

WORKSHOP ON

“INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE, IDENTITY, AND TOURISM. TANGO AS A RIOPLATENSE EXPRESSION”

UNESCO Chair of Cultural Tourism Untref-Aamnba
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EDITORIAL

HERNAN LOMBARDI

MINISTER OF CULTURE OF THE CITY OF BUENOS AIRES.

The tango as a cultural expression from the River Plate was registered with UNESCO as Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity by Argentina and Uruguay, by their capital cities, Buenos Aires and Montevideo. We are very pleased and proud to have done this in conjunction with our sister city.

Tango contributes to the formation of identities and stands as a true living heritage of our societies. It is a manifestation closely tied to popular culture, but in recent decades has transnationalized and become a genre linked to industry and cultural show.

One of the concerns of our governance is that of reconciling the tensions that occur between the constituent elements of tango as intangible cultural heritage and as a resource for tourism. We must partner ideas with actions through our management. There is no point having highly developed conceptual ideas, if we can not implement them and, in turn, to act without theoretical support ends in what many governments do: act without thinking.

Addressing the debate on issues that are of enormous significance and largely relatively new, prompted us to support this important meeting of experts from the UNESCO Network of Culture, Tourism and Development, from 25 universities in the world, who gathered in Buenos Aires in June. The meeting aimed to contribute to the recognition of the challenges, needs, difficulties and benefits that are articulated in relation to tango as an expression of heritage, and identify problems and needs

arising from the impact of tourism linked to the cultural space of tango. This was for us a very enriching stimulus.

In order to stay alive, intangible cultural heritage must be relevant to a culture over time, learned and practiced regularly in the community and transmitted to future generations. In no way should it lead to decontextualization, expatriation or stereotyping. Our management challenge is to resolve certain contradictions between the need to give visibility to tango, for it to be valued; at the same time providing it with economic, social, environmental and cultural sustainability.

That is why locally, the UNESCO Chair of Cultural Tourism Untref / AAMNBA, host organization of the international meeting, has for us an essential value. It works as a diagnostic tool and lateral controller and gives direction to concrete action, and guidance as to how to address these issues from the most current parameters of the conventions and international recommendations in this area.

The document presented here aims to be a contribution to safeguarding the tango as an important factor of cultural diversity in the face of globalization, and an example of what collaboration between government, the private sector and NGOs can achieve in the wonderful task of preserving and promoting the heritage of all.

Herewith we share the completed work with you.

A GATHERING TO CELEBRATE

MARIA GRAVARI-BARBAS

Director
UNESCO Chair of Culture, Tourism and Development
Coordinator of the UNITWIN-UNESCO. Network
University of Paris 1 Panthéon Sorbonne



The UNESCO/UNITWIN Network of Culture, Tourism and Development, comprises the Chair of Buenos Aires and other major universities and institutions from around the world. Among the objectives of the Network is that of building bridges and creating links from an academic perspective, with local actors and with the public sector in order to identify needs and make suggestions and recommendations for improved management of heritage and its use in sustainable tourism.

This means that, beyond being established as a think tank of experts, the Network hopes that their input and recommendations transcend merely theoretical areas, to contribute to and guide good practice in the management of heritage / cultural tourism in the countries in which its members are found.

On this occasion, we convened for discussion of the tango as Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. The possibility of analyzing in situ cultural tourism policies related to tango, the problems, needs and challenges that revolve around tango as a manifestation of heritage, the benefits associated with tourism for local communities, local economic integration and socio-cultural effects of tourism; in short, the sustainability of tango as a living heritage of humanity, were the subject of discussion and study. This was undertaken by presentations from local experts and field visits by members of the Network belonging to the universities of the Paris 1-Sorbonne, Toulouse, Bologna, Lovaina, Girona, Rey Juan Carlos, Rabat Agdal and San Pablo, among others.

A particularly positive aspect of this

international workshop was the support of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism Authority of the City of Buenos Aires. It clearly shows the awareness and commitment of the public sector to tango as living heritage retaining its identity, its strength and its particular nature, so well identified with inhabitants of the River Plate worldwide.

Inscription of tango as Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity has had, in this sense, a positive impact by stimulating actions to protect, promote, transmit, disseminate and identify needs of Buenos Aires and Montevideo for safeguarding the most genuine elements of tango. This is important to note, as done prior to registration by UNESCO, on the value of the tango as a socially constructed heritage. The fact that it is ubiquitous in Argentina and Uruguay favours its sustainability. As a tourism resource, however, it is necessary not only to warn about the dangers of a certain tendency towards standardization and the so-called “stage tango”, but also to globally think about the means and ways that could bring together an extremely wide range of stakeholders that take part to the “tango tourism experience”

We celebrate the partnership between public and private institutions and the academic sector, and hope that the conclusions and recommendations arising from this international workshop, which allowed us to meet and fully enjoy Buenos Aires – result in a valuable and stimulating contribution to continuing efforts in Buenos Aires and Montevideo in order to achieve their objective, that of a good coordination between tango as intangible cultural heritage, and tourism.



AUTHORS:

Dr. Mónica Lacarriou
 Lic. Carmen María Ramos

With the collaboration of:

Lic. María Luz Durán
 Intern Lauren Isach

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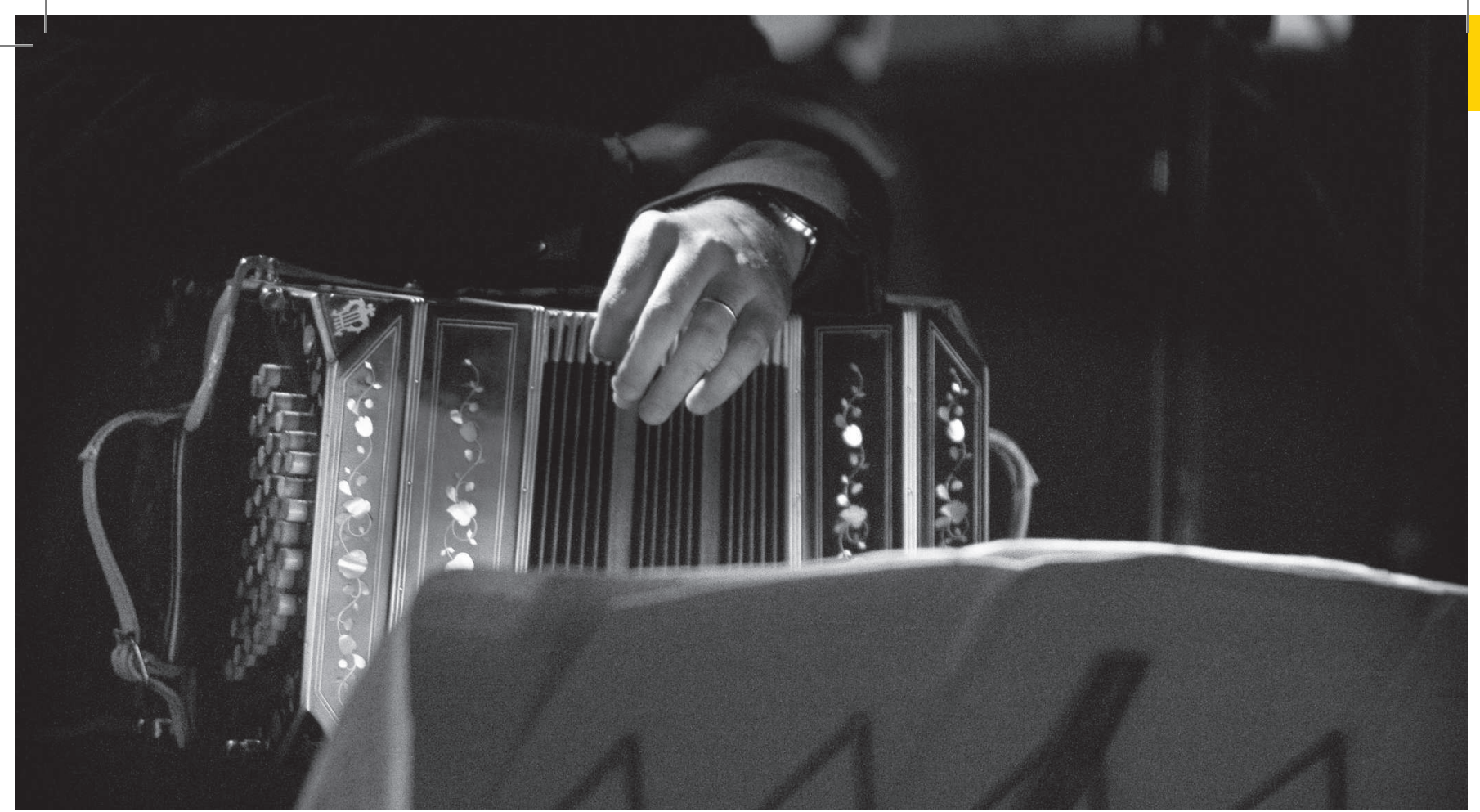
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SUMMARY

The Workshop “Intangible cultural heritage, identity and tourism. Tango as a rioplatense expression”, organized in the context of the UNESCO Chair of Cultural Tourism, Buenos Aires, brought together members of the UNESCO/UNITWIN network of Culture, Tourism and Development, during three days in June. The purpose of this workshop was to analyze and study the articulation between intangible cultural heritage and sustainable tourism, focusing the attention on the tango inscription on the Representative List of Intangible Heritage of the Humanity (2009). The results of this study reveal the viability of tango as heritage and as tourism product by the implementation of strategies, measures and activities in which the integration of the community is expected. The document you will read below brought together texts used during the Workshop and

others which came from the work carried out by the participants during these three days. The first documents concern the objectives, the state of the art about tango, a brief description concerning the stakeholders involved, premises from which we started and the methodology used. Then, you will find the results of the working groups, as they were related during the workshop, and the analysis of the data arising from the descriptive tables realized on the basis of the presentations and visits and according to the results of the three groups, and a SWOT table (Strengths, weaknesses, challenges). Finally, this document has a series of appendices among which there are texts used during the Workshop – such as the instructions guide given for the visits and presentations – the guide tables and the SWOT table already mentioned.

INTRODUCTION AND OBJECTIVES

The “Intangible cultural heritage, identity and tourism. Tango as a rioplatense expression”, organized in the context of the UNESCO Chair of Cultural Tourism in Buenos Aires, brought together members of the UNESCO/UNITWIN network of Culture, Tourism and Development, coordinated by Dr. Maria Gravari Barbas, from the Sorbonne University. The network involves 25 universities throughout the world.

Starting from the premise that in many places/countries there is a lack of ability in the area of heritage/ cultural tourism management, the network tries to suggest solutions as a working group and an experts’ think-tank. Moreover, this workshop is organized in the frame of the project “Living Heritage” developed by UNESCO-Montevideo (2012-13).

Unlike international conferences, which stimulate a large academic participation from presentations and talks, the workshop form is more focused on operational, methodological and practical questions linked to the local needs in management of Heritage World sites (tangible and intangible), heritage in danger lists and representative list. The main objective is, in every case, to create a link between local actors and authorities in the identification of their needs and in the elaboration of suggestions and recommendations. Therefore, the debate possibilities during the workshops should be as wide as possible.

The purpose of his workshop was to study the articulation between intangible cultural heritage and sustainable tourism, focusing our attention on the tango inscription on the Representative List of Intangible Heritage of the Humanity (2009). Tango as a rioplatense expression was inscribed by Argentina and Uruguay, through their two capital cities (Buenos Aires and Montevideo).

The spirit of the Workshop was to think, define and generate strategies, results and optional solutions for the planning, development and management of dilemmas and problems that can be identified in relation to tango and the local community.

In this sense, the OBJECTIVES of this workshop were:

-Informing and raising awareness among the Network’s members about tango as a Río de la Plata’s expression registered on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage.

-Defining tango as intangible heritage, following the concepts contained in the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003) and the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention.

-Contributing to the creation and strengthening of bonds and interactions

among the UNESCO/UNITWIN Network, local authorities, and actors that are related to tango as living heritage.

-Contributing to the identification, diagnosis, and recognition of the challenges, needs, difficulties and benefits associated to tango as a heritage expression.

-Surveying and identifying the problems, needs, and challenges posed by tourism, as well as promoting measures that may help to reduce risks and generate actions to link tango with the sustainable development of local communities.

-Discussing and facilitating decision-making regarding the needs, challenges, and benefits in relation to tango as heritage and as a tourism resource.

-Providing innovative methodologies and technical, academic, and management tools in relation to cultural heritage and tourism, to be used by the different local actors associated with the tango cultural area.

This meeting was an opportunity for Buenos Aires and Montevideo not only to show the efforts they are making to try to conciliate tango as an identity symbol of our culture, with the demands generated as a tourist product, but also to be enriched by the views and considerations that the UNESCO/UNITWIN Network can bring through their experts.

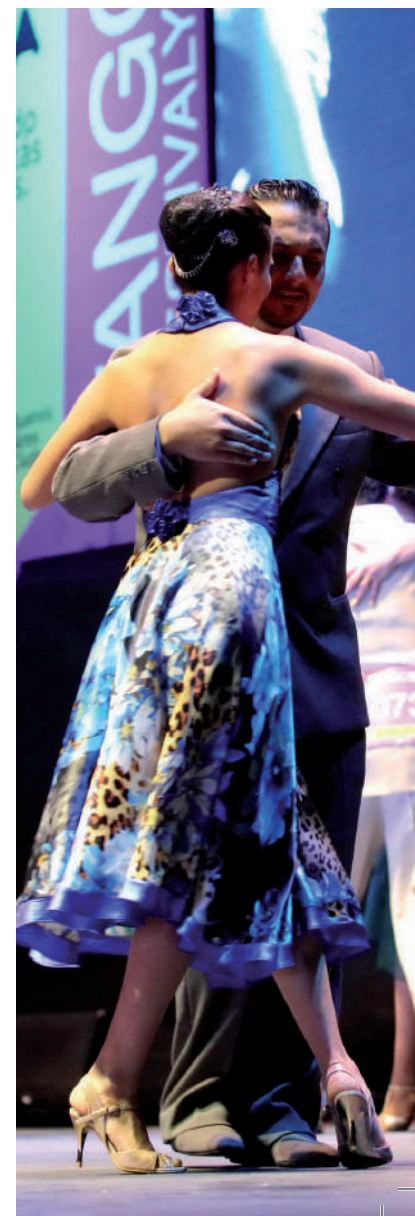




TOPICS

Among the topics discussed during the workshop we can list the following:

- The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003). The Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention.
- Tango and living heritage: Why is tango an intangible cultural heritage?
- Tango as a rioplatense expression.
- Tango's authenticity/historical continuity criteria: Between milonga and entertainment.
- Definition of tango's community.
- Safeguarding tango: Survey, inventory, protection, diffusion.
- Inscription of tango as heritage of the humanity: Benefits and challenges.
- Tango as a "brand." Politics of cultural tourism linked to tango. The impact of tourism and positioning of tango.
- Tango tourism benefits for local communities. Local economic integration and socio-cultural effects of tourism.
- Tango and local sustainable development.



STATE OF THE ART¹

Introduction

The inclusion of Tango on the Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) of Humanity (UNESCO, 2009), has been a turning point in the relation of this expression, activated as heritage, and the role of cultural tourism in this context. Choosing tango as part of the “Living Heritage” is a relevant example both as an intangible heritage element (registrations of urban cultural expressions are very limited) and also concerning the effect and problems this inscription has on the communities involved. Likewise, the interrelationship between tango and Buenos Aires city is something interesting, more specifically between the safeguarding of tango as ICH and the pre-existing and current impact of tourism on local population.

The spirit of the Workshop was to think, define and generate strategies, results and optional solutions for the planning, development and management of dilemmas and problems that can be identified in relation to tango and the local community. However, to elaborate a conclusion on these issues it is necessary to: inform and make the UNITWIN/UNESCO network sensitive to the tango as a rioplatense expression inscribed on the Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity; define tango as intangible heritage concerning the concepts mentioned in the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003) and identify needs, challenges and benefits regarding both tango as heritage and tango as a tourist resource.

The purpose of this document is to provide elements on the state of the art regarding tango as a cultural expression of the past and the present. Similarly, another aim is to link such processes with its activation as intangible heritage, considering some key points like the definition of the element and of the “tango community”, the discussions on the freezing, authenticity and meaning of safeguarding.

The last step is to reach one of the main challenges, and the aim of this workshop: which is to confront the public policy, the tango community and the whole society to the impact of tourism as a problem, but also as an advantage, and to the possibilities that may be generated by the complex articulation between intangible heritage, tourism and sustainable development.

1. Tango and the Argentine society. A historical approach.

Born at the end of the 19th century, Argentine tango grew alongside the diverse social and political processes in the country, until becoming a symbol of the Argentine culture in the world. Few music genres in the history ever achieved and attachment to a particular city or geographical region as strong as the bond which unites tango with Buenos Aires and the Rio de la Plata. In its beginnings, commonly called “of the Old Guard”, tango was a lively suburban dance, physically daring, which seemed to ignore the moral codes of the Victorian period. But the later addition of lyrics and singers (particularly Carlos Gardel), and a series of rhythmic, melodic and instrumental transformations gave to the genre a more lyrical character. With a steady importance of the bandoneon, the piano and the strings, tango expressed the sadness and the melancholy of the porteño (inhabitant of Buenos Aires city), descendant of immigrants. After a great period of success, with very successful orchestras who played in huge balls, the genre entered into a prolonged crisis from the 1960s. Only the revolutionary Astor Piazzolla successfully escaped of it. However, with the new century and until today, tango has recovered a renowned place in the Argentine cultural life, thanks to the revitalization the younger generations have given to its the history and popular traditions.

1. The tango state of the art is a document written by Mónica Lacarriue before the realization of the Workshop in Buenos Aires. However, the first point of this document called: Tango and the Argentine society. A historical approach is a summary of the presentation done by Sergio Pujol during the event.



2. Tango, a national and local expression: rise, decline and continuity

The tango itself has become a cultural phenomenon of great relevance, not only for Buenos Aires city, but also for the whole country. Although, according to historical sources, tango has its origins in the country's capital. As it gained greater visibility and importance, it also contributed to the construction of the Argentine national imagery issue that led to the "national character of tango" (Archetti 2003), linked both to the resonance that in the distant past it had for provincial migrants-time in which the genre evolved into a "national and popular movement", particularly in the 40s (Cecconi 2009) -and in the present, with regard to some legislative initiatives and proposals of the private sphere in some localities in the interior of the country. Its current relationship with the country became deeper in the '90s, when as part of the national government policy, the National Tango Academy (by Decree No. 1235/90) was created and the National Tango Act (No. 24684 -1996) enacted.

These actions were two key elements for its future activation as ICH. Tango nationalization at the patrimonial level was complemented with its location in the city of Buenos Aires, by means of the enactment of the Act No. 130, through which tango was acknowledged "as part of the city's cultural heritage," guaranteeing "its preservation, reactivation and diffusion", and the promotion of artistic, cultural, urban activities and some others related to tango (Article 1, cited in Morel 2009:160).

Nationwide, since these measures were taken, tango related activities were rare and discontinued -in 2004, there was an initiative from the National Ministry of Culture by which a Tango Ballet School (Academy of Tango Styles) program was created, with the aim to promote the intergenerational transmission of the dance (from old "milongueros" to young people), and between 2003 and 2007, a Tango Festival for Youths was carried out. Meanwhile, the city government launched and continued performing various activities closely associated to the field of cultural industries. In 1999, an

FM radio scheduling tango was created and an official broadcast channel on the Internet was developed. The Tango School Orchestra of the city was founded in 2000; in 2006, the city's Tango Ballet was created, the same year as the Buenos Aires Tango Festival, which is now the main event in the city concerning tango. Although the festival has its origin on the Tango National Day and in the Tango Popular Party, it starts to have its own entity and to grow extraordinarily, becoming one of the most important events carried out by the Ministry of Culture of City of Buenos Aires², together with the Contests.

From this perspective, all these initiatives tended not only to revitalize, but also to develop and industrialize tango at the local level with massive, public and competitive events, which complemented other initiatives undertaken at the transnational level.

For the majority of experts, and also for the whole society, tango as a cultural phenomenon, began to be revitalized in the 90's (Cecconi 2009; Marchini 2007). Only one author considers the '80s as the beginning of this new success phase (Carozzi 2011). Clearly, this general view coincides with the different commented initiatives, constituted between political processes which tended to make tango as heritage and marketing strategies which linked tango with cultural and tourism industries.

The new vitality of the tango is built under the assumption of the decline the genre had in the 60's when it was considered it lost its capacity to gather people (Cecconi 2009). This decay was attributed to two factors in particular: on the one hand, to the "de-territorialisation of cutting edge tango" (Op. cit: 59.), produced by the new tango of Piazzolla, who was deemed as responsible for "intellectualizing it" or making it more stylized, that is to say, including rhythms and figures of classical music in a tango system; on the other hand, the impact other genres as national rock (and the foreign one), pop, and folklore music had on the younger generation in that decade.

