends, sewing, cooking, and singing. From the original film, the viewer learns that, as spaces shared by multiple family homes, the patios functioned practically as living parts of the home, where individuals would cook their meals, wash their laundry, and gather water for their families. Without an explanation to accompany the images of these activities in the successful film, though,

the viewer might not understand the video clips to be portrayals of everyday activities that occur in communal living spaces throughout the year. They might, instead, inaccurately see them as activities that take place in the patios as part of the Fiesta.

This section also conceals the influence of the local and national governments in shaping certain aspects of the patio celebrations. The narration in the original film explains that many of the celebrations associated with the Fiesta—including the singing and dancing performances and the Christmas traditions—were created by the local government in response to tourist demands. The successful film, however, conceals these details by showing footage of these celebrations without explanation. The video clips of the children visiting a nativity scene and the table covered with holiday desserts, for example, appear in the successful film in the Communal Life in the Patio section. This placement suggests to the viewer that these video clips portray personal or individual celebrations of the people who live in the patio communities. As the original film explains, however, the Christmas activities are not simply private neighborhood celebrations; they were started due to increased tourist interest. Placing these video clips without explanation in the section about communal life, therefore, inaccurately represents the reality of the Christmas celebrations' governmentally-influenced connection to the Fiesta and hides an aspect of the element that does not align with a perception of the element as having evolved organically, and thus authentically.

This section does include sub-section captions that suggest a particular meaning for the video clips that the film presents. However, these captions do not aid the viewer's understanding of the images' connection to the element. Rather, they assign certain themes and values to the element as a whole. In order of appearance, the captions are:

"Sustainability," "Friendship," "Intergenerational transference," "Respect," "Solidarity," and "Coexistence." Some of these captions logically coincide with the images with which they are paired. For example, "Friendship" appears with a video clip of two women laughing together (they seem to be friends) and "Intergenerational transference" appears with a video clip of an elderly man helping a young boy water flowers (they span different generations). However, the majority of the captions have no immediately recognizable relationship to the images they accompany. "Respect," for example, appears with the same video clip of an elderly man and a young boy and "Solidarity" appears with a video clip of an individual carrying wood. While the young boy and elderly man may indeed respect each other and the individual carrying wood may be working in solidarity with others to transport wood, these meanings are not immediately apparent.

Rather than restrict the possible interpretations of these video clips to one meaning, these captions expand the number of possible meanings for each. Because of this, the captions seem randomly placed and do little to explain the practical function of the element. Instead, they seem to function as superficial 'buzzwords' that connect the element to values that align with UNESCO's definition of intangible cultural heritage. Article 2 of the 2003 Convention, for example, specifically notes "promoting respect" and being "transmitted from generation to generation" as part of the definition of intangible cultural heritage. In addition, the Subsidiary Body's recommendations applauded nominating States for highlighting their elements' connections to "environmental sustainability." By overlaying video clips of people in the patios with these keywords drawn from UNESCO documents, the nominating State directly aligns the Fiesta with a UNESCO-defined version of heritage.

The final section, The May Ritual, also conceals the impact of governmental and touristic influences on the element. This section includes the same video clips of individuals singing and dancing that accompany the original film's explanation of the city government's organizing Andalusian song and dance performances to respond to and increase tourist interest in the festival. With no narration in the successful film, these video clips could suggest that the singing and dancing is a spontaneous component of the festival, rather than an organized component that was added through governmental intervention. Thus, in placing the clips with no narration or other explanation, the successful film obscures the government's role in creating these patio celebrations and in shaping the Fiesta into its present form.

Finally, the successful film visually portrays the Fiesta as a singular tradition that has been practiced similarly throughout history. It does this by alternating black and white photographs and video clips with color photographs and video clips in each of its sections. In the first section, for example, the initial introduction features color video clips of two women working in the patio. After this introduction, the film displays the following, all in black and white: a photograph of a man painting a wall, a photograph of an elderly woman looking up from within a patio, a video clip of a young woman watering plants, a video clip of a young woman adjusting hanging plants from a balcony, and a video clip of a young woman using a bucket attached to a long pole to first gather water from a fountain and then water plants on a patio wall. These black and white photographs and video clips are followed by color video clips of elderly women picking weeds from flower decorations and using the bucket-pole device to water hanging plants. The second and third sections also continue in this manner, alternating between black and

white images and color images, creating the sense that the patios have been prepared, lived in, and celebrated similarly for multiple years.

