

## Chapter 11

# The development & management of territorial heritage. The recent experience of Argentina

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SUMMARY: I. HERITAGE & TERRITORY. II. RECENT TERRITORIAL HERITAGE PRESERVATION POLICIES. 1. *Approaching the legal framework of Argentina's cultural and natural heritage.* 2. *Current actors and public policies linked to heritage management.* III. HERITAGE EXPLOSION IN ARGENTINA. IV. HERITAGE MANAGEMENT, FUTURE CHALLENGES. V. BIBLIOGRAPHY. *Web sites.*

### I. HERITAGE & TERRITORY

«Identity, culture, heritage and territory are convergent concepts in the sense that their essential constitutive attributes make up the network of meanings that sustain the world of objects and actions [...]. This convergence should be interpreted in two complementary ways, oriented towards both the past and the future, acting as static references, or as the driving force of a dynamic that assumes the form of an interested transfer or an ever-renewing creation» (Bustos Cara, 2004: 17).

As Guy Di Meo said, heritage values are defined like the territory, as «time which makes sense and has meaning as if it were history crystallised into an object, place or event. It has two natures, the material and the ideal. It has a mnemonic function. They insert the social fabric into a historical continuity made up of solid cultural references that generate ideological and political control». «How can we understand territory without assigning a heritage value to it?».

«Neither territory nor heritage represent an a priori fact. Yet every object may have a heritage function and every space may be transformed into a territory, if one or the other is integrated in a communicational context» (Di Meo, 1998: 59).

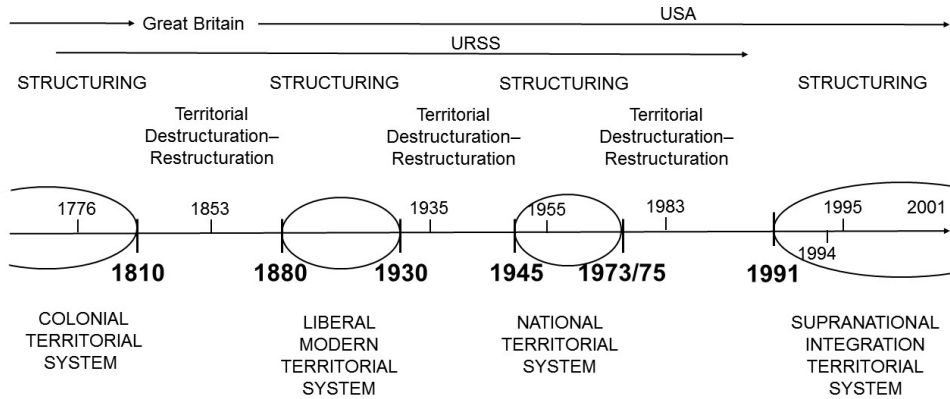
The idea of heritage covers a broad and extremely dynamic conceptual field, and this is why it is difficult to establish an institutional management structure that can moderate between conflicts and may keep its dynamic character in check.

In this sense, there is a close relation between heritage and territory and between heritage and development, and this relation is always variable in content, depending on the ideological, political, economic or cultural context from which it is analysed. In times of the construction or reconstruction of nation states, or at times when there is a dominantly liberal or neoliberal vision within the globalisation framework, then the processes that lead to heritage status and its institutionalisation have acquired different characteristics and scales.

The idea of heritage has been changing over time, as has its operational nature. Each stage since the colonial or national territorial construction in the space currently called Argentina has been based on «heritage forms of reference» that the different groups in power have considered essential. The hegemonic projects have often imposed their own references, erasing or forgetting others. Each stage activated pasts and futures, helping to establish specific societies on the basis of very powerful representations. In this sense, a synthesis can be proposed to express the latency and presence of each moment. Heritage processes tend to assign a reference value to a particular past or they can serve as the basis for giving continuity to the trajectory of our projects. Even the aesthetic can be resolved in transitory totalities. What are these stages? (Figure 1).

To summarise, the stages shown as territorial systems that can be seen in the diagram are: the colonial territorial system, the modern liberal territorial system, the national system and the supranational integration system (Bustos Cara, 2002). These stages correspond to hegemonic territorial projects and pacts (building stages) based on specific heritage references associated with legal systems and political models. The strength of these references cannot hide the intermediate models which complete the historical continuity of the territory (fragmentation stages). Nature and culture were perceived differently in each stage as obstacle, resource or essential equilibrium on a local, national or global level.