However, this view of decay became wide spread without considering that it was not complete: the decline established itself in

2. The Tango Festival, in its beginnings, took place on December 11, the tango national day, but then it was moved to the carnival season (late February approximately), with the idea to schedule it together with the Carnival of Rio de Janeiro and jointly promote the tourism industry. By 2008, the date was changed again: it was programmed in August, articulating it with the World Dance Championship. In addition, the Festival changed the place-space of performance (from ObrasSanitarias Stadium to Rural de Palermo, and currently, Usina de lasArtes in La Boca district).

relation with the public sphere, in certain social and generational sectors due to the decline of “milongas”, the lower influence of dancing, and the change in the type of music.

In addition, this decline was also attributed to a certain period, omitting the crisis that occurred during the 30’s, which has reinforced a linear reading that fortify continuities and avoid discontinuities in relation to which tango was constituted.

3. What kind of tango was activated as intangible cultural heritage of humanity?

In the year 2001, the Heritage Department of the National Ministry of Culture made a proposal to the UNESCO concerning the tango as a Masterpiece of Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity. This first attempt was unsuccessful, due to what was understood as ICH in those times, and the issue that transnational regulations were not yet drafted and approved: the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003). As Santoyo (2010) noted, at its beginnings, intangible heritage referred to the “traditional culture” with a strong link between “people, identity and tradition.” Therefore, if the ICH was defined and read in terms of folklore and popular culture, the tango seemed as the flipside, as it was interpreted as a global, massive phenomenon, linked to major cities, and very current. In that context, intangible heritage was established to counter act tangible heritage linked to developed cultures, with the intention to make known communities previously relegated, particularly ethnic groups (indigenous, specially, Afro-descendants) located away from cities. Thus, tango did not seem to respond to the traditional idea of “heritage reproduction” in terms of continuity, stability and autonomy. The negative decision of UNESCO was influenced by the discussion on that it was a cultural genre that had crossed boundaries with an urban origin (the city of Buenos Aires) and on the other side, in a not so distant past (end of nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century). Tango apparently lacked that local and authentic character, and was too internationalized and marked by the recreation and transformation logic. Surprisingly, within the field of decision-makers there was no deep knowledge of the origins and development of tango: it should not be forgotten that of those

origins, according to traditionalist logic, might have tinged it with authenticity, and were at the same time the germ of stigma –we are referring to the tango that is born on the river banks or in slums linked to social sectors characterized as indecent, mainly men– little remained in the 20’s when tango began to move not only within the city and socially, but even went to Paris with the landowning sectors that made it a success there, then in Buenos Aires within the upper classes. That is to say, the internationalization of tango was a dimension that nourished the local one from the beginning, aspect that characterizes its historical and recreational continuity. This mark of origin, not only carried on through this unsuccessful attempt, but even the next application and the discussions that followed: it seems until this day that the reason why it is considered as intangible heritage still needs to be explained, with arguments that are built on whether there is one original tango that reflects the national and essential identity³.

The second application was carried out with other strategies, but also in another intangible heritage production context. Although Argentina and Uruguay endorsed the nomination, it was made from two cities, Buenos Aires and Montevideo, inaugurating shared heritage processes and defining, from such perspective, the tango as “a River Plate expression”. Please note that this character, however regional and transnational, allowed providing it relative authenticity and relieving it of that global dimension that was attributed to it in the prior presentation. Nevertheless, this second nomination was placed within a new scenario: 2003 Convention had been approved, and these countries had ratified it, and the definition of ICH present there attempted to dodge that traditionalist logic –the idea of “constant recreation on the part of communities” and a pluralistic concept of identities, facilitated such attempt. The application was approved in 2009; notwithstanding, it has continued to be discussed until today. In the year 2011, as a result of new debates produced within the UNESCO’s expert committee, a Kit of definitions that expanded the concepts was produced. For example, ICH started to be seen as “traditional, contemporary and alive at the same time”, incorporating the issue of urban dimension and contemporary matter. Although the possibility that the identity which constitute tango was

3. The discussion proposed in the text by Barela that you will have to read, continues on this line: the author wonders if we have to freeze tango or to dialogue with it, what to preserve about tango, what is authentic or to what extent it is necessary to recover “authentic elements of the genre” (2011).

based in the community, it was introduced that it can come from continuities, not only originally given, but also coming from leisure activities, displacements and accommodations produced in such movements not necessarily by sedentary groups but also migrants ones⁴, was added. Likewise, in the context in which the Convention introduced the idea of “safeguarding” to avoid the “preservationist” vision of the tangible heritage, the concept of authenticity became meaningless, in order to make possible the historical continuity. The application and the following validation allowed incorporating and organizing tango within the patrimonial logic and in the political and institutional world of the local heritage field –with few consequences on the national heritage, because the presentation had been made from the cities. The recognition it received from the UNESCO, enabled subsequent similar applications of flamenco (Spain), fado (Portugal) and mariachi (Mexico), and even gave way to another type of nominations like food and / or cuisines applications (the Mediterranean one and the arts of French cuisine constitute key examples).

Which kind of tango was postulated as ICH? What elements of tango were considered “worthy” of being safeguarded? What definition of community was endorsed and who defined it?

Probably because it is an expression, not only contemporary, massive, global, urban but also extremely complex, the community and the element are ambiguous, which leads to problems in the safeguarding process. On the one hand, what we think what might have led to an interesting discussion on the “heritage status of current social practices” and to focus on tango lovers committed to the practices (Villaseñor Alonso and Zolla Marquez 2012) was diluted by the need to build a “heritage product” or in other words, to materialize and make observable a manifestation with its complexities, ambiguities and weaknesses. But, on the other hand, due to the lack of an inventory, that is to say the identification of the elements and the binding community, the formulation –though it considered aspects delivered by people from the tango sphere– was mainly performed by the “experts”. The element definition was wide and generic and subject to contradictions. As the mentioned authors say, there was a certain heritage value added to

actual social practices in the definition of the “tango element”: “Genre that involves dance, music, poetry, singing, elements that in their interaction build a symbolic universe which impregnates the social imagery of both capital cities”. The element was built on its uniqueness, apparently, only given by its origin (the fusion of African, local and European immigration contributions) that, at the same time provides an identification benchmark –“the River Plate identity”– and claims the original hybridization processes –that way formulated in the presentation– authorizing the mixes and current global trends. Nevertheless, it was also ambiguously produced between the dance, music, poetry and singing, being cut and limited in some parts, as when “milonga” is mentioned, or defined under other nominations like “local popular music or the traditional River Plate music”.

The vagueness of the element definition produces a similar uncertainty regarding the community and how the sense of community is assumed in relation to the element - tango –when it was inscribed on the UNESCO’s Representative List, a relevant proportion of those who define themselves from a “sense of community” rejected the nomination by putting up signs and holding manifestations in the public space (particularly in Boedo neighbourhood).

From artists, dancers, amateur and professional, from composers to lyricists,

journalists, musicians, tangologos (tango specialists), playwrights, etc., the whole society –as producer and / or reproducer, carrier and / or transmitter– could be the subject of interrogations, leading towards important issues and challenges concerning the process of safeguarding.

However, due to the effect of the processes by which tango was established as a cultural genre and that were obviously deleted from the presentation, the recognition of the humanity heritage placed some tango elements on a higher hierarchical level than others, issue that allowed evaluation levels and that entail today challenges concerning safeguarding as well as sustainable development. It helped to eliminate and raise awareness at the same time the contradictions that tango has borne since its origins. The element that should have been the component that should have linked the genre to the local and singular nature is the most weakened and devalued part of the expression over time, partly because it could never be linked to the commented internationalization process. We are referring to tango’s poetry that could not be exported, not only because it was written in another language but also in a different form like slang, and the lyrics that described the local area and dynamics. The music and the dance were at the origin of tango, but they (and especially the dance) became the most internationalized elements and the ones which made tango a



more refined and stylish genre. Then, the lyrics made tango a cultural phenomenon more ours, but at the same time were being forgotten due to local changes –Piazzola’s arrival on the scene and the change in the 60’s were regarded as the reason. Meanwhile dance was recreated in between being continued and discontinued, between local and transnational features, it was finally the “milonga” that opened the door to tango revitalization.

We speculate that tango activation as heritage strengthened those parts –milonga, dancing–revitalized and helped to make it successful over the last few years, but that doesn’t mean that some elements don’t require measures of safeguarding even if they are perceived as dynamic.

Certain styles of dance –their origins are attributable to certain neighbourhoods which some milongas try to replicate in the present– are claimed as being “pure”. They are associated with tango milonguero”, carried and transmitted by the “old milongueros”, belonging to a rather masculine world, and constitute the local “social capital” of tango, though it is still in force and therefore reasonably possible to recognize it as heritage, it presents the challenge of its safeguarding.⁵

Tango was a tourism resource before becoming a heritage one and it could be said that it commenced when the tango became international through its success in Paris making it an important earner. In 2010, the mayor of Buenos Aires city during the latest Tango World Cup and Festival declared that tango was “the city’s soy bean”⁶.

4. Tango: tourist feasibility / heritage feasibility? How to turn tango into sustainable as ICH?

Despite apparent tensions between tango as “economic resource” and as “heritage resource” anchored to the utility criterion in which they were forged, this cultural expression –from its inscription on the Representative List, heritage element– was established as “located heritage” (Prats, 2005). This way of conceiving it may help to think about the contribution it may bring to the community involved, and the whole society, from an economic viewpoint, as well as from the development perspective. Tango as “located heritage” can transcend localization in terms of its attractiveness, and provoke

a flow of visitors and tourists, generate income, stimulate the market linked to this expression, and drive the marketing of tourist products, among other aspects. Clearly, the external impact had already contributed to its internal revitalization, long before its heritage registration, but at the same time, its local recovery, closely associated to its heritage valuation, not necessarily depends exclusively on its reproduction and external consumption (Prats 2009).

However, this question shows that tango is a viable economical and tourist heritage resource, because, as Prats (2010) points out, it has a huge crowd pulling capacity beyond its original location. Nevertheless, this same location, mainly Buenos Aires city, has a long standing attraction capacity, a point that has led to regard tango as a “benchmark” of River Plate identity, and the city as “cultural capital” of Latin America, questioning leading to say that whether tango is linked to a place with consolidated tourist feasibility.

In 2007, Jorge Marchini stated that economic activities linked to tango –both direct and indirect: shows, shops related to products like clothes, classes, milongas, etc.– generated more than ARS 400 million annually. This economic boom, on this analysis, is attributed to the 2001-02 crisis, mainly in the local currency post-devaluation period – the sector would have tripled its revenue in the first 4 years of this century. This allowed an increase in the number of tourists in recent years. However, the commercialization of tango is not only tourism. It involves cultural industries and product commercialisation within the internal market. From this perspective, the underlying assumption is that tango as a brand, and the economic activities that make it stronger as a resource, are a problem and an obstacle for its safeguarding as intangible heritage⁶. Indeed, the marketing and tourism development it generates are viewed with concern by “old tangueros” –certainly omitting the precocious internationalization in the early twentieth century– for fear of losing authenticity perceived as a local value, the same that many visitors arriving in the city look for when they visit and participate in the milongas of the “native people”. Assuming that the inscription on the Representative List of UNESCO has not necessarily been the trigger of trade and economic impact of the tango, let us outline the

4. We suggest the reading of the KIT about “What is intangible cultural heritage?” that can be downloaded from www.unesco.org.

5. By this, we want to highlight the primacy the dance acquires, even in the heritage recognition, and the milonga as quintessential space to observe, realize, visualize and legitimize tango, assuming that this is not the element requiring safeguarding. This naturalization and prejudice has led to prioritized material elements such as the bandoneon, as it is almost no longer manufactured and is a necessary musical instrument for a certain type of musical style, or the attempt to preserve scores and through them, the figure of their composers in most cases already dead.

6. “Tango is the city soy” by Karina Micheletto, Page 12, 4/8/10.



advantages / benefits and risks that should be mitigated regarding the sustainability of tango as ICH.

Advantages / Benefits

There has been an economic growth process of tango, linked to direct and indirect activities that impact on the community committed to its reevaluation.

Tango heritage inclusion and activation opened the door to related public policies with activities aiming at safeguarding its elements and there lies its identity.

Continuity of milonga as cultural and heritage space.
As well as neighbourhood and popular space.

Tango transmission through a new pedagogy : in formal and institutional spaces, may favour the safeguarding of tango heritage.

Risks

Economic sustainability problems:
The domestic market is not big enough to “recreate sustainability and bring about the economic activity of other times”
The external market would be the most significant: though problematic as demand and tourism even external ones could be “highly dependent” on cyclical factors (see Marchini 2007:30)

However, those same policies have multiplied the space for festivals, contests, cultural industries:
Highlighting some elements over others –dancing over music and poetics
Generating shows and exoticism with the “authentic” tango: stylized exhibitionism that undermines the safeguarding of the social milonguero, who has been the developer of customary and improvised practices transmitted from generation to generation.
From milonga to stage and from amateur practice to professionalization.

The risk of discontinuity in the organization of the milongas as a result of no economic profit.

However, this formal kind of transmission would undermine informal transmission networks linked to “old tangueros”.

7. Recomendamos la lectura de Marchini (2007) en relación a los datos y cifras que presenta en su texto sobre el tango y la economía.

Advantages / Benefits

Tango as “cultural recovery and grandparent rescue” by middle class youths.

The correlation between tango as heritage and tourist resource and the labour market / generates incomes:

As labour opportunity for popular youth sectors that perform in the street, but also in milongas or in shows.

Organization of festivals, contests, etc.

Additional income through other activities such as sound technicians, waiters, milonga organizers, Djs, etc.

Chance of receiving state grants (in some cases the possibility has already been materialized).

Risks

Tango as a resource to expand youth labour market of popular sectors willing to become professionals, have employment opportunities and reach spectacle.

As seen above, this relation can be risky when it does not generate enough income or when brokers or business persons take the profit, etc.

When there are no equitable agreements of profit sharing

Grants provided by the state may produce conflicts: For example, the recoverability of a stylized tango for exhibition makes young people compete based on criteria and parameters that set aside tango as a cultural resource and heritage.

Table prepared by the author following Morel (2009), Carozzi (2011), Marchini (2007), and the Training Manual for Trainers (2011) UNESCO.

As shown in Table, risks may arise from the benefits themselves, although this is not always the case. Clearly, there is still much to be debated on this issue: tango is a feasible heritage resource, while at the same time generates economic and tourist viability. In any case, it is necessary to think critically on its safeguarding and the impact that marketing can produce on it, considering that a part of it contributes to the sustainable development of a significant proportion of the community interested in this cultural / heritage expression.

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STAKEHOLDERS LINKED TO TANGO

The “tango community” is large, complex, multiple and diverse. Who is part of it? For whom is represented?

Each actor – from organizations until market, from local associations and milongueros until tourists, among others- is part of this community so different and unequal. This means that, like any community, it is not harmonious, homogeneous, inclusive, but rather composed by multiple actors involved in the production, reproduction and transformation of tango with different and unequal degree of power

As it is visible in the graphics – appended after this list – they are many interrelationships between those actors, but with different levels of intensity. Consequently, and although it is difficult to define, in fact, in the Dossier presented by Buenos Aires and Montevideo it was not clearly delimited below, we will list the different social actors that we can include inside the tango community.

Trasnational Organizations

UNESCO: Tango was inscribed in 2009 on the Representative List of Intangible Heritage of the Humanity.

UNESCO Office, Montevideo: It is the organization that contributes to the Tango Safeguarding Plan as intangible heritage of the humanity.

CONAPLU (Argentine National Commission for the UNESCO): It is the agency that received the nomination of tango as ICH that was submitted and approved in 2009.

Legislative Actors

National Parliament: In 1996, they promulgated the Tango National Law (n°24.684), which declared tango as an “integral part of the National cultural heritage...”

Buenos Aires City Legislature: In 1977 the municipality of the city of Buenos Aires recognized the date of December 11 as the Tango Day. In 1998, the Act No. 130 recognizes the tango as cultural heritage of the City of Buenos Aires. By this way, the city is engaged to guarantee tango “preservation, recovery and diffusion; to promote, to incite and to facilitate the development of all the artistic, cultural,

academic, educational, urban activities linked to tango” (article 1). Moreover, by this law they created the Tango Popular Festival (Fiesta Popular del Tango), which corresponds today to the Festival and World championship of tango (Festival y Mundial de Tango).

-In 1999 with Law No 228 was created a radio program which is dedicated entirely to the issue of popular music of tango and Argentina.

-In 2006, through Law No. 2.218 was given birth to Ballet Tango City.

Governmental Organisms

Secretary of State of Culture: the Tango inscription as ICH was made by the Government of Buenos Aires together with the Government of Montevideo. However, the inscription required the signature of the Secretary of State of Culture. Although the Secretary disposes a Department of Intangible Heritage, it isn't responsibility of the Safeguarding Plan. Concerning tango, this Secretary only made the following:

In 1977, few months after the recognition by the Municipality of Buenos Aires, the State Government recognized the 11th of December as the National Tango Day (decree n°3781).

In 2004, they created a program of Tango Ballet School, named Argentine Tango Styles Academy (Academia de Estilos de Tango Argentino) - (Aceta). The intention was to form young dancing couples with “old milongueros”, considering that this knowledge is in “danger” and that the “old milongueros are the alive testimony of styles, experiences, steps and cultural attitudes that haven't been registered in an organized way, and that they constitute a real intangible heritage (...)”.

In 2003 it was created the Young Tango Festival (Festival de Tango Joven). The aim of that Festival was to build bridges between different generations, and to encourage a new tango generation. The Festival occurred in different cities in Argentina.

Both programs were discontinued in 2007.

Government of Buenos Aires City: It is the City Government with its Ministry of Culture (Undersecretary Office of Heritage), which presented in 2009, with Montevideo, the dossier for the tango application to the inscription on the Representative List of Intangible Heritage of the Humanity:





Ministry of Culture: until 2006 the ministry was a Secretary of Culture and it was constituted by the undersecretary office of Heritage and several organisms which in different moments had and still have incidence on tango.

General Directorate of Heritage and Historical Institute: Until 2007, the Directorate was an independent organization of the Institute. It is with the acceptance of the actual local government that both fuse together. It is the actual Directorate which elaborated and presented the dossier of the Tango as Intangible Heritage of the Humanity.

General Directorate of Museums: in 2003 they created the House Museum Carlos Gardel (decree n°705) which is situated in the district of the Abasto (J. Jaurès 735).

Commission for the Preservation of the Historical Cultural Heritage of the city: It is a legislative and executive authority dedicated to the preservation, promotion, revelation and diffusion of tangible and intangible goods of the city. During the period 2000-2009 they created a department of intangible heritage: in relation with tango they developed in 2008 a survey concerning milongas in the city, which is presented in the book “De Milongas y Milonguer@s” of Leticia Maronese.

Commission and Program of Notable Bars: it is an area under the management of the Ministry of Culture of the city. Its headquarters is in the Directorate General of Heritage and Historical Institute. Created in 1998 as a program destined to distinguish the bars, billiard rooms or cafés in relation with cultural facts or activities, with an architectural value and local relevance. From that program they created a Commission for the Protection and Promotion of the notable cafés, bars, billiard rooms and tearooms of Buenos Aires city. The Commission organizes an annual programming of tango (music programming fundamentally) in some Notable Bars, like the Tortoni or the Café de los Angelitos (both have an important tourist influx).

Tourism Authority of Buenos Aires: this organism depends directly on the Ministry of Culture of Buenos Aires. The Tourism Authority of Buenos Aires was created in 2008

with the law 2627. The aim of the Tourism Authority is to plan and to execute marketing programs, development and promotion of tourism as an economic strategic activity for the city.

Buenos Aires Festival and World championship (Festival y Mundial): during August, each year, the city welcomes Tango Festival in different scenarios. Since 2013 one of them is the Usina del Arte, recently established in the district of La Boca. Many international tango dancers participate in this competition.

Dance championship of Buenos Aires city (Campeonatos de Baile): The city also organizes district championships in different milongas and clubs during the month of May.

National Organization linked to tango

National Tango Academy (Academia Nacional del Tango): The Academy was born in 1990 by presidential decree n°1.235. This Academy, like many others, is linked to the national State through the Ministry of Education and the Secretary of State for Culture. Its aim is that “this national artistic heritage has to be collected, organized, studied and saved for good from any possibility of loss or destruction”. The Academy has to preserve tango, to stimulate new creations and to develop teaching.

Foundation Pro-Academia: it is a foundation created in order to obtain funds for the Academy.

Communities linked to tango

“Tango Community”

Associations of Milongas linked to tango market.