The parallel images of individuals completing the same tasks—watering the flowers with a long pole, for example—in both black and white and color gives the impression that the patio preparations, and thus the element as a whole, have been practiced identically throughout their existence. This representation conceals the many changes that the Fiesta has undergone, and the factors that shaped those changes. By rhetorically constructing the Fiesta as a tradition that has remained intact throughout history, the successful submission essentially freezes the Fiesta and its associated celebrations in a specific moment in time.

As a whole, the successful film submission for the Fiesta constructs a seemingly un-filtered, behind-the-scenes view of the element by locating the viewer within the patio community and conceals the original film's detailed account of the Fiesta's history by portraying the element as a piece of heritage that has remained unaltered over the years. In concealing the details of the Fiesta's history, the successful film distances the Fiesta from institutional influences—governmental, touristic, and economic—and aligns it with generalized UNESCO-approved themes. These changes adhere to genre conventions to use generalized terms to describe elements and to highlight communities while concealing conflict. Taken together, these changes rhetorically present the Fiesta as an authentic heritage practice.

Classical Horsemanship and the High School of the Spanish Riding School Vienna

This shift also occurs in the film submission for the Classical Horsemanship nomination file. Like the successful nomination form and photograph submission for the element, the successful film submission rhetorically constructs the element as authentic, based on its connection to the community and its distance from institutional influences. The changes made to the successful film submission do this by highlighting the element's links to the natural world, its organic connection to the community, and the roles of individuals that practice it. These changes contrast the original film submission, which portrays the element as a consumable piece of regal history.

Original Submission: Regal Element on Display

The original seven-minute, twelve-second long film, titled "The White Ballet," presents a performance of the Lipizzaner horses and their riders. The film opens with a view of the exterior of the Winter Riding School in Vienna before displaying excerpts from a performance in the interior arena. These excerpts include horses demonstrating intricate footwork, moving around the arena in synchronized formations, and jumping both independently and with riders. Overall, the film portrays the element as an elite, polished art to be observed and enjoyed by an audience.

The original film reveals the element's regal history with both visual and musical components. First, the film begins with a still photograph of the Riding School logo—a shield-shaped red seal, outlined in grey, with two white designs on its front: a rider seated on an upright-standing horse (in the center of the seal) and a capital letter 'P,' wearing a crown (in the upper right corner of the seal). Including this logo in the film signals that the element belongs to a specific 'brand' that is advertised to visitors to promote it in a

more commercial setting. In addition, as an official logo, the image immediately establishes Classical Horsemanship as a formal practice, a quality that is reinforced by the images and video clips that follow.

After five seconds, the logo fades and a large white building fills the screen. Four stories tall, the building is slightly curved with two symmetrical facades that meet in the middle at an open archway flanked by two large statues. Four rows of windows run across the building's length, with columns between each window in the upper two rows. A white stone 'fence' and an occasional statue run along the edge of the building's flat roof, from which three green domes rise—two on each end and a larger one in the middle. This image is accompanied by city noises—cars honking, people walking and talking—that suggest its location is Vienna. The sheer size of the building (it fills almost the entire frame, with only a bit of blue sky visible at the top) creates a powerful presence for the element.

At thirteen seconds, the frame jumps to a close-up shot of the center green dome, revealing that it is adorned with gold details that run horizontally around its base and vertically to its top, where a crown-shaped gold figurine sits. In sync with this visual jump, an orchestral[24] music piece strongly enters. The music, characterized by forceful, steady, accented notes and percussion and brass instruments, exudes a majestic, confident sound. In three successive jump cuts, the film shows two close-up shots of the large marble statues in front of the dome and a close-up shot of the gold figurine on top of the

[24] I use the term 'orchestral' to refer to what many might call 'classical' music – that which is formal and performed by an orchestra. I choose to use 'orchestral' rather than 'classical' so as to not confuse with 'Classical,' which refers to music from a specific time period. Though the music in the film may indeed be Classical, I am not adequately trained to make that determination without more information, so default to 'orchestral' for clarity.

dome. These concentrated images of the building's ornate details, accompanied by the powerful music, reinforce the regal nature of the element.

