Heritage storytelling, community empowerment and sustainable development

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In many disciplines, storytelling has gained recognition as a powerful tool for sharing wisdom, stimulating empathy, transmitting knowledge and persuading audiences about promotional messages. With the emergence of the worldwide web first, and social media more recently. much attention has been focused on the potential of digital storytelling. Storytelling is also considered by some as a means to safeguard and provide access to Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH), for example through documentation and inventorying practices built on narration or through the development of websites and applications. Public availability and marketing of ICH may however expose heritage bearers to risks of misappropriation, decontextualization or misrepresentation, as has been recognized by the UNESCO's 2008 Operational Directives for the Implementation of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. How is it possible for heritage bearers to benefit from ICH storytelling while mitigating these risks? This article builds on work carried out in the context of two research projects that dealt with digital storytelling in very different manners: AlpFoodway, a EU Interreg Alpine Space project (2017–2019), which aimed to create a sustainable development model for peripheral mountain areas based on the preservation and valorization of the traditional Alpine food heritage; and the ongoing British Academy for Sustainability project "Celebrating local stewardship in a global market: community heritage, intellectual property protection and sustainable development in India". Thanks to the lessons learned in the context of these two projects, this article shares some considerations on how approaches to storytelling developed in the field of marketing can assist with community empowerment and sustainable development. As a result, it contributes to a better understanding of the understudied and little understood conditions under which ICH entanglement with the market can be carried out in heritage sensitive and legally savvy manners that empowers individuals, groups and communities that are ICH bearers and ensures that they are the prime beneficiaries of the economic benefits of commercialization.

Keywords: Intangible Cultural Heritage, marketing, sustainable development, digital storytelling, community empowerment.

Introduction

In many disciplines, storytelling has gained recognition as a powerful tool for sharing wisdom, stimulating empathy, transmit knowledge and persuade audiences about promotional messages¹. With the emergence of the worldwide web first, and social media more recently, much attention has been focused on the potentials of digital storytelling².

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¹ Sobol J., Qentile J., Sunwolf. Once Upon a Time: An introduction to the Inaugural Issue // Storytelling, Self, Society: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Storytelling Studies. 2004. Vol. 1 (1). P. 1–7.

² See: *De Jager A. et al.* Digital Storytelling in Research: A Systematic Review // The Qualitative Report. 2017. Vol. 10 (22). P. 2548–2582; *Lambert J.* Digital Storytelling: Capturing Lives, Creating Community. Berkeley: Digital Diner Press, 2006; *Robin B. R., McNeal S. G.* Digital Storytelling // The International Encyclopedia of Media Literacy. 2019. Wiley Online Library. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118978238. ieml0056.

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Storytelling is also considered by some as a means to safeguard and provide access to Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH), for example through documentation and inventorying practices built on narration, through the development of websites and applications³ and by engaging the younger generation in safeguarding initiatives⁴. In the field of marketing, storytelling is considered a very effective approach to digital promotion⁵ as it generates narrative transportation in consumers⁶. Public availability and marketing of ICH may however expose heritage bearers to risks of misappropriation, decontextualization or misrepresentation, as has been recognized by the UNESCO's 2008 Operational Directives for the Implementation of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage⁷. How is it possible for heritage bearers to benefit from ICH storytelling while mitigating these risks?

This paper builds on work the author carried out in the context of two research projects that dealt with digital storytelling in very different manners. A contrast of these two experiences can provide a useful introduction to the varieties of approaches in this respect. AlpFoodway, a EU Interreg Alpine Space project (2017–2019), aimed to create a sustainable development model for peripheral mountain areas based on the preservation and valorization of the traditional Alpine food heritage⁸. One important part of the AlpFoodway activities consisted in an anthropological video inquiry aiming to investigate the cultural and social values expressed in the Alpine food heritage. The work resulted in a collection of 17 video interviews involving 23 informants, who were selected based on the fieldwork conducted in their respective areas⁹. All videos were produced by AESS, Lombardy Region's Archive of Ethnography and Social History, and professionally realized by Lab80, a professional video maker cooperative. They were part of broader documentation and inventorying activities that resulted in approximately 150 entries on a participatory online

