

Intangible Cultural Heritage: Is it a Platform for Cooperation or Competition between Cultural Diplomacies? The Case of South Korea – Japan – China relations within UNESCO's ICH Framework

Eriks Varpahovskis¹

Scholars from international relations, communication and other related fields discuss the importance and place of Cultural Diplomacy (CD) as a foreign affairs tool. CD is a domain that has been explored by few scholars so far. Not much attention was dedicated to the Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) list, that was initiated by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). In this framework CD is actively applied and practiced. This paper explores the case of relations among China, Japan, and South Korea as state parties of the Convention on ICH initialized by UNESCO in 2003. The given case study examines CD of the three countries as ICH state parties in terms of the three main areas of their activities: the nomination and inscription of the intangible heritage; the development of ICH in the region and worldwide through providing facilities; and financial assistance to the ICH Fund. The analysis demonstrates that all three selected countries demonstrate collaborative and competitive CD. At the multilateral level, the selected countries conduct cooperative diplomacy while at the bilateral level, countries tend to apply competitive diplomacy. I conclude that the existing ICH legal and procedural framework, as well as the misperception of the values and aims of ICH by the state parties' governing bodies encourage countries to cooperate and compete. The study is useful as a demonstration of how an international structure like UNESCO's ICH that pursues good governance and universal values can turn into a battlefield for political competition among the most active member states. The author suggests changes in the legal framework of ICH to encourage non-state actors' participation and cooperation among the selected countries.

Keywords: cultural diplomacy, public diplomacy, UNESCO, Intangible Cultural Heritage

¹ Eriks Varpahovskis is a Ph.D. Candidate majoring in International Relations at Hankuk University of Foreign Studies. He is a KGSP scholarship holder provided by the Government of the Republic of Korea. Among his research interests are mechanisms of public diplomacy, cultural diplomacy, education as a soft power tool, non-Western theories of International Relations and others. Eriks can be reached by radioerix1@hufc.ac.kr.

Introduction

Cultural Diplomacy (CD) seems to turn into an inevitable tool of foreign affairs for most countries. Some countries might use CD more actively and efficiently, while others underestimate or do not understand the potential of soft power (SP) generated by CD.² CD is a very vast concept that might include various types of activities performed both by the state and non-state actors (NSA).³ This research aims to scrutinize the recently emerged field of Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) and analyze the relations among China, Japan, and South Korea within this organizational framework. Formal goals of the The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (“The Convention”), which was initialized by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 2003, include staying away from politics and promoting human rights and universal values while sharing the wisdom of humanity and celebrating the diversity of culture. Despite this plan, the ICH could not get rid of its political component and has turned into a platform where countries cooperate and compete.

The most active participants of the ICH Convention are China, Japan, and South Korea. The author argues that by conducting specific policies, South Korea, Japan, and China have put themselves in a unique context where they became *de facto* leaders in promoting ICH. The countries are conducting CD of a competitive and collaborative kind to reach this status. This unofficial leadership status was reached and is currently maintained because China, Japan, and South Korea were able to use the First Mover (FMA) and Fast Follower Advantages (FFA) in the context of ICH.

In the literature review, the author presents the ongoing discussion among scholars on the definition of Public Diplomacy (PD) and CD, concluding that in terms of relations between these two concepts, CD should be seen as a subset of PD. The definition of CD used in this paper is based on the definition summed up by Hwajung

² Louis Belanger, “Redefining Cultural Diplomacy: Cultural Security and Foreign Policy in Canada,” *Political Psychology* 20, no. 4 (1999): 677-699. Gunjoo Jang, and Won K. Paik, “Korean Wave as Tool for Korea’s New Cultural Diplomacy,” *Advances in Applied Sociology* 2, no. 03 (2012): 196. Simon Mark, *A Greater Role for Cultural Diplomacy*. Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael, June 17, 2009, https://www.clingendael.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/20090616_cdsp_discussion_paper_114_mark.pdf. Joseph Nye, “Soft Power and Cultural Diplomacy,” *Public Diplomacy Magazine* 1 (2010). Nancy Snow, “Public Diplomacy: New Dimensions and Implications,” In *Global Communication: Theories, Stakeholders, and Trends*, ed. Thomas L. McPhail (Massachusetts: Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2010): 84-102. Rhonda S. Zaharna, “The Cultural Awakening in Public Diplomacy,” *CPD Perspectives on Public Diplomacy Paper* (Los Angeles: USC Center on Public Diplomacy, 2012).

³ Hwajung Kim. “Bridging the Theoretical Gap between Public Diplomacy and Cultural Diplomacy,” *The Korean Journal of International Studies* 15, no. 2 (2017): 293-326.

Kim.⁴ It is further updated by the author of this article to make it more suitable for this political research. Finally, it is emphasized that there might be two types of PD (and CD as a part of PD) - cooperative and competitive⁵ - and that this conceptual dimension is crucial for the given case study in explaining the complicated CD of the selected countries toward one another in the ICH framework.

The following section describes the goals of the Convention, mechanisms of ICH work, and its legal foundation and cultural meaning. The analytical section is divided into three subsections - the legal aspects, the provision of facilities, and financial assistance - of cooperation and competition among China, Japan, and South Korea within the ICH framework. Analysis of each subsection demonstrates that at the multilateral level of cooperation, the selected countries are constantly contributing to the development of the ICH, while at the bilateral level of relations within the ICH, the selected countries compete with each other, avoid cooperation with each other or are forced to cooperate by UNESCO regulations.

The main argument of this paper is that Japan, China, and South Korea currently find themselves as leaders in promoting the UNESCO ICH Convention in the region and worldwide. This *de facto* status is supported and recreated through the active usage of competitive and collaborative CD. Furthermore, these three states actively use their FMA and FFA, which are not available for most of the other Convention member-states, to maintain their status. The article presents recommendations for UNESCO to address the issues highlighted in this paper: the politicizing of the ICH into a political battleground among countries; the lack of cooperation among South Korea, Japan, and China; the lack of participation of NSAs (local communities, expert agencies, other stakeholders) in the decision-making process; and the need to encourage the perception that culture should be rather shared than owned.

Theoretical background

From a theoretical perspective, this research examines the relations between countries within the ICH framework through the concepts of PD and CD. In this section, the concepts of CD and PD are discussed, with an emphasis on the competitive and cooperative types of CD and PD.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Brian Hocking. "Reconfiguring Public Diplomacy: From Competition to Collaboration." *Engagement: Public Diplomacy in a globalised world* (2008): 62-75. Leonard, Mark, Catherine Stead, and Conrad Smewing. *Public Diplomacy*. Foreign Policy Centre, 2002.

