European Archaeology Abroad
Global Settings, Comparative Perspectives

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Abstract

For the last ten years, the Institute of Heritage Sciences of the Spanish National Research Council (CSIC) and the University of the Republic in Uruguay (*Universidad de la República*, UdelaR) have had co-operative links. These began as research projects, but have now led to the establishment of a joint scientific research and work unit. The recent creation of the Landscape Archaeology and Heritage Laboratory (LAPPU), as a scientific unit of the UdelaR, is the final and most outstanding result of this international cooperation. The LAPPU mainly carries out activities in the field of integrated management of cultural heritage. Its focus is on the consolidation of lines of action aimed at the integration of cultural heritage within public policies, institutional enforcement, knowledge transfer, local development and the socialization and participative construction of heritage through different projects and inter-institutional agreements.

In this paper we will present the epistemological basis and the path towards the cooperation we have maintained, exemplified by one of our main projects, 'The Archaeological Landscape of Lowlands in Uruguay', which took place in the rural areas of Tacuarembó. This archaeological and anthropological project has its foundations in the research project 'Situated in Place' and in the dialogical interaction between local and global, rural and urban, and traditional and modern, as a way of generating practical knowledge and instruments for local community

empowerment. The specific act of researching 'other heritages' that represent groups of indigenous peoples and those of African origin who have been marginalized culturally and historically in the construction of the Uruguayan nation-state, has made it possible to create a platform for multi-vocal and post-colonial articulation on different levels (such as academics, politicians, urban public, rural communities and African descendants). It has also led us to deal with new ways of approaching heritage (not only in academic practices but also in social processes), of involving new actors and including inter-generational dialogues. As a result, new participative methodologies emerged. From these experiences, the challenge for the LAPPU will be to de-centralize and create more platforms for the articulation of these multi-vocal approaches to heritage.

Résumé

Construire à partir du Sud : une Perspective Postcoloniale sur la Coopération Scientifique en Archéologie en Uruguay

Au cours des dix dernières années, l'Institut des Sciences du Patrimoine qui fait partie du Conseil supérieure des recherches scientifiques de l'Espagne (CSIC) et l'Université de la République en Uruguay (Universidad de la República, UdelaR) ont eu des relations coopératives. La récente création du Laboratoire de l'archéologie du paysage et du patrimoine (LAPPU), qui fait partie du UdelaR, est le meilleur résultat final de cette coopération internationale. Le LAPPU poursuit principalement des activités dans le cadre de la gestion intégrée du patrimoine culturel. L'accent est placé sur la consolidation de la mise en œuvre de l'intégration du patrimoine culturel dans les politiques publiques, de l'amélioration institutionnelle, du transfert des connaissances, du développement local et de la socialisation par une construction participative du patrimoine culturel, par le biais de différents projets et accords inter-institutionels.

Dans cet article nous voulons présenter le fondement épistémologique et le chemin menant au mode de coopération que nous avons maintenu, illustré par un de nos projets principaux, 'Le paysage archéologique des basses-terres en Uruguay', qui a été effectué dans la région rurale de Tacuarembó. Ce projet archéologique et anthropologique trouve ses origines dans le projet de recherche dénommé 'Situés en lieu' ('Situated in Place') et dans le dialogue interactif entre local et global, rural et urbain et traditionnel et moderne, comme un moyen de générer les connaissances pratiques et les instruments essentiels pour le renforcement des communautés locales. Le fait de rechercher 'd'autres patrimoines', c'est à dire des indigènes et des descendants africains qui ont été marginalisés culturellement et historiquement durant la création de l'État-nation Uruguayen, a permis de créer une plate-forme d'articulation multi-vocale et postcoloniale à différents niveaux (comme des universitaires, des politiciens, le public urbain, des communautés rurales et des descendants africains). Cela nous a également permis d'approcher le

partimoine d'une manière différente (pas seulement dans la pratique académique, mais également dans les processus sociaux), d'impliquer de nouveaux acteurs et d'inclure le dialogue intergénérationnel. Par conséquent, de nouvelles méthodologies participatives sont apparues. L'enjeu pour le LAPPU, avec toutes ces expériences, serra de décentraliser et de créer plus de plate-formes pour l'articulation de ces approches multi-vocales du patrimoine.

Extracto

Construyendo Desde el Sur: una Perspectiva Poscolonial de la Cooperación Científica en Arqueología en Uruguay

En la última década el Instituto de Ciencias del Patrimonio y la Universidad de la Republica en Uruguay (UdelaR) han mantenido enlaces cooperativos. La reciente fundación del Laboratorio de Arqueología del Paisaje y Patrimonio (LAPPU) como departamento científico de la UdelaR, es el resultado final y más notable de esta cooperación internacional. El LAPPU en primer lugar emprende actividades en el terreno de la gestión integrada del patrimonio cultural. Enfoca la consolidación de las políticas que se dirigen a la integración del patrimonio cultural en las políticas públicas, la ejecución institucional, la transferencia de conocimientos, el desarrollo local y la socialización y construcción participativa del patrimonio a través de diferentes proyectos y acuerdos interinstitucionales.