Figure 1. Stages of Structuring and Destructuration in Argentina



Source: Bustos Cara (2002)

Tourism accelerated the commodification process of the heritage that appeared ever more strongly in global markets which construct representations sublimated to reality. Another process usually appears associated with this one; the financialisation of the land and its heritage amenities.

At the same time, the concept itself was gaining relevance in the academic and management worlds, accumulating ever more varied and complex meanings. Representations conceived in the sense that Lefebvre gives to the term have been built up and they have been associated with other concepts which, following the second world war, have been the tenets of a legitimising discourse (development, sustainability, biodiversity, socio-diversity, governance, etc.), progressively denationalising the responsibilities and strengthening the two extremes of the territorial scale, the local and the global.

The chapter proposes a critical description of the way in which the heritage perspective of development is currently institutionalised, particularly on a national level in Argentina; to be more precise, the way in which management responsibilities, and the content of the legal texts or laws that sustain them, are distributed among the Ministries.

The heritage explosion, that is noticeable mainly in the speeches, comes from reliving all past times at once, including the contradictions existing between them, as well as the multiple futures that, in terms of

projects, need to be legitimised. All this includes the multiple scales of consideration; the local, the global and the national mediation, as well as the many considerations concerning nature.

There has been, at least apparently, a belated emergence of the idea of heritage, if we refer to the particular in which the institutionalisation process has been adopted. This is not true, though, if we focus on the social and political processes and the social y political practices which occur naturally as a collective way of building on the part of the community. Having said this, we can gain a retrospective vision through a broad consideration of heritage and a current decrease achieved in institutionality. Also, on looking at the process of heritage status, understood as a voluntary process of incorporating values built up socially and contained within the space-time of a particular society (rather than within the heritage itself), we can see the fundamental social and cultural nature of the process.

## II. RECENT TERRITORIAL HERITAGE PRESERVATION POLICIES

### 1. APPROACHING THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK OF ARGENTINA'S CULTURAL AND NATURAL HERITAGE

Territorial heritage (Ortega, 1998; Conti, 2010; Feria, 2010, 2013), environmental heritage (Fernández, 1998; Kopal, 2002; Acebo & Schlüter, 2012), or integral heritage (Hernández, 1996) make up the set of cultural and natural resources of a given territory which are highly valued and recognised by society. This integration of physical-biological components with those of an anthropogenic nature requires a legal and political framework with which to sustain the management of the said resources, determining a field of action that leads to the preservation of this legacy.

In the case of the Republic of Argentina, there is no legal instrument for the management of the territorial heritage as a whole, that is, one which would enable cultural and natural assets to be dealt with, in terms of rights and obligations, in an integral and ordered way. On the contrary, laws are registered that deal with the particular treatment of some of these elements. The legal regime of this field is contingent upon environmental law, jointly with other branches, given the transversal nature of these resources. It is suggested that both cultural and natural assets should be part of a system, the environment, which would determine the treatment (Bóscolo, 2005, 2010, 2016).

The National Constitution, in article 41, sets down the State's duty to care for and to preserve the heritage, establishing that: «All citizens have the right to a healthy, balanced environment [...]. The authorities will provide for the protection of this right, the use of the natural resources, the preservation of the natural and cultural heritage and the biological diversity, as well as environmental education and information» (Constitution of the Argentine Nation, 1994: 21)

This premise, which functions as the general law of the nation's citizens, in certain situations can be affected by actions that constitute an assault on the attributes and values of the territorial legacy, making it no more than mere words.

With regard to national laws, as will be mentioned later, there are regulations which, at least partially, deal with certain aspects or categories of heritage. Among the oldest concerning this question is the Law N.º 12.665, creating the National Commission on Museums, Monuments and Historic Sites<sup>1</sup>, which manages the preservation of the assets, monuments and historic sites that are declared on a national scale. The document, dating from 1940, and despite having been updated by various decrees and laws over the years, still has the weakness of giving a limited treatment to the nationally recognised components of a material nature (places or buildings). There is no general law for cultural heritage that contemplates both tangible and intangible assets. Associated with the living heritage, we have the Law N.º 26.118 (2006), which ratifies the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, established in 2003 (Schenkel & Pinassi, 2016).

On the other hand, also with respect to cultural resources, we have the National Law N.º 25.197 (1999), which creates a cultural heritage registry of the nationally declared assets. In this case, the basis for the centralisation and regulation of data is established, in terms of the inventory of moveable and immovable works with relevant historical and architectural attributes.

