INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE

MEMORIAMEDIA e-Museum

Filomena Sousa

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methods, techniques and practices

Memória Imaterial CRL

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To all who locally create, produce, transmit and dedicate part of their lives to the safeguarding and enhancement of culture and collective heritage.

Intangible Cultural Heritage Filomena Sousa MEMORIAMEDIA methods, techniques and practices

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of writing about MEMORIAMEDIA is to bring to light and discuss the experiences related to this project, which has the subtitle "e-Museum of the Intangible Cultural Heritage". Based on a reflection about the issues concerning intangible culture, I address the project's positioning vis-à-vis a specific theoretical framework and the methods and techniques used in this research area.

The MEMORIAMEDIA project is hosted by IELT- Institute for Studies of Literature and Tradition - heritage, arts and cultures, from the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities of Universidade Nova de Lisboa. The organisation Memória Imaterial (Intangible Memory), a Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) accredited to provide advisory services to the UNESCO Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, is responsible for the project's authorship and management.

As an affiliate of the host institution that integrates the project, and as founding member of the NGO that runs it, the analysis I present holds an internal perspective to the project and discusses the problems and principles that guide the MEMORIAMEDIA team¹. This analysis is based on the documents and data/knowledge collected and produced during nine years of follow-up and participation in the project's activities.

Throughout this text I cross the theoretical, methodological and technical issues with MEMORIAMEDIA characterisation. I comment practices, processes, positions and share opinions. In order to represent the team, I embody the project and, in certain comments, the written record admits expressions such as "MEMORIAMEDIA uses...", "MEMORIAMEDIA has...".

The reflections I will develop are based on the principle that no project is entirely made of successes or failures. For this reason, complex situations will be addressed which, in the context of MEMORIAMEDIA, intangible cultural heritage, ethnography, anthropology or of social sciences in general, are not resolved (and may never attain a unique or final answer). Issues that must be tackled in the

¹ In 2015 MEMORIAMEDIA's team included: 2 members from the social sciences; 2 from the production and filmmaking; 1 from traditional literature and arts; 1 administrative/accountant. MEMORIAMEDIA also includes several external collaborators and an external scientific advisory committee.

relationship with local communities, in crossing scientific practice with ethics, negotiation and constant learning (Graham, 2010).

MEMORIAMEDIA e-Museum of the Intangible Cultural Heritage

The MEMORIAMEDIA project began in 2006 and has as main objectives²:

1. The research, inventorying, safeguarding and dissemination in the ethnographic and anthropological domains, such as: arts and crafts "know-how"; celebrations, traditional literature, performing practices and other individual and collective intangible cultural expressions;

2. Editing and publishing videographic, phonographic and written records through hypermedia and multimedia resources, particularly web-video, dvd, cd, cd-rom and books;

3. To organize, create and produce events dedicated to the dissemination of Portuguese and international intangible cultural heritage, namely exhibitions, visual installations, conferences, colloquiums and seminars;

4. To organize and carry out training activities on the topics referred to in paragraph 1.

The project adopts the principles that form the basis of "new museology" (a theme developed in Chapter 1), which encompasses the concept of "total virtual museum" - museums digitally created, without physical space but also without timetable constraints, with archives available anywhere in the world (as long as internet access is available); where museum visitors can seize, share, suggest and add information (Oliveira, 2002). It also fits the definition adopted by the General Assembly of the International Council of Museums: "a museum is a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the

 $^{^{\}rm 2}$ Following the grantor, manager and responsible for project's statutes – Memória Imaterial CRL (Intangible Memory CRL).

tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment" (ICOM, 2007).

One of the main premises of the project is the dissemination of knowledge produced by civil society and the scientific community. To this end, the results of its work are disseminated online and free of charge through the site www.memoriamedia.net³.

Much of the research carried out by the project involves the active participation of local communities and usually begins with a request for collaboration from local authorities and/or local associations that represent these communities. For this reason, since 2006 MEMORIAMEDIA has established agreements with several institutions and informal groups, such as municipalities (libraries, schools and museums), foundations, local associations, local groups, local development agents and other non-governmental organizations.

MEMORIAMEDIA and the concepts of Intangible Cultural Heritage and Community

Before moving forward with the debate underlying the issues related to Intangible Cultural Heritage (expression that in this text will often be replaced by the acronym ICH) I feel it is important to enunciate the assumptions that lie beneath the project and the definitions of "ICH" and "community" adopted by the work team. These options are the result of discussions and critical thinking developed over the years and, due to their complexity, I examine these concepts throughout the book.

Briefly, there are five assumptions that guide the project in relation to ICH.

It is considered:

1) The study of ICH within a broader context that deals with the issues of culture and cultural heritage, namely:

³MEMORIAMEDIA's contents can be freely accessed, free of charge. They can be shared under the Creative Commons system, i.e. as long as the origin of the information and its authorship is referred.

- a. To talk about cultural heritage is to address patrimonialization processes that turn cultural assets into cultural heritage. It is to work on social constructs⁴;
- b. There are several approaches that focus on patrimonialization processes. Different views which are not totally disconnected and are related to different schools and several socio-economic and cultural "isms", among them: the traditionalism; the constructivism; the mercantilism; the patrimonialism and the participationist approach. ⁵ (Ashworth, 1994; García Canclini, 1989, 1999a; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2001; Pereiro, 2006; Prats, 1997; Rodríguez Becerra, 1997; Sierra, 2000; Stoffle, 2000);
- c. The development of principles applicable to cultural heritage is extensible to ICH: the transition from a "materialistic" and "traditionalist" perspective to a more anthropological and "culturalist" view.
- 2) The definition of the intangible cultural heritage concept is not original or completely new, since it conveys a redefinition of terminologies which in Portugal, for instance, have been addressed for more than a century in the fields of Ethnography and Anthropology - "traditional", "popular", "folklore", i.e. the study of "popular and traditional cultures". It was through the UNESCO Convention for the safeguarding of ICH (2003, ratified by Portugal in 2008) that the category "intangible cultural heritage" has been set up in the international context. The word "intangible" is intended to redefine concepts and overcome the controversial debate concerning traditional terminologies (P. F. Costa, 2008, 2013; Leal, 2009, 2013; Pereiro, 2006). This is particularly true in countries where the "folklorization movement" left a strong legacy that is still felt, where traditional terminologies are still associated with initiatives to emphasize expressions that promote national identity and to standardize/freeze cultural manifestations (as previously happened in Portugal, especially during the dictatorship period, with the production of "Estado Novo" nationalist ethnography);

⁴The term "patrimonialization", primarily used in francophone studies, refers to the way that places, popular traditions, and artefacts are transform into heritage. Processes involved in a complex global/local context – the cultural, historical, social, economic, juridical and political system.

⁵ Perspectives described in Chapter 1 and based in the Pereiro's proposal (2006).

- Cultural heritage issues currently have an international projection and are subject to heritage policies that cross the world with supranational, national, regional and local levels;
- In ICH processes, the involvement of civil society gains a new dimension and is legitimized by international legal provisions (Bortolotto, 2011c) (this does not mean that the democratisation of these processes is being implemented with full success);
- 5) Taking into account the previously stated assumptions, it is appropriate to analyse the various steps and tools used in the processes of intangible culture patrimonialization, i.e., it is important to understand what characterizes intangible cultural manifestations, the involvement of local communities and the processes of identification, enhancement, inventorying and safeguarding ICH.

In addition to these assumptions, the concept of ICH adopted by the project follows the definition in the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (UNESCO, 2003):

ICH "means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity" (UNESCO, 2003, no.1, art.2.).

The Convention defines the following ICH domains:

- "a) Oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage;
- b) Performing arts;
- c) Social practices, rituals and festive events;
- d) Knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe;
- e) Traditional craftsmanship" (UNESCO, 2003, no.2, art.2)⁶.

⁶ A more complete definition of the ICH domains (established by the Convention) is presented by Clara Cabral (2009) and can be found in ANNEX 1.

In MEMORIAMEDIA we established different sections to refer to the domains defined by the Convention (No. 1 in Figure 1): "oral expression" = domain a); "performing practices" = domain b); "celebrations" = domain c); "nature and universe" = domain d); and "know-how" = domain e).

The project thus adopts the spirit and guidelines of the UNESCO Convention (2003) and assumes that ICH is the cultural manifestations that local communities identify and value as such, taking into account that these expressions are (Bortolotto, 2011c):

- Transmitted from generation to generation⁷;
- Practised nowadays They are not mere representations of cultural practices that no longer exist or that have become decontextualized, institutionalized or manipulated for mercantilist, political or other interests;
- Manifestations that become transformed "with and in the time" relating themselves with supra-local contexts of mobility and the flow of people, goods and knowledge;
- ICH is related to tangible, immovable and natural heritage (the holistic character of the processes).

On the homepage of the site, the section "exhibitions" highlights some projects accomplished (No. 2 in Figure 1); in the section "events" it is possible to consult registers and information about conferences, seminars and meetings dedicated to ICH (No. 3 in Figure 1); the section "collections" gathers the repository of institutions' and individuals' collections assigned to MEMORIAMEDIA by several authors (No. 4 in Figure 1); in "inventory" we organized the information about the elements of the different sections into a database, searchable by word, municipality or ICH domain (No. 5 in Figure 1).

While browsing the site, if the visitor goes to "oral expressions" he will find the contents organized by municipalities, featuring the places where we already worked (No. 1 in Figure 2). If he goes to one of those municipalities, for example Alenquer, he will find references to people with whom we worked (No. 1 in Figure 3). Following one of these hyperlinked name, such as Mariana Monteiro, he will find the types of oral expressions that she shared - a video, a story (No. 2 in Figure 3); another video, a poem; a third video, a song (...) (No. 3 in Figure 3).

⁷ We consider the transmission, at least, between two generations.

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Figure 2: Page concerning the "oral expressions" domain on memoriamedia.net (2015)

Next to each video is the inventory sheet of the ICH elements (No. 4 of Figure 3) (The MEMORIAMEDIA Inventory is presented in detail in Chapter 3).

Those who visit the sections "know-how", "celebrations", "performing practices" or "nature and universe" will find the sections organized according to the categories set out for each of these domains in Ministerial Order No. 196/2010. For example, as regards "know-how" we have the work divided by: "manufacturing activities"; "kitchen and food"; "body and clothing", "breeding and use of animals". As we accomplish new inventories items, we add the categories needed (No. 1 in Figure 4).

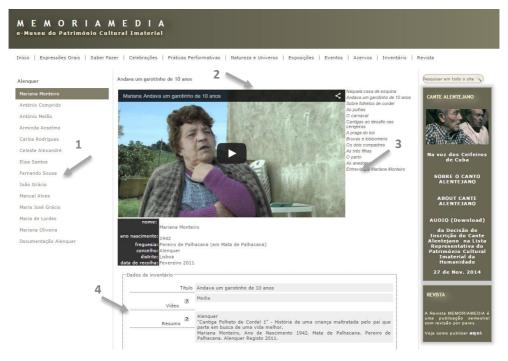


Figure 3: Example of entries in the "oral expression" domain on memoriamedia.net (2015)



Figure 4: Categories of the "know-how" domain on memoriamedia.net (2015)

To conclude this brief introduction to MEMORIAMEDIA, in a short aside I present some statistical data concerning the access to the site and the profile of the e-Museum user (data recorded between April 2014 and April 2015). Thus:

- On average, 2000 videos and associated information (inventory, documents and photographs) were consulted per day;
- 56% of the views originated in Portugal, 19% in Brazil; 6% in a group of countries comprising Switzerland, Spain, Germany and the United Kingdom; 5% in France; 3% in the United States and Canada. The remaining 11% are distributed by several countries, including Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands; Croatia, Japan, Mexico, Argentina, Venezuela, Mozambique and China;
- 59% of visitors are males and 41% female;
- In relation to age, among visitors from Portugal, 20% are between 13 and 24 years old, 40% between 25 and 44 years old, 30% between 45 and 64 years old, and 10% are more than 65 years old⁸;

⁸ No data is available about the education or social class of the users.

• 75% of the visitors used the computer as an access device; 12% the tablet; 12% the phone and 1% other types of devices.

About what caused the interest of site users, we can highlight, among the "oral expressions", the riddles and *cante alentejano*. In the "know-how" domain, traditional gastronomy distinguished itself by the number of views per day. In Portugal, the usual user is the individual visitor, but schools, hospitals and universities also consult MEMORIAMEDIA regularly.

In 2015, of the 1500 elements inscribed on the site (with video records), 635 had completed the inventory process, while the remaining elements were being inventoried.

Returning to the issue of concepts and, more specifically, to the definition of "community", the Convention does not present any concrete conceptualization regarding this word which is quite complex and not always consensual (subject developed in Chapter 1). Not forgetting the risk of following a single and homogeneous concept of community, MEMORIAMEDIA uses as a starting point for that debate the definition presented by the Asia/Pacific Cultural Centre for UNESCO (ACCU-UNESCO, 2006: 9): "communities are networks of people whose sense of identity or connectedness emerges from a shared historical relationship that is rooted in the practice and transmission of, or engagement with, their ICH [Intangible Cultural Heritage]"⁹.

At the MEMORIAMEDIA project we associate to the concept of ICH an emic approach. The terms emic and etic were created from the concepts of phonetics and phonemics used in the "objective research of the sounds of a language accomplished by scientists and the knowledge and subjective meanings of the sounds of their natural speakers' language" (Duarte, 2010: 46). These terms are used today in several areas and, in the light of the anthropological analysis defined by Kenneth Pike, "descriptions or analyses from etic standpoint are 'alien' in view, with criteria external to the system. Emic descriptions provide an internal view,

⁹ The concepts of "group" and "individuals" are also defined in this document (ACCU-UNESCO, 2006: 9):

[&]quot;Groups: comprise people within or across communities who share characteristics such as skills, experience and special knowledge, and thus perform specific roles in the present and future practice, re-creation and/or transmission of their intangible cultural heritage as, for example, cultural custodians, practitioners or apprentices.

Individuals: are those within or across communities who have distinct skills, knowledge, experience or other characteristics, and thus perform specific roles in the present and future practice, re-creation and/or transmission of their intangible cultural heritage as, for example, cultural custodians, practitioners and, where appropriate, apprentices."

with criteria chosen from within the system. They represent to us the view of one familiar with the system and who knows how to function within it himself" (1967: 38).

To follow an emic perspective is to use a culturalist approach that pays attention to the details and specificities of each context by taking into consideration the interpretations of the social actors.

According to an emic approach, the patrimonialization process activation should be initiated by the communities, the local actors, and not from foreign agents or an etic approach, since scientific, technical or administrative institutions might make the mistake of ignoring or refusing to use as a resource the actors' discursive subjectivity and the real involvement of communities, groups and individuals.

It should be noted that we believe the current application of the citizens' participation principle in the process of intangible culture patrimonialization is residual. This participation depends on the availability of information to enlighten communities. An informed population corresponds to a greater participation and we think that the correct information about ICH issues has not yet reached civil society.

In Portugal, when the Convention was ratified in 2008 and after Fado's inscription on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2011¹⁰, the importance of the role of social actors and legitimate bearers in the intangible heritage patrimonialization processes was only moderately understood among civil society. Even today, when it comes to ICH, the first idea that occurs is to identify an element to inscribe on the World Intangible Heritage Lists rather than the identification, enhancement, study and intensive/extensive safeguarding of local/national intangible cultural heritage from within the local social agents.

Since 2008, several organizations expressed their intention to inscribe different local/national cultural manifestations on the international lists. Many of these proposals were announced in the media, but failed to materialize in nominations because they neither followed the spirit of the Convention nor were sufficiently informed about ICH concepts. Some derived from administrative or scientific institutions and not from the communities' representatives. Others were promoted by local representatives but the actual involvement of the creators, producers and transmitters of the cultural element was not always properly demonstrated in the outline of the nomination intention.

¹⁰ Portugal also inscribed in this list the Mediterranean Diet, in 2013, and Cante Alentejano, in 2014.

We consider that more important than highlighting and recognizing some expressions as intangible cultural heritage of Humanity, the real ICH enhancement and safeguarding is achieved through local action and by inventorying all elements that communities consider as heritage.

When the patrimonialization of intangible cultural expressions focuses on the inscription of elements on the world Lists, certain manifestations are favoured at the expense of others and the danger of prioritising or discriminating traditions that are socially less acknowledged increases. According to Khaznadar (2013) the existence of world lists increases the risk of State Parties perceiving the inscription of ICH elements on these lists as titles of honour and as a recognition that supports their international visibility, their privileges and the power they exercise over local, regional and national leaders, thus favouring situations of patronage.

In addition to the advantages and disadvantages that may arise from the inscription of elements on the world Lists, the processes of ICH identification, inventorying, analysis, contextualisation and safeguarding do not necessarily entail the inscription of cultural expressions on the UNESCO lists. The community and its representatives (local administration and local associations/groups), along with heritage and culture professionals and with the collaboration of the academia, can/should act locally and promote the research, safeguarding and dissemination of ICH (Isnart, 2013).

We believe that, just as each municipality has inventoried and safeguarded material heritage, monuments and natural heritage, the same should happen with ICH. We are talking about distinctive types of heritage, with different characteristics but that complement each other. We think it would be advantageous to implement locally, at the municipality level, a policy to inventory ICH intensively and longitudinally. This sort of action develops the sense of community, enhances cultural diversity and, in the current context of society's globalization and homogenization, supports self-knowledge and local culture.

