



Patrimonial Education and Cultural Rights: The Contribution of Archaeological Heritage to the Construction of Collective Memories

Mariela E. Zabala, Mariana Fabra, Gina L. Aichino & M. Cristina De Carli

To cite this article: Mariela E. Zabala, Mariana Fabra, Gina L. Aichino & M. Cristina De Carli (2015) Patrimonial Education and Cultural Rights: The Contribution of Archaeological Heritage to the Construction of Collective Memories, *Public Archaeology*, 14:1, 27-43

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1179/1465518715Z.00000000082>



Published online: 25 Jan 2015.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



View related articles [↗](#)

Patrimonial Education and Cultural Rights: The Contribution of Archaeological Heritage to the Construction of Collective Memories

MARIELA E. ZABALA

Instituto de Antropología de Córdoba, CONICET & Museo de Antropología, Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, Argentina

MARIANA FABRA

Instituto de Antropología de Córdoba, CONICET & Museo de Antropología, Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, Argentina

GINA L. AICHINO

Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, Argentina

M. CRISTINA DE CARLI

Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, Argentina

The aim of this paper is to present our experiences as members of the Public Archaeology Program (PAP) — based at the Museo de Antropología, Universidad Nacional de Córdoba (UNC) — which focuses on north-east communities in Córdoba, Argentina, where we have performed several archaeological rescue excavations and educational activities based around the protection of regional archaeology and heritage. Since we recognize and respect the cultural rights of these communities in relation to the archaeological heritage, we conducted a scheme of activities to encourage people to participate in archaeological rescues, lectures, and workshops about the lifestyle of the indigenous people that inhabited Córdoba, on the basis of knowledge generated from material culture recovered in these sites. Our methodology derives from concepts framed by Heritage Education, which aims at yielding greater insights into identity and collective memory, in view of the way members of these communities interpret the past.

KEYWORDS Public Archaeology, communities, cultural rights, archaeological heritage, heritage education

Introduction

Since the late 1990s, Argentina has boasted several professional multidisciplinary groups focused on research, teaching, and extension activities related to Public Archaeology. This was made possible at a time in which the state moved away from its role as manager of the public policies on heritage management, allowing private initiatives to develop. Such groups adopted different methodological and practical working styles, and pursued different degrees of social intervention and relationships with public universities. Such groups have developed throughout Argentina. For example, the Universidad Nacional del Centro de la Provincia de Buenos Aires (UNICEN) has generated a Program for Interdisciplinary Studies of Heritage, called PATRIMONIA, which originated in 1994 (Endere, et al., 2015). Similarly, the Universidad Nacional de Rosario (UNR) has developed a programme in north central Santa Fe province, with more than fifteen years of research, development, and innovative practices (Cornero & Del Rio, 2015). In southern Patagonia, during the last decade, a team has developed particularly innovative participatory strategies, linking researchers from different areas of anthropology and communities of indigenous peoples, creating a Commission which 'Cares for the Past' and a Temporary Co-managed Reservoir for Human skeletal remains, legitimated through a municipal ordinance (Nahuelquier, et al., 2015). In north-western Argentina, more specifically Tafí del Valle, in Tucumán Province, and in Quebrada de Humahuaca, in Jujuy province, a number of archaeological teams are committed to claiming rights for indigenous peoples, and working together with local and provincial state authorities to protect the archaeological heritage (Manasse, 2015; Montenegro & Aparicio, 2015; Ramundo, 2015).

Since 2010, Universidad Nacional de Córdoba has offered a university programme of studies in Anthropology (Facultad de Filosofía y Humanidades), which includes a course on Public Archaeology; it also administers a Public Archaeology Program — (Programa de Arqueología Pública) (PAP)— through the Museo de Antropología.¹ In this context, the paper aims at outlining the relationship between the PAP and the communities that we work with to protect the archaeological heritage, and presents some emblematic cases of our work. The main issues that arise in this review concern the cultural rights of citizens relating to the goods considered to have 'heritage value', and the knowledge gained from their study and assessment.

The Public Archaeology Program

While the Public Archaeology Program (PAP) emerged officially in 2007 (Zabala & Fabra, 2012), its history dates back to the late 1990s with archaeology rescue work in conjunction with local communities concerned with the protection of the archaeological heritage (Fabra, 1999; Fabra, et al., 1999; Uribe, 1998). Indeed, a significant moment in this development was in 2005, when members of the Museo de Antropología issued a number of publications with the aim of providing teachers, tour guides, and social guides² with an updated bibliography relating to the lifestyle of the indigenous societies of the province of Córdoba, with a focus on regional archaeological heritage, heritage education, and classroom activities to instil into students analytical and critical thinking regarding the care of cultural property (e.g. Fabra, 2005; Fabra & Zabala, 2010; Zabala & Roura Galtes, 2007; Zabala, et al., 2006).

The PAP not only takes into account the academic perspective of the value of archaeological remains, but also encourages participatory and democratic processes including the ‘public’ community, government agencies, neighbours, and NGOs, among others. In our work with communities we emphasize the concept of heritage as a social construction, not as given natural process (cf. Prats, 1997). That is why, when interacting with community members, we usually enquire whether archaeological heritage is part of the material culture that contributes to the construction of the identity of the population. This is because not every community views material culture as symbols of identity and belonging. Therefore, the methodology of the PAP focuses on generating actions or activities that foster community participation in the rescue, protection, appreciation, and appropriation of archaeological assets at risk, through participation in fieldwork, workshops, and lectures (Fabra & Zabala, 2015). To date, in various locations in the province of Córdoba, there have been more than fifty interventions in over a hundred archaeological sites considered at risk of destruction (Fabra, et al., 2008), and numerous activities to transmit the results of archaeological and bioanthropological research conducted at sites (Fabra & Gonzalez, 2008; Fabra, et al., 2009; Ochoa & Uribe, 2008).

The PAP begins its work when contacted by residents of particular communities seeking assistance with the recovery of certain heritage assets considered at risk. The heritage field should be considered a conflict area, one of struggle and confrontation between different social actors involved in the heritage process, each providing their own assessment and interpretation. To be considered patrimonial assets, cultural goods must go through a process of research, recognition, assessment, selection and symbolic valuation of certain identity, generated by community members at a specific point in time and space. The community — or part of it — gives different value to certain goods according to their application, material or symbolic, historical, emotional, and financial worth. However, to pursue legal protection for the conservation, study, and interpretation required for classifying such goods as heritage, the influence of political powers (governments) and civil organizations (cultural mediators) is needed (Fabra, et al., 2008; Zabala & Fabra, 2012).