With respect to natural heritage we have the Law N.º 22.351 (1980), concerning the administration and management of the national parks, natural monuments and national reserves; as well as the Law N.º 22.421, of 1981, whose aim is to conserve the national territory's wild fauna. Similarly, the National Law N.º 26.331 (2007), aimed at «[...] environmental protection for the enrichment, restoration, conservation,

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1. This organism is currently called: The National Commission on Monuments, Historic Sites and Assets (Law 27.103, 2015).

sustainable use and management of the native woodlands and of the environmental services they provide for society» (Article 1), complements those previously mentioned. It should be noted that there is a further regulation, in particular, of the activities concerning different components of the natural heritage, the Law N.º 26.639 (2010), on the preservation of the glaciers and the periglacial environment.

Further, the General Environmental Law N.º 25.675 (2002) takes on greater relevance. Although it refers specifically to a sustainable management of the environment, there is no detailed treatment of the components of territorial heritage. It only mentions «[...] the preservation, conservation, recuperation and improvement of the quality of both the cultural and natural environmental resources, through different anthropogenic activities» (Article 2, Section a).

Finally, there are two laws that regulate the heritage components in a disaggregated manner and devoid of any relation with the other elements that make up the national heritage. The first is the National Law N.º 25.743 (2003), which protects the archaeological and paleontological heritage; and the second is the Law N.º 21.836 (1978), which adheres to the Convention on the Protection of the Cultural and Natural World Heritage, enabling the country to participate in the declarative processes of World Heritage Sites.

In general terms, a set of documents exists that deal with partial aspects or particular components of the country's heritage. Some deal with the cultural, mainly those of a material nature, and others deal with the natural. However, although there is a General Environmental Law, it only deals with general aspects associated with sustainable development, without going into detail in the treatment of the integral or territorial heritage.

## 2. CURRENT ACTORS AND PUBLIC POLICIES LINKED TO HERITAGE MANAGEMENT

Before analysing the current public policies linked to territorial heritage management, we should identify the key actors that have a direct influence from the state sphere on the generation of the strategies and actions that contribute to territorial development, associated with heritage enhancement. In this context, we should mention four Ministries that carry out public policies on a national scale linked to this question: the Ministry of the Environment and Sustainable Development, the Ministry of Culture, the Ministry of Tourism and the Ministry of National Modernisation (Figure 2).

Each of these organisms is structured through a series of secretariats and decentralised bodies whose function is to create and apply public policies and concrete actions in favour of territorial development in different aspects. Worth mentioning is the fact that here we only refer to those guidelines associated with the revitalisation and custody of the cultural and national heritage, whether directly or indirectly.

*Figure 2.* **Public actors involved in heritage management**



*Source:* Own elaboration.

In the case of the Ministry of the Environment and Sustainable Development, a total of four programmes and three particular projects was identified (Figure 3), linked mainly to the management of natural resources. Two of them, associated with the protection of the forests: the «National programme of model woodlands» and the «National action programme in the fight against desertification», with the aim of preserving these ecosystems and contributing to the development of the communities. On the other hand, the remaining strategies focus on the fauna, as dynamic elements of the natural heritage. In this case, there is an outstanding project on invasive exotic species and two programmes: on the handling and sustainable use of wild species and the conservation of threatened species. As set out in the official information published, most of these look in detail at the treatment of the natural components in particular, without connecting them to the cultural ones. They do deal with it in a more integral way in the case of woodland management,



although the integration with the anthropogenic factor occurs on the basis of the use of natural resources by the communities.

The Ministry of Culture carries out seven programmes, mainly associated with the management of the immaterial cultural heritage, so the backbone of the development are the cultural expressions that are manifested through the popular festivities, crafts, carnival, the contribution of collectives and the original communities. That is to say, that the living, immaterial heritage acquires relevance over that of a tangible nature. It should be pointed out here that, in this sphere, the National Monuments Commission for Historical Places and Assets, as the decentralised organism of the Ministry, carries out a series of actions aimed at legitimising certain heritage works on a national scale, thus contributing to their safeguarding. As happens with the Ministry of the Environment and Sustainable Development, these policies are not integral, addressing the particularised treatment of assets and manifestations. Transversality is considered in one of the programmes: «Programme of guidelines for tourism management in craft fairs», carried out jointly together with the National Ministry of Tourism.

