

## **Cultural Heritage in the Age of Globalization: A Perspective from the Anthropology of Cultural Resource**

Shinji Yamashita

Professor of The University of Tokyo



### **Introduction**

In the current age of globalization, many things—people, money, commodities, information, technology and ideology—leave their original territories, surpassing national boundaries to travel around the world. The world is in motion; everything is in the process of translocalization. The key words for this phenomenon, of which Arjun Appadurai (2000) has coined “global cultural flows,” are “deterritorialization,” “transnationalism,” and “hybridization.” In an era of contemporary global culturalscapes,<sup>2</sup> I first examine the concept of cultural resources, UNESCO’s conception of cultural heritage, and “the modern art-culture system” (Clifford 1988: Ch.10) to theorize cultural heritage issues in the age of globalization. By reviewing the recent debates on the contested World Heritage sites in Bali and Toraja of Indonesia, I then uncover the actual processes of developing cultural heritage in the field of tourism at particular local sites in Southeast Asia. This examination leads to a fundamental question about cultural heritage: who is to make use of a heritage for whom, and for what purpose? This question will be answered by paying attention to the “position-taking” of cultural agents from the perspective of cultural resources anthropology and multicultural governance at the regional and global levels.

### **The Concept of Cultural Resources**

When we talk about resources, we usually assume that we are referring to “natural resources” such as energy resources or forest resources. However, nowadays the word “resources” is actually used across a broad spectrum that covers not only natural resources, but also socio-cultural resources—such as human resources, educational resources, tourism resources, and so on. In other words, everything can become a resource for a certain purpose in certain conditions.

In the research project conducted on the anthropology of resources in Japan from 2002 to 2007,<sup>3</sup> my research group focused on cultural resources (Yamashita ed. 2007). Following

Erich Zimmerman's conception of resources (Zimmermann 1931), we regarded a cultural resource as something that becomes, and not as something that already pre-exists. In this context, culture is taken as a set of symbolic resources that can be consciously reworked and manipulated for social, economic and political purposes under certain historical conditions. From this perspective, culture should be understood as a subject undergoing a dynamic process of shaping and reshaping in history, rather than as something of an unchanging essence. The question, then, becomes: in what way does culture become a resource? In the following section, I will briefly discuss the logic by which cultural resources come into being.

According to the Association for the Study of Cultural Resources in Japan, "Cultural resources are important data that help us better understand a society and its culture at a particular time. They include tangible and intangible materials that cannot be kept in museums, such as historical buildings, urban landscapes, traditional art performances, and festivals. Unfortunately, many such cultural resources are not utilized well. We should make the best use of these resources for the present as well as for the future generations. The study of cultural resources explores a new field of the utilization of cultural resources in developing human culture and scientific research."<sup>4</sup>

Consequently, the study of cultural resources defines cultural resources as valuable cultural products that can be utilized. Cultural resources are parallel with concepts such as "cultural property" and "cultural heritage." In Japan, the cultural property protection law (*bunkazai hogohô*) was enacted in 1950, about fifty years earlier than UNESCO's proclamation of the intangible cultural heritage in 2001.<sup>5</sup> The cultural properties in the law include not only high culture such as arts, music and literature, but also cultural materials (*minzoku shiryô*). This is a broader sense of culture that encompasses both the tangible and the intangible; examples of cultural materials range from eating, clothing, and housing practices to religious beliefs and community festivals. The concept of culture adopted here is a combination of the German concept of culture (*Kultur*), which is based on a value system, and the anthropologist Edward Tylor's sense of culture, which views culture as a way of life. The revision of Japan's cultural property protection law in 1975 initially put emphasis on the "preservation" of cultural properties, protecting them from "industrialization," "urbanization," and "development." However, this changed when the law was revised again in the early 1990s. The emphasis changed from "preservation" to "utilization." In this last phase, the concept of cultural property became closer to the concept of cultural resources (as it is used in the study of cultural resources), which emphasizes the utilization of cultural resources (Iwamoto 2004).

