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The Register of Good Safeguarding Practices for Intangible Cultural Heritage

The Pusol School Museum

Introduction

In order to explain the general attributes of UNESCO's Register of Good Safeguarding Practices for Intangible Cultural Heritage, we have examined the particular characteristics and processes associated with the Centre for Traditional Culture – Pusol School Museum. The study's aims are twofold: on the one hand, it focuses on the analysis of the Pusol School Museum project, whose

purpose is to safeguard intangible heritage, thereby contrasting with the contributions made by recent critical studies on heritage which view it as a new mechanism, created and legitimised to exercise control over contemporary societies (De Cesari, 2014; Sánchez-Carretero and Jiménez-Esquinas, 2016; Santamarina, 2013; Smith, 2011); on the other hand, the study takes a look at the text of the UNESCO Conven-

The symbiosis between museum and school. Façade of the Pusol School Museum.

PHOTOGRAPH PROVIDED BY CHARMS MONROY, MARCH 2017.

tion for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage and its results from the perspective of the interviewees. Although the analysis of another case study is available (Methodology for Inventorying Intangible Cultural Heritage in Biosphere Reserves: the Experience of Montseny), its inclusion in this article was not considered pertinent, since it has already been addressed in this journal on different occasions and from different perspectives.[1]

The collection of data was carried out through documentary research and field work techniques through semi-structured interviews with key informants; those who had been involved in the process of conceptualising and executing the project, and their action plan was focused from: (a) the perspective of the public institution; (b) the academic perspective; (c) the local perspective; or (d) the international perspective by means of experts in the field of heritage.

The Register of Good Safeguarding Practices for Intangible Cultural Heritage

Since it began, and more than ten years since its entry into force, the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage has been the subject of study by numerous authors, since its scope of application is extremely complex and involves a multitude of obstacles. Defining and proposing effective and applicable measures to safeguard intangible cultural

heritage, ICH, in the international arena is a difficult task; however, the experts who met in Paris on 17 October 2003 drafted a document that has become increasingly important over time in the field of heritage and has been legitimised as a tool for the rescue, preservation and dissemination of cultural elements and models defined as international intangible heritage.

The Convention model attempts to maintain a living tradition in the face of possible threats and preserves the necessary conditions for its cultural reproduction (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004). It also seeks to guarantee the viability of ICH through measures and mechanisms with the participation of relevant stakeholders, especially of the communities and groups to which they belong. The international ICH safeguarding system was based on the implementation of three lists: the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, the Register of Good Safeguarding Practices and the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding. According to Goede, Leander and Sullivan (2015), the establishment of lists is a technique of governance that allows us to create visibility, meaning and objectivity in a non-narrative way and at a low cost, in the face of a set of elements that are grouped together for a certain purpose. For this reason, the implementation of UNESCO's lists of cultural heritage has been so well accepted internationally.

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The Inventory of the Intangible Heritage of Montseny, in the register of best practices for the safeguarding of intangible heritage of UNESCO. *The Catalonian Journal of Ethnology*, (2014), *39*, 246-247. Retrieved from: https://www.raco.cat/index.php/RevistaEtnologia/article/view/280004/367697 [Consulted on 22 August 18].
Del Mármol Cartañà, C. and Roigé Ventura, X. (2014). Presentation Dossier. Debating intangible heritage. *The Catalonian Journal of Ethnology*, *39*, 10-11. Retrieved from: https://www.raco.cat/index.php/RevistaEtnologia/article/view/279974/367668 [Consulted on 22 August 18].
Garcia Petit, Ll. (2014). The application of the concept of intangible cultural heritage to Montseny: valuation of a pioneering experience. *The Catalonian Journal of Ethnology*, *39*, 128-133. Retrieved from: https://www.raco.cat/index.php/RevistaEtnologia/article/view/279985/367679 [Consulted on 22 August 18].
Estrada Bonell, F. and Del Mármol Cartañà, C. (2014). ICH Inventories The implementation of the UNESCO Convention. *The Catalonian Journal of Ethnology*, *39*, 41-56. Retrieved from: https://www.raco.cat/index.php/RevistaEtnologia/article/view/279977/367671 [Consulted on 22 August 18].