In conducting our community outreach, we assume that all social practice takes place in space. This understanding means that space is not merely viewed as a passive venue for our work, but as a social construct and product of human practices. Therefore, we consider that all social practice can only be understood within the *space* (Lindon, et al., 2006; Santos, 1996). Thus, we conduct research into a town as a *place* for understanding the subjectivity and emotional attachment of the inhabitants, in addition to its dynamics, flow, and movement, because spaces endow subjects with sense through daily experience. Therefore, the site of our work is never homogenous, but each is a field of relations played on multiple scales, meeting points, conflicts and contrasts (cf. Massey, 2004).

The way to incorporate this theoretical perspective into practical research has focused on the application of the technique of Social Cartography in workshops and educational proposals, as a conceptual tool to build a space for discussion whereby participants problematize their reality, identifying tangible and intangible elements that they consider should be preserved as archaeological or cultural heritage (Aichino, et al., 2012; 2013). Adopting techniques such as Social Cartography, used in Anthropology and Geography, within the context of workshops is a novel practice in Public Archaeology.

It enables collective and participatory work that promotes the exchange of experience as ‘part of the individual subjectivities to collectivize knowledge and build consensus and complementarities of territorial visions’ (García, 2007: 28).

Since 1999, PAP has received public funds and several scholarships from Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, grants from Secretaría de Políticas Universitarias del Ministerio de Educación de la Nación, and from Secretaría de Extensión de la Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, in addition to support from local communities where archaeological work is being conducted. Concerning the training of human resources, since 2007, many projects developed in the Museo de Antropología oriented to the general public have drawn the interest of undergraduate (19 in number) and postgraduate students (5 in number) from the areas of History, Biology, Geology, and Geography and, since 2010, of Anthropology. Students from foreign universities (e.g. University of Leiden, Netherlands) have also participated in PAP. At present, anthropologists and graduates from the fields of History and Geography, as well as undergraduates from Anthropology, form part of our programme. This diversity of undergraduate and postgraduate training embodies one of the main benefits of the research group, as it allows an exchange of cross-disciplinary theoretical and methodological approaches to this discipline.

Local communities and archaeologists: possible links from Public Archaeology

The PAP seeks the recovery of archaeological remains that communities perceive at risk of partial or total destruction. Once community members inform the Museo de Antropología (Universidad Nacional de Córdoba) or other institutions, such as Judicial Police,³ the PAP works to:

- a) recognize the sites and assess the degree of impact or alteration that the archaeological remains would be subject to
- b) recover archaeological remains in danger of destruction or removal
- c) keep remains in proper conditions in the Museum of Anthropology, to ensure their study and conservation
- d) study the materials recovered
- e) report to museums, law enforcement, and community members
- f) collectively plan educational activities such as lectures, seminars or counselling which show the tasks performed and the new knowledge gained, addressed to different audiences (children, teenagers, museum workers, tourists, teachers, etc.)
- g) return the excavated remains to public museums that have enough room for housing the objects or guaranteeing adequate conditions for preservation; otherwise, remains are temporarily stored in the Museo de Antropología.

At present, the participation of residents, municipalities, and local museums is particularly significant in order to work, in conjunction with members of the PAP, towards defining the best strategies to recover the goods, and their subsequent return to the community via an existing public museum.⁴ This close relationship between archaeologist and community is characteristic of PAP. It seeks the democratization of knowledge and culture and the promotion of cultural rights, taking into account that each population has its own way of understanding the past. Finally, we consider it central that

communities take part in the protection of heritage sites because they are the ones that are geographically closer and can most effectively look after them. Communities can also offer strategies to combat the illegal traffic of cultural goods and develop policies leading to the declaration of interest statements and laws, among others.

Archaeological heritage and cultural rights

Heritage as a social construction is a collective phenomenon, so that its origins are not related to isolated individuals but are the result of a significant part of society (Bumbaru, 2004). This notion means considering not only individual but also collective rights, while promoting liberalization processes, interaction and dialogue between different cultures, understanding differences and similarities, and helping to create a common history.

In this context, we believe that access, understanding, and enjoyment of archaeological heritage represents a right common to the entire community. Every human being, conceived of as the creator of culture, has the right to join and participate in the process of recognition, enhancement, and the diffusion of heritage. Participating in the creation and transformation of the community's cultural life is a right conferred on the basis of the collective development of cultural identities. Hence, it is of fundamental importance to proclaim the multiculturalism of society, and strive for the access and participation of all cultures in the territories in which our work takes place.

The work of the PAP also negotiates the construction of history and memories that takes place between community and researchers. This is due to the fact that, although we can provide material evidence to advance new knowledge of the way societies lived, there are also strong local memories about the past that have been transmitted and reconstructed from generation to generation. Thus, from academia, we can contribute to yielding insights into new narratives of the past.

Heritage education as an extension strategy

Once the archaeological intervention is carried out at the sites, different types of communication and educational activities are organized as lecture-workshops. Such activities are addressed to the general public or particular groups, including children, teenagers, and teachers, and centre on issues concerning regional archaeology, the value of the archaeologists' work, the importance of involving community in ensuring heritage protection, and awareness of the value of archaeology to know the past and recreate collective memories.

We rely on the concept of heritage education, considered as 'a teaching strategy that aims at promoting a long-term vision of what heritage means, so that it is preserved as a testimony for future generations' (Zabala, et al., 2006: 3). We also consider heritage education as a 'two-way' process (cf. Fontal Merillas, 2003) comprising: i) the intercommunication between 'academia' and the community from theoretical research; ii) the relation between community and its heritage. We view education as a key to gaining knowledge of the heritage of each community, so that it can be understood, respected, and cared for. From this phase of understanding how heritage is significant in each context, emerges the possibility of (re)building new social

and collective memories. In this respect, heritage can prove a vehicle for constantly reworking memories from present communal identities. Thus, the new knowledge acquired from Public Archaeology's team turns into memory when recounted; from this time onwards the community members involved in the heritage process can create cultural spaces for the construction of collective memories, or use existing ones such as museums (Da Silva Catela, et al., 2010; Jelin, 2002). This is where heritage education must intervene, so as to establish the link between community, heritage, and memory, since we believe that only from a perspective that foresees the involvement and action of local community 'is possible to address open heritage policies to all actors; also we claim the direct involvement of civil society in the definition of these policies [...]' (Fontal Merillas, 2003: 81).