It will only be possible to develop a serious inventorying work - neither hierarchical nor excluding – if it begins at the local level. If States Parties afterwards decide to nationally recognize some of the expressions locally acknowledged, or if there are manifestations that will be recognized worldwide, that is another level of action and it is beyond the primary and effective task of enhancing and protecting ICH in the country's different municipalities.

In the context of processes' democratization, we believe that NGOs have a key role regarding three aspects of intangible culture patrimonialization: a) as active

agents of information (Chapter 1); b) in promoting ICH inventorying at the locallevel (Chapter 3); and c) in promoting community capacity-building. The local agents that start with success the phase of identifying the ICH they intend to enhance and safeguard, when they reach the stage of processing the information they need technical and scientific guidance, which is not always at their disposal (Chapter 1).

The great difficulties NGOs face in their work with intangible cultural heritage are, simultaneously, their major challenges and what motivates their action. The most important is, through a professional and ethical stand, to be able to collaborate and work with and for the people. On the other hand, it is important to have a constant critical attitude about what one does; beware of misappropriation situations and promote a true recognition, appreciation and empowerment of those that in their villages, towns and cities produce and reproduce intangible culture.

In Chapter 1, I continue to develop the issue of cooperation between the academia and local social agents, a complex task because communities are heterogeneous social entities and there are different interests and different ways of understanding heritage among the people involved.

In Chapter 2, I contextualize the MEMORIAMEDIA project in the historical context of Portuguese ethnographic and anthropological production. I mention the existing legal instruments that regulate intangible culture patrimonialization processes and I address its different stages - identification, research, inventorying and safeguarding -, describing the way MEMORIAMEDIA is involved in each of these lines of action.

In Chapter 3, I detail the issues underlying the inventorying of ICH, I list the guidelines that structure this process and I describe the inventorying methodology used by MEMORIAMEDIA. I also highlight the project's use of audiovisual resources by associating them to the inventory and, while taking into consideration the different audiovisual formats produced by Portuguese ethnography along the years, I present the audiovisual registration format used in the project - a format inspired in interactionism and visual participative methodologies (Campos, 2011a).

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CHAPTER 1

1.1. LOCAL COMMUNITIES

The ICH legal regime assigns a key role in the transmission and safeguarding of intangible culture to the involvement and participation of those who "create, maintain and transmit such heritage" (UNESCO, 2003, art. 15). It is stressed, for each line of action, the need to use participatory and democratic community intervention methodologies in which the role of social actors is predominant.

According to the 2003 Convention directives, those who produce ICH should not be understood as "passive informants", spectators or beneficiaries of patrimonialization. The cultural expressions' producers are the active agents of these processes in collaboration with the local/regional administration and the academia. In turn, administrative institutions and scientific and/or heritage organisations (museums, archives, research centres, etc.) are instructed to act in a spirit of collaboration, mediation, "negotiation" with the local communities; as supporting agents and not in a logic of owning the "exclusivity" or "authority" over the process (P. F. Costa, 2013).

It is also in this perspective that the concept of "heritage community" is defined in the Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society, known as the Faro Convention (2005, ratified in Portugal in 2008): "a heritage community consists of people who value specific aspects of cultural heritage which they wish, within the framework of public action, to sustain and transmit to future generations" (COE, 2005, point (b) of art. 2).

Safeguarding duties are thus considered in the light of the right to freedom of practitioners. Accordingly, they may refuse the patrimonialization process and, as a result, the extinction of an element "by the will of its practitioners or in the absence of consent for its safeguarding" becomes legitimate (Claro, 2009: 151).

The Convention is, however, controversial regarding who is entitled to decide on the future of intangible expressions. On the one hand it defines ICH as the "living" practices, created and produced by people who may authorize, or not, its transmission and/or patrimonialization, on the other hand, if an element is in danger of disappearing, the Convention places it under a regime of urgent safeguarding which implies a joint activity between producers and specialized agents, scientifically and technically informed (P. F. Costa, 2008). The information on who should decide whether an element needs revitalization actions or not is not clear nor free from interpretations. The question becomes even more complex if we consider the constant replacement of the individuals or collective agents that produce cultural expressions. According to Leal, a ICH manifestation, "in addition to its actors in the present, had other actors in the past and will certainly have other actors in the future. From year to year, it is just by an optical illusion that one can presume that the feast is the same: the script may on the whole be similar but the enactment is different. The actors are different, their interpretation of the script is different, their intonation, their style, is different" (2013: 140). So how can one generation or the producers of a certain practice, in a given year, have legitimacy to come to the decision of ending it?

The definitions of community and heritage community, as well as the legitimacy of those communities to decide the future of intangible cultural practices poses another question: are we not inadvertently considering communities as homogeneous organizations, "naturally" constituted and unified in their origin, in their evolution or in their decisions?

Communities as social, cultural, economic and political systems are complex and heterogeneous organizations comprising different strengths and different interests. Communities are subject to a particular distribution of power and "a process of assigning heritage value based on internal and subjective criteria becomes easily manipulated by actors who occupy key positions within the community" (Bortolotto, 2011c: 15).

The image that communities give of themselves are constructions that highlight consensus and cover up internal conflicts. Since patrimonialization is a mechanism of a group's identity legitimation one should not simplify or define a superficial and idealized concept of community. It is important to be aware that this process will entail tensions, assertions of power, dialectics, conflicts and negotiations within communities (Pereiro, 2006).

For this reason, it is important to be vigilant and notice if in the patrimonialization process, taking into account the difficulty in managing the interaction between holism and individualism, the collective subjects' participation and the so called empowerment strategies are not being simulated or associated with spokespeople who, without being authorized to do so, speak on behalf of the communities (Leal, 2013).

Another aspect to highlight is the fact that the ICH concept was fostered by national and supranational governmental institutions that defined what "regulates" intangible cultural elements' patrimonialization processes and

proclaimed the need for the direct participation of civil society in these processes (Leal, 2013). Through an etic procedure, these institutions defined the programmes and legal instruments for the safeguarding of ICH, i.e., this process was not born out of populations' claims or out of their democratic participation in these decisions.

According to Bortolotto, we find ourselves today before the first safeguarding programs that "bear the difficult task of moving forward in a precarious balance, facilitating the direct participation of civil society in cultural policymaking and at the same time avoiding potential manipulations of their relativists derivations" (2011c: 15). Therefore, to put into practice the Convention's directives is to face real challenges, is moving in a reflective stance that ponders on how communities live, manage, enhance and safeguard their cultural expressions and in what way can they be supported by technical, administrative and academic institutions.

1.1.1. Local Communities and MEMORIAMEDIA

Concerning how should local actors be understood in relation to patrimonialization processes, we agree with the emic approach. On the subject of the bottom-up model, often referred to as ideal because it values communities' interests, decisions and solutions, we believe, however, that it leads to a structured and hierarchical system arranged into two different levels of power – a higher level that is "on top" and a lower level, which is "below" – thus fostering the existence of subordinates or situations where the final decision will ultimately be, inevitably, at the "top". We thus prefer not to use the bottom-up concept.

One could argue that the terms "down" and "up" do not imply an absolute hierarchy, a pejorative, condescending or even discriminatory value, and that the bottom-up model defends, above all, the need to reverse the process and the idea that democracy is only truly implemented if starting from the bases. To this argument we reply that concepts must not create misunderstandings, and we stress the need to balance the powers evenly.

To better explain this position, I share an episode I experienced in Elvas which made me question the use of these terms. At a meeting with more than 100 people I enthusiastically congratulated the municipality and the population for having identified the ICH manifestations they wished to be inventoried and for having decided how to organise that inventory - and only afterwards having required our services. I congratulated them for spontaneously having followed

UNESCO recommendations, that is, for having adopted a bottom-up approach: an approach from the "bottom to the top", from the community to the experts or to the academia. As soon as I said this, I realized that I had committed a *faux pas*, since I was literally saying that the community was "below" us, the experts. It was not what I meant, but it was what I had just said. I think that at the time I managed to get around the issue and the audience was not offended by my words, but this episode made me think how we, academics, use terms without truly questioning them and when we sometimes try to explain them to ICH practitioners, they are inadequate and "treacherous", "perverting" the sense we wish to give our actions.

How can we explain the bottom-up model to the communities without the idea of hierarchy lying behind? On the one hand, there seems to be no way of addressing the bottom-up model together with the ICH practitioners, without bearing in mind that when we talk about who is "at the bottom" we usually mean communities, groups or individuals. In the case of ICH, we refer to those who are actually involved in valuing and safeguarding cultural heritage, of those who offer their knowledge and their time in support of culture and the collective.

On the other hand, If the citizens' decision is equally or more important than the rulers' decision, why shouldn't we value them at the same level? Or why shouldn't we place communities and citizens at a higher level, "above" the Central Government, those who, mandated by voters, have the mission of defending the interests and improving the living conditions of the first?

Between bottom-up and top-down, several authors began to support a mesolevel, where the relations between the local/micro and the global/macro becomes intensified:

"(...) on the one hand, the literature on local and regional development has developed sound 'meso-level' analytical tools which combine inductive and deductive perspectives on local and regional development dynamics. On the other, the macro-economic approach to development has made significant steps towards becoming more open to inductive reasoning and, hence, to the consideration of local specificities" (Crescenzi e Rodrípez-Pose, 2011: 3).

However, as already mentioned, we prefer to use the emic concept, disseminating the idea that the intangible culture patrimonialization process should respect and value the interpretation of those who are directly involved in the production of cultural expressions, and that their voices are more important than the activities or involvement of foreign agents. It is among the people belonging to communities that a specific cultural element is self-perpetuated, extinguishes itself or is revitalized. Communities are the true bearers of ICH and many Portuguese cultural expressions have been transmitted from generation to generation over tens or hundreds of years, regardless of whether safeguarding policies exist or not. The transmission of knowledge is an action that communities decide to maintain or extinguish, and when they keep it, they garnish it with what they consider to be the tradition, the symbolic, but also the change, the hybridism and the adaptation to new contexts and new actors. That is to say, the last word and the decision about what intangible cultural heritage is, and how should it be valued and safeguarded, belongs to local communities.

One of the roles allocated to non-governmental organizations working in the field of intangible cultural heritage is the decoding of the Convention Directives for the benefit of social actors. Since the programs and the national and international legal instruments for the safeguarding of ICH were designed by experts, academics and governmental institutions (without discussion or local public participation), NGOs appear in the framework of the Convention's implementation as mediating organizations that strive to explain the academic and legal language to ICH practitioners at the local level. As regards this task, which is not always easy, we feel that the NGO responsible for the project MEMORIAMEDIA – Memória Imaterial (Intangible Memory) – should reflect on these situations as it experiences difficulties or finds inconsistencies between the theoretical or political discourse and the real possibilities of implementing the Convention, and adopt the vocabulary that, in practice, better corresponds to the purpose of promoting and safeguarding ICH.

a) An example - ICH inventorying in the Municipality of Elvas

As an example of how, in practice, the MEMORIAMEDIA team collaborates with ICH producers, I shall describe the inventorying process in the municipality of Elvas¹¹. It should be noted that each project has its own characteristics and there are neither "recipes" nor unique or perfect acting models; however, by bearing in mind the techniques and methodologies used in social sciences and the Convention recommendations, as well as following an ethical conduct, it is possible to establish several stages to act within this collaboration.

The projects to be included in MEMORIAMEDIA usually start as a response to requests made by ICH producers or by their direct representatives (local

¹¹ Elvas is a municipality in the District of Portalegre, in the Alto Alentejo, which was classified as a UNESCO World Heritage site in 2012.

authorities, associations or informal groups). When they become acquainted with MEMORIAMEDIA (through the website, presentations or other dissemination forms) they convey their interest in accomplishing the registration, contextualization and inventorying of expressions they regard as intangible cultural heritage, considering they may afterwards use the archive and disseminate the results on the MEMORIAMEDIA website.

As stated previously, the communities that successfully start the identification phase often require support, technical and scientific guidance and capacity-building regarding ICH inventorying processes. MEMORIAMEDIA has been sought as a viable response to this need. This is what happened with the ICH inventorying process in Elvas¹².

The project started from the initiative of Elvas City Hall and, when this body requested Memória Imaterial collaboration, the cultural expressions to be addressed had already been identified. A team of City Hall technicians conducted a first survey by applying a questionnaire to the community and its representatives - parishes, informal groups and local associations/organizations, which allowed the population to identify the elements they considered to be representative of local intangible cultural heritage and that therefore should be inventoried, studied and safeguarded.

After the first contact with the City Hall team we suggested that a work plan would be presented to us (during a meeting) with the description of the ICH elements to be addressed; its creators, producers and transmitters; the most striking moments; the timing and expectations in relation to the work to be carried out. In fact, whenever a project team is interested in taking part in the submitted plan, we agree to collaborate with the promoter¹³. The criteria we use in evaluating this interest are usually the following:

- The plan fits the spirit of the Convention;
- It shows cultural/anthropological/ethnographic relevance;

¹² Where I participated in a MEMORIAMEDIA team with José Barbieri and Rosário Rosa, in cooperation with an Elvas Municipality team composed of Patrícia Machado and Isabel Pinto, and with the collaboration of Romão Mimoso, Leonor Calado and Rui Jesuino.

¹³ Depending on the work plan presented to MEMORIAMEDIA, on the economic and financial capacities of the organizations contacting the project and on the size and type of work to be accomplished, the achievement of the research, the registration and the inventorying may be subject to a budget's presentation and acceptance. Costs related to the work's archive, publication and dissemination on the website www.memoriamedia.net are supported by Memória Imaterial CRL.

- The ICH bearers and practitioners are accessible and authorise the inventorying process;
- We can count on the collaboration of mediators/community representatives that put us in touch with the bearers and practitioners. These are museum or libraries professionals, members of local associations, heritage protection associations, anthropologists and others who know the field and have already worked with the community;
- Documentation is available¹⁴.

Regarding the work accomplished in Elvas, which lasted a year, the MEMORIAMEDIA team worked with the City Hall team and with more than 100 people who were directly involved in the creation, production and transmission of cultural manifestations in several localities in the municipality. Currently, 15 cultural expressions in different domains are inventoried - cyclical events, most of which follow festivities and agricultural calendars:

- In the "know-how" domain (arts and crafts) tannery, leather and cork works from Terrugem; the *ronca* from Elvas; sweet plums from Elvas; the *sericaia* and cookies of S. Sebastião;
- In the "Celebrations" domain (religious processions and pilgrimages) Procissão dos Passos in Vila Boim; Procissão dos Ramos in Vila Boim; Enterro do Senhor in Vila Boim; Procissão do Mandato in Elvas; Procissão of S. Sebastião in Barbacena; Aleluias in Terrugem; Procissão of Pendões in Elvas; Romarias in Elvas and Romarias in Vila Boim;
- Oral Expressions (songs): Cantar dos Reis in Barbacena¹⁵.

The project was developed in collaboration with the practitioners of cultural expressions during several phases: planning, study and collection of

¹⁴ The field work is preceded by document and bibliographical research in municipal archives, local and national libraries and research centres. Once the documentation that characterizes and contextualizes the ICH element nowadays and its evolution over the years is collected, we make a sort of *tabula rasa* of that information and move forward, with the support of local organizations and actors, to work with the communities. The objective of this practice is to understand what has been produced or registered about the element, making sure that the information found does not interfere too much in the registration of the individuals' discursive subjectivity and, through this, allow ourselves to approach the practices and representations of the element's practitioners.

¹⁵ We also recorded the social memory and oral history of Vila Fernando Correctional Colony. The ICH concept cannot be applied to this register because it does not address a specific cultural element and does not exist in present days; however, with the agreement of the community representatives, and taking into account the importance they attach to it, it was decided to include this subject matter in the inventory and reference it as "collective memory and social history".

documentation, audiovisual register, presentation and discussion of final results, and public presentation. In these phases, carried out in different periods - before, during and after the cultural practices - the population and, in particular, the practitioners of cultural expressions, guided the team in accomplishing the field work. To be precise, they were treated as co-authors of the study and the inventory recording. The objectives of the work were previously established in partnership with representatives of the communities; it was the practitioners that involved in the project other people relevant to the production of cultural expressions; it was them who signalled the moments, details, locations and chronology of the events/processes; who facilitated the access to documentation; who identified objects and built or natural spaces associated with the events; who indicated the environments - the conditions of more or less intimacy in which the various moments of the practices were performed, thus influencing the way they were recorded; who shared the meanings they gave to the cultural expressions; the memories, the episodes they considered most relevant, historical facts and their expectations regarding the future of the practices; they were the ones who authorized the presence of the team, the inventorying and the registration of the ICH practices.

The research technique most commonly used to approach the community was non-participant observation, during which we followed the instructions of local agents and registered their practices. During interviews we used non-directive techniques, without predefined scripts and following the chronology, the direction and contents shared by the interviewees.

It was important, during the field work, to carry out a critical analysis regarding the flexibility of the techniques being applied and their suitability to unforeseen situations or moments. Reference frameworks were duly considered, as well as the adequacy of the language used by the team and other social actors when trying to develop a relationship based on trust and cooperation (being aware that this relationship always influences the work that is being accomplished). We reflected on how to use technical and multimedia resources, trying not to be too invasive and to respect the rhythms and the rights of practitioners.