Aquest article es proposa exposar els atributs generals del Registre de Bones Pràctiques de Salvaguarda del Patrimoni Cultural Immaterial tot contrastant les atribucions realitzades des del corrent d'estudis del patrimoni i el text de la Convenció del 2003 amb els resultats observats. S'estima que els programes, projectes i activitats que conté aquest Registre són mecanismes de salvaguarda eficients, ja que, com que són dissenyats des d'una perspectiva local, poden contribuir al desenvolupament sostenible i promoure noves formes de participació de les societats contemporànies.

Este artículo busca exponer los atributos generales del Registro de Buenas Prácticas de Salvaguardia del Patrimonio Cultural Inmaterial contrastando las atribuciones realizadas desde la corriente de estudios críticos del patrimonio y el texto de la Convención del 2003 con los resultados observados. Se estima que los programas, proyectos y actividades contenidos en dicho Registro son mecanismos de salvaguarda eficientes ya que al ser diseñados desde una perspectiva local pueden contribuir al desarrollo sostenible y promover nuevas formas de participación de las sociedades contemporáneas.

This paper seeks to present the general attributes of the Register of Good Practices for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage by contrasting the attributions from the critical heritage studies line, and the 2003 Convention text with the observed results. It is estimated that the programmes, projects, and activities contained in the Register are an effective safeguarding mechanism, and because they are designed from a local perspective, they can contribute to sustainable development, and promote new forms of participation in contemporary societies.

The Register of Good, previously Best, Safeguarding Practices for Intangible Cultural Heritage has not been included in the UNESCO's conception of safeguarding and management of international intangible heritage, although (1) it is included as a safeguarding mechanism for ICH on an international level, along with the other two lists of the Convention; (2) it has a set of defined criteria; and (3) it is a list itself. It is article 18 of the Convention which mentions that the Intergovernmental Committee will select and promote programmes, projects and activities to safeguard intangible heritage that best reflect the principles and objectives of the Convention (UNESCO, 2016). However, it is the States Parties that have to submit candidates for the projects and, for an element to be included in the aforementioned register, it must conform to the selection criteria established by the operational directives:

1) It involves safeguarding, as defined in article 2.3 of the Convention.
2) It promotes the coordination of efforts on a regional, sub-regional and/or international level.
3) It reflects the principles and objectives of the Convention.
4) It has proven to be effective in contributing to the viability of ICH.
5) It has been carried out with the participation of the community with free, prior and informed consent.
6) It can be used as a model for safeguarding activities.
7) Applicants are willing to cooperate in its dissemination.
8) It comprises experiences with assessable results.
9) It responds mainly to the particular needs of developing countries.[2]

Compared to the registration criteria[3] of the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, hereinafter referred to as RL, the Register of Good Safeguarding Practices has stricter and more selective parameters for its implementation. The most important attributes for the former are that, by means of inclusion in the List, it will make the ICH better known, con-

tribute to awareness of its importance and foster intercultural dialogue (UNESCO, 2016) regarding the element registered. Meanwhile, the Register seeks to promote programmes, projects and/or activities that have proven effective in contributing to the viability of the ICH and have been carried out with the participation of the community, as well as responding to the needs of developing countries.

Another difference between the two lists is that projects registered as good practices have been designed to 'solve' a local and intrinsic problem observed, at a given moment, from the perspective of the community itself; and the elements of the ICH that are representative of humanity are selected by governments that seek a certain status for the elements mentioned, to be used later.

Bearing all this in mind, it is clear why 84.89% of the elements registered in the Convention from 2003 to 2017 are in the Representative List and only 4.04% have been registered as Good Practices, the remaining 11.06% belonging to the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding, since the States Parties opt more for the preparation of candidates for the Representative List than to appear in the Register of Good Safeguarding Practices, due to the simplicity of the process and the international recognition that it entails, rather than to promote and/or recognise safeguarding initiatives in which the communities are or have been the protagonists.

There are currently 19 elements in what Lixinski (2011) calls the "best practices inventory" (p. 92), 47.36% of which demonstrate within their safeguarding tasks the five areas of intangible cultural heritage proposed by the Convention. This is considered relevant since the aforementioned projects mainly carry out safeguarding tasks that do not fragment heritage reality and address ICH from a holistic and integrating approach. The registers are distributed across 15 countries, with Spain heading the