Finally, the image of the gold figurine atop the green dome fades into an overhead view of the column-lined performance arena, which includes a hanging chandelier, and two levels of audience members who watch a line of horses and riders enter in time with the still-playing music. As the horses and riders proceed between two Austrian flags, the riders salute by simultaneously lifting their hats, an act that receives much applause from the audience. This introduction, which prominently features indications of wealth, such as the columned building, gold adornments, marble statues, and chandeliers, sets the tone for the remaining six minutes and forty-seven seconds of the film. Just as the originally submitted photos do, these video clips of the column-lined performance arena—which prominently feature the Austrian flag—and the Riding School's majestic-looking exterior, paired with confident, orchestral music, portray Classical Horsemanship as a prestigious, formal element.

Just as the original photograph submission does, by only including images of the horses and riders performing, the original film portrays the element as something tangible to be admired and passively consumed. The film accomplishes this by positioning the viewer as a consumer of a Classical Horsemanship performance on two levels: as an external viewer of the film and as a member of the audience within the film. First, the film itself is a performance of the Lipizzaner horses, which the viewer observes by watching the film. With no narrator explaining the different parts of the performance or the history of the element, the focus in the film is on the end product: the performance. The coordination of the background music with the horses' and riders' moves also

contributes to the film's functioning as a performance. For example, though the film features video excerpts from a longer performance, the horses in those clips consistently perform in time with the music. The film's lining up the horses' steps with the continuously-playing orchestral piece creates the effect that the viewer is actually watching one seamless performance. Finally, the film includes the audience's applause, which further simulates the experience of watching a performance in person.

The film also positions the viewer as a consumer of the element by locating them in the audience within the film. During the final shot of the opening scene, for example, the camera is positioned within the audience at the long end of the oval-shaped arena, opposite the door where the horses and riders entered. Three rows of audience members are fully visible in the foreground, with a fourth partially visible. This camera angle creates the effect that the viewer is sitting among the audience itself, positioned to watch the entire, unfiltered performance. As a consequence, the viewer assumes the role of an admirer and visitor enjoying the element.

These images of royalty and performance work similarly to the ten originally submitted photographs of the performing horses and riders to highlight the element as a polished product to be consumed. These themes, however, are among those that the Subsidiary Body specifically discourages in its recommendations to nominating States. They thus contradict the genre conventions of a successful nomination file. The successful film, on the other hand, shifts the perspective to more closely align with accepted genre conventions and directs the attention toward the element's status as authentic in its distance from this royal history.

Successful Submission: Natural, Community-Based Practice

In contrast to the original film's portrayal of the element as a formal performance to be visually consumed, the successful film presents the element as a continuous process that involves multiple participants. The film focuses on raising the Lipizzaner horses and training both the horses and riders. It progresses chronologically as it traces the annual journey of the young Lipizzaner horses from their alpine summer home, through rural towns, to their training facility in Piber, and finally to the winter training and performing facility in Vienna. In each of these steps, the film notes the roles of the individuals involved with the element; it most substantially features the grooms, eleves, and riders in Vienna. Through giving a behind-the-scenes perspective of Classical Horsemanship, the successful film rhetorically constructs the element as authentic—grounded in nature and communities, free from institutional influences. It does this through de-emphasizing the performance aspect of the element, emphasizing connections to nature, and emphasizing connections to individuals and the community.

First, the successful film de-emphasizes the performance aspect of the element. Whereas almost the entirety of the original film comprises a polished performance of the Lipizzaner horses and their riders, the successful film includes only twenty total seconds of performance footage. The small amount of time allotted to displaying a performance directs attention away from the final product as being the most important part of the element. In addition, the video clips that do display excerpts of the horses and riders performing conceal the formality associated with the element. For example, the film never shows the entire performance arena or the audience; it focuses instead on close-up shots of the horses and riders. In addition, it directs attention away from the element's

connection to Austrian royalty by eliminating visuals of the Austrian flag and indications of wealth such as the arena's chandeliers.