En este artículo presentaremos la base epistemológica y el camino hacia la cooperación que hemos realizado, ejemplificado por uno de nuestros proyectos principales, 'El Paisaje Arqueológico de las Tierras Bajas en Uruguay', que se realizó en las zonas rurales de Tacuarembó. Este proyecto arqueológico y antropológico tiene su base en el proyecto investigador 'Situado en el Espacio' y en la interacción dialogante entre la localidad y la globalidad, la ruralidad y la urbanidad y la tradicionalidad y la modernidad, siendo una manera para generar conocimientos prácticos e instrumentos para el empoderamiento de la comunidad local. El acto específico de investigar 'otro patrimonio', que representa a grupos de gente indígena y aquella de origen africano que han sido marginalizados cultural e históricamente en la construcción del estado nación uruguayo, facilitó la creación de una plataforma para la articulación multivocal y poscolonial a diferentes niveles (como los académicos, políticos, el público urbano, las comunidades rurales y los descendientes africanos). Nos ha llevado también al hecho de que planteemos de nuevas maneras el patrimonio (no sólo en las prácticas académicas sino también en los procesos sociales) y de que involucremos a actores nuevos e incluyamos diálogos intergeneracionales. Como efecto han surgido nuevas metodologías participativas. De estas experiencias procede que el desafío del LAPPU será la descentralización y la creación de más plataformas para la articulación de estos planteamientos multivocales del patrimonio.

ملخص

الإنشاء من الجنوب. منظور ما بعد الاستعمار للتعاون العلمي في علم الآثار في أوروغواي

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منذ السنوات العشر الماضية، هناك علاقات تعاونية بين معهد علوم التراث وعدي. أوروغواي. وجاهة الجمهورية الوطني الإسباني للألباحث وكوحدة علمية في التابع المجلس الإنشاء الأخير لمختبر أركيولوجية صورة الأرض والتراث، النتيجة النهائية الأكثر تفوقا لهذا التعاون جامعة الجمهورية في أوروغواي، النتيجة النهائية الأكثر تفوقا لهذا التعاون رئيسي لكل بشكل التراث والأرض صورة أركيولوجية لمختبر وموقع يركز على زيز تعزيز للتراث الثقافي. الدولي يركز على تعزيز خطوط بأنشطة في مجال الإدارة المتكاملة للتراث الثقافي في السياسات العامة، والتنمية المحلية، ونقل المعرفة، والتنشئة الاجتماعية وبناء المؤسسي، ونقل المعرفة، والتنمية المحلية، وبناء التشاركية للتراث من خلال مشروعات متنوعة وافتافيات بين المؤسسات.

في هذه الورقة نقدم أساس المعرفي وطريقة الوصول إلى التعاون اللذين تم تنفيذه في "صورة من خلال مثال على أحد مشروعاتنا الرئيسية، ألا وهو "صورة الأثر والأنثروبولوجي منطقة تاكاواريمبو وموقع هذا المشروع الأثر للأرض المنخفضة في أوروغواي"، الذي تم تنفيذه في على أسس بحثي اسمه "في الموقع"، وفي التفاعل الحواري بين العالمية، والريف والحضر، والتقليدية والحداثة، وقد أمكن المحلي المجتمع تمكين لتمكين المطلوبة بالأصول الأصلية بالبحث في "الاتفاقات الأخرى" التي تمثل فئات من الشعوب والأدوات العلمية المطلوبة لتمكين المجتمع المحلي. وقد أمكن والشعوب من أصول أفريقية محاست ثقافيا وتاريخيا في بناء الدولة القومية الأوروغوية، من إنشاء منصة تعبئة لأصوات متعددة في ما يخص ما بعد والسكان والسياسيين، والأكاديميين، مثل الأكاديميات) المستويات المختلفة على علماء الاستعمار تعامل. كما أن إلى أن إلى أدى وذوي الأصول الافريقية) والحاضر، والمجتمعات الجديدة بالأساليب ليس فقط في الممارسات الأكاديمية، بل أيضا هذه على وبناء. الجديدة (والعمليات الاجتماعية)، وأن ندخل جدد فاعلين بحيث نضمن أن تكون هناك مع التراث بأساليب جديدة. وتنتيجة لذلك، نشأت مناهج تشاركية جديدة. وبناء على هذه حوارات بين الألاجيا، وتنتيجة إنشاء والمركزية كيفية تفكيك في ؟؟؟؟؟؟ الأساسي التحدي يمكن سيبقى ،التجارب. من المنصات للتعبير عن هذه بالأساليب ذات الجديدة المختلفة الأصوات للتعامل مع التراث.

From scientific-archaeological research to the public domain: heritage as a collaborative arena

The centrality of heritage for dealing with identities, memoirs and communities in current processes in post-modern societies, means that archaeology is called upon to be a technoscience of heritage (Barreiro-Martínez 2003). The complexity of the incipient knowledge economy has meant that the transfer of technology has been replaced by the transfer of knowledge, which in turn has been replaced by collaborative research and, increasingly, a community science. Multivocality has ceased to be a merely post-modern manifesto. Instead, it is part of the practices of social life, accompanying our complex societies, in which a large number of agents concur and who increasingly call for their own legitimacy and rights.