Public Diplomacy & Cultural Diplomacy

Currently, PD is an actively discussed topic that is simultaneously linked to various fields like international relations, public relations, communication studies, and others. Furthermore, the history of PD is rich in scholars' attempts to conceptualize and theorize about it, as well as historical cases when PD was implemented. Kadir Ayhan elaborated a taxonomy of PD perspectives and highlighted primary principles of PD that scholars discuss: whether "public" in PD is the subject or object of influence or both; conditions under which diplomacy by the actor can be considered as PD, like intentionality, presence of political agenda, necessity to have special official status granted from the state authority; finally, whether NSAs can be considered as actors of PD.⁶

It is common to see PD as an instrument of "soft power", implemented by countries which would like to influence the opinions of the foreign public.⁷ Unlike traditional diplomacy, PD does not aim to target the official representatives of the states or other international actors. PD focuses on "the general public in foreign societies and more specifically on non-official groups, organizations and individuals."⁸ It serves as an instrument to states, associations of states, and some sub-state agencies and NSAs "to understand cultures, attitudes, and behavior; to build and manage relationships, and to influence thoughts and mobilize actions to advance their interests and values."⁹

Stemming from above-mentioned definitions we can outline that objects of PD are not state parties, but rather people and communities that live in the targeted country. However, the subjects that implement PD are states and its bodies that were delegated responsibility to run PD on behalf of a state.¹⁰ This kind of perspective is usually described as *traditional* PD and is more *state-centric*.¹¹ In other words, scholars who follow this state-centric perspective tend to not recognize NSAs as independent actors of PD. According to them¹², NSAs can be considered

⁶ Ayhan, Kadir Ayhan, "The Boundaries of Public Diplomacy and Non-State Actors: A Taxonomy of Perspectives," *International Studies Perspectives* 20, no. 1 (2019).

⁷ Jan Melissen. *The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005), 4-5.

⁸ Melissen, *The New Public Diplomacy*, 5.

⁹ Bruce Gregory, "American Public Diplomacy: Enduring Characteristics, Elusive Transformation," *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 6, no. 3-4 (2011): 351-372.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Ayhan, "The Boundaries of Public Diplomacy and Non-State Actors."

¹² Ian Hall, "India's New Public Diplomacy," *Asian Survey* 52, no. 6 (2012): 1089-1110; Pierre C. Pahlavi, "Evaluating Public Diplomacy Programmes," *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 2, no. 3 (2007): 255-281; Christopher Ross, "Public Diplomacy Comes of Age," *Washington Quarterly* 25, no. 2 (2002): 73-83.

as PD elements if they are a part of the state's policy and are directed by the state.

Nevertheless, the concept of PD continues to evolve with the emergence of "New Public Diplomacy" (NPD). According to Jan Melissen, NPD is not monopolized by state actors and includes a huge palette of other actors (NSAs) that can influence the process of communication and relationship construction.¹³ Scholars following the NPD perspective insist that NSAs can perform as independent actors of PD.¹⁴ Furthermore, the NPD is not limited in its function to deliver the message to foreign publics but is supposed to construct a two-way communication channel which is built on trust.¹⁵

Even though there is no ultimate and unanimously agreed definition of CD, this type of diplomacy was discussed by scholars like Nicholas Cull¹⁶, Simon Mark¹⁷, and Joseph Nye¹⁸ who defined it as a subset or subtype of PD. It should be noted that a distinctive feature of CD in relation to PD is that CD is strongly associated with culture and its resources.¹⁹ Thus, PD, unlike CD, might include activities outside the cultural dimension, making it different from CD.²⁰

Hwajung Kim conducted in-depth analytical work in defining the gap between PD and CD. According to her, the vision of CD as a subset of PD evolved over time. Depending on the country or region where PD and CD are practiced, the conceptual relations between the two terms may vary. To her, today's concept of CD is based on NPD and "can be defined as a cultural actor's attempt to cultivate cultural understandings through international cultural relations in line with a government's concerted efforts to achieve credibility, trust, and mutuality with normative values and shared goals beyond national interests." By cultural relations, she claims them as "cultural exchange programs and activities as multicultural events, art exhibitions, performing arts concerts, popular cultural arts, international festivals, and

¹³ For details, see Melissen, *The New Public Diplomacy*, 3-28.

¹⁴ For example, see Geoffrey Cowan, and Amelia Arsenault. "Moving from Monologue to Dialogue to Collaboration: The Three Layers of Public Diplomacy," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616, no. 1 (2008): 10-30; Joseph Nye, "Public Diplomacy and Soft Power," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616, no. 1 (2008): 94-109; Rhonda S. Zaharna. "The Soft Power Differential: Network Communication and Mass Communication in Public Diplomacy," *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 2, no. 3 (2007): 213-228.

¹⁵ For details, see Melissen, *The New Public Diplomacy*, 3-28.

¹⁶ Nicholas J. Cull, "Public Diplomacy: Lessons from the Past," *CPD Perspectives on Public Diplomacy* (Los Angeles: USC Center on Public Diplomacy, 2009): 19.

¹⁷ Mark, *A Greater Role for Cultural Diplomacy*, 15.

¹⁸ Joseph Nye, "Soft Power and Cultural Diplomacy," 123-124.

¹⁹ Cull, "Public Diplomacy: Lessons from the Past," 19.

²⁰ Mark, *A Greater Role for Cultural Diplomacy*, 15.

others”.²¹ In addition, Kim outlines two groups of actors, which are government-related actors like governments, governmental agencies, and quasi-governmental institutions, and culture-related actors like individual artists and personnel, commercial companies in art and culture, non-profit organizations, and non-governmental organizations.²²

The conclusions and definition of CD drawn by Kim are very valuable for this research, but needs to be modified in three aspects to better meet the context of this research paper. Firstly, actors’ involvement in the ICH Convention by UNESCO. Local communities and expert agencies may perform individually or act after being urged by government bodies, so culture-related actors can be seen alongside government-related actors. Secondly, cultural activities should include the legal, financial and administrative processes that are associated with the formation of ICH Convention and institutional norms and procedures (like formulating the convention rules, nomination, safeguarding measures, funding, and others). Finally, Kim excludes the situation when PD can be competitive, focusing only on cooperative efforts by actors. Thus I would like to highlight that CD could be simultaneously competitive and cooperative, especially in such a complex context like UNESCO ICH.

Cooperative PD vs Competitive PD

The final dimension of PD (and CD as part of PD) that should be discussed is its aim. PD as a diplomacy has a huge benefit over non-diplomatic methods, like the military because it aims to prevent violence. However, this method does not necessarily lead to cooperation between states. Diplomacy is about competition as well. As Mark Leonard highlights in the case of Great Britain, the government should use cooperative PD and perform on behalf of the global body of contributors to the common good, because if the government pushes self-representation and open national interests first, it risks 1) damage to its reputation because of possible “re-colonization” rhetoric and 2) getting involved in a competition with other states for “zones of influence”. Furthermore, “removing the British flag from public diplomacy activity in the majority of countries” and conducting PD collectively would allow saving some resources for bilateral relations with countries of top priority.²³ Japan, China and South Korea might also consider above-

²¹ Kim, “Bridging the Theoretical Gap,” 317.

²² Ibid.

²³ Leonard, Stead, and Smewing. *Public Diplomacy*, 26-28.