Association of Milongas Organizers (Asociación de Organizadores de Milongas): is a non-profit organization created in 2003, presided by Julio Bassan (organizer of the milonga Huracán in Parque Patricios).

Association of Tango Houses and Traditional Music (Cámara de Casas de Tango y Música Popular): represents business owners of tanguerías.

Milongueros and other actors linked to Milongas

Milongas Organizers: are persons (men and women) who organize milongas in different places (district clubs, tearooms, etc...)

Milongueros of the “old guard” and milongueros of the “new generation”:

dancers (men and women) who frequent milongas. Some dancers dance according to styles named “old guard” learned in houses, with the parents, in the patios. Meanwhile others, although they pick up these styles, they learn them in tango classes, many of them given by the old milongueros.

Professionals Dancers: usually young dancers who learnt how to dance in dancing academies or/and in milongas where also they give classes. Many of them are artists: ranging from ballet and contemporary dancers to actors. Those men and women usually perform a stage tango, like a show which is sometimes performed in theatres but also on many occasion they are hired to give exhibition performances in milongas.

DJs: persons who play music in the milongas. In general they play tango music from the 30s or 40s, and also orchestral music. The DJ is in charge of playing/choosing the different kinds of music: milonga music and waltz in the most traditional milongas, jazz, salsa, cumbia, etc. in other milongas, including the “peñas” like “Alma de Bohemia”, in the district of La Boca.

Live Orchestras: musicians who play different instruments linked to tango genre. Some of these orchestras were created with young groups. But only few milongas can contract these orchestras or groups due to the cost that it represents. On the other side, for a milonga organizer it seems more profitable to contract a professional dancing couple to give an exhibition than a group of musicians who play the whole night or a short time, there is no real interest in going to a milonga to listen to music. Some of these groups are particularly contracted by Notable Bars – mentioned above.

Tourists:

Foreign tourists who frequent some milongas, especially near the city center – most of all Europeans, North Americans, and Japanese – are attracted by the idea of learning how to dance tango. Some of them even stay a few months in the city in order to accomplish this objective.

Tour companies buy visitor packs for tango shows in theaters, but also in tanguerías (tango houses) which offer a dinner/show.

Market/Business Owners:

Tour Operators linked to the City Government and the Tango Festival. They propose tango tours in the city with shows and visits of the historic districts linked to tango (Abasto, San Telmo, La Boca).

Theater Shows: shows produced at a local level, for the local inhabitants of the city and domestic tourism as well as for export abroad.

Tanguerías and restaurants dedicated to present shows where dominate a type of tango called stage tango. They also have live music with musicians groups or a singer.

Cultural Industries: artists and producers who develop tango shows, tv programs (few), radio programs, movies (rare), internet.

Business dedicated to the sale of shoes and clothes associated with tango: these articles are consumed both by the local community and by the tourists – generally those who learn and those who know how to dance.

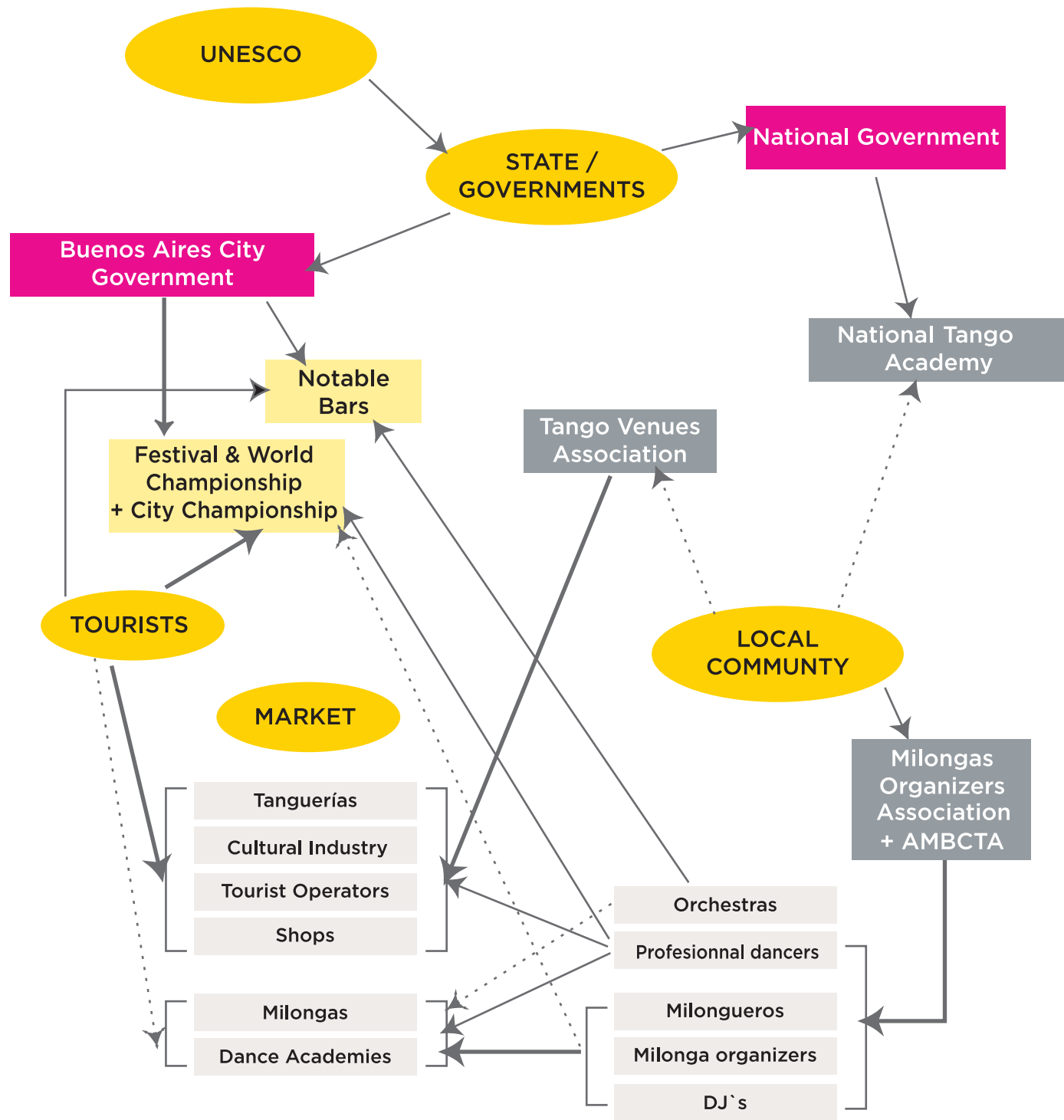
Business dedicated to the sale of souvenirs linked to tango and businesses dedicated to the sale of tango cds, particularly consumed by the tourists.

Thematic hotels and hostels: situated in the districts of the Abasto, the center and San Telmo.

General Observations:

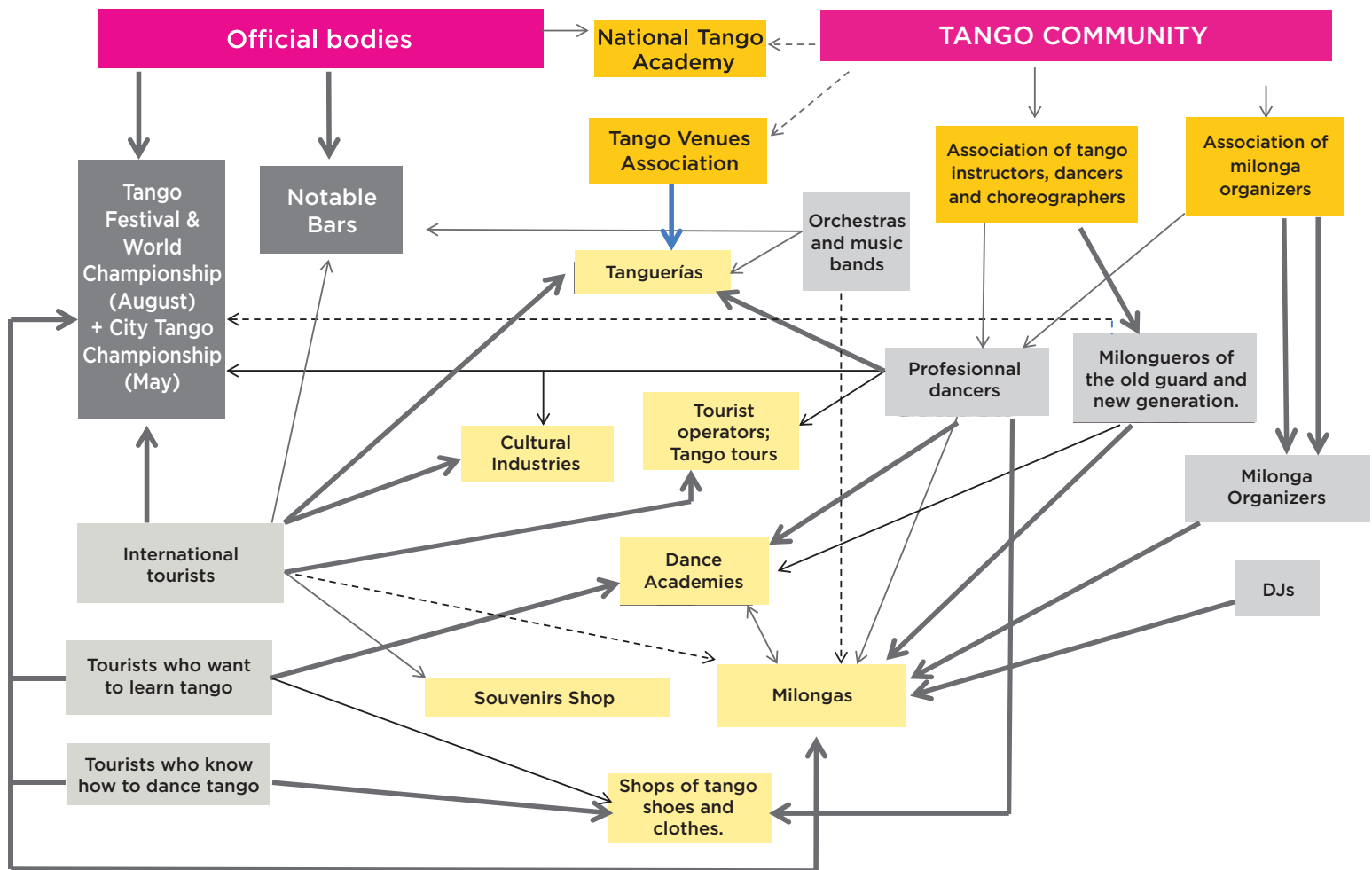
The relations between the local community and the tourist development are quite complicated. One part of the community seems to benefit from this current tourism development, like the tanguerías or the professional dancers, but a large part of the community seems marginalized by it. This is the case of many milongas which experience economic problems, and the musicians as well as the milongueros who don't profit from the promotion, the diffusion or any aid from the national or local Governments.

GENERAL PRESENTATION OF TANGO STAKEHOLDERS



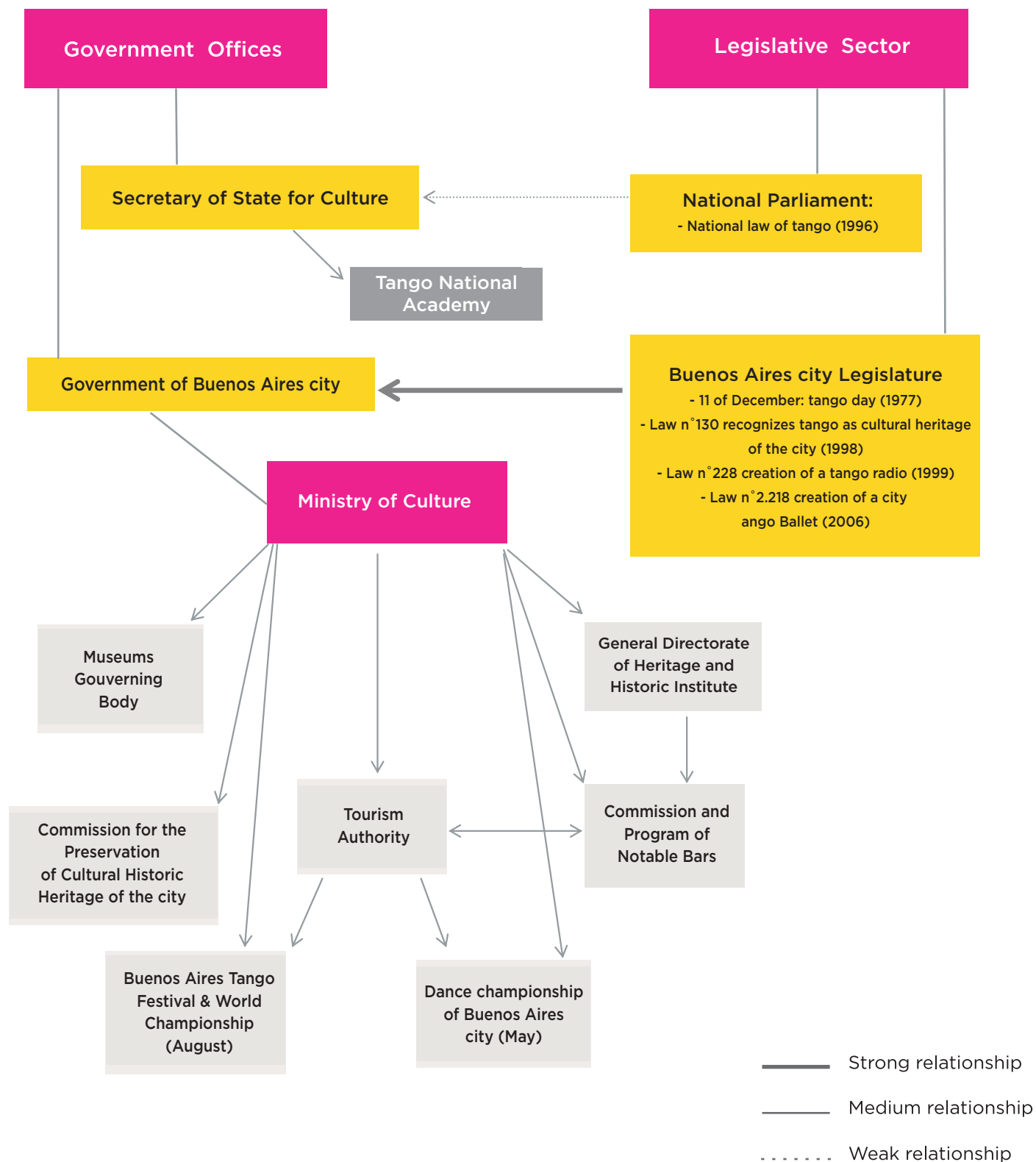
- Strong relationship
- - - Medium relationship
- Weak relationship

THE LOCAL TANGO COMMUNITY AND ITS RELATIONSHIPS WITH TANGO SPACES, GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS AND TOURISM



- Strong relationship
- Medium relationship
- Weak relationship

OFFICIAL BODIES LINKED TO TANGO



SYNTHESIS OF THE EXPERTS PRESENTATIONS AND VISITS HELD ON THE 12th AND 13th OF JUNE 2013

Liliana Barela, general director of the Heritage office of Buenos Aires city. She talked about the Dossier presented by Buenos Aires in 2009 for the inscription of tango on the Representative List of ICH and she emphasized the decision of doing a joint presentation with the city of Montevideo and to reinforce the rioplatense concept of tango in relation to its music, its poetry, its dance. Considering that, currently, the theme of the debate is safeguarding. She described the actions set out by Buenos Aires in relation to the safeguarding of the score and the bandoneon, instrument that it is not manufactured anymore in the country, which implicates a risk for its sustainability. She explained the efforts made from the public management and the local legislation in order to change this situation, with measures such as buying bandoneons, projecting for the future a local factory and creating bandoneon schools in different places around the world. She outlined that the bandoneon has to be heard in order to dance”, without entering a museum. In relation to the importance of the safeguarding and of the problematic association with tango heritage that we encounter in private hands, she maintained that the State cannot itself alone achieve the commitment to be in charge in order to preserve it and she advocated for a collaboration between the State, the private sector and NGOs. Moreover, she highlighted that the community is highly diversified and that the tangible-intangible are dimensions for discussion.

Horacio Spinetto, member of the Commission for the protection and promotion of the notable cafés, bars and tea houses of Buenos Aires city and member of the Tango National Academy. He emphasized the close relationship between tango and the cafés of Buenos Aires and Montevideo, until the point that when tango was recognized as Intangible Cultural Heritage of the Humanity, this convergence was reflected in the book “Cafés y tango en las dos orillas” (Cafés and tango on both banks). Currently Buenos Aires city has 76 notable cafés, recognized as notable because they were the scene of significant cultural activities or because of their antiquity, their architecture or their local relevance. In this sense, these bars are part of the official cultural heritage of Buenos Aires. The Commission of Notable bars promotes tango in some of these bars with spontaneous or professionals performances



and with the promotion of young artists, with a competition for singers, musicians and orchestras, with a prestigious jury, and also with periodic publications and/or the diffusion of associated tourist itineraries.

Carlos Pernault, co-writer of the inscription Dossier presented by Buenos Aires, he talked about the safeguarding measures for the tango continuity included in the presentation Dossier of Buenos Aires and Montevideo, for example, the preservation of lyrics, instruments, photography, scores, vinyl, tenement houses (conventillos), choreographies and publications. He listed the intention to organize festivals on both banks, to create one typical orchestra of the Rio de la Plata, to create a Chair for the formation of children and young artists, the promotion of the notable bars, the creation of a website, and many more. But he recognized that the majority of these initiatives never had a very active existence; some are still in force but many have been lost. He advocated restarting the initiative from the two cities, updating it, giving a new impulse to it.

Teresita Lencina, researcher of the Feca Institute – Argentinean Cultural Studies and Forum -. She described the Safeguarding Program of Heritage Tango that this cultural NGO does where the activities are focused, mainly, on the production and diffusion of academic contents about tango. The Institute is based on the idea of the democratization of knowledge and wealth. The Program includes the digitalization of a selection of phonograms from a period of the tango history called the Old Guard (around

1900/1920), fund on shellac records, where the reproduction speed has been improved in each one, following stylistic, historic and musicological criteria of the period. Finally they published a compilation of 24 recovered and restored tangos on the CD named Tangos en version original (Tangos in original version). The Feca Institute also set up a workshop of tango heritage safeguarding in order to be sensitive towards the tango community about tango concepts, and to identify the elements in danger and the possible ways of managing and promoting the safeguarding actions. Among the priorities, she mentioned the recordings from different periods, the orchestral arrangements of the main orchestras, masters/ originals of recordings, scores and records, and instruments in danger such as the bandoneon, and to register the memoirs and the souvenirs of the protagonists still living from the so-called “golden age of tango”, witnesses of a period of invaluable historical value. Among the risks, she alerted us to were the loss of historic dance styles and the choreography of important masters who have influenced the development of the dance in tango and about the ones we do not have documentation or technical knowledge, the lack of spaces and local circuits to listen to or dance tango in, and the threat on the places and the physiognomy of emblematic districts in the history of tango.

Walter Santoro, tango objects collector and president of the Argentine Cultural Industries Foundation (founded in 2006). He talked about its program for recuperating cultural heritage linked to tango. From his personal collection, made up of more than 40 000 tango objects,

he proposed to create, with the support of the Cultural Heritage Office of Buenos Aires city, an interpretative center, to keep traceability and to interpret tango, a center for investigation, tracing and interpretation of the tango which would be open to students and researchers, an initial step before the creation of a Tango Museum for the City.

Amareswar Galla, UNESCO trainer in intangible heritage, emphasized the role of the communities as the mainstay of the Safeguarding Convention for Intangible Cultural Heritage, of 2003, describing it as a very flexible instrument, with open definitions and a non-exhaustive classification of the elements. He explained that it is a democratic Convention of which the communities are central and the purpose is to associate them with this heritage. But in order to keep it alive, intangible cultural heritage has to be relevant for a culture across time, to be learnt and practiced regularly in the community and passed on to future generations. He stated that many nominations are rejected because the community is not involved or included in the project. Moreover, one of the crucial problems is the representation of the community and how the community defines itself in each local context – he proposed to talk about lobby or reference groups-. Intangible heritage requires a holistic approach, that mixes the tangible with the intangible, maintaining that people do not distinguish the tangible from the intangible. UNESCO encourages the States Parties to safeguard their intangible cultural heritage expressions as an important factor of cultural diversity in the face of globalization. Moreover, he indicated that it is not only a question of inscriptions, but above all the safeguarding ICH and therefore not just thinking about classifications and glossaries that lead to generalizations, considering that the Convention is diversity. Safeguarding involves helping the community to revitalize aspects of the elements which can be in danger, to manage, to transmit. The community has to do it by itself. But how? This is the challenge that ICH has to face and, consequently also tango. On the other hand, he outlined the relationship between ICH and sustainable tourism, such as the potential creation of a tango museum similar to the Fado Museum, without separating tango from the local context.