The experience we present in this paper is situated in this field, at the point at which archaeology, anthropology, heritage, research and the co-construction and co-transfer of knowledge converge. This paper has two central aims. The first is to present the experience of ten years of scientific cooperation between two institutional research groups (belonging to the Spanish National Research Council, CSIC and to the *Universidad de la República* in Uruguay, UdelaR) and to show the process of moving from the study of a specific scientific (archaeological) problem (research on burial mounds in the lowlands of Uruguay) to a trans-disciplinary field such as heritage. The second aim is to elucidate the emergence of heritage as an arena for social and community action, in an attempt to challenge through praxis asymmetrical dualities that are deeply rooted in Uruguay (such as urban versus rural, academic versus social and official rhetoric versus subaltern discourses), and to show how this has been based on a collaborative research concept which not only overcomes European neo-colonialist practices, but also the endo-colonial social structures that still exist in Uruguay. This will allow us to discuss the practice of scientific cooperation and its role in the process of shaping and constructing a Public Science in Latin America, understood as knowledge presented in a public arena and based on the involvement of the public at large.

We have two starting points in different contexts: Uruguay and Spain. In general terms, the Spanish context was marked between 2004 and 2011 by the political priority of international development cooperation, part of which has been focused on scientific cooperation on heritage issues. The case study we are presenting here was supported by the Spanish Agency for International Cooperation for Development (AECID). Therefore, it belongs in a wider sense to a Spanish experience in the field of cooperation for development and archaeological activity in foreign countries. However, we are aware that this is not a normal experience in this country. After 2004, Spain bolstered the politics of international cooperation for development through the AECID. This led to a substantial increase in the Spanish budget dedicated to these purposes. This policy, despite having a number of naive aspects in its development (something we could refer to as para-colonial or paternalist gestures), was deeply and ideologically rooted in the awareness of contributing towards repaying the historical debt with former European colonies. A major part of the cooperation policy for development consisted of different
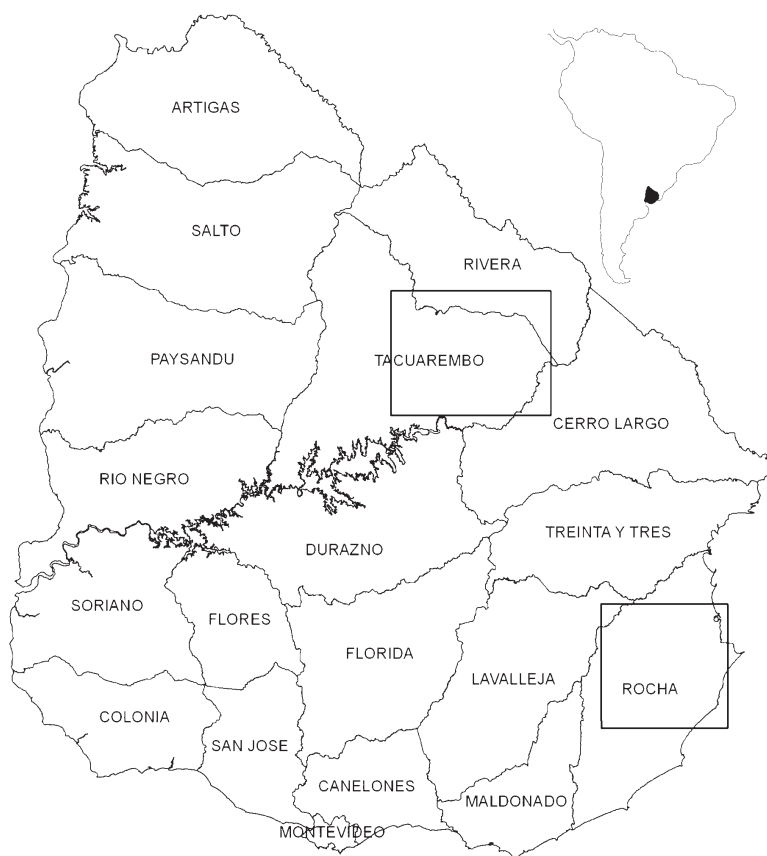
Figure 1 (above and right). Geographical location of work areas of cooperation projects in Uruguay (South America) (Illustration: LAPPU/Incipit).

budgetary instruments to promote scientific and university cooperation, mainly orientated towards promoting research for development.[1] At one point, the total amount of money devoted to the specific purposes of scientific cooperation for development rose to more than 50 million euro.

On the other hand, the situation of Uruguay was that of a small country covering 176,215 km^2 with a population of 3,241,000, of whom 40 per cent lives in the capital, Montevideo (530 km^2), and the remaining 60 per cent in the rest of the country.[2] Our projects were carried out in rural areas of the region of Tacuarembó and the region of Rocha (see figure 1). Tacuarembó has a population of approximately 90,500, 85 per cent of whom live in urban areas. Rocha has a population of 70,000, with 91 per cent living in urban areas. It is a hyper-

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1   The different instruments included grants for graduate and postgraduate studies for students from other countries, subsidies to acquire equipment and improve infrastructures, funding for co-operative research projects and specialized courses.

2   The data was retrieved on 12 May 2010 from the National Statistics Institute of Uruguay, http://www.ine.gub.uy.

Tacuarembó

Rocha

centralized country with most of the political and administrative power maintained in the national capital, while the different regions or *departamentos* have very limited decision-making power. It is characterized by an asymmetrical socio-political and economic situation, with major differences between the rural areas and the urban area of Montevideo. These differences have appeared over the last 150 years and still exist at a number of levels. Apart from political centralism, the division between the city and the countryside has become increasingly severe due to dramatic changes in the economic production model over the last fifteen years, *e.g.* the transfer of land into foreign hands, an increase in the number of extensive and more aggressive agricultural and industrial activities (tree reforestations, rice and soya cultivation), and a loss of rural population.