Once the ICH manifestations and all the tasks related to its organisation were finished, and before publishing the inventory, in a second moment of the project we met again with the community representatives to present the results achieved (contextualization articles, the database, photographic records and documentary videos). This moment was useful to avoid any inaccuracies, to confirm the names of participants and the vocabulary associated with the intangible and tangible heritage, as well as to correct some chronological inconsistencies. To date, no awkward situations arise due of representatives or communities wishing to censor or manipulate the results.

Specifically about the Elvas project, other ICH elements will be included in the inventory and, in order to maintain an updated knowledge, the inventory will be reviewed at a periodicity to be defined (it is foreseen that every 10 years). However, in 2014, the inventory of the above mentioned 15 ICH manifestations was published online¹⁶ and, in a third moment of the project, on April 12, 2014, a public presentation session took place to which all the community was invited and, in particular, all the persons who participated in the inventorying process and in the cultural practices.

In this session, the results from the collaboration between the research teams and the ICH practitioners were returned to the population. Community representatives expressed their feelings and the inventory's website and a documentary of about 40 minutes that summarized the recorded ICH manifestations were both presented. The session was also useful because the population could comment on the work we had done, which allowed us to see if they agreed with the project's results and whether the cultural practices study and inventory were validated by them, thus making it possible to proclaim the project as a shared responsibility among researchers, local government, other bodies representing the community and practitioners. The population was confronted with its own image, with the way it preserves and gives life to intangible culture; that is, the session became a moment that belonged to the community itself.

Figure 5 illustrates the Elvas ICH Inventory which was presented during the public session and is available online. In the project page, on the left, one can find the menu for all the elements (No. 1 in Figure 5); every ICH element is documented by a film (No. 2 in Figure 5) and the associated inventory (No. 3 in Figure 5) (as mentioned before, the MEMORIAMEDIA Inventory is presented in detail in Chapter 3).

¹⁶ In http://www.memoriamedia.net/index.php/exposicoes/elvas-cultura-viva

Intangible Cultural Heritage Filomena Sousa



Figure 5: Example of an element in the Elvas Municipality ICH Inventory - memoriamedia.net (2015)

This is an example of how we relate to the community in an ICH inventorying process which, in a later assessment, we consider positive results were obtained. Other ways of proceeding may be used, with more or less intervening approaches and participative methodologies.

Throughout the whole process it is necessary to dialogue, listen, negotiate and, in an ethical and professional stance, use wisdom and understand the arguments and interests of the communities. One of the difficulties that the team often faces relates to the different interpretations that communities' representatives make about their intangible cultural heritage, sometimes by lack of knowledge and sometimes by intentionally misrepresenting it. I shall develop this issue in the next section.

1.2. APPROACHES TO CULTURAL HERITAGE AND THE ROLE OF COMMUNITIES

A first statement that should be highlighted when discussing the concept of cultural heritage is the fact that neither everything that is heritage (inherited from the past) is cultural, nor everything that is culture is heritage (Pereiro, 2006). The definition of cultural heritage entails a public and community sense (and not an exclusively personal or private sense), also implying a symbolic representation of culture (not being culture itself). Through processes of selection, negotiation, enhancement and assignment of status, the cultural elements' value is transformed and, in this sense, patrimonialization processes are, by definition, social constructions (Pereiro, 2006; Prats, 1997).

In addition, the values assigned to cultural heritage are diverse and depend on the type of approach under which patrimonialization processes are perceived. Among others, one may underline: the historic value; the authenticity value; the aesthetic or artistic value; the antiquity and rarity values; the outstanding value; the timeliness or contemporary value; the documentary value (sound media, audiovisual, computer, bibliographic); the ethnographical value (the way a cultural object represents lifestyles and symbolic meanings of cultural identities) (Pereiro, 2006; Riegl, 1987).

When one speaks about popular culture "the 'values' established for tangible and immovable heritage – 'antiquity, authenticity, originality, rarity, uniqueness or exemplarity' – cannot be applied (...) but, instead, specific criteria for assessing the social context in which the cultural expression is produced, such as transmission, access, group identity, etc., should be considered" (P. F. Costa, 2013: 99).

The study and action concerning intangible cultural heritage issues imply, as stated by Leal, "reviewing the boundaries of culture, so that it can encompass, in addition to allegedly pure and authentic forms, hybrid and 'impure' cultural forms or, to make it simple, elements that we are not used to categorize as culture" (2013: 142).

On the other hand, approaches that focus on patrimonialization processes (distinctive, but that intersect and can influence each other) assign different values to cultural goods. Several authors have focused on this topic and it is possible to identify at least five types of approaches: the traditional; the mercantilist; the patrimonialist; the constructivist and the participationist (Ashworth, 1994; García Canclini, 1989, 1999a; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2001; Pereiro 2006; Prats, 1997; Rodríguez Becerra, 1997; Sierra, 2000; Stoffle, 2000).

With regard to the intangible cultural heritage, when moving forward from a traditionalist approach to a participationist one while going through other approaches, the values of "materiality" gradually give way to more ethnographic criteria.

In order to clarify how, in patrimonialization processes, one changes the attention and importance given to certain concepts and practices, I shall characterise the above-mentioned approaches and, afterwards, analyse MEMORIAMEDIA vis-à-vis those approaches.

a) The Traditionalist approach

The word folklore¹⁷ has been used in different ways over the years. Conceived to designate the study of customs, ceremonies and cultural practices generationally transmitted through oral tradition, it later starts to be defined as a "manifestation of the artificial picturesque" ¹⁸. The movement pejoratively nicknamed "folklorization" represents the transformation of living heritage into a political instrument of acculturation and entertainment. A way to disseminate an ideology by using the "popular" and the "amateur" (Khaznadar, 2013: 10).

It was during the 1920s, with the association of Volkskunde (Folklore) to the essay and teaching of the "racial sciences" (in German, "Rassenkunde") which claimed the superiority of the Aryan race, that the totalitarian regimes in Central Europe promoted the use of folklore as an instrument of acculturation. In the Soviet Union, the movement that envisaged the creation of folklore groups to represent the different republics' popular traditions had a strong impact. These groups included choreographers, composers, props managers, dancers and other performers who "organised entertainment shows" by stylizing and choreographing cultural practices without the slightest element of spontaneity (Khaznadar, 2013: 11). In Portugal, this movement was promoted from the 1930s on, when the Estado Novo ethnography started to be developed.

Under the pretext of folklore protection and from an anthropology of urgency perspective, aimed at preserving "endangered" traditional cultures, it was possible to promote the "movement for nationalist folklorization" that neglected

¹⁷ The term folklore was proposed in 1846 by the Englishman William Thoms and, between the second half of the 19th century and first half of the 20th century, many works were carried out in the context of this discipline, namely in Germany, Switzerland, Australia, Sweden, France, UK, Canada, Ireland and USA.

¹⁸ This negative connotation was less felt in countries like the UK, Canada, Ireland and USA.

cultural specificities to standardize and freeze the traditional and the identity expressions of nation-states (Empires). Based on an evolutionary approach, this movement disseminated the "western modernism", belittling, for instance, the original identity of colonized populations. The traditionalist approach is, in this sense, a conservationist and monumentalist standpoint that reduces cultural heritage to a reliquary of the past and, regardless of current uses, believes that cultural heritage should be preserved and fixed according to criteria such as antiquity, the "typical" and the "picturesque" (Khaznadar, 2013; Pereiro, 2006).

b) The Productivist or Mercantilist approach

According to the productivist perspective, cultural heritage is regarded as a commodity, an economically viable product that turns itself into capital when responding to consumer, market and tourism needs. An approach promoted with biggest impact since the 70s of the 20th century (with the economic crisis and the neoliberal approaches) (Ashworth, 1994; García Canclini, 1989, 1999a; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2001; Pereiro, 2006). Patrimonialization processes thus transform themselves into a "form of cultural production to 'the others' (e.g. tourists, market), which can help solve unemployment, revive consumption and attract cultural tourism (...) places become tourist destinations (...) and heritage selection criteria are, from this perspective, display, consumption, aesthetics, tourist attraction and commercial viability" (Pereiro, 2006: 26).

Many authors stress the risk of cultural heritage commoditisation, that is, the possibility that patrimonialization processes acquire self-definition and self-survival strategies, find ways of selling the "authentic" and of promoting the economic processes that "sell" groups' memory and identity (Castro Seixas, 1999; Friedman, 1994; García Canclini, 1999a).

For Pereiro (2006), the way quantitative data resulting from the promotion and accomplishment of certain activities related to cultural heritage is valued - for example, the number of tickets sold in museums - confirms the growing interest in measuring the economic and political viability of those cultural activities.

The anthropologist García Canclini (1989) underlines the fact that the value assigned to cultural goods depend on the social relations to which those goods are associated. The author distinguishes the value of use for the community, the exchange value for the market and the aesthetic value for the tourist. Referring to crafts and trade as an example, he highlights the way their value changes and

is inflated from producer to consumer, all the way through a range of intermediaries.

c) The Patrimonialist approach

According to the patrimonialist perspective, cultural expressions are understood in the present from the interpretation of the past, from the recovery of memories and practices. In order to understand social change, this approach promotes the "representation" of manifestations which no longer exist but are testimony of "unique" cultural activities and illustrate certain ways of life (Graham et al., 2000; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2001; Pereiro, 2006; Rodríguez Becerra, 1997).

Pereiro (2006) exemplifies this procedure through the recovery of a mill and its transformation into an interpretation centre, even though the daily activities of the mill and its owners do not play the same economic, social and cultural functions they did in the past.

The patrimonialist approach, from a conservationist logic and taking the risk of confusing memory preservation with culture safeguarding, assumes that the representation of cultural practices and the conservation of objects and speeches (the construction of cultural and social memories) is a way to preserve the culture associated with those same practices and objects (Fernandes, 2013).

d) The Constructivist approach

The constructivist approach recognizes cultural heritage as a social construct. According to this perspective, patrimonialization comes from the fact that the various social actors, in specific contexts, driven by different interests and supported by powers and legal norms, foster the recognition and appreciation of certain cultural expressions at the expense of others (Prats, 1997).

By deconstructing the previous approaches and by having a critical attitude one admits, under a constructivist perspective, the risk that patrimonialization processes overestimate the ideological aspect of the past. The possibility of creating idealized versions of culture, distorted and domesticated, realities that sometimes are presented in a nostalgic tone with reference to the past is fully assumed (Hewison, 1987; Pereiro, 2006).

Among the idealized versions there are some cultural expressions that are projected "to themselves and to others" in staged representations or (re)invention of traditions, events for the masses promoted and valued by the community, that are used to legitimize the discourse of local agents who wish to assert, to the community and to the exterior, the longevity and authenticity of a tradition that no longer exists (P. F. Costa, 2008, 2013; Leal, 2009, 2013).

e) The Participationist approach

The participationist perspective is advocated by the 2003 UNESCO Convention and highlights the importance given to the temporal and evolutionary complexity of cultural expressions: it takes into account the dynamic dimension of the past – the historical value and the fact that a practice "is transmitted from generation to generation" –, while valuing the contemporaneity of the element - the fact that heritage "is alive" - and, for the most part, the reproduction in contexts different from the original is not admitted (i.e., ICH should not be just a representation of the past). It also values the way cultural practices are foreseen in the future since it admits that heritage is "constantly recreated" (Bortolotto, 2011c).

This approach, promoted with biggest impact since the 80s of the 20th century, supports a holistic and democratic procedure in the definition of cultural heritage. It defends the use of "democratic and participatory community intervention methodologies" and understands ICH manifestations as an integral part of everyday life, interiorized in individuals and groups that traditionally accomplish ICH preservation according to their own ways of enhancement and safeguarding. According to this perspective, social participation should be promoted "in order to avoid inequalities and the monumentalization and 'commodification' of objects, i.e., it is very important to think first about people and afterwards in cultural goods (...)" (Pereiro, 2006: 26).

The safeguarding of ICH refers to the enhancement and empowerment of individual and collective biographies, as well as to cultural diversity and selfidentity enhancement. In this case, patrimonialization processes actors are the ICH producers and, following this perspective, participatory cultural policies have been implemented where a specific heritage status can be assigned through a national and/or international "institutional and administrative process", but the attribution of heritage value is no longer an exclusive prerogative of the State or of technical and scientific knowledge bearers. In a process of democratization of procedures and recognition of legitimacy, the attribution of heritage value passes into the hands of the subjects who perform the cultural expression. That is, the criteria that allow the attribution, institutionally, of a heritage status, are neither universal nor objective, but depend on the identity representations of communities (UNESCO 2003; Bortolotto, 2011 c; García Canclini, 1999b; Pereiro, 2006; Stoffle, 2000).

Regarding the history of museology, the enhancement of communities and social actors fits in the new museology perspective (also promoted since the 1980s). This movement questions the traditional Museum and supports more active, integrative and interdisciplinary social practices.

Briefly, new museology advocates (Bruno, 1996; Janeirinho, 2012; Lima, 2008; Moreira, 2008; Primo, 2005; Soares, 2008; Vergo, 1989):

- A social museology that promotes the participation and participatory action of communities, social and territorial cohesion, holistic interpretations and communities sustainable development (cultural, social and economic). It is envisaged in opposition to traditional museology which is centred in objects, collections and the repository of past civilizations' material artefacts;
- The replacement of singular and authoritative discourses by the involvement and integration of visitors and their critical view (focus museology);
- New museum formats "opened", with various geometries and several areas of influence; decentralized and innovative, working the surrounding cultural and social context (Moreira, 2008). For example, the ecomuseum, the new local museums, the economuseums, the integral museum, the integrative museum, the digital museum, the virtual museums and the total virtual museums;
- Acting at the local level. Museology is understood as an instrument of citizenship and local communities' empowerment. The museums are institutions at the service of society;
- The enhancement of intangible cultural heritage, of "living culture" and collective and social memory (the inclusion of these elements in museums' collections);
- Communities democratization and responsibility regarding heritage protection and safeguarding;
- Museology that uses technological resources in exhibition spaces and is also present in the digital world. The "hypermediated" and interactive museum (Soares, 2008: 23).

Under the new museology concept, the connection between museums and hypermedia is strong because "the museum is, in a way, a mirror that reflects the society in which it is located" (Soares, 2008: 22).

1.2.1. Approaches to cultural heritage and MEMORIAMEDIA

Bearing in mind the above-mentioned approaches, the MEMORIAMEDIA project follows the perspective that values the populations' participation in patrimonialization processes - i.e. the participationist approach. We believe that the identification, by communities, of certain cultural expressions as heritage presupposes that those expressions are practiced nowadays. We also believe, following a constructivist perspective, that cultural manifestations are subject to social, economic and political conditions, that is, we assume that ICH is a changing reality, a social construct that depends upon actors, temporality and space.

According to P. F. Costa (2013) it is this present time character, this living presence in the cultural context of communities' everyday lives, that justifies research regarding ICH manifestations from an ethnographic perspective and not only under a historical perspective, or under the register of the social memory of something that does not have a cultural or social function to the communities anymore, that is no longer practiced and that is merely a representation of the past.

MEMORIAMEDIA thus follows a line of action that moves away from the classical paradigm that values the "authenticity" and "uniqueness" of cultural goods in order to secure them *ad aeternum*. Therefore, it moves away from a traditionalist and patrimonialist perspective of culture. It recognizes the limits of these perspectives' purposes, especially with regard to ICH manifestations.

About the traditionalist approach, since in its time the "folklorization movement" was very successful in achieving its purposes, we believe that even today this perspective should be seen as a threat and that it should be constantly supervised through permanent attention and critical analysis (Pereiro, 2006).

The word folklore still prevails in the UNESCO 1989 "Recommendation for the safeguarding of traditional and popular culture". The expression intangible cultural heritage was officially adopted only in 1993, in Paris, at the "International Consultation on New Perspectives for UNESCO's Programme: The Intangible

Cultural Heritage". This Conference underlined the need to be vigilant with regard to the following aspects (Khaznadar, 2013: 13)¹⁹:

- Intangible cultural heritage should not be fixed; unlike material heritage, it is in constant evolution;
- Cultural manifestations should not be taken out of their original contexts. Safeguarding should not be applied in situations where the social and cultural functions of the practice no longer exists;
- No ICH manifestation should be standardized or imposed upon other cultures;
- It is necessary to take into account the specificities of each culture and the perspective/involvement of "actors", the "amateurs" who practice the manifestation;
- It is necessary to be vigilant against the possibility of intangible heritage manipulation for political, religious and commercial purposes;
- It is necessary to promote inventorying, safeguarding and dissemination actions of ICH.

We may therefore conclude that, after the devaluating and pejorative sense attributed to the word folklore in the last decades of the 20th century, there is, at the beginning of the 21st century, the interest for the expression intangible cultural heritage. Concepts have been redefined and, in relation to guiding principles and legislation applicable to cultural heritage, a monumentalist, esthetic and historicist perspective gives rise to a more anthropological and "culturalist" perspective (Khaznadar, 2013; Pereiro, 2006).

In MEMORIAMEDIA we believe that ICH expressions, in their cultural singularity and locality, are always related to changing contexts that communities self-regulate, thus generating adaption mechanisms and, in that sense, no matter the depth of the research accomplished on a specific cultural expression, its reality will never be completely known or understood since it adapts and changes. (Appadurai, 1996; P. F. Costa, 2013; Leal, 2013; Tiemblo, 2013).