2
Ibid., p. 29.

3
Ibid., p. 28.

list with its three registered elements: the Methodology for Inventorying Intangible Cultural Heritage in Biosphere Reserves: the Experience of Montseny; the Revitalisation of the Traditional Crafsmanship of Lime-making in Morón de la Frontera, Seville, Andalusia; and the Centre for Traditional Culture – Pusol School Museum. Following Spain, with two registered items each, is Belgium, with the Programme of Cultivating Ludodiversity: Safeguarding Traditional Games in Flanders, and Safeguarding the Carillon Culture: Preservation, Transmission, Exchange and Awareness-raising; Brazil, with Fandango's Living Museum, and the Call for Projects of the National Programme of Intangible Heritage; Bulgaria, with the Festival of Folklore in Koprivshtitsa: a System of Practices for Heritage Presentation and Transmission, and the Bulgarian *Chitalishte* (Community Cultural Centre): Practical Experience in Safeguarding the Vitality of the Intangible Cultural Heritage; and Hungary, with the Táncház Method: a Hungarian Model for the Transmission of Intangible Cultural Heritage; and the Safeguarding of the Folk Music Heritage by the Kodály Concept.

The Centre for Traditional Culture – Pusol School Museum[4]

"This is an educational project, not a museum", said Fernando García[5] as he welcomed us into the premises.

The history of the project dates back to 1968, when Fernando was given the teaching position at Pusol's one-room school. "When I arrived, I found one-rooom schools that were semi-abandoned because they had not had a permanent teacher", he told us, and went on to explain that the first thing that was done in Pusol was to gather local residents to organise the school: clean it, carry out maintenance tasks and provide it with green spaces for the students to use as recreation areas. José Aniorte[6] told us that it was a way to "start creating a link between the community, with parents, families" and so it became a place that also served as a meeting point to channel the demands of the local population towards the municipal authorities, a place that was more than just a school.

On the other hand, the one-room schools had to have a pedagogical project, and the project for the school in Pusol came from Fernando, who saw that "traditional

Pusol School Museum.
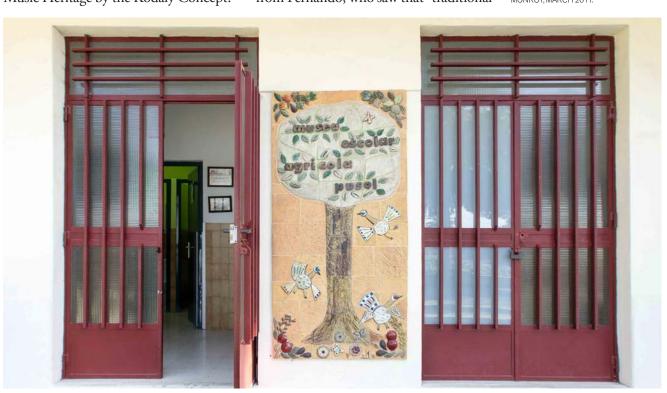PHOTOGRAPH PROVIDED BY CHARMS MONROY, MARCH 2017.

agriculture (...) had disappeared". That's when a project was started to study the land before mechanisation, which was called *The school and its environment* and aimed to place the school within the context of its surroundings. The study of traditional jobs and trades, which were no longer part of the official school curriculum, were adapted with the fundamental purpose, in Fernando's words, "of realising that children can capture the attention of the elderly, so that they recover their own culture." The main objective was to take advantage of the recovery of rural culture and use it as an element of education for the students at the same time.

Alliances started to be made with families that still practised some kind of traditional activity or trade, such as the use of the palm tree, and, whenever there was work related to it, families contacted the school so that children could go there as observers. They explained the work that was being done and how it was done, and with that, the children filled in forms to collect all the information and grouped it into small research projects.

The process of social recognition triggered by this initial project is considered to be the basis of the social success of the project today. The elderly saw how value was given to their memories and experiences through the fieldwork that children did, and thus highlighted the local heritage of the rural area in Pusol. People wanted to be the protagonists of their own stories and it was this *real* participation that resulted in donations of personal property, with people saying "take this to school, you can keep it there and take better care of it", creating a collection that is now the museum. First, they explained that a small exhibition room was built in the area that was the *schoolmaster's house* and the *house of the schoolmistress* was used as a storage room. That is how the Agricultural School Museum was created. "It quickly became too small", Jose told us.

The Pusol School Museum

On 23 June 1992, the Ministry of Culture, Education and Science of the Government of Valencia recognised it as a museum, since it complied with the established requirements for the recognition of museums and permanent museographic collections of the Valencian Community. A small extension was also carried out, which consisted of a bay that joined the two houses at the back and, in 2001, the current building was built with funds from City Council.