	[Traditional] Public Diplomacy	New Public Diplomacy	Culture Diplomacy (based on NPD)
Relation to Soft Power	An instrument to produce SP	An instrument to produce SP	A subset of PD
Actors	Government-related actors	Government-related actors, NSAs	Government-related actors and NSAs dealing within a field of culture
Target audience	Foreign Publics (from individuals to groups and organizations)	Foreign Publics (from individuals to groups and organizations)	Foreign Publics (from individuals to groups and organizations)
Goal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To change opinion of audience to more favorable 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To change opinion of audience to more favorable; - To generate more credibility and trust for better relations with foreign public 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To change opinion of audience to more favorable; - To generate more credibility and trust for better relations with foreign public; - Agenda and goals of government-related actors might vary from culture-related actors' agenda (ex. the artist might not necessary have a political agenda and intention to influence public's political opinion)
Type of information	Any type of information	Any type of information	Culture-related information

Table 1. Traditional PD, NPD, and CD compared.

mentioned risks and opportunities when they choose cooperative diplomacy over competitive. Brian Hocking highlights that PD strategies of countries should follow national interests and could be divided into two basic types: multilateral and bilateral, which entails a collaborative or competitive PD style, respectively. In other words, in bilateral relations countries tend to compete with each other more, while multilateral relations are more collaboration-oriented, even though this type of relations is very complex and might involve different actors.²⁴

As we will further see from the definitions of cooperative and competitive PD, PD through the UNESCO ICH is interesting in that the organization promotes universal values and the common good, for which states are supposed to cooperate. However, there is still room for competition between states within the organization and also globally, because states tend to build competitive identity, implying a construction of certain images in the eyes of their own people, partners, competitors, global society, and others.²⁵

Consequently, in the given research, we use a PD concept that incorporates CD, which in turn can be divided into two types: cooperative and competitive. Cooperative and competitive PD activities

²⁴ Hocking, "Reconfiguring Public Diplomacy," 65.

²⁵ Simon Anholt, *Competitive Identity: The New Brand Management for Nations, Cities and Regions* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), 1-23. Peter Van Ham, "The Rise of the Brand State: The Postmodern Politics of Image and Reputation," *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 2001), 2-6.

might inter-relate and not necessarily exclude each other. CD in its turn can also be of a cooperative and competitive kind. In the context of the UNESCO ICH framework, NSAs can be accepted as actors and subjects of CD, however as it is shown in the following part, the impact and activity of NSAs is limited in the UNESCO ICH framework, which makes states and government-related actors the primary subjects of CD.

ICH background

UNESCO established lists of Intangible Cultural Heritage. Legally it is based on The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage adopted by UNESCO in 2003, which came into force in 2006. So far, 177 member states of the UN accepted, approved or ratified this convention. The goal for implementation of these lists is to foster safeguarding of cultural heritage around the world safeguarding of cultural heritage around the world that are not tangible, safeguarding of cultural heritage around the world that are not tangible, because tangible heritages, cultural and natural, are covered by the Convention concerning the Protection of the World's Cultural and Natural Heritage (1972). Intangible cultural heritages are unique pieces of knowledge and communities around the world. By guiding member states of the Convention, UNESCO is trying to safeguard traditions and knowledge, secure its transition to further generations, foster the involvement of communities and individuals to participate in the safeguarding and promotion of culture, and simultaneously, the Convention implies observing traditions and reinterpreting traditions from the perspective of modern values and ethics, like inclusion, human rights protection, gender traditions that are held and practiced by various individuals and

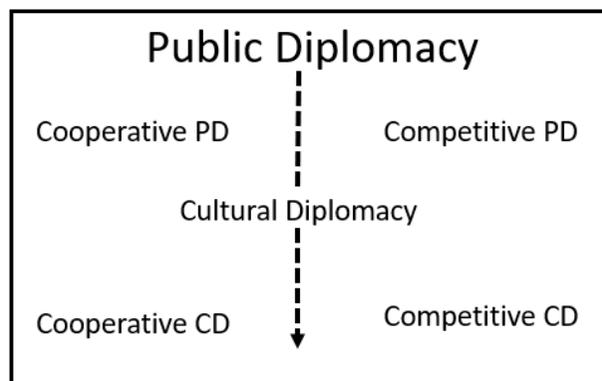


Figure 1. CD and relation to cooperative and competitive PD

equality, transparency, mutual respect, organizational collaboration, and others. In addition, the Convention includes conditions according to which the nominated intangible heritage could not be recognized if the collaborative work between government and local communities, expert agencies, is not demonstrated in the application.

The inscription of intangible cultural heritages in the Representative List (RL) and Urgent Safeguarding List (USL) is the core process that the Convention is built around, and other processes are dependent on this. Countries are invited to add intangible cultural heritages that have been recognized at the national level to one of the two lists, so as to emphasize its importance to humanity.

The process of inscription, submission, safeguarding, supporting the ICH Fund, and the work of the committee are regulated by the Convention, operational directives, and decisions of the committee. The process of the inscription of the ICH is regulated by conditions and principles that should be met, quantity and intensity of how often the state party can nominate an intangible heritage to be inscribed. The Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (“The Committee”) is a key ruling body in the system of the ICH Convention. The Committee is entitled to grant an inscribed status to the nominated ICH pieces from the state parties, decide whether to give financial assistance or not, and is obliged to promote the development of the ICH Convention. The Committee consists 24 member states and half of it is renewed every two years on the basis of the rotation principle and even geographical distribution. There are no permanent members of the Committee.²⁶

From the perspective of PD, it means that UNESCO urges the involvement of NSAs in the decision-making process and tries to monitor fairness and adequacy of collaboration with governmental bodies. The nomination process implies that the nomination application is submitted by the state party’s official body. But the main initializing organization at the national level could be an NSA, like a local community. Application procedures and requirements entail collaboration among official bodies and local stakeholders, like agencies, experts, and local communities. Nevertheless, the responsible governing body of the member state keeps the final decision on what to nominate and what not to nominate. In the end, it is expected that the main impact will be made towards 1) the community which will safeguard its cultural

²⁶ “Functions of the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage,” UNESCO, n.d., <https://ich.unesco.org/en/functions-00586>.

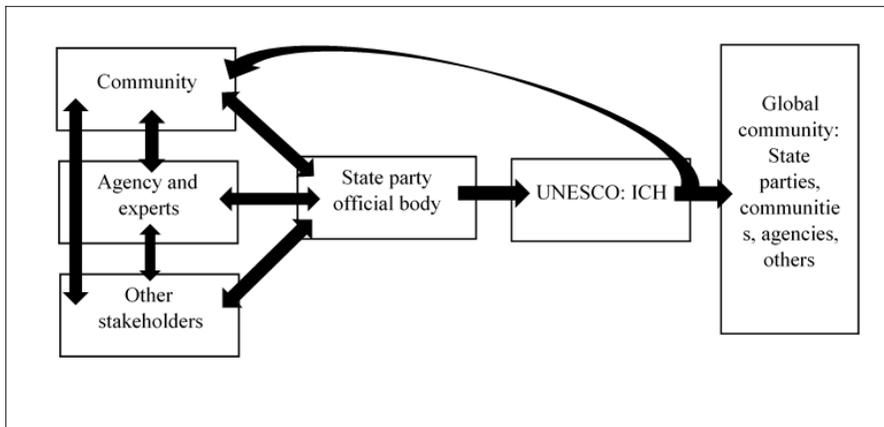


Figure 2. The process of cooperation during ICH nomination based on UNESCO's 'Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage.' (Figure drawn by author).

heritage; 2) the government of the member state, because it will improve cooperation among government bodies and other stakeholders (including NSAs and public), and 3) the global community in general because they will become aware of this cultural heritage and the knowledge that can be transmitted.²⁷

One of such dimensions is the provision of facilities to UNESCO and cooperative research and technical assistance in such facilities. Currently, UNESCO utilizes seven Category 2 centers, which do not belong to UNESCO but are closely associated with it through agreements between governments and organizations. These centers²⁸ are:

- Algeria – Regional Centre for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Africa
- Bulgaria – Regional Centre for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in South-Eastern Europe
- China – International Training Centre for Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Asia-Pacific Region (CRIHAP)
- Iran– Regional Research Centre for Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage in West and Central Asia

²⁷ Operational Directives for the Implementation of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage," UNESCO, n.d., <https://ich.unesco.org/en/directives>. "Text of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage," UNESCO, October 2003, <https://ich.unesco.org/en/convention>. UNESCO. "Text of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage." 2003.