By using the expression "safeguarding" instead of "protection" or "conservation", the Convention supports the continuity of cultural expressions, its recreation,

¹⁹ Several developments led to the implementation in 2003 of the normative instrument that is the Convention for the safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. A summary table of the most important proceedings/documents is presented in ANNEX 2.

change and transmission throughout the ages, instead of trying to freeze or standardize these manifestations 20 .

The complexity of patrimonialization processes is also influenced by creativity. The dynamics belonging to the groups and individuals that produce culture themselves (individuals that change from generation to generation or even every year) lead to the production of different interpretations and meanings on the knowledge and practice that was previously transmitted to them²¹.

It is, however, necessary to remember that in a global social, economic and political framework of cultural homogenization, to preserve the identity and uniqueness remains one of the main goals of international patrimonialization policies. In the Convention, the notion of ICH refers to communities' representativeness which, subject to change, must preserve livelihoods, social structures and practices that confer identity to its members and define themselves as distinct from other communities (P. F. Costa, 2008).

From MEMORIAMEDIA perspective, this is not a paradoxical position. Faced with the support of a less conservative approach to cultural heritage, international patrimonialization policies do not advocate the freezing of cultural expressions. These policies should be understood in the context of an intersection of intents. While supporting the safeguarding of cultural singularity, they also support cultural diversity; while they alert to the dangers of cultural homogenization, they assume that "in a globalization context (...) cultural heritage ceases to be something exclusive from a single human group to become something belonging to several communities or even to all mankind in its recognition and tutelage" (Pereiro, 2006: 32). By introducing the concept of "common heritage of mankind", UNESCO inaugurated this movement (Bortolotto, 2011a: 7).

It is thus considered, as regards the concept of ICH, the hybridisms, the transnational identities and "the production and circulation of culture through fluxes" drifting away from a concept of culture too territorialized and atomized (Pereiro, 2006: 32).

²⁰ It has been suggested to the promoters of safeguarding activities the creation of networks involving communities, cultural organizations, museums, schools, training centres, tourist agents, heritage professionals and media (P. F. Costa, 2013; Tiemblo, 2013).

²¹ Concerning this subject, Trindade states that, as regards ICH manifestations, it is difficult to inventory a "very dynamic form of expression, that [as in the case, for example, of musical expressions] varies with the creativity of the interpreter, the composer or the instrumentalist, and that has been able, along 200 years, to absorb many technological and cultural influences" (2009: 119).

These different positions, more than a paradox, represent a challenge that we believe it is possible to address in complementarity.

With regard to the patrimonialist approach, we deem it has a low democratic value. According to this perspective, what is defined as cultural heritage is usually presented to populations by administrative authorities without direct community participation in the process. "The criteria used to define what is the cultural heritage are scarcity – limited good –, uniqueness, rarity and survival in the time" (Pereiro, 2006: 26).

A critical action upon this kind of approach will be, by definition, the promotion of patrimonialization processes as citizenship exercises and, under a constructivist perspective, to acknowledge that these processes are susceptible, flexible and changeable.

Regarding the mercantilist approach to ICH, there are several recommendations that advocate the implementation of restrictive measures concerning the misappropriation of cultural manifestations by sectors that have no legitimate rights to it - by agents outside the community with the sole purpose of replicating and/or commercially exploiting ICH practices (the manifestation misappropriation and agency with the purpose of promoting it as an economic or touristic resource while neglecting its cultural and heritage value); by implementing protection and safeguarding policies that ignore the legitimate interlocutors or by local agents who only support personal interests (Tiemblo, 2013). Once we are aware of the "perverse circumstances" that may favour almost criminal forms of cultural heritage mercantilization, we think that the productive, economic and touristic dimensions of patrimonialization processes should not always be perceived as something negative, harmful to the communities or as a threat to heritage. As long as we remain vigilant, we believe it possible to recognize economic and touristic activities as beneficial for the populations, if the main reason for their action is cultural heritage enhancement and if it is capable of combining productivity and profitability purposes to cultural and educational aims (sharing profits with local communities).

While stressing the importance of reflection/critical action about the different types of patrimonialization processes activation, it is understood in MEMORIAMEDIA that, ideally, measures to enhance and safeguard cultural heritage can contribute to: strengthen cultural diversity; promote intercultural dialogue; safeguard and strengthen cultural identities, especially those that are subject to unusual situations, swift and/or homogenizing changes; allow the communities to benefit from the social, political and economic development and profitability generated

by correct and ethical management of patrimonialization processes (Pereiro, 2006); highlight and enhance their own manifestations by placing the intangible and the natural on the same footing with what has already been accomplished in relation to material and immovable heritage.

Returning to the analysis of the above-mentioned cultural heritage approaches, in short, in this assessment we highlight the transition from the enhancement of what is considered "authentic", "picturesque" and "typical" to an ethnographic perspective. We contradict the supremacy of the material as a privileged object in patrimonialization processes. We contest the ethnocentric material/immaterial/natural opposition and promote a holistic approach based on the support of a sustainable development where ICH cannot be culturally decontextualized from any of these dimensions (Appadurai, 1996; P. F. Costa, 2008, 2013; Leal, 2009, 2013; Pereiro, 2006; Tiemblo, 2013).

This overthrow of the "object", of the "authentic" or the "original" in museums fits the aforementioned new museology movement and it is in this context that – not comparing or superimposing to other museums formats - the concepts and experiences of digital and virtual museums appear. Museums that promote a new form of enjoyment and communication, allowing the visitor, through a hypertextual experience, to be an active element that organizes its course, investigates, uses and shares in cyberspace the knowledge available online. (Lima, 2008; Oliveira, 2002, 2007; Pereira and Ulbrich, 2004; Soares, 2008).

Through MEMORIAMEDIA the visitor, without leaving its geographical space, crosses the "total virtual museum", non-physical, extramural and accessible anytime and anywhere in the world as long as internet access is available. In departing from the audiovisual register and the inventory (which if presented in a physical space would also be shown through media supports - video projection, television or computer monitor) the project is not limited to providing an online catalogue, but shares all the knowledge it produces, allowing visitors to experience a direct relation with the contents of the e-Museum. The visitor becomes an active subject that explores and manages the information, images and sounds available on the site.

The media approach to the cultural expressions which are inventoried and disseminated in MEMORIAMEDIA and that is experienced by the visitor offers a partial understanding of the ICH processes, elements and practitioners, but never replaces the direct contact with the cultural expressions practiced by communities in its proper context (Lima, 2008; Oliveira, 2002).

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CHAPTER 2

2.1. ETHNOGRAPHY AND INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE

From the perspective of Ethnography and Anthropology, cultural expressions that are defined today as "intangible" have always been the object of ethnographic and anthropological research and much of the knowledge produced about them is a result of those studies (Leal, 2000, 2009). Even though the expression "intangible cultural heritage" is relatively recent, in Portugal, for example, knowledge regarding "traditional popular cultures", nowadays defined as ICH, has been produced within the disciplines of Anthropology and Ethnography for more than a century (P. F. Costa, 2013; Leal 2000, 2009).

To P. F. Costa (2008) there are clear differences between the concept of intangible heritage (emic perspective) and the concept of ethnographic heritage (etic perspective), corresponding the first to "strict actions of research, inventorying and documentation, and/or physical safeguarding measures, in the context of oral recollections or audiovisual documentation, collections development, etc.". However, both are understood as "expressions of a holistic approach to traditional popular culture, which by principle integrates tangible and intangible realities" and both are "the subject of anthropology and related disciplines" (2008: 21).

The safeguarding process of cultural expressions as defined by the Convention confers an important role to anthropology by suggesting that the investigation carried out in this area follows ethnographic practices and, according to Leal, "although there are no (...) quotes from Tylor, Boas or Benedict in UNESCO documents, it is clear the way the concept of Intangible Cultural Heritage extends the anthropological concept of culture in its modern formulation" (2013: 133).

While adopting the ethnological concept of culture defined by Tylor - "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (1871: 1) - UNESCO's approach differs, however, from his "evolutionist", "universalist" and "hierarchical" perspective (between primitive groups and civilized groups). For Leal, in the Convention "the logic is the same [as Tylor's]: culture as a whole – as an assemblage – of traits (...)", but "(...) the reference to Intangible Cultural Heritage as an expression of cultural diversity entails the idea of culture as a main agent for the organization of cultural distinctiveness in groups" (2013: 134).

We can therefore find in the Convention a "culturalist" perspective in the definition of intangible cultural heritage - the procedures set out by Franz Boas (1887) and later defined within the framework of cultural relativism (Herskovits, 1947). The ICH definition thus argues that intangible heritage safeguarding strategies should preserve and enhance the uniqueness of each group, but also cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue.

a) Intangible Cultural Heritage in Portugal

In Portugal, contemporaries of Tylor and Boas are the founders of the "first Portuguese Ethnography", amongst whom worth noting are J. Leite de Vasconcelos (1858-1941), Francisco Adolfo Coelho (1847-1919), Consigliere Pedroso (1851-1910) and Teófilo Braga (1843-1924) (Leal, 2000). They represent, to a certain extent, the "awakening of interest" for what is currently known as intangible cultural heritage, but which at the time was defined as "popular tradition". "That is to say, in the case of Portugal, the Portuguese anthropology path from 1870 to the present day can be seen as a journey – divided into several stages – of gradual enlargement and deepening of the identification and research concerning the set of intangible heritage cultural forms recognized by UNESCO" (Leal, 2009: 290).

According to Leal (2000, 2009), it is possible to identify four periods of Portuguese ethnographic production between 1870 and 1970:

1) From 1870 to 1880 become asserted the ethnic originalities of "traditional literature – the *romanceiro*, popular tales, popular poetry, riddles – and popular traditions – beliefs, superstitions, cyclical feasts" (2009: 290);

2) Between 1890 and 1900 the country's cultural diversity is recognized, though researches not only in the areas of oral traditions, but also about popular theatre (Adolfo Coelho) and traditional technologies (Rocha Peixoto, 1866-1909)²²;

²² According to Leal, "although Rocha Peixoto had a rather negative perception of traditional technologies: saw them as an expression of lack of popular creativity, a reflection of Portugal's decadence. Despite that fact, techniques and its associated objects such as pottery, popular lighting, popular jewellery, *ex-votos* (votive offerings), are exhaustively documented by him. At the same time, Rocha Peixoto also includes other topics, such as communitarianism, in the Portuguese anthropology research agenda" (2009: 291).

3) From 1910 to 1920, in a period coincident with the implementation of the Republic, a new interest for the study of traditional literature arises, but it is the "folk art" that occupies a prominent place in ethnographic research, with the promotion of a nationalist Ethnography focused on the enhancement, support, revitalization and organization of museological collections containing cultural artefacts associated with "folk art" and depicting crafts – such as pottery, textiles and pastoral art. In this period begins in Portugal the "folklorization movement" which, from the 1930s on, would be reinforced by the promotion of a Estado Novo (New State) nationalist (commemorative) ethnography.

4) Between 1930 and 1970, however, alternative discourses to the political ideology that was imposed to Portuguese society arise and anthropology develops itself as a discipline. The construct of monographs about different communities increases and is promoted, in particular, the interest for the research of what could strictly be understood as "material culture" - traditional rural technologies. By focusing not only on agricultural implements but also on farming techniques, the research of what today is defined as one of the areas of intangible culture - the "know-how" - is promoted (Jorge Dias and his team from the National Museum of Ethnology, Ernesto Veiga de Oliveira, Fernando Galhano and Benjamin Pereira)²³.

After 1974 (after the revolution and the democracy) and during the 1980s, it became more common to include wider social and cultural contexts when studying 'community' and cultural manifestations, rather than treating them as isolated organizations/practices.

In the 1990s, similar to what was happening in the rest of Europe, a Portuguese post-rural Anthropology appears. Urban, ethnic, industrial and other contexts are studied. As regards rurality, interest falls on the analysis of historically produced discourses about what is "popular" (on *intelligentsia* and other different social actors' discourses, including the State) (Leal, 2000, 2009). It is in this context that, in the 1990s and since 2000, reflections on culture and patrimonialization processes become intensified.

²³ Simultaneously, during this period were being developed the so-called "local ethnographies", which replicated the investigation made at national level (Leal, 2009).

b) ICH legal instruments in Portugal

In the first decade of the 21st century several legal instruments concerning intangible cultural heritage manifestations were created in Portugal. Among them should be noted Law No. 107/2001 of 8 September – Framework Law for Cultural Heritage. For the first time intangible culture is referred to and an innovation regarding the previous Law 13/1985 of 6 July is introduced (Claro, 2009; P. F. Costa, 2008). Paragraph 4 of Article 2 states that "those intangible cultural heritage goods that are structuring parts of Portuguese identity and collective memory also integrate cultural heritage".

The Framework Law differentiates "realities that are supported by movable or immovable properties" – that can be legally protected according to the same arrangements and levels of protection provided for other movable and immovable properties – from "realities without material support", to which no form of legal protection is applicable, foreseeing its "graphic, sound, audiovisual or other" registration as an indispensable measure for their safeguarding (P. F. Costa, 2008: 18). In articles 91 and 92, respectively, the scope of protection and the obligations of public bodies (especially the role of local authorities) in relation to intangible cultural heritage are established (Claro, 2009: 144).

In 2007, with Decree-Law No. 97/2007 of 29 March, and corresponding Ministerial Order No. 377/2007 of 30 March, the Institute for Museums and Conservation (IMC)²⁴ "becomes the body in the Ministry of Culture whose mission is the development and implementation of national cultural policies in the field of ICH, notably through its study, preservation, conservation, enhancement and dissemination, as well as the definition and dissemination of the legislation, methodologies and procedures related to the various components of its safeguarding" (P. F. Costa, 2008: 19).

It was, however, the ratification of the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, published on 26 March 2008, that fostered the assessment of national regulations in the light of public international law, thus magnifying the attention and pressing forward the elaboration of a specific legal framework to regulate and implement intangible culture manifestations

²⁴ Currently integrated in the General Directorate for Cultural Heritage along with the Institute for Architectural and Archaeological Heritage Management (IGESPAR) and other public bodies related to culture and heritage.

patrimonialization processes, specifically Ministerial Order No. 196/2010 of 9 April²⁵ (Claro, 2009).

In Portugal, as with the UNESCO World Cultural and Natural Heritage List, "the coordination of future nominations to the homologous lists set out in the 2003 Convention" belongs to the Portuguese National Commission for UNESCO (P. F. Costa, 2008: 19).

2.1.1. MEMORIAMEDIA and the ICH historical context and legal framework in Portugal

MEMORIAMEDIA started in 2006, two years before the ratification of the Convention in Portugal (2008) but in a moment filled with national and international discussions about intangible cultural heritage issues. Following the conclusions of the above-described historical evolution of Portuguese ethnographic and anthropological production, the project begins with this issue's "(re)awakening"²⁶ and, in this context, presents itself as a modest contribution among the various activities that in the last decade were accomplished within ICH.

As to how the project understands its relationship with patrimonialization processes it should be clarified that, in the context of Social Sciences and Humanities, we believe that working in the field of ICH is being inevitably involved in patrimonialization processes. The fact that we employ in our work a scientific, critical and ethical stance does not disconnect us from those processes.

The lines of action underlying culture patrimonialization processes are the combination of all, or some, of the following steps: identification and enhancement of a particular cultural manifestation; research, documentation, inventorying; safeguarding (recovery, maintenance, transmission and dissemination); the identifying custodians and the inscription in local, national and world lists.

Even in pure theoretical research (in the academic sense of the term) the researcher relates to these lines of action. Among other situations because when he identifies the relevance of a particular expression as an object of research he is assigning value to it; when he produces knowledge about a practice he is adding

²⁵ In Annex 3 is presented the national timeline pertaining to the creation of the Portuguese legal instruments that deal with ICH expressions – source (MatrizPCI/resources, 2015).

²⁶ This expression was used by P. F. Costa (2008) to refer to the debate around the ICH issues.

value to it; the results of his research might be used to promote safeguarding measures or those same results still may, once referenced, be used to instruct a heritage recognition request.

MEMORIAMEDIA is aligned with this background, since it follows research methodologies and techniques proper to social sciences as well as the ethical and legal recommendations indicated for inventorying ICH. It also believes it operates within the framework of patrimonialization processes simply because it works and produces knowledge about intangible cultural traditions. It considers, however, that its work focuses especially on research, documentation, recording, inventorying and dissemination.

As previously stated, the identification of manifestations to be addressed by the project is usually suggested by communities' representatives (local administration and/or associations and groups), who seek MEMORIAMEDIA. As concerns safeguarding measures, the project intervention is specifically directed to inventorying, archiving and dissemination (the results of its work are disseminated through audiovisual media and hypermedia), and no other safeguarding plans are proposed (such as, for example, training activities about the inventoried elements). Regarding the inscription of cultural expressions on the world lists, although the results of the work carried out might be used in nominations, the project does not aim to work this kind of processes with the communities.

As a non-governmental organization accredited to provide advisory services to the UNESCO Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (in 2014), the cooperative that manages the MEMORIAMEDIA project is sometimes requested to advise on matters related to ICH, but this is performed in the context of its role as a Committee or National Commission for UNESCO consultative body and not as a an institution, or representative of institutions, responsible for the definition of legal procedures or tutelage activities.