These imbalances had already appeared before the establishment of the nation of Uruguay, during the final stage of the Spanish and Brazilian colonial experiences of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The processes of independence led to a rise in modernity in South America, but in the new independent countries the old colonial relationships continued to exist, leading to new situations of domination by the Creole (*criollo*) elite over 'the others' – the native peoples and/or the Afro-American population. These endo-colonial relationships still dominate the internal

social and political structure today, which makes it possible to explore the role of the historical discourse in its reproduction, as was proposed by Gnecco (2008: 23-27). The historical governmental rhetoric, in which history and archaeology played an important role as erudite knowledge, was an important instrument in the reproduction of these practices. The dominant historical discourse emphasized the 'white' and 'western' compounds of Creole people while hiding the presence of indigenous peoples (who were exterminated after independence throughout the nineteenth century) and the descendants of African slaves.

The configuration of the concept of cultural heritage in Uruguay provides a good example to explore the relationship between historic discourse, Creole hegemony and nationalist feeling. The milestone that marked the emergence of heritage as an official and therefore public domain was the creation of the National Commission for Cultural Heritage. It resulted from the passing of the first law in this area in 1971 and it is still the only applicable law in force for heritage issues. Until 2006, Uruguay's cultural heritage (understood as the heritage of the nation) reflected the same governmental discourse from the twentieth century that consecrated national unity and equal rights based on cultural standardization, the inexistence of indigenous groups and the 'European-ness' of the Uruguayans.

In general, this trajectory has been shared with other neighbouring countries, revealing clear signs of fracture in the last ten years due to the return of democracy. Over the last ten years, the social and political context of several South American countries has triggered transformations and debates initiated by social movements, ethnic groups, minority groups and also by social scientists. In countries such as Brazil, Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, Uruguay and Chile, these collectives have begun to produce alternative discourses and bring new meanings and uses to the hegemonic historical representations that upheld fixed ideas of national identities, allowing for the inclusion of other types of knowledge, or dissident or minority subalternate discourses on the fringes.

This critical review of history was accompanied by constitutional reforms, actions and statutory changes that acknowledge factors such as cultural hybridism, multiculturalism and indigenous and Afro-American roots. However, in Uruguay these transformations have still not taken place, especially at a judicial level and in the sphere of public policies. Towards the end of the dictatorship (c. 1985) and in the early 1990s, a movement appeared in the field of social sciences and humanities that strongly criticized the bases of the national history and its image in terms of identity (Achugar and Caetano 1992; Caetano 1992; Porzecanski 1992; Verdesio 2008, 2009). Its inarguable 'European-ness' was questioned, together with its configuration through the denial or concealment of the presence of indigenous peoples and those of Afro-American descent. Despite the fact that these debates have continued for twenty years, no changes occurred in the public sphere until 2006, when the Uruguayan state ratified the conventions of UNESCO to safeguard intangible heritage and to protect cultural diversity.[3] Subsequently, different laws

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3   Law 18.035 approved the Convention for the Protection of Immaterial Cultural Heritage and Law 18.068 integrated the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions.

approved the commemoration of the National Day of Afro-Uruguayan Culture and Racial Equality on 3 December[4], the National Tango Day[5] and the Day of the Charrúa Nation and Indigenous Identity[6]. Some years earlier, the remains of four Charrúa Indians that had been taken to France were repatriated[7], and subsequently a law was passed prohibiting scientific studies on the remains of one of them, who was called *Vaimaca*.[8]

During these events, the radical change was the acknowledgement of the indigenous and Afro-Uruguayan identity and the inclusion into the official discourse of 'other' references with regard to history and identity. Although this trend seems to be gaining strength, it still has not had a tangible effect on the design of a national heritage strategy, nor on any concrete policies with regard to heritage. In fact, the absence of a solid, effective heritage policy is only just being indicated and discussed (Lezama 2004; Gianotti 2005; Carámbula 2006; Criado-Boado, Gianotti and López Mazz 2006). Whilst the awareness of the public, global trends and some partial political support make it possible to construct and manage national heritage, gradually transferring more management competence to the National Commission for Cultural Heritage, the absence of a specific national heritage law clearly illustrates the current political situation.

After 30 years of activity, the main contribution of the National Cultural Heritage Commission has been a brief inventory of colonial and European monuments (*i.e. criollos*), and the restoration and management of some of them. The current law and heritage management system does not provide any tools to deal with the results of the socio-economic changes that have taken place over the last three decades, such as a rise in aggressive models of production (forestation, extensive and intensive monocultivation), industrialization, an increasing number of public works and infrastructures and tourism development. However, other sectors which have been involved in this transformation (territorial planning, environment, etc.) have increasingly called for the integration of cultural heritage and its management. In this context, a series of specific projects have been developed in a non-official manner and by different parties (academia, non-governmental organizations, local organizations, etc.) which, working from the ground up, have helped to fill in some of the gaps (Lezama 2004; Gianotti 2005; Criado-Boado, Gianotti and López-Mazz 2006; Irazábal, Etchegaray and Florines 2006; Capdepont *et al.* 2010; Gianotti *et al.* 2010a; Lezama *et al.* 2010).