In the case of this latter organism, it has two programmes: «Product development programme» and «Destination development programme», where specific projects linked to the treatment of heritage can be identified. They are part of the Strategic Federal Plan for Sustainable Tourism (Ministry of Tourism, 2011, 2015), the aim of which is to create a document to act as a guide for those axes in tourism and leisure, which are essential for the development of the country in this field. However, with respect to heritage, it could be considered that the position of cultural heritage has reduced importance as a basic resource of the different touristic modalities. Although it is mentioned in most cases, in a very general way that includes both natural and cultural components, the latter are shown on a secondary plane to the former. Although on a public level, as mentioned previously, there are other organisms linked to culture and the environment, touristic activity, as a socioeconomic practice involving space, consumes these components as they are attractive. This means that such components are not exempt from the possible negative impacts that may be caused by tourism (Pinassi, 2012, 2013).

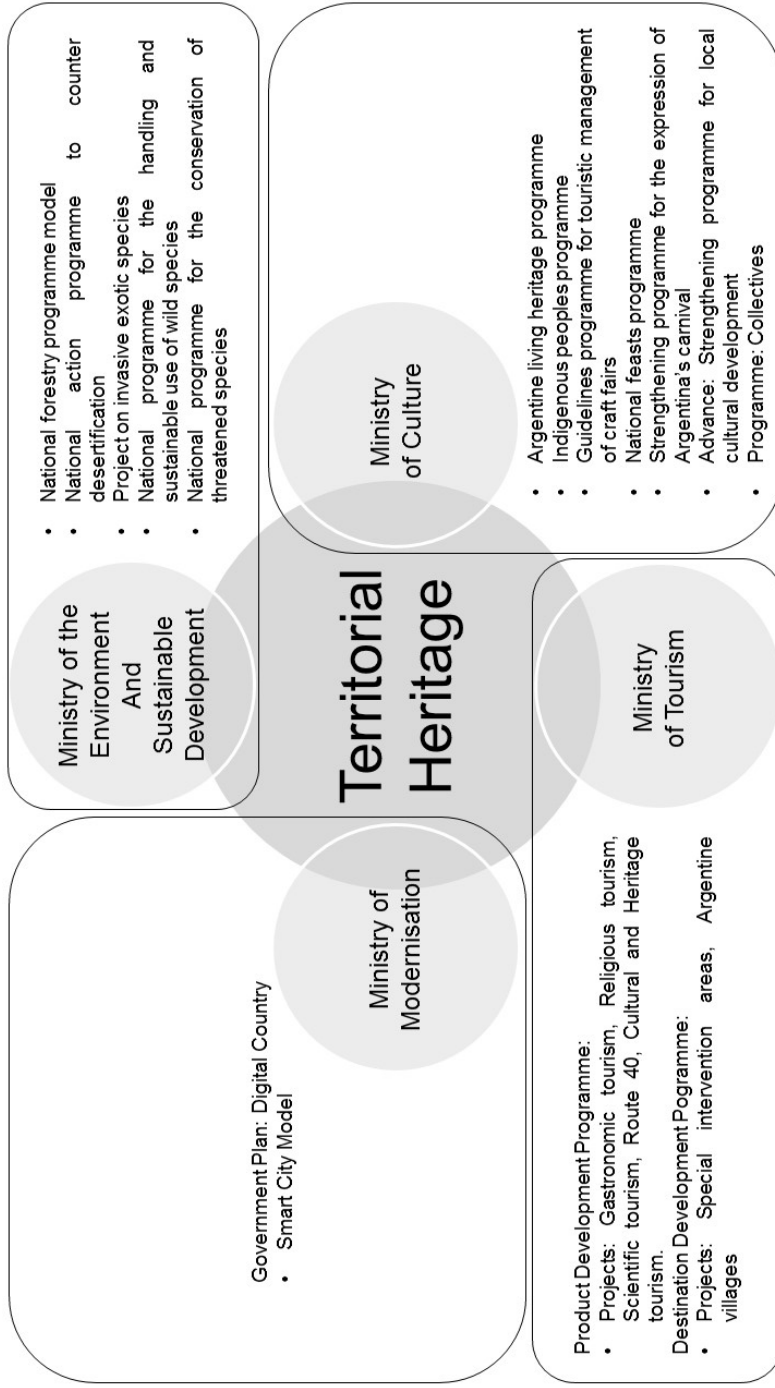
Finally, the Ministry of Modernisation is transversal between the three previously mentioned bodies, given that innovation in new technologies and territorial development based on the digital era are uppermost among their aims. In this context, worth noting is the Smart



City Model as part of the Plan: the «Digital Country», structured in four key axes: city planning, competitiveness, governance, environment and human development, all within a context of sustainability, in accordance with what has been published by the official body. In this sense, among the aims of a city «with a global, inclusive, efficient and sustainable vision», linked to the natural and cultural legacy, the concerns for the «environment, culture and participation» are expressed (Ministry of Modernisation, 2016).

