Intercultural processes of territory-heritage recovery and management in the Calchaquí valleys, Tucumán, Argentina

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Résumés

English Español

Intercultural work performed in association with indigenous and rural communities has followed at least two parallel lines of involvement, which only rarely have crossed: cultural heritage and territory. Our own experiences in relation to this subject allow us to describe the intimate relationship that these two concepts have when the time comes to jointly produce contents with political meaning for these communities. Interculturalism, in turn, is considered in terms of objectives and utopias, which we must deconstruct in order to situate ourselves in a reality that remains difficult for us to understand. We discuss these practices haquí Valley in northwest Argentina. We compare two cases, Amaicha ecially focus on the second of these two communities and its struggles nost precious heritage site, the Sacred City of Quilmes.

de comunidades indígenas y rurales ha seguido al menos dos líneas de ente han sido entrecruzadas: patrimonio cultural y territorio. La va a plantear la íntima relación que ambos tienen a la hora de producir ón para aquellas.

planteada en torno a objetivos y utopías que necesitamos deconstruir un nos cuesta comprender. Discutimos estas prácticas en el contexto de), con mayor énfasis en la Comunidad India de Quilmes y su luchas por su más preciado bien patrimonial: la Ciudad Sagrada de Quilmes.

eritage, territory, indigenous communities, northwest Argentina

Introduction

1   This article is a re-written version of the three papers that we presented at the workshops that gave rise to this set of publications, submitted at the request of the editor.[1] The common thread here is to retell, as well as to rethink, our experiences in the field of cultural resource management in the valleys of northwest Argentina, especially in relation to the restitution of the Quilmes Indian Community's Sacred City. The essence of our joint reflection involves the ways in which the past and present intertwine in the materiality of objects and places. In our particular case, we discuss the identity claims of the Quilmes and our experiences in performing intercultural work with them, and we do so in view of territory and heritage — two sources of tension with the government of Argentina's province of Tucumán and with the individuals who claim to hold land titles. We then attempt to interlink various lines of reflexion regarding the ways in which certain internal and external discourses crosscut the identity of the indigenous communities in this province, underlying the practices that have developed as part of their struggles to claim their rights.

2   In this paper we discuss some of the difficulties we have encountered in terms of developing policies for intercultural management of land and heritage in collaboration with the indigenous communities making ownership claims. Our results reveal the multiple tensions that can exist in relation to ethnic identity claims, where the legitimacy of these is questioned by some local landowners, as well as by the provincial government as a result of its interest in local resources (tourism, heritage, etc.).

3   In part, this work also incorporates some reflexions from one of the authors (PA) about her involvement with the Technical Operations Team that is implementing the Indigenous Community Territorial Survey Program in the province of Tucumán, under the framework of Argentina's National Law 26610. Factors such as the multiplicity of actors involved in this research, the variety of perspectives on the reality of what is being claimed, tensions in the territory, and the configuration of the Technical Team itself, allow a series of reflexions to be presented regarding the ethno-identity processes taking place in the province.

4   Our experiences and perspectives are enriched by almost 15 years of working on this subject as professionals in archaeology (JGA and MAK) and anthropology (PA), and by working on research and management teams in a variety of locations (Amaicha del Valle, Quilmes, El Bolsón Valley, El Mollar and Qhapac Ñan, among others). However, we have centred our focus here on the particular perspective from Quilmes, both for the sake of temporal continuity and because all three of the authors are presently involved in this case. We compare this situation with the one found at Amaicha, a location that is close to Quilmes in terms of both distance and history.

5   The two aspects that we take up here are intimately linked, and therefore one cannot be understood without the other. We first propose the concept of territory as a central ideology surrounding indigenous claims, and one that is also central to the disputes with the national government or other individuals who claim to hold land titles. This axis also articulates with heritage, in that it not only involves possession of an "asset" in the sense of real estate (the land), but also an asset that gives meaning to all of life, and which therefore requires an engagement with history and its various types of tangible and intangible objects (ceramic vessels, burials, documents, world views) in order for the claims to be understood. The economic underpinnings

beyond our expertise, although we know that heritage resources ... . It is a classic theme in the social imaginary to assume that ... money are generated by admission fees to the Sacred City of ... ses in the area. However, although economic considerations ... nts in explaining the denials of legitimacy that the communities ... 'ethnic identity" and their "practices of ethnicity", there is still a ... me generated by these tourism activities, so this must remain a

... itory can vary depending upon the author, but they do possess a ... is what we are interested in exploring. We begin with the ... y organized work there is a utopia that guides us. In our case we ... thentic type of intercultural work as our utopia, in the sense of a ... n. According to Canclini, "the utopias of change and justice can ... with the cultural studies project, not as a prescription for how ... lata, but as a stimulus to investigate the (real) conditions under ... petition of inequality and discrimination, and instead become a ... cognized".[2]

7   Criticism of ethnocentric practices in the social sciences has been aimed especially at the fields of anthropology and archaeology. Academic anthropology, in general, despite having distanced itself from an ethnocentric, essentialist perspective on indigenous peoples, has not been training a sufficient number of professionals specialized in rural life, with interest becoming focused instead on urban areas. Archaeology has also had to reorient its practices, adapting to hybrid research environments and responding to unsatisfied societal demands. It therefore has had its knowledge restructured with new questions, assumptions, and responses.[3] Under these circumstances, where research problems have moved beyond the material cultural of the past, it is also important to point out that the authoritative status of archaeological and anthropological discourse has become unsettled.

Considering the intercultural setting

8   The social, political, and cultural settings within which community members carry on their daily lives are cross-cut by interests that can turn a community into a highly conflicted territory. Competing interests including agencies from the various branches of Argentina's national government,[4] NGOs, the communities themselves, and those who claim to hold land ownership titles[5] produce a variety of images that can either legitimize or delegitimize a community's status as native people. These discourses operate on the relations among the various parties involved in the politics that are generated, above all those that cause these same communities to be constituted as legal entities through their claims for territory. In this work, therefore, we are guided by Canclini's conviction that "to the extent that the specialist in cultural or literary or artistic studies wants to perform solid scientific work, his final objective is not to represent the voices of the silenced, but to understand and name the places where their demands or their everyday lives enter into conflict with others".[6]

9   In order to think about and analyse the production of identity images from within these territories, we follow Brazilian anthropologist Cardoso de Oliveira, who believed that ethnic identities are constructed as the result of an ideological structuration of the collective representations derived from the dyadic and contrasting relationships between "ourselves" and "the others".[7] This means that a theory of ethnic identity requires hermeneutic approximations and the authentication of observations and questions. As such, identity is a construction created by societies in order to express their otherness in the face of others, as well as to organize their conduct. The explicit discourse of identity is made visible when the behaviour that it involves becomes visible. This does not imply that the discursive aspects are not legitimate in themselves, but that narratives cannot be understood except within the context that produces them.