The narration that accompanies the video clips that show the inside of the arena also directs attention away from the element as a polished art by focusing on the values associated with the Riding School. The narrator states:

> Visitors from all over the world are amazed and delighted by this special type of horsemanship, which has been taught and conveyed here at the Spanish Riding School for over 400 years. The knowledge and ability required for the High School of Classical Horsemanship represent the foundation of the identity and pride of the Spanish Riding School's close-knit equestrian team. (Spanish Riding School – Federal Stud Piber 2:40-3:01)

This explanation shifts attention from the horses' polished appearance to the knowledge and connection that the riders share. This move aligns with the genre convention to emphasize both processes and communities in nomination files.

Throughout its duration, the successful film also rhetorically constructs the element as being part of the natural world by visually emphasizing its connection to nature. This occurs immediately in the film's introduction. In contrast to the original film's formal, urban and then indoor setting, the successful film begins in a grassy alpine pasture, a setting that aligns the element with the natural world, separate from the institutional influences so prominent in the original submission.

The film opens with a close-up shot of grey horses grazing in a green field with the sun shining overhead. A narrator informs the viewer that this scene is "in the Styrian Alps, about 200 km southwest of Vienna," where "the Lipizzaners, both colts and fillies,

spend their carefree summer months high up at around 1500 meters above sea level" (Spanish Riding School – Federal Stud Piber 0:01-0:12). As the narration continues, the film moves visually from the close-up shot of the horses grazing to a close-up shot of the horses walking toward the camera, to a distanced, overhead shot of the horses galloping on a hillside with a forest of evergreen trees to the left and mountaintops visible in the distance. As in the original film, orchestral music accompanies the opening scene; however, the timing and tone of the music is different. While the original film's music enters abruptly and powerfully when the camera changes views, the successful film's music plays continuously from the very beginning. In addition, the successful film's music features gentle-sounding violins, which creates a calm tone for the scene. Introducing the film with this opening scene of the horses in the Alps emphasizes the element's connection to nature. The images of the rolling pastures, running young horses, clear skies, and a mountaintop sunset starkly contrast those of the performance hall's regal exterior and interior, shown in the original film.

Though the remainder of the film does not explicitly display the natural world as prominently as the opening scene, how the film transitions between its different settings keeps the focus on the element as being grounded in nature. The film first makes this transition-based connection between the element and nature as the horses re-enter civilization. In the scene after the mountaintop introduction, the horses walk down a curving road: they appear from behind a wooden chalet-style house with a slanted roof and flowers in the windows. In the background, a pine tree-lined hill rises in front of a clear blue sky. These images of the chalet, the trees, and the clear sky continue to evoke the calm, carefree feeling that the opening scene established, even as the viewer knows

the horses are walking away from the natural world toward a town. This connection to nature continues as the horses approach the training facility at Piber: the horses and their grooms walk along a dirt road next to a grassy field, with wooded hills in the distance, toward a small, yellow building. The film then cuts to an indoor setting, where a farrier cleans a horse's shoe. Cutting directly from this extended video clip of the horses walking outdoors to the video clip inside a building without displaying the horses entering the building continues the connection between the horses and the natural world.

The transition between the training facility at Piber to the training and performance facilities in Vienna also connects the element and nature by transitioning while still indoors. The camera enters the training facility in Piber, where an eleve, Marlene, practices mounting a horse. From this scene, the viewer sees horses entering a courtyard and learns, from the narrator, that the setting is now Vienna. The horses walk across a street, and the camera cuts to a video clip of the horses walking in a narrow hallway, inside a building once again. By transitioning from these two training centers while the camera remains indoors and by limiting the time that the viewer sees the horses outside in Vienna to these few shots, the film de-emphasizes the urban setting of the Riding School and maintains the link between the indoor setting in Vienna to the indoor setting in the rural countryside.