The building is illuminated with natural light that enters through the upper windows and the exhibition rooms have wall washer lights that provide general illumination. It has three permanent exhibition rooms and one temporary exhibition room, in which the exhibitions are changed approximately every three months. The rooms have an

View of a normal day of class. Centre for Traditional Culture – Pusol School Museum.
PHOTOGRAPH PROVIDED BY CHARMS MONROY, MARCH 2017.

open layout, which conveys a feeling of accessibility and inclusion to the visitors.

The Museum displays more than 70,000 inventoried objects, which have been given by the inhabitants of Pusol and Elche, most of which are deposited in the three available storerooms. The collection is divided into seven major sections that include the daily life of the locals, known as il·licitans in Valencian: (a) agriculture, (b) documents, (c) childhood, (d) textiles, (e) society (f) trades and (g) domestic life. The museography is based on the contextualisation of objects through the reconstruction of everyday life using scenography. The texts exhibited along the way are basic and aim to give an overview of the topic that is being represented. In addition, the objects are mainly accompanied by a certificate that indicates the donor and the restorer and, sometimes, the number within the inventory.

Visits to the museum are often guided by the school children; they explain what the visitor is looking at in the museum, the importance it has for local heritage and the history of the pieces in question. In addition to the exhibition halls you can also visit the garden and the vegetable garden, spaces that have been designed as part of the museum to show elements such as the threshing space, the outdoor area that was used for the threshing of grains such as wheat, and the traditional oven, which is used during gastronomy celebrations. The vegetable garden has been designed following the palm grove cultivation system, in which perimeter palms are sown to demarcate the area of cultivation, surrounded by a drain, which is typical of the area.

The jobs of documentation and inventory creation of the pieces are carried out by a retired professor of philosophy, in collaboration with two elderly volunteers; they catalogue, photograph and allocate the location of the objects. The great avalanche of donations is constant, they said that it is normal to receive between two and three donations per week, so the inventory is far from finished. This leads to questioning the future viability of the project in terms of storage and management of the collection. There are no selection criteria established for accepting donations; all objects are valued equally because they are all the material evidence of the intangible heritage and memory of the territory, which could result in the objects not having the necessary conditions for conservation and preservation. In addition, many of the restoration tasks are done by school children who, after receiving training through workshops, carry out the maintenance of the pieces; this could be another disadvantage as regards standardised restoration criteria and the fact that too many interventional tasks take place sometimes, or they are done using materials that may prove to be incompatible with the original materials over time.

Symbiosis between museum and school

Educational tasks have always been carried out alongside the museum's activities. On this, José comments: "Here there is a museum and a school (...) this is a project in which everything is one: it was born as a school and the museum was born from the school, but now, really, without the museum, the school would not exist". This is stated because, with the regrouping of one-room schools to form larger schools, the former have disappeared, so the school itself and the operating model are also part of the intangible heritage safeguarded by the project.

The symbiosis generated between the two, the school and the museum, has protected both parts from external interests. "We had attempts to close the school to keep the museum and take it to Elche", says Fernando, referring to the City Council's intention to disassemble the museum of the town of Pusol and take it to the Elche town centre, closing the school as well. He also commented that on one occasion, with the excuse of wanting to set up the History Museum of Valencia, two trucks arrived from Valencia "with a lot of papers

to take things away" but, according to him, the rural community, the students and the people of the museum did not allow it, and now they are collaborating by giving out items on loan for temporary exhibitions.

An association has been created to handle the museum, to give it a fiscal entity that supports the project, and to give it some autonomy and independence with government entities. But José told us that the consideration is "that you have to look for the annual budget", which, in his opinion, has always been a problem because a lot of time has to be spent looking for money: applying for public subsidies, submitting projects to private institutions, companies or opting for patronage to cover the annual cost of the museum, which was €236,181 in 2007,[7] without counting the costs that are covered by voluntary work.

Fernando states that, in the beginning, all the museum activities related to the collection, cataloguing, restoration, documentation and dissemination, were mainly carried out mainly by the schoolchildren, and points out that "the intention is to demonstrate that the culture of a village can be recovered through children, as an activity of the school itself". Now the association has five people hired who are in charge of the areas of coordination, management, maintenance and restoration, and communication; City Hall pays the salaries of the person in charge of visitor support and the person in charge of gardening; the management of the school is run by the Government of Valencia.