## UNESCO's Conception of Culture

In discussing culture in an international context, it is necessary to refer to the World Heritage protection project by UNESCO. Embodied in an international treaty called the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, adopted by UNESCO in 1972, the project encourages the identification, protection and preservation of cultural and natural heritage around the world considered to be of outstanding universal value to humanity. By 2009, 890 sites were registered as World Heritage: 689 cultural heritage sites, 176 natural heritage sites, and 25 complex (both cultural and natural combined) heritage sites.

However, it was pointed out that the World Heritage list might be “too biased towards the protection and representation of tangible, monumental vestiges of the past.”<sup>6</sup> That is why there have recently been various attempts to introduce new concepts of “living heritage” such as “cultural landscapes” and the “intangible cultural heritage” (Matsuura 2008). According to UNESCO, the concept of intangible cultural heritage is explained as follows:

“Cultural heritage is not limited to material manifestations, such as monuments and objects that have been preserved over time. This notion also encompasses living expressions and the traditions that countless groups and communities worldwide have inherited from their ancestors and transmit to their descendants, in most cases orally. Many years of research undertaken by UNESCO on the functions and values of cultural expressions and practices have opened the door to new approaches to the understanding, protection and respect of the cultural heritage of humanity. This living heritage, known as intangible, provides each bearer of such expressions a sense of identity and continuity, insofar as he or she takes ownership of them and constantly recreates them.”<sup>7</sup>

“The Proclamation of the Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity” was made in 2001 to raise awareness of intangible cultural heritage and to spur both the local communities and the local actors who sustain these forms of cultural expressions to protect them. Now the masterpieces are included in the Intangible Heritage lists, the compilation of which began in 2009. The lists include “Representative lists” and “Urgent Selfguarding lists.” According to UNESCO’s explanation, the term “representative” (of “representative lists”) might be threefold: a representative for the creativity of humanity, for the cultural heritage of states, as well as for the cultural heritage of communities that are the bearers of the traditions in question.<sup>8</sup>

The point is that heritage here is considered to have “outstanding universal value” to humanity for the world heritage, and to be “a masterpiece” for the intangible cultural heritage. On the

basis of this conceptualization of cultural heritage, the “Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity” (2001) sees cultural diversity as the common heritage of humanity (article 1) and the wellspring of creativity (article 7) that promotes cultural pluralism/multiculturalism (article 2), serves as a factor of development (article 3), and implements human rights (article 4), cultural rights (article 5), and international solidarity (articles 10, 11, and 12). It is UNESCO’s politics of culture.<sup>9</sup>

### **Concept of Culture Reviewed: The Modern Art-Culture System**

The question then becomes: what does the term “culture” mean in the usage of the cultural resources/cultural heritage discourses? In anthropology, there is a long tradition of regarding culture as “a way of life,” which goes back to the definition of culture made by Edward Tylor in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century (Tylor 1874 [1870]: 1). But culture in the usage of “cultural resources” and “cultural heritage” belongs to another category of culture — “high culture” or “art.”<sup>10</sup> The question is, however, not to determine which definition of culture we should adopt, but rather how the one definition relates to the other. For this purpose, it is useful to see what James Clifford (1988: 222-226) has called the “modern art-culture system.”

The modern art-culture system is the dynamic system of art and culture in which cultural materials from the primitive world and folk societies become “art” on the one hand, and “cultural artifact” on the other. Clifford depicts the system with four dimensions; the authentic/non-authentic axis on the one hand, and the masterpiece/artifact axis on the other (Fig. 1). For instance, the “authentic masterpiece” (Zone 1) in this system is an area for original, singular paintings by Cezanne or Picasso, which is classified as “art” kept in the art museum; “authentic artifact” (Zone 2) is for artifacts such as tools and crafts for traditional and collective life which is usually classified as “culture” kept in the ethnographic museum; “inauthentic masterpiece” (Zone 3) is for fakes and inventions which are usually considered as non-culture, because they are new and uncommon; and “inauthentic artifact” (Zone 4) is for artifacts such as tourist art, commodities which are reproduced and commercial.