³ See among others: *Selmanovic E. et al.* VR Video Storytelling for Intangible Cultural Heritage Preservation. Eurographics Workshop on Graphics and Cultural Heritage, Vienna, Austria, 12 to 15 November 2018. P. 57–66; *Silva W.* Animating Traditional Amazonian Storytelling: New Methods and Lessons from the Field // Language Documentation and Conservation. 2010. Vol. 10. P. 480–496; *Wachowich N., Scobie W.* Uploading Selves: Inuit Digital Storytelling on YouTube // Études/Inuit/Studies. 2010. Vol. 2 (34). P. 81–105; *Wilson K., Desha C.* Engaging in Design Activism and Communicating Cultural Significance through Contemporary Heritage Storytelling: A case study in Brisbane, Australia // Journal of Cultural Heritage Management and Sustainable Development. 2016. Vol. 6 (3). P. 271–286.

⁴ UNESCO, too, has promoted storytelling initiatives, such as the 2019 Asia-Pacific Youth ICH Storytelling Context, launched by ICHCAP, a UNESCO Category II Institute for International Information and Networking Center for ICH in the Asia-Pacific region, to strengthen young practitioner networks and raise awareness of safeguarding intangible cultural heritage among the younger generation. Available at: http://www.ichngoforum.org/2019-asia-pacific-youth-ich-storytelling-contest-online-exhibition (accessed: 06.12.2020).

⁵ See for example: *Chiu H.-C., Hsieh Y.-C., Kuo Y.-C.* How to Align Your Brand Stories with your Products // Journal of Retailing. 2012. Vol. 88 (2). P. 262–275; *Megehee C. M., Woodside A. G.* Creating Visual Narrative Art for Decoding Stories that Consumers and Brands Tell // Psychology & Marketing. 2010. Vol. 27 (6). P. 603–622; *Woodside A. G., Sood S., Miller K. E.* When Consumers and Brands Talk: Storytelling Theory and Research // Psychology & Marketing. 2008. Vol. 25 (2). P. 97–145.

⁶ Van Laer T. et al. The Extended Transportation-Imagery Model: A Meta-Analysis of the Antecedents and Consequences of Consumers' Narrative Transportation // Journal of Consumer Research. 2014. Vol. 40 (5). P. 797–817.

⁷ In particular, article 102 of the *Operational Directives* mandates that particular care should be exerted to ensure that awareness raising activities will not de-contextualize or denaturalize the ICH manifestations or expressions concerned; mark the communities, groups or individuals concerned as not participating in contemporary life, or harm in any way their image; facilitate the misappropriation or abuse of the knowledge and skills of the communities, groups or individuals concerned; lead to over-commercialization or to unsustainable tourism that may put at risk the ICH concerned.

⁸ Alpfoodway, Available at: https://www.alpine-space.eu/projects/alpfoodway (accessed: 17.12.2020).

⁹ Alpfoodway. Available at: http://intangiblesearch.eu/alpfoodway-webdoc/#HOME (accessed: 17.12.2020).

inventory¹⁰. The video inquiry did not have the goal of promoting specific heritage bearers or their products and services. Rather, it was realized with the intention to raise awareness in the general public about the need to defend the Alpine food heritage before it is lost forever, to favor an understanding of the common values behind such heritage across Alpine countries, and to mobilize communities and policy makers at the local, regional, national and EU levels to safeguard and valorize the Alpine food heritage.

The ongoing British Academy for Sustainability project "Celebrating local stewardship in a global market: community heritage, intellectual property protection and sustainable development in India" is instead adopting a remarkably different approach to storytelling. The project engages with three cases in West Bengal to investigate how developing Heritage-sensitive Intellectual Property and Marketing Strategies (HIPAMS) can give ICH bearer communities greater control over the commercialisation of their heritage to strengthen competitiveness while contributing to its safeguarding and ongoing viability¹¹. One of the project partners, the Indian social enterprise Banglanatak dot com¹², has the mission to foster inclusive and sustainable development through culture. Since its foundation, Banglanatak dot com has documented traditional knowledge of ICH bearer communities across India with safeguarding, awareness-raising, and educational goals, which has resulted in extensive video documentation¹³. Thanks to the project, the bearer communities desire to better promote their know-how and product has led to the development of more market-oriented forms of storytelling, including the development of narrative packaging and labels for heritage products, heritage-sensitive promotional websites¹⁴. Part of the intervention has consisted in capacity building interventions to assist bearer communities, the organizations representing them, and individual artists to build a promotional and legally savvy digital storytelling presence on the social media platforms Facebook, Instagram, and YouTube.