From local isolation to international recognition

The scope of the project's work has always been completely local, located entirely in the Pusol district. "We have never left our shell to make ourselves known or to advertise ourselves; it has always been specialists or external people who have discovered us", Fernando told us. In fact, from within the project, we never intended to become international or obtain any recognition from any institution. The way of working has been very amateur with the objective of conservation and transmission of local heritage, by and for local people. The work had been carried out in such isolation that it even caused problems and tensions, mainly with the local municipal authorities, according to Daniel Carmona.[8] As it is a project focused on local heritage, City

From local isolation to international recognition. Recognition as a good safeguarding practice for intangible cultural heritage awarded by UNESCO in 2009.
PHOTOGRAPH PROVIDED BY CHARMS MONROY, MARCH 2017.

Council support measures have no political visibility, since, as Prats mentions (2005), local heritage references are of little interest beyond the community that are promoting them.

The idea of presenting the project to the UNESCO Register of Good Practices came from Luis Pablo Martínez.[9] He discovered the project when it was recommended as a documentation centre for preparing the candidacy of El Palmeral: "Discovering Pusol was a double shock for me (…) when verifying the magnitude of the heritage safeguarding work that a small rural school had been capable of carrying out"(Martinez, 2016: 46). He told us that "the candidacy emerged as a responseto the need to safeguard the project in the face of Fernando's imminent retirement". Taking advantage of the fact that the candidacy had been presented to Europa Nostra (in the form of education, training and awareness), the dossier for UNESCO was adapted, justifying it and adjusting the information to UNESCO terminology. "The biggest problem, however, was that the pedagogical project was not so much based on pragmatic documents that are subject to regular updating, but more on a tradition of broad, complex and long-term educational practices" (Martínez, 2016: 48) by means of which certain objects and manifestations had become significant. This meant that conservation measures were implemented spontaneously and the moment of filling out the forms was also an exercise of reflection and introspection regarding the project's objectives and the methods and mechanisms that were carried out to meet them.

Having the direct and active participation of a technical expert in heritage accelerated the passage of the project through the administrative and institutional chain for its postulation by Spain: "advantage was taken of the statement by the Ministry of Elche to lobby at the Convention meeting, in Istanbul in 2008, with the Minister of Madrid". This meeting was so successful that the file was presented to the Fourth Session of the Intergovernmental Committee in Abu Dhabi the following year. It was recommended for registration, as it is a project that promotes and coordinates efforts and is aimed at safeguarding the intangible cultural heritage on a local level as well as the potential that it has to be replicated in developing countries. With regards to this subject Fernando told us that, in his opinion, this is what UNESCO recognised, "since they saw that this could be done anywhere in the world, especially in South America, where there are small villages where the local culture is being lost".

The project's real potential to be copied in other contexts is one of its strengths. The fact that the one-room school educational model has been preserved facilitates adaptation in developing countries.

The Centre for Traditional Culture – Pusol School Museum today

Following the registration as a Good Practice by UNESCO, there was a statement of institutional support, especially from Elche City Council. In spite of this, in 2016 the Government of Valencia and Alicante Municipal Council withdrew the subsidies that each granted the project for its annual operation, leaving the project solely with the money provided by City Council. "When they took the subsidies (…) it was impossible for us to keep our five employees", says Fernando. Marián[10] adds that the economic viability of the project is an endemic problem and that it was quite common to end up with no money by October or November but, unlike other years, in April 2016, they already lacked the necessary funds to face the rest of the year. "The five workers were laid off; we made a kind of communication campaign, a complaint to the City Council that it was letting an element of its heritage die". The media campaign was carried out via the Museum's social networks and in the main local media using *#defiendepusol*. These types of campaigns work if they go viral on the network, which was not the case. On this, José commented: "They ignored us, the media campaign did not work at all because

Pusol's Centre for Traditional Culture today. Students from the school at the native flora recovery workshop.
PHOTOGRAPH PROVIDED BY CHARMS MONROY, MARCH 2017.

there were many conflicting interests; they were interested in leaving us to die and then rescuing the project, but without us".

Elche City Council was interested in recovering the project for the power and social recognition it has, but wanted to make substantial changes within its structure, focusing more on it as a museum. What saved and revived the project in this crisis was the intervention of private sector "business professionals in Elche (…), who love the project and have power of influence", José told us. They met to form a Provisional Board, signing agreements with other companies to commit to donating €1,000 per year for five years. "There are already about fifty signatories", said Fernando. As a result, "we have had to become much more professional" Marián told us, adding that the project is working more openly to the outside, which has allowed people who did not know or appreciate the project to start to identify with it and, at some point, participate in it. In addition, the aforementioned Provisional Board supports the formation of a Foundation which manages the educational project and guarantees its future. "This Board analyses how we work", says José; the project is undergoing a period of transition and restructuring with which the procedures and ways of working are

identified and standardised. "An incredible synthesis has been formed" adds Joseph.