This classification of cultural objects, however, is not static. For example, there is movement from ethnographic “culture” (Zone 2) to fine “art” (Zone 1) as is the case with tribal objects located in art galleries. Conversely, art masterpieces could take their places in the historical-cultural dimension as is seen in the relocation of France’s impressionist collection, which were moved from the Jeu de Pume to the new Museum of the Nineteenth Century at the Gare d’Orsay. Movement also occurs between the lower and upper halves of the system. Commodities in Zone 4 enter Zone 2 by becoming rare period pieces like old green glass Coke bottles. Much current non-Western work migrates between the status of “tourist art”

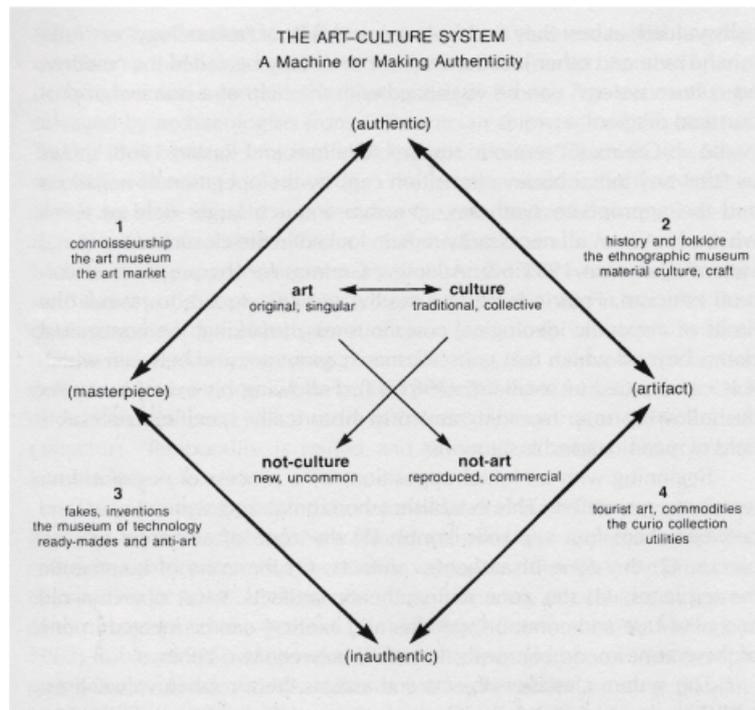


Fig.1 (Clifford 1988: 224)

and creative cultural-artistic strategy. For example, Haitian “primitive” painting, which is commercial and of relatively recent origin, moved into the art-culture circuit. In this way, the art-culture system analyzed by Clifford shows us the dynamic relationship between art and culture in the modern era. Here, the anthropological definition of culture and the artistic definition of culture are not necessarily opposed, but are related to each other in a dynamic way through modern historical processes.

In order to examine the dynamic relationship between art and culture, and between cultural value and economic value, it is also useful to refer to Pierre Bourdieu’s concept of “cultural capital.” Bourdieu introduced the notion of capital into his sociology, because “the social world is accumulated history” (Bourdieu 1986: 241). He distinguishes three forms of capital: economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital (Ibid.: 243). Using the term “cultural capital,” Bourdieu discussed how culture is accumulated in a certain social class to be reproduced beyond generations in French society. He further distinguishes three forms of cultural capital: (1) cultural capital embodied in habitus such as knowledge, taste, sensibility, skill, disposition, and so on; (2) cultural capital objectified in material forms such as arts, books, tools, crafts and so on; and (3) cultural capital recognized institutionally such as licenses, degrees, other qualifications and so on. Of the three forms of cultural capital, (2) corresponds to the form exemplified particularly in what Clifford has termed “authentic masterpiece” or “authentic artifact” in his modern art-culture system. On the other hand, (1) is the cultural capital accumulated and embodied in the habitus of a certain social class. In

Paris, for instance, middle class professionals drink wine and often visit art museums, while the working class drinks cheaper alcohol and is crazy about football. Form (3) is particularly related to school education for obtaining a certain qualification. In this scheme, social class, education, and accumulation of cultural capital are correlated. Social class is thus reproduced not only economically but also culturally.