In general terms, two particular characteristics of the public policies analysed for these four bodies may be revealed: first of all, a non-integral treatment can be seen in the handling of the resources, with a prevalence of strategies aimed either at the elements of nature or at those derived from the actions of man, i.e., that in most cases, management is provided in only one sphere: the cultural or the natural, without considering the fact that both may make up a network of relationships in any given territory; and secondly, an unarticulated management between both governing bodies can be seen, and this is a relevant shortcoming, given that the components of territorial heritage require transversality in knowledge and wisdom that allow their use and/or preservation from an integral point of view, and which not only articulates them as part of a space, but also includes the local population as participants in their development.

Figure 3. Programmes and projects linked to territorial heritage management from the public sphere in Argentina



Source: Ministry of the Environment and Sustainable Development; Ministry of Culture; Ministry of Tourism and Ministry of Modernisation (2016). Own elaboration.

### III. HERITAGE EXPLOSION IN ARGENTINA

In accordance with what Prats (2012) has said, there is currently a process of heritage expansion or hyper-heritage status of the reality, or what has been called, in the words of Choay (2001), heritage inflation. That is, throughout the world and on different geographical scales, there is an unprecedented number of processes creating new heritage assets. This is being done to legitimise various different assets and manifestations of both culture and nature, for many different reasons. According to Prats (2012), some common causes can be identified:

- The great weight of the role of UNESCO in the declaration of World Heritage Sites, for both material and immaterial cultural resources and those associated with nature.
- The growth of touristic activity on a global level, with new visitor profiles, who are looking for the indigenous or native and experiences associated with the cultural and natural.
- Processes induced by globalisation that lead to the reclaiming of the local through identity generation.
- Actions leading to the generation of a collective memory, with respect to certain social facts from the past with a great emotive and sentimental intensity for the residents of a particular territory, known as «awkward heritage» (Prats, 2005) or «horror heritage» (Ashworth & Hartmann 2005, cited in Norrild, 2005).
- Processes to construct and assert identities based on the cultural legacy.
- Economic and productive fluctuations that generated physical obsolete spaces with an important historical value (industrial heritage).
- Evolution of the categories for legitimising heritage: cultural landscapes, cultural itineraries, among others, which lead to the selection and inclusion of new spaces with a particular value in the list of assets to be preserved.

That is, a gradual process has been developed that has now led to heritage themes being placed centre stage, with different scales, institutions and spheres of power, possessing not only the interest in preserving the components associated with culture and nature or to carry out defining processes of the citizens' identity, but also as instruments of symbolic communication, associated with the messages

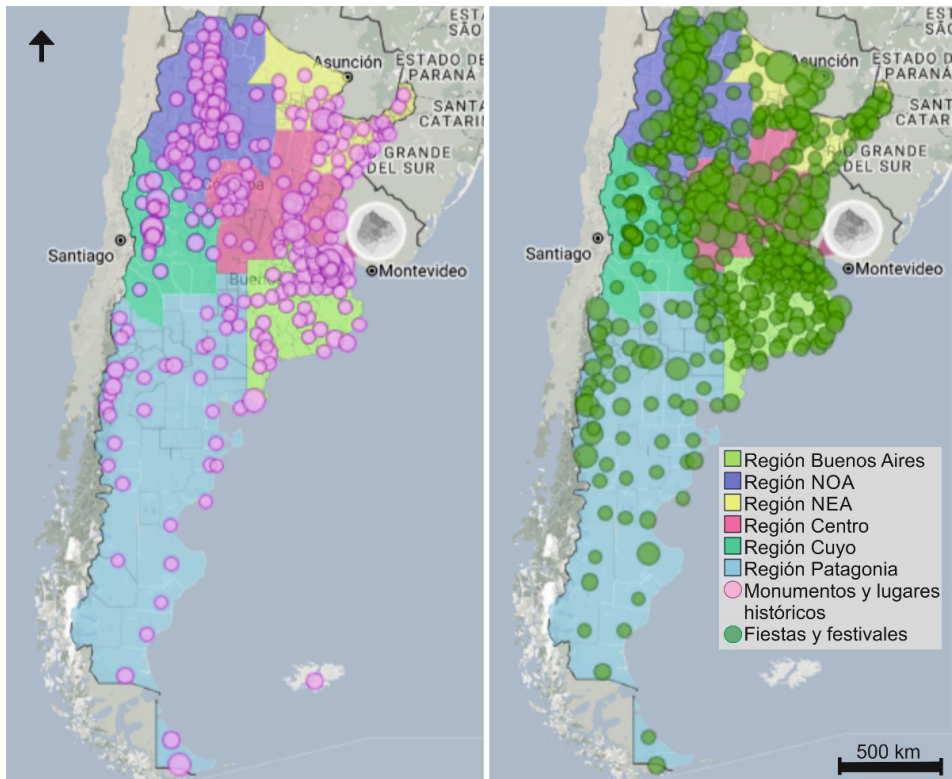
that the different spheres of power express through the legitimisation of certain elements (Pinassi, 2016).