Mónica Kapusta, director of the Tourism Observatory of Buenos Aires city, she talked about tango as a crowd pulling element for both residents and foreigners alike. She explained that since 2008, August has become tango month, question that it is linked to the reorganizing and the intertwining of the agendas associated with tourism and culture. Moreover, she presented the surveys carried out by the Tourism Observatory of the City Tourism Authority, which emphasized a strong association of the tango with the image that tourists identify the city. From the Preferences Survey 2012, with an annual average of 900 cases of tourists who stay at least one night in the city, it comes to light that the total of tourists polled who identified tango with the image of the city has grown: year 2008: 19,8%; year 2009: 27,0%; year 2010: 28,0%; year 2011: 30,0%; year 2012: 30,5%. The recognition, in September 2009, of Tango as Intangible Cultural Heritage of the Humanity gave to Buenos Aires an important visibility. This acknowledgement encouraged the re-launching of two of the most a crowd pulling events of the city cultural calendar at local public level but with a weak position at national and international one: the Tango International Festival and Dance World Championship.

Leticia Maronese, is collaborating with the project Living Heritage and she is a facilitator in the realization of the inventory of milongas in a community context (together with Mónica Lacarrieu). The decision to focus the inventory in milongas, as delimited element of tango came from: 1) the identification confirmed by the community of the milonga and of elements associated with it, as highly necessary for safeguarding; 2) the evaluations carried out by the members of the community consulted. For example, the milongas are in danger due to minor sustainability, most of all economic, in spite of the entrance of new stakeholders, such as dancers, professors and organizers. Till now according to the testimonies obtained for this project, the milongas: 1) are valid in the present and we hope that due to their historic continuity, will continue to exist for future generations; 2) they are significant spaces for the people and groups in the city but visitors too. Although still valid and significant, they are in relative danger due to typical transformations processes by contemporary and global societies. From there, it becomes necessary to generate and

set in motion safeguarding measures which not only protect the built-up environment, but all the types of uses and practices developed by different social groups. She asked: Why the participation of the community is necessary in this process? She stated that the participation of the community is necessary but it is not easy to involve it. In this sense, the participation is not only formal but committed and active in its development. The milonguera community was defined, not by who is going to the milonga but by who are “members” of the community and who feel and/or are perceived by the community as referents representative of it. At the same time these persons are carriers, because they have knowledge of the shapes, styles, techniques, rituals, codes; and are transmitters, because they contribute to the reproduction of the milonga and the dance as fundamental axis of the milonga, through learning spaces for the new dancers; and finally they are the keepers of this knowledge and practices and performers of them. We can define two types of actors: milongueros of the “old guard” and “new milongueros” and we identified two associations: Asociación de maestros, bailarines, y coreógrafos del tango argentino (AMBCTA) (Argentine Tango Masters, Dancers and Choreographers Association) and Asociación de organizadores de milongas (AOM) (Milongas Organizers Association).

Antonio Di Candia, representative of the Culture Vice Ministry of Uruguay, and part of the Tango Group MEC (for Ministry of Education and Culture of Uruguay), founded in 2012 in order to elaborate a safeguarding plan of tango, delayed since 2009 when tango was inscribed on the Representative List of the World Heritage. He explained that until 2009 they only had taken some measures which included cross-border actions, like the program for promoting the notable bars of Montevideo, together with Buenos Aires, and the publication of two books. Afterwards they held some meetings with the “colectivo del tango” (tango group). In August 2012, by presidential decree, they created the Interministerial Commission of Tango, integrated by the Ministry of Tourism, Ministry of Culture and Ministry of International Relations, coordinated by the Ministry of Culture. The group Tango MEC centralizes the actions and articulates with the other sectors of the government, for example



with the City Council of Montevideo. A first step has been the call for inventory experts, in tango and candombe, included also on the Representative List of ICH. One action to highlight is the declaration of the Heritage Day 2013 dedicated to tango, as part of the 10 years anniversary of the 2003 Convention and of Montevideo as the Ibero American Culture Capital. Carried out so far is a strategic work plan or safeguarding plan along with what arises from the frequent contacts kept with the referents of the group, institutions, musicians, instruments, dancers, milongas, etc. and between the actions of articulation, one of them is to restart the dialogue with the Government of Buenos Aires city.

Frédéric Vacheron, Program specialist, Culture Sector, UNESCO Montevideo Office, he reminded that the ICH Convention has almost 300 elements on its List, which is a challenge for the UNESCO in terms of management, not only internally for the organization but also for the different countries, because the committees have to produce guidelines for the States Parties. He outlined the intellectual work done by UNESCO/ UNITWIN network regarding this, understanding that the Committee cannot resolve all the questions arise from such a complicated topic as the relation between economy, development, cultural tourism and ICH. He stated that in the guidelines it is clear that there is no incompatibility between the economic development and ICH. As a matter

of fact, the craftwork, the use of traditional knowledge, the festivals, which are cultural industries, are linked with the economic activity of the countries. The challenge is to guarantee the viability of the expression and that ICH can still have a meaning, a function in the community, as it is stated in the guidelines, and that the benefits, in the case of tourism, go back to who transmit ICH, not only the private sector but most of all the carriers. There are many examples of a happy marriage between tourism and ICH, but also unhappy experiences, where we have seen a distortion of heritage, with important risks and where the viability was not guaranteed. His conclusion is that we have to find a dialogue between all these elements in order to maintain tango in the heart of the Rio de la Plata identity.

FIELD VISITS

Tango International Festival of Buenos Aires.

Its director, Gustavo Mozzi, considers that the Festival and Tango Dance World Championship participate in the heritage safeguarding because they are in agreement with and focused on giving a place to the new expressions, taking care of the impact in the future, and at the same time preserving the best of the tradition. He outlines that the Festival – which has since this year its main headquarters in the Usina del Arte – is like an important window for the world, which takes what is happening in the sector but also provokes new things. He recognizes that there is an explosion of interest in tango, even if in some cases it is a stereotype model, which is not one that the Festival wants to promote. On the contrary they try to show the tango in the day to day life of the city with expressions that the new generations do and produce and the dialogue between these expressions of avant-garde and the traditions and the historic referents scheduled during the Festival. He recognizes that there are many tensions, but they are natural tensions coming from a phenomenon in movement and in clear expansion, where the heritage element is alive. It is the reason why one of the objectives is that people learn to dance tango and to create a transfer of knowledge. He stated that in the 1940s or 1950s, when the schools were the cabarets, the theaters, the district clubs, and the orchestras were doing until three or four concerts per night, there was an oral transmission of knowledge that today doesn't occur. This transmission today is done through education, by work of some academic spaces and certain efforts to pass on the baton, from those generations to the actual young generation. Many of this new generation are really brilliant and keep the flame of tango alive. He declared that holding the Festival is not only designing a program and preparing a concert series, but taking into account the needs of the sector and working according to that, in harmony with the musicians and dancers, which explains why the Festival has flourished. Regarding the relationship with the district and the integration of the community, they are working with the milonguero circuit. He assured that "For them we are designing a particular section inside the Festival".

Caminito, is situated in the district of La Boca. It was visited with a particular emphasis on the relation between tourism-heritage-tango. The format of Caminito is due to where the railway tracks passed until 1928. In 1950, a group of neighbors led by the fine artist Benito Quinquela Martín, decided to recuperate this "curve". In 1959 the municipal government converted it into a colored "street-museum" and it took its name from the famous tango "Caminito" (1926) – this name shows the close relationship between the site and tango-. The site was considered an open air museum, due to the fact that for many years it was framed by the conventillos (tenement houses) of wood and corrugated iron painted in bright colors, where popular practices were maintained such as hanging out clothes on the balconies and murals created by street artists of the district, the city and tango. During the last years, the site has spread to the surrounding streets at the same time the conventillos dwellers were evicted and the buildings were transformed into artist studios and themed museums where shops appeared and exhibitions held showing the interior of the properties. The restaurants, souvenirs shops, artists, tango dancers who offer the tourists the possibility of a typical photo have increased and as a consequence they have extended the picturesque territory (although it doesn't reach the Boca Juniors Stadium for the moment). During the visit we explained the process of gentrification and cultural requalification that happened in this sector, the type of cultural tourism displayed and the rare reference to tango, in spite of finding plaques on the walls, tango dancers and paintings linked to the genre.

Ana María Weckesser is a bandoneón luthier. The workshop was founded by her father more than 70 years ago. Today she continues the work with her daughter Julia, the third generation of luthier in a country where the discussion about the risks of extinction of bandoneons worry musicians and other actors of the tango community, in spite of the sanction of a National Law of Bandoneons Protection (Law 26.531) that planed, amongst other things, the creation of a National Register of Bandoneons which still has not been achieved. What is in

danger is the diatonic bandoneon which gives tango its sound identity. What is happening in spite of the evolution in technology, the bandoneon is a handmade instrument and very difficult to reproduce to the required standard. Not having a local production and regulation which limit the speculation, the lack of instruments is causing an unusual interest in the collectors' market, putting its existence in danger. What is sure is that without the bandoneon there is no tango. It is a key element for tango safeguarding. Ana María and her daughter produce spare parts, repair and tune. Everything is handmade or taken from another bandoneon. But they did something even more interesting: they have helped to found a school in order to maintain the profession of luthier of bandoneon.

Confitería (tea house) La Ideal, was built with materials and elements imported from Europe: French chandeliers, Czechoslovakian armchairs, Italian stained glass windows, hand carved Slovenian oak paneling, marble for the stairs, beveled crystal for the windows, brass wrought iron, etc. Inaugurated in 1912 as a tea house and was for several decades the center of middle class Buenos Aires social life. Over the years, it adapted to the different changes, with the presentation of various shows, from the famous "ladies orchestra" in the 1920s, to tango singers and artists of café-concert. The ballroom, on the first floor, today is a meeting place for famous milongueros (tango dancers), from Buenos Aires or foreigners, and also for prestigious teachers who give tango classes every day. Today, La Ideal is recognized as a notable bar and was declared an area of historic protection and site of tourist interest by the Legislature of Buenos Aires city.

Academia Nacional del Tango de la República Argentina (National Tango Academy of the Argentine Republic) was created the 28th of June 1990, with the aim to compile, order, study and safeguard permanently from any possibility of loss or destruction the cultural heritage that tango and its associated expressions mean. Among the reasons for its creation they said that tango as a musical, choreographical poetic and interpretative art,

reached a century of existence as an authentic and deep expression of the Argentine nation; that this creative force of tango is present in more than fifty thousand music pieces composed, published and performed and since the end of the 19th century more than fifty thousand recorded versions of these works in various phonographic, cinematographic and other mediums in Argentina and around the world. Tango has represented, as few national arts have done since the beginning of the 20th century, what the Argentina Republic is to the world. Since its creation the Academy has been headed by the Uruguayan, naturalized Argentinian, poet and composer Horacio Ferrer, along with Astor Piazzolla of many emblematic tangos of the second half of the 20th century, such as Maria de Buenos Aires or Balada para un loco.

El Querandi is a tangueria situated in the historic district of Buenos Aires. Every night it offers a diner and a show called “Our Tango” which covers the history of tango from its beginning till the end of the 19th century until today. The Querandi opened in 1920 for the first time as a bar and was characterized by impressive art-déco façade. From then on, it has been meeting place for students, poets, writers and intellectuals of the time. By the end of the 1970s the Querandi had closed its doors. Abandoned, the place was later occupied by homeless families. Almost in ruins the Querandi was almost auctioned off.

Fortunately, the Permanent Commission for the Historical Places’ Preservation and the Buenos Aires City Museum Administration eased the alarm about the historical and patrimonial importance of the building. Finally, in 1991 Bar Querandi S.A. assumed the cost of the property’s restoration as well as the control of the bar and restaurant. In July 1992, completely refurbished and its soul restored, the Querandi opened its doors again. Since reopening it offers a tango dinner/show every night.

Mayoral and Elsa María, true tango ambassadors of the world, they offer in their classes the secrets of the most sensual dance. In their Academy, a little palace from the end of the 19th century, situated in the heart of Recoleta district, residents and foreigners learn tango from the undeniable authors of the tango revival in the 1980s. Inventors of “La Vereda del tango Km. 0” (tango sidewalk, Km.0), they triumphed during various seasons with “Tango Argentino” on Broadway. Mayoral and Elsa Maria are a model for everyone who know that tango can be learnt everywhere in the world, but that the real experience of the dance is only in Buenos Aires.

The Café de los Angelitos is one of the notable bars of the city. It was inaugurated in 1890 under the name “Bar Rivadavia” by the Italian Bautisto Fazio. The café was a meeting point for “compadritos” (swaggerers/show offs) and “malandras” (scoundrels) until the end of the

XIXth century. With its very basic furnishings and a dirt floor, the place was a stage for the verbal duels of gaucho minstrels Gabino Ezeiza, Higuito Cazon and Jose Betinotti. Because many criminals frequented the place in that time, “Café de los Angelitos” was the ironic name that a district police inspector gave to the café. In 1919, it was bought by Ángel Salgueiro, who decided to restyle the bar and to put two plaster angels on the façade. The bar reopened in 1920 with the name “Café de los Angelitos”. It then became an emblematic meeting place for many famous national figures from the world of culture, politics, sports and the arts. The tango had an important role in the café. It was a refuge for many tangueros in the city like Carlos Gardel, José Razzano, Osvaldo Pugliese, Aníbal Troilo, Alfredo Palacios, Juan B. Justo, and many others. Cátulo Castillo and José Razzano dedicated a tango to the cafe called “Café de los Angelitos”.

In 1992, the café closed its doors. The building was becoming dilapidated, in 2000 it suffered more damage and some preventive demolition was deemed necessary even though it had been declared Intangible Cultural Heritage by the government of the city.

Supported by the Friends Association of Café de los Angelitos, after the roof collapse and subsequent demolition, reconstruction and expansion were carried out. In 2007, Café de los Angelitos reopened. These days, the Café operates as a bar during the day, and at night time as a restaurant with a tango show.



METHODOLOGICAL OVERVIEW

The purpose of this Workshop is to work on tango as an element of the ICH, inscribed on the Representative List of the UNESCO by the cities of Buenos Aires (Argentina) and Montevideo (Uruguay). Specifically, we will debate and analyze the interrelationship between tango and Buenos Aires city, in particular the relation between tango safeguarding as ICH and the preceding and current impact of tourism produced by that inscription on local population.

Choosing tango as part of “Living Heritage” is a relevant example of both an intangible heritage element (registrations of urban cultural expressions are very limited) and concerning the effect and problems this inscription has on the communities involved. From there it results a special interest to analyse relationships between the specific community, the local society and the different actors involved in the planning, handling and management programs, in the same way as the activities of tango safeguarding and the development of tourism in relation to this ICH.

The objectives set for this section of the workshop are:

Communicate and debate with the participants about the needs, demands and problems that arose from visits and exchanges with tango stakeholders (considering the specific instructions given associated with the visits and presentations).

Communicate and debate with the participants about the identified problems concerning the relationship - continuing/discontinuing/tense - between tango as ICH and tango as a tourist resource/product in Buenos Aires city.

Elaborate together themes and contents relative to the recommendations and possible solutions to the problems, needs and demands identified and analyzed during the workshop.

1- Conceptual Approach

Considering the presentations given during the morning of the Thursday 13 of June – parameters associated with the Convention for the safeguarding of Intangible Heritage (UNESCO), state of the art about tango, inventory based on community developed now in Buenos Aires, safeguarding plan being carried out in Montevideo, and the tourism policy linked to tango elaborated by the Tourism Observatory of the city government of Buenos Aires- fundamental concepts emerged for the realization and implementation of the methodology associated with this Workshop. Before getting into the methodological phase, we will define concisely the main concepts associated with the issues of this Workshop:

- Intangible Cultural Heritage
- Cultural Tourism
- Sustainable Development
- Politics and Management

As a starting point, we consider intangible heritage in a perspective of cultural heritage as an expanded sphere, not limited to its technical and depoliticized vision, and neither restricted to the manifestations that, sometimes, were linked to folklore and/or popular culture. This approach supposes a large concept that takes into consideration its different dimensions of analysis, transcending fake dichotomies – for example, tangible-intangible- exceeding folk perspectives, such as those associated with the “freezing” of cultural goods and/or expressions, including and integrating present and future with the past – generally seen as the exclusive temporality of heritage- leaving behind a vision associated with the de-socialization and de-politicization of cultural heritage.

We consider that the notion of cultural tourism is linked to the notion of heritage. On one hand, since the 1960s, heritage has been perceived through uptake, the cultural industries and tourism. On the other hand,

since the 1980s, “new tourism” has appeared, closely associated with alternative tourism and the experience of the authentic. Among them, has emerged cultural tourism that concerns the discovery of heritage sites or expressions. “Cultural tourism is currently associated with the attraction it exerts “what people do in their life” (Singh, 1994, p.18) on potential tourists, including, as it is said in the preceding definition, popular culture, art and art galleries, architecture, festive events, museums and heritage and historic sites, with the purpose of experiencing culture as a distinctive way of life (Hughes, 1996, p.707)...” (Santana 2003). Cultural sustainable tourism is one that respects tangible and intangible heritage, and participates in the safeguarding of this heritage.

The relationship between intangible heritage and cultural tourism, usually, tends to be close. From that point it becomes crucial to consider the link between intangible heritage and sustainable development. A sustainable development is one that permits “to satisfy the needs of the current generations without compromising the possibilities of the future generations to look after their own needs” (Brundtland report). Sustainable development not only involves the economic development of the population, but also the quality of life, the social equity and environment quality. In relation with ICH, the sustainable development in a community can be closely associated with the viability of the uses of ICH in this community, considering particularly: an adapted management of natural resources, an equitable allocation of the economic benefits, a better social cohesion, and many more aspects.

By politics and management, we consider not only the politics and plans elaborated and executed by the State, but all the areas and spheres of collective construction, in which the government stakeholders are one among many others, as we can see in the Actors list linked to tango. It deals with debate, disputes, consensus and disagreements, spheres where different stakeholders make suggestions

and build collective strategies. In a way, this workshop that involves UNESCO/UNITWIN network members, reproduces those spheres. The concept of governance has become essential in the elaboration of politics and actions relative to sustainable development. The governance consists in the participation of all the actors (citizens, companies, associations, etc.) in the decision-making processes; it is a form of participatory democracy

2. Methodological perspectives

Regarding the methodological model we will use, it is necessary to explain some premises.

- On one hand, the UNESCO/UNITWIN network members start from the premise that in various places/countries there is a lack of management ability in the heritage/cultural tourism area.
- On the other hand, concerning intangible cultural heritage, we start from the idea that many cultural expressions developed in various localities from different countries and continents, suffer from problems linked to tourist overload that tends to distort the sense of these expressions and introduce conflicts between local stakeholders- supposedly inexistent before the arrival of tourism – at local level.
- In this perspective, intangible heritage has been perceived as a resource to slow down mass tourism, although it is “necessary” for a better quality of life and the sustainable development of the communities involved with these cultural expressions, it’s a misfortune that should be regulated. From there, an important proportion of the inscriptions on the Heritage Lists of humanity were justified from that premise. However, in this vision we forget the heterogeneity of the pre-existent situations and the ones originated from the same postulations and inscriptions. For example, the Carnival of Barranquilla (Colombia) had an important flow of visitors before the declaration, and on the contrary

the UNESCO recognition has produced local tensions that were latent and that were not the result of massive tourism. In the case of the “Fiesta de Día de los Muertos” (Day of the dead) in Michoacán, Mexico, the situation became complicated with the declaration: the procession’s itinerary includes a lake crossing, but the infrastructure and equipment were insufficient to transport the number of people that had begun to visit the fiesta. The declaration of the Quebrada de Humahuaca as cultural landscape of the humanity is an example in the same sense. The declaration has generated not only social conflicts but also problems in terms of infrastructure to support the number of tourists (lack of water being an example, when they hold the Carnival in Tilcara). Moreover, there are examples like the Carnival of Olinda, which is not an object for an application to the UNESCO, however, more and more tourists are involved every year in its development, causing many problems in terms of carrying capacity for the city; or the Fiesta de San Sebastian that Antonio Arantes (2004) analyzed in which local actors had to negotiate at which moment and situation of the fiesta the outsiders could participate (not only the tourists, but also the residents).

- Although some of the problems with tourism are a consequence of the UNESCO recognitions, the majority of the stakeholders consider that it is the opposite. In other words that heritage recognition can slow down, control and regulate those problems. In this way, according to the problem we raise, tourism tends to define itself in this tense relation that includes troubled aspects linked to heritage, but most of all in relation to the groups and subjects that execute it. However, tourism can also become a resource for the sustainable development.