10   In this sense, although identity is also materialized through heritage, it does not cease to be a point of tension. In fact there are various ways of referring to it, with the most classic being those that enter into clear contradiction with these ideas of identity being constructed via collective representations, since they make reference to heritage as a static inheritance, belonging to a community. Although today we can start to see a general consensus in which heritage is viewed as a *social construction* — or in other words, something that does not exist as given and established but which instead is the product of *invention or manipulation* — heritage is still understood through the intervention of social or cultural hegemony.[8] However, for heritage to be [...] *ctivated*. This is tantamount to articulation of a discourse that [...] us references with which we will remark upon its ideological [...] cent, which puts another field of interests into play. Up until [...] for this activation? The answer to this question is the national [...] ields in their various forms. The determining factor for the [...] s ability to symbolically represent an identity, and since it has [...] or actions involving appropriation, substitution, or destruction [...] starting point — construction and a symbolic nature — we can [...] working together with the communities. From our perspective, [...] en constructed in the same manner as ethnic identity[10], in the [...] aboration to differentiate between "ourselves" and "the others", [...] "what we have" and "what we are" and "what distinguishes us [...] eritage typically defined as collective in nature and in tension [...] , must have continuity, and must enjoy a minimum degree of [...] tself as such and to become established over time. This complex [...] the territory.

12 When we refer to a territory, we do so while taking into account its social construction, or in other words, the distinct ways in which the space is appropriated by a variety of actors. Culture, memory, historical processes, and conflicts are all part of the tensions projected towards the inside of the territory itself. Although the territory remains a material place with its geography, its physical environment, and its natural and cultural resources, it is also a social product — a lived space. In the case of indigenous communities, a variety of territorialities are constructed from various positions and superimposed, sometimes under circumstances that are antagonistic and constantly tense. The territory is valued by the communities and claimed in exclusivity, supported by material and non-material links to ancestral knowledge.

13 In this case, social consensus is an important factor for bonding and solidarity, in that it is a basic component of a "feeling of being ourselves". From a political point of view, social consensus mitigates the recourse to violence for resolving conflicts and creating conditions of order. From this perspective, the process of legitimation, that is, the sequence of events that instil legitimacy, is produced not by using the national government's set of entities as a reference point, but by using other collective membership groups, such as, for example, an indigenous community or a religious congregation.

14 Opinions will always differ on the legitimacies of the communities and their claims, but disputes regarding their place in Argentina or their rights will depend upon the configuration of the political situation at any given time. Something will be seen as legitimate to the extent that it makes the value of a freely given consensus effective, but such a consensus will be political and construed in the moment. Illegitimacy is part of the construction of legitimacy.

15 In the analysis of the sources that one of us has performed[11] with respect to the rights of the indigenous communities, *primordialist* perspectives could be found, which explain the construction of identity by emphasizing the intensity of lived, collective social links as fundamental aspects of the constitution of the individual. There are also those who sustain that ethnic identity is an extension of the kinship relationship, to the extent that an ethnic group tends to assume a common ancestry and shared connections by blood. This perspective places emphasis on the cultural aspects of the construction, with individuals feeling linked to each other by lived connections that are "natural" and irreplaceable. These discourses circulate in terms of the characterization of Tucumán's indigenous communities, when mention is made of their customs, aspects of their culture, and their linkages by blood, all of which give legitimacy to their identity as Indians.

16 On the other hand, there are *constructivist* discourses that insist upon the constructed nature of the identities of ethnic groups, where there is evidence for historical, linguistic, and cultural components in this construction. There are also imaginary ones, bound more to the dimensions of identity that to its political consequences, and more concerned with understanding this social construction along the lines of analysis first proposed by Berger and Luckmann[12] in their pioneering work. The communities trying to appeal to processes and to history are the same as those making these constructions.

17 However, the majority of the discourses sustain a view bound to *instrumentalism*, in which ethnic identity is essentially a resource for political mobilization, manipulated in order to attain certain ends, and where the ethnic groups are defined as interest groups. They claim that the indigenous communities only form groups in order to make demands against the government, or else when the communities are being manipulated in order to obtain specific ends.

st viewpoint was defined by Fredrik Barth[13], and was utilized by ogists because of its dynamic and interactive perspective. Barth e ethnic group from the traditional relations with a specific at the interactions that regulate and orient social relations do so tion boundaries, generating categories of self-enrolment and ay, communities can legitimately self-enrol for their identity onstructed (this is his processual aspect) in a process of tial identities, or true or false ones, do not exist. Each one of a specific historical context in a specific territory, and these are ysis by anthropologists, because they are lived as a totality by

that produce images also express a perspective on community ructions cannot be understood except with a view towards the why ethno-political movements are created in privileged fields, in action. In other words, when ethnic identity is manifested as zing assignment that orients social and political behaviour and ns. It is therefore worth differentiating *ethnic identity* as a om *ethnicity* understood as identity in action, or as the political

emergence of identity. The de-legitimization is oriented not only towards the ethnic identity, but also towards the practices of the ethnicity.[15]

From indian to subjects under the law

20   On a pathway that passes from the label of *Indian* to that of *citizens subject to the law*, a series of ideas and images are generated that can establish trends in the way that legitimizing/delegitimizing processes take place. Within the context of recognition policies, indigenous communities have campaigned aggressively for their legitimacy. This legitimacy evokes the idea of something authentic, fair, equitable, and reasonable. From the perspective of political theory, it denotes a certain consensus that ensures appropriate social behaviour without the need to resort to coercion or methods of legal repression. Legitimacy, guaranteed by the recognition, is an integrating element in political relations. However, for legitimacy to exist there must be a consensus, or in other words, an agreement or affinity between the members of a society, based firstly upon cultural values and norms, and at deeper and more intricate levels, upon the desirability of the objectives and the proper means for achieving them. Such a consensus can exist at two levels: over the rules of the political game, which is more important, and over specific, instrumental ends or means.[16]

21   In Tucumán, the discourses are centred on the lack of legitimacy of the identity enrolment system for members of the indigenous communities. The essence of this issue is made manifest through the granting of a status as a legal entity. In October 1996, Argentina's Ministry of Social Development passed resolution 4811 regarding the legal entity status of the indigenous communities. Based upon the country's national constitution, this resolution confirms that relationships among members of indigenous communities entered "in the registry must be ruled by guidelines of a historical, cultural, and associative nature, which the communities themselves understand, since they are the ones who best understand how to defend all of the interests that affect them".[17] The problem seems to be that for some people, the criteria upon which the legitimacy of indigenous communities is based should be verifiable through the application of scientific methods, and not through a process of cultural self-enrolment or by means of a cultural genealogy. Instead, they want the Indians to show their credentials of authenticity. This lack of consensus on the criteria that should be used to define the *Indians* produces conflicts that end up in the local media, both in articles and in comments from readers. In terms of the formation of legal entities, the national government is criticized for its inability to resolve questions of who is legitimate and who is not.[18]