CHAPTER 3

3.1. INVENTORIES AND AUDIOVISUAL RESOURCES

In this chapter I address the issues which underlie the process of inventorying ICH, I clarify the guidelines that structure this process and describe the inventorying methodology used by MEMORIAMEDIA. I also highlight the use of audiovisual resources by the project, associating them to the inventory and, taking into account the different audiovisual formats produced along the years by Portuguese ethnography, I explain the format used in the project - a format inspired in interactionism and visual participative methodologies (Campos, 2011a, 2011b).

3.1.1. The inventory of ICH manifestations

About the inventorying of intangible cultural expressions it is important to elucidate: a) the objectives of this procedure; b) who should accomplish these inventories; c) what should they include; and d) periodicity of their update.

One of the main objectives of inventorying is the systematic registration and organization of the knowledge produced about cultural expressions in different ICH domains and categories. In these inventories, information, audiovisual recordings and "documentation (field notes, photographs, posters, iconography, historical documentation, etc.)" are organized (Castelo-Branco, 2009: 192).

By being published in an inventory the records contribute to disseminate local, regional and/or national ICH and to raise the population's awareness about the need to preserve heritage. ICH inventories are understood as safeguarding instruments, being considered a first step for the identification, enhancement and study of manifestations that the communities identify as intangible cultural heritage. They also promote "new research projects about the inventoried elements" and foster collaborative networks among the various inventory agents (id.ibidem: 192).

The purpose of the inventory is to be as exhaustive as possible and not rank or discriminate any manifestation. To this end, in addition to including cultural expressions that fit the concept of ICH (transmitted generationally; living and

constantly recreated; related to tangible and/or natural heritage), the inventory should include:

- Cultural expressions well known; relatively known or unknown;
- Expressions promoted by extended communities or by individuals, regardless of social class and/or the practitioners ethnicity;
- Expressions in full vitality, that are declining or in need of urgent safeguarding;
- Rural or urban manifestations.

These are the criteria for an element to appear in the inventory, instead of its reputation or public visibility (Bortolotto, 2011 c).

About who should define the structure of the inventory, its application, its filling, the documentation and audiovisual resources associated, there is a consensus regarding the idea of shared responsibility. The inventory should present a technical-scientific legitimacy validated by a shared responsibility among organizations representing local social agents, the manifestation practitioners, researchers, heritage and local administration technicians.

To make sure that the inventorying work is serious, legitimate and competent, it is necessary to assure that this activity possesses high scientific standards and follows technical and methodological procedures sanctioned, in general, by social sciences and, in particular, by ethnographic practices. The identification of the cultural expressions to be inventoried should be accomplished by the communities, groups and individuals, but in the processes of research and inventorying, the communities should be supported by professionals with a suitable scientific and technical profile.

Article 12 of the Convention (UNESCO, 2003) indicates that "each State Party shall draw up, in a manner geared to its own situation, one or more inventories of the intangible cultural heritage present in its territory" and any nomination for inscription on the two world ICH lists must be inscribed in a ICH Inventory (accomplished by the State party or by other organizations).

Within States Parties, inventories are being developed following different structures more or less in line with experts' recommendations. The way inventories are completed also differ: some have succinct information; others are more elaborate. Those who simplify the data may be benefiting the dissemination of information, but might compromise a thorough understanding of the element.

Those who present information in a complex way promote detailed knowledge, but are not adjusted to the inventorying technique thus hindering data systematization (Grenet, 2013).

In France, for example, there are several inventories and the Ministry of Culture has developed the "Inventory of Inventories". This institution also promotes contests among research institutes, with budgets between 3000 and 30.000 euros, for 3 months to 1 year studies on the expressions to be registered in the "Inventory of Living Practices in France" (Grenet, 2013). Another example is what happens in Italy, where there is not a particular inventory also. A manifestation is inscribed in different archives whether they are transnational, national, regional, local or institutional (Bortolotto, 2013).

In Portugal, the National ICH Inventory – MatrizPCI – was developed by State initiative. It is a platform conceived "as a methodological tool to be used by the entities themselves who, from the field and in response to the initiative of communities, groups and individuals, or with their close involvement, develop effective projects to safeguard ICH" (P. F. Costa, 2013: 108). In April 2015 this platform had 5 elements inscribed in the National Inventory: 1 "Skills within traditional processes and techniques"; 3 "Social practices, rituals and festive events" and 1 "Artistic expressions and manifestations of performative nature". In the Urgent Safeguarding List there was 1 manifestation in the domain "Skills within traditional processes and techniques".

Also in Portugal, systematically organized and addressing different ICH domains, MEMORIAMEDIA is an intangible cultural heritage inventory coordinated and managed by a non-governmental organization that covers several regions in the country.

As regards what should be inventoried and how, UNESCO promoted a number of debates²⁷ in an attempt to establish guidelines. Clara Cabral summarizes several conclusions of these meetings (2009: 135-137):

• Only the manifestations that are recognised by the agents who create, bear and transmit cultural expressions should be inventoried. Their representatives should be accurately identified and must agree with, and participate in, the inventorying process;

²⁷ For example, Inventorying Intangible Cultural Heritage (Paris, March 2005), Expert Meeting on Community Involvement in Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage: Towards the Implementation of the 2003 Convention (Tokyo, March 2006); Expert Meeting on Documenting and Archiving Intangible Cultural Heritage (Paris, January 2006) and Principles and Experiences of Drawing up ICH Inventories in Europe (Estonia, May 2007).

- The inventory must be detailed, but not too ambitious, "and its management should be relatively easy, so as to maintain the balance between the resources necessary for its development and maintenance and resources for intangible cultural heritage safeguarding" (...) "If different inventories are created for different areas, communities or regions, these inventories should be consistent with each other" (id.ibidem: 136);
- The following fields should be included in the inventory:
 - o "Short but informative title;
 - Community/language;
 - Location(s);
 - Domain(s);
 - o Characteristics of the expression/tradition;
 - o Associated tangible elements (if any);
 - o The name of the element assigned by the community involved;
 - Practiced in what occasion(s)?
 - o Practiced by whom (age/gender/names)?
 - o How is it transmitted?
 - Viability or endangered level;
 - o Threats (if existing);
 - o Relevant local organizations (NGOs and others) (if any);
 - o Explicit community authorization for inclusion in a list;
 - o Reference to bibliographic materials/discography, audiovisuals;
 - o Information collected by who?
 - o Information collected when?" (id.ibidem: 137);
 - "Intangible cultural heritage inventories should be as accessible as possible, respecting 'customary practices governing access to specific aspects of the heritage concerned'" (id.ibidem: 137).

As regards the frequency with which inventories should be updated opinions diverge, but it is agreed that inventories should be dynamic and that the information they provide should be regularly updated. Only then will it be possible to monitor the evolution and condition of the inventoried element. In Portugal, article 18 of Decree-Law No. 139/2009 specifies an "ordinary reassessment" of the inventory over a period of 10 years, "subject to a review in a shorter period whenever relevant changes are perceived". Paragraph 2. of the same article indicates that "any interested party may request, at any time, the inventory reassessment or update concerning a specific intangible cultural heritage manifestation".

3.1.2. Audiovisual formats and ICH manifestations

In over one hundred years of history, the use of visual technologies in social sciences underwent various epistemological statements, different practices and exploratory periods, phases of forgetfulness or avoidance and times of revival. The initial novelty and some "epistemological innocence" evolved into distrust and critical analysis leading to the present time democratization and widespread use of these technologies. A tumultuous journey, that still finds some obstacles today (Banks, 1995 e 2000; Campos, 2011a, 2011b; MacDougall, 1997; Martins, 2013; Morphy e Banks, 1997; Pink, 2001; Ruby, 1996).

With regard to ethnographic and anthropological production, audiovisual resources have been used for different purposes. On the one hand, to assist scientific observation: as data collection instruments, to capture visible and audible data related to cultural manifestations; as an instrument to transcribe and interpret what is registered and to illustrate and disseminate research. On the other hand, as a way to produce new representations of reality, as a study subject itself where researchers, in a reflective and collaborative "perspective", are either concerned with "the content and meaning of the image" or with "understanding the social and cultural context of its production" (Campos, 2011a: 240).

Referring in particular to the direction of ethnographic films, C. A. Costa recalls the "distinction presented by MacDougall between the *illustrative* film, where images are used as information to be clarified by the texts or by a discourse, and the *revealing* film, which deliberately includes the speech of those who are objects of ethnography, thus proposing a film 'as text', i.e. autonomous by itself (vd. MacDougall, 1978)" (2009: 63).

The late 19th and early 20th century positivist tradition understood the use of visual resources according to a realistic and naturalistic approach, where the camera was the eyewitness who could unambiguously capture the nature of the "Other", revealing him objectively (Banks, 1995, 2000; MacDougall, 1997; Pink, 2001). The image was understood as proof, and no one raised the question that it might distort reality. Under this perspective, the "image of the Other's culture" "captures him", emphasizes him or places him out of context. The ethnographic interest, following a colonial attitude, focused on the exotic and the different (Campos, 2011a, 2011b).

About this "capture of the exotic and the Other", João Pina Cabral (2007) points out that it's all a matter of perspective or even a "trap". According to this author,

Ethnography can be coated as a "science of difference", but it is postulated in a context of similarities:

"The Ethnographic ingenuity – the search for knowing how to creatively combine what people we strived to be acquainted with do and say about the world in which they live in order to better understand that world as a world humanly possible visà-vis another. Ethnography, therefore, implies a diversity of perspectives, of difference. But it should be noted that there is a trap in which those who identified anthropology as "the science of difference" or of "the Other" have fallen. How can I perceive the difference without having previously postulated a context of similarity? This Ethnographic "Other" was often identified in national or racial terms and, these days, is most often identified in terms of the "West". Any one of these variants is, however, dangerous; apart their political implications, at least because they lead us to forget that any ethnographer can also be the subject of an Ethnography" (J. P. Cabral, 2007: 195).

Taking into consideration the positivist paradigm, the academia began to challenge the principles of objectivity, defending the existence of different approaches to social reality (Campos, 2011a). The interactionist perspective is developed, recognizing the capture of images as "dual" – a result of the relationship between those who film and those who are being filmed (Ruby, 1996). The film or video produced is regarded as a new representation of reality. "Images of culture" are created, and it is fundamental to critically analyse the production of these images and recognize their subjectivity. The observer is, simultaneously, a "mediator of cultural meaning" and a "maker of cultural meaning" (Campos, 2011b: 32).

The interactionist approach asserts the praxis of visual anthropology, which identifies the researcher as author/co-author, and even protagonist, of the images he creates (Zoettl, 2011). For C. A. Costa, "the use of image in Anthropology (...) [should] give voice to places, to the educated, to the tourist, to the anthropologist, and to the videographer, making these speeches compatible, crossing them, giving them a new meaning" (2009: 65). The author refers to the "observational and reflexive documentary" that addresses the "ambiguity of discourses and practices, its contradictions, unravelling negotiations and manipulations", that "is self-sufficient" and does not require supplementary information, text or other sorts of discourses (id.ibidem: 63).

These approaches highlight not only the distinction between the positivist and the interactionist perspectives but also the different valuations of the image and the written word. The scientific production of a generation still not very familiar with visual culture overvalued the authority of the word and the book over the movie or the video. A newer generation of researchers, closer to visual technologies, places the word and the audiovisual sector on an equal footing in their research, advancing in certain projects toward the intersection and connection of different resources through digital hypermedia. In a so called "digital age" society, the recourse to digital technologies is democratized and their access and modes of use are simplified. The employment of visual methodologies in social research becomes increasingly common (Campos, 2011a, 2011b).

According to Campos, we find ourselves today in a "culture of images", a system supported by pictures influencing the "ways we connect to each other and build meaning", live in virtual communities and cyberculture societies (2011a: 245). Referencing Jenks (1995), the author tells us about the ocularcentric society, where the vision wins a leading role in our sensoriality.

Participatory visual methodologies are also promoted, involving communities on empowerment processes through audiovisual resources. In today's society people are familiar with the use of video and photography. They take pictures of themselves, produce and assemble videos to share online. The use of visual technologies, such as the dissemination of records on digital platforms and social networks, ceases to be managed exclusively by researchers, heritage professionals or computer experts. That use is performed by ICH practitioners, amateurs, members and representatives of the local community. Visual technologies, the production and dissemination of audiovisual contents, starts to be understood by communities as resources to achieve power and affirmation (Martins, 2013).

As regards cultural heritage, audiovisual resources are already considered in various legal instruments. For example in Law No. 107/2001, article 91, paragraph 4, it is established the importance of "graphic, sound, audiovisual or other records for the purposes of knowledge, preservation and enhancement, through the scheduled constitution of compilations that enable its safeguarding and enjoyment". The same resources are now starting to be understood as tools for communities to express their views of on heritage.

3.2. INVENTORYING AND AUDIOVISUAL FORMATS IN MEMORIAMEDIA

At this point I feel the need to emphasise that the practices described here reflect a work in progress and are subject to change. In MEMORIAMEDIA we do not follow rigid methodologies and the project positioning I present portrays what we do today, resulting from a reflection and construction of opinions on issues related to ICH. We are aware that the project's techniques, practices and methods presented here will be different in the future, adjusting themselves and being influenced by new knowledge, new realities and new cultural, social, scientific and political contexts. Taking into account this aspect, I will share some thoughts regarding the inventorying process and audiovisual formats we use.

3.2.1. ICH inventorying and MEMORIAMEDIA

The importance attributed to inventorying in the ICH enhancement and safeguarding processes has sparked a critical debate to which MEMORIAMEDIA project is not oblivious. Among the most discussed topics we are particularly aware of the following issues:

- Does the inventory process reduce "the culture of a given community (...) to particular cultural expressions without considering the economic, hierarchical, parenting or symbolic dimensions of the group studied"? (Isnart, 2013: 125);
- Is it possible to convey the complexity of reality in inventory sheets? (Isnart, 2013)²⁸. May other more qualitative methodologies promote a more holistic vision of the ICH manifestation? (Grenet, 2013);
- "Since the inventory is appropriate for the study of steady goods (objects, sites or monuments) does it also fit the dynamic nature of intangible cultural expressions?" (Bortolotto, 2011c: 10).

In short, it is important to reflect on the role of inventories in intangible culture patrimonialization processes and find out whether the inventory is being overrated as one of the main forms of ICH research, dissemination and safeguarding (Bortolotto, 2011c; Grenet, 2013; Isnart, 2013).

²⁸ In France the "emphasis on the elaboration of inventories came to be known as the 'fétiche de la fiche'" (Isnart, 2013: 125).

According to Decree-Law No. 139/2009, article 6, paragraph 1, which establishes the Portuguese legal regime for the ICH, "the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage is fundamentally based on inventorying"; hence, this procedure is understood as essential and a first step in the whole process of intangible culture patrimonialization.

We believe that the use of this extensive technique is justified as long as the inventory allows a "systematic, updated, participated and tending to be exhaustive survey of intangible cultural heritage manifestations", as established in paragraph 2 of the same article, with which we agree. In principle, the exclusive employment of intensive methodologies, such as monographic studies, would not allow the development, in a first moment of the process, of extended knowledge (national, regional or local level) regarding the manifestations that communities identify as intangible cultural heritage.

We believe, however, that the current hypermedia inventories should be used as tools capable of hosting (in files, links and associated audio-visual records) the knowledge produced according to different methodologies, aggregating to the manifestations' synthesis and descriptive data a more elaborate production of knowledge.

In MEMORIAMEDIA the inventorying process includes field research and the use of complementary methodologies – consequently, the inventory is not limited to the filling out data sheets. One of the most inspiring activities in the project is the creation of documentaries and ethnographic records which involve the use of qualitative methodologies and specific techniques. Moreover, to the different inventory fields are associated field journals, scientific papers, photographic creations, interviews, book reviews, monographs and other forms of knowledge produced by the research team or provided by cultural manifestations practitioners, other researchers and/or institutions who dedicate themselves to the study of the concerned cultural expression.

The inventory is, in this perspective, understood and used as a tool, a resource to systematize the knowledge achieved by different methods which complement, but do not substitute, each other. It is not an end or an isolated methodology; it is a working tool, easy to consult, that fosters the creation of bridges between data synthesis, analysis and complex studies, documentation and hypermedia resources relating to intangible, tangible and natural cultural heritage. This is the objective of the project regarding the inventorying of the manifestations it addresses.

On who should perform the inventorying we agree with Bortolotto (2013) when she says that the most difficult it is to find resources of promoting communities' participation as established by the Convention. This author identifies several ways to manage this engagement by analysing the Italian reality:

- a) The community provides information to researchers during the field work;
- b) Civil society representatives are responsible for inventorying in collaboration with heritage professionals and local administrations, and with scientific mediation;
- c) Inventorying is an activity of social actors without scientific and professional mediation ²⁹.

Considering Bortolotto's hypotheses (2013), MEMORIAMEDIA defends the principle of shared responsibility and identifies the work it performs with hypothesis b). As a rule, the knowledge published in the project's inventory results from the collaboration between the cultural expressions practitioners, the MEMORIAMEDIA team and the technical team of community representatives, as well as with the participation of culture professionals or heritage technicians who operate at the local level – this happened, for example, in the above mentioned ICH inventory in the municipality of Elvas.