Concerning tango, the situation is complex and probably quite different from most well known cases. Let’s see the reasons of this appraisal:

- Tango was one of the first inscriptions on the representative list of the humanity associated to urban space, revitalized during the last decades



and recipient of a flow of foreigner. However, we have to highlight that its first application – before the Convention of 2003- was rejected because it was considered as a “heritage too alive”. We can explain that by the fact that it’s an urban and contemporary manifestation and that in those years the declarations were focused on small and enclosed communities, situated in indigenous and rural sites, far from urban centers.

- As Prats was saying (2009) tango on one side is located in a metropolis or a big city, the one that disposes of a “critical mass of resident users, which brings about a minimum of population with sufficient discretionary incomes that can be hypothetically assigned to the enjoyment of heritage resources...”, in other words residents or locals with a capacity to exert a tourist attraction on the area. From that perspective, tango constitutes a heritage and tourism resource crucial in the construction of Buenos Aires as Cultural Capital of :

- In 2011, the local government said that “tango is like the soy of Buenos Aires”. This declaration was stated in the context of the Festival y Mundial de Tango and it associated tango with an economic and export product. That is to say, it is seen as an element that grows apart of the local society but at the same time it turns out to be dependent on the economy but without apparent benefits for it.

- On the opposite side, many organizations and sectors of the community set out that “tango is not soy, it is culture”, calling for a reorientation of its value locally, through actions that would imply benefits for the tango community- revitalization of tango as popular culture, to decentralize tours, to redistribute the budget to the districts and not only to the big events, all potential measures of heritage safeguarding.

On the other hand, if we would have started from the idea that the equation between heritage and tourism could be positive, consequently, the addition of both fields would result in development. In the case of tango characterized by the oscillations presented, our

conclusion should be that without not always having heritage plus tourism, there shouldn’t have development or it would depend of the moment/cycle in which we observe it.

Other premise to consider is that:

The high impact or the decline of tourism in relation to tango doesn’t have a big influence on the local development of the tango community.

The local development is relatively sustainable, even if some parts of it depend on the tango economy such as tourism (tango is a job opportunity for young people for example, situation that, to a lesser degree, is sustainable even when foreign tourism goes down).

3. Participative phase

- This workshop begun from a question that can be synthesized as: **Is the tourist viability of tango heritage possible?** which can then be subdivided: **Is tango as heritage touristically viable? / As a tourist resource, is tango viable as heritage?**

- These questions are central to the Workshop. They are deduced from the supposed imbalance materialized between tango as heritage and/or local cultural expression – exalted value by those who consider themselves to be “tango community” and observable in spaces like milongas – and tango as a tourist resource and cultural industry, visible in the festivals, but also in the tanguerías and other activities encouraged by the market. This imbalance causes a tense and complex relation between the show, the cultural industry and the local dynamic that recreates non scenic tango. But, why tense and complex? Because there are members of the tango community who participate in the festival as members of the jury (they are generally referents of the real and original tango) or dancers, but at the same time they criticize these type of spaces, demanding solutions for the milongas, perceived by them as the real spaces of tango as local heritage.

But, at the same time, many of these referents need tango as an industry, to recreate a local circuit of sustainable development orientated towards the milonga, not just as a place to dance, but also to learn and to pass on the culture of tango.

Based on this series of assumptions and premises, we set out a workshop based on thematic group techniques. In the light of the problems we mentioned and the registers and observations that came to light from the presentations and visits, as well as the discussions with the involved actors, we proposed:

-A first phase linked to the ordering of the obtained results through the application of instructions given for the realization of registers associated with discussions and visits linked to tango.

-In a second stage of the Workshop, participants were organized into thematic groups. One of the participants of each group recorded, facilitated and presented the collective work through a table drawn up for this purpose. The transversal concepts associated to the themes-problems studied in groups were:

- Heritage/heritage recognition
- Safeguarding of ICH
- Tourism
- Sustainable development
- Participation of the community

The key question for every group was the following: **Is the tourist viability of tango heritage possible?**

Regarding the following themes-problems, we are interested in working on:

-Strengths, weaknesses and challenges referring to the balances and imbalances, that we saw, were produced between tango as heritage and tango as tourism.

-The identification of the actual situation and the future expectations considering the

minimum requests in the integration of the community in the sustainable development of tango as heritage and as tourism.

Themes-Problems studied:

1- Safeguarding actions concerning heritage/sustainable development (set up and confront strengths, weaknesses and challenges)

- What are the processes that are normally executed in this sphere? What are the tourist operations and activities being implemented concerning tango in Buenos Aires?
- What are the levels of implication of the tango community in the touristic activities? Is there coherence between those activities and the participation of the community?
- What are the objectives they should pursue to transform, to reinforce the tourist operations and activities that involve the local tango community?
- Which strategies of short and medium term they should introduce? What are the tourist activities necessary to favor in the future the sustainable development of tango as heritage resource?

2-Tourist/sustainable development actions and operations (set up and confront strengths, weaknesses and challenges).

- What are the processes that are normally executed in this sphere? What are the tourist operations and activities being implemented concerning tango in Buenos Aires?
- What are the levels of implication of the tango community in the touristic activities? Is there coherence between those activities and the participation of the community?
- What are the objectives they should pursue to transform, to reinforce the tourist operations and activities that involve the local tango community?
- Which strategies of short and medium term they should introduce? What are the tourist activities necessary to favor in the future the sustainable development of tango as heritage resource?

3- Tango in relation to heritage safeguarding/tango as tourist resource: sustainable development?

- What is the level of impact tourism has on the safeguarding?

- How can the communities participate in the planning and application of the safeguarding measures and sustainable tourism? What are the resources they need in order to make the measures effective? Who should apply them?

- How to reach coherence between safeguarding and tourism in the viability of the element? What can we do with tango as ICH of the humanity in relation to tourism and development? How can we do it?

It is our interest to evaluate levels and degrees of benefits, balances and imbalances and risks, such as the integration/no integration of the local community in order to establish creative solutions.

In order to have conclusions in this sense, we have to analyze the results obtained by each group based on the following tables:



DESCRIPTIVE TABLE

(about the topics dealt in the expositions and visits and about the results of the different groups)

Measure/activity	Participatingactors	Requests/ Resources	Benefits/ results
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A SWOT table (Strengths, Weaknesses and challenges) following the same criteria mentioned in the descriptive table.

A synthesis of the results from the thematic work linked to the heritage safeguarding, cultural tourism and sustainable development.

ANALITIC AND RESULTS RELATIONAL TABLE

Recognition and acceptance of safeguarding measures	Recognition, management of tourist activities	Link between heritage and tourism= sustainable development	Inclusion/ integration of the involved community
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RESULTS AND ANALYSIS COLLECTED DURING THE WORKSHOP

A) RESULTS OF THE WORKING GROUPS

During the workshop, the participants were divided in three groups in order to answer if the safeguarding of tango as ICH and its sustainable tourist viability are possible.

GROUP 1

Theme: Heritage safeguarding actions for the sustainable development

- What are the processes that are normally executed in this sphere? What were the safeguarding measures prior to the UNESCO recognition and what are the measures they introduce later?

- What are the levels of implication of the tango community in the safeguarding measures? Is there a coherence between these measures and the participation of the community?

- What are the objectives they should pursue to transform, to reinforce safeguarding measures that involve the local tango community?

- Which strategies of short and medium term they should introduce? What are the heritage safeguarding activities necessary to encourage in the future the sustainable development of tango as heritage and as a tourist resource?

The results presented by the members of the first group are:

- The heritage recognition of tango was the result of a proactive public policy, with little participation of the community. However, the community develops local practices which promote tango safeguarding as heritage.

- The society has achieved the formation of a regional (rioplatense) heritage but with a limited participation by the communities from Buenos Aires and Montevideo.

Strengths and weaknesses analysis

• As strengths:

- It is a heritage constructed by the people. This means that beyond its inscription on the List of ICH, the society contributes to its production, what allows it to stay in force. The fact that it is omnipresent in the Argentine and Uruguayan society favors the tango sustainability.

- The diversity and the multidimensional wealth of tango: artistic-poetry, music and dance- but also historic, geographic and popular, which involves the two countries.

• Weaknesses and threats:

- As the tango community is very big and complex (it involves various stakeholders, it is an urban expression, but also it is a community which is set at the national, regional and transnational levels), the dialog is not easy. There is no direct and continuous contact.

- The associations represent a very little part of the community universe. We are requiring to involve also all the persons who are not part of these associations.

- We need more social organizations in order to represent the different sectors that composed the tango community.

• As strategies:

- Having a participative, proactive, interested and committed inventory.

- Improving the communication towards the community, reinforcing the dialogue between the institutions and the actors who represent the community.

- The State institutions have to look for a continuous dialog with the community, saying until which point they want to go: if it is to the homogenization way and mass tourism or if they prefer the conservation of the diversity and to make people aware of the importance of tango as heritage.

- Defining a percentage, of the generated incomes and a part of the budget assigned to tango tourism, to give it to the community, to qualify it and organize it, transmitting to it the decision making power and from there improving its sustainability.

- Encouraging the construction of a dynamic bilateral forum between Buenos Aires and Montevideo, which is reinforced by international workshops and activities and which can take part sometimes in others international forums about ICH safeguarding and tourism, generating a dynamic activity of exchanges.

- Tango as intangible heritage needs inherent supports and measures to maintain its material base constituted by different ways of doing which are at the interface of the tangible and intangible dimensions.

- Recuperating spaces and improving the quality of life of the persons and groups involved.

• Conclusions:

- We think that the phase of tango heritage recognition is in progress. The fact that the heritage recognition is a current objective

of public policy and of the community is very important for the tango safeguarding.

- Working for the strengthening in the long term, including the transmitting of knowledge and the importance of the intangible heritage in the contents of communication and education, particularly to young people. This challenge will strengthen the transmission of tango identities as heritage.

- Encouraging the creation of a participative public-private institution which would network with other private and public associations, in order to guarantee the full accessibility to intangible and tangible heritage linked to tango and supporting the researches about this heritage.

GROUP 2:

Theme: Tourism/sustainable development actions and operations

- What are the processes that are normally executed in this sphere? What are the tourist operations and activities that they introduce in relation to tango in Buenos Aires?

- What are the levels of implication of the tango community in the touristic activities? Is there a coherence between those activities and the participation of the community?

- What are the objectives they should pursue to transform, to reinforce the tourist operations and activities that involve the local tango community?

- Which strategies of short and medium term they should introduce? What are the tourist activities necessary to favor in the future the sustainable development of tango as heritage resource?

The results presented by the participants of the group 2 are the following:

We start from the principle that tourism has to be considered with a broad focus, in a multidimensional perspective, integrating in a large urban context. In fact, it would be a mistake to have an isolated tourist policy. Is there any interaction and mutual profit between tango and tourism?

This presentation is composed of two parts: a first part corresponds to a diagnosis and a second part to the propositions.

I) Diagnosis:



Through the visits and presentations of those three days, we saw that tango is an expression, a manifestation very complex and plural in its resources, values and in its relationship with tourism. It is very difficult to answer in a univocal way about the link between the local communities and tourism. In fact, the communities are plurals, as are the tourists. There is not a generic tourist, but a plurality of tourists who have different expectations about tango and its relation to heritage.

This diagnosis is focused on the interactions that exist between tango, tourism and heritage.

A division between two perspectives about tango:

- As a tourist product, with a cultural component. Example: the tanguerías with their diner-show.
- As a cultural resource, where the tourist can be present and be part of it at the same time. Example: the milonga.

Remarks:

- Difference in the relation with the tourist: in the milonga, the tourist is present but not as a main actor, he has to accept the codes, he has to integrate. It is a place that was not created for tourism. In the case of the Café de los Angelitos or the Querandi, it is the opposite: they were created for attracting the tourist, local and foreign (mainly foreign), but they have a cultural component. The milongas need tourism for their sustainability, in order to support themselves economically (although not only tourism permits this sustainability). But all of that doesn't mean that the tourist is the king of the place, he has to adapt to the codes. The tourists are not visible, we cannot perceive them. If they don't know how to dance, they have to stay at a table watching, they don't go to dance on the dance floor. If they go to dance, they have to know how to dance and have to accept the dance floor codes.

- The tourists are plurals. The local community recognizes and distinguishes different types of tourists. The milongueros make a difference between the ones who know how to dance and the ones who come to a milonga for a long time in order to learn how to dance and the tourist who only comes to see. Making the difference between "tourists-visitors-foreigners".

-The matter is to know if this categorization comes from the supply of from the demand. If it comes from the demand, this division is

imposed on the locals; if it comes from the supply, it is a creation adapted to a plurality of tourists.

We identify different risks associated with this opposition:

- An excessive "folk" adaptation:
- The "authenticity": the use of this term is not appropriate within the framework of the Convention for the Safeguarding of ICH, but it can have a local meaning, thinking about what everyone perceives regarding tango. There is an impression of an excessive adaptation to a supposed tourist imagery.
- A risk of disappearance of the modalities of a practice. Example: the disappearance of the "cabeceo" (head signal) in the milongas with an important tourist flow.
- In terms of marketing, tango has become a brand for the city. In the same way as the elements used in the nomination strategy of cities designated each year European Capital of Culture.

The district of La Boca was an important point of discussion:

- Opposition between the imagery before our visit and the reality. For example: in Valparaiso, La Boca is presented as a model of development.
- But maybe, we have to tolerate Caminito as it is, to the extent that it centralizes the negative effects of mass tourism in one place, tourism which is not very articulated with the conservation issues. Maybe, the idea of a "cultural district" exists and we have to accept this type of negative effects. UNESCO has also its ideas about this notion and the one of "touristic district".
- Tango and Caminito are two tourist products but they don't have the same meaning. La Boca is the way it is. On the contrary, a tourist chooses to go to a tango show and he knows beforehand that it is a show.

From order to disorder

After this diagnosis, we have to mix up this classification, this opposition for different reasons:

- There are limited cases to discuss: The example of the Tango Festival and World Dance Championship: it has a very important tourist objective but it has also an important required level of quality. For many milongueros (as Mayoral explained) there are arguable things but it is also an occasion to learn, to explain and to understand what tango is. We



cannot say it is only for tourists and therefore negative. The Dance Academy participates but in an ambiguous way.

- There are relationship between the two types of tango (tourist and heritage), both in the places for the ones who practice it, and in the place for tourists. During their trip a tourist can go to a show, take a tango class, go to a milonga, and while he is doing this itinerary he can observe the diversity and the link between the different components. But he can also have problems in the understanding of those different ways of articulating heritage and tourism.

Moreover, the professionals in the tango shows (dancers, musicians) have an excellent level and those spaces (tanguerías) represent a job opportunity. Is there any other space where they can make a living from their art? Is there any alternative to those mass tourist places?

That raises the issue of the economic resources that tango activities such as the dance or the music can generate.

The objective is not to make a proposition for the milongas and another one for the shows, but to develop all of that in articulated and plural unity. The links are the practices of the tourists and of the community. Tourism maybe represents an advantage in this articulation, as an element of the articulation.

Moreover in this diagnosis we have to take into consideration the challenge of imagery.

- Preconceived ideas of globalized tango coming from the mass media (example of US movies).

- Comparison of Paris-Buenos Aires:

Paris, for example, has a strong image associated with the city of love, romanticism, and today it faces many difficulties to change/diversify its image and develop tourism in new spaces. It seems that Buenos Aires wants to set up a strong association with tango but it is possible that in some years it will face the same difficulties.

I I) Challenges and Propositions:

The propositions have to be understood as results of the identification of tendencies and challenges.

1. Knowledge and measure:

A study concerning the impact of the heritage recognition and the development of tango tourism should be carried out at different levels:

- Knowledge of the tourism demand: necessity

of knowing the demand evolution in the long term. It is a task of the Tourism Observatory. We have to strengthen the knowledge about what tourists want in relation to tango, about the diversity of tourists and analyzing the diverse profiles of emerging tourists in order to see if the distinction done by the locals is true (tourists-visitors-foreigners).

- Professionalization and economic sustainability of the activities: What are the sites of activities that generate incomes, beyond the shows? We have to think about the musicians, dancers, artisans (shoes and clothes makers, etc.) and to identify what are the needs for their sustainability in time.

Scope of the sector: What is the scope, the amplitude of the tango heritage sector? We have to know this in order to know what we are going to measure.

- Territorial impact: articulation with the districts. How to measure the impact that the contents have on the district? Are the cultural contents integrated to the district? Example of La Boca and Usina del Arte.

2. Definition:

In the tango presentation Dossier they didn't make a clear description of what is the heritage element of tango and what is the tango community? These definitions are necessary to make plans for tourism management and safeguarding, similar to what was done in Uruguay with the candombe.

- What is the heritage tango? Which is the one to be considered within the field of inscription of the UNESCO element? We have to define the elements which correspond to the heritage tango. This definition has to be carried out also by the community (cf group 1).

- Who is the community? Is there a tango community? Or is it more a plurality of collectives? Discussion about the possibility to include the tourists in this definition of the community. We are imagining the possibility to integrate some tourists in this community, such as the ones who come to Buenos Aires to learn/practice tango, who frequent the milongas, and who take tango classes regularly. They are not the main actors but they are integrated. The history of tango is also a matter of levels between Europe and South America. Thinking to integrate the movements of those who practice tango, in different scales, thinking tango also as bound to the mobilities.

This diversity of scales has to be present in the current definition of tango. In this extension of the community to a potential global scale stands the issue of the definition of the tango element: the international tango seems different.

This effort of definition involves renewing the communication towards the community. Different members of the group insisted on the challenges in terms of formation and transmission in different ways:

3. Transmission:

- It is necessary to imagine a local transmission of the activity, in a multidimensional way: schools, institutes for the diffusion and formation. Discussing the role of the Tango National Academy in this sense. The transmission can also involve the tourists

- Tourist transmission: the transmission can also involve the tourists. Thinking about tango "greeters" in order to answer to the challenge of homogenization that brings the professionalization.

- Don't forget in this transmission the musicians and artisans.

- Thinking about the transmission in tourist attractions, such as the shows, where some advice about tango could be given in an informative way.

- Accreditation: defining with the tour operators a set of ethical principles, norms, in order to present tango in relation with the Cultural Tourism Charter. Giving an accreditation or certification to the development of the tourist activity in relation to tango. This would allow better control on the tourist activity in relation to tango as heritage. Draw up tourism business owners charter regarding tango. It is also a significant source of information for the tourist.

4. Places and territories:

- We make the observation that the spaces, the sites don't exchange or do so in an insufficient way with their territories. Example of the Festival, Usina del Arte, Caminito, the tanguerías, and also the milongas in the city center.

- Necessity to promote the exchanges with the territory, particularly in the case of the Tango Festival and World Championship. We have to think the relation with the community around. We have to implicate more the community in the functioning of these places.

- Taking into consideration the territory is a

way to integrate the communities and that they can take advantage of some benefits of this activity.

- We shouldn't forget the urban dimension of Buenos Aires, and the link between tango and the city.

- The diffusion of tango in the city suburbs. Is there any festival in the suburbs? Maybe we should think about this integration in the heritage and tourism system.

- For example it could consist of support to the festivals created in other spaces, not only limited to the Tango Festival in August.

5. Community:

- The community is plural in the diversity of its actors, and inside a same category a priori (each milonga has a different relationship with tourism). We have to take this diversity into account.

- Two more specific challenges are identified in relation with tourism:

- The generational issue: the issue of the intergenerational transmission.

- The income issue: the tourism income captured by the tour operators, in the main out of the community.

What place is given to the tourists? This implicates also to know which place the actors want to give to tourists. This implies the set-up of a governance.

- In the milongas: it is necessary to think about the ways of organizing the distribution. For example thinking in variable openings to tourism but also in terms of carrying capacity. We can give a membership card to regular clients, in order to know each day how many persons who are not members enter. It would be a way to organize the distribution.

- A survival economic challenge for the milongas: the rents, etc... Is there a possibility to diversify the schedules? The tango classes? Etc.

- Thinking about the articulation between milonga and music production: thinking about an experimental place for this articulation.

6. Creativity:

- There is a very large field of production, art and crafts with shoes, clothes, music instruments (bandoneon) which require a multitude of competences, with what they can develop cultural and creative industries.

- Souvenir production, we can think about

the development of qualitative activities in relation with tango, such as creating small businesses in relation with the identification of resources, opportunities, thinking about job opportunities for the new generations.

- It is a crucial moment to be focused on high quality activities linked to tango, and also a challenge to involve the new generations.

7. Tourist strategies:

It is important to have a tourism strategy for tango, and not only in terms of brand. Some points to observe:

- The tourism strategy is integrated to the management of the element in a general way: there is no sectorial approach. We have to integrate the safeguarding challenges of the element in the tourism strategy.