22   The indigenous communities configure their identity based upon a traditional form of legitimacy, which is a type of adhesion and support that emerges with time from historical recognition and popular tradition. While legality is a purely legal concept, legitimacy is a political concept, more subtle and more debatable. What defines a person's status as an Indian? Is it their history, their ancestry, the purity of their lineage, or their allegiance to cultural traditions? Is it something that a person can just feel, or just say? Modern Tucumán was built on a discourse of the "dead Indian": disappeared, turned to stone, an icon of Tucumán's culture of the past. In public discussions, emphasis is placed on the blood as a link to identity. Given the full scope of the heritage that is at stake, both territory and material culture, there are demands that the

on of authenticity. This form of verification for belonging to an
ve to involve the application of genetic compatibility tests using
me non-indigenous groups specifically competing for some type
es, etc.).

he historical, social, and biological continuity with the nation-
disinheriting the indigenous, plundering their remains and
converting their material and symbolic cultural heritage into the
naeology and anthropology — but not without first converting
ut history in the sense of Eric Wolf.[19]

nds, the lack of title possession would be an argument for
onstrates a lack of comprehension of the processes carried
nunities in relation to their struggles for their territories. The
began to gain significance when the conception of the *territory*
ted, moving beyond its role in economic subsistence to become
e, ancestral traditions, and cultural identity could be preserved.
n of *ancestral territory*, a determining role was played by the
s for recovery and preservation of the land. However, the

contribution coming from national and international jurisprudence has also been important because of the recognition that the communities have fundamental rights.[20]

25   In the discussions analysed in the media and on the Internet, the rights to ancestral territories are devalued by assertions that indigenous communities have been the victims of corrupt politicians who alienate them with false expectations in order to dismantle the communities. The disparagement of politics as an activity also appears as part of the discourse, where the indigenous communities are seen as victims of the spurious interests of a political class that does nothing more than hold negotiations for its own benefit. Then there is the appearance of the "army of lawyers" who show up to litigate on behalf of the communities, but only to gain benefits and above all to gain access to the land. The communities might also be seen as the victims of the "human rights" advocates who deceive the people. Here the communities are presented in an *infantilized* manner, in other words, as minors in age who need to be taught, and in the practice of such teaching they are betrayed by the government. There are others who claim that the indigenous communities are "an invention to get money out of international agencies", and who are certain that there are no more Indians left in Argentina. Such discursive, vilifying strategies seem to exist in direct proportion to the interests in play with respect to the territories.[21]

Structured and structuring identity from territorial demands

26   In the last few decades, the indigenous peoples of Latin America have played a notable role in bringing visibility to their struggles to achieve specific demands, above all those linked to claims on ancestral territories. Countries such as Bolivia and Ecuador, just to name two examples, have generated national public policies that include, at least as their explicit objectives, policies for recognition of cultural diversity. These two countries, which share a common history of colonial plunder, have done this in different ways. This has generated distinct intercultural policies (not multicultural policies),[22] since these can bring with them a new political epistemological paradigm, that is, a distinct vision of society that allows for new social creations.

27   In recent years in Argentina a series of claims have been filed by native peoples. Far from just suddenly appearing onto the scene as if they were part of some sort of current political engineering, these have had many years of development in the past. In the particular case of Tucumán claims were made during the 1970s, although these were interrupted by the country's military dictatorship. There is documentation that links the Quilmes Indigenous Community with negotiations with the national government in 1973. According to the same chiefs from Tucumán, the claims today have become centred on recognition of territories, an end to poverty, and access to full civil rights.

28   These discussions are able to move forward because of the existence of a legal umbrella. In the context of strong neoliberal policies in the 1990s, the indigenous communities entered into the National Constitution of 1994 with their *ethnic and cultural pre-existence* recognized (art. 75 subsec. 17).[23] This was a political event that marked the beginning of a new stage for relations between the national government and Argentina's native peoples. Later, in 2000, Argentina ratified the International Labour Organization's Convention no. 169, which entered into force in

[...]is agreement made it a part of Argentina's body of national law, [...]n of even more rights for the native peoples than they were [...] National Constitution. In this convention, the rights that the [...] Indigenous Peoples included the integrity of their culture and [...]omic, and political organization, and their traditional indigenous [...] was opened up in terms of relations between the national [...] communities, and it is therefore within the scope of this legal [...], non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and Argentina itself [...]scussions regarding the scope of these recognition strategies [...] related to the construction of rights, since all interventions in [...]d symbolic consequences for all of the parties involved, and [...]come antagonistic.

[...] peoples-nations met at the National Congress of Indigenous [...]tion (ENOTPO by its Spanish acronym), and they signed a [...]*ennial Pact*. This document expressed the demands of the [...] face of the national government's public policies, under the [...]s to confront the profound inequalities and transform them into [...] true participation of the peoples". This agreement emphasizes

territorial claims and compliance with Law 26160, which creates the programme for territorial redistribution for indigenous communities. It also calls for legal regulation of Free, Prior, and Informed Consent, a right frequently subjugated by the national government as well as by mining corporations and other companies in the extractive industries focused on natural resources. The creation of an intercultural indigenous government ministry with the active participation of the indigenous peoples was also added to the proposals, as was compliance with the Audiovisual Media law (Law 26522) for restitution of the public voices of the communities. A quota law was also requested that would allow participation in the country's executive, legislative, and judicial power structures, in addition to other demands related to health programmes that include traditional medicinal practices, replacement of symbols, street names, monuments, and paper currency designs that glorify the genocide committed against Argentina's native peoples, and the development of lines of research on the genocidal acts perpetuated.[25]

Two modes of community organization: quilmes and amaicha

30   Our own involvement in the subject of heritage takes place within this matrix of tensions focused on identity, legitimacy, claimants, and claims, all of which revolve around a main axis of territory. Therefore, in order to understand how the process of territory-heritage reclamation operates in terms of the pressure applied by any of these factors, in this section we compare our experiences with two indigenous communities: Quilmes and Amaicha. These communities are not far separated in terms of geographical distance in the province of Tucumán, and they also share an early historical background.