²⁸ "Category 2 Centres under the Auspices of UNESCO," UNESCO, n.d., <https://ich.unesco.org/en/category2>.

- Japan – International Research Centre for Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Asia-Pacific Region (IRCI)
- Peru – Regional Centre for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Latin America (CRESPIAL)
- South Korea – International Information and Networking Centre for Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Asia-Pacific Region (ICHCAP).

Given that the centers are supposed to contribute to the achievement of UNESCO's goals within the given scope and according to 37/C Resolution 93, these centers' objectives are:

- (a) "to promote the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage and contribute to its implementation;
- (b) to reinforce capacities in the region for actively implementing the 2003 Convention on the regional and international level;
- (c) to increase the participation of communities, groups, and individuals in safeguarding intangible cultural heritage in the region; and
- (d) to foster regional and international cooperation for safeguarding ICH."²⁹

Finally, another important type of cooperation between state parties is financial assistance (or relevant supportive means, like training, consultations, and others). The ICH fund is composed of obligatory contributions by state parties, which corresponds to 1% of their contribution to the regular budget of UNESCO. Another part of the ICH fund is composed of voluntary contributions by the states or private bodies and which might be labeled into three categories:

1. "Earmarked for specific purposes, subject to approval by the Intergovernmental Committee to support projects for which States are invited to inform the Secretariat through a letter of intent three months prior to the Committee meeting at which their proposal will be examined.
2. Donated to the sub-fund created within the Fund in June 2010 to be used exclusively for enhancing the human capacities of the Secretariat, in accordance with Resolution 3.
3. Unrestricted, used according to the plan for the use of the resources of the Fund approved by the General Assembly of the State Parties every two years."³⁰

²⁹ Ibid.

Analysis and Discourse

For analysis, there were three core dimensions of activities within ICH for countries to collaborate and to compete in:

1. Legal: Countries' activities in promoting the legal framework and its usage to add intangible cultural heritage pieces to the ICH RL or USL.
2. Providing facilities: State parties' activities in supplying UNESCO ICH with facilities (Category 2 centers) to conduct research, training and other related activities.
3. Financial assistance: Financial activities (financial assistance) of countries within the ICH framework.

In the context of first two categories, it is essential to highlight that when hard power could not be used and countries were forced to simultaneously cooperate and compete, it might be valuable to use the so-called First Mover Advantage (FMA) and Fast Follower Advantage (FFA). Usually, these concepts are discussed within the marketing field. However, lately, the possibilities of application of these advantages by states and NSAs are also discussed. The importance of pioneering, first mover, and fast follower states has already been applied in the discussions of environment-related norms. Similarly, the FMA and FFA are also relevant to the ICH field. Through obtaining an FMA or FFA, the state can gain benefits from increasing its "visibility", for example, by acting through a well-known international organization, and furthering its policies within a field through norm diffusion and the legal framework development.³¹

Legal

From the perspective of promoting the ICH, South Korea, China and Japan play an important role because they were among the pioneers who accepted or ratified the Convention. Japan was the 3rd country to accept the Convention (15/06/2004), China was the 6th (02/12/2004), and South Korea was the 11th (09/02/2005). This is in comparison with Western

³⁰ UNESCO. "Integrated Comprehensive Strategy for Category 2 Institutes and Centres under the Auspices of Unesco." 37/C Resolution 93, 2013.

³¹ For more details see Martha Finnemore, and Kathryn Sikkink, "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change," *International Organization* 52, no. 4 (1998): 887-917; Martin Jänicke. "Trend-Setters in Environmental Policy: The Character and Role of Pioneer Countries," *Environmental Policy and Governance* 15, no. 2 (2005): 129-142.

states that are considered to have a strong cultural influence like France, Italy, and Germany, which joined the Convention in 2006, 2007 and 2013 respectively, while other culturally-influential states like the United States, the United Kingdom, and Russia are still not part of the Convention. Thus, by being among the first member states to join the Convention, Japan, China, and South Korea have enjoyed their FMA and FFA by 1) participating in procedure formation; 2) using legal gaps that later became unavailable for late-followers; 3) enjoying the status of being promoters of cultural values around the globe under the UNESCO brand, among other advantages.

An example of the FMA or FFA is the large number of inscriptions to the RL from China (25 nominations), Japan (10) and South Korea (5). China, Japan, and South Korea are the top three countries with the highest number of heritage pieces included in the RL (and the USL in the case of China). This became possible because initially, all three countries could do multiple nominations per year, i.e. countries were allowed to make as many enlisted nominations as possible, as long as the applications met requirements. Quite recently, however, the Committee started to regulate how many nominations could be received from each country within a certain period. It was agreed that there might be one nomination every two years from countries that already have heritage elements inscribed, with exceptions made only in cases with concrete reasons, such as multi-national collaborative nominations i.e. when a common nomination application is submitted by a group of countries, or an extremely urgent need to safeguard the heritage piece, among others. In total, the Committee is expected to assess and process about 50 nominations annually. After joining the Convention, for most states, it is impossible to do multiple nominations at once like it was done in 2009 by China, Japan, and South Korea.

Another FMA and FFA for China, Japan, and South Korea is that the criteria to enlist the ICH in the RL has become more elaborate, thus newcomers have to meet more requirements compared to 10 years ago. For example, gender equality was added to the core principles that should be followed in order to have a nomination on the RL or USL, highlighting its importance to the UNESCO.³²

By being first-movers and fast-followers, China, Japan, and South Korea have gained significant advantages in the race for the highest number of nominations. They secured the top three positions by

³² UNESCO. "Intangible Cultural Heritage and Gender." (2015): 16.
<https://ich.unesco.org/doc/src/34300-EN.pdf>.

holding most of the nominations in the RL or USL. Currently, other countries close to the top three are Turkey (16 nominations), Spain (16), and France (15). However, the probability for these countries to become one of the top three is very low because multiple nominations are almost not allowed anymore. By building exceptional national heritage systems and inventories, and nominating to the ICH lists regularly, China, Japan, and South Korea have obtained very solid experience in applying for inscriptions. Thus, the probability that their nominations will fail is quite low.