Public archaeological practices and heritage processes in Córdoba, Argentina

'Gone with the water': Public Archaeology in North-East Córdoba

In recent years there have been numerous archaeological findings — pottery, lithic materials, and particularly human bones in burial contexts — laid bare by the continuous advance and retreat of the waters of Mar Chiquita Lake. Fluctuations in water levels have been relatively constant over time, yet in the 1970s the level rose dramatically due to increased rainfall in the catchment area of the river's tributaries, reaching the highest level in 2003 (72.25 m above sea level). Such variations in the levels of the lake, along with associated changes in the coastline, have caused an ongoing erosion process leading to the loss and destruction of archaeological sites (see Figure 1). Hence, in recent years the PAP have performed nine archaeological rescues between 2006 to 2013, within the framework of a systematic

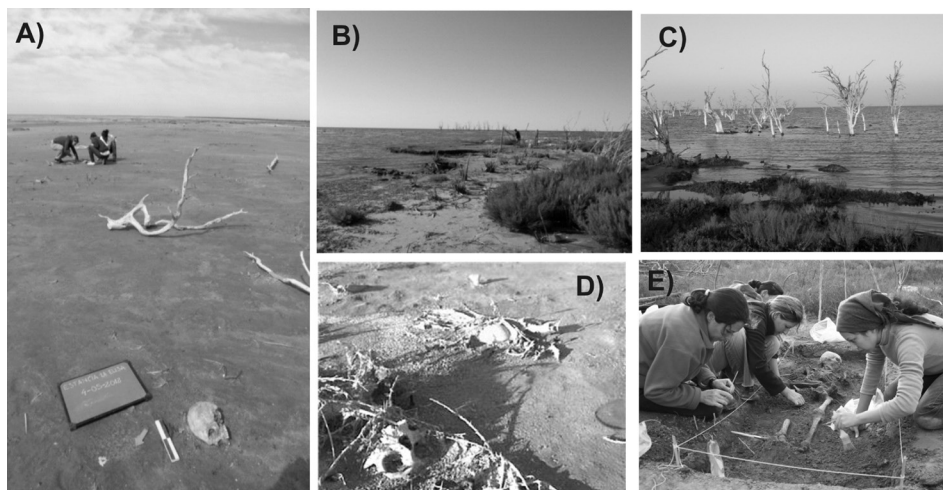


FIGURE 1 South shore of Mar Chiquita Lake: a) Site Estancia La Elisa 12, b) and c) fluctuations in the lake level have generated a high impact on archaeological sites in the region; d) El Diquecito 08 site, and e) El Diquecito 010 site.

recovery of human bone remains in six archaeological sites coastal sites, laid bare by the erosive action of the waters (Fabra, et al., 2008) (see Figure 2). Intervention orders were made by public museums of the region, with which PAP has been actively and collaboratively working over the last six years, specifically the ‘Aníbal Montes’ Museum of the Ansenusa region in Miramar and the Municipal Historical Museum ‘La Para’, in its namesake town. The excavations were carried out following two stages, in collaboration with members of the towns’ museums. The material obtained was transferred to the Museo de Antropología for preparation and analysis.

Although excavations were limited, given the nature of the archaeological rescue, the bioarchaeological analysis of these materials has provided valuable information (Fabra, et al., 2012a; 2014b), particularly with regard to biological history of these

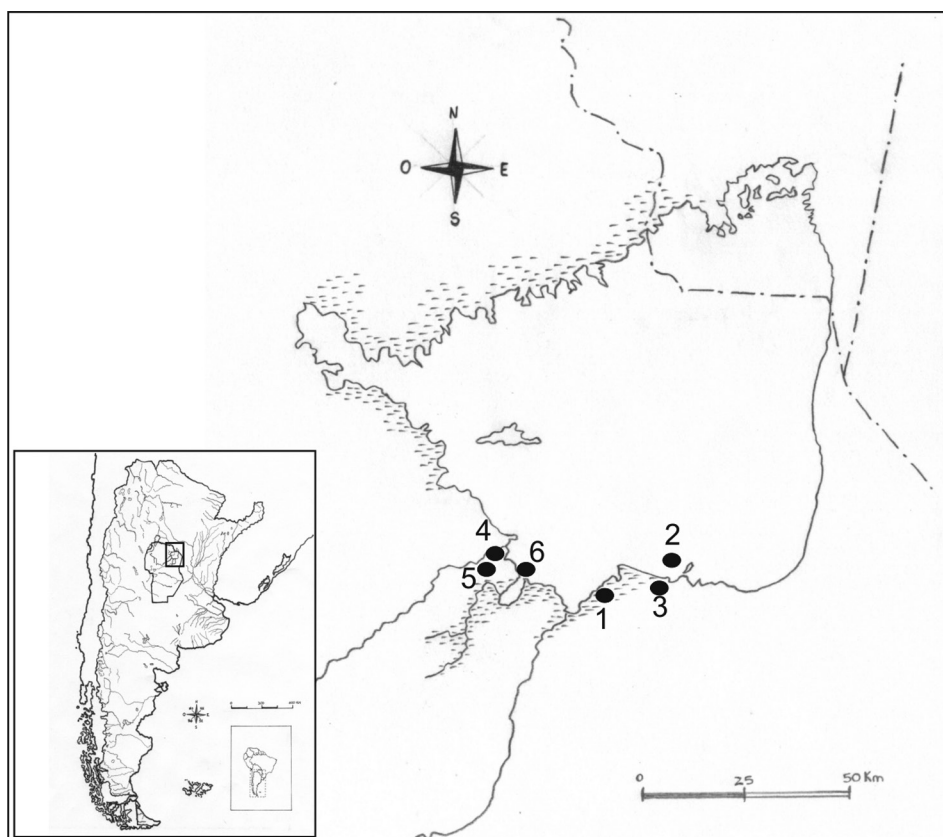


FIGURE 2 Archaeological sites worked by the PAP from the perspective of Public Archaeology. An inset shows the geographic location of the Laguna Mar Chiquita, northeast of the province of Córdoba (Argentina). The number in parentheses indicates the location on the map. Sites: (1) Colonia Müller 1 and 2 (two individuals), (2) Isla Orihuela 07, 11, and 12 (3 individuals), (3) Orihuela 06 (2 individuals), (4) Villa Elisa 06 and 12 (2 individuals), (5) Campo Bocassi-Agua Mansa (2 individuals), (6) El Diquecito 08 and 010 (12 individuals).