Faced with this situation, it seems clear that the recognition by Uruguay of a plural configuration in terms of its society and identity, urgently calls for education and action regarding this 'otherness' and for specific attention for its heritage. The chronological depth of European cultural traditions is not an irreversible *fait accompli*; on the contrary, it is constantly changing, as it is subject to cultural

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4   Law 18.059, 2006.
5   Law 18.107, 2006.
6   Law 18.589, 2009. This day is commemorated on the 11th of April.
7   This was supported by a specific legislation to repatriate the corpses, Law 17.256 (2000).
8   Law 17.767, 2004.

losses and various types of ethno-genesis. The management of cultural diversity, the study of heritage processes, the dynamism of Latin American identities, and in particular the comparative study of all of these phenomena, offers a budding field of theoretical reflection. Moreover, heritage work may contribute enormously to the project of development; the work of any agent (either because of its sensitive nature, or because of the conflict generated with other agents by the absence of any such sensitivity) gives strength to local voices. The act of taking the floor produces an awareness that empowers alternative channels for dialogue in the face of (and in spite of) the dizzying processes associated with land ownership, the loss of territory and the implantation of new, aggressive economic models.

From co-operative scientific research projects to the strengthening of infrastructures for cultural heritage management

The previous 'evolution', involving a movement from pure research towards the public domain, becomes more meaningful if we examine the trajectory of scientific cooperation between the two research groups involved. This enrichment of our practice of bilateral cooperation took shape in the Laboratory of Landscape Archaeology and Heritage of Uruguay (or LAPPU, the acronym in Spanish for the *Laboratorio de Arqueología del Paisaje y del Patrimonio del Uruguay*), a research unit which was created - after receiving financial support from the AECID – to deal with different aspects (research, education, training, assessment, expert consultancy, etc.) of the integrative management of heritage. Nowadays, the LAPPU forms part of the Faculty of Humanities and Education Sciences (FHCE) of the Eastern Regional University Centre (CURE) in the Department of Rocha. It works together with the Institute of Heritage Sciences (Incipit) of the Spanish National Research Council (CSIC) on joint projects.

With regard to the initiation of LAPPU, we have to look back to the period between 1996 and 2010, in which the bilateral cooperation between Spain and Uruguay developed in four stages. The initial stage (1996-2000) consisted of an exchange of research and researchers on landscape archaeology. This led, as of 2001, to a first joint research project that was funded by the AECID. It aimed to study the origin and development of prehistoric mounds in the rural regions of Tacuarembó and Rocha (Gianotti 2005). The scope of the call under which we received funding was to promote international cooperation in research by combining the interaction between a Spanish team and a team from Latin America. The project, despite being tightly funded, allowed us to consolidate the previously existing relationships.

In the third stage (2004–2009) the aim was to consolidate a genuine programme for the integral management of cultural heritage through a wide-ranging project (Criado-Boado, Gianotti and López Mazz 2006; Gianotti, Criado-Boado and López Mazz 2007; Gianotti *et al.* 2008; Cuesta *et al.* 2009). This project was funded by the Spanish Ministry of Culture, through a specific call that had been

running since the 1970s.[9] The main aim of this call was, and still is, to fund field projects in archaeological sites and areas related to relevant research topics. The heritage or social dimensions of the sites were not the primary concern of these projects, although in our case the pure research activity, carried out as part of a project known as 'The Archaeological Landscape of the Lowlands of Uruguay: an integral heritage management model', was gradually integrated into in a much wider social and heritage dimension. Our field research led to us acquiring a more thorough knowledge of pre-Hispanic monumentality in locations such as Caraguatá, Turupí, Los Vázquez, Cerro Pereira and Villa Ansina, in the region of Tacuarembó (see Criado-Boado, Gianotti and López Mazz 2006; Gianotti, Criado-Boado and López Mazz 2007; Gianotti *et al.* 2008; Cuesta *et al.* 2009).

The project itself was based on archaeology, ethnography, anthropology and heritage, applying participatory action research strategies (Wadsworth 1998) and an approach that focused on the local dimension and the anthropological perspective of Place (Escobar 2001). In this sense, the project constituted a trans-disciplinary and even a post-disciplinary experience. It provided an open scenario for research through dialogue and criticism on heritage, material culture and the distant and recent past. It involved scholars from Uruguay and Spain, local agents, the regional government, NGOs, local groups, educators and local inhabitants. The project brought together several of the principles included in the epistemological proposals of 'applied archaeology', as proposed by Barreiro-Martínez 2006, which state that all theoretical considerations with regard to culture, heritage and development, apart from being adapted to the place and its population (Viola 2000), must have a practical value of use for the local people (Barreiro-Martinez 2006).

To do so, we based our work on the concept of the heritage value chain (HVC). The HVC proposes a sequence of procedures that include the identification, characterization, protection, dissemination and socialization of heritage assets. This model for understanding heritage and integrating the work and management associated with it, was initially proposed in Criado-Boado (1996) and has been followed closely in our work. As the transverse axis of the model, we have incorporated the public and participative dimension in all stages, which has been re-conceptualized in our project as the 'participative construction of heritage' (Cuesta *et al.* 2009). The aim was to develop all of the different instances of the HVC in dialogue with the community and to ensure that the heritage values – apart from being scientifically contextualized and evaluated – are socially, culturally and economically relevant.