The film also highlights the element's connection to individuals, both affiliated and un-affiliated with the Riding School. First, the film highlights the element's connection to the outside community. Following the video clips of the horses being led down the mountain from their alpine pasture, for example, the film shows a scene in a small town. In this scene, the young grey colts stand side-by-side on a narrow street, with

community members, including adults and children, on either side. In the close-up shot that follows, children reach over a fence and pet the horses, creating a visual connection between the element and the outside community. From the narration, the viewer learns that a local priest blesses the horses before they return to their training facility, a detail that connects the element to those beyond the formal school in Vienna. By displaying these scenes, the successful film portrays the element as being grounded in a rural community rather than in a regal urban setting.

Similarly to the successful Classical Horsemanship photograph submission, the successful film also humanizes the element by highlighting the roles of all the individuals directly involved with the element. The film does this in two ways: through naming the featured individuals and through replacing the narration with the voices of select grooms, eleves, and riders. First, the film includes prominent captions with the names and titles of featured individuals. During a video clip of an individual mounting a horse, for example, an onscreen label indicates that this individual is Marlene Tuck, an eleve. Similar captions identify others throughout the remainder of the film.

Second, the film prioritizes the voices of those involved with the element by replacing the explanations from the narrator with statements from select grooms, eleves, and riders. The first individual to speak is Rudolf Rostek, a rider. When Rostek begins speaking, the viewer sees a close-up shot, filmed from the ground, of someone walking through a door; only the person's black riding boots are visible. The viewer hears Rostek's voice (he speaks in German) and sees English subtitles that read, "My name is Rudolf Rostek/I'm a Rider at the Spanish Riding School…/…and I've been here since 1991" (Spanish Riding School – Federal Stud Piber 3:39-3:43). At this point, the film

cuts to a shot of Rostek, standing in front of a white door, as he explains how he joined the Riding School. As Rostek continues speaking about the process of becoming a rider, the film cuts to video clips of horses and riders training in the arena. Following Rostek, the next individual the viewer hears is Johannes Hamminger, a senior stable master, whom the film shows teaching Bianca Wittmann, an eleve, how to braid the tail hair of a white Lipizzaner horse. As the film alternates between wide and close shots of Wittmann braiding the horse's hair, Hamminger (again, in German with English subtitles) says, "And now we braid it./For the braid to hold, it's important that the hair be nice and wet./This is a 400-year old tradition" (Spanish Riding School – Federal Stud Piber 6:26-6:38).

In both these instances, the viewer hears Rostek and Hamminger without always seeing them, which allows the two men to assume the role of narrator as they explain the element. As such, the ability to speak for the element is quite literally transferred from an official narrator to those who practice the element. For the viewer hoping to gain an unfiltered perspective of the element, the explanation of the riders' training process that comes from Rostek, someone who is personally connected to the element, rather than from an un-named, official narrator, may seem more credible and authentic. In addition, that the viewer hears Rostek and Hamminger's words in their original German could also prompt the viewer to understand these narratives as unfiltered, original, and thus authentic, accounts of the element.

Prioritizing the voices of the individuals involved in the element gives agency to the individuals involved with Classical Horsemanship, as they share their personal experiences with the element. These personal narratives, however, are ultimately the

result of deliberate choices, made by the nominating State, to edit the successful film in a particular manner. Therefore, they may not be representative of the experiences of all individuals involved with the element. For example, in his explanation of the process of joining the Riding School, Rudolf Rostek states, "getting into the Riding School isn't that hard/it's a normal application process, with an interview and a riding exam./You don't even have to be a really good rider, but you should be able to relate to horses" (Spanish Riding School – Federal Stud Piber 3:57-4:11). While this ease of joining the Riding School may accurately represent Rostek's experience, it may not represent the experience of all potential applicants. As the original nomination form states, for example, the school has strict height requirements that individuals must meet in order to first join; this restricts which people can become riders from the beginning of the application process. The personal narrations also give an impartial view of the element based on the demographics of those interviewed; of the five individuals whose voices are heard, all are men. While some of the video clips include images of female eleves, their exclusion from the interviews conceals the voices of women involved with the element.

As a whole, the changes made to the successful film re-orient the element as a communal practice based in the natural world. By beginning the film with images of the Alps and seamlessly tying the additional scenes together from this starting point, the film portrays the element as being grounded in nature. This sharply contrasts the original film's representation of the element as part of a formal setting in Vienna and as being tied to the Austrian government. In addition, the successful film humanizes the element by displaying the roles of ordinary people involved with the element. The narration's shifting to come directly from these individuals further locates the element within a

community, rather than in a formal government-sponsored tradition, and constructs it as authentic in its distance from institutions.