Thanks to the lessons learned in the context of these two projects, this paper shares some considerations on how approaches to storytelling developed in the field of marketing can contribute to community empowerment and sustainable development. The paper is organized as follows. In the next section, marketing approaches to storytelling are positioned in the broader field of storytelling practices. This is followed by step-by-step guidelines for promotional digital storytelling interventions coherent with the HIPAMS framework. The concluding remarks offer some emerging consideration on how legal and marketing perspectives can be successfully combined to safeguard intangible cultural heritage.

1. Varieties of heritage storytelling practices and goals

Individuals, groups and communities tell stories for a variety of purposes. Story is a central category of analysis in many disciplines, reflecting a human tendency to make sense of the world, of specific events, and of personal identity and history in a narrative format ¹⁵. To

¹⁰ Intangible Search. Available at: www.intangiblesearch.eu (accessed: 17.12.2020).

¹¹ HIPAMS India. Available at: www.hipamsindia.org (accessed: 17.12.2020).

¹² Banglanatak Dot Com. Available at: https://www.banglanatak.com/home (accessed: 17.12.2020).

¹³ See for example: Banglanatak Dot Com. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/user/banglanatak/videos (accessed: 17.12.2020).

¹⁴ See: Bengal Patachitra. Available at: https://www.bengalpatachitra.com (accessed: 17.12.2020); Baul Fakiri. Available at: https://www.baulfakiri.com (accessed: 17.12.2020); Purulia Chau. Available at: https://puruliachau.com (accessed: 17.12.2020).

¹⁵ See again: Sobol J., Qentile J., Sunwolf. Once Upon a Time...

make a few selected examples, according to some both lawyers¹⁶ and leaders¹⁷ should be effective storytellers. In organization studies, work on the storytelling organization¹⁸ highlights that shared stories permit to create internal cohesion and a strong organizational culture, as well as coherence in the image that is communicated to clients and other external stakeholders. In the field of marketing, storytelling is considered of the utmost importance to create resonant brands and marketing communications, particularly through the use of social media¹⁹ as, compared to traditional advertising, it generates narrative transportation and more favorable consumer responses. As this brief review shows, the term storytelling is employed in different disciplines with heterogeneous premises and goals.

This section discusses similarities and differences in possible approaches to heritage storytelling. Stories can be told by different authors, through different media (e. g., texts, pictures, videos), for different goals, with different level of expertise, and based on different contents. With respect to authors, we can distinguish stories that are:

Community-generated: an individual member or a group/organization representing (part of) the community is the author of the story. Individuals and groups inside the same heritage bearer community can tell different stories based on their age, gender, socioeconomic status, geographical location, and reputation. Inclusive approaches to storytelling work to help stories from the more marginal or vulnerable individuals and groups to be developed and heard.

Consumer-generated: clients and audiences, too, can tell heritage stories about people and communities, products, experiences, and places. At the time of social media, consumer stories can stay online forever. Consumer-generated stories can assume various forms, including product/performance reviews and social media posts. Dissatisfied consumers tend to share their experiences much more frequently than satisfied consumers²⁰. Consumer-generated narratives can be judged more persuasive than community-generated ones (unlike heritage practitioners themselves, consumers have no vested interest in representing products or performances in a positive manner).

Media-generated stories come from journalists and the media (TV, press, etc.). Professional bloggers/social media influencers are part of this category. Media-generated

 $^{^{16}}$ See for example: *McKenzie S. C.* Storytelling: A Different Voice for Legal Education // The University of Kansas Law Review. 1992. Vol. 41 (251). P. 251–269.

¹⁷ Mladkova L. Leadership and Storytelling // Procedia — Social and Behavioral Sciences. 2013. Vol. 75. P. 83–90; Ready D. A. How Storytelling Builds Next-Generation Leaders // Sloan Management Review. 2002. Vol. 43 (4). P. 63–69.

¹⁸ Boje D. M.: 1) The Storytelling Organization: A Study of Story Performance in an Office-Supply Firm // Administrative Science Quarterly. 1991. Vol. 36 (1). P. 106–126; 2) Stories of the Storytelling Organization: A Postmodern Analysis of Disney as "Tamara-land" // Academy of Management Journal. 1995. Vol. 38. P. 997–1035; Boyce M. E. Collective Centring and Collective Sense-making in the Stories and Storytelling of One Organization // Organization Studies. 1995. Vol. 16 (1). P. 107–137.