In practice, this philosophy was shaped through a wide range of activities, publications, technical documents and protocols, dissemination instruments, and documentary films (Criado-Boado, Gianotti and López Mazz 2006; Criado-Boado, Gianotti and Mañana-Borrazás 2006; Cuesta *et al.* 2009; Dabezies and De Souza

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9   At first the call had a late-colonial name: Archaeological Missions Abroad (*misiones arqueológicas en el exterior*), far removed from the type of name used by other European countries with stronger traditions in colonial research. This name sounded so old-fashioned that the call was recently renamed as Archaeology Abroad.

2009; Gianotti *et al.* 2010a; 2010b).[10] The documentary film *Los Narradores del Caraguatá* (The Narrators of Caraguatá) for instance, presents voices and practices that have been virtually obliterated throughout history in Uruguay. Filmed in small villages in Tacuarembó, local inhabitants and researchers discuss vanished heritage and residual memories (see figure 2). The national identity is reconsidered through sounds and images, shattering the mirror that has been used to reflect it. The journey moves from the empowerment of local heritage – showing children excavating burial mounds together with archaeologists – to the visions of local inhabitants on the landscape and their daily life in these rural areas today. It is as much an artistic expression as it is scientific. It also represents the result of five years of archaeological and anthropological research.[11]

As said, the co-evolution of Incipit and the archaeological teams from the UdelaR finally led to the creation of the LAPPU in the fourth stage of our relationship. This ambitious project was made possible with substantial funding from a call by AECID to support scientific cooperation for development. This inter-university cooperation programme, as it was called, had four main categories. We designed a collaborative project in category four, allocated to promote the transfer of

Figure 2. Moment of ethnographic fieldwork and film documentation in Pueblo de Arriba, Tacuarembó (Photo: LAPPU/Incipit).

10 Most of these papers, and many others connected with these topics, are available through the institutional repository of Digital.CSIC (http://digital.csic.es/simple-search?query=gianotti&boton =[+Buscar). See search results for Gianotti.
11 An English version of the documentary film is available at http://digital.csic.es/handle/10261/28600 (Gianotti et al. 2010b). It was sponsored by the Archaeology in Contemporary Europe project.

knowledge and expertise from Spain to other national contexts calling for specific solutions. Once again, a funding scheme that was mainly uni-directional (from Spain to other countries, from Europe to Latin America, from North to South), was modified by our own design and practice into a completely two-way form of exchange and interactions.

The LAPPU project has four main lines of research. The first is the production of historical knowledge with regard to cultural landscapes. Due to different reasons, and not only because of the imperative that a sustainability strategy must commence in the territory itself, the landscape has been the essential underlying factor of our strategy (as based on Criado-Boado 1993). The multi-vocal dimension of our practical strategy means, for instance, that we not only had to look for an non-existent 'archaeological landscape' but also for the actual landscape embedded in current social practices (such as of local populations, peasants, ranchers or *gauchos*). Therefore, the landscape was the concept and dimension that made it possible to combine archaeology and anthropology with heritage, the academic world with cooperation and heritage, and these with social development. It provided a 'reading' of cultural spaces which, in Uruguay, are conceived as being natural, overlooking the fact that they are a historical product that is not only altered by modernity (Muir 1999). The space in which we work is a cultural landscape, which is fully occupied by heritage and comprised of 'places', rather than just sites, where the communities and individuals who occupy them are those who primarily construct it and give it meaning.

Based on this, the research focused on two types of cultural landscapes, the prehistoric monumental landscape and the contemporary rural landscape of Uruguay. In both cases, the main lines of research included the study of material and immaterial aspects, historical continuities and discontinuities, and the documentation and characterization of the rural landscape in the light of its rapid transformation due to new agricultural practices (see figure 3).[12]

The archaeological surveys carried out made it possible to identify and characterize a remarkable prehistoric and historic cultural record: nearly 2000 sites of different types and from different periods. One of the most significant contributions has been the documentation and research of the monumental spaces of South American hunter-gatherers (see figure 4), making it possible to explore in detail a series of aspects connected with their domestic contexts, social change, the appearance of systems for controlling water resources, technological systems, the use of plants in prehistoric times, and the paleo-environmental evolution of the region (Capdepont, Del Puerto and Inda 2005; Del Puerto and Inda 2005; Gianotti 2005; Gianotti, Criado-Boado and López Mazz 2007; Gianotti *et al.* 2008).