31   The Indigenous Community of Amaicha del Valle is located in the Tucumán province's portion of the Calchaquí valleys. Its government consists of a General Assembly with maximum authority, a Council of Elders, a Head Chief or *Curaca*, a *Chasqui*,[26] a Youth Council, and Secretaries of Territory, Community Development, Finance, Cultural Education and Spirituality, and Social Health and Action.[27] The holder of the Chief or *Curaca* position is rotated every four years. *Amaicheña* identity revolves around the royal decree that granted them legitimacy for possession of their territory.[28]

32   By means of a Royal Deed in 1716, the King of Spain legally recognized the ancestral possession of aboriginal territory by the "Chief of the peoples of El Bañado, Quilmes, San Francisco, Tiopunco, Encalilla, and Amaicha".[29] This is an iconic document for both the Quilmes and Amaichas, as it recognizes them as "legitimate owners of these lands, to be possessed by them and their descendants." However, during the 19th century the Amaicha territory was recognized by Argentina's government at the time, but the Quilmes territory was not, and part of the Quilmes lands subsequently passed into private hands.

33   In both community territories there are two coexisting, intertwined political-administrative institutions. The first is known as the *comuna*, which is the administrative agency that follows provincial laws, and the other is the Indigenous Community. In Amaicha there was also a case where the same person occupied both political roles at the same time, causing the community's decisions to be duplicated.

Community of Quilmes (CIQ by its Spanish acronym) from the les about 65,000 hectares, which were included in the granting rfe" that took place in 1716 through the same Royal Deed. n reduced to only 206 hectares. In contrast to the Amaicha, the s the entity responsible for the community's governance and thority figure is the General Chief or *Cacique*. The Indian zed[31] by means of a Base Assembly, a Council of Delegates, the nunity, and the Council of Youth, Women, and Elders. Each aintain custody of the "territory to which he belongs and he persons or institutions from outside of his community".[32] Communities. From north to south along National Route 40, le, Anjuana, El Bañado, Quilmes Bajo, and El Paso. The l-foothill areas in the eastern range of the Sierras del Cajón (or es of El Pichao, Anchillo, El Arbolar, Las Cañas, Quilmes Centro, os Chañares, and El Carmen, all at various distances from this

Some background to our joint work in the cultural territory

36   Our first case of being called up to evaluate archaeological sites in the interest of making a re-emergent heritage visible took place in 1995, when we were contacted by the Indigenous Community of Amaicha del Valle through their *Cacique* at the time. His main interest was in developing an archaeological tourism programme, which would require an "evaluation" of the sites themselves. As professionals we were surprised to be phoned up by an indigenous community in order to work together, since up until then the process had been the opposite: we were the professionals who looked to the communities to give value to the practice of archaeology. "As archaeologists and/or anthropologists who often question the social transferability and application of our scientific work, there was no doubt that the possibility of carrying out this project, where we were contacted by those who are identified as direct descendants of this past, was very attractive to us."[33]

37   Unlike the case with the Quilmes, in Amaicha there was no talk at first of ethnic or identity claims. This was no coincidence, since the Indigenous Community of Amaicha had be recognized as such very early on, which allowed it to be constituted as the first community with territorial recognition in northwest Argentina: "... the Royal Deed is transmitted orally and continues to live in the memory of the Amaicha people as an element of negotiation with the national society, and it is an element of communal identity. This allows a hypothesis to be advanced where the foundations of identity are not passed on by linguistic unity or any other type of unity, but by territorial unity. To be a member of the Amaicha Community is to be a communal owner of the land."[34]

38   However, the Amaicha community already had a Peruvian cultural advisor, who rapidly brought Incan ideals from central Peru into the valley's culture, importing new traditions that in his perspective had been forgotten, but which represented a part of the valley's cultural heritage. For example, the archaeological sites were to be considered as "sacred" (above all the monumental sites), and the performance of washing and prayer rituals in the rivers was required prior to entering the sites.

39   In spite of this community's characteristic of having a certain degree of rootedness where ethnic and territorial demands were not evident, a group of young people from the town of Los Zazo (belonging to the same community) initiated a strong and lasting movement based upon reclaiming indigenous traditions for cultural purposes. The Amauta Eco-School and Museum was an example of a model different than the Incan one imported from Peru into so many parts of northwest Argentina. There, activities related to the local ancestral memory were promoted, as was the reclaiming of ancient traditions, development of a new relationship with nature based upon traditional values, recognition of the elders, and transmission of identity knowledge to the children.[35]

40   In this context, the project that we were called about and the associated archaeological research work for the community lasted until the point where internal strife, which even led to the election to two parallel chiefs, made it impossible for us to continue. However, it is important to clarify that the collaborative paradigm, in spite of being somewhat upside-down, still had a strong impact on academia in terms of how to do things (times, places, the role of research, etc.). Although the experience was brief, Amaicha had the ... ecome one of the first cases in northwest Argentina where a ... established between archaeologists and the community, and ... active in terms of the proposals, requests, requirements, and ...unity, while at the same time contributing our own vision ...s management.[36]
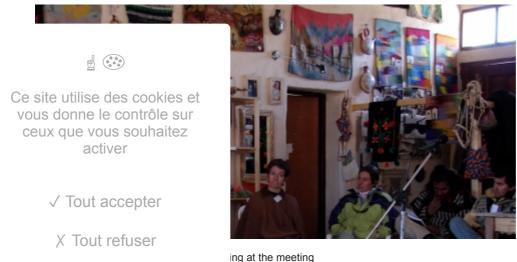
...e chiefly lines put a stamp of identity essentialism and ethnic ...ge management. For example, for the first time archaeologists ...gs to Pachamama prior to excavating, and community observers ...e work. An indigenous quota was also requested for teachers in ...-Quechua teaching was proposed for the schools, among other ...ng a differentiating role against the external "other" but instead ...munity itself, just as illustrated by the networks referred to by ...ibility and capacity for transformation.[37]

...-management work with the community of Quilmes had a ...ad been working with various entities from the national ...l issues (for example, a Social Agriculture-Ranching programme ...e requests arose from these meetings regarding heritage,

especially directed towards archaeologists. It was within this context that the need arose for a Letter of Agreement between the Quilmes Indigenous Community and the National University of Tucumán's Institute of Archaeology and Museum, where this letter would arrange and give shape to the collaboration between the two entities. It was signed in 2004, with the main objective of regulating the performance of all work related to preservation of cultural and natural heritage.