The Republic of Argentina is not immune to these processes of social valuation, whose aim is to revitalise territories, contributing to the development of society. Although this may be the key objective, as we shall see from some examples, it does not always happen in this way. The analysis carried out here deals with the criterion of regionalisation established by the National Ministry of Culture, which distinguishes six cultural regions with particular characteristics and traits: Buenos Aires, North West Argentina (NOA), North East Argentina (NEA), Central, Cuyo and Patagonia.

In accordance with the databases of the Cultural Information System of Argentina (SInCA), there are currently identified in the country a total of 1,409 monuments and historic sites that are legitimised on a national scale. Reading the cultural map, a greater concentration of these sites can be seen along the axis that stretches from the city of Buenos Aires towards the North West region of Argentina, with a large representation all along the Paraná River, in the Central region and in the North East of Argentina, also reaching Cuyo. In these latter territories, what stands out is the presence of heritage components of a contemporary nature, unlike in the North West region of Argentina, in which the legacy of the original communities has a greater protagonism. Similarly, in all of these communities, those elements linked to the colonisation process take on special importance, with the religious heritage associated with the Roman Catholic Church gaining a great notoriety (Figure 4). As for the museums, those of a historical nature that preserve assets and disseminate facts associated with the local and national future prevail. Their spatial distribution corresponds to the same pattern as the historic sites and monuments.

With respect to the immaterial cultural heritage, almost 3,000 feasts and festivals are registered that make up part of the living heritage of the communities (Figure 3). From the data provided by the SInCA, it can be seen that the many of these festivities take place in the Central region, with 29%; followed by the North-West, with just over 27%; Buenos Aires (17%); Patagonia (13%); the North-East (10%) and Cuyo, with 4%. Each one of these expressions is associated with a particular theme, notably the great majority of a religious nature. Similarly, worth noting are those linked to productive activities, where the regional economies take on a relevant role; the civic-historical ones, the folkloric ones and finally the artistic ones (National Ministry of Culture, 2013).

Figure 4. **Monuments/historic places and festivities by cultural region**



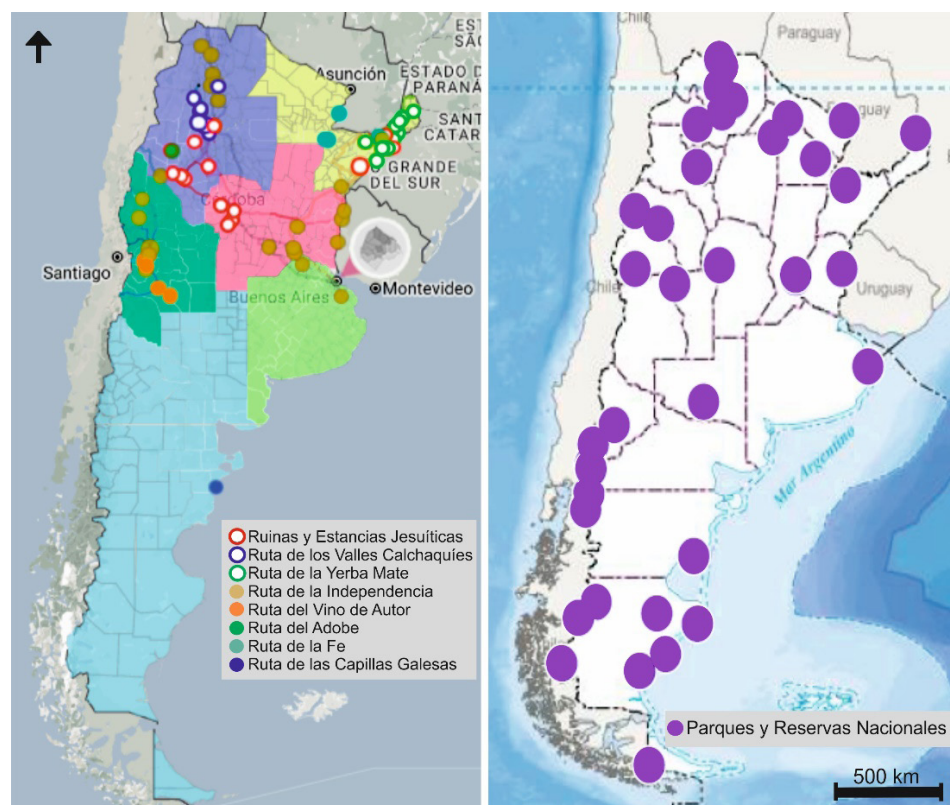
Source: SInCA (National Ministry of Culture, 2016). Own elaboration.