We consider the hypotheses a) and c) of little help because the ICH bearers and practitioners are seen merely as informants and are thus not involved in the inventorying process (hypotheses a), or because the inventorying process is neither instructed nor legitimized by technical and scientific skills, thus losing its significance (hypothesis c).

Regardless of how MEMORIAMEDIA inventory contents are produced, the fields are completed and the materials are associated by the project team. The management of the software that supports the inventory and gives access to it is responsibility of the technical and software teams. The inventory is discussed with community representatives before going online (procedures already described in Chapter 1).

²⁹ Bortolotto further indicates that there is a gradation of hypotheses ranging from "civilized inventories" based in validated scientific practices and "savage inventories" created and developed by the "profane" (2013: 40).

The project inventory and the inventorying sheet follow UNESCO (n.d.) and Ministerial Order No. 196/2010 recommendations, and include the following the fields (see Figure 6 and 7):

- Title (name by which the ICH element is known);
- Link to access the documentary film or ethnographic record;
- Summary (synthesis of the manifestation characterization and of its history/origin);
- Characterization (detailed description of processes, phases, resources used and bearers/practitioners of cultural expression);
- Origin/history (data regarding the creation and evolution of the manifestation);
- Link to documentation and other resources that complement and enable a deeper knowledge of the ICH element;
- Link to the bibliography that supports the knowledge produced about the cultural expression;
- Identification (domain, category, other denominations and bearers/ practitioners);
- Context of production (data on the community or group);
- Territorial context (local, parish, district and country);
- Temporal context (date and periodicity);
- Associated manifestations (intangible, tangible and natural);
- Transmission context (status, context, agents and languages);
- Associated rights (description and reference to bearers/practitioners);
- Safeguarding (risks and threats, safeguard actions);
- Responsible teams (inventory, video register, documentary film, interviews);
- Archive k7 and HDD (reference to the archive location of where all the records, research notes, documentation, photographs, videos and authorizations given by the cultural expressions practitioners are archived).

Taking into account that MEMORIAMEDIA exists since 2006, 10 years after the first entry in the database, in 2016, the inventory will start to be updated. We are planning to re-examine next year (2016) the elements registered in 2006, in 2017 we will be reviewing the elements entered in 2007, and so on.

Dados de inventário		
1	Fítulo	Procissão dos Passos,Vila Boim, Elvas
	?	Media
Vídeo		No. No. of the second se
Resumo	2	PROCISSÃO DOS PASSOS de Vila Boim, Elvas A Procissão dos Passos faz parte da celebração da Semana Santa de Vila Boim, concelho de Elvas.
		A Procissão dos Passos realiza-se na tarde de Domingo de Ramos em Vila Boim. Retrata o percurso de Cristo até à crucificação. Durante a procissão visitam-se cinco Passos que são benzidos por um dos dois
		padres que acompanham a imagem do Senhor e assiste-se, em cada um dos passos, ao cântico da Verónica. Enquanto canta, Verónica vai desenrolando um pano onde está gravada a imagem do Senhor. Os cinco Passos são metáforas das chagas de Cristo e a representação de 5 dos 14 Passos da Paixão de Cristo ao
		longo da Via Sacra. Os momentos mais marcantes da procissão são: os cânticos da Verónica (na Igreja de São Francisco, na Igreja Matriz e em todos os Passos) e o sermão realizado junto ao Passo 3, momento do encontro do Senhor dos Passos com a
		L'editzado junto das Dorsos 5, monfiento do encionido do seninór dos reassos cóm a Nosas Senhora das Dores - sermão que enuncia e homenageia a figura da mãe. Os Passos são representados em pequenas capelas existentes nas ruas de Vila Boim que são decoradas com motivos a lucimicos à cerimônia em tapetes
		desenhados com flores. Registos: Vila Boim, concelho de Elvas, 2013.
- Caracterizaçao		
Caracterização	2	A Procissão dos Passos faz parte da celebração da Semana Santa de Vila Boim, concelho de Elvas, que começa na manhã de Domingo de Ramos com a bênção e Procissão dos Ramos, processouindo com a Procissão dos Passos no mesmo Domingo à tarde e o Enterro do Senhor na Sexta-feira Santa, à noite. As celebrações são organizadas pela "Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim" associada à
		Igreja de São Francisco, Igreja Matriz, familias e outros residentes de Vila Boim. A Procisão dos Pasos realizar-sen a tarde de Domingo de Ramos em Vila Boim. Retrata o percurso de Cristo até à crucificação. Os cinco Pasos são metáforas das chagas de Cristo e a representação de 5 dos 14 Pasoso da Paixão de Cristo ao longo da Via Sacra. Os Pasos são representados em pequenas capelas existentes nas ruas de Vila Boim que são decoradas com motivos alusivos à cerimónia em tapetes desenhados com flores.
		Os momentos mais marcantes da procisão são: os cânticos da Verónica (na Igreja de São Francisco, na Igreja Matire eem todos os Passoa) e o sermão realizado junto ao Passo 3, momento do encontro do Senhor dos Passoas soma Nossa Senhora das Dores - sermão que enuncia e homenageia a figura da mãe. Esta celebração começa a ser organizada alguns meses antes (cerca de dois meses antes), com a idealização do desenho para decorar os Passos e os ensaios da Verônica; as paredes dos Passos 360 pintadas dus semanas antes da procisão; no sábado que antecede a procisão apanha-se o rosmaninho selvagem para decorar a entrada das igrejas e dos Passos; os Passos são sãos dados;
		Santos são vestidos e, nessa noite, o Senhor dos Passos é levado em procissão da Igreja de São Francisco pela Rua do Castelo até à Igreja Matriz. Nossa Senhora das Dores e São João Evangelista ficam na Igreja de São Francisco.
		Ler mais – ver texto completo no Documento PDF abaixo
Documentação	?	Documento PDF
Origem/Hist	orial	A origem dos Passos é secular, sendo possível encontrar três gerações de
		A origem dos Passos é secular, sendo possível encontrar três gerações de residentes da Vila Boim que recordam a existência desta procissão desde que tem memória, mas ninguém sabe qual a data da origem e não foi possível encontrar documentação sobre este assunto. (em construção)
Ribliggerfie	?	Documento PDF
Bibliografia		
Identificação		
Don	nínio	Práticas sociais, rituais e eventos festivos
Categ	goria	Festividades cíclicas
Denominação	2	Procissão dos Passos de Vila Boim
Indivíduo ou grupo	?	Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Famílias responsáveis pelos Passos e Residentes em Vila Boim
Ano de nascimento	?	Não se aplica
Profissão	2	Não se Aplica
·Contexto de produção ·····		
	rupo 2	Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Residentes em Vila Boim

Figure 6: Part 1 – Example of data in the ICH inventory sheet on memoriamedia.net (2015)