43   In 2007, in collaboration with the Quilmes community, the then-Secretary of Culture for the province, the NGO Fundación Tiempos, and Marisa Lazzari, the university's Institute of Archaeology and Museum organized the "First Meeting of Community and University Cultural Managers". This meeting had an open agenda and mainly represented a chance to get together, talk, and listen — there was no objective other than discussion of heritage management. This meeting was held in the Quilmes community's meeting room, and representatives were invited from the Union of Diaguitas and Lules Peoples as well as from various NGOs, universities, public entities related to tourism, culture, and education, and the valley's residents in general. After two days of work, all of the points seen as problematic had been discussed, and solutions were proposed as a product of these same debates. Since it seemed like the situation regarding the site of Quilmes synthesized all of the problems involved, it was decided that a declaration should be signed. This declaration demanded that the provincial government "agree to and propose modes of managing and protecting the cultural heritage in a joint manner. It is demanded that the laws that guarantee participation in the management of the cultural and natural resources in the national and provincial environments be applied for the indigenous communities and/or membership communities making the demand".[39]

Figure 1: The first meeting between local representatives of various groups involved in regional cultural management

ing at the meeting

Figure 3: After workshops and discussions meals are always shared to celebrate the encounter

45   These developments opened up new possibilities for working jointly on an iconic case such as Quilmes, with hopes that this horizontal model could be reproduced in other communities and continually improved. We thus began to work on a project with the Quilmes Indigenous Community called "Sacred City of the Quilmes: An Inter-Institutional Proposal for a Two-Year Work Plan (2008-2010)". For this project we also invited other professionals as well as national and international teams,[40] in an effort to confront this challenge by forming a solid group that was well trained in the subject. The focal points of the work had been agreed upon with the Quilmes community, and in the majority of the cases these included tasks involving research, training, and conservation as requested by the community itself.[41]

Local Guides of the Sacred City discussing the mapping strategy for the site

Figure 5: Knowledge is shared in both directions

47 Because of space limitations, we cannot go further here into the results, difficulties, stagnant periods, or factors that weakened or strengthened our efforts, but something of this can be taken from the other articles in this collection.[42] It is important to keep in mind that in addition to this joint work, as a separate matter the Quilmes Indigenous Community is maintaining its litigation against the provincial government in relation to possession and management of the Sacred City.

48 Current approaches for intercultural work with indigenous communities consist of "face to face" communication meetings. Archaeologist uses this approach to explain about what their work consists of and to start making participative archaeology. Dedicated professionals make strong efforts in conducting meetings with small groups. For this purpose, many well-known anthropological techniques are used (semi-structured interviews, open interviews, informative panels, workshops, etc.). Many times the output of using these techniques to communicate with people from different cultures depends on the particular commitment and skills of the professionals involved. Nevertheless, these custom-established systems prove to be unsuccessful when trying to go beyond the opinion of leaders in the established structure.

49 This participatory scope requires a new communicational methodology. We propose here to adapt a participatory method (proven in multiple peasant communities to face productive problems) to the context of the patrimonial challenges of this century[43]

50 A key aspect of the project is to develop a fully collaborative site-management plan. For this it is of utmost importance to implement the methodology designed by the NGO *Latin American Centre for Participatory Development and Communication* (CDESCO). The methodology aims at training rural community leaders to plan and manage collective decision making with the assistance of visual technology. The approach is implemented through a series of community [...] cused discussion and sequential decision-making process. Both [...] follow community logistical realities and needs. The approach [...] flexible strategy with very specific goal-oriented activities [...] (e.g. reflexive video films, knowledge exchange exercises) to

Figure 6: Small group discussions of project aims

Figure 7: Tree diagrams developed in small groups are shared with the main assembly

Figure 8: Audiovisual recordings facilitate the dissemination of the knowledge developed in meetings and discussions through the use of images and language selected by local people

Figure 9: The pedagogic tool kit is prepared to be disseminated to larger groups

l site survey methodology is designed to accompany this multi-
ing process, by producing interim reports and tangible outputs
the discussions and collective decisions. When designing the
City, we are concerned about the fact that decisions should be
of the CIQ, but through participation of the entire dispersed
st members

structuring identity from

of using archaeological heritage merely as a discursive tool,
macy of heritage claims long before indigenous organizations
themselves. Already in the comments of archaeologists who
ly 19th century, this author observed that in texts from the first
g., Ambrosetti or Debenedetti), as well as in the 1940s (e.g.,
Miranda), difficulties in the anthropological work linked with

their presence were already being reported. These authors noted the reticence shown by the locals towards working on the archaeological sites, towards touching the remains, towards going into certain areas associated with their ancestors, or towards providing information about archaeological sites, all of this as resistance against external intervention in their territories.

55   Taking up again the idea that there is a utopia that guides intercultural work, we can detect some points of tension that are in themselves a constitutive part of this process. On one hand, there are situations that develop from within the community organization and from the legitimation practices for decisions made within the communities themselves, and on the other hand, there are our own tensions and efforts to adapt to these processes.[46]

56   One of the limiting principles in terms of performing genuine intercultural work is that, in reality, the communities do not have autonomy as such. Although in legal terms there have been advances towards the recognition of indigenous rights, these are only relative with respect to management of territory and heritage.[47] Although we all make up part of the nation and the province, the indigenous communities have a different legal status as recognized by the national government (art. 75 subsec. 17 of the National Constitution) and by other laws and agreements covering particular situations (Convention no. 169 of the ILO, Law 25517 on Restitution of Indian Remains, and Law 26160 on Emergence of Community Property). However, application of these is uneven and the regulations still show some weaknesses. As the law is written, the government cannot set limits on its responsibility over subjects that it considers to be under its protection, including cultural heritage assets (National Law 25743 and Provincial Law 7500). Furthermore, if these assets are found in spaces linked to the communities, ceding or sharing management duties becomes a complex situation. On one hand, the government cannot take charge of them for a variety of reasons, including lack of resources, the long distances often involved, and the lack of suitable personnel with training in how to adopt an intercultural perspective. These are some of the more technical reasons, although there are also political reasons why the national and provincial governments are not ready to share their responsibility for heritage.[48] This shows the lack of credibility and a lack of confidence in accepting the rights and responsibilities of the communities in terms of managing their own assets, and therefore it is not even feasible to plan for co-management. Since there is also a lack of mutual understanding of the paradigm of cultural patrimony and territory as belonging to the communities, condescending, assistance-based policies are applied, with meetings held to approve signed and sealed packages but without any understanding of what it really means to respect the need for Free and Informed Consent from the communities. Because of this, in the end such practices put a formal new face on the same government hegemony.[49]

57   In reality, the main problem is rooted in the same formulation of the recognition of the communities' pre-existence, as made explicit in the constitutional reforms of 1994. Although the national government recognizes this pre-existence, delimitation of the territories has only recently begun to take place, and therefore the cultural and natural assets that may have been within the territory continue to be managed by the provinces, at least for now. Nor is there any guarantee that once territorial delimitation occurs the heritage and natural resources that may lie within a given territory will be fully recognized. In order for this to happen, the laws protecting national and provincial heritage must also be updated, since they do not take this reality into consideration. As the law currently stands, it is the provincial government that is in charge of protection, and the communities are only advisors (and only in some individual cases).