¹⁹ Coker K. K., Flight R. L., Baima D. M. Skip It or View It: The Role of Video Storytelling in Social Media Marketing // Marketing Management Journal. 2017. Vol. 27 (2). P. 75–87; Ferrari S. Storytelling and Narrative Marketing in the Era of Social Media // Social Media Marketing: Breakthroughs in Research and Practice / eds I. Deliyannis, P. Kostagiolas, Ch. Banou. Information Resources Management Association, 2016. P. 206–220; Fog K., Budtz C., Yakaboylu B. Storytelling: Branding in Practice. Berlin: Springer, 2005; Herskovitz S., Crystal M. The Essential Brand Persona: Storytelling and Branding // Journal of Business Strategy. 2010. Vol. 3 (31). P. 21–28; Lundqvist A., Liljander V., Gummerus J., and Riel A. van. The Impact of Storytelling on the Consumer Brand Experience: The Case of a Firm-originated Story // Journal of Brand Management. 2013. Vol. 20. P. 283–297; Patterson A., Brown S. No Tale, No Sale: A Novel Approach to Marketing Communications // Marketing Review. 2005. Vol. 5. P. 1–14; Vera R., Viglia G. Exploring How Video Digital Storytelling Builds Relationship Experiences // Psychology and Marketing. 2016. Vol. 33 (12). P. 1142–1150; Pulizzi J. The Rise of Storytelling as the New Marketing // Publishing Research Quarterly. 2012. Vol. 28. P. 116–123.

²⁰ Moore S. G. Some Things Are Better Left Unsaid: How Word of Mouth Influences the Storyteller // Journal of Consumer Research. 2012. Vol. 38. P. 1140–1154.

stories can contribute to raise awareness about ICH and specific individuals, groups and communities practicing it. Media reports can however contribute to misrepresentation due to lack of in-depth research, the reiteration of clichés, and the privileging of some sources (e. g., academic experts, government officials, high status bearers).

Expert-generated. This includes professional critics and professional experts working for governments, cultural institutions, NGOs, universities and research institutions. Some of these experts can act as gatekeepers (e. g., museum/exhibition curators; governments for financial aid or official events). Their reviews, reports and studies can be influential as they can legitimize and raise awareness about ICH elements and bearer communities.

Motivations to create and diffuse stories include those that follow:

Expressive. Expressive stories are authored by individuals (typically consumers) to express themselves: to share an emotional moment (e. g., posting a picture or video of a performance they are attending) or preserve it in memory, and sometimes to show-off/increase their social status by showing refined and discerning tastes. With the advent of social media, individuals are increasingly "self-branding" themselves, posting content that reflects their ideal selves²¹.

Promotional. Commercial storytelling can be carried out by individual heritage bearers; by organizations representing (parts of) bearer communities; by commercial intermediaries (e. g., art galleries, middle-men, shopkeepers) and, sometimes, by cultural institutions, tourism management organizations, and NGOs. Promotional stories should have clear goals, target groups, and messages. Their content tends to cast a positive light on the promoted ICH. Typical marketing objectives include generating awareness, strengthening reputation, stimulating trial/first purchase, informing/generating a positive consumer attitude; generating customer loyalty.

Documenting/safeguarding. Communities' stories can be documented to safeguard traditional knowledge. This can result in material or digital archives in various forms (online, DVDs, CDs, books, etc.). The World Intellectual Property Organization has developed a toolkit to assist in the documentation of traditional knowledge, which discusses the intellectual property right issues generated by the documentation process²².

Academic/scientific. Experts from different disciplines carry out research that can affect heritage communities in different manners. Academic studies are peer-reviewed and written according to academic standards that re-interprets community points of view in terms of discipline-based abstract categories. On the positive, academic experts can help bearer communities to better understand their own history, retrieve lost knowledge, and contribute to legitimize ICH. This can result in promotional storytelling grounded in academic sources. On the negative, academic experts can misrepresent communities and their heritage and diffuse stories that contradict long-held beliefs. This include the diffusion of knowledge that communities would rather keep secret.

Stories can be developed based on different levels of expertise. Effective storytelling requires a mix of competences, including aesthetics, copy writing, photography, video making, knowledge of digital platforms, content creation, management of online communities, persuasive communication and marketing.