Countries can also cooperate with one another and deliver a multi-national collaborative nomination, which is favored by the Committee. The relations among China, Japan, and South Korea within the ICH framework in terms of collaborative nominations allow us to conclude that an ICH nomination is not just a culture promotion for them but there is some political background. Since the Convention came into power, China had no new collaborative RL inscriptions. Rather, the only one collaborative nomination with Mongolia was transferred from the “Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity” list. Japan does not have cooperative RL inscriptions either, while South Korea has two.³³ Korea’s joint multi-national nomination on falconry with the UAE was initiated and largely prepared by the latter. South Korea was only invited to join this nomination in 2009. The collective nomination of tugging games was inscribed in 2015, and led by South

³³ 2015: Tugging rituals and games by Cambodia – Philippines – Republic of Korea – Viet Nam. The element was inscribed in 2015. It was a joint nomination, led by South Korea. More details in “Korea’s Tug - of - War gains status on UNESCO cultural heritage list,” *Arirang News*, December 28, 2015, 01:44, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sSncTaTSMFw>. 2016: Falconry, a living human heritage by Germany – Saudi Arabia – Austria – Belgium – United Arab Emirates – Spain – France – Hungary – Italy – Kazakhstan – Morocco – Mongolia – Pakistan – Portugal – Qatar – Syrian Arab Republic – Republic of Korea – Czechia. The UAE was the initiator of the nomination and have chosen to make it cooperative with other nations. The UAE invited other State-members to participate in the nomination and conducted numerous events to attract other parties to cooperate and during nomination preparation. More details in Sulayman Khalaf, “Perspective on falconry as a world intangible heritage, and the UAE’s efforts to enhance international cooperation on falconry as a world intangible heritage,” In *Beyond Borders: Plurality and Universality of Common Intangible Cultural Heritage in East Asia: Proceedings of the International Forum on Intangible Cultural Heritage in East Asia*, 308–318, http://www.unesco.or.kr/eng/front/newsroom/news_center_01_view.asp?articleid=54&cate. Initial nomination was inscribed in 2010, and further it was re-inscribed in 2012 and 2016 by adding more States Parties to the nomination. South Korea joined the initial nomination. For more details see UNESCO, 2010. Summary Records. Fifth Session of the Intergovernmental Committee (5.COM) – Nairobi, Kenya, 15 to 19 November 2010, <https://ich.unesco.org/en/5com> and UNESCO, 2013 Summary Records. Eighth Session of the Intergovernmental Committee (8.COM) – from 2 to 7 December 2013, <https://ich.unesco.org/en/8com>.

Korea. The nomination was accepted only after corrections and updates were made after the first assessment by the Committee.³⁴

The small number of collective inscriptions could be explained by the following: 1) the preparation period of the collective nomination might take more time because close coordination between responsible bodies is needed; 2) the level of preparation of each involved country might vary, so the risk of rejection of the nomination is higher if one of the involved countries does not provide proper contribution; 3) one of the sides does not want or cannot join the collective nomination; 4) pre-established plans to apply for a RL inscription status for another national heritage, which the member state does not want to break; 5) conceptual disagreement between states and a misconception about the elements to nominate as the RL inscriptions; 6) the responsible body of the state party does not see it important or beneficial to inscribe the national ICH element as a collective RL inscription.

Thus, for countries such as Japan, South Korea and China, the important conditions to run for a collective ICH inscription are: 1) good organization and preparation of all sides of the inscription nomination and close cooperation, in order to avoid the risk of rejection due to one member's insufficient contribution to the collective nomination; 2) the will to cooperate with other parties involved in the nomination; 3) the flexibility in nomination agenda and readiness to make changes in pre-existent national plans for ICH RL nominations.

This research does not aim to find out the exact mechanisms and factors that explain why South Korea was able to join two collective RL nominations while China and Japan did not. However, it is safe to assume that China and Japan were 1) unsure of the success of a collective inscription, because of imperfect cooperation mechanisms, 2) unwilling to share the inscription or no other state parties offered to join, or 3) unable to change pre-existent nomination agenda lists. Further research on this topic is necessary.

The biggest irony about the RL inscriptions by leading countries China, Japan and South Korea is that they come from the same Northeast Asian region. As such, they have significant common cultural background and shared cultural heritage, are leaders in the number of nominations, and have extensive experience in nomination preparation.

³⁴ "Korean tug-of-war game added to UNESCO's intangible heritage list," *Yonhap News*, February 2, 2015, <http://english.yonhapnews.co.kr/news/2015/12/02/0200000000AEN20151202009551315.html>.

Nevertheless, they avoid cooperation with one another in nominating cooperative RL inscriptions.

From the PD perspective, a large number of nominations from each individual country might be useful in conversing with the international public than multi-country nominations because it might 1) increase awareness about the country because it contributes to SP ratings and rankings based cultural background and influence; 2) increase its visibility and prestige; 3) increase interest about the country among professionals and specialists from cultural fields; and 4) attract more tourists willing to come and maybe experience some of ICH practices acknowledged by UNESCO.³⁵

However, the big number of nominations and content of the selected nominations might cause a feeling of rivalry among neighboring countries that have a complicated common past, and it might spur some negative perceptions and competitive feelings not only among government representatives but also among non-state actors, the public, and involved communities.

Misperceptions and politicization add to the rhetoric surrounding the nomination to the RL. Nationalistic sentiments have caused tensions between Japan and Korea before, when food origins, standards, and cultural meanings were discussed (such as disputes on *Kimchi-Kimuchi*, *Washoku*³⁶). China and Korea also could not avoid nationalist tensions caused by activities undertaken within the ICH nomination framework (for example, the double inscription of the Dragon Boat Festival³⁷). The most recent conflict between Japan and China within the ICH framework occurred when Japan tried to register love letters and diaries by WWII kamikaze in UNESCO's project, titled 'The Memory of the Word'.

³⁵ Hanna Schreiber, "Intangible Cultural Heritage and Soft Power-Exploring the Relationship," *International Journal of Intangible Heritage* 12 (2017): 44-57.

³⁶ Hong Sik Cho, "Food and Nationalism," *The Korean Journal of International Relations* 46, No. 5 (2006): 207-229; Atsuko Ichijo, "Banal Nationalism and UNESCO's Intangible Cultural Heritage List: Cases of Washoku and the Gastronomic Meal of the French," In *Everyday Nationhood: Theorising Culture, Identity and Belonging after Banal Nationalism*, eds. Michael Skey and Marco Antonisch (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2017), 259-284; Atsuko Ichijo, and Ronald Ranta, *Food, National Identity and Nationalism: From Everyday to Global Politics* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2016), 107-124; Isami Omori, "The Redefinition of Washoku as National Cuisine: Food Politics and National Identity in Japan," *International Journal of Social Science and Humanity* 7, no. 12 (2017): 729-734.

³⁷ For more details see Lucas Lixinski, "A Tale of Two Heritages: Claims of Ownership over Intangible Cultural Heritage and the Myth Of "Authenticity"," *Transnational Dispute Management (TDM)* 11, no. 2 (2014). Jingqiong Wang, "China Nominates Duanwu Festival for Unesco List," *China Daily*. May 28, 2009, http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2009-05/28/content_7950459.htm.

China responded with their registration of documents about the 1937 Nanjing Massacre as part of the same project.³⁸

Such rivalry occurs because of the misconception and misrepresentation of ICH at the national and local level, and due to some difficult historical moments between countries. UNESCO strongly claims that culture is a common treasure that should be safeguarded and transmitted, so ICH should be as apolitical as possible at the national and local level. If not, demands from countries claiming authenticity, originality and ownership of the cultural tradition might occur. Consequently, ICH nominations become a matter of political dispute. It is especially sensitive in the case of neighboring states with a common historical and cultural background.