…ypical example, since it is the provincial government that … Sacred City is located as a "government-private" island within …enous Community. The site was recovered through a seizure by …e community is now managing it in its entirety. Since then there …undtable discussions, both tripartite (the Quilmes community, …nd the Institute of Archaeology and Museum) and bipartite (the …y), then finally a deadlock in the negotiations.

Figure 10: An example of how contradictions are negotiated and embraced by the community in order to obtain consent: their own promotional material for the archeological site calls them "Ruins of Quilmes" (as the tourists know it), but the contact e-mail offered is ciudadsagrada@ (as the community calls it).

59   Another aspect to keep in mind — as a limitation for us since it makes continuity in management more difficult — is that the leadership in the community may be ephemeral and is not always respected. In addition to the "legally accepted" ones there are other mechanisms for participation that can surprize us and at times make the task of dialogue more difficult. A multiplicity of new speakers can arise, who are not necessarily the community's legal representatives but who act as such, if only temporarily. Although it is not up to us to determine which representatives may be legitimate, we must at times wonder which "Community" we are working with. Should we negotiate with these emerging but non-legitimized leaders? With whom do we carry out our dialogue and form our consensus?

60   We mentioned above that another one of the difficulties found in working with heritage and territory under an intercultural paradigm is rooted in our own limitations as far as the discursive positioning that cuts across all practice, saturating even the materiality of the places from which it is spoken. Categories spring up for the parties involved to be assigned into, and these make the dialogue more difficult. There is talk of "us" and "them", even though ideally we would like to assume a horizontal relationship. This may occur because in the valleys of Argentina the re-emergence of indigenous identity has been based upon ethnic differentiation,[52] in part because the fact that the territory is under construction, the language has been lost, and the cultural and natural resources are not managed by the community. We have been surprized to hear the category "the white man" applied to us, although it is a category that the native populations have used out of their need to differentiate themselves. However, each binary difference presents a hierarchy (Indian=good, white man=bad, Indian=unmotivated, white man=industrious, etc.),

ntal action, probably the only real contradiction comes in the
ge. If it is true that we humans construct our own present from
. more esoteric thoughts not openly assumed, such as mystical
hen the instruments of management and access to funding are
perspective of formal logic, the scientific tradition, and
ns is rooted in the fact that, in general, rural peoples tend to
ind this devaluation is rooted in certain urban sectors. This
some degree by academics, who have the background necessary
rojects that require specific academic forms and guidelines in
and "them" again becomes obvious when communities face the
n project proposals and confronting their need for technical
ganizations. Thus when it comes to accessing and applying for
prepared, and our differences again become evident. During the
execution we can exchange ideas, discuss objectives, and work
t comes time for producing reports, academic language must
n in a foreign language, as a task that again falls upon the
s based upon inequalities in the distribution of certain types of

capital: cultural, technical, symbolic, and informational.[53] It is also mediated materially by experience and skill with the use of technological paraphernalia (mobile phones, slide shows, microphones, laptops, pen drives) to which not everyone has access, but which when used provide legitimacy as true symbols of status and knowledge. For example, with increasing frequency the use of such technologies is presented as a symbolic differentiator between the community's leaders and the rest of its members.

62   In addition to these differences in terms of capital, the ability to speak persuasively is another limitation to horizontal action, whether possessed by the urban speaker or the rural one. In the first case, the words of some social agents carry more weight than those of others,[54] as far as the speed of the speech or the use of complex terminology or semantic constructions (or if not complex, then using language still far removed from the local vocabulary). In cases where the speaker is the local community member, the time of delivery tends to be more prolonged, with pauses and abundant examples, which can overwhelm those who manage their time more strictly in consonance with the notion of time as a scarce resource. In the best of cases, the dialog leads to achievement of some common ground, which we could compare to the idea of a "social interface".[55]

63   This difference, between those who can speak with authority and be listened to and those who are barely heard because of the words they use, is made possible and takes place in the various situations of dialog because the weight of history is not taken into consideration, nor is the weight of the social structures that establish this asymmetry.[56] To break down this inequality during times of dialogue in the construction of joint and shared knowledge that tends towards the horizontal, we make an effort to minimize our differences, although we must also note that the resources we use to do this produce a new inconvenience. We generate a new type of differentiation when we mark our presence in verbal interventions. In each new encounter with the same community, we face the need to explain once again our ethical perspective and our good intentions. We represent a type of choreographed ritual where we again present repeated reaffirmations of our social and ethical commitment to the community and its cause. In turn the community members also participate, time and time again emphasizing their position and their symbolic and material possessions, legitimized by the spirits of their ancestors and by Pachamama.

64   This is not something voluntary — it is required. To some degree we all must play a "character", that is, we intensify and clearly display our good intentions and the ethics that our practices try to put forth. We simplify our language for better general comprehension, and we try to minimize our differences in background (such as by dropping titles from our names, making jokes, using local sayings, etc.). However, we also unconsciously adopt very ethical language, which may be direct and strong, appealing to good feelings. All of this is influenced by the efforts we make in order to be better understood, not only in terms of our knowledge but also in terms of our good intentions.

65   In the end we must ask ourselves two things. First, where does this need come from? Do we actually have more respect for rural or indigenous ethics? Second, does this constant need to show good intentions actually obscure an undercurrent of distrust that we are unable to free ourselves from, or to justify ourselves, to let go and speak in more everyday language without being dependant upon the formalities? It can be said that all communication has elements of performance and ritual, but these rules bother us because it is like starting over each time. What

[... at one meeting is always revised at the next one, in light of this [...] generated through bad practices in the past. We are distanced [...] cannot escape being homogenized with them as a professional [...] moving forward in a simpler manner with collaborations based [...]l, or from generating diffuse perspectives on all of those things

[...] reflections that have arisen for us in relation to the topic of [...]eology and anthropology, within a context of intercultural [...]rritory in the portion of the Calchaquí valleys found in the [...]tage is a continuous, dynamic construction, it acquires meaning [...]ated with spaces/territories that have histories and trajectories. [...]itages in the form of constructions, objects, forms, knowledge, [...] linked in order to make up these communities, with their [...]nts. Within this type of dynamic, heritage and territory have

been considered by the government as separate resources with their own respective values: heritage as a cultural asset inherited from the past and territory as an asset with economic utility that is not available through negotiations with the national government. An example of this differentiation is seen in the Sacred City of Quilmes, where the land ("parcel") expropriated in 1982 by means of Law 5401 was 206 hectares. The plans showing the measurements and divisions make it clear that the limits of the territory have been based upon use of the site as a tourism attraction, and that areas left out include a considerable extension of lands that in the past were used for crop planting, residences, and a broad area where natural resources were obtained.[57] These various perspectives are what cause us to maintain that we cannot separate heritage and territory, because they form an indivisible whole.