Conclusion

This chapter detailed how the changes made to the film submissions for the nomination files for the Fiesta of the Patios in Cordova and Classical Horsemanship and the High School of the Spanish Riding School Vienna rhetorically construct these elements to fit a particular definition heritage. As they also do in the nomination form and the photograph submissions, the changes made to each of the film submissions highlight behind-the-scenes, community-based aspects of the elements while concealing references to economic, touristic, and governmental influences.

The changes made to the successful film submission for the Fiesta's nomination file portray the element as an activity-driven part of heritage that has grown from organic community involvement. By including many photographs and video clips that portray individuals interacting in the patios, the film constructs the patios as locations of communal activity. In addition, in alternating black and white and color photographs and video clips, the film constructs the element as an aspect of heritage that is grounded in tradition and that has been practiced similarly for generations. The film also aligns the element with specific UNESCO values by using generalized subtitles to attach particular meaning to the images that it displays. As the successful film reveals these aspects of the Fiesta, however, it simultaneously conceals the details included in the original film about the Fiesta's origins and the impact of governmental and touristic interests on the Fiesta's evolution.

The changes made to the successful film for the Classical Horsemanship nomination file align the element with an understanding of heritage that prioritizes community involvement and authenticity based on a connection to nature, free from institutional influences. By displaying horses in natural environments and highlighting the horses' interactions with the outside community, the successful film portrays the element as being grounded in the countryside. In addition, by highlighting the roles of individuals within the Riding School, the successful film humanizes the element. Finally, through naming and giving voice to some of these individuals, the film constructs itself as an authentic representation of the element that comes from the practitioners themselves. The changes that reveal these more natural characteristics of the element simultaneously conceal the institutional influences on the element, including its regal, Hapsburg origins.

For both the Fiesta and the Classical Horsemanship submissions, the files' portrayals of the elements align with the qualities that UNESCO, as explained in Chapter 2, considers integral to intangible cultural heritage. With their revisions to the nomination forms, the photograph submissions, and the film submissions, Spain and Austria present their elements in ways that conform to the genre conventions of a successful nomination file and that thus adhere to UNESCO's broader understanding of heritage. Because of the multiple audiences that these different components address, in the case of the nomination form and the photograph submission, these re-constructions of heritage that prioritize UNESCO-approved qualities over others will probably remain relatively private. In the case of the film, submission, however, the new, rhetorically constructed view of both the Fiesta and Classical Horsemanship as cultural practices that are free from governmental,

touristic, and economic constraints becomes the public representation of the elements. Because of the public platform, via YouTube, that the full-length successful film submissions enjoy, these re-submitted files do not only adhere to a certain definition of heritage. Rather, they also work to actively reinforce this definition for those who view the videos and learn about the elements through a UNESCO-mediated lens.

CONCLUSION

In the preceding pages, I examined the nomination process for inscription on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity to identify how the process impacts the way that nominating States rhetorically present their cultural practices to ensure inscription on the List. In this examination, I also identified the characteristics that UNESCO prioritizes in the definition of heritage that it promotes through the Representative List. To do this, I drew on rhetorical genre studies to examine the nomination process as an activity system within which the UNESCO Subsidiary Body and nominating States use multiple genres to inscribe elements to the Representative List. Both the structure of this activity system and the genres it employs, I noted, position the Subsidiary Body as a heritage expert with the power to define and authenticate heritage. I identified one of the genres within this activity system—the recommendations from the Subsidiary Body to nominating States—to be a meta-genre that establishes and regulates adherence to the genre conventions of a successful nomination file. These genre conventions include considering the purpose of the List, using generalized language when describing elements, emphasizing process over product, concealing uniqueness and authenticity, concealing tourism, emphasizing communities, and concealing conflict.