²¹ See: *Schau H.J., Gilly M. C.* We Are What We Post? Self-presentation in Personal Web Space // Journal of Consumer Research. 2003. Vol. 30 (3). P. 385–404; *Sung Y., Lee J.-A., Kim E., Choi S. M.* Why We Post Selfies: Understanding Motivations for Posting Pictures of Oneself // Personality and Individual Differences. 2016. Vol. 97. P. 260–265; *Oh S., Syn S. Y.* Motivations for Sharing Information and Social Support in Social Media: A Comparative Analysis of Facebook, Twitter, Delicious, YouTube, and Flickr // Journal of the Association for Information Science and Technology. 2015. Vol. 66 (10). P. 2045–2060.

 $^{^{22}\,}$ See: Documenting Traditional Knowledge: A Toolkit. Geneva: World Intellectual Property Organization, 2017.

Amateur stories are created by non-professional storytellers. Unlike older generations who learn to use digital systems and social media as adults, "digital natives" already possess some of the competence required for effective storytelling. Also in these cases, however, professional storytelling requires complementary skills.

Professional stories are created by experts with high levels of technical and scripting skills — for example, media workers, professional video makers, advertising agencies.

Professionally assisted. Capacity building interventions can be designed to assist individuals, groups and organizations tell their stories. Interventions of this kind are sometimes developed to empower and give voices to marginalized people in various contexts²³.

The content of stories is heterogeneous. Building more or less explicitly on structural analyses of fairy tales and mythology²⁴ and/or Jungian psychology²⁵, applied work has attempted to identify "universal" story archetypes for artists, leaders, brands, and social media storytellers²⁶. In the context of ICH promotion, such work can provide a blueprint to develop content in various areas, including the following:

Foundation myths — Stories about the beginning of specific practices, art forms, rituals, etc., in a specific area.

Cultural heroes — Stories about founders or other key protagonists.

Heritage revitalization — Stories about how the heritage was saved from extinction and revitalized.

ICH bearers — Stories can show the human side of various individuals: masters and apprentices, men and women, young and old, and from different social groups including those from discriminated or marginal background. Like the stories of cultural heroes, these stories can be dramatized with elements of conflict opposing their protagonists to villains and populated with helpers, mentors, and supporters.

Know how, skills, production methods. These stories can be used to highlight differences between heritage products and cheaper counterparts/competing products. This include for example the use of natural raw ingredients instead of synthetic ones; artisanal methods instead of industrial productions; how the ICH was passed down through the generations and how it evolved to keep up with times and changes in living conditions.

Specific manifestations of ICH. There are ample opportunities — for both documentation and promotional purposes — for stories about specific products, performances, ritual objects, etc.

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²³ See: *Moutafidou A., Bratitsis T.* Digital Storytelling: Giving Voice to Socially Excluded People in a Variety of Contexts // DSAI: Proceedings of the 8th International Conference on Software Development and Technologies for Enhancing Accessibility and Fighting Info-exclusion. 2018. P. 219–226; *Opel D., Stevenson P.* Do Women Win? Transnational Development NGOs, Discourses of Empowerment, and Crosstechnology Initiatives in the Global South // Connexions. 2015. Vol. 4 (1). P. 131–157.

²⁴ See: *Campbell J.* The Hero with a Thousand Faces. Princeton: Bollingen Foundation, 1949; *Lévi-Strauss C.* The Structural Study of Myth // Journal of American Folklore. 1955. Vol. 68 (270). P. 428–444; *Propp V.* Morphology of the Folk Tale. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968.

²⁵ Jung C. G. The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968.

²⁶ See, among others: *Bassil-Morozov H.* Jungian Theory for Storytellers. A Toolkit. New York: Routledge, 2018; *Delgado-Ballester E., and Fernandez-Sabiote E.* Once Upon a Brand: Storytelling Practices by Spanish Brands // Spanish Journal of Marketing. 2016. Vol. 20 (2). P. 115–131; *Olsson S.* Acknowledging the Female Archetype: Women Managers" Narratives of Gender // Women in Management Review. 2000. Vol. 15 (5–6). P. 296–302; *Schedlitzki D., Jarvis C., and MacInnes J.* Leadership Development: A Place for Storytelling and Greek Mythology? // Management Learning. 2015. Vol. 46 (4). P. 412–426; *Shadraconis S.* Leaders and Heroes: Modern Day Archetypes // LUX. 2013. Vol. 3 (1). P. 1–13.