The tragic history of relations between countries causes the creation of so-called “dark heritage” places, which nevertheless might serve as a platform for cooperation among states and might be useful in terms of generating SP. Clarke, Bull and Deganutti discussed the potential of “dark heritage” in the case of the small and relatively new European country of Slovenia, which improved its image visibility and allowed more active cooperation thanks to the thoughtful use of dark heritage places. Slovenia, in cooperation with other countries, explored and rebranded Kaborid/Caporetto, the place for violent battles during World War I.³⁹ Unfortunately, big Asian countries Japan, China, and South Korea might face more difficulties in overcoming tragic moments of common history. Nevertheless, there exists opportunities for SP generation and image improvement through dark heritage that should be discovered.

Facilities

Another significant domain of CD conducted by countries is the support of UNESCO and other member states with facilities to conduct research, training and other related activities. Similar to the case in the legal field, some abnormalities can be found in China, Japan, and South Korea, compared to the other Convention participants. While there is only one ICH center per region, such as the Regional Centres for the Safeguarding

³⁸ For more detail see Julian Ryall, “Will Japan's Refusal to Pay UNESCO Its Dues Backfire?,” *DW*, October 25, 2016, <http://www.dw.com/en/will-japans-refusal-to-pay-unesco-its-dues-backfire/a-36147969>. Edward Vickers, “Japan Scores Tragic Own Goal with UNESCO Stance,” *The Diplomat*, October 21, 2016, <https://thediplomat.com/2016/10/japan-scores-tragic-own-goal-with-unesco-stance/>.

³⁹ David Clarke, Anna Cento Bull, and Marianna Deganutti, “Soft Power and Dark Heritage: Multiple Potentialities,” *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 23, no. 6 (2017): 660-674.

of Intangible Cultural Heritage in South America (Peru), Africa (Algeria), South-Eastern Europe (Bulgaria) and West and Central Asia (Iran), there are three centers in the Asia-Pacific region alone. These three centers are based in South Korea, Japan, and China, and do not share the same name - “Regional Centre for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage” - with the centers in other regions. Rather, they have more specific names:

- China – International Training Centre for Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Asia-Pacific Region (CRIHAP)
- Japan – International Research Centre for Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Asia-Pacific Region (IRCI)
- South Korea – International Information and Networking Centre for Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Asia-Pacific Region (ICHCAP).

This abnormality occurred because all three state parties expressed their strong will and intention to host the Regional Center for Asia-Pacific. Thus, UNESCO decided to support the creation of centers in all three countries by dividing the areas of specialization - South Korea’s ICHCAP focuses on networking, Japan’s IRCI focuses on research, while China’s CRIHAP focuses on training.

In terms of the construction and provision of facilities, all three countries tried to be first-movers and fast-followers in order to secure a special place in the system of ICH. The establishment of centers in these countries allowed them to, firstly, install themselves in the ICH system, insodoing making the system and member states dependent on them because they have duties and responsibilities like training, research, and networking, respectively. Secondly, all three states in this triumvirate put in effort to maintain their special status, by conducting additional activities within the ICH framework. Finally, the establishment of the Category 2 centers contributed to the development of each country’s personnel professionalism as NSAs. From a PD perspective, the impact of NSAs may seem limited because the facilities are supported or run by the government. On the contrary, personnel in these facilities are engaging with specialists and researchers from other countries, which might impact the opinions of these NSAs, thanks to the so-called exchange diplomacy and people-to-people diplomacy, which often

Table 2. Number of ICH inscriptions at RL and USL by country. Source: UNESCO

State Party	Number of ICH at RL (TOTAL)	Number of cooperative RL inscriptions	Number of ICH transferred from proclaimed “Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity” before the ICH Convention came into force	Number of inscriptions before shifting to the model one nomination-in-two years	Number of ICH at USL (TOTAL)
China	31	1	4	3	7
Japan	21	0	3	20	0
Korea	19	2	3	19	0

overlaps with CD.⁴⁰

Financial assistance

Besides running the specialized centers, countries contribute financially to the development and promotion of the ICH Convention. Obligatory contributions to the ICH Fund by state parties is accounted as 1% of the state's contribution to UNESCO's regular budget. There are also voluntary supplementary contributions which all three countries are part of. The yearly budget of the ICH Fund for two years in (2016/2017) was accounted as about US\$ 8 million. Compulsory contributions do not make the largest portion of used budget, but Japan and China take the first and second place respectively in the sum of compulsory contributions - China provided 14.4% & Japan provided 17.5% of the ICH Fund's yearly budget. Voluntary contributions to the budget might vary depending on the type of contributions and the designated project, thus it might range from ten thousands to hundred thousands of US\$. The three selected countries contribute to the ICH voluntarily as well. The types of voluntarily contribution by China, Japan and South Korea are classified as "sub-fund" and "earmarked for a specific purpose."⁴¹ Thus, all three countries can be considered to be on the same level of

Table 3. The ICH Fund. Statement of Compulsory Contributions as at 28 May 2018. US\$. Source: UNESCO

Country	Contributions assessed for 2018	Payments received in 2018	Total unpaid contributions as at the date
China	258 588	258 588	-
Japan	316 019	-	316 019
S.Korea	66 573	66 573	-
Total for all State Parties (172)	1 791 754	958 655	1 284 026

Note: Japan halted paying its dues (about US\$ 37 million) to UNESCO due to the inclusion of documents on the Nanjing Massacre of 1937 to the Memory of the World project.

⁴⁰ Kim, "Bridging the Theoretical Gap between Public Diplomacy and Cultural Diplomacy," Mark, *A Greater Role for Cultural Diplomacy*, 10; Nancy Snow. "Valuing Exchange of Person in Public Diplomacy," *The Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*, eds. Nancy Snow and Philip M. Taylor (Oxon: Routledge, 2009), 233-250.

⁴¹ "Integrated Comprehensive Strategy for Category 2 Institutes and Centres under the Auspices of UNESCO," UNESCO.

prominence, from the perspective of financial assistance.

From the perspective of NSAs, it should be noted that the voices of communities, expert agencies, and other NSAs are reduced because the ultimate decision about funding the UNESCO and ICH are made by governing bodies and are processed through state funds. Nonetheless, financial assistance and contribution can still be considered as a part of PD and CD because state parties can voluntarily fund various safeguarding projects in other state parties, where recipients might be local communities, NGOs, and other NSAs.

On the other hand, financial assistance can be used by a government of one country to broadcast official state position on an issue to another country or countries. For example, Japan halted payment to the UNESCO (including ICH Fund) because its government was against UNESCO's decision to include the documents on the Nanjing Massacre of 1937 to the Memory of the World project. Through the suspension of financial assistance, the Japanese government on the one hand highlighted the official position of the state and urged UNESCO to revise its documents on the inclusion procedure for this project⁴², while on the other hand risked damage to its global image and its image in the UNESCO.⁴³

ICH is a platform for cooperation or competition

Stemming from the analysis, it is fair to conclude that China, Japan, and South Korea are outstandingly active participants and promoters of the ICH that is expressed in 1) their enthusiasm and constancy when they submit nominations for the RL; 2) their eagerness to partner with UNESCO in terms of hosting regional centers for ICH; and 3) their obligatory and voluntary financial contributions to the funds of the UNESCO ICH. From this perspective, China, Japan, and South Korea are valuable players that foster the promotion of the Convention, cooperation between countries and safeguarding ICH elements in the region and worldwide.