67   Other cases in which we have participated differ in some aspects related to the manner of connection and positioning vis-à-vis "the other" in intercultural actions. These differences can be linked to structures, perceived security, and effective possession of the territory, but also to contradictions and internal tensions within the community group itself. In cases were the original rural population does not represent an indigenous community with territorial claims (and which therefore had no need to make use of identity differentiating tools), the differentiation of positions is much more lax. In such cases, differentiation takes place along axes such as urban/rural or degree of formal education, but the intercultural dialog is less influenced by the prejudices that exist in asymmetrical relations.

68   In the same way, the fact of whether or not the rural farming populations of Argentina's northwest are enrolled as an indigenous community strengthens or weakens the links between identity, heritage, and territory. This strength is made discursive and practical at the same time, and to some degree has been changed and enriched not only by the contributions of increasing participation by community leaders in national and international meetings, but also by increasing preparation and the strong or weak condition of the same indigenous or rural communities, along with their greater or lesser involvement in these processes as social actors according to their priorities as a group.

69   Based upon our experiences on the land in the contexts discussed above, our position as women performing university research, and also as representatives of the national government, has entered into crisis. Our status as university researchers by training is compromised by the communities' demands for autonomy and self-determination, and above all by their demands for territorial exclusivity in terms of managing resources of any type. Oftentimes the national government remains distrusted despite its advances on political and legal issues and new processes of visibility for claims. It carries an immense debt and often remains trapped in hegemonic thinking, which is carried on, at times unintentionally, in the face of the autonomy demanded by the communities. The communities are aware of these processes and point them out. As for ourselves, we must continue to reflect upon epistemological (and methodological) questions, in order to avoid a return to colonial practices.

Fotos: diversos integrantes del equipo de colaboración con la CIQ

Notes

1 Patricia Arenas "De la participación en Tucumán del Relevamiento Territorial de la Ley 26160: una _er: Las identidades como redes socio-materiales: perspectivas desde_ Molle, Tucumán, Argentina.

borígenes, ni originarios, ni preexistentes... (Primeros Apuntes)". In _rial networks. Past and present configuration in South America and_ -16 September, 2011.

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s "the University", despite the fact that this institution is crosscut by methodologies, and staff stability.

ntina's Law 26160, presumed titleholders are considered to be those ver the land, 2) have titles, but who do not show them, 3) show titles l 4) who may have them, but who do not have land posession.

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6 García Canclini, *op. cit.*, p.166.

7 Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira. *Etnicidad y Estructura Social*, Colección M. O. de Mendizábal, (version in Spanish found in the expanded Brazilian edition of 1976). Mexico: CIESAS, 1992.

8 Llorenç Prats, *Antropología y patrimonio,* 2nd Edition, Editorial Ariel, 2004, 171 p., ISBN 84-344-2211-5.

9 Prats, *op.cit.*, p. 22.

10 *sensu* Cardoso, *op. cit.*

11 The materials analysed were interviews performed in the class "Anthropological Methodology for Archaeologists", in the Archaeology program at the National University of Tucumán, as well as texts of comments from the Internet regarding specific events that involved indigenous communities during 2010 and 2011. Arenas, *op. cit.*, 2011b.

12 Peter Berger and Thomas Luckman, *La construcción social de la realidad*, Amorrortu Eds. 1973, Buenos Aires.

13 Fredrik Barth, Introducción. *Los grupos étnicos y sus fronteras.* (1st English Ed. 1969) 1976, México, FCE.

14 Miguel Bartolomé, Los laberintos de la identidad: procesos identitarios en las poblaciones indígenas. *Avá* [online]. 2006, n.9 [cited 2012-11-01], p. 28-48. Available at: <http://www.scielo.org.ar/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S1851-16942006000100003&lng=es&nrm=iso>. ISSN 1851-1694.

15 Bartolomé *op. cit.*

16 Eduardo J. Arnoletto, *Glosario de Conceptos Políticos Usuales*, Ed. EUMEDNET 2007, full text at http://www.eumed.net/dices/listado.php?dic=3

17 http://odhpi.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/Resolucion-4811-96.-Creacin-del-Registro-de-Comunidades-Indgenas.pdf

18 Arenas, *op. cit.*, 2011b.

19 Eric R. Wolf. *Europe and the People without History*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1982.

20 Arenas, *op. cit.*, 2011a.

21 Arenas, *op. cit.*, 2011b.

22 We use the concept of interculturality in the sense of C. Walsh (…) when referring to the indigenous discourse that claims that interculturality does not ask for recognition and inclusion (multiculturality) in nations where colonialism is internally reproduced, nor does it agree with the neoliberal ideology, except to recognize indigenous participation in the national government with equality and to recognize the colonial difference and the colonialism of the power that still exists. C. Walsh, Interview with Walter Mignolo: www.oei.es/salactsi/walsh.htm.

23 National Constitution art. 75.17: "To recognize the ethnic and cultural pre-existance of the indigenous peoples of Argentina. To guarantee respect for their identity and the right to a bilingual and intercultural education; to recognize the legal status of their communities as well as their communal possession and ownership of the lands that they have traditionally occupied; and to regulate the delivery of other lands apt and sufficient for human development; none of these shall be alienable, transferrable, or susceptible to levies or embargos. To ensure their participation in the management of their natural resources and the rest of the interests that affect them. The provinces can concurrently exercise these attributions".

24 See the complete version at: http://www.ilo.org/public/spanish/region/ampro/lima/publ/conv-169/convenio.shtml

25 This document, produced collectively in workshops and other discussion forums, was delivered to Argentina's president Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner on May 20, 2010, during the Bicentennial Week for the May Revolution.

26 The Quechua name for this position is taken from traditional Inca road-running messengers.

...idad Indígena de Amaicha del Valle. 2004.

...studied from a political anthropology perspective by Alejandro Isla, *Los ...enismo y Estado,* Editorial de las Ciencias Buenos Aires, 2009, 278 p. ...ow tensions, which are expressed in the actors, appear in collective ...e lead to alliances and negotiations, both day-to-day and strategic. The ...negotiate with the national government.

...ed are taken from the transcription published by Isla (2002: 51-53).

...or the Amaicha's chief is *Curaca*, which is the in the lost local *kakan ...Cacique*, which originally derives from a Caribbean native language ...re extensively in the Americas.

...Jorgelina García Azcárate, M. Alejandra Korstanje, Roberto Molinari, ...el pasado: La propuesta de los amaicheños". *Actas de las Jornadas de ...*, Vol. III, p. 68-73. Escuela de Antropología de Rosario, Universidad ...ina, 1997.

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http://imgbiblio.vaneduc.edu.ar/fulltext/files/TC050536.pdf.