2. Making storytelling heritage-sensitive and marketing and legally savvy

Market-oriented organizations, both profit and not-for-profit, have learned to use storytelling to raise brand awareness, improve brand image, and generate consumer loyalty. Promotional material realized in this context (e. g., TV commercials, social media posts) follows the rules of persuasive marketing communications, including establishing clears goals, messages, target audiences based on market research and a clear branding strategy. With the rise of social media, these organizations have been able to harness the power of consumer-generated storytelling that results in even more credible stories — albeit this brings in the risk of diffusing discordant or negative messages. Once a budget is defined, these organizations often work with advertising or social media agencies that develop creative ideas which, once approved, are implemented. At the end of promotional campaigns, results are measured to verify to what extent results were where achieved — sometimes with the help of additional market research.

Special caution is required to adapt these approaches to ICH promotion. As also the UNESCO Convention on ICH's *Operational Directive* recognized, public disclosure of ICH for promotional reasons may expose heritage bearers to risks of misappropriation, decontextualization and misrepresentation. Still, under-commercialization can be as detrimental to the continuing viability of ICH as over-commercialization²⁷. How is it possible for heritage bearers to benefit from ICH storytelling while mitigating these risks? Building on the HIPAMS framework that is being developed in the context of India, this section proposes step-by-step guidelines for interventions aimed at exploiting the power of storytelling for community empowerment and sustainable development in a heritage-sensitive and marketing and legally savvy manner.

Research to understand awareness and knowledge of ICH elements and possible misappropriation and misrepresentation. In the theory and practice of marketing, the first step to develop any strategy is the conduct of market research²⁸, which can be carried out through a variety of quantitative or qualitative research methods. The emergence of social media has made it simpler to carry out market research²⁹. Even in case of limited skills or funding available to carry out formalized market or audience research, a simple google, Facebook or Instagram search can provide useful elements to assess the level of awareness and the image of specific ICH elements or bearers among potential consumers or audiences. This will permit to better understand knowledge gaps and reasons for appreciating the elements and help to identify instances of misrepresentation and misappropriation.

Capacity building with ICH bearer communities. In many cases, ICH bearers lack the aesthetic, technical and promotional skills required to promote themselves effectively. Effective storytelling-based promotion can take place through social media marketing, which require less substantial investments than traditional media³⁰. Heritage-bearer individuals, groups and communities should therefore be empowered through capacity building interventions on social media use, persuasive communication, and storytelling tech-

²⁷ AlpFoodway. Map of ICH Food Commercial Valorisation Practices Across the Alpine Space. Available at: https://www.alpine-space.eu/projects/alpfoodway/project-results/wp2_map_ich_commercial_valorisation_practices.pdf (accessed: 6.12.2020); AlpFoodway. Guidance Paper on the Successful Valorization of the Alpine Food Heritage. Available at: https://www.alpine-space.eu/projects/alpfoodway/project-results/wp2_o.t2.1_guidancepapertosuccessfullycommercializealpinefoodheritage.pdf (accessed: 6.12.2020).

²⁸ McGivern Y. The Practice of Market Research. Harlow: Pearson, 2009.

²⁹ Poynter R. The Handbook of Online and Social Media Research: Tools and Techniques for Market Researchers. Chichester: Wiley, 2010.

³⁰ McDonald J. Social Media Marketing Workbook. CreateSpace, 2020.

niques, to be able to create and diffuse their own promotional stories. Such interventions would benefit from covering both the collective promotion of the ICH element as a whole and the complementary individual promotion of heritage practitioners, so that these two levels build on each other in a synergic manner. Capacity building should also cover legal aspects, for example in making sure that the images, sounds and video employed for digital storytelling do not infringe the copyrights of third parties, as well as legal remedies to instances of misappropriation and misrepresentation.

Encouragement of user-generated stories. Heritage bearers should use all possible moments of interactions with audiences and consumers, both real (e. g., participation to events and festivals, client visits, etc.) and digital (e. g., social media posts) to encourage the production of user-generated digital stories. Such user-generated stories can raise awareness about the ICH element and its practitioners to new publics, generating additional interest and promotional opportunities. This is however not without risks. Usergenerated stories can not only support/amplify community-generated stories but also introduce new elements (both positive and negative) or even contradict community- or bearer-generated narratives. Capacity building interventions should teach ICH bearers to mitigate these risks and respond to the possible fake news and misrepresentation issues, and ensure that user-generated posts are respectful of their intellectual property rights and referring back to the bearers' official social media accounts.