I also demonstrated how two specific nominating States—Spain and Austria—worked within these genre conventions to describe their elements in ways that gained them inscription on the Representative List. By examining the original (unsuccessful) and revised (successful) nomination files for the Fiesta of the Patios in Cordova and Classical Horsemanship of the High School of the Spanish Riding School Vienna, I identified the meanings that were simultaneously revealed and concealed as Spain and Austria

rhetorically presented their elements to align them with genre conventions. Specifically, I noted that, in their successful nomination files, both States described the elements in generalized terms, portrayed the elements as active processes rather than tangible objects, and emphasized the elements' connections to nature, people, and communities; they did this while simultaneously concealing economic and institutional influences on the elements. The changes that these States made to their nomination files, I argued, constructed the nominated elements as authentic heritage practices, based on their distance from institutions—including governments, tourist practices, and the economy—and on their connections to ordinary communities. I now explore the impact of UNESCO's promoting this definition of heritage, through the Representative List, on public understandings of heritage.

In my discussion of activity systems, I explained that individual activity systems connect to each other within overarching activity systems. For example, the nomination process activity system connects to the activity system that recognizes and promotes intangible cultural heritage through the Representative List. I also discussed the intertextual impact that the genres in connected activity systems have on one another. The view of an element that a nominating State creates as it completes a nomination file, for example, directly impacts how that element is portrayed on the Representative List, if the nomination file is successful. As nominating States align their portrayals of their elements with UNESCO-established genre conventions, then, the eventual view of the element that a public audience receives from the Representative List is a UNESCO-mediated view of the element that has been filtered and shaped through the nomination process. This can be seen in the Classical Horsemanship file through the stark contrast

between the original and successful nomination files. The first portrays the element as an elite training and performing school with ties to the Austrian government, whereas the second portrays it as a community of riders that care for and develop relationships with horses, separate from institutions. Likewise, the Fiesta's original nomination file depicts the government's role in shaping the element into its present form and highlights the importance of economic support to the festival's continued growth. The successful, inscribed nomination file, on the other hand, represents the Fiesta as a local celebration that grows organically each year through the sole efforts of the patio communities. Only the second versions of these elements will be officially linked to the Representative List.

The connection between these two activity systems has an added consequence on how the public conceives of heritage because of the memorial status of the Representative List. In my discussion of public memorialization, I suggested that the Representative List can be understood as a memorial that memorializes elements as they are inscribed: once inscribed on the Representative List, cultural practices are frozen in a particular moment in time. I also discussed scholarship that found that visitors to physical memorials often believe the memorials are more accurate, authentic representations of an event than are other accounts of the event, such as eye-witness testimonies. Because of this added authority that visitors give memorials to authenticate the subjects they memorialize, the Representative List's memorial status works to further construct inscribed elements as authentic—the List's audience will believe inscribed elements to be authentic based solely on their inclusion on the memorial. The consequences of this for the Spanish and Austrian files will likely be that the public audience that learns about the Fiesta and Classical Horsemanship from the Representative List will consider

UNESCO's depictions to fully and accurately represent the elements. In addition, that audience will likely unquestionably consider those elements to be worthy of attention.

Throughout my analysis, I argued that the genre conventions for a successful nomination file encourage nominating States to rhetorically construct authenticity when describing their elements. This authenticity, I argued, is derived from the elements' perceived distance from institutional influences. This type of authenticity aligns with the third meaning of authenticity I discussed in Chapter 1: originality. It is the fourth meaning of authenticity—having the power to authenticate—that works in tandem with the Representative List's memorial status to designate inscribed elements as authentic heritage practices. As an internationally recognized and generally respected organization, UNESCO holds the power to authenticate heritage. Audiences will likely believe, then, that, as an official UNESCO program, the Representative List portrays true, transparent, and authentic representations of the elements it includes. As a result, an element that appears on the Representative List operates within two types of authenticity—the 'authentic' designation gained from the portrayal of the element as being free from institutional authority in the nomination file and the 'authentic' designation gained from the publicly supported UNESCO stamp of approval.

However, while the Representative List may appear to a public audience to transparently represent cultural practices as heritage, a closer look at the revealing and concealing moves that nominating States make during the nomination process suggests otherwise. Because of these moves, the view that a public audience receives of the elements on the Representative List is always partial. This partiality is illustrated by the changes made to the Spanish and Austrian files. In both files, for example, the references

to economic concerns and institutional influences mentioned in the original explanations of the elements are eliminated from the successful representations of the elements, which are ultimately inscribed.