Contexto territorial	
Local da recolha	Vila Boim
Freguesia	
Município	
	Portalegre
	Portugal
Fais	Fortugai
Contexto temporal	
2	Abril 2013
Data da Recolha	
2	Anual, Páscoa - Domingo dos Ramos
Periodicidade	
Manifestações associadas	
Manirestações associadas	Decoração dos Passos com flores, Procissão dos Ramos, Enterro do Senhor - manifestações realizadas na celebração da Semana Santa de Vila Boim.
PC Material associado	Património Material Imóvel: Igreja Matriz; Igreja de São Francisco e os 5 Passos.
2	Património Material Imóvel: Igreja Matriz; Igreja de São Francisco e os 5 Passos. Património Material Móvel: Pendão 1:"Senatus populus quo Romanus" (Senado do Povo Romano): Pendão 2:"Senhor Jesus dos Passos;" Pendão 3:"Centro do apostolado da Oração"; Lanternas (acompanham os andores e o pálio); Andores: Senhor Jesus dos Passos; Nosas Senhora das Dores; São João Evangelista;
	Senhor Jesus dos Passos; Nossa Senhora das Dores; São João Evangelista;
	adereços dos Anjinhos que representam os martírios do Senhor: pregos, martelo, esponja, espada, cruz e bandejas com flores; Pálio (onde seguem os padres);
	Senhor Jesus dos Passos; Nosa Senhora das Dores; São João Evangelitas; adereços dos Anjinhos que representan os martirios do Senhorir prepos, martelo, esponja, espada, cruz e bandejas com flores; Pálio (onde seguem os padres); Imagem do senhor no pano preso entre duas ripas de madeira; Vestidos roxos adereços dos Santos; Vestido roxo e veu branco de Verónica; Vestidos roxos dos anjinhos; Opas roxas para tados os outros figurantes da procisão.
	Campos onde se recolhem as flores e o rosmaninho para decoração dos Passos e das Igrejas.
associado [2]	ana threinas
Contexto de transmissão	
Estado de transmissão	activa
2	dava
Descrição da transmissão	
Agentes de Transmissão	Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim; Famílias que decoram os Passos e Residentes de Vila Boim.
12	
Idioma	Português
	Português
Direitos Associados	
	Os direitos coletivos são de tipo consuetudinário. Elementos da Procisaão - Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Jareia
Direitos Associados	Os direitos coletivos são de tipo consuetudinário.
Direitos Associados	Os direitos coletivos são de tipo consuetudinário. Elementos da Procisaão - Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Famílias responsáveis,Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja
-Direitos Associados Descrição	Os direitos coletivos são de tipo consuetudinário. Elementos da Procisaão - Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Jareia
Direitos Associados	Os direitos coletivos são de tipo consuetudinário. Elementos da Procisaão - Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Famílias responsáveis,Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Os direitos coletivos são de tipo consuetudinário - comunidade local. Elementos da Procisão - Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja
-Direitos Associados Descrição	Os direitos coletivos são de tipo consuetudinário. Elementos da Procisaão - Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Famílias responsáveis,Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Os direitos coletivos são de tipo consuetudinário - comunidade local. Elementos da Procisão - Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja
Direitos Associados	Os direitos coletivos são de tipo consuetudinário. Elementos da Procisão - Comisão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comisão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Os direitos coletivos são de tipo consuetudinário - comunidade local. Elementos da Procisão - Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja A procissão tem mantido a sua forma tradicional ao Jongo dos apos e várias
-Direitos Associados	Os direitos coletivos são de tipo consuetudinário. Elementos da Procisão - Comisão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comisão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Os direitos coletivos são de tipo consuetudinário - comunidade local. Elementos da Procisão - Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja A procissão tem mantido a sua forma tradicional ao Jongo dos apos e várias
-Direitos Associados	Os direitos coletivos são de tipo consuetudinário. Elementos da Procissão - Comisaão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comisão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Os direitos coletivos são de tipo consuetudiránio - comunidade local. Elementos da Procisão - Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja A procissão - tem mantido a sua forma tradicional ao longo dos anos e várias gerações estão envolvidas na organização da mesma. A comunidade não considera a celebração em risco ou ameçaçãoda, a transmissão geracinal dos
-Direitos Associados	Os direitos coletivos são de tipo consuetudinário. Elementos da Procissão - Comisaão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comisão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Os direitos coletivos são de tipo consuetudiránio - comunidade local. Elementos da Procisão - Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja A procissão - tem mantido a sua forma tradicional ao longo dos anos e várias gerações estão envolvidas na organização da mesma. A comunidade não considera a celebração em risco ou ameçaçãoda, a transmissão geracinal dos
-Direitos Associados	Os direitos coletivos são de tipo consuetudinário. Elementos da Procissão - Comisaão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comisão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Os direitos coletivos são de tipo consuetudiránio - comunidade local. Elementos da Procisão - Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja A procissão - tem mantido a sua forma tradicional ao longo dos anos e várias gerações estão envolvidas na organização da mesma. A comunidade não considera a celebração em risco ou ameçaçãoda, a transmissão geracinal dos
-Direitos Associados	Os direitos coletivos são de tipo consuetudinário. Elementos da Procissão - Comisaão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comisão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Os direitos coletivos são de tipo consuetudiránio - comunidade local. Elementos da Procisão - Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja A procissão - tem mantido a sua forma tradicional ao longo dos anos e várias gerações estão envolvidas na organização da mesma. A comunidade não considera a celebração em risco ou ameçaçãoda, a transmissão geracinal dos
-Direitos Associados	Os direitos coletivos são de tipo consustudinário. Elementos da Procissão - Comisão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Familias responsáveis, Comisão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Os direitos coletivos são de tipo consuetudinário - comunidade local. Elementos da Procissão - Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Pamílias responsáveis, Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Pamílias responsáveis, Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja A procissão tem mantido a sua forma tradicional ao longo dos anos e várias gerações estão envolvidas na organização da mesma. A comunidade não conálera a celebração em risco ou amesçada, a transmissão geracional dos conálera a celebração em risco ou amesçada, a transmissão geracional dos conálera a celebração em nos ou amesquarda, a transmissão geracional dos conálera is dos referidas, no entanto, pequenas alterações, tais como so restúario na população que a acompanha, que antigamente, era marcadamente acompañvam a procissão rezando de jedihos ou descalças) e também a alteração na forma como se humense carregam es pendiões, a tais faziam no sem
-Direitos Associados	Os direitos coletivos são de tipo consuetudinário. Elementos da Procissão - Comisaão dos Pasos de Vila Boim. Igreja Pasos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comisão dos Pasos de Vila Boim. Igreja Os direitos coletivos são de tipo consuetudinário - comunidade local. Elementos da Procissão - Comissão dos Pasos de Vila Boim. Igreja Pasos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comissão dos Pasos de Vila Boim. Igreja Pasos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comissão dos Pasos de Vila Boim. Igreja Pasos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comissão dos Pasos de Vila Boim. Igreja Pasos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comissão dos Pasos de Vila Boim. Igreja Porcisaão dos tem mantido a sua forma tradicional ao longo dos anos e várias gerações estão - estos ou amesçada, a transmissão geracional dos conhecimentos e práticas encontra-se atualimente assegurada pela "Comisão do a sua Procissão dos Pasos" e pelás familias que entogamente, era marcadamente vestuário na população que a acompanha, que antogamente, era marcadamente acompanhavam a procissão rezando de jeelhos ou descalças) e também a alteração na forma com os homens carregam os pendões, altes faziam-no sem nunta os apolar. Hé alguns anos contaram um pouto do tubo que da suporte aos repousá-lios numa especio de cinto que levan a cintura semer que a procissão
- Direitos Associados	Os direitos coletivos são de tipo consuetudinário. Elementos da Procisão - Comisão dos Pasos de Vila Boim. Igreja Pasos - Familias responsáveis, Comisão dos Pasos de Vila Boim. Igreja Os direitos coletivos são de tipo consuetudinário - comunidade local. Elementos da Procisão - Comisão dos Pasos de Vila Boim. Igreja Pasos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comisão dos Pasos de Vila Boim. Igreja Pasos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comisão dos Pasos de Vila Boim. Igreja Pasos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comisão dos Pasos de Vila Boim. Igreja Pasos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comisão dos Pasos de Vila Boim. Igreja Pasos - Sandias - Comisão dos Pasos de Vila Boim. Igreja Pasos - Sandias - Comisão dos Pasos de Vila Boim. Igreja Pasos - Sandias - Comisão dos Ressos. A comunidade não condera a celebroção em risco un anecação, a transmisso gracional dos conderimentos e práticas encontra-se atualmente assegurada pela "Comisão do a forma original são referidas, no entento, pequenas alterações, taís como: o vesto: no sepulação que a compranha, ou son da na tera di pressaria responsavem alteração na forma como cos homens carregamos pendões, faise faziam-no sem nunca os apoiar. Há alguns anos cortaram um pouco do tubo que dá suporte aos pendêse (Jara que não Datesem nos finos elétricos) e os homens pasaram a repousá-Jos muma especie de cinto que levam à cintura sempre que a procisão
-Direitos Associados	Os direitos coletivos são de tipo consuetudinário. Elementos da Procisão - Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Pamilias responsáveis,Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Os direitos coletivos são de tipo consuetudinário - comunidade local. Elementos da Procisão - Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Ramilias responsáveis, Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Bandias de Santa dos ana organização da mesma. A comunidade não considera a celebração em risco ou ameaçada, a transmissão geracional dos conhecimentos e práticas encontra-ea estaulmada pela "Comisão da Procisão dos Passos" e pelas familias que decoram os Passos. Mantendo a sua orman organia 80 referidas, no entanto, pequenas alterações, tais como: o preto; as promessas que se cumpriam ao longo da procisão (pessoas que acompanhavam a procisão to cerando de plondos ou desciça) e também a alteração na forma como os homens carregam os pendões, antes faziam-no sem nunca os poios: Há ajuns anos cortaram um pouco do tubo que dá suporte aos pendões (para que não batessem nos fios elétricos) e os homens pasaram a erapusá-los name apedicia de cinto que levam à cintura sempre que a procisão está parada.
- Direitos Associados	Os direitos coletivos são de tipo consuetudinário. Elementos da Procisão - Comisão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Tamilias responsáveis, Comisão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Os direitos coletivos são de tipo consuetudinário - comunidade local. Elementos da Procisão - Comisão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Pamílias responsáveis, Comisão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Pamílias responsáveis, Comisão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja A procissão tem mantido a sua forma tradicional ao longo dos anos e várias gerações estão envolvidas na organização da mesma. A comunidade não considera a celebração em risco ou amesçada, a transmissão geracional dos condera na celebração em risco ou amesçada, a transmissão geracional dos condera na celebração em risco ou amesçada, a transmissão geracional dos condera na celebração em risco ou amesçada, a transmissão geracional dos conderion a concelação, no entanto, pequenas alteraçãos na forma corginal são referidas, no entanto, pequenas alteraçãos fais facimas com os humense carregam se pendões, a taras facima no sem alteração na forma como os humense carregam se pendões, a transmissão pendores pendões (para que não batessem nos fios elétricos) e os homens passaram a repousá-los matecipada da Procissão o que permite à "Comissão dos Passos" envolver a comunidade na organização da mesma; Enaiso para os cánticos da Verónica;
- Direitos Associados	Os direitos coletivos são de tipo consuetudinário. Elementos da Procisão - Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Pamilias responsáveis,Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Os direitos coletivos são de tipo consuetudinário - comunidade local. Elementos da Procisão - Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Ramilias responsáveis, Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Bandias de Santa dos ana organização da mesma. A comunidade não considera a celebração em risco ou ameaçada, a transmissão geracional dos conhecimentos e práticas encontra-ea estaulmada pela "Comisão da Procisão dos Passos" e pelas familias que decoram os Passos. Mantendo a sua orman organia 80 referidas, no entanto, pequenas alterações, tais como: o preto; as promessas que se cumpriam ao longo da procisão (pessoas que acompanhavam a procisão to cerando de plondos ou desciça) e também a alteração na forma como os homens carregam os pendões, antes faziam-no sem nunca os poios: Há ajuns anos cortaram um pouco do tubo que dá suporte aos pendões (para que não batessem nos fios elétricos) e os homens pasaram a erapusá-los name apedicia de cinto que levam à cintura sempre que a procisão está parada.
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 Direitos Associados Descrição Detentor Acções de Salvaguarda Riscos e Ameaças Acções de Salvaguarda Equipa responsável Entrevista Recolha vídeo 	Os direitos coletivos são de tipo consuetudinário. Elementos da Procisão - Comisão dos Pasos de Vila Boim. Igreja Pasos - Tamilias responsíveis,Comisão dos Pasos de Vila Boim. Igreja Os direitos coletivos são de tipo consuetudinário - comunidade local. Elementos da Procisão - Comisão dos Pasos de Vila Boim. Igreja Pasos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comisão dos Pasos de Vila Boim. Igreja Pasos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comisão dos Pasos de Vila Boim. Igreja A procissão tem mantido a sua forma tradicional ao longo dos anos e várias gerações estão envolvidas na organização da mesma. A comunidade não condera a celebração em risco ou amesçada, a transmissão geracional dos condera na celebração em risco ou amesçada, a transmissão geracional dos condera na celebração em rismo ou amesçada, a transmissão geracional dos condera na celebração em rismo ou amesçada, a transmissão geracional dos conderimentos las forefindas, no entanto, pequenas alteraçãos na forma como ao humensa carregamismente, area marcadamente preto; as proma como os humensa carregam se pendões, a tantes faziam-ios sem alteração na forma como ao humensa carregam se pendões, ates faziam-ios em pendões (para que não batessem nos fios elétricos) e os homens pascarem a reposuá-los anteripada da Procissão o que permite à "Comissão dos Passos" envolver a comunidade na organização da mesma; Ensinos para o cónticos da Verónica; Organização e contributo das familias responsáveis pela decoração dos Passos. Filomena Sousa
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 Direitos Associados Descrição Detentor Acções de Salvaguarda Riscos e Ameaças Acções de Salvaguarda Equipa responsável Entrevista Recolha vídeo 	Os direitos coletivos são de tipo consuetudinário. Elementos da Procissão - Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comisão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Os direitos coletivos são de tipo consuetudinário - comunidade local. Elementos da Procissão - Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comisão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comisão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comisão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comisão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comisão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comisão dos Passos. So Matedo a sus forma concesta familias que decoram os Passos. Matedo a sus forma orginal são referidas, no entanto, pequenas alterações, tais Comiso do scompanhavam a procisão resando de joelhos ou descalças) e também a alteração na forma como es homens carregam os pendões, faise faziemente scompanhavam a procisão resando de joelhos ou descalças) e também a repousê-Jos nue as boias: resando de joelhos ou descalças) e também a repousê-Jos nue as pecie de cinto que levam à cintura sempre que a procisão erát paraão. Preparação antecipada da Procissão o que permite à "Comissão dos Passos" envolver a comundade na orginação da mema; Ensaios para os cánticos da Verónica; Organização e contributo das familias responsáveis pela decoração dos Passos. Filomena Sousa José Barbieri Rosário Rosa e Filomena Sousa - Inventário
Direitos Associados Descrição Detentor Acções de Salvaguarda Riscos e Ameaças Acções de Salvaguarda Equipa responsável Entrevista Recolha video Inventário Realização	Os direitos coletivos são de tipo consuetudinário. Elementos da Procissão - Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Os direitos coletivos são de tipo consuetudinário - comunidade local. Elementos da Procissão - Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comissão dos Passos. A consunidade não conhecimentos e práticas encontra-se atualmente assegurada pela "Comisão dos romisãor a celebrizção em risos ou amesçada, a transmissão gracional dos conhecimentos e práticas encontra-se atualmente assegurada pela "Comisão dos a romisãor a zono so homes our que antigamente, era marcadamente preto; as promesas que se Cumpriam ao lóngo da proclasão (pessoas que alteração na forma como os homens carregame antigamente, faziam-nos em nunca os apoiar. Há alguns anos cortaram um pouco do tubo que dá suporte aos pandêse (parq ue ño batesem mos finse eléricos) e os homens passama a repousê-los numa especie de cinto que levam à cintura sempre que a procissão erais parado. Preparação antecipada da Proclasão o que permite à "Comissão dos Passos. Filomena Sousa José Barbieri Rosário Rosa e Filomena Sousa - Inventário
Direitos Associados Descrição Detentor Acções de Salvaguarda Riscos e Ameaças Acções de Salvaguarda Equipa responsável Entrevista Recolha video Inventário Realização Arquivo	Os direitos coletivos são de tipo consuetudinário. Elementos da Procissão - Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Familias responsáveis, Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Os direitos calvitos são de tipo consuetudinário - comunidade local. Elementos da Procissão - Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Familias responsáveis, Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Familias responsáveis, Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Familias responsáveis, Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comissão dos Passos. Nantendo a su forma original são referidas, no entanto, pequenas alterações, tais como: o vestuário na população que a companha, que antigamente, em marcadamente preto; as promesas que se cumpriam ao longo da procisão (pessos que atterações, no form. Ha como os homenos carregam os pendos, Jantes Ja aminos em alteração na form. Ha como os homenos carregam os pendos (para em marcadamente preto; as promesas que se cumpriam ao longo da procisão dos Passos envolver a comunidade na organização de mesma; Endose Jons uma especia de cinto que levam à cintura sempre que a procisão envolver a comunidade na organização de mesma; Envolver a comunidade na organização de mesma; Elomena Sousa Jasé Barbieri Rosário Rosa e Filomena Sousa - Inventário Realização Filomena Sousa, Produção Memória Imaterial e Câmara Municipal de Elvas - Isabel Pinto; Leonor Calado; Patrica Machado, Romão Mimoso.
Direitos Associados Descrição Detentor Acções de Salvaguarda Riscos e Ameaças Acções de Salvaguarda Equipa responsável Entrevista Recolha video Inventário Realzação Arquivo Arquivo K7	Os direitos coletivos são de tipo consuetudinário. Elementos da Procisão - Comisão dos Pasos de Vila Boim. Igreja Pasos - Pamilias responsáveis,Comisão dos Pasos de Vila Boim. Igreja Pasos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comisão dos Pasos de Vila Boim. Igreja Os direitos coletivos são de tipo consuetudinário - comunidade local. Elementos da Procisão - Comisão dos Pasos de Vila Boim. Igreja Pasos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comisão dos Pasos de Vila Boim. Igreja Pasos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comisão dos Pasos de Vila Boim. Igreja Pasos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comisão dos Pasos de Vila Boim. Igreja Pasos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comisão dos Pasos de Vila Boim. Igreja Pasos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comisão dos Pasos de Vila Boim. Igreja Pasos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comisão dos Pasos de Vila Boim. Igreja Pasos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comisão dos Pasos de Vila Boim. Igreja Pasos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comisão da mesma. A comunidade não conhecimentos e práticas encontra-se atualimente assegurada pela "Comisão do Basos", Processão dos Pasos" e pelás familias que decoram os Pasos. Nantendo a sua acompanhavam a procisão rezando de joelhos ou descalça) e também a alteração na teorias com os homens carregam os pendões, altes faziam-no sem nunca os apolar. Hé alguns anos contaram um pouco do tubo que da suporte as repousá-los nume espécie de cinto que levam à cintura sempre que a procisão esta parada. Preparação antecipada da Procisão o que permite à "Comissão dos Pasoos" filomena Sousa Jusé Barbieri Rosáno Rosa e Filomena Sousa - Inventário Realazação Filomena Sousa - Inventário Realazação Filomena Sousa - Inventário Realazação Filomena Sousa - Produção Memóris Imaterial e Câmara Municipal de Evas - Isabel Pinto; Leonor Calado; Patricia Machado, Romão Mimoso. K7s 283d; 284d e 285d
Direitos Associados Descrição Detentor Acções de Salvaguarda Riscos e Ameaças Acções de Salvaguarda Equipa responsável Entrevista Recolha video Inventário Realzação Arquivo Arquivo K7	Os direitos coletivos são de tipo consuetudinário. Elementos da Procissão - Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Familias responsáveis, Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Os direitos calvitos são de tipo consuetudinário - comunidade local. Elementos da Procissão - Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Familias responsáveis, Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Familias responsáveis, Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Familias responsáveis, Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comissão dos Passos de Vila Boim. Igreja Passos - Pamilias responsáveis, Comissão dos Passos. Nantendo a su forma original são referidas, no entanto, pequenas alterações, tais como: o vestuário na população que a companha, que antigamente, em marcadamente preto; as promesas que se cumpriam ao longo da procisão (pessos que atterações, no form. Ha como os homenos carregam os pendos, Jantes Ja aminos em alteração na form. Ha como os homenos carregam os pendos (para em marcadamente preto; as promesas que se cumpriam ao longo da procisão dos Passos envolver a comunidade na organização de mesma; Endose Jons uma especia de cinto que levam à cintura sempre que a procisão envolver a comunidade na organização de mesma; Envolver a comunidade na organização de mesma; Elomena Sousa Jasé Barbieri Rosário Rosa e Filomena Sousa - Inventário Realização Filomena Sousa, Produção Memória Imaterial e Câmara Municipal de Elvas - Isabel Pinto; Leonor Calado; Patrica Machado, Romão Mimoso.

Figure 7: Part 2 – Example of data in the ICH inventory sheet on memoriamedia.net (2015)

3.2.2. Audiovisual formats and MEMORIAMEDIA

Concerning the way visual technologies have been used in Portuguese Ethnography and Anthropology, in MEMORIAMEDIA we consider that the attitudes of greater resistance to their use, which today still occur, happen as a reaction to positivism inspired formats. These are rupture reactions, not to call it "trauma", in relation to the vast ethnographic cinematography produced during the *Estado Novo* period (see Chapter 2). It is a reaction to the success of the "nationalist anthropology" of that time (years 1930s to 1960s), to the approach used by the "folklorization movement" and by colonialist cinematographic production (posture that was visible and identified, for example, in the expert's voice-off records who, in these films, comments on the "Other").

In relation to the positivist approach of "nationalist anthropology", we can speak of a certain "epistemological innocence". I put this in quotes due to the intentions implied in these films which were hardly innocent: political propaganda; hegemony; promotion and construction of an "identity" and a national cohesion; promotion of the Empire; normalization and establishment of certain cultural expressions (in popular dance, for example, the promotion of folklore groups) and acculturation. Instead of "epistemological innocence", it might be more correct to speak of "lack of ethical conduct".

We find, however, that this refusal reaction begins to be outdated and a new generation of researchers in social sciences, distanced from the audiovisual formats inspired by positivism, understands how indispensable the use of visual technologies is in their research (Campos, 2011a, 2011b).

In MEMORIAMEDIA we consider photos, audio, film and video as important collecting mediums that provide essential information and details to study and analyse the processes of a particular cultural manifestation - the gestures, the glances, the expressions, the silences and the timings. We do not forget, however, the subjective character, conditioned and conditioning, of images capturing. The influences to which the images are subject - aesthetic; ideological; concerning social, cultural, historical, scientific and political context (from the ones who are being filmed and from those who are filming). Moving thus away from the positivist perspective, in our work we identify ourselves with the interactionist approach and believe that observing and recording is not to know; it is to create and also to influence new representations of reality, representations that are always composed and fragmented (Banks, 1995, 2000; Campos, 2011a, 2011b; MacDougall, 1997; Martins, 2013; Morphy e Banks, 1997; Pink, 2001; Ruby, 1996).

Through the use of visual technologies we privilege "what is told through the voice, the gestures and the expressions" of the ICH practitioners - the speech of who is being filmed. We try that "the voice" of those people is the one that appears in the final work, in the documentaries we make.

While following this perspective, we believe ethical issues are very important – practitioners rights; the ethics behind the employment of social research methodologies and techniques and, among other issues, the permission for the use of images.

About how should documentary or ethnographic records be understood in social research and in ICH safeguarding processes we think that these have value *per se*, but we also believe that they may be enhanced and achieve new readings when associated to other types of discourses, to hypertext and to other hypermedia resources. The crossing of different languages increases the possibility of spreading the inventoried knowledge and hypermedia mediums still provide, to those who consult information, the chance to define a nonlinear reading of the contents. Taking advantage of an autonomous, personal and interactive experience when consulting MEMORIAMEDIA site, users build their narrative – they can watch a folk tale and then consult the information therewith associated, move ahead to see a documentary about a celebration, or may consult the data of any other cultural manifestation. The site resembles a kind of "interactive documentary".

Even though its practices do not belong to action-research, MEMORIAMEDIA is able to convene participatory visual methodologies in some of its projects. For example in the initiative "a story, a record" - which was organised in 2009 in connection with the celebrations of the International Day for Sharing Life Stories (May 16). In this project, based on the assumptions that everyone has a role in their community and that hearing their "stories" is a way to promote personal and social integration, those who wanted, following some technical guidance on the use of the video camera, could produce their movies and send them for publication on the site³⁰.

In conclusion, about our positioning vis-à-vis the use of hypermedia, we agree with Campos when he says, and I quote: "the digital platforms and hypermedia formats will be, in the future, important protagonists of new ways to convey knowledge and to communicate with different audiences." Not believing that they will overthrow the old visual and audiovisual formats, Campos considers,

³⁰http://www.memoriamedia.net/historiasdevida/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=111&Itemid=198

however, that "the growing communion of the same digital language extends the manipulation and cross-content capabilities, encouraging the creation of more complex lexicons and polymorphic products" (2011a: 254).

CONCLUSION

Once exposed, in general terms, the methods, techniques and practices of the "MEMORIAMEDIA e-Museum of the Intangible Cultural Heritage" I present a summary of the thoughts convened in this book. These reflections were achieved based on the principle that there are no perfect projects, or "recipes", or unique models for action. It is assumed that everything that has been written will be reviewed according to new knowledge, new experiences and the influence of new contexts.

It is also important to stress that, regardless of the critical analysis carried out on the contents of the Convention for the safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003), the MEMORIAMEDIA project adopts the Convention Directives and uses the concepts therein enunciated, namely the concept of ICH and the definition of its domains and categories; it further agrees with the role assigned to the ICH practitioners and with UNESCO recommendations regarding inventorying practices.

Following a macro perspective, in Chapter 1 we contextualized ICH research among culture and cultural heritage problematic, by recognizing patrimonialization processes as social constructions, subject to different types of approaches.

In light of these perspectives, MEMORIAMEDIA focuses on promoting community involvement in patrimonialization processes – it follows the participationist approach – and – under a constructivist perspective – It considers the need to bear in mind that cultural expressions are subject to social, economic and political conditions, i.e., that ICH is a changing reality, which depends on its practitioners, temporality and the place where it occurs.

The project associates the ICH concept to an emic approach, disseminating the idea that intangible culture patrimonialization processes should respect and value the ICH interpretations of those who are directly involved in the production of cultural expressions. One should always bear in mind that their voices and the specific context of production are more important than the action or involvement of external agents. As a result, the decision about what is, and how should, intangible cultural heritage be valued and safeguarded rests in the hands of the social actors (not forgetting that communities, as heterogeneous and complex social entities, generate interests, tensions, power and conflicts).

We classified the current civic participation in intangible culture patrimonialization processes as residual and uninformed. When it comes to ICH, the first idea that comes to mind is to identify a cultural practice in view of inscribing it in a world list and not the extensive and longitudinal identification, enhancement, research and safeguarding of local/national intangible cultural heritage, supported by local social actors. MEMORIAMEDIA think that more important than recognizing some expressions as world intangible cultural heritage, the real ICH enhancement and safeguarding should be accomplished through non-discriminatory policies and the promotion of local actions to inventory the manifestations that communities identify as intangible cultural heritage.

We believe that, since each municipality has inventoried and protected monuments, material and the natural heritage, the same should be accomplished as regards ICH.

In the context of processes' democratization, we highlight the roles to be played by the NGOs: a) as active information agents; b) in ICH inventorying promotion at the local level; and c) in promoting community capacity-building.