populations (Fabra, 2009; 2014; Fabra & Demarchi, 2013; Fabra, et al., 2014a), on mortuary practices (Fabra, et al., 2009), palaeodietary studies from dental biomarkers (Fabra & Gonzalez, 2008; 2012; Gonzalez & Fabra, 2011), physical activity markers (Salega & Fabra, 2013), and stable isotopes (Laguens, et al., 2009). Also, there have been the first archaeomalacological studies in the region (Fabra, et al., 2012b; Gordillo & Fabra, 2014). We performed the first radiocarbon dates on 26 individuals by AMS technique, dated from 4525 ± 20 to 370 ± 15 years BP, which can confirm the long and continuous human occupation in the region.

This new knowledge gained was applied to various educational practices in the museums mentioned above: a) visual arts workshops for children, b) training sessions for teachers expecting to develop educational proposals to address the ‘heritage problem of the region’, and c) workshops with museum workers in order to create new museological discourses of ‘the region’s heritage’ (see Figure 3). The main objective was to stimulate analytical thinking and creativity in the local context, seeking to value cultural diversity as manifested in the archaeological remains recovered. It should be noted that the inhabitants of the region identified themselves as descendants of European immigrants arriving in the late nineteenth century and whose first residents were called ‘sanavirones’. This simplification and lack of historical exploration of the inhabitants of the region is an issue we permanently address in order to achieve ‘a negotiation with the past, in order to

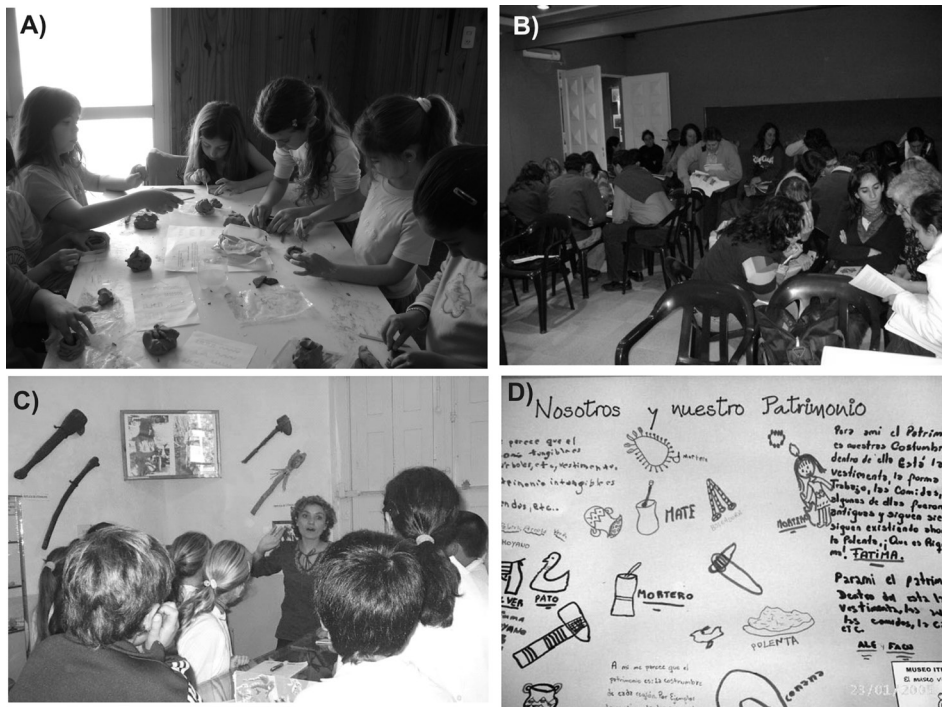


FIGURE 3 Educational practices in museums from NE Cordoba: a) visual arts workshops, b) conferences for children, c) training sessions for teachers, d) production of children’s work.

make current residents more aware of the rights of the indigenous inhabitants'. This task is not simple since, although it can be argued that from the recovered material culture of the native people of the region, the settlement was made several thousand years ago (Laguens, et al., 2009). It should be mentioned that museums have adapted their own scripts and displays from the latest research on the archaeology of Córdoba.

Yet, it still remains to inquire more about the changes and continuities in the lifestyles of indigenous peoples of the region, thus the more complex picture about the history of these populations, and discuss the notions of 'comechingones' and 'sanavirones' speech learnt at school. It would also be important to add, in upcoming discussions, a reflection of today's contribution to the construction of identity and memory of the communities of the region, by discussing the impact that the imposition of the colonial system had on these population, and how, despite the disappearance of a large number of American ethnic groups, the gene pool of the original inhabitants of Córdoba is evident in populations currently living in the region.⁵

To dig or not to dig? Human skeletal remains, local communities, and indigenous people

In October 2011, during the construction of a private house in the town of Santa Rosa de Calamuchita, south of the province of Córdoba, a family found human skeletal remains and asked for the intervention of PAP.⁶ While the exhumation of the remains was made by the PAP team, with the help of neighbours, local representatives of indigenous people were also present and conducted a ceremonial rite intended to 'request permission from the ancestors and the Mother Earth for the recovery and exhumation of remains' (see Figures 4a and 4b). During this ceremony the exhumation stopped, and the excavators all participated in the ritual. When it finished and we were granted permission from the local representative of the Comechingona community, we continued with our bioarchaeological work.

Although we had planned to conclude the archaeological rescue the next day, a descendant of native people appeared in the archaeological site, and expressed her disagreement with the exhumation of the remains (see Figure 4c). This situation forced us to think about and discuss how to proceed when members of indigenous different communities voice disagreement with our work, particularly the exhumation of human skeletal remains, with opposing views regarding digging or not digging the human remains recognized as ancestors. Besides, certain protocols must be followed when human skeletal remains appear, to determine if they are of archaeological or forensic interest.