On the other hand, a series of cultural routes are registered (Figure 5), dedicated to a touristic use, that make up itineraries with different attractions concerning a particular theme, whether it be historical, materialised through the formal or architectural value, or through productive themes related with the regional economies. In the first case, worth noting are: the Jesuit Estancias & Ruins Route, covering three regions: the North-West, the North-East and the Central; the Independence Route, covering the whole country; the Welsh Chapels Route, in the Province of Chubut; the Route of the Faith, in the North-East; and the Adobe Route, in Catamarca. Of the second case we have: the Yerba Mate Route, in Misiones and the north of Corrientes; or the Signature Wines Route, in Mendoza. Furthermore, we should mention other geographical spaces in which territorial heritage (cultural, natural, material and immaterial) acquires its maximum



expression and is advanced as a principal resource; this is the case of the Calchaquíes Valleys Route in the North-West. We should also point out that these itineraries are defined from a cultural perspective, accommodating tourist visits; however, there are other circuits which exceed the historical or cultural themes, or even that rooted in identity heritage, becoming touristic products in themselves. Two examples of this would be, for instance, the macro-product Andean Footprint, in Patagonia, or some stages of the National Route 40.

Figure 5. Cultural Routes, National Parks & Reserves



Source: SInCA (National Ministry of Culture, 2016) & SIET (National Ministry of Tourism, 2016). Own elaboration.

Considering the set of natural components of Argentina as a whole, in accordance with what was established by the Federal System of Protected Areas, developed under the auspices of the Ministry of the Environment & Sustainable Development (2016), almost 12% of

the national territory consists of areas with some protective regime, within the different legal categories and levels. There are a total of 437 preserved spaces that together cover over 33 million hectares. Figure 5 shows those that are recognised at a national level. In these territories, besides managing the natural resources, the aim is also to preserve some native communities.

These natural areas constitute important territorial touristic products, aimed not only at Argentineans, but also internationally. Two of the most visited parks are that of Iguazú, in the Province of Misiones, and that of the Glaciers, in Santa Cruz, with over a million and half a million visitors for the year 2015, respectively (National Ministry of Tourism, 2016). They are also World Heritage Sites.

Linked to this last figure of heritage status, Argentina has a total of 10 internationally recognised sites, in addition to two expressions that are part of the immaterial cultural heritage (Table 1).

**Table 1. Sites and manifestations given World Heritage status in Argentina**

World Heritage Sites in Argentina	Year of declaration
1) The Glaciers	1981
2) Jesuit missions of the Guaraní Indians: San Ignacio Miní, Santa Ana, Nuestra Señora de Loreto and Santa María la Mayor (Argentina), ruins of Sao Miguel das Missoes (Brazil)	1983-1984
3) Iguazú National Park	1984
4) Cave of Hands Paintings	1999
5) Valdés Peninsula	1999
6) Jesuit Block and Estancias of Córdoba	2000
7) National Parks of Ischigualasto / Talampaya	2000
8) Humahuaca Gorge	2003
9) Tango (jointly with Uruguay)	2009
10) Inca road system – Qhapaq Ñan	2014
11) Porteño Steak	2015
12) Curutchet House	2016

Source: UNESCO (2016). Own elaboration.