The second line of research of the LAPPU project is integrated heritage management. This dimension of our practice has been one of the central and cross-cutting objectives of all of the actions of the project. The research results have

12 The data is being studied and analysed in a series of graduate and postgraduate research projects (Pascual 2008; Dabezies 2009).
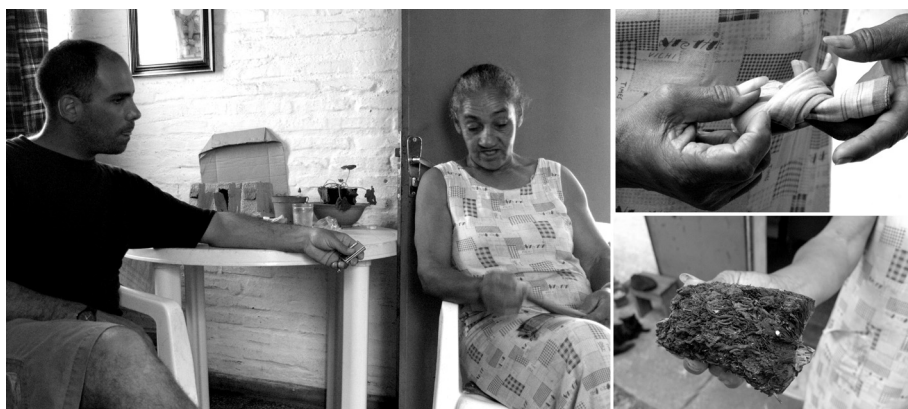
Figure 3. Interview with Evenida Duarte in Las Toscas of Caraguatá (Tacuarembó). Evenida is a healer (yuyera) having knowledge of traditional herbal medicine (Photo: LAPPU/Incipit).

been transformed into different management tools, such as in regional inventories and in the first Heritage Information System of Uruguay (SIPAU).[13] Other results worth mentioning are methodologies for heritage management, consultancy on the design of municipal territorial organization regulations, and participation in the debate on Uruguay's new Cultural Heritage Law (López *et al.* 2010).

Third, LAPPU is involved in technological development and professional specialization. The incorporation of new technologies and tools (specifically GPS, GIS, remote detection, etc.) requires specialized training for heritage managers. Thus, next to guidebooks and technical documents, courses have been organized at different levels, ranging from universities (such as post-graduate and specialization courses, research stays and the creation of the Training Site for Archaeological Techniques for university students) to the local level (like training actions for local agents and workshops produced in collaboration with specialists from the National System of Protected Areas of the National Environment Directorate). Moreover, researchers stayed at the centres of the project partners and provided postgraduates students with the required skills (including technological developments, management aspects, conservation strategies, presentation tools and visitor management); distance-learning courses and tutoring sessions were started between the Incipit and LAPPU.

The final line of research concerns heritage and social development. In this context an educational programme on heritage issues was developed for schools in rural areas. It was implemented in fourteen primary and two secondary rural schools, covering a large geographical region in which the population and schools are widely dispersed.[14] Through informal educational activities, based on the daily

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13 The SIPAU is currently in the process of validation and testing, through two projects connected with the territorial planning and management of protected areas carried out by the LAPPU.

14 We worked in the rural areas of Caraguatá, Yaguarí, Villa Ansina and Cerro Pereira, with a total of 1131 primary school children, 239 secondary school students, 48 primary teachers and twenty secondary teachers (Cuesta *et al.* 2009).

experiences of the children, their surroundings and their reality, we developed a critical and reflexive approach towards the local heritage, its creation and history, its role in a wide historical context and at a regional level, and its protection and presentation to the public. All of the activities were aimed at contributing towards a (re)configuration and/or (re)interpretation of the space and therefore the landscape. They encouraged to build a new type of relationship with the landscape, bringing previous knowledge, perceptions and attitudes into play that made it possible to put the inhabitants into direct contact with a cultural landscape which is frequently 'naturalized'. For example, the prehistoric mounds (*cerritos de indios*), have re-appeared as local objects of paramount importance, as tangible as they are symbolic, to help guide these experiences and redefine their significance, This can be seen in the documentary produced as part of the project '*Los Narradores del Caraguatá*'. The activities also included the design and production of didactic materials: games ('The River of Time', see figure 5), news bulletins, workshops, guided tours and hands-on experiences for children on excavation sites (figure 6), travelling exhibitions, public lectures in the local communities, workshops with managers and specialists, news items in the press, radio and television, a showing of the film produced by the project followed by a debate, etc. (Cuesta *et al.* 2009).

It would require another article to examine how local communities reinterpreted monuments as part of their life, but one relevant consequence of this multi-vocal practice we would like to mention here is that the *cerritos* (prominent and conspicuous sites within their surroundings) were reintroduced as places and territorial markers in the mental maps of local populations. This was particularly

Figure 4. Prehistoric mounds (cerritos de indios) at the hills of Potrero Grande in Rocha Department (Photo: LAPPU/Incipit).

Figure 5. Scholars playing the game The River of Time about the prehistory and history of Uruguay in a rural school of Caraguatá (Photo: LAPPU/Incipit).

remarkable amongst children, who completely missed any knowledge about the landscape of their own family traditions.

The LAPPU project formalized the joint research group that had been working together for almost ten years (Gianotti *et al.* 2010a). While the project began as a means to transfer research results, techniques, specialized skills and specific tangible products (such as the information system, catalogues, protocols, etc.) from Incipit to UdelaR, it is no longer a one-direction relationship. We jointly constructed a new organizational and theoretical model for scientific practice through a co-operative and collaborative experience. The midterm aim was to develop a new institutional agent that would operate in Uruguay, promoting cooperation and integration in different public policies (Marozzi *et al.* 2009; Capdepont *et al.* 2010), but in the end, ideas, solutions and practices were jointly developed. These took shape in seminal processes that served to produce, transfer and disseminate new knowledge and applications, to exchange mutual experiences, and to raise awareness and debate amongst the agents involved. Cooperation was turned into operating jointly.