A few weeks later, a new discussion took place during a regional meeting of Cultural Heritage and Tourism. The PAP presented the case on which we were working in the Santa Rosa de Calamuchita site, and there were some moments of tension and disagreement among participants of the meeting, members of indigenous communities and our own team. The main issue discussed concerned the archaeological work, namely, whether or not to excavate archaeological human remains considered in danger of being lost or damaged, and the fate of the remains recovered.

These events prompted PAP to set up long discussions, in addition to highlighting the need to strengthen not only our knowledge of the indigenous communities of Córdoba (in terms of their distribution, territoriality, authorities, and representatives),



FIGURE 4 Loteo 5, Santa Rosa de Calamuchita site: a) and b) Neighbours, local representatives of indigenous people and PAP team during exhumation of the human remains, c) A ceremonial rite intended to 'request permission from the ancestors and the Mother Earth for the recovery and exhumation of remains'.

Photographs taken by PAP

but to think about strategies for working together. We strongly questioned who should be our interlocutors, and to whom we must request permission to perform (or not) the recovery of human remains and related cultural material that otherwise would have been lost. We wondered whether we had developed the necessary devices to generate fluid communication channels to avoid mistrust.

In this context, in 2012, we designed two strategies to communicate and enhance the impact of our work: first, we devised a booklet with information about PAP, the role of the archaeologist/anthropologist, explaining what archaeology is, why it is important that archaeologists and anthropologists recover archaeological remains, study them and generate information about the lifestyles of past communities from material culture or human skeletal remains. We also provided contact information for anyone interested in seeking information on any particular case. Second, we decided to examine in more detail the process of formation of the various indigenous communities of Córdoba, and to create a space for fostering interaction and strengthening ties, both with those communities recognized by the INAI (Instituto Nacional de Asuntos Indígenas, Ministerio de Desarrollo Social, Presidencia de la Nación) and with those in the process of being recognized as such, in order to set an agenda that includes topics of work and discusses ethical practices. This is still a pending task in which we intend to move forward during 2015.

Local heritage in dispute: social cartography workshops

Previously we have mentioned that in order to debate the archaeological heritage as a social construction, our team conducts activities that enable the participation of communities in rescue, protection, empowerment and ownership of archaeological objects at risk through both fieldwork and workshops. The extension activities take place in the communities where archaeological rescues have been made. Since 2010 we have implemented the Social Cartography technique in workshops (Aichino, et al., 2012; 2013), the town of San Carlos Minas, in the north-western province of Córdoba, being the first place where PAP applied this methodology. In the workshops, participants created a map on paper, where they drew their own space and placed the goods they considered of heritage value on the town and surroundings. Although the methodology involves experience sharing and discussing the different maps produced by the participants, as one of the most enriching and exciting instants of the process, in the workshop at San Carlos Minas, only one single map was drawn, given the small number of participants.

The second Social Cartography mapping experience was held in the town of Villa de Tránsito, east of the province of Córdoba, at a moment where human skeletal remains recovered from Arenera Pintusi archaeological site were being returned. Prior to the mapping, a map deconstruction talk and an overview of the archaeological rescue undertaken on the site was provided. Once the bioarchaeological analysis of the remains was concluded, they were returned to the community on the same day the Social Cartography workshop was held, declaring the archaeological site as that of ‘municipal interest’ (Municipal Ordinance no. 081/2011). The workshop aimed at consenting to the sites or objects of tangible and intangible heritage value as recognized in the region, according to the maps designed by the participants. This technique fostered an exchange of dialogue and views among participants, evidencing, in the maps, the multiplicity of perceived heritage(s). This heritage assessment allows accounting for the sense of belonging and rootedness that the residents share in relation to the place they live. In the case of San Carlos Minas, mapping highlights the flood trail on houses that had been affected by the natural disaster that occurred in 1992. On the other hand, in Villa de Tránsito, the church, cemetery, school, and other intangible heritages such as songs and verses from local artists were mostly valued. In turn, this technique favoured the emergence of other issues within the region, such as landscape destruction and the loss of biodiversity caused by the Dakar Rally in San Carlos Minas and its surrounding areas, or the destruction of historic buildings in Villa de Tránsito.

The results allowed us not only to obtain maps with representation of places or objects considered of heritage value for local communities, but also to create a space for open dialogue between actors in the community for the discussion of local heritage, its definition and conservation policies. From the work of public archaeology conducted at both sites, we could evidence the impact of certain economic activities on the regional archaeological heritage. In San Carlos Minas, for example, the exploitation of granite destroys numerous archaeological sites; and in Villa de Tránsito, the exploitation of arid landscapes affects at least one archaeological site, which has been already mostly altered.

The workshops show others problems related with heritage such us the absence of regional archaeology issues in the provincial school curriculum from a heritage

stand point. This lack of poor treatment of archaeological problems in schools neglects the real heritage value of many archaeological sites throughout the province. This disregard towards heritage issues from the school itself has been manifested in the extremely low youth participation in these workshops. These workshops highlighted the lack of knowledge of the legal issues related to heritage. In San Carlos Minas, although several people know of the existence of archaeological sites in the region, few know that there are provincial or national laws addressing the protection of archaeological heritage. In Villa de Tránsito, probably due to recent bioarchaeological findings and the founding of a museum, the importance of the archaeological heritage was ultimately realized. This case shows the impact of archaeological rescue on the community when it is conducted from a government space. That is the reason why, for an archaeological site to become recognized heritage needs those in political power to support it (cf. Prats, 1997). Although uncommon in most situations — neighbours usually give notice of such findings, despite being powerless to preserve, conserve, or manage them well — other municipalities and public museums (e.g. the towns of La Para and Miramar) have shown the same interest in regional archaeological heritage and have thus participated in its realization.

Conclusions

A key question in our work is how to reconcile the different positions of the community inhabitants. How to find a balance between the risk of heritage loss and economic and political interests? In this paper we seek, rather than giving final conclusions, to create a space for the analysis of communities with archaeological sites and for the construction of their collective memories, in order to address these questions.

These experiences of research and outreach activities has enabled the PAP team to understand the potential of heritage education as a strategy for interacting with the local communities involved in archaeological research. Our future goal centres on putting forward a theoretical analysis accounting for these local practices, with the aim of raising awareness of the local cultural rights the community has on archaeological goods and academic knowledge. Hopefully, heritage protection will be a cause to mobilize their care and protection as part of the collective memory and identity.