On the other hand, competition can easily be observed among state parties for leadership in terms of the number of inscribed ICH elements, the content of these elements, and the importance of the state

⁴² Ryoko Nakano, "A Failure of Global Documentary Heritage? UNESCO's 'Memory of the World' and Heritage Dissonance in East Asia," *Contemporary Politics* 24, no. 4 (2018): 1-16.

⁴³ Linda Sieg, "Japan Pays Funds for UNESCO after Halt over Nanjing Row with China," *Reuters*, December 21, 2016, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-japan-unesco/japan-pays-funds-for-unesco-after-halt-over-nanjing-row-with-china-idUSKBN14B095?il=0>.

party vis-à-vis NSAs within UNESCO. Consequently, the effect of the UNESCO ICH is ambiguous: ICH brings about cooperation among many countries in the region, but the current model of UNESCO ICH could not eradicate political context and caused competition among China, Japan, and South Korea.

This paper has shown that governing bodies play a very strong role in the process of decision-making in all three domains: the ultimate decision about nominating an element to the ICH, the decision to host a regional ICH center, and financial assistance decisions. Consequently, even if the UNESCO ICH tried to promote participation by the NSAs, there exists limitations because the system places more emphasis on the decisions made by official bodies of the state parties. To state governments, UNESCO ICH creates opportunities for state parties to reach its political goals.

The UNESCO is in turn the owner of the most important culture-related international rankings (World Heritage and ICH) and a key decision-maker on which countries should be given reputational points with an ICH enlistment on the RL or USL.⁴⁴ Consequently, UNESCO can impact the behavior of state parties. More precisely, UNESCO tries to encourage the involvement of local communities, NSAs and other stakeholders in national level decision-making processes, such as those relating to safeguarding culture. As a result, UNESCO takes two roles: as a structure within which countries might compete, and as a facilitator of cooperation and mediation through collaborative decision-making (such as the distribution of responsibilities among China, Japan, and South Korea when all three countries wanted to host an ICH Asia-Pacific regional center).

From the CD perspective, the ICH is important, as the UNESCO - also an NSA - benefits from using the Convention as a platform and tool to influence states by simultaneously addressing the public, communities, expert bodies, government bodies, and other international NSAs, and encouraging them to cooperate for the common good of safeguarding and transmitting intangible cultural heritage.

States can have different aims when they try to address the foreign public and specific actors. The range of aims include political, economic, reputational and other types of goals. State parties use ICH as a channel of engagement and legitimizing authority when addressing the public of other states. Ideally, state parties should facilitate the dialogue

⁴⁴ Schreiber, "Intangible Cultural Heritage and Soft Power-Exploring the Relationship,".

between the public of other countries, leaving political agenda aside. However, imperfect construction of the dialogue channel, misperception of values, and goals advertised within the Convention hinders the implementation of so-called NPD, where NSAs can interact with other NSAs lifting the focus from states' primary role. Thus, the ICH serves as a platform or a megaphone for a more traditional type of PD, through which states try to reach the minds of the public of other countries.

On the other hand, UNESCO wants to be assured that the understanding of the Convention is correct, as there is a risk of misconception by NSAs involved in the process of nomination, such as nationalistic claims of cultural heritage ownership by the community, expert agencies and other non-governmental stakeholders. Thus, UNESCO uses responsible state parties as gatekeepers and filters obliging them to follow the principles of the Convention that was signed. Consequently, the relationship between the UNESCO, state parties, NSAs like local communities, expert agencies, and individuals, is very complex. They are interrelated and even more complexified by the presence of a variety of communication channels that are also incorporated into CD run or directed by state parties.

Conclusion

CD is a communication channel of special focus for many countries. There is a vast range of definitions of CD and different views on CD's relation with PD. Depending on the context, scale and format of the dialogue, the role of the state's official body in CD could be seen differently. This research paper has explored the relationship among South Korea, Japan, and China within the framework of ICH developed by UNESCO and has identified how countries try to apply CD (as a part of PD) in this context.

This paper shows that despite UNESCO promoting inclusion of NSAs in the dialogue on ICH to make it more apolitical, the currently established framework for the dialogue between stakeholders is still very much focused on the state parties' official bodies. This limitation results in the situation where countries try to use UNESCO as a platform to meet its own international or domestic political goals. As far as ICH framework discourages the usage of hard power, the competition and collaboration between state parties occur through PD, and it has a strong focus on official governments' roles as subjects of power.

The relations among South Korea, Japan, and China show how countries use CD (as a part of PD) to simultaneously cooperate and

compete with one another in order to maintain their FMA and FFA that were attained previously. By considering three dimensions of countries' activities (legal, facilities, and financial) within ICH, this paper has demonstrated how all three countries are eager to promote and develop ICH, cooperate with all members and regional level stakeholders, while simultaneously performing as contenders to one another.

The given case reveals some issues that UNESCO has to resolve to make ICH less politicized. The political meaning of the number of ICH inscriptions on the RL and USL hinders mutual understanding among Japan, China, and South Korea and prevents these countries from more efficient and closer cooperation for the common good. The current procedure also hinders closer cooperation among countries because it is very focused on the decision-making roles of official bodies of state parties.

Recommendations

To resolve these issues, similar to how UNESCO was successful in urging China, Japan, and South Korea to sign a trilateral agreement when they wanted to establish a regional center for ICH, UNESCO should encourage further cooperation among countries by, for example, requesting for more multilateral and cooperative nominations from countries. As mentioned previously, even though South Korea, China, and Japan are culturally quite similar, no collective nominations exist among them.

In addition, acknowledging that nationalist and ICH ownership claims might come not from official bodies but from local communities and other NSAs, UNESCO should improve its outreach to NSAs so that more people will understand and perceive ICH as a treasure that should be shared, not competed for.

Finally, a mechanism enabling the reduction of governing bodies' influence on the nominations has to be introduced. For example, UNESCO should allow nominations directly from communities in cooperation with expert agencies (private bodies), especially in the case of multilateral nominations by communities from different countries. It might positively shift perception of what ICH is - that it can be shared and is valuable for communities' and the world.

Bibliography

Anholt, Simon. *Competitive Identity: The New Brand Management for Nations, Cities and Regions*. London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007.