It is also important to know that Bourdieu sees culture in a dynamic way. He states: “Culture is not what one is but what one has, or, rather what one has become” (Bourdieu 1990: 211). On the basis of this dynamic view of culture, we have to analyze the process by which things become resources or by which we make something into a cultural resource or cultural capital.

### **Locations of Cultural Resources: Local, National and Global Perspectives**

Having examined the concept of culture working behind the term “cultural resources,” we now turn to the analytical framework of the process of how culture turns into resources. There are three fundamental locations in which “cultural resources become”: the local, the national, and the global. The most fundamental location for making use of culture as a resource is everyday cultural practice in a local community with a certain natural and social environment in which we live. To live is to cope with surroundings by making use of fundamental resources such as air, water, and food. This is a fundamental way of human subsistence. At the same time, humans also come to terms with their socio-cultural environment by making use of culture, such as language and knowledge. In this sense, living is nothing but managing cultural resources in a place where people live their lives.

However, our social world today is not limited to a local community. As Gordon Mathews (2000: 6-11) discusses, there are two fundamental agents that regulate cultural production today: the nation-state and the global market. In modern nation-states, different forms of local and regional culture—such as language, literature, arts, dances and religion—have become resources that are mobilized in the formation and maintenance of a national culture, especially through school education. Here, culture evolves from a simple way of life to a complex high culture. At the same time, with the penetration of capitalism into the remotest corners of the world, culture has also become a commodity that is bought and sold in a transnational market. Typical examples are music and food. Latin American reggae or Indonesian gamelan have become “world music” to be sold on CDs in the global market. In a global city, one can eat foods from all over the world, ranging from Japanese, Chinese, Korean, Thai, Vietnamese, to American, French, Italian, Spanish, Mexican and many other cuisines. The “cultural industry,” a term originally used by Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno in 1947 in a negative sense to describe mass cultural production such as film, music or television (Adorno 1990), has

penetrated into almost every corner of daily life today. What Mathews calls the “cultural supermarket” now prevails in the age of global consumerism.

Anthropology, with its ethnographic method, usually focuses on a small life-world of a particular local community in which people live. Examining the cultural resources in this micro-life-world, anthropology could make a unique contribution to the social science of resources. However, today there can be no micro society without relating to the macro system such as nation-state, global market, and international organizations. Therefore, in fact, we should examine the case in the “contact zone” between the micro- and the macro-system in which a set of cultural resources are innovated, manipulated and contested.

### **Making Use of Culture as a Resource in the Contexts of Tourism in Bali, Indonesia**

Now, we will look at an example of producing cultural resources. The case I would like to examine is that of Bali, Indonesia, in which the culture has become a resource for tourist development. Bali is well known as an international tourist destination. Historically, Balinese tourism dates back to the 1920s when it was discovered as “the last paradise” by Western artists and scholars. Under such an outsider’s “tourist gaze” (Urry 1990), Balinese culture was re-created for Western audiences (Yamashita 2003: Ch.3). It was what Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger (1984) called the “invention of tradition.”

After Indonesia’s independence, the first five-year development plan began in 1969 under President Suharto’s regime. In this plan, tourism was seen as an important source of foreign currency earnings for Indonesia, and Bali was designated as the most important of Indonesia’s international destinations. The Balinese Provincial Government adopted the policy of tourism development with a special emphasis on cultural tourism. Since then, Bali has grown successfully to the extent that Bali and tourism may be considered inseparable.

In this process of tourism development, Balinese culture has become a cultural resource economically as well as politically, both for the province of Bali and the Indonesian nation-state. Local culture has become part of the tourist industry in Bali in which “touristic culture,” culture created in the context of tourism, has emerged. Dance performances such as the famous kecak or baraong, for example, have now become commercialized for touristic purposes. For the Balinese individuals, therefore, dancing may become a cultural resource or cultural capital by which they can make a living, while dance performances for community festivals still remain as well (Yamashita 2003: Ch. 4 and 6). In this sense, Bali has been regarded as a successful case of making use of local culture in the field of tourism.