We consider it central to promote, protect, and preserve archaeological sites, focusing on integrating the actions of the resources within the strategies of local development, involving different sectors in order to achieve a coherent framing of cultural policies. The involvement of communities in the strategies of heritage resource management, conservation and social use is also of paramount importance. We believe that the communication of archaeological investigations carried out in a region creates opportunities for analysis and mutual work in order to heighten awareness of the recovery and care of the assets, which have an important role in the construction of local identities. Finally, one of the major challenges facing researchers is to strengthen ties and breed renewed confidence within communities in the work we do. We believe that one of the important strategies to achieve is creating room for dialogue, the exchange of ideas, the spread of academic knowledge, and fostering awareness of the

importance of systematic archaeological work, so as to prevent loss of information concerning indigenous communities in the province.

Acknowledgements

Authors would like to thank to Guaciara Dos Santos (Earth System Science Dept., University of Irving) and especially to Mai Takigami (Graduate School of Frontier Sciences, University of Tokyo) for ¹⁴C radiocarbon dating. Special thanks go to the Museo de Antropología (F.F. y H., UNC) and museums of Córdoba province, for the commitment of the regional archaeological heritage protection, particularly Museo de la región de Ansenzuza 'Anibal Montes' (Miramar), Museo Histórico Municipal (La Para). We are also most grateful to Paola Franco for helping with the map, Carolina Mosconi for her kind help with the English version of the manuscript, and the editors and reviewers of the earlier version of the manuscript, for their helpful comments and suggestions, which enabled us to improve the article.

Notes

- ¹ Secretaría de Extensión Universitaria, Facultad de Filosofía y Humanidades, Universidad Nacional de Córdoba.
- ² Social guides perform actions that can be understood as 'socio-cultural community development'; actions to promote social change from community and socio-cultural activities, and promoting dialogue between civil society and state policies. Social interventions, from the epistemology of socio-cultural animation, help to strengthen the identity of each person and their right to express themselves through different cultural manifestations. It is a social practice that involves critical reflection and transforming the action of reality (cf. Pérez Serrano & Perez de Guzman Puya, 2006).
- ³ In 2009, an agreement was signed between the Museum of Anthropology, the Argentine Forensic Anthropology Team (EAAF), and the High Court of Justice of the Province of Córdoba, in order to form an interdisciplinary team composed of archaeologists and forensic anthropologists that could act together before human skeletal remains were excavated, not only to ensure the effective recovery of materials and related evidence, but also to determine in situ the archaeological or forensic remains.
- ⁴ It should be noted that one of the main and most serious problems facing PAP which hinders the progress of the work is the difficulty in receiving funds from state bodies (Secretaries, Ministries, University, CONICET). This difficulty lies in the proper definition of the project: Public Archaeology involves both research and university extension. As a result, in most cases our work depends entirely on the financial support provided by municipalities, and the use of laboratory equipment supplied by the Museum of Anthropology of Córdoba.
- ⁵ Studies based on mitochondrial DNA analysis in current residents of the towns of La Para, Miramar, and other towns of Córdoba have shown that approximately 80 per cent of the individuals show Amerindian maternal lines (García & Demarchi, 2006).
- ⁶ The site was called 'Loteo 5 Santa Rosa de Calamuchita'.

Bibliography

- Aichino, L., De Carli, M. C., Zabala, M., & Fabra, M. 2012. Procesos de activación y valoración del patrimonio arqueológico a través de la Cartografía Social. In: *Revista EXT. Divulgación y discusión de experiencias, métodos, tecnologías y propuestas teóricas referidas a la Extensión Universitaria. Secretaria de Extensión. Universidad Nacional de Córdoba*, 3: 1–26.
- Aichino, L., De Carli, M. C., Zabala, M., & Fabra, M. 2013. Mapeando el Patrimonio Arqueológico. Propuesta Educativa para el nivel medio con orientación en Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades. In: *Colección Cuadernos de Trabajo. Propuestas para la integración progresiva de saberes en la escuela secundaria*. Repositorio Virtual Ansenzuza, FFyH-UNC [online] [accessed 27 February 2015]. Available at: <<http://ansenuza.ffyh.unc.edu.ar/comunidades/handle/ffyh/761>>