Conclusions

The Centre for Traditional Culture – Pusol School Museum is "a community museum that has become a forum for the protection, safeguarding and spread of the local heritage of rural Pusol" through the education of the youngest members of the community. Within the museum, objects shake off their material nature to convey the intangibility that surrounds them, and they become tools for transmitting knowledge and local cultural references. As Prats (2005) points out, the construction of local heritage is based on memory, which is the mechanism that promotes the elements that become heritage. At the same time, the Pusol School Museum "has made it possible for heritage of only local interest to cross borders and become a project of international significance", not for the heritage that is safeguarded, but for the methods and techniques it has put into practice from the beginning. It has become an example of the capacity of communities and local professionals to manage and preserve their heritage.

As mentioned, the project has managed to safeguard disused cultural practices such as white palm weaving and the celebration of

All Saint's Day, through its reproduction and teaching in the school, and has thus contributed to the awareness and viability of local heritage. However, and taking advantage of the conflict crisis that it went through in 2016 as a transformative tool, the centre's model needs to adapt to the new environment and reality. An alternative is to continue with the retrospective analysis of the forms and procedures that it has been working with since its inception but, at the same time, a prospective vision is needed that permits continuity for future generations. In addition, there is an obvious need to improve the project with regards to museology, renew the museography and the processes related to the conservation and storage of collections.

Final thoughts

The UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage does not establish any defined strategy that guarantees the safeguarding of ICH. The protection of this kind of heritage in the international and national sphere is based on the archiving and documentation of those manifestations that comply with the characteristics established by the Convention text in order to be considered intangible heritage and follow the procedures established by the operational directives to be included in any of the lists that it proposes.

The concepts of "community", "participation" and "development" are not clearly defined within the Convention text, although they are constantly referred to, which impacts on the tasks of active association of the community for the management and use of their heritage, which is considered a key to the success of ICH safeguarding mechanisms and activities.

The main objective of the Convention should be to support the safeguarding of the ICH based on operational criteria that guarantee the active participation of bearers and transmitters of heritage, in order to preserve their practices and intangible cultural manifestations, but, at the same time, changing and maintaining the contemporary cultural vitality that the creativity of each generation brings with it. Following this idea, the Register of Good Safeguarding Practices can be an example of how to place communities and local heritage professionals at the centre of safeguarding activities and strengthen their recognition and support through the initiation of projects aimed at the preservation of the ICH. A new decentralisation and distribution of governmental powers (Coombe, 2012) regarding heritage through the establishment of a heritage protection system focused on the execution of programmes, projects or activities designed from a local

The Centre for Traditional Culture today. Students and teachers playing a traditional game, *Tanganillo* or *Caliche*.
PHOTOGRAPH PROVIDED BY CHARMS MONROY, MARCH 2017.

perspective could contribute in a better way to sustainable development and to promote new forms of participation designed to bestow present generations the right and the possibility to change the current views or the values represented (Smith, 2011) and promote the heritage production through contemporary creativity.

From an economic perspective, elements of intangible cultural heritage represent critical factors for the creation of new global and competitive scenarios in which creativity provides solutions to problems and disseminates projects regardless of their field of action. Its essence comes from cross references, paradigms and values that innovate and promote the ability of the community to generate new ideas, products or processes (Cominelli and Greffe, 2012). This could be applied to registers recognised as good practices that have emerged as a recovery and safeguarding plan for ICH, but also as an economic alternative for the bearers or transmitters of the aforementioned heritage. Another of the attributes that the safeguarding system based on programmes, projects or activities could have is the fact that the social fractures that occur within the heritage system and the social conflicts that they entail (Sánchez-Carretero and Jiménez-Esquinas, 2016) could be minimised, since society is the axis from which heritage policies are created and, so far, actions regarding heritage are inferred by the expectations of other agents and their narratives are widely used by local administrations (Ibarlucea, 2015; Sánchez-Carretero, 2013). However, in this scenario, State control would be diminished according to the increasing participation and positioning of the community in the decision-making process, and many states would not be willing to lose this new way of exercising control over the societies that they govern. ■

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