### **The Dilemma of Cultural Tourism: Cultural Heritage Contested<sup>11</sup>**

However, through this process, culture has become an “asset” or “cultural capital” which could be owned, managed and controlled by outsider money—be it Jakartan or international—out of the reach of Balinese hands (Aditjondro 1995). Even the Hindu religion, the emblem of current Balinese identity, has been commercialized by outsider money, exemplified by the Garuda Wisinu Project, launched in 1993, and the Bali Nirwana Resort project near Tanah Lot Temple in the same year (Couteau 2003: 54). Cultural tourism started so that the Balinese could control their own culture, but as a result of its practice, their culture has started moving beyond their control. This is the paradox that Balinese cultural tourism faces today.

The dilemma of cultural tourism comes to the fore in heritage tourism, particularly with regard to UNESCO’s World Heritage sites. Indonesia has seven World Heritage sites, including the famous Borobudur and Prambanan temple compounds in Java. Bali, however, does not have any World Heritage sites. Instead there has been a heated debate over the possible nomination of the Besakih Temple, the most important Hindu temple in Bali, as a UNESCO World Heritage site.

According to Darma Putra and Hitchcock (2005: 230), proposals to nominate Besakih as a World Heritage site have emerged on three occasions. The first of these took place in 1990. At that time, the Hindu Council Parisada rejected the proposal, objecting to the term *warisan* (“heritage”) because it seemed to imply that the people had abandoned Besakih. They did not want Besakih to be treated like Borobudur where ritual activities had been banned.<sup>12</sup> Two years later in 1992, controversy resurged when the national government issued a law on heritage conservation that would make it possible for Besakih and other temples to be listed as national heritage. This time again the Hindu Intellectual Forum persuaded the government not to include Besakih as a national heritage nor as a world heritage. Despite these two rejections, a third proposal appeared in 2001. This time, I Gde Ardika, the Balinese Minister of Culture and Tourism, played an important role. This new initiative stemmed from an international conference on cultural heritage conservation in Bali in 2000. Prior to the conference, a feasibility study was undertaken for drafting the proposal to nominate other sites, namely Taman Ayun and the Jatiluwih rice terrace. But, after a heated debate, the nomination of Besakih was halted again.<sup>13</sup>

An important reason for Balinese Hindus’ reluctance in accepting the Besakih as a national or a world heritage is because they would have to hand over the protection and the conservation of their temples not only to the world community, but also to the Indonesian state, in which Muslims constitute a majority. Furthermore, under the post-Suharto regime since 1998, the

resistance may relate to structural changes in Indonesia, with the devolution of power from the center to the periphery and regional autonomy. This has accelerated the complex identity politics within many parts of Indonesia, including Bali.

### **The Toraja Cultural Heritage between Preservation and Development**

Another example is also taken from Indonesia's Toraja of Sulawesi. In 2001, a traditional Toraja village settlement with rows of traditional houses (tongkonan) and rice barns (alang) at the Ke'te' Kesu' hamlet was nominated as a UNESCO World Heritage site. According to Kathleen Adams (2006: Ch.7), this was the result of years of lobbying by local Toraja tour agents and cultural activists as well as Toraja politicians in Jakarta. Toraja villagers expected that this would be a "big help" in revitalizing lagging tourist visits, and observed that with World Heritage site status, the people of Ke'te' Kesu' could "pay off debts, have cash for funerals that had been postponed, and modernize their homes." (Adams Ibid.: 213). Interestingly, we see here a difference in emphasis between UNESCO and the Toraja people with regard to the idea of World Heritage. While UNESCO stresses the "preservation" of "traditional cultural landscapes" of the Ke'te' Kesu' hamlet, Toraja people see it as "cultural capital" which they can make use of for their own "development" and the promotion of a "modern" lifestyle.