Although the aim of these declarations is to preserve those heritage components that have an «exceptional universal value», they become marketable spaces in the tourist market, in some cases perverting the reason why they were recognised. One example on the national level is the Humahuaca Gorge, gaining heritage status under the category of cultural landscape in 2003. The declaration stresses tourism and its multiplying effect to contribute to the generation of employment and local development of the surrounding communities (Troncoso, 2009). However, the process to attract tourism carried out following its recognition led to certain undesirable impacts for the local residents, not only in the economic sense, but also in the cultural and environmental sense.

On the basis of what we have analysed, it could be said that Argentina has not escaped the heritage explosion that has been happening the world over, where different assets and manifestations are recognised for certain values imbued by society itself (or by a prevailing economic and political power), with the objective of preserving them for future generations. However, this objective ends up being eventually perverted when a different objective is implicitly pursued, such as that of touristic development, based merely on economic profit, even at the cost of the territorial heritage itself. It is thus necessary to think of integrated management strategies, so that we are looking not only to preserve, but also to develop through coordinated management and thus achieve a balance between the conservation and social use of the heritage components.

#### IV. HERITAGE MANAGEMENT, FUTURE CHALLENGES

Heritage management involves a course of action aimed at preserving the material and immaterial components from the structure of a particular territory and which acquire a certain social value because of their historic, architectural, symbolic, landscape or natural qualities. The management of this legacy not only implies working on the assets of an anthropogenic origin or from the natural world, but also requires an approach that works with the people, as they are an integral part of the social valuation.

At the present time, heritage management processes, mainly in the context of Argentina as well as most other Latin American countries, have certain characteristics that require revision by heritage researchers and planners in order to be able to reverse them. This is a challenge for the future.

- First of all, segregated heritage management strategies are visualised. This means that there is no integration of the cultural and natural components, ignoring the fact that both form part of the same territory. This segregation is visualised not only for the resources, but also with respect to the participation of the key actors, where each one works independently, isolated from the others.
- On the other hand, management involves very long periods of time to bring things about, different from those necessary to avoid processes of deterioration or negative impacts on the territorial heritage. Bureaucratic delays, particularly when the State is a relevant actor in the process, become obstacles for heritage managers.
- As for economic resources, since the preservation of culture and nature is a secondary necessity, the initiatives to enhance their value are also relegated to a secondary plane, leaving very few resources, or none at all, to these tasks.
- In spite of society's growing protagonism as an integral part of some heritage management processes, there are still initiatives in which the local population is marginalised from participation in such proposals, or where citizen participation strategies are used as mere statements, nothing more than «cosmetic discourse».
- In many cases, tourism is considered a socioeconomic practice, with great spatial implications, that acquires relevance as a revitalising catalyst of the local economies. However, the commodification of heritage sometimes causes negative impacts that not only undermine the territorial resources, but also lead to damage to the communities.
- On the other hand, as far as legislation is concerned, there is an evident lack of any kind of holistic treatment in the sphere of territorial heritage. Only partial instruments are registered, instruments which lack any kind of control that could make their compliance more effective.

Despite certain evident shortcomings, some of these flaws have led to the development of management processes in which the local society has become the protagonist. Among other causes, the state of dereliction of some heritage components (such those linked to the railways in Argentina), the inefficiency of the political actors or the lack of professionalization in the field of heritage preservation has

contributed to the community itself getting organised, giving rise to an integral form of management that breaks up the vertical (top-down) structure. This in turn led to management proposals born of the needs of the community: to revitalise derelict buildings, create recreational spaces in sites with historic value that have been abandoned, or simply to maintain in reasonably good conditions certain public spaces that function as places of social interaction. Such are some of the guidelines currently being considered. In this context, the local people become the real custodians and managers of the heritage. Even though the assistance of the State is necessary in some instances of the process to safeguard the heritage, the residents acquire the role of leader and organising body of the process, so the commitment and effectiveness in carrying out the proposals is greater in the end.

In any case, given the political intentionality of the processes to concede heritage status and the heritage objectives, it becomes necessary to accept and respect different, and even contradictory, valuations coexisting as such in a given territory. Although it is difficult to separate the heritage asset from its meaning, it is necessary to find a way for the multiple forms of heritage, associated with the different social groups and which rub shoulders in a particular territory, to coexist as part of the cultural and social diversity of which they are a part. This perspective brings us a little closer to the utopia of agreeing on an intrinsic value for a heritage asset.

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