At the beginning of my first chapter, I introduced historically accepted understandings of heritage as being focused on the past, material-oriented, authentic (original) and always-positive. Together, these understandings constitute Authorized Heritage Discourse. I also noted that both UNESCO and heritage scholars have identified the 2003 Convention and the Representative List as standing in contrast to Authorized Heritage Discourse and stated the goal of determining whether the Representative List does indeed resist these traditional understandings of heritage. From my analysis, I determine that the conception of heritage that UNESCO promotes through the Representative List does resist some of these characteristics. For example, the emphasis on process over product in both the photograph and film submissions indicates a shift away from Authorized Heritage Discourse's focus on heritage as being solely material-based.

However, the Representative List upholds others of the characteristics, including the understanding of heritage as being always-positive and the understanding of heritage as providing authentic representations of cultural practices in their original forms, with an emphasis on the past. For example, by asking nominating States to conceal conflict in their nomination forms, which results in the erasure of governmental, touristic, and economic influences on the elements, the Subsidiary Body reinforces perceptions of heritage as being that which evolves separate from these influences, in an authentic, untouched setting.

Of note in my examination of the nomination files as case studies is that both elements come from Western Europe (Electoral Group 1). The changes made to both nomination files demonstrate strategic moves, on the parts of the nominating States, to rhetorically construct a sense of authenticity in the files. These moves were partially dictated through the conventions of the successful nomination file genre, as established and reinforced by the Subsidiary Body's recommendations—the meta-genre. However, the fact that the nominated elements come from Western Europe may have also impacted the need to construct the elements (from UNESCO's perspective) as authentic. As the anthropologists mentioned in my Introduction note, cultural practices in Western Europe have historically been grouped as part of "high culture," as opposed to the "real, authentic, culture" of non-Western communities. Because of this, Western European States may encounter greater pressure to present their cultural practices as authentic in order for those practices to be considered worthy of admiration and of preservation.

Future work with UNESCO nomination files could compare how Spain and Austria completed their files to how other Western European States completed their files to determine whether this trend to construct elements as authentic in their distance from institutional influences is more widespread. Future projects could also examine how States from the four other Electoral Groups, outside of Western Europe, are required to construct their elements in order to gain inscription. In addition, though I touched on the intricate power relationships between UNESCO, nominating States, and the communities that practice the elements in my first and second chapters, I was not able to fully explore those relationships in this project. These power relationships, maintained by the requirement that elements be nominated by States at the national level, rather than by the

communities who actually practice them at the local level, provide another entry for exploration.

Through prioritizing broad characterizations, suppressing references to economic and institutional influences, and focusing on people and the community, as the above examples demonstrate, the nomination process for inscription on the UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity works to mold cultural practices into a universal definition of authentic heritage. While UNESCO claims to conceive of culture as ever-changing and thus explicitly discourages nominating States from using words like 'authentic' to describe their cultural practices, in privileging applications that make the above-mentioned changes, the organization does appear to seek a specific type of authenticity in the cultural elements it inscribes. This authenticity is based on a conceptualization of legitimate culture as being grounded in natural, community-based practices that exist solely because of individual people's participation, without institutional interference.

An understanding of intangible culture as being developed by the people who practice it is, on its own, a responsible conception that looks to people as agents in their own cultural contexts. This understanding becomes problematic, though, when it is deemed as the only acceptable definition of culture by an influential international governing body such as UNESCO. When communities are asked to re-envision and re-frame their own heritage practices based on a concept of authenticity determined by UNESCO, in order to be legitimized through inscription on an international list, those communities lose the agency of being able to identify and define their heritage on their own terms. The end result is a list that, while it promotes itself as "representative" of

intangible cultural heritage worldwide, only represents a type of heritage that UNESCO deems acceptable and portrays partial representations of communities' experiences with their distinct cultural practices to an international audience. In doing so, UNESCO reinforces the same historical understandings of heritage that is purports to resist and limits, rather than furthers, international understanding of an appreciation for the world's diverse heritage practices.

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