36 Carlos Aschero, Víctor Ataliva, Lorena Cohen, Marisa López Campeny, and Carolina Somonte, Arqueología e identidad... o identidad de la arqueología en la comunidad indígena de Amaicha del Valle (Tucumán, Argentina). *Textos Antropológicos*, Volume 15, Number 2: 263-276, 2005. Universidad Mayor de San Andrés. La Paz, Bolivia.

37 Marisa Lazzari, ″El pasado-presente como espacio social vivido″ In *Identidades y materialidades en Sudamérica y más allá (primera parte). Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos* 2012 [Online], Current issues, Online since 02 October 2012, accessed on 30 October 2012. URL: http://nuevomundo.revues.org/64017; DOI: 10.4000/nuevomundo.64017.

38 Northwest Argentina Rural Development Project, sponsored by the national government.

39 The full text can be found reproduced in Bárbara Manasse and M. Alejandra Korstanje, Academia - Society Articulation: the I.A.M. in the management of Cultural Resources. In: *Rastros en el Camino. Trayectos e Identidades de una Institución.* P. Arenas, C. Taboada, and C. Aschero (eds), p. 125-145. Volume *80 years of the IAM*. EDUNT (UNT), Tucumán, 2010. ISBN 978-987-1366-72-9. 141 p.

40 The initial teams included participation by Dr Verónica Williams and Dr Lorena Rodríguez and team, from the Department of Philosophy and Letters (Universidad Nacional de Buenos Aires); Dr Estela Noli and Prof. Margarita Arana (Universidad Nacional de Tucumán); the Latin American Centre for Development and Participatory Communication (CDESCO by its Spanish acronym); the Fundación Tiempos NGO; Dr Marisa Lazzari (University of Exeter, UK) and Dr Maité Boullosa (Université d' Amiens, France). For special requirements, such as training or site conservation, management plan, mapping, etc., the collaboration of other qualified professionals was requested.

41 Jorgelina García Azcárate, Delfín Gerónimo, M. Alejandra Korstanje and Marisa Lazzari, ″Quilmes: The story of the 17th Century genocide, and the historical reparation that still fails to come″. Simposium: *Cultural Heritage, Social Justice and Ethical Globalisation*, 2007, Flinders University, Adelaide, Australia.

42 M. Florencia Becerra, M. Victoria Pierini, Lorena Rodríguez, Bettina Sidy and Sandra Tolosa, ″De ollitas y paredes volteadas a urnas y monumento patrimonial. La Comunidad India de Quilmes y las resignificaciones del sitio arqueológico a partir de la reconstrucción″. *Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos* [Online], Current issues, online since 02 October 2012, accessed on 30 October 2012. URL: http://nuevomundo.revues.org/64017; DOI: 10.4000/nuevomundo.64017.

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44 http://www.cdesco.org/experiencia/planeacion/s-planeacion3.html & Justification of Resources

45 Gabriela Karasik, ″Haciendas, campesinos y antropología: conflictos sociales y colonialidad en el extremo noroeste argentino en la primera mitad del siglo XX″ *Travesía, Revista de Historia Económica y Social,* 2010, p. 197.

46 García Azcárate and Korstanje, *op. cit.*

47 Guillaume Boccara and Paola Bolados, ″Qué es el multiculturalismo? La nueva cuestión étnica en el Chile Neoliberal″. *Revista de Indias,* 2010, vol. LXX, no. 250.

María Luz Endere, ″Patrimonio Arqueológico, Legislación y Turismo en la Argentina″. *Etnia,* 1995, p. 40-41.

48 Formally, Argentina is a country where jurisdictions and authorities are divided between the national and provincial governments.

49 Llinas, *op. cit.*

50 The Community believes that this was not a "seizure", since they were taking back what belonged to them. http://lagaceta.com.ar/nota/253020/informacion-general/indigenas-mantendran-toma-ruinas-quilmes-durante-fin-semana.html.

51 Curiously, it is the Tucumán Tourism Entity and not the Tucumán Cultural Entity that is in charge of the subjects of cultural heritage and archaeology, and that administers the Sacred City and hold dialogues with the Quilmes Indigenous Community. This is because the site has always been seen by the provincial _____ resource, and it is still seen that way.

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...rónica I. Williams, ″Ruinas o Ciudad Sagrada? La construcción de un ...dentities as socio-material Networks. Past and present configuration ...ersity of Exeter, UK, 15-16 September 2011.

...e first meeting between local representatives of various groups ...egional cultural management

	URL	http://journals.openedition.org/nuevomundo/docannexe/image/65988/img-1.jpg
	Fichier	image/jpeg, 432k
	Légende	Figure 2: One of the CIQ's leaders speaking at the meeting
	URL	http://journals.openedition.org/nuevomundo/docannexe/image/65988/img-2.jpg
	Fichier	image/jpeg, 280k
	Légende	Figure 3: After workshops and discussions meals are always shared to celebrate the encounter
	URL	http://journals.openedition.org/nuevomundo/docannexe/image/65988/img-3.jpg
	Fichier	image/jpeg, 456k
	Légende	Figure 4: Archaeologists, Geodesist, and Local Guides of the Sacred City discussing the mapping strategy for the site and the features to be considered
	URL	http://journals.openedition.org/nuevomundo/docannexe/image/65988/img-4.jpg
	Fichier	image/jpeg, 480k
	Légende	Figure 5: Knowledge is shared in both directions
	URL	http://journals.openedition.org/nuevomundo/docannexe/image/65988/img-5.jpg
	Fichier	image/jpeg, 804k
	Légende	Figure 6: Small group discussions of project aims
	URL	http://journals.openedition.org/nuevomundo/docannexe/image/65988/img-6.jpg
	Fichier	image/jpeg, 1,5M
	Légende	**Figure 7:** Tree diagrams developed in small groups are shared with the main assembly
	URL	http://journals.openedition.org/nuevomundo/docannexe/image/65988/img-7.jpg
	Fichier	image/jpeg, 1,3M
	Légende	Figure 8: Audiovisual recordings facilitate the dissemination of the knowledge developed in meetings and discussions through the use of images and language selected by local people
	URL	http://journals.openedition.org/nuevomundo/docannexe/image/65988/img-8.jpg
	Fichier	image/jpeg, 92k
	Légende	Figure 9: The pedagogic tool kit is prepared to be disseminated to larger groups
	URL	http://journals.openedition.org/nuevomundo/docannexe/image/65988/img-9.jpg
	Fichier	image/jpeg, 188k
	Légende	Figure 10: An example of how contradictions are negotiated and embraced by the community in order to obtain consent: their own promotional material for the archeological site calls them "Ruins of Quilmes" (as the tourists know it), but the contact e-mail offered is ciudadsagrada@ (as the community calls it).
	URL	http://journals.openedition.org/nuevomundo/docannexe/image/65988/img-10.jpg
	Fichier	image/jpeg, 1,2M

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