- The construction of this tourism strategy supposes a renewed governance: the co-production between tourism actors and the communities. That is to say not only to join actors from tourism with ones from the heritage but also with the community. In this case the Festival presents some difficulties relative to the lack of integration of the community in the elaboration of the event, but this is linked to the objectives of the Festival.

- Integrating the milongas in this tourism strategy. It is necessary to think about the tourism impact as an important issue. This is related to the second point: they are co-actors of this integration to a tourism strategy. The thing is not to transform them in tourist places, but to see with the milongueros how far we can go, what are the limits.

- Time dimension. The strategy for the moment is very focused on the Festival during August. What are the temporary and seasonal challenges?

- It is important to define a strategy to observe and monitor the results. Strengthening like this the Tourism Observatory of the city.

Spatial issue: two strategies are possible:

- Establishing a completely integrated reference center for tango, which responds to the needs of the tourists who come for a short time to Buenos Aires. An example is the Fado Museum, integrated in its urban context.

- Continuing with the dissemination of tango in the different districts of the city, in agreement with the tourist objective of the city.

This spatial strategy has to be thought about in

relation to the carrying capacity of the places which will receive the tourists, the time span and the integration of the local community.

GROUP 3

Tango in relation to heritage safeguarding/ tango as touristic resource: sustainable development?

The results presented by the group 3 are:

What is the level of impact tourism has in the safeguarding?

- El turismo da visibilidad al tango. El argumento - Tourism gives visibility to tango. The argument of the public policy is that there is tango in the whole world but the real experience of tango is in Buenos Aires.

- There is an imagery of tango that perhaps is not wished in relation with the heritage element, but it has contributed to reinforcing the Argentine identity in the world and contributed to maintaining tango alive.

- Tourism helps to maintain alive this heritage.

- For Argentine people, the perception of the rest of the world is very important. Tango succeeded in Paris in the 1920s and it was revitalized also in Europe and in the USA in the 1980s. The international impact of tango is seen as a positive brand associated with Buenos Aires.

- The impact level is important. The impact is not the same between tango as a product or as a heritage. There is economic, social, cultural and spatial impact.

- Positive economic impact: incomes through new job opportunities, new professions.

- Social Impact: generational renovation of tango regarding the dancers and also the young people in general who join the community.

- Social Impact applied to the territory: by creating new tourist spaces it is producing a displacement of the population. A social impact that can be considered as negative.

- Cultural Impact: it depends if we talk about tango as a product or tango as heritage. As a product we emphasize a certain homogenization, standardization of the product and the type of dance offered.

- Concerning tango as heritage, an important aspect is its relation with Buenos Aires identity and the role it has to spread the Argentine identity in and outside Buenos Aires. Tourism,

in its part, contributes to maintain alive this heritage, beyond its modifications.

In parallel, the inscription of tango by the city of Montevideo has contributed to the revitalization of the Uruguayan tango. Argentina has given an impulse and a strong influence in this sense. Something to point out is that with the declaration of the UNESCO Uruguay is starting to carry out inventories.

- Between the spatial impacts in relation with tango tourism, a negative aspect is the tendency to create spaces as island, without any connection to the territory. On the contrary, a positive aspect are the new functions given to some spaces of high heritage value which are re-interpreted as spaces for milongas, for example. The case of the tea house La Ideal is an example of a space which has acquired a new function, with the consequent preservation of a threatened valuable architectural heritage

How can the communities participate in the planning and application of the safeguarding measures and sustainable tourism? What are the resources they need in order to take effective measures? Who should be in charge to apply them?

- The main thing is to identify the community. There is no definition about heritage tango and about the community. Defining it is a complex theme. Who what is the community? Is there a plurality of communities? Can tourism be part of this community? How to integrate it?

- Through the different visits, we saw places which don't exchange with tango. There is a lack of integration of the communities in the functioning of those places, as it is the case of La Boca.

- It would be necessary to involve the tourism strategy in the decision to join the sectors of tourism and heritage with the local communities.

- A proposition is to create a tango communities council for the planning, with a democratic participation and access to the information as a work methodology.

- We suggest stimulating the participation of the community in the safeguarding measures through courses and other actions of education and training in relation with tango.

How to make coherent safeguarding and

tourism in the viability of the element? What can we do with tango as ICH of the humanity in relation to tourism and development? How are we going to do this?

- Tango has heritage viability or tourist viability? Reality is that, before becoming a heritage resource, tango was already a viable economic and tourist resource. Perceived from Paris, tango is the soy of our country. But without any doubt the heritage brand increases the tourist viability. The issue to analyze is if the fact to be a brand and a resource is an obstacle for the safeguarding of tango.

- Encouraging the commitment of the public policy towards the community. It would be a sustainable commitment. Encouraging more exchanges between the public sector and the academic one.

- Promoting economic support of the public sector for the actors who really participate in tango sustainability. Example: bandoneon luthier.

- Attributing a percentage of the tango incomes to institutions which are dedicated to the conservation, restoration and safeguarding of heritage tango.

- Minimizing the negative impacts. Revitalizing the sectors negatively affected by tourism.

Conclusions:

- Tourism is a positive element in the tango development as a heritage element.

- But there are many challenges, such as diversifying tango towards the suburban districts.

- Improving the relationship of tango places with their districts.

- A better knowledge of the tourist demand. We have to have better knowledge of the different tourist profiles.

- Identifying the anonymous carriers.

- Giving some educational/informative elements at the shows to promote a better understanding.

- In relation with the tourism actors, they could give a kind of quality accreditation, a membership card to the actors who stand out regarding the heritage aspect of tango.

- Basing the economic sustainability of tango on creativity (creative industries) and on the opportunity it gives to the new generations.

- Founding a reference center about tango.

B) ANALYSIS OF THE DATA AND

RESULTS

The methodology set out was finalized, in the context of the Workshop, with a division in three thematic groups who analyzed tango from three perspectives: 1) as heritage; 2) as a tourism product and resource; and 3) from the perspective of joining both issues and observing the link with sustainable development.

The results obtained from this group dynamics, precede this document and reflect, not only the diagnostics, but also challenges and propositions.

In order to reach general and specific conclusions, we have synthesized the data collected during the Workshop, such as the perspectives in relation to what was observed and heard, and the results that emerged from the group work. The action obtained by organizing the system is expressed in two descriptive tables⁸ – one in relation to the presentations and visits (from the point of view of the stakeholders who presented their data), and the second one regarding the results of the three thematic groups, which summed up the expositions and visits – and in a SWOT (Strengths, Weaknesses and Challenges) analysis⁹. The SWOT table is organized according to themes-problems that emerge from the descriptive tables, which were analyzed considering the resolved aspects, and at the same time observing the issues still not resolved that involve the tango phenomenon and the challenges that they present.

To conclude, below are some results presented in two formats.

1) Following and answering the debated questions of the thematic groups, in the first part of this presentation, we will take the first two questions linked to the diagnostic and current state of the problem, and then we will continue with the next ones relative to the strategies to follow.

2) Through a conclusive table that takes into account the topics that have guided the questions and the group work.

1) Synthetic answers elaborated from the local experience and the work done during the Workshop.

-Which were the safeguarding measures prior to the UNESCO recognition and which were the ones implemented afterwards?

Succinctly, prior to the UNESCO recognition, the safeguarding had been interrupted but from

the end of the 80's it has been on the increase. Although some measures from the public sector (particularly the national government and during the 1990s) were taken, such as the Tango National Law, the revitalization and the posterior safeguarding came from a recovery of particular elements of tango (especially the dance) by the new generations who have taken tango on to the stage. From there tango came back to the milongas, which began to multiply in different districts and places of the city. We can go as far as to say that there was a *mise-en-scène* of the tango's actual state by part of the community – that some people call “the old guard” and who are perceived as the “resistance” in order to maintain tango alive – and revitalization by the new generations who received a partial transmission by the “old milongueros”. After the tango inscription as ICH of the Humanity, there was a lack of safeguarding measures and they were relatively incoherent concerning the demands of the community. The few measures taken only have concerned objects such as the bandoneon, key for the musical genre, the scores and in other words, specifically the music. However the music gained strength in the last years through groups from the new generations – is still current for the community, limited only in relation to the milonga and the dance – especially associated to the “golden decade” (the 1940s and 1950s).

- What are the levels of implication of the tango community in the safeguarding measures? Is there coherence between these measures and the participation of the community?

We have to take into account that the community has to be strictly defined, the implication of the community in the safeguarding is important. However, the implication of the community in the safeguarding measures elaborated and implemented by the public sector is minor. There is a gap between the contexts of implication of the community in the tango safeguarding processes: the community tends to be strongly implicated in the safeguarding of specific elements such as the milonga; in minor degree in safeguarding measures that extend the tango phenomenon (the Festival); or by contrast, the implication is reduced to particular elements (the bandoneon); and not at all when it deals with the programs and shows linked to the cafés, restaurants, etc. From this perspective there is a limited coherence bet-

ween the measures that have been taken and the participation and integration of the community.

- What are the processes that are normally executed in the tourism sphere? What are the tourism operations and activities that are introduced in relation to tango in Buenos Aires? The tourism activities linked to tango are vast and multiple. As we said, tourism linked to tango is built on the basis of two criteria: 1) independently of the tango phenomenon itself, 2) from the internationalization of tango that has been and is an intrinsic characteristic of the manifestation. Lately, tourism and tango have been important associates however this is not due as is supposed by the public sector – to the inscription as ICH of the Humanity, but to the important tourism influx prior to the socio-economic crisis of the beginning of the 21st century in Argentina. However now the problem is the crisis that has affected Europe recently leading to fewer foreign visitors.

- What are the levels of implication of the tango community in the tourism activities? Is there coherence between those activities and the participation of the community?

The tango community is tense about its involvement and this can be seen in its relationship with the Festival, in which the community participates but at the same time criticizes it. Or they are involved through negotiations with the tourists: in the transmission for example, which is developed in the milongas as in the schools and in the teaching of tango in general.

- What is the level of impact tourism has on the heritage safeguarding?

The impact level is important most of all in relation to the transmission that obviously contributes to the heritage safeguarding. However, this results in the safeguarding being done two ways: 1) in relation to the visitor-tourist; 2) in relation to the “old milonguero” whose practices are supposed to be more “authentic” and therefore viable for the strengthening of the tourist-visitor experience.

2) Conclusive Table:

⁸ Both tables can be read on two separate documents
⁹ The SWOT table can be read at the ending Appendix

On the basis of this systematization, below we offer a synthesis of the topics that we consider of major relevance and they are organized according to the important subject with which the workshop dealt:

Recognition and management of safeguarding measures	Recognition and management of touristic activities	Link between heritage and tourism=sustainable development	Inclusion/integration of the involved community
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Starting from the point that the tango safeguarding process is in deficit, there is a general recognition (from the public sector but also from the community members and the Network members) of the necessity to develop and apply safeguarding measures for tango as heritage. - In relation to these measures, it is necessary to know, to define and to measure: - What are the elements to safeguard: bandoneon? Scores? milongas? - How defining the “tango community”? - A consensus is registered in relation to the elaboration and management of safeguarding measures, even not developed. The policies that exist are elaborated from top to bottom and they should be reoriented considering the specific communities (that doesn't mean the policies are elaborated with a bottom-up approach). - The safeguarding involves: - Not distorting tango. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A general recognition was done (public sector, community and Network members) about the existence of an expansive and strong tourism sector linked to tango. - Although the tourism measures and activities are very convincing, such as for the safeguarding, it is necessary to know, to define and to measure: who are the members of the community and if it is possible to involve the diverse tourist profiles in it. - The public policies linked to tango emphasize the tourism sector. As in the case of the heritage safeguarding, these policies are elaborated and implemented from top to bottom. - The tourism impact on the tango heritage influences in: a) Its folklorization; b) The tango continuity as living element. - With the tourism development we observe also a tendency to the traditionalization. - Tourism and tango contribute to the positioning of a brand and an imaginary of the city. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The links between tango as heritage and tango as a tourism resource are oscillating. - The high impact or decline of tourism in relation to tango doesn't completely influence the local development of the tango community. - However, some of those links are potentially leading to sustainable development: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) The transmission spaces and generational processes. 2) The job opportunities offered with tango as heritage and also as a tourism resource. - Tango as a creative industry and in relation with tourism sector produce incomes. But considered as ICH, is there any benefits for the community? Is there a fair distribution? Who is/are controlling this possible distribution? - The tourist sites such as Caminito or Usina del Arte, as well as the Festival don't generate local development. They don't dialog or exchange with the territory. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - From the expositions, visits and group work, it appeared that the tango community is not really integrated in relation to tango as heritage and as a tourism resource. - The integration was weak at the moment of the inscription as ICH of the Humanity: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) The society in general and the community in particular didn't participate to the inscription as ICH; 2) the community felt that they “took out” the tango from them at the moment of the inscription; however, 3) it is the community which contributes to the construction of tango; 4) Tango (some elements) has repercussion in some sectors of the society, in the community and for the tourists. - The integration is mainly weak in the relation public sector-community. The integration is strong in the intra-community context.

- Maintaining tango alive as heritage: establishing the vigor and viability of practices in danger.

- The heritage recognition and its safeguarding participate to the formation of identities processes.

- A relative homogenization of tango prevails. With the professionalization the different styles of dance between the districts have been lost.

- The UNESCO recognition had a greater impact in Uruguay where the loss of tango elements was more important.

- The measures and management of heritage safeguarding require the recognition and acceptance of the transfer of knowledge and practices to the new generations.

- There is a tendency towards show tango and a standardization of the product, of the type of dance which is offered.

- Tourism activities linked to tango (Festival), such as the tourists introduction in some tango spaces, is seen as transmission settings.

- The local development is relatively sustainable depending on the different points mentioned.

- The integration is cyclically strong/weak in contexts in which tango becomes a creative industry and it is linked closely to tourism (in the case of the Festival for example).

- There is a tourist profile who moves around tango as heritage and in this sense, it operates as a link between the community, the public sector, the market (milongas, Festival, products consumption).

- The associations represent a small part of the community. There is a necessity to involve all the persons who are not part of these associations. In the same way, there is a necessity for more social organizations in order to represent the different sectors that the tango community.

STRATEGIES/PROPOSITIONS

The questions regarding challenges to follow and the possible strategies proposed are: What short and medium strategies should be implemented? What heritage safeguarding activities would be necessary to favor the future sustainable development of tango as heritage and as a tourism resource? How to reach coherence between safeguarding and tourism in the viability of the element?

And the answers, in an attempt to resolve the imbalances that apparently exist between tango as heritage and tango as a tourism industry, tried to build communicating vessels between the two fields in which tango is present.

Heritage

Strategies linked to safeguarding:

-Public policies which contribute to the dialog of the State with the community.

-Inventories: definition of the elements and of the community. Evaluating the risks of losing local practices. Measuring the local sense and vigor of the elements.

-Elements to safeguard that create a dialog between the tangible and the intangible: milongas, bandoneon, etc.

-Museums, Interpretative Center, transmission spaces (classes, milongas, bandoneon schools and workshop, typical orchestra school, etc.).

-Professionalizing the community and the tango sector.

-Considering the internationalization of the local community.

Involving the tourist who participates to maintain tango "alive" as heritage.

-The action of the State is not enough for the tango safeguarding as heritage. The challenge is promoting a sort of collaboration between the State, the private sector and the NGOs.

-An important challenge is that the public policies provide an economic support to the actors with minor economic sustainability, in this way, they really participate to the support of tango.

Milongas

- As heritage space and inside the tourism circuit (evaluation of the carrying capacity, membership card, etc.)

- The tourist can be integrated but he has to accept and respect the codes of the community.

Space/period

-Integrating the district, the community and the tango circuits (clubs and milongas for example).

Tourism

Strategies linked to tourism:

- No sector approach. Public policies in context/not isolated.

- Not only for positioning a city in terms of a brand but in terms of public policies.

- Attenuating the risks of "folk tendency" and of an excessive adaptation to a promoted tourism imagery.

- It is important that the budget assigned to tourism and tango should be reoriented to the community for its training and its integration in both fields.

-Evaluating and measuring the tourism supply and demand.

- Professionalizing the tango sector.

- Balancing the scale in which tango is constituted: between local, national and international.

- Integrating the routine character of tango.

- Challenge of professionalization and of economic sustainability: What are the activities sites that generate incomes, excepting the shows? We have to observe what are the resources of the musicians, dancers, craftsmen (such as the ones who are making shoes for example).

- Defining with the tourism operators a set of ethical principles and norms to present tango in relation with the Tourism Cultural Charter. It allows to have a better control on the tourism activity in relation with tango as heritage.

-Shows

- Festival

- As a tourism event and cultural industry and as space of the heritage transmission.

Space/period

- Promoting exchanges with the territory: tourism sites have to dialog with the local spaces.

Patrimoniales	Turísticas
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Safeguarding and making viable the tango spaces situated in the suburbs. -Accepting “tourism-cultural districts” (La Boca-Caminito) and integrating the community. - Making a calendar of tango as heritage. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Tango diffusion in the peripheral territories. -Accepting the existence of a “tourism cultural district”, promoting the benefits for the community. -Decentralizing the temporality: beyond August.
<p>Transmission</p>	<p>Transmission</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -From the “old milongueros” to the new generations. -A way of safeguarding tango through the understanding of shows, etc. -Demonstrate that the knowledge comes mainly from dancers who just practice tango. -The academies: learning -Tango in the education program. -The heritage recognition tends to strengthen the cultural diversity. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -The academies and the Festival feed each other in an ambiguous way: strengthening this link. -Transmission in the tourism places, in the shows for example. -Tango Greeters in order to answer to the challenge of tango homogenization because of its professionalization. -The “touristification” promotes standards of homogenization.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Establishing an exchange between diversity-homogenization. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Establishing an interaction between diversity-homogenization.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Co-production of strategies between the actors of the government, the community, the tourists, craftsmen, tango elements producers. 	<p>Sustainable commitment</p>
<p>Heritage=Identity</p>	<p>Tourism=Brand/Imaginary/Identity</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Guaranteeing the entire accessibility to tango as tangible and intangible heritage. -Considering the various appropriations of the community respecting to the tango spaces. -Guaranteeing the integration of the community and the safeguarding of the spaces appropriated by them (for example the milongas). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Guaranteeing the full access to tango and the tourism field. -Guaranteeing the inclusion and integration of the community/not only the access to the tourism spaces.
<p>Sustainable commitment: the public policies have to encourage the commitment with the community. The community has to accomplish an important role in this commitment.</p>	<p>Sustainable development: tourism is necessary for the sustainability of the milongas but the tourist has to negotiate its place.</p>

Is it possible the tourism viability of heritage tango?

This question was the basis for the workshop and was dealt with as two separate ones:

Tango as heritage, is it viable as tourism?

Tango as a tourism resource, is it viable as heritage?

The results, as they can be observed in the preceding tables, reflect possible alternatives for the integration of tango as heritage and tango as tourism. Going beyond the ones specified in the tables, the imbalance that today seems to prevail between the two fields – tango as heritage and tango as creative industry-, is repairable with the construction of articulations and ways that bring dialog between both fields (this is observable, not only in the strategies to follow from the perspectives of safeguarding processes concerning tourism, but even from the position of the community and the tourist, as a relevant actor). However, in order to not provoke the disappearance of local knowledge and practices, the tourism field has to look after not only tourism but also the needs of the local community. This could contribute to the heritage viability of tango tourism.

The tango tourism viability as heritage is pre-existent to the UNESCO inscription. However, it should be strengthened. Nevertheless, the heritage logic of tango is central to the safeguarding of local knowledge and practices required for the tourism viability. From there, it is important to check the progress, transforming tourism in an ally (not in an obstacle for the safeguarding), considering it as “friend” of the tourism process. How the communities can participate in the planning and application of measures for the safeguarding and sustainable tourism? Who has to apply them?

The communities should not only just be “invited” to participate in the judging of the festivals, championships, to offer milongas for the development of district championships, or even to give classes for the cultural programs of the government. The communities have to be defined: not only delimiting them to a group of representative members, but also recognizing the “anonymous carriers and transmitters” linked to the routine character of tango, the professional sector, the manufacturing sector of products and resources, and even the tourists and tour operators. The carrier communities have to be considered in the planning of measures and activities associated with the heritage safeguarding and to sustainable tourism. All of that supposes that the community in a broad sense can be involved in different sectors – safeguarding and

tourism- but from the perspective of its needs and requests assumed as local issues, which on another side will be used by the persons who arrive to tango “from outside”. The community should develop the planning in collaboration with the governmental actors, but it should also tourism process.

How the communities can participate in the planning and application of measures for the safeguarding and sustainable tourism? Who has to apply them?