In Chapter 2, through the historical evolution of ethnographic and anthropological Portuguese production, we have shown that the topic of popular culture, namely the currently so called intangible cultural heritage, has a century old legacy of research and relevant scientific literature. In this context, MEMORIAMEDIA is a modest contribution among the different activities that were developed in the last decade in the field of intangible culture.

It was assumed in this chapter that simply because MEMORIAMEDIA operates in this field and produces knowledge concerning traditions and intangible culture, the project is inevitably connected to patrimonialization processes. Employing in our work a scientific, critical and ethical stance does not disconnect us from those processes. Considering the different lines of action underlying these processes, our practice focuses especially on the stages of research, documentation, recording, inventorying and dissemination.

In Chapter 3, I mentioned the need to reflect on the role of inventories in patrimonialization processes and how, in MEMORIAMEDIA, we consider it necessary and important to undertake participated, systematic, up-to-date and exhaustive surveys of ICH manifestations. We believe, however, in the creation of hypermedia inventories that work as aggregation tools, allowing to interconnect (in files, links and audio-visual records) the knowledge produced according to

different methodologies, by combining data and descriptive synthesis with more elaborate sorts of knowledge production.

As regards the audiovisual formats used in inventorying we consider photos, audio records, films and videos as important collecting resources that provide crucial information and details to the research and analysis of the processes attached to a particular cultural manifestation. We do not forget, however, the subjective character, conditioned and conditioning, of the images captured. Moving away from the positivist perspective, in our work we align ourselves with the interactionist approach. In other words, we believe that observing and recording is not to know; it is to create and also to influence new representations of reality (Banks, 1995, 2000; Campos, 2011a, 2011b; MacDougall, 1997; Martins, 2013; Morphy e Banks, 1997; Pink, 2001; Ruby, 1996).

In all the matters, challenges and dilemmas pertaining to cultural heritage issues we invoke the recourse to the principles of rationality and ethics.

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ANNEX 1

One of the most complete definitions of the ICH domains (inscribed in the Convention) was presented by Clara Cabral (2009) and is as follows:

"Oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage: covers a wide variety of forms including proverbs, riddles, stories, bedtime rhymes, legends, myths, songs and epic poems, spells, prayers, chants, songs, dramatic performances and so on. They transmit knowledge, values and collective memory, playing an essential role in a community or group cultural vitality; many forms have always been a popular pastime. Although language is a core element of many communities' intangible cultural heritage, language itself is not covered by the Convention. However, it must be protected because it is vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage.

<u>Performing arts</u>: the elementary expressions of performing arts include vocal or instrumental music, dance, theatre, as well as many other traditional forms such as pantomime, sung verses, and certain forms of storytelling. The performing arts include a wide diversity of cultural expressions that, as a whole, testify human creativity. They can often be found in varying degrees in many other domains of the intangible cultural heritage.

<u>Social practices, rituals and festive events</u>: social practices, rituals and festive events are routine activities that structure the lives of communities and groups, which are shared by them, and that are relevant to many individuals. They become meaningful because they reaffirm the identity of practitioners as a group or community. Performed in public or in private, these social practices, rituals and festivals may be related to the life cycle of individuals and groups, with the agricultural calendar, with the succession of seasons or other temporal systems. They are conditioned by visions of the world and by stories and common memories. They vary from simple meetings to occasions of celebration and large scale commemorations. Although each of these sub domains is vast by itself, there is also a clear overlap between them.

<u>Knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe</u>: these include knowledge, know-how, skills, practices and representations developed and perpetuated by communities in the course of their interaction with the environment. These cognitive systems are expressed through language, oral traditions, connection to a place of memories, spirituality and cosmogony, and express themselves through a vast complex of values and beliefs, ceremonies, traditional medicine, social institutions or practices, and social organization. Such expressions and practices are as diverse and varied as the socio-

cultural and ecological contexts that originate them and are often connected to other intangible cultural heritage domains indicated in the Convention. This domain covers areas as diverse as traditional ecological know-how, indigenous knowledge, ethnobiology, ethnobotany, ethnozoology, traditional medical systems and pharmacopeia, rituals, food habits, beliefs, esoteric sciences, initiation rites, divinations, cosmologies, cosmogonies, shamanism, possession rites, social organizations, festivals and visual arts.

Traditional craftsmanship: It seems to be the most tangible domain in which intangible cultural heritage is expressed, although the target of the Convention are not the products themselves, but rather the skills and knowledge necessary to produce them. All efforts to safeguard traditional craftsmanship should focus not on preserving the objects, but on the creation of conditions that will encourage artisans to continue producing all kinds of wares and transmitting their know-how and knowledge to others, especially the younger members of their own communities. The skills linked to traditional craftsmanship can be expressed in many ways – clothes and jewellery to protect or adorn the body; costumes and artefacts needed to festivals or performing arts; objects used for storage, transportation, and shelter; decorative arts and ritual objects; musical instruments and household items; toys meant to amuse or educate; tools vital to the subsistence or survival. Many of these objects are ephemeral, intended to last only as long as necessary to the community festival or family ritual to which they are produced. Others become memory objects, transmitted from generation to generation as family heirlooms and used as models for continuous creativity. The skills and knowledge necessary for handicraft production are expressed in objects as delicate as paper flowers or drawings in the sand, or in such robust and long-lasting artefacts such as wicker baskets or Portuguese 'papa' blankets" (C. B. Cabral, 2009: 131-132).

ANNEX 2

The Convention for the safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage was adopted in 2003, but several previous steps led to the outcome of this normative instrument. After entering into force (2006) the importance of the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of ICH should be highlighted (C. B. Cabral, 2009; P. F. Costa, 2008; MatrizPCI/recursos, 2015, UNESCO.org, 2014):

ICH – Chronology - International

1972	Adoption of the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage.
1973	Bolivia's proposal for adding a protocol to the Universal Copyright Convention aimed at protecting folklore was not adopted.
1982	The section for Non-Material Heritage is created at UNESCO. The World Conference on Cultural Policies (Mondiacult) took place in Mexico City.
1989	Adoption of the Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore
1993	The Red Book of Endangered Languages was published by UNESCO
1993	The expression intangible cultural heritage was officially adopted at the "International Consultation on New Perspectives for UNESCO's Programme: The Intangible Cultural Heritage"
1994	Creation of the Living Human Treasures Programme (proposal from the Republic of Korea), to "recognize the importance of certain individuals of exceptional artistic qualities and bearers of traditional know-how, as well as to promote the transmission of such knowledge to the next generations" (Cabral, 2009: 128).
1996	The Report Our Creative Diversity (WCCD, 1996), argues that the 1972 Convention is not appropriate to promote and protect the intangible heritage and urges that other forms of recognition and protection be found.
1997/1998	Creation of the Proclamation of the Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity Programme
1999	Conference "A Global Assessment of the 1989 Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore: Local Empowerment and International Cooperation" in Washington, D.C. (UNESCO and Smithsonian Institution)
2001	First Proclamation of the Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity
2001	Adoption of the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (instrument for the issues related to cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue).

2002	During the 7th Regional Assembly of ICOM Asia-Pacific Regional Alliance, held in Shanghai (China), dedicated to ICH, was developed the Shanghai Charter: Museums, intangible heritage and globalisation.
2003	Adoption of the Convention for the safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage – entry into force on April 20, 2006 Second Proclamation of the Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity
2004	ICOM promotes the International Museums Day dedicated to Intangible Cultural Heritage; At the Conference on the same theme held in Japan, a group of experts adopts the Yamato Declaration on Integrated Approaches for Safeguarding Tangible and Intangible Cultural Heritage.
2005	Third Proclamation of the Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity
2006	The Convention for the safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage enters into force (20 April).
2008	3rd session of the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of ICH (Istanbul, Turkey, 4 to 8 November), during which the 90 "Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity" were integrated into the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity; In late August 2008 the Convention had already been ratified by 100 countries, including Portugal (entered into force that year, on August 21).
2009	During the 4th session of the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of ICH (Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates, 28 September to 2 October) 76 elements were inscribed on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity and 12 elements were inscribed on the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding.
2010	IPHAN makes available the Brazilian ICH database; During the 5th session of the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of ICH 45 elements were inscribed on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity (among which "Fado", by Portugal) and 4 elements were inscribed on the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding. During the 3th session of the General Assembly of the States Parties to the Convention for the Safeguarding of the ICH INATEL Foundation (Portugal) was accredited as a Non-Governmental Organization to provide advisory services to the Committee.
2011	During the 6th session of the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of ICH 18 elements were inscribed on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity (among which "Fado", by Portugal) and 11 elements were inscribed on the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding.

2012	During the 7th session of the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of ICH 27 elements were inscribed on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity and 4 elements were inscribed on the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding. During the 4th session of the General Assembly of the States Parties to the Convention for the Safeguarding of the ICH Centre for Research in Anthropology – CRIA (Portugal) was accredited as a Non-Governmental Organization to provide advisory services to the Committee.
2013	During the 8th session of the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of ICH 25 elements were inscribed on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity (among which Portugal inscribed the "Mediterranean Diet", in a transnational nomination) and 4 elements were inscribed on the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding.
2014	During the 9th session of the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of ICH 34 elements were inscribed on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity (among which "Cante Alentejano", by Portugal) and 3 elements were inscribed on the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding. During the 5th session of the General Assembly of the States Parties to the Convention for the Safeguarding of the ICH Memória Imaterial Cooperativa Cultural CRL (Portugal), promoter of the project MEMORIAMEDIA e- Museum was accredited as a Non-Governmental Organization to provide advisory services to the Committee

Source: C. B. Cabral (2009: 125-130) P. F. Costa, 2008; MatrizPCI/recursos, 2015.

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ANNEX 3

ICH – Chronology - National (in MatrizPCI/recursos, 2015)

"1985

The Framework Law for Cultural Heritage is published (Law 13/1985, of July 6). Article 43rd addresses the types and protection regime of "intangible goods", but due to lack of development this law was not implemented as regards this subject-matter.

2001

The Portuguese Heritage Protection Law that establishes the basis for the policy and cultural heritage protection is published (Law no. 107/2001, of September 8). Articles 91st and 92nd address the "special regimes for the protection and enhancement of "intangible goods". In addition to "popular traditions", ICH is now expanded to "ethnic minorities" manifestations.

2004

The Portuguese Institute for Museums promotes the celebration of the International Museum Day on the theme of Intangible Heritage.

2006

The Organic Law of the Ministry of Culture is published (Decree-Law No. 215/2006 of October 27). It advocates the "definition and implementation of an integrated policy for tangible and intangible heritage", assigning to the Institute for Museums and Conservation responsibilities regarding ICH inventorying, enhancement and protection.

2007

The Institute for Museums and Conservation I.P. (IMC) is created (Decree-Law No. 97/2007 of March 29, and Ministerial Order no. 377/2007 of March 30) under the tutelage of the Ministry of Culture, to which specific responsibilities are assigned in the area of ICH, particularly through its Department for Intangible Heritage.

The Council of Ministers approves the ratification by Portugal of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (August 23).

The Institute for Museums and Conservation starts collaborating with the Commission for the Development of the Framework Law for Cultural Heritage (Ministry of Culture), in the context of ICH.

Through its Department for Intangible Heritage, the Institute for Museums and Conservation starts its annual training programme on ICH principles and inventorying methodologies, for the museums belonging to the Portuguese Museums Network.

2008

The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage is unanimously adopted by the Portuguese Assembly of the Republic (Portuguese Parliament) on January 24 (AR Resolution No. 12/2008); on March 26 it is ratified, by publishing in the Diário da República (Official Journal) the Decree of the President of the Republic No. 28/2008 (DR no. 60, of March 26).

The joint work between the Institute for Museums and Conservation and the Commission for the Development of the Framework Law for Cultural Heritage (Ministry of Culture) progresses, aiming at defining a legislative framework for ICH.

Through the Notice No. 137/2008 (published in Official Journal No. 144, of July 28), the Ministry of Foreign Affairs makes public that the Portuguese Republic has deposited with the Director-General of UNESCO on May 21 its instrument for the ratification of the Convention. The Convention would enter into force on August 21, 2008.

Between February and November the Institute for Museums and Conservation organises a cycle of six Conferences under the theme "Museums and Intangible Heritage: agents, boundaries, identities". The cycle is of particular importance as a forum for reflection and public debate about the safeguarding of ICH to be implemented in Portugal by IMC.

2009

The Decree-Law no. 139/2009 is published (Diário da República, I/S, no. 113, June 15, 2009). It establishes the legal regime for ICH safeguarding in Portugal, developing the provisions in Law no. 107/2001, of September 8, and in accordance with the UNESCO 2003 Convention. The Decree-Law also establishes the mode to implement the National Inventory for Intangible Cultural Heritage, following the dispositions in article 12 of the UNESCO 2003 Convention.

In December, IMC and Softlimits edit the Proceedings of the Conferences Cycle "Museums and Intangible Heritage: agents, boundaries, identities".

2010

Between March and May the Institute for Museums and Conservation conducts the survey "Intangible Heritage in Portugal", targeted to 494 entities, divided among the following typologies: museums (139), municipalities (308), Regional Directorates for Culture (7) and Research Units considered of potential relevance to the activities in this area (40). The investigation had as global aim to identify the actions related to ICH recently undertaken by those entities, as well as the identification of documental bases considered of particular importance as records of ICH manifestations in Portugal.

The Ministerial Order no. 196/2010 is published (Diário da República, I/S, no. 69, of April 9, 2010). Created within the legal framework for ICH safeguarding established by Decree-Law No. 139/2009, of June 15 is aimed at its regulation. The Ministerial Order approves the inventory form for inventorying ICH manifestations and the applicable standards to fill it. Within the framework of this diploma are also defined the conditions to be fulfilled as regards ICH identification, study and documentation processes, including the research methods and techniques to be applied, as well as the academic qualifications of the professionals responsible for this process. The Ministerial Order is an essential instrument for the implementation of the National Inventory for Intangible Cultural Heritage.

In June, Portugal presents to UNESCO its first nomination to the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. It was the nomination of Fado, presented by Lisbon Municipality.

In November, the development of the new version of the Program MATRIZ is concluded (Matriz 3 – Heritage Inventory, Management and Dissemination) designed by IMC to promote the safeguarding of ICH by Portuguese authorities involved in the study, documentation and inventorying of Intangible Heritage, including Museums, Universities, research Centres, Municipalities and other entities linked to the Ministry of Culture.

2011

With the publication of Order No. 1018/2011, from January 12, finishes the process to constitute the Commission for the Intangible Cultural Heritage. The Commission was a body endowed with administrative, technical and scientific autonomy, established by Decree-Law No. 139/2009 of June 15, which acted independently and had deliberative and consultative functions within ICH safeguarding.

On June 1, the Institute of Museums and Conservation makes available MatrizPCI, a platform for online access to the National Inventory for Intangible Cultural Heritage, implemented for the purposes specified in article 12 of the Convention for the safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (UNESCO, 2003).

The Regional Legislative Decree no. 21/2011/A of July 4 is published, establishing the Legal Regime for the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage in the Autonomous Region of the Azores, similar to the legal regime established by Decree-Law No. 139/2009 of June 15 to the continent.

According to the plan to reduce and improve Central Administration (PREMAC), Decree-Law No. 126-A/2011, from December 29, establishes the creation of the General Directorate for Cultural Heritage, merging the Institute for Museums and Conservation, the Institute for the Management of Architectural and Archaeological Heritage and the Lisbon and Tejo Valley Regional Directorate for Culture. The General Directorate for Cultural Heritage inherits the tasks of the Commission for the Intangible Heritage concerning the powers to instruct processes and decision-making procedures for inventorying ICH.

2012

The Decree-Law no. 115/2012, of May 25, establishes the Organic Law of the General Directorate for Cultural Heritage, among whose mission and tasks is included to ensure the fulfilment of the State's obligations as regards ICH study, protection, enhancement and dissemination, in particular the powers to instruct processes and decision-making procedures for inventorying ICH and the definition and dissemination of safeguarding activities. The Ministerial Order no. 80/2012, of July 13 is published (Official Journal of the Autonomous Region of the Azores, series I, no. 112), approving the template of the electronic form to request an inscription in the Azores regional intangible cultural heritage inventory, and the standards to fill it, which are similar to the Ministerial Order No. 196/2010 of April 9.

In August 2012 the Azores Regional Directorate for Culture makes available MatrizPCI – Azores, an online access platform to the Regional Inventory of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of the Azores, which creates for this Autonomous Region a database similar to the National Inventory for the Intangible Cultural Heritage.

2013

Decree-Law No. 132/2013, of September 13, restructures the National Council for Culture, by providing his Section for Museums, Conservation and Restoration, and Intangible Heritage with advisory competences as regards ICH, in particular concerning the issue of detailed opinions on the specific components of the ICH safeguarding policy and the nominations presented by the Portuguese State to UNESCO within the framework of the 2003 Convention, thus succeeding the Commission for the Intangible Cultural Heritage as regards advisory attributions.

Source: MatrizPCI/recursos inhttp://www.matrizpci.dgpc.pt/MatrizPCI.Web/Recursos/RecursosCronologiaPortugal.aspx [Accessed] on 05-03-2015]

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Alenquer, May 2015