In fact, according to Adams, the hamlet itself is very much a product of the Dutch colonial past. She writes: "At the turn of the last century, the four ancestral houses that comprise the heart of the village were scattered on various peaks, miles from the current site. With the arrival of Dutch colonial forces in 1906, the advantages of concentrating ancestral houses near colonial headquarters were clear to the aristocratic founder of Ke'te' Kesu'. By 1927, this founder had relocated these scattered houses to their current site, thereby ensuring the longevity of the Ke'te' Kesu' name in the new Dutch era" (Adams 2005: 154). It was only after Indonesian Independence, under the tourism development policy introduced by the Suharto regime, that Ke'te' Kesu', with its "typical Toraja village" landscape, became an important tourist resource. In this sense, as Adams points out, Ke'te' Kesu' is not the static and unchanging embodiment of tradition imagined by UNESCO. Rather, it is the product of a long interplay between the local, the national, and the global.

World Heritage tourism has become popular in the recent tourism market. For tourism sectors, for a destination to be listed as a World Heritage site is to be recognized to have "outstanding touristic value" with an expectation that visitor numbers will increase. However, this possible economic benefit from increased tourism does not necessarily materialize or coincide with benefits to the local people. As a result, World Heritage becomes an essentially political

question: who is to make use of a heritage for whom, and for what purpose (Harrison and Hitchcock eds., 2005; Yamashita 2009: Ch.4) ?

### **Cultural Heritage in the Age of Globalization: A Perspective from the Anthropology of Cultural Resources**

In the global cultural flow situations mentioned at the beginning of this paper, we are no longer able to maintain the old conception of culture, which is characterized by bounded entities with their own sets of values and practices. Rather, we should see culture as “an active process of meaning making” (Wright 1998). Like the cases of Bali and Toraja, cultural heritage is contested and negotiated in the interplay of local, national and global perspectives. In East Asia, Kim Kwang-ok (2008), focusing on folk festivals in Korea and China, examined the interplay of local government, nation-state and international cultural organizations, and argued that cultural heritages are being redefined, reproduced and even invented for various political, economic and social purposes.<sup>14</sup>

In such global culturalscapes, it may be problematic for UNESCO to maintain the old fashioned concept of “bounded culture” for defining cultural heritage (cf. Wright 1998, Eriksen 2001). On the basis of this old idea of culture, UNESCO sees current globalization rather negatively and as a threat to “cultural heritage” and “cultural diversity” (Matsuura 2008: 33). From this perspective, UNESCO emphasizes the “preservation” of cultural tradition. In reality, however, like people, culture too travels. Culture is thus always—even before the current phase of globalization<sup>15</sup>—in the process of deterritorialization and hybridization. It may be that there is no such thing as a “pure” cultural tradition anywhere on the planet. Therefore, we need a dynamic conception of culture to understand the translocal cultural process in which cultural heritage is actually embedded. There is also an organizational problem. UNESCO is an international organization of the “United Nations” based on a nation-states regime. However, in the age of globalization, not nationalism but transnationalism has become a driving force in the formation of a new order of the world system.

The central question of cultural heritage within the interplay of local, national and global perspectives is, as was mentioned, “who is to make use of a heritage for whom, and for what purpose?” What is important in this cultural heritage governance is “position-taking.” Recalling Bourdieu’s words “prises de position” (Bourdieu 1993), the Australian historian Tessa Morris-Suzuki (2002) argues that the issue of identity is connected to the cultural resources of which the agent can make use. According to her, one’s identity is formed by taking one’s position in the multicultural environment through making use of the cultural resources at one’s disposal: language, ethnicity, gender, class, knowledge, religion as well

as others. She goes on to comment on democracy in the age of multiculturalism by saying “democracy today is not only about voting or redistributing wealth, but also about how to access cultural resources, how to express them, and how to transform them into cultural capital.”(Morris-Suzuki Ibid.: 261). Linking cultural resources to the contemporary democracy of “position-taking,” we could talk about multicultural governance as a challenge to cultural politics today. Recalling the cases of Bali and Toraja, priority should be given to local agents in this position-taking of cultural resources management. Cultural resources should be primarily utilized for local benefits. National and international agents are only collaborators for the implementation of their cultural resources.