The communities should not only just be “invited” to participate in the judging of the festivals, championships, to offer milongas for the development of district championships, or even to give classes for the cultural programs of the government. The communities have to be defined: not only delimiting them to a group of representative members, but also recognizing the “anonymous carriers and transmitters” linked to the routine character of tango, the professional sector, the manufacturing sector of products and resources, and even the tourists and tour operators. The carrier communities have to be considered in the planning of measures and activities associated with the heritage safeguarding and to sustainable tourism. All of that supposes that the community in a broad sense can be involved in different sectors – safeguarding and tourism- but from the perspective of its needs and requests assumed as local issues, which on another side will be used by the persons who arrive control and manage the heritage and tourism processes, the different possibilities for profitability, issues associated with the private sector. From that perspective the community and local sustainable development is viable.



RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE TANGO MANAGEMENT:

The different analyses and cross-overs shown in the descriptive tables and the SWOT table made according to the results of Workshop have provided a set of results commented on in the preceding topic. A series of recommendations can be deduced for the tango management as heritage and as tourism, synthesized in 6 categories.

1. Identification and recognition of the challenges:

Tango as heritage and tango as tourism product:

Nowadays it is common to oppose tango as heritage resource and tango as tourism product. Regarding the first aspect, the definition of the tango heritage elements with safeguarding necessity is still not clear: tango objects such as the bandoneon, are part of activities implemented by the government of Buenos Aires city, NGOs, and also specific subjects; the milonga and the dance represent an interest for the local milongueros and the majority of the tourists. On the other hand, from the aspect of tango as tourism product, there is an emphasis placed on tango and its link with tourism, highlighting that this relation is pre-existent to the inscription as ICH of the Humanity.

Integration and viability of tango as heritage and as tourism:

Both aspects linked to tango should be articulated and a dialog established. Tango as heritage could be viable for tourism but only if the current conducts are observed including the ones practiced by the community. However, for that not to provoke the disappearance of local flavors and practices tourism should look out for the local community and its needs. The tourism viability was prior to the UNESCO recognition. Moreover, aiming to integrate it, it is necessary to consider tango as a plural cultural manifestation.

The tango community:

Defining from the heritage point of view who are the members of the “tango community” is a challenge for developing new actions. Like this it is also relevant to consider the links between the representative members of the community and the different stakeholders who contribute

to tango as tourism. The members of the tango community are included and excluded at the same time when it comes to the safeguarding processes of tango and to the processes of tourism development. Not all of them are participating in spaces linked to tourism, but the ones who are, are involved with some reservations (some milongas organizers or emblematic representative members feel excluded from spaces organized by public policies and activities; while the younger generations who are usually emphatically integrated in those spaces, are included to a lesser degree in the sphere of the day to day routine).

Implication and integration of the community:

We recommend considering the interests, demands and needs of the community in the future decision making linked to safeguarding and sustainable tourism. It is desirable to improve the dialog between the governmental stakeholders and the community members in a broad sense, considering the different collectives involved, such as the various types of tourists with different interests regarding the expression. It is also necessary to improve the communication and cooperation with the younger generations, so as to strengthen the intergenerational interaction. From this perspective the sustainable community and local development is viable.

2. Public policies and tango management:

The inscription as ICH of the Humanity has given visibility to tango, particularly in Montevideo. Although this expression was visible in Buenos Aires before the inscription, it is necessary to articulate and strengthen the policies, plans, actions and measures linked to the safeguarding that are also linked with measures taken in Montevideo. We suggest reinforcing the link between the governments of the two cities and their communities, with the aim of safeguarding, promoting, transmitting, spreading and identifying the needs of the two cities concerning tango safeguarding as intangible cultural heritage.

Specific recommendations

Linked to tango-heritage safeguarding:

- It is important that the public policies consider the production of participative inventories

of the elements to safeguard, especially the milongas. Concerning the bandoneon, in Buenos Aires city this policy is the most organized.

- Developing and implementing special safeguarding plans considering the heritage elements in danger.
- Creating training measures and improving the professionalization of the stakeholders involved.
- Contribute to the production and strengthening of exchanges between the public and private sectors, the academic world and the communities.
- Creating a reference center about tango.
- Attenuating the risks regarding the disappearance of local knowledge and practices required for tourism before there is a decline in foreign tourism, an issue that could be against the local sustainable development. So that at least it could be maintained at current local level.

3. Public policies and tourism development of tango:

Buenos Aires has developed an image linked to tango which has contributed to spread the presence and identity of the city around the world. But the brands have the problem of crystallizing images and generating situations after which it is very difficult to escape. We suggest at this point to associate other symbols and values with the city. Major flexibility is required concerning the imagery brand, but also in relation to tourism development. The development of plans and measures that associate heritage tango with tourism is required.

Specific Recommendations

Linked with tango-tourism product:

- Tourism is a positive element for the tango protection and development as living heritage.
- As a tourism resource, we are worried about a certain standardization, a relative homogenization and a strong speculation of tango becoming a show.
- This standardization is observable in the tango shows that even if they have an international quality, we can detect a strengthening of the stereotype on the basis of the stage tango. We recommend informing the tourists to favor a better understanding. We suggest a broader contact or dialog between the managers of these shows and the specialists or experts who are looking after this heritage.
- With tour operators encourage the ones who promote heritage conservation and maybe according them a quality accreditation or a membership card.

- Currently the Tourism Observatory of the city carries out in August, during the International Tango Festival, surveys to find out the preferences of the visitors and the place tango occupies in those preferences. However, we recommend perfecting the type of questions in order to know if during the rest of the year tango also attracts tourists and what is the profile of these tourists.
- The tourists are diverse, they have different needs, demands and interests concerning tango. That is why we should have a better knowledge of the demand profile and the diversity of tourists.
- The public policies and tourism management in the city should strengthen the link with the persons who try to guarantee the most authentic aspects of tango, for example the milongeros, considering their interests, in relation to what they want to make visible.
- The Insertion of the tango in the annual cultural calendar of the City is positive for the promotion of tourism, but it would be good to extend this showing further than the International Tango Festival in order to strengthen tango tourism for the rest of the year.
- Supporting the tango spaces, diversifying the supply until the milongas and to different districts, particularly the suburbs.
- As tango depends a lot on international tourism, today in decline because of internal

and external factors, it would be important to strengthen the interest in the local society with the use of promotions and maintenance, on the contrary the lack of continuity which it had already suffered throughout its history will be reiterated. These kinds of actions are important for the sustainable local development.

4. Economic integration and sustainable development:

At the present time only some stakeholders linked to the tango community –particularly travel agents, tour operators, professionals and artists of stage tango and some milongeros with international connections – are integrated to the local and international economic circuit.

- Favoring the economic support to different stakeholders linked with heritage and tango in relation to tourism.
- Giving a percentage of the resources produced by tango to institutions which are dedicated to the safeguarding of tango as heritage.
- Promoting the safeguarding of professions and manual works linked to tango, extending the productive chain and the fair distribution of income.
- Contributing to making the sector more





professional but always linked to the safeguarding of tango. Promoting tango activities that strengthen the job opportunities for the younger generations.

- Integrating the community to the tourism circuit, in a way that the income involved can benefit the tango collective. This would allow a better quality of life and stimulate the sustainable development.

5. Transmission:

- Detect and recognize anonymous carriers of local knowledge and practices so as to transmit this heritage. In order to transmit this heritage.
- Establishing links between cultural and educational organizations and institutions in order to promote the integration of contents linked to tango in the education program.
- Supporting the spaces of intergenerational transmission (academies, milongas, etc).

6. Spaces and territories:

Concerning the architectural heritage, we can emphasize the enhancement of spaces thanks to tango, such as the notable bars. In parallel, there are few links between spaces dedicated to tango (as the Usina del Arte) and the districts associated to these spaces. Moreover, there is a lack of articulation between the tango activities and the suburbs in the same way as there are few territorial circuits linked to tango.

- A challenge is to diversify the supply to new districts.
- Promoting a greater dialog between the different sectors and/or territories of tango that are not used to mixing: the milongas of the suburbs with the milongas of the city center (more tourists), and the milongas in general with the tanguerías.
- Establishing tango circuits and visits which promote an interaction between heritage and tourism.



ANNEXES



APPENDIX I. - LIST OF PARTICIPANTS



Name	Affiliation
Berriane, Mohamed	University of Mohammed V – Agdal, Marruecos
Caproglio de Castro, Bernadete	Sao Paulo University, Brazil
Dallari, Fiorella	Bologna University, Italy.
Di Candia, Antonio	Education and Culture Ministry, Uruguay
Duran, María Luz	UNESCO Chair of Cultural Tourism Buenos Aires, Argentina
Galla, Amareswar	International Institute for the Inclusive Museum, Denmark
Gravari Barbas, María	IREST, Sorbonne Paris 1, France
Isach, Lauren	IREST student, Sorbonne University, Paris, France
Jacquot, Sébastien	IREST, Sorbonne Paris 1, France
LacARRIERE, Mónica	UNESCO Consultant
Maronese, Leticia	UNESCO Consultant
Morere, Nuria	Rey Juan Carlos University, Spain
Mundet, Lluís	Girona University, Spain
Napoli, Jocelyne	Toulouse University, France
Ramos, Carmen María	UNESCO Chair of Cultural Tourism, Buenos Aires, Argentina.
Salazar, Noel	University of Leuven, Belgium
Sarti, Antonio	Sao Paulo University, Brazil
Vidal Casellas, Dolors	Girona University, Spain
Vacheron, Frédéric	Culture Sector, UNESCO Office Montevideo
Zanirato, Silvia	Sao Paulo University, Brazil

APPENDIX II.- GUIDELINES FOR WORKSHOP PARTICIPANTS

Workshop participants will make a journey, through expositions and visits linked to various actions and practices associated with tango. This journey involves thinking about tango as a music and dance genre, but most of all as a cultural manifestation, intangible heritage for the UNESCO since 2009, and as a cultural tourist resource in some places and situations in Buenos Aires city – to the extent that tango is a urban cultural expression that brings together many actors, areas and activities, in this sphere they will only have a partial vision inherent to a representative and significant selection.

The workshop starts from a question which could synthetized as: **Is tourist viability of heritage tango possible?** Question which can be divided in the following ones: **Is tango as heritage viable for tourism?/ Is tango as tourist resource viable as heritage?**

The objective of this workshop is to connect network members with local actors associated with tango, in order to identify the problems arising from the relationship between heritage and tourism. It is our interest that the expositions of people involved with these issues and the visits to different sites will allow

them to identify and recognize demands, needs and problems in order to study them during the workshop and to generate recommendations, suggestions, solutions.

In this text, you will find a list of instructions to follow the different expositions and visits. These instructions constitute a selective interpretation of the topics that, from the coordination of this workshop, which we consider relevant to our objectives. This selection doesn't pretend to avoid other readings and registers, but is only for orientation purposes.

Expositions/visits linked to tango as intangible cultural heritage	Expositions/visits linked to tango as touristic resource	Instructions (specific to each visit and/or exposition)
<p>Tango as intangible heritage of the Humanity¹⁰</p> <p>Safeguarding measures and actions in Buenos Aires and Montevideo¹¹</p> <p>Visit to the workshop of a bandoneón luthier</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Starting from the point that heritage processes tend to strengthen cultural identities, we suggest to analyze if tango as intangible cultural heritage participated to the identity revitalization of tango –considering that as a genre it had progress and set-back periods-. If it is the case, you have to consider in which sense tango identity contributes to the sustainable development of tango community. - How did both cities make the heritage recognition? - Was it necessary to make tango heritage? For what and why did they make it? And for whom was it made? - Register the definition of the element and of the tanguera community and connect it to the safeguarding process. - Safeguarding measures has been centralized in the revitalization of the bandoneon, the recuperation of the scores, phonograms and lyrics. Do these measures coincide with the definition of the heritage element and the needs of the local tanguera community?

¹⁰ Exposition about the Dossier presented by Buenos Aires to the Unesco by Liliana Barela.

¹¹ Exposition about Safeguarding measures and actions presented by a collector, the Architect Carlos Pernaut, Teresita Lencina, Horacio Spinetto for Buenos Aires and Antonio di Candia for Montevideo. This exposition is linked with the visit to the workshop of a bandoneon luthier.

	<p>Visit to the Usina del Arte: Tango Festival according to its director Gustavo Mozzi</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Register the role of the Tango Festival as a safeguarding politics and management: is the Festival a safeguarding measure? - Observe which kind of benefits and/or risks can generate the Festival in relation with tango as alive heritage. - Is the Festival an area of tango show or heritage tango? - How does the local tanguera community participate to the Festival? - Is the Festival part of a touristic plan associated to tango?
<p>Visit to Caminito Street (La Boca)</p>	<p>Visit to Caminito Street (La Boca)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Caminito is erected by the local government as “a must see” and a part of the “tango routes” promoted for tourism (particularly foreign). But Caminito also has been elaborated as a “heritage passage” associated with the identity of the district. Why Caminito became a tourist resource for the tango? - We suggest to observe and register: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) heritage references and touristic marks linked with tango: which place do they occupy in Caminito? 2) economic activities and services associated with tango (shows, photography, tango dancers, etc.). Think about the resources distribution, jobs, social local development 3) Who benefits from this development? The tanguera community? the tourists? The government? Businessmen? 4) Is it possible that the visualized activities contribute to a sustainable local development?
<p>Visit to the National Tango Academy</p>		<p>The visit consists of a discussion with Horacio Ferrer and a tour of the International Tango Museum within the academy.</p> <p>Some suggestions to take note of and ask about:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What is the role of the Academy concerning government politics and local tanguera community? - According to Ferrer’s testimonies: “one cannot compose tango without having lived this kind of existence, inherited passed down by maestros for various generations”. Is it a legacy a characteristic that defines tango as heritage? - He also talks about “being tanguero”: we suggest to specify what is the signification of this assessment, if this definition describes all the tanguera community, if it is related to the tango identity. <p>The museum is presented as a site which presents the tango history, nevertheless, without enough signs, coherence and understanding for tourism in general.</p>

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Is the vision of the legacy and the idea of “being tanguero” consistent with the tango history as heritage, as it is presented in the museum? - Is it possible to consider the Academy as a site which contributes to the safeguarding, the viability and sustainability of tango as heritage and touristic resource?
Visit to a milonga	Visit to a milonga	<p>Milongas are dancing and meeting places found throughout the city. You will visit La Ideal (for its matinée schedule) situated in the city center of Buenos Aires. The site has been declared Notable Bar, area of Historic Protection and place of touristic interest.</p> <p>It is worth pointing out that it was not originally a milonga, but a tearoom, which has recently become a milonga.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - We suggest observing: the people present there, the uses and appropriations of the milonga, the role of the dance, the codes, rituals, practices. - Why is the milonga an asset of the intangible heritage? How can we consider the milonga as a touristic resource? Can any milonga contribute to a sustainable development of the tanguera community?
	Tourism impact and sustainable development of tango as heritage ¹²	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Is there a link between the involvement in heritage and tourism related to tango? - Who is taking advantage of the activities associated with the tango tourist plan? - Is it possible that the relation between the idea of tango preference for the city, the changes in the calendar and the exaltation of the Festival contribute to the sustainability of tango as heritage and sustainable development of the tanguera community?

INSTRUCTIONS BINDING BETWEEN EXPOSITIONS/VISITS RELATIVE TO TANGO AS HERITAGE AND TANGO AS TOURIST RESOURCE

- Are there any links between the involvement of tango in heritage and tango as tourism?
- If there are, was this involvement necessary for the planning and management of touristic tango?
- Is tango a heritage asset, a tourist resource or product and/or both things?
- Through the different visits and expositions, how do you perceive the relationships between governmental actors, the market, the local community and tourism? Is tourism a part of the local community? How to define the local community linked to tango? Could we say that the local community is part of the politics and projects linked to tango?
- Do you consider that the Tango Festival and World championship can be assimilated to the spaces of the milongas? Do you think that the tango routes in the different districts contribute to the safeguarding of the tanguero heritage?
- Do you think that the political and communitarian visions and management linked to tango as heritage and as tourism, contribute to the sustainable development of the tanguera community and to the actors associated with it?

¹² “Tourism Impact and sustainable development in relation with tango as heritage” by Lic. Mónica Kapusta from the Tourism Authority (Ente de Turismo) of Buenos Aires city.

APPENDIX III.- DESCRIPTIVE TABLE (according to the results of the working groups)

Measure/activity	Participating Actors	Requests/ resources	Benefits/results
Heritage recognition measures and tango safeguarding as ICH:	UNESCO: UNESCO Montevideo, CONAPLU.	- The State institutions have to look for a continuous dialogue with the community, establishing the orientation to follow: if it is towards homogenization and mass tourism or if they prefer the conservation of the diversity and to make people aware of the importance of tango as heritage.	- Creation of an Institutional public-private Network.
Tango inscription as ICH of the Humanity on the Representative List of the UNESCO. Dossier presented by the Government of Buenos Aires city and the City Council of Montevideo.	Government of Buenos Aires city: Ministry of Culture (General Directorate of Heritage and Historic Institute); Tourism Authority and Tourism Observatory. City Council of Montevideo: Ministry of Culture, Ministry of Tourism.	- Having a participative, proactive, interested and committed inventory. - Creation of a participative public-private institution which would network with other private and public associations, and involve the tango safeguarding at a national and international level, so as to guarantee full accessibility to intangible and tangible heritage linked to tango and supporting the research done. This network should think and produce orientations concerning tourism development and sustainable development (Sustainable Tourism).	- Relationship State-Communities: 1) Elaboration of proactive Inventories based on the community. 2) Creation of Planning Council linked to the communities.
The tango community in Buenos Aires and Montevideo has achieved a regional heritage recognition, but with little participation by the community.	Tango Community.	- Establishing a Council for the planning, made up of the tango communities. Basically the objectives are: a democratic participation and access to the information as work methodology. - Transferring the power, strengthening and giving sustainability to the tango community.	
Safeguarding measures and actions in Buenos Aires and Montevideo: A public policies concept is dominating from top to bottom, with little participation and integration of the community.			
• Definition of heritage tango in order to establish a safeguarding plan and a strategic plan of tourism.	Government of Buenos Aires city: Ministry of Culture (General Directorate of Heritage and Historic Institute). City Council of Montevideo: Ministry of Culture.	Tango is a very large genre, with a very large and diverse community. We have to define what the heritage elements are. As it was done with the Samba in Brazil: they have preferred to inscribe the Samba from Bahia instead of the Carioca Samba which is associated with the whole nation. because it was easier to develop a management and safeguarding plan.	- The definition of the heritage elements of tango can contribute to the safeguarding measures.

• Definition of the tango community

Safeguarding measures: transmission, education and formation.

• There is a local transmission associated with the academies, tango schools, diffusion/formation centers. But there is a challenge in terms of tourist transmission.

Tango Community.

Government of Buenos Aires city: Ministry of Culture (General Directorate of Heritage and Historic Institute).

City Council of Montevideo: Ministry of Culture.
Tango Community.

UNESCO;
UNESCO Montevideo,
CONAPLU.

Government of Buenos Aires city: Ministry of Culture (General Directorate of Heritage and Historic Institute); Ministry of Education.

City Council of Montevideo: Ministry of Culture and Education.

Tango Community.

Government of Buenos Aires city: Ministry of Culture (General Directorate of Heritage and Historic Institute); Tourism Authority; Tourism Observatory; Cultural Promotion.

City Council of Montevideo: Ministry of Tourism, Ministry Culture.

Tango Community

Tanguerías owners

Greeters Buenos Aires and Greeters Montevideo

Tourism Operators

- There is no definition of the tango community. It is necessary to define this community.
- Debate about collective or community; thinking the plurality of collectives. Perhaps the tourist also can be part of this community? Example: the tourist who stay in Buenos Aires some months in order to learn/practice tango. Question of the different scales of the community. Tango history is also a mix of different scales between Europe and South America. This variety of scales has to be present in the current definition of tango.

- Improving the communication towards the community.
- Training of the tango community in order to transmit the knowledge and the importance of intangible heritage.
- Education program in the schools.
- Transmitting the value of heritage particularly to the younger generations.

- Thinking about tango Greeters concerning the problems of the professionalism in tango, which leads to a homogenization of the manifestation. The tango “greeters” are the travelers who come to learn tango with local actors who are going to explain the signification of tango. The tango knowledge is linked to “anonymous” carriers.

- Thinking about the transmission in tourist attractions, such as the shows and restaurants, where some information or a hand out could be given to explain what it was about.

- Diffusion with tour operators of ethical principles and norms, in relation with the Cultural Tourism Charter. Giving an accreditation or certification to the development of the tourist activity concerning tango. This would allow better control on the tourist activity of tourism business owners charter concerning tango. It is also a significant source of information for the tourist.

- The definition of the tango community will contribute to the establishment of tango heritage and tourism strategies.

- The transmission and formation favor the training of the new generations.

- In parallel, the strengthening of these processes of transmission contributes to the safeguarding of endangered elements.

- It is desirable that the transmission shouldn't be only delimited to local spaces and environments, and that it can also take place in tourism spaces, in a way to favor a process of better understanding for the tourists.