- Bumbaru, D. 2004. Derechos Culturales y Desarrollo Humano. *Publicación de textos del diálogo del Fórum Universal de las Culturas*. Barcelona: Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional.
- Cornero, S. & Del Río, P. 2015. Investigación participativa: conocimiento y comunidades en el centro norte de Santa Fe: I+D+I en el contexto regional de las políticas públicas. In: M. Fabra, M. Montegro, and M. Zabala, eds. *La Arqueología Pública en Argentina: historias, tendencias y desafíos en la construcción de un campo disciplinar*. Lugar: San Salvador de Jujuy.
- Da Silva Catela, L., Giordano, M., & Jelin, E. 2010. *Fotografía e Identidad. Captura por la cámara devolución por la memoria*. Buenos Aires: Nueva Trilce.
- Endere, M., Conforti, M., Marinao, C., Pedrotta, V., Chaparro, M., Mariano, M., & Laurenz, M. 2015. Patrimonio: Programa interdisciplinario de estudios de patrimonio. In: M. Fabra, M. Montegro and M. Zabala, eds. *La Arqueología Pública en Argentina: historias, tendencias y desafíos en la construcción de un campo disciplinar*. Lugar: San Salvador de Jujuy.
- Fabra, M. 1999. La Arqueología de Rescate, una Forma de Revalorizar el Pasado. *Estafeta 32, Revista de Producción y Debate*. Facultad de Filosofía y Humanidades, Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, 1: 84.
- Fabra, M. 2005. Historia biológica y patrones de colonización y poblamiento humano en el sector austral de las Sierras Pampeanas durante el Holoceno. Unpublished MS, Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, Córdoba: Argentina.
- Fabra, M. 2009. El poblamiento prehispánico de Córdoba: una interpretación a partir de evidencias bioantropológicas. Unpublished Masters thesis, Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, Córdoba, Argentina.
- Fabra, M. 2014. Historia de las poblaciones prehispánicas del sector austral de las Sierras Pampeanas: variabilidad morfológica y modelos arqueológicos. PhD thesis [online] [accessed 27 February 2015]. Available at: <http://www.ffyh.unc.edu.ar/sites/default/files/e-books/EBOOK_FABRA.pdf>.
- Fabra, M. & Demarchi, D.A. 2013. Análisis morfométrico aplicado al estudio de los patrones espaciales y temporales de variación morfológica craneofacial en poblaciones del centro de Argentina. *Revista Cuadernos del Instituto Nacional de Pensamiento Latinoamericano*, 1(1): 87-101.
- Fabra, M. & Gonzalez, C. V. 2008. Análisis de bioindicadores dietarios en poblaciones prehispánicas del Centro de Argentina en el Holoceno Tardío. *ArqueoWeb*, 10(1).
- Fabra, M. & Gonzalez, C. V. 2012. Diet and Oral Health of Populations that Inhabited Central Argentina (Córdoba Province) During Late Holocene. *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology*, 25(2): 160-75.
- Fabra, M. & Zabala, M. E. 2010. *Pueblos de las Sierras, del piedemonte, de los valles y la llanura: la protección del patrimonio arqueológico de las sociedades indígenas de Córdoba*. Córdoba, Argentina: Universidad Nacional de Córdoba.
- Fabra, M. & Zabala, M. E. 2015. Humanidad, Patrimonio, Ancestros: ¿De qué hablamos cuando hablamos de Arqueología Pública en Córdoba? In: M. Fabra, M. Montegro, and M. Zabala, eds. *La Arqueología Pública en Argentina: historias, tendencias y desafíos en la construcción de un campo disciplinar*. Jujuy, Argentina: Universidad Nacional de Jujuy.
- Fabra, M., Gonzalez, C. V., & Salega, M. S. 2012a. Modos de vida e historia biológica de poblaciones de las Sierra y Llanuras de Córdoba (Argentina): aproximaciones desde el registro bioarqueológico. *Revista Argentina de Antropología Biológica*, 14: 87-104.
- Fabra, M., Gordillo, S., & Piovano, E. L. 2012b. Arqueomalacología en las costas de Ansenúza: análisis de una almeja nacarífera (*Anodontites trapesialis*) hallada en contexto funerario del sitio El Diquecito (Laguna Mar Chiquita, Córdoba). *Revista Arqueología*, 18: 257-66.
- Fabra, M., Nores, R., Salega, S., & Gonzalez, C. V. 2014a. Entre las sierras y el Mar: investigaciones bioarqueológicas en el noroeste de la región pampeana (costa sur Laguna Mar Chiquita, Córdoba, Argentina). In: L. Luna, C. Aranda, and J. Suby, eds. *Avances recientes en la Bioarqueología Sudamericana*, pp. 205-31.
- Fabra, M., Salega, S., Gonzalez, C., Smeding, R., & Pautassi, E. 2008. Arqueología de rescate en la costa sur de la Laguna Mar Chiquita: sitio arqueológico El Diquecito. *Memorias del Pueblo: Revista del Museo Histórico Municipal La Para*, 8(8): 37-46.
- Fabra, M., Salega, S., & Gonzalez, C. 2009. Comportamiento mortuario en poblaciones prehispánicas de la región austral de las Sierras Pampeanas durante el Holoceno. *Revista Arqueología*, 15: 165-86.
- Fabra, M., Salega, S., Gonzalez, C. V., & Tavarone, A. 2014b. Lo que el agua nos dejó: investigaciones bioarqueológicas en la costa sur de la laguna Mar Chiquita (Córdoba, Argentina). *Jangua Pana*: 13.

- Fabra, M., Uribe, A., Galimberti, S., & Casuscelli, A. 1999. Arqueología de Rescate: su práctica y significación social en Córdoba. *Actas XIII Congreso Nacional de Arqueología Argentina*, IV: 367–70.
- Fabra, M., Zabala, M., & Roura Galtés, I. 2008. Reconocer, recuperar, proteger, valorar: prácticas de Arqueología Pública en Córdoba. In: A. M. Rocchietti and V. Pernicone, eds. *Arqueología y Educación: perspectivas contemporáneas*. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Tercero en Discordia.
- Fontal Merillas, O. 2003. *La educación patrimonial. Teoría y práctica en el aula el museo e Internet*. España: Ediciones Trea SL.
- García, A. & Demarchi, D. 2006. Linajes parentales amerindios en poblaciones del Norte de Córdoba. *Revista Argentina de Antropología Biológica*, 8(1): 57–71.
- García, C. 2007. *La Cartografía Social como recurso metodológico en los procesos de construcción territorial*. Fundación Trencha: Bogotá.
- García Canclini, N. 1999. Los usos sociales del Patrimonio Cultural. In: Aguilar Criado, Encarnación (1999), *Cuadernos Patrimonio Etnológico. Nuevas perspectivas de estudio* Consejería de Cultura. Junta de Andalucía. Andalucía, España, pp. 16–33.
- García Canclini, N. 1987. *Políticas culturales de América Latina*. Grijalbo. México.
- González, C. V. & Fabra, M. 2011. Estimaciones acerca de la salud de poblaciones que ocuparon la región austral de las sierras pampeanas en el holoceno tardío: una aproximación desde la Antropología Dental. *Revista del Museo de Antropología*, 4: 161–78.
- Gordillo, S. & Fabra, M. 2014. El uso de moluscos y caracoles por parte de poblaciones prehispánicas que habitaron el Mar de Ansenúza en el norte cordobés. *Revista del Museo Histórico Municipal de La Para*, 1(1): 5–17.
- Jelin, E. 2002. ¿De qué hablamos cuando hablamos de memorias? In: E. Jelin, ed. *Los trabajos de la memoria*. España: Siglo XXI Editores, pp. 17–37.
- Laguens, A., Fabra, M., Dos Santos, G. M., & Demarchi, D. 2009. Paleodietary inferences based on isotopic evidences for populations of the Central Mountains of Argentina during the Holocene. *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology*, 19: 237–49.
- Lindon, A., Aguilar, M., & Hiernaux, D. 2006. *Lugares e imaginarios en la metrópoli*. Anthropos. Barcelona-México: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana Iztapalapa.
- Manasse, B. 2015. Arqueología y gestión de recursos culturales en el valle e Tafi, provincia de Tucumán. Pasados y presentes en juego. In: M. Fabra, M. Montegro, and M. Zabala, eds. *La Arqueología Pública en Argentina: historias, tendencias y desafíos en la construcción de un campo disciplinar*. Lugar: San Salvador de Jujuy.
- Massey, D. 2004. Lugar, identidad y geografías de la responsabilidad en un mundo en proceso de globalización. *Treballs de la Societat Catalana de Geografia*, 57: 77–84.
- Montenegro, M. & Aparicio, M. 2015. Transitando los senderos interculturales de la arqueología pública en la Quebrada de Humahuaca, Provincia de Jujuy. In: M. Fabra, M. Montegro, and M. Zabala, eds. *La Arqueología Pública en Argentina: historias, tendencias y desafíos en la construcción de un campo disciplinar*. Lugar: San Salvador de Jujuy.
- Nahuelquir, S., Huilliano, C., Huillino, F., Guichón, R. A., Caracotche, S., & García Laborde, P. 2015. Trabajando juntos. Ordenanza Municipal de puerto Santa Cruz. In: M. Fabra, M. Montegro, and M. Zabala, eds. *La Arqueología Pública en Argentina: historias, tendencias y desafíos en la construcción de un campo disciplinar*. Lugar: San Salvador de Jujuy.
- Ochoa, S. & Uribe, A. 2008. Representaciones rupestres en el Noroeste de Córdoba, Argentina. Valoración patrimonial de la localidad arqueológica de La Playa. *Arqueoweb* [online], 10 [accessed 26 June 2014]. Available at: <<http://pendientedemigracion.ucm.es/info/arqueoweb/pdf/10/soledadalfonso.pdf>>
- Pérez Serrano, G. & Pérez de Guzmán Puya, M. 2006. *Qué es la Animación Sociocultural*. Epistemología y valores. Narceaediciones. España.
- Prats, L. 1997. *Antropología y patrimonio*. Barcelona, Spain: Editorial Ariel.
- Ramundo, 2015. Origen, desarrollo y perspectivas sobre Arqueología Pública en la Quebrada de la cueva, Humahuaca, Jujuy. In: M. Fabra, M. Montegro, and M. Zabala, eds. *La Arqueología Pública en Argentina: historias, tendencias y desafíos en la construcción de un campo disciplinar*. Lugar: San Salvador de Jujuy.
- Salega, M. S. & Fabra, M. 2013. Niveles de actividad física en poblaciones de las sierras y las llanuras de la provincial de Córdoba (Argentina) durante el Holoceno tardío. *Relaciones*, 38(2): 401–20.