Conclusions

In order to draw a conclusion, we first need to recognize that working in the field of heritage gives us the opportunity to discover the multi-dimensional reality of complex modern societies, over which practices from a wide range of agents are constructed, hermeneutics are de-centred, identities are negotiated and rationalities are based. This plurality leads to a wealth of social action, in which dialogue but also incomprehension and conflict may occur, depending on the

ability or inability to establish a common horizon of intelligibility. What we call Public Science cannot be excluded from the vicissitudes of comprehension: the scientific construction of objectivity and intersubjectivity develops into a dialogue that interacts with other ways of creating knowledge, an instrument to create intelligibility that overcomes absolute subjectivity, which only leads to isolation or hegemony. Therefore, the necessary transformation of the systems of science and the production of knowledge must serve to make their results congruent and compatible with all of the different voices that are involved; to permit action that helps to transform the existing reality. For this reason, it is necessary to reach agreement on the knowledge production method; it must balance the different intentions and contexts of rationality that are involved. We need a method for dialogue between alternative, frequently opposing models, in order to understand and evaluate them in relation to their positive capacity; this would be a method different from the unilinear positivist model and from the phenomenological-subjective multi-vocal model.

From the practical case of our Spanish-Uruguayan experience we not only learned that a participative and multi-vocal construction of heritage is needed, but also that when one is faced with the absence of institutional directives and a solid public policy on heritage, bottum-up developed projects and initiatives such as our own may lead to the construction of alternative heritage strategies. Our project responded to the needs of different institutions, constructing a communal, multi-vocal space for collaboration, and at the same time, other major gaps were being filled in from a collaborative and community-based space. Research results were jointly constructed by researchers, local agents and inhabitants, but these are not only used to promote locality and cultural identity (through tourism, websites, leaflets, etc.), but also to construct a local heritage practice that consists of creating social heritage maps – providing a greater understanding and improved cultural and historical knowledge – , of undertaking joint projects, and of training local specialists, as the heritage value chain requires.[15] Obviously, such processes are slow and lengthy, but we are optimistic about the fact that at some stage, such circumstances – the absence of a solid public heritage policy and the need for its presence – will stimulate the emergence of a common political strategy and an innovative socio-political strategy. In the midst of these contradictions, a vigour of community science and public archaeology already emerged in Brazil, Bolivia and even in Venezuela (Gnecco 2008; Lopes and Funari 2008).

Based on the experience we have presented in this paper, and especially on its development and the current situation, we would underline the value of both science and heritage as fields of public action. Based on this, we can evaluate our experience as praxis for cooperation. The LAPPU, in materializing all of these aspects, is a powerful figure with post-colonial implications. It goes beyond heritage and reflects a type of interaction that can be useful in other contexts. Scientific cooperation, in particular a joint research unit such as our own, makes it

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15   An overall review of this complex and integrative practice is presented in Gianotti and Dabezies 2011.

Figure 6. Children from a rural school of Pago Lindo, excavating an archaeological mound site in Caraguatá river locality (Photo: LAPPU/Incipit).

possible to create structure, to facilitate heritage management and research and to strengthen the capacities of all of those involved (research groups, the community, authorities, etc.). Being optimistic, we predict that our work will contribute towards defining, in the near future, a convergent strategy for the construction of a heritage policy in Uruguay. At the same time, our work has made it possible to generate constant scientific innovation and renewal, to construct common conceptual frameworks, to develop and apply formal methodologies for analysis, diagnosis and intervention, to train local agents in sustainable heritage management, and to think about community-based work to promote participative heritage processes which mirror the cultural diversity of our societies. Finally, this cooperation model means that we help Uruguay as much as Uruguayan experience has changed many Spanish practices. Moreover, the local population has learned as much about its lost knowledge (such as traditions, sites and place names) as we – the archaeologists – have learned about our fields of interest.

Epilogue

In the short period of time between the first version of the paper and its final correction, there has been a significant downturn in the economy in Spain and Europe. This was used as an excuse for the destruction of many of the social policies of the European welfare state, including those of international cooperation. The generous funding that the Spanish government destined from 2004 to 2011 to collaboration through the AECID has been slashed to the point that all of the major scientific cooperation projects for development have been cancelled (grants, cooperation projects, university cooperation, etc.). At the same time, despite the democratic and institutional consolidation of Uruguay (and many other Latin American countries), the Uruguayan national budget has not covered these needs. This means that a lack of funding is compromising the future development of experiences such as the one being reviewed here. But at the same time as we must denounce the new, neo-conservative inspired policy affecting the whole of Europe that has reduced solidarity and replaced European international cooperation with supporting the international interests of the oligarchy of each state,[16] our review allows us to see that the concepts, agents and practices that have contributed to this experience of 'constructing from the South' are quite independent of the respective national policies and the funds that have contributed to these projects. Funding undoubtedly serves as an incentive, but the post-colonial frontier is more a problem of values and ideas than money. It is even possible that without money it could be easier for post-colonial new values to find their way.

Acknowledgements

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16 The Spanish contribution for cooperation reached in 2008 0.51% of GDP but has decreased in 2012 to 0.12% of GDP, while the budget for foreign actions – support for defending national interests abroad – has increased by 52%.

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