Encouragement of both individual and collective promotion and legal protection of the ICH element. Marketing needs to include both the collective promotion of the ICH element as a whole and the individual promotion of heritage practitioners, so that these two levels build on each other in a complementary, synergistic manner. An example of this approach is the website³¹ co-developed with artists from Naya village, a cultural hub of the Bengal Patachitra art form. Through the site, audiences can learn the history and know-how behind this traditional art form. Additionally, artists have a promotional window of their own that can be personalized with their artist statement, pictures of their choice, and contact information. Also legal protection should adopt a similar logic, by ensuring through appropriate governance systems a good balance between individual and collective forms of intellectual property rights protection and enforcement.

Conclusions

At first sight, marketing and ICH safeguarding look like strange bedfellows. According to the UNESCO's *Operational Directives for the Implementation of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*, ICH-related commercial activities can be a mixed blessing since, on the positive, they can raise awareness about heritage importance and generate income for its practitioners, but on the negative they can end up in distortions in the ICH meaning and purpose, commercial misappropriation, and unsustainable tourism (art. 116–117). While over-commercialization is an undeniable threat to ICH ongoing viability, under-commercialization can, too, compromise the survival of ICH elements. This paper takes as a point of departure the fact that the intergenerational transmission of ICH is often market-mediated. It aims to contribute to a better understanding of the under-studied and little understood conditions under which ICH entanglement with the market can be carried out in a heritage-sensitive and legally savvy manners that empowers individuals, groups and communities that are ICH bearers and ensures that they are the prime beneficiaries of the economic benefits of commercialization.

³¹ Bengal Patachitra. Available at: www.bengalpatachitra.com (accessed: 17.12.2020).

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Повествование о наследии, расширение прав и возможностей общин и устойчивое развитие

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Во многих дисциплинах устная традиция получила признание как мощный инструмент для обмена мудростью, стимулирования эмпатии, передачи знаний и убеждения аудитории в рекламных сообщениях. С появлением всемирной паутины и социальных сетей в последнее время большое внимание было сосредоточено на потенциале цифрового

повествования. Устная традиция также рассматривается некоторыми как средство защиты и обеспечения доступа к нематериальному культурному наследию (Intangible Cultural Heritage, ICH), например посредством документирования и инвентаризации практики, построенной на повествовании, или посредством разработки веб-сайтов и приложений. Однако публичная доступность и маркетинг ІСН могут подвергнуть носителей наследия риску его незаконного присвоения, деконтекстуализации или искажения информации, как это было признано в Оперативных директивах ЮНЕСКО 2008 г. по имплементации Конвенции об охране нематериального культурного наследия. Каким образом носители наследия могут извлечь выгоду из рассказывания историй, охраняемого ІСН, одновременно снижая эти риски? Предлагаемая статья основана на работе, проведенной в контексте двух исследовательских проектов, касавшихся цифровизации устной традиции различными способами: 1) AlpFoodway, Межрегиональный проект альпийского пространства EC (EU Interreg Alpine Space project, 2017-2019), направленный на создание модели устойчивого развития периферийных горных районов, основанной на сохранении и валоризации традиционного альпийского пищевого наследия; 2) продолжающийся проект Британской академии устойчивого развития «Навстречу местному самоуправлению на глобальном рынке: общинное наследие, защита интеллектуальной собственности и устойчивое развитие в Индии». Благодаря урокам, извлеченным в ходе реализации этих двух проектов, автор статьи делится мыслями о том, как подходы к рассказыванию историй, разработанные в области маркетинга, могут способствовать расширению прав и возможностей местного сообщества и устойчивому развитию. Проведенное исследование способствует лучшему пониманию недостаточно изученных условий, в которых взаимодействие ІСН с рынком может осуществляться юридически грамотно и с вниманием к культурному наследию. Такое понимание даст новые возможности отдельным лицам, группам и сообществам, являющимся носителями охраняемых ІСН практик, и гарантирует, что они являются основными бенефициарами экономических выгод коммерциализации.

Ключевые слова: нематериальное культурное наследие, маркетинг, устойчивое развитие, цифровизация устной традиции, расширение прав и возможностей местных сообществ.

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