- Ayhan, Kadir. "The Boundaries of Public Diplomacy and Non-State Actors: A Taxonomy of Perspectives." *International Studies Perspectives* 20, no. 1 (2019).
- Belanger, Louis. "Redefining Cultural Diplomacy: Cultural Security and Foreign Policy in Canada." *Political Psychology* 20, no. 4 (1999): 677-699.
- "Category 2 Centres under the Auspices of UNESCO." UNESCO. n.d. <https://ich.unesco.org/en/category2>.
- Cho, Hong Sik. "Food and Nationalism." *The Korean Journal of International Relations* 46, No. 5 (2006): 207-229.
- Clarke, David, Anna Cento Bull, and Marianna Deganutti. "Soft Power and Dark Heritage: Multiple Potentialities." *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 23, no. 6 (2017): 660-674.
- Cowan, Geoffrey, and Amelia Arsenault. "Moving from Monologue to Dialogue to Collaboration: The Three Layers of Public Diplomacy." *The Annals of the American Academy of political and social science* 616, no. 1 (2008): 10-30.
- Cull, Nicholas J. "Public Diplomacy: Lessons from the Past." *CPD Perspectives on Public Diplomacy Paper*. Los Angeles: USC Center on Public Diplomacy .2009.
- Finnemore, Martha, and Kathryn Sikkink. "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change." *International organization* 52, no. 4 (1998): 887-917.
- "Functions of the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage." UNESCO. n.d. <https://ich.unesco.org/en/functions-00586>.
- Gregory, Bruce. "American Public Diplomacy: Enduring Characteristics, Elusive Transformation." *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 6, no. 3-4 (2011): 351-372.
- Hall, Ian. "India's New Public Diplomacy." *Asian Survey* 52, no. 6 (2012): 1089-110.
- Hocking, Brian. "Reconfiguring Public Diplomacy: From Competition to Collaboration." In *Engagement: Public Diplomacy in a globalised world*, edited by Jolyon Welsh and Daniel Fearn. 62-75. London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 2008.
- Ichijo, Atsuko. "Banal Nationalism and Unesco's Intangible Cultural Heritage List: Cases of Washoku and the Gastronomic Meal of the French." In *Everyday Nationhood: Theorising Culture, Identity and Belonging after Banal Nationalism*, edited by Michael Skey and Marco Antonsich. 259-284. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.
- Ichijo, Atsuko, and Ronald Ranta. *Food, National Identity and Nationalism: From Everyday to Global Politics*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.
- "Intangible Cultural Heritage and Gender," UNESCO, n.d., 16. <https://ich.unesco.org/doc/src/34300-EN.pdf>.
- "Integrated Comprehensive Strategy for Category 2 Institutes and Centres under the Auspices of UNESCO 37/C Resolution 93." UNESCO. November 2013. https://ich.unesco.org/doc/src/37-C-Resolution_93_EN.pdf.
- Jang, Gunjoo, and Won K. Paik. "Korean Wave as Tool for Korea's New Cultural Diplomacy." *Advances in Applied Sociology* 2, no. 03 (2012): 196-202.
- Jánicke, Martin. "Trend-Setters in Environmental Policy: The Character and Role of Pioneer Countries." *Environmental Policy and Governance* 15, no. 2 (2005): 129-142.
- Khalaf, Sulayman. "Perspective on falconry as a world intangible heritage, and the UAE's efforts to enhance international cooperation on falconry as a world intangible heritage." *Beyond Borders: Plurality and Universality of Common Intangible Cultural Heritage in East Asia: Proceedings of the International Forum on Intangible Cultural Heritage in East Asia*. 308-318. http://www.unesco.or.kr/eng/front/newsroom/news_center_01_view.asp?articleid=54&cate.
- "Korean tug-of-war game added to UNESCO's intangible heritage list," *Yonhap News*, February 2, 2015, <http://english.yonhapnews.co.kr/news/2015/12/02/0200000000AEN20151202009551315.html>.
- "Korea's Tug - of - War gains status on UNESCO cultural heritage list," *Arirang News*, December 28, 2015, 01:44, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sSncTaTSMFw>.
- Kim, Hwajung. "Bridging the Theoretical Gap between Public Diplomacy and Cultural Diplomacy." *The Korean Journal of International Studies* 15, no. 2 (2017): 293-326.
- Leonard, Mark, Catherine Stead, and Conrad Smewing. *Public Diplomacy*. London: The Foreign Policy Centre, 2002.
- Lixinski, Lucas. "A Tale of Two Heritages: Claims of Ownership over Intangible Cultural Heritage and the Myth Of "Authenticity"." *Transnational Dispute Management (TDM)* 11, no. 2 (2014).
- Mark, Simon. *A Greater Role for Cultural Diplomacy*. Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael. June 17, 2009. https://www.clingendael.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/20090616_cdsp_discussion_paper_114_mark.pdf.
- Melissen, Jan. *The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

- Nakano, Ryoko. "A Failure of Global Documentary Heritage? UNESCO's 'Memory of the World' and Heritage Dissonance in East Asia." *Contemporary Politics* 24, no. 4 (2018): 1-16.
- Nye, Joseph. "Soft Power and Cultural Diplomacy." *Public Diplomacy Magazine* 1 (2010).
- Nye, Joseph. "Public Diplomacy and Soft Power." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616, no. 1 (2008): 94-109.
- Omori, Isami. "The Redefinition of Washoku as National Cuisine: Food Politics and National Identity in Japan." *International Journal of Social Science and Humanity* 7, no. 12 (2017): 729-734.
- "Operational Directives for the Implementation of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage." UNESCO. n.d., <https://ich.unesco.org/en/directives>.
- Pahlavi, Pierre C. "Evaluating Public Diplomacy Programmes." *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 2, no. 3 (2007): 255-281.
- Ross, Christopher. "Public Diplomacy Comes of Age." *Washington Quarterly* 25, no. 2 (2002): 73-83.
- Ryall, Julian. "Will Japan's Refusal to Pay Unesco Its Dues Backfire?" *DW*. October 25, 2016. <http://www.dw.com/en/will-japans-refusal-to-pay-unesco-its-dues-backfire/a-36147969>.
- Schreiber, Hanna. "Intangible Cultural Heritage and Soft Power-Exploring the Relationship." *International Journal of Intangible Heritage* 12 (2017): 44-57.
- Sieg, Linda. "Japan Pays Funds for UNESCO after Halt over Nanjing Row with China." *Reuters*. December 22, 2016. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-japan-unesco/japan-pays-funds-for-unesco-after-halt-over-nanjing-row-with-china-idUSKBN14B095?il=0>.
- Snow, Nancy. "Public Diplomacy: New Dimensions and Implications." In *Global Communication: Theories, Stakeholders, and Trends* edited by Thomas L. McPhail. 84-102. Massachusetts: John Wiley & Son, Inc., 2010.
- Snow, Nancy. "Valuing Exchange of Person in Public Diplomacy." *The Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy* edited by Nancy Snow and Philip M. Taylor. 233-250. Oxon: Routledge, 2009.
- "Text of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage." UNESCO. October 2003. <https://ich.unesco.org/en/convention>.
- UNESCO. 2013 *Summary Records. Eighth Session of the Intergovernmental Committee (8.COM)*. December 2013. <https://ich.unesco.org/en/8com>.
- UNESCO. 2010 *Summary Records. Fifth Session of the Intergovernmental Committee (5.COM)*. November 2010. <https://ich.unesco.org/en/5com>.
- Van Ham, Peter. "The Rise of the Brand State: The Postmodern Politics of Image and Reputation." *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 2001): 2-6.
- Vickers, Edward. "Japan Scores Tragic Own Goal with Unesco Stance." *The Diplomat*, October 21, 2016. <https://thediplomat.com/2016/10/japan-scores-tragic-own-goal-with-unesco-stance/>.
- Wang, Jingqiong. "China Nominates Duanwu Festival for Unesco List." *China Daily*. May 28, 2009. http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2009-05/28/content_7950459.htm.
- Zaharna, Rhonda S. "The Cultural Awakening in Public Diplomacy." *CPD Perspectives on Public Diplomacy Paper*. Los Angeles: USC Center on Public Diplomacy, 2012.
- Zaharna, Rhonda S. "The Soft Power Differential: Network Communication and Mass Communication in Public Diplomacy." *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 2, no. 3 (2007): 213-228.