- Santos, M. 1996. *La naturaleza del espacio*. Técnica y tiempo. Razón y emoción. Barcelona, Spain: Editorial Ariel.
- Uribe, Alfonso. 1998. *Arqueología para los Vecinos: Análisis de la Colección*. Molino de Torres. Informe final de beca de extensión, Secretaría de Extensión. Universitaria, Facultad de Filosofía y Humanidades, Universidad Nacional de Córdoba. Unpublished MS.
- Zabala, M., Roura Galtes, I., & Fabra, M. 2006. *Educación en patrimonio: educar en valores. Propuesta didáctica para interpretar el patrimonio en el aula*. Serie Cuadernos Didácticos, Museo de Antropología, Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, Argentina.
- Zabala, M. & Roura Galtes, I. 2008. La investigación arqueológica en relación con la comunidad. Reflexiones acerca de una experiencia de educación patrimonial en el departamento Minas. *ArqueoWeb* [online], 10(1) [accessed 27 February 2015]. Available at: <<http://pendientedemigracion.ucm.es/info/arqueoweb/pdf/10/zabalaroura.pdf>>
- Zabala, M. & Fabra, M. 2012. Estrechando vínculos entre ‘comunidades’ en torno al patrimonio arqueológico. Las prácticas extensionistas desde un programa de Arqueología Pública. *Revista de Arqueología Pública*, NEPAM/UNICAMP, 6: 39–53.

Notes on contributors

Mariela Eleonora Zabala is Professor of History in the Facultad de Filosofía y Humanidades, Universidad Nacional de Córdoba (UNC). She holds a PhD in Anthropology (UNC) and is Professor of Education at the Museo de Antropología, Córdoba. She is also Director of the Cultural Research Laboratory in Museums, Co-Director of the Public Archaeology Project, and Professor of Alternative Tourism (Centro de Estudios Avanzados, UNC). Zabala also fulfils a number of administrative roles, including the University Extension Secretary, the director of degree theses, and tutor for international internships. Her research interests include the history of anthropology in Córdoba in the twentieth century, with particular focus on the archaeological heritage. She is the author of numerous publications (including books, journal articles, and science materials) on heritage education, museum education, archaeological, public archaeology, and the history of anthropology. She has participated in, moderated, and coordinated national and international scientific meetings.

Mariana Fabra gained her PhD in History from the Universidad Nacional de Córdoba (UNC) and is currently a Research Associate of the National Council of Scientific and Technical Research (CONICET). She is Associate Professor on the BA in Anthropology in the Department of Anthropology at UNC, and has directed several research projects (PIP CONICET, PID MinCyT Córdoba, PIP FONCyT), on topics linked to the settlement of the central region of Argentina and the lifestyle of indigenous populations in the Argentine Midwest from a bioarchaeological perspective. She is director of the Public Archaeology Project, and is member of several national and international academic and professional institutions (AAPA, PPA, AABA, SAA). She has participated in numerous conferences, particularly in Argentina, Mexico, Brazil, Costa Rica, and Colombia, and has published widely, including books, chapters, journal articles in both national and international forums.

Correspondence to: Mariana Fabra, IDACOR-CONICET, Museo de Antropología (FFyH, UNC) Av. Hipólito Yrigoyen 174, CP 5000, Córdoba, Argentina. Email: marianafabra@gmail.com

Gina Lucía Aichino graduated in Geography from Universidad Nacional de Córdoba in 2012, where she is currently a PhD student and a CONICET grant holder. She was member of Public Archaeology Project, and is currently an Associate Professor of 'Natural Resources and Environmental Management' in the Geography Department at UNC. She is also a Secondary School Geography teacher and has participated in numerous extension activities related to social mapping.

María Cristina De Carli graduated in History from Universidad Nacional de Córdoba in 2012, where she is currently a PhD student. She was member of Public Archaeology Project, and is currently Associate Professor of 'Seminar workshop practice and residence teacher' in the History Department at UNC. She is also a mid-level teacher in education. She has participated in numerous extension activities related to education heritage.