### Conclusion

In conclusion, I would like to stress again that a cultural resource is not something that passively exists but something that is actively formed. Culture is then consciously reworked and manipulated for social, economic and political purposes under certain historical conditions. The making of cultural heritage in the age of globalization is a dynamic process that links all processes of local, national and global perspectives. It is part of “an active process of meaning making” in the contemporary world.

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## Notes

## (Endnotes)

- 1 This lecture is mainly based on my earlier paper (Yamashita 2009) presented at the International Forum on Intangible Cultural Heritage in East Asia organized by Korean UNESCO and the City Government of Gangneung, Korea on 24-25 November 2009.
- 2 Appadurai (2000: Ch.2) examines the “global cultural flows” by looking at five “scapes”: ethnoscapes, financescapes, technoscapes, mediascapes, and ideoscapes.
- 3 Funded by a grant-in-aid from the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, the project was titled “the Distribution and Sharing of Resources in Symbolic and Ecological Systems” with the leadership of Motomitsu Uchibori. It aimed to form an integrative area in anthropological studies by paying attention to the concept of resource, which is involved in the cross-bordered domain of natural environment and culture.
- 4 <http://www.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp/CR/acr/> Original is in Japanese. The quoted part is a rough translation of mine.
- 5 In this context it is easy to understand that Japan had a leading role in issuing the “convention for the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage” in 2006 on the basis of the past achievements of Japan’s cultural property protection law (Matsuura 2008: 59).
- 6 [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Masterpieces\\_of\\_the\\_Oral\\_and\\_Intangible\\_Heritage\\_of\\_Humanity](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Masterpieces_of_the_Oral_and_Intangible_Heritage_of_Humanity).
- 7 <http://portal.unesco.org>
- 8 <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?pg=00002>
- 9 <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001271/127160m.pdf>
- 10 According to Raymond Williams (1983: 90), this usage of culture developed in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries as the independent and abstract noun to describe the works and practices of intellectual and especially artistic activity, and is now the most widely used.
- 11 I have discussed this topic in other papers as well (Yamashita 2009 Ch.4; forthcoming).
- 12 However, this was based on a misunderstanding, as there are now examples of “living” World Heritage sites.
- 13 In spite of repeated local resistance, the Indonesian government proposed the “cultural landscape of Bali province” at the World Heritage Committee meeting held at Quebec City, Canada, in 2008. In this

proposal three cluster sites were listed for world heritage recognition: (1) the Jatiluwih rice field terraces, traditional villages in the Tabanan region together with its surrounding rice terraces, (2) Taman Ayun, the island's main temple complex, and (3) a group of eight temples along the Pakerisan River valley. However, the proposal was postponed for further revision. UNESCO World Heritage Centre: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/5100/>.

14 In East Asia, from ancient times, people and cultures travelled beyond local boundaries. With the translocal movement of people, Chinese characters, Confucianism and Buddhism spread throughout the region. In this shared context, China, Korea and Japan have had culture in common both tangible and intangible. This sharing has formed East Asian cultural complexity. Therefore, we sometimes need to consider cultural heritage not by nationality but by regionality. From this perspective it is useless to debate over the nationality of a certain intangible cultural heritage on the basis of nationalistic image of cultural tradition. However, sharing culture does not necessarily mean that the region has become culturally homogenous. Looking at the Gangneung Danoje Festival, Korea, it is completely different from the Chinese Dragon Boat Festival and the Japanese Tango no Sekku, in spite of using the same concept of Chinese origin "May the Fifth." In global cultural processes, culture is deterritorialized from the place of origin but reterritorialized in a new place as well. In other words, global cultural process should be "glocal" – global and local at the same time (Robertson 1995).

15 I put the adjective words "current phase" in front of globalization, since I regard globalization as a long historical process not limited to the present stage of globalization since the late 1980s (cf. Robertson 1992: Ch.3).