- A benefit for tango as heritage and as a product comes from the establishment of relationships with the tour operators. Negotiations should be done with the communities in order to establish values in use and exchange values.

Safeguarding measures: stronger cooperation between Montevideo and Buenos Aires.

Government of Buenos Aires city: Ministry of Culture (General Directorate of Heritage and Historic Institute);

Commission of notable bars; Tourism Authority.
City Council of Montevideo: Ministry of Culture, Ministry of Tourism.

Tango Community.

- Establishment of a dynamic bilateral forum between Buenos Aires and Montevideo, reinforced by international workshops and activities.

- The link between Buenos Aires and Montevideo can allow, not only bonds of cooperation but also joint activities and the creation of job opportunities and income that allow sustainable local and regional development.

Safeguarding measures: contributing economically with the tango community.

Government of Buenos Aires city: Ministry of Culture; Tourism Authority; Tourism Observatory. Ministry of Finance.

City Council of Montevideo: Ministry of Culture, Ministry of Tourism.

Tango Community.

- Transferring the income generated by tango as touristic product to the community, training it and organizing it.

- It is a relevant request that the public policies give subsidies to actors in the community and likewise participate in the safeguarding of tango. Example: bandoneon luthier.

- Recuperating spaces and improving the quality of people's lives.

- Fair distribution of income generated by tango in the tourism market to the community.

- Governmental subsidies and contributions to the vulnerable sectors of the community. All of that can participate in the sustainable development of the tango community.

Definition of the tourism demand.

Government of Buenos Aires city: Ministry of Culture (General Directorate of Heritage and Historic Institute); Tourism Authority; Ministry of Finance.

City Council of Montevideo: Ministry of Culture, Ministry of Tourism.

Tango Community.

It is necessary to know the evolution of this demand in the long term, as the Tourism Observatory pointed out. It is necessary to strengthen the knowledge about what tourists want in relation to tango, about the diversity of tourists that accompany the demand mutation.

- On the other hand a distinction has been observed by the locals between the tourists, visitors and foreigners. This knowledge is intuitive and there is a need to know how these categories correspond in terms of numbers.

- For the establishment and implementation of strategies it is useful to understand in depth the demand concerning tango.

Professionalization of the sector.

Government of Buenos Aires city: Ministry of Culture (General Directorate of Heritage and Historic Institute); Tourism Authority; Tourism Observatory;

- The support to the tango sector is necessary: from the musicians to the craftsmen. The sector becoming more professional is a resource for tango safeguarding.

- Tango as a tourist product promotes new professions and job opportunities.

- Tango safeguarding and the sustainable development of the community can be viable if it is supported and if the sector involved becomes more professional.

• Tourism carrying capacity linked to tango

Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Labor; Observatory of Cultural Industries.

City Council of Montevideo: Ministry of Tourism, Ministry of Culture, Ministry of Labor.

Tango Community (mainly craftsmen linked to the tango industry).

Government of Buenos Aires city: Ministry of Culture; Tourism Authority; Tourism Observatory.

City Council of Montevideo: Ministry of Tourism.

Tango Community.

- Regarding souvenir production, today they say that everything is made in China. We have to think about the development of quality activities concerning the local production of tango souvenirs. Creating for example small businesses in conjunction with the identification of resources and job opportunities for the new generations.

- It is necessary to think in terms of carrying capacity regarding the milongas: in other words giving a membership card to regular clients, so as to know each day how many non-members attend so that the attendance by tourists can be planned. It is a way to organize the distribution.

Relation of tourism and tango with the city

• Spatial impact of tourism/tourism impact in the different districts.

• Integration of the communities.

Government of Buenos Aires city: Ministry of Culture (General Directorate of Heritage and Historic Institute); Tourism Authority; Tourism Observatory; Ministry of Urban Development.

City Council of Montevideo: Ministry of Tourism; Ministry of Culture; Ministry of Housing, Spatial planning and Environment.

Tango Community.

- Thinking more about the relationship of Buenos Aires as a city and tango as heritage and tourism. Example of the Usina del Arte which doesn't dialog, or exchange with the territory (La Boca). Same thing for Caminito. Thinking more about the relationship with the community surrounding Involving the community more in the running of these places.

- Articulation with the districts. How to measure the impacts that tango has on the district?

- The diffusion of tango in the suburbs of the city. Are there any festivals organized in the suburbs? It is possible that a request would be the integration in the heritage and tourism system.

- The measuring of the carrying capacity linked to tourism is fundamental for the safeguarding and at the same time for the sustainable development of tango sectors (for example the milongas).

- The relation and interrelation between spaces dedicated to tango, the districts and the local communities, is a useful result for the sustainable development of tango, the community and the inhabitants of the city.

Tourism Strategy

Government of Buenos Aires city: Ministry of Culture (General Directorate of Heritage and Historic

- Integrating this tourism strategy to a long range dimension.
- Thinking the governance as a request of the tourism strategy. In other words, not only joining the actors of

-The tourism strategy has to be part of a tourism policy, not isolated from a heritage policy.

Institute);
Tourism Authority; Tourism Observatory.

City Council of Montevideo; Ministry of Tourism, Ministry of Culture.

Tango Community.

tourism with the ones of heritage but also with the community. Example: the Tango Festival which reflects the lack of community integration, but this is linked to the objectives of the Festival.

- Integrating the milongas in this tourism strategy, while not transforming them into tourist attractions, but to see with the milongueros what the limits are.

- Time dimension: the strategy for the moment is very focused on the Festival during August. What is the challenge in terms of expanding or extending the calendar?

- Observation of the results of this strategy. Strengthening in this sense the Tourism Observatory of the city.

- Spatial issue: Establishing a reference center about tango, which responds to the needs of the tourist who come for a short time to Buenos Aires, such as the cruise ships for example. It is a way to reach a more general vision of tango with museographic and demonstrating spaces. Another strategy is to continue with the dissemination of tango in the different districts of the city.

- Decentralization of the offer: until today there are many efforts to develop tourism, but all those efforts are very focused on the Tango Festival and championship. Moreover, they shouldn't be focused only on tango or tourism. They have to adopt a broader vision in order to allow for sustainable development.

- The tourism strategy has to interact with the heritage strategy of tango.

- Balancing both strategies is central: today tango is supported more by the tourism side than by the heritage one.

- Associating heritage elements with the tango strategy as a tourism product.

- The heritage strategy has to look at tourism, but considering at the same time the risks and threats linked to it.

APPENDIX IV.- DESCRIPTIVE TABLE OF THE DIFFERENT PRESENTATIONS AND OUTSIDE VISITS

Measure/activity	Stakeholders	Resources/Description:	Benefits/results
TANGO AS ICH	Amaeswar Galla, UNESCO Consultant. Presentation on the Convention of 2003.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Integrating tango to the social context. - Tango diversity. - The milonga as a significant site for a possible nomination. 	Tango inscription on the Representative List of ICH (UNESCO).
Safeguarding actions and measures: Buenos Aires (Argentina).	Liliana Barela, general director of the Heritage office of Buenos Aires city).	<p>She referred to the Dossier presented by Buenos Aires in 2009 for the tango inscription on the Representative List of ICH.</p> <p>She highlighted: the joint presentation with Montevideo and the reaffirmation of the rioplatense concept of tango.</p>	Tango inscription as ICH of the Humanity.
Safeguarding actions and measures: Buenos Aires (Argentina).		<p>She emphasized tango safeguarding in relation to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Scores - Bandoneon: risk because none are made locally. Measures taken by the public sector and the local legislation such as buying bandoneon, planning a local factory in the future, creating bandoneon schools in different places around the world. <p>And she stated that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - We should advocate for a collaboration between the State, the private sector and NGOs. - Tangible and intangible dimensions have to converse. - Tango community is very diversified. 	Some safeguarding actions were produced concerning the bandoneon.
Safeguarding actions and measures: Buenos Aires (Argentina).	Walter Santoro, tango related objects collector.	<p>He talked about a program for recuperating the cultural heritage linked to tango starting by his collection of more than 40 000 objects.</p> <p>He suggested creating, with the support of the Heritage office of Buenos Aires city, a research and interpretative center concerning tango, opened to students and researchers, initial step before the creation of a Tango Museum for the City.</p>	
Safeguarding actions and measures: Buenos Aires (Argentina).	Carlos Pernault, co-writer of the Tango inscription Dossier presented by Buenos Aires.	<p>He referred to the safeguarding measures for the tango continuity included in the Dossier presented by Buenos Aires and Montevideo, as for example: the preservation of the lyrics, instruments, photographs, scores, vinyls, conventillos (tenement houses), choreographies, publications.</p> <p>He also talked about organizing festivals in the two cities, creating a typical orchestra of the Rio de la Plata, a Chair for the formation of children and young people, promoting the notable bars, creating a website, and much more. He recognized that the majority of these initiatives never had a very active existence; some are still in force but many have been lost.</p>	<p>Some initiatives linked to safeguarding such as publications have been carried out.</p> <p>But, at the same time there are few results.</p>

Safeguarding actions and measures: Buenos Aires (Argentina).

Teresita Lencina, researcher of the FECA Institute.

She described the Safeguarding Program of Tango Heritage that this cultural NGO, the FECA institute, is doing. Its activities are mainly focused on the production and diffusion of academic contents concerning tango. The institute is based on the idea of the democratization of knowledge and assets.

The Program includes:

- the digitalization of a selection of phonograms from a period of tango history called the Old Guard (around 1900/1920), contents of shellac records, which the speed reproduction has been improved in each one. Finally they published a compilation of 24 recuperated and restored tangos in the CD named Tangos en version original (Tangos in original version).
- a Workshop of Tango Heritage Safeguarding in order to make the tango community aware of tango concepts and to identify the elements in danger and the possible ways of managing and promoting the safeguarding actions.

Among the priorities, she mentioned:

- The recordings from different periods.
- Orchestral arrangements of the main orchestras, masters/originals of recordings.
- Scores, records, and instruments in danger, such as the bandoneon.
- Registration of the memory and souvenirs of the protagonists, still alive, of the so-called "golden age of tango".

Among the risks highlighted:

- the loss of historic dance styles and the choreographies of important tango masters who have influenced the development of the dance in tango.
- the lack of places or local circuits to listen or dance tango, and the threat on places and on the physiognomy of emblematic districts in the history of tango.

A Safeguarding Program coordinated by this NGO dedicated to tango has been created.

Some activities linked to the safeguarding such as the digitalization of ancient phonograms were done.

A safeguarding Workshop was created.

Safeguarding actions and measures: Buenos Aires (Argentina).

Horacio Spinetto, member of the Commission for the protection and promotion of the notable cafés, bars and tea houses of Buenos Aires city and member of the Tango National Academy.

He highlighted the close relationship between tango and the cafés of Buenos Aires and Montevideo. The Commission of Notable bars promotes tango in some of these bars with spontaneous or professional performances and with the promotion of young artists, with a competition for singers, musicians and orchestras, with a prestigious jury, and also with periodic publications and/or the diffusion of associated tourist itineraries.

Activities binding the notable cafés and tango are organized through tango shows.

Safeguarding measures and actions in Montevideo (Uruguay).

Antonio di Candia, representative of the Culture Vice Ministry of Uruguay.

He presented the Tango Group MEC (for Ministry of Education and Culture of Uruguay), founded in 2012 in order to elaborate a safeguarding plan of tango. He explained the measures taken in Uruguay until today:

- Until 2009 they had only taken few measures.

- Recently they held some meetings with the “colectivo del tango” (tango collective). In august 2012, with a presidential decree, they created the Inter ministerial Commission of Tango, integrated by the Ministry of Tourism, Ministry of Culture and Ministry of International Relations, coordinated by the Ministry of Culture. The group Tango MEC centralizes the actions and articulates them with the other sectors of the government, for example with the City Council of Montevideo.

- He emphasized that in Uruguay, many elements of tango have been lost and others are endangered.

- They are realizing a safeguarding plan with the referents of the different groups, the institutions, musicians, dancers, etc.

Tango inscription as ICH of the Humanity.

Initiation of a Safeguarding Plan together with the tango community of Montevideo.

Safeguarding actions and measures: Buenos Aires (Argentina).

Horacio Ferrer, president of the Tango National Academy.

The Academy was created in 1990, with the aim to compile, to order, to study and to safeguard permanently from any possibility of loss or destruction the cultural heritage that tango and its associated expressions mean.

The Academy as a space of safeguarding, rehabilitation and diffusion of tango as a national expression.

Safeguarding actions and measures: Buenos Aires (Argentina).

Ana María Weckesser, bandoneon luthier. Visit to her studio.

The workshop was founded by her father more than 70 years ago. Today she continues the work with her daughter Julia, the third generation of luthier in a country where the discussion about the risks of extinction of bandoneons worry musicians and other actors of the tango community, in spite of the sanction of a National Law of Bandoneons Protection (Law 26.531) that planned, between other actions, the creation of a National Register of Bandoneons that it is still not in place..

- There is no local production and the bandoneons are in danger

- The bandoneon is a key piece of tango that is the reason why it should be safeguarded

- In the workshop they produce spare parts, repair and tune bandoneons by hand.

- They have helped to found a school in order to transmit the profession of luthier of bandoneon.

The initiative of safeguarding bandoneons and the luthier profession.

TANGO AS A CULTURAL AND HERITAGE EXPRESSION.

Safeguarding measures of tango as heritage: milongas inventory.

Leticia Maronese
(UNESCO consultant)
together with Mónica Lacarriou are doing carrying out the inventory.

- It is the first time that an inventory with these characteristics-in a community context and with the previous, free and informed consent of the community- has been carried out.

- The decision to focus the inventory on the milongas, as delimited element of tango came from: 1) the identification, confirmed by the community, of the milonga and of elements associated to it, as an imperative necessity for safeguarding; 2) the evaluations realized by the members of the community consulted. For example, the milongas are in danger due to a minor sustainability, most of all economic, in spite of the arrival of news actors, such as dancers, professors, organizers.

How to define the milonga? The milonga was defined with the consensus from a part of the consulted members and further than the physical/geographical space in which it is established. The milongas:1) are in force in the present time and we hope that due to their historic continuity, they will continue to exist for the future generations;2) they are significant spaces for the subjects and groups of the city, and also for people who visit them. If it is true that they are still in force and that they are significant, they are in a relative danger due to typical transformations processes of contemporaneous and global societies. From there, it becomes necessary to produce and head for safeguarding measures which not only protect the built-up environment, but all the types of uses and practices developed by different social groups.

Why the participation of the community is necessary in this process? The participation of the community is necessary but it is not easy to involve it. 1) Because they are the persons of particular social groups the ones who have the knowledge, who develop certain social practices and who finally transmit them to the new generations. 2) But also because they are the persons who are identified with the heritage in question. They feel that it belongs to them, and in this sense, they are the ones who have to promote and manage it as the heritage is not produced without people.

How to identify, to recognize and to define the tanguera/milonguera community? The milonguera community was defined, not by who goes to the milonga but by who are "members" of the community and who feel and/or are perceived by the community as referents representative of it. These persons can be carriers, because they have the knowledge about the figures, styles, techniques, rituals, codes; and transmitters,

-The inventory with community basis is an important benefit for:
1) The community.
2) Tango safeguarding as heritage.

- It is very important defining the community in order to elaborate and implement safeguarding policies of tango as heritage.

- It is also crucial for the elaboration of strategies linked to the sustainable development of the community.

Activities linked with the organization of milongas.

Safeguarding measures of tango as heritage: milongas inventory.

Visit to Confiteria La Ideal's matinee milonga.

Gustavo Mozzi,
Tango Festival director.

because they contribute to the perpetuation of the milonga and the dance as fundamental axis of it, throughout learning spaces for the new dancers; finally they are the keepers of that knowledge and practices and the performers of them. Two types of actors were defined: milongueros of the "old guard" and "new milongueros" and two associations were identified: Asociación de maestros, bailarines, y coreógrafos del tango argentino (AMBCTA) (Argentine Tango Masters, Dancers and Choreographers Association) and Asociación de organizadores de milongas (AOM) (Milongas Organizers Association).

This place was inaugurated in 1912 as a tea house and was, for several decades, the center of the social life for the Buenos Aires bourgeoisie. Over the years, it adapted itself to the different changes, with the presentation of various shows, from the famous "ladies orchestra" in the 1920s, to tango singers and artists of café-concert. It was a tea house, but not economically sustainable, and it had to start to rent its halls. It has been renting space for the milongas for the last 15 years. Today, it is a milonga place and they give tango classes every day of the week.

Today, la Ideal is recognized as a notable bar and was declared area of historic protection and site of touristic interest by the Legislature of Buenos Aires city.

He talked about the Tango Festival which is held in the Usina del Arte (place where the visit took place). He said that there are 9 places in the word to promote The Buenos Aires Tango Festival..

- The Festival tries to be faithful to tango expression: promoting the routine character of tango, with the aim of weakening the stereotyped model that is usually promoted.

- Promoting through the program planning of the Festival, the expressions of the new generations and the dialogue between these cutting edge expressions and the traditional ones.

- He emphasizes the transmission issue: before it was an oral transmission, but today it is done through the academic system. The Festival has a role in this sense, even if there are some tensions. The event allows different generations to meet, and in this way it allows the transmission of the traditions to the younger generations.

The enhancement of a "traditional" space as an antique tea house and its new function as a milonga, contributes to tango safeguarding and also to the sustainability of the community resources.

- The Festival is an event where the different generations and traditions and cutting edge expressions can meet.

- The Festival is a space of transmission and training.
- It is important to go through some questions linked to the Festival:

1) the relation with the local community and the district.

2) the temporality in which it is developed.

3) The necessity of decentralizing the Festival (not only geographical decentralization).

Safeguarding measures of tango as heritage: milongas inventory.

Actions linked to the tourist promotion: attempt to create a “touristic-cultural district”.

Visit to Caminito in La Boca, with emphasis on the relation tourism-heritage-tango. By Mónica Lacarrieu.

- Tango is a phenomenon in movement, in expansion and it is alive as a heritage element.
- The Festival participates in the heritage safeguarding: it gives a place to the new expressions and it looks after the tradition.
- The Festival is also a window for the world which takes what is happening in the sector and creates new contents.
- The Festival is not only designing a program, but taking into account the needs of the sector and working according to that.
- Multiplication of the places for the Festival (Usina del Arte, Exhibition Center of the city, el Parque Centenario). Each year, there are more places in the city and each of these places is responding to the specific needs of musicians and dancers.
- The relationship and the integration of the Festival with the district and the community is done through the milonguero circuit, and also through the territorial deployment. For example in the last years various festivals have appeared in the city and there is a section during the program of the International Festival which is for them and it shows the aspects from the different districts.

Caminito is a “Street-museum” at the request of Benito Quinquela Martín. The site took the name of a tango “Caminito” (1926).

- Related to tango by the name of the site and because of certain spaces, figures and forms that use tango as an icon: for example, restaurants with tango shows, souvenir shops, tango dancers who offer photos wearing typical costumes, artist paintings, plaques on the walls.
- Cultural requalifying process based on a cultural tourism model in which tango as heritage has a limited presence, but tango as a tourist product is crucial.

- All of that can contribute to the participation of the Festival to the sustainable development of the community.

- It is possible to accept the creation of a tango “touristic-cultural district”.

- But it is also necessary that this district contributes to the sustainable development of the tango community of the district habitants.

The tourism impact and the sustainable development in tango as heritage.

Monica Kapusta,
Tourism Authority
of Buenos Aires.

Reference to the Tango Festival and Buenos Aires as a cultural destination: tango is the most attractive element.

- August became the month of tango in Buenos Aires.

- From surveys emerge a strong association of tango with the image that tourists identify the city, particularly the international tourists.

- Moreover, tango was declared Intangible Cultural Heritage of the Humanity in September 2009. This important visibility encouraged the re-launching of two of the most crowd pulling events in the city's cultural calendar for the local public but with a weak position at the national and international level: the Tango International Festival and Dance World Championship.

- With the two events the number of tourists has increased.

- They took some measures to facilitate the access to the Festival for the non-resident public, because previously, the distribution of the tickets was limited to the local public.

- All of that has an impact on the geographical decentralization and the supply of tickets. The city championship is held in May in different milongas situated in different districts of Buenos Aires.

- Another element they use as a part of the promotion is the international and national offices of the Festival.

- Strong association of the Festival with the city brand.

- The Festival has increased the number of tourists and particularly international ones.

- Geographical decentralization and seasonal concentration (in August).

APPENDIX V.- SWOT ANALYSIS (STRENGTHS, WEAKNESSES AND CHALLENGES ACCORDING TO THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE STAKEHOLDERS AND THE RESULTS OF THE THREE THEMATIC GROUPS)

THEMES/ FIELDS	STRENGTHS	WEAKNESSES	CHALLENGES
<p>TANGO AS INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A heritage constructed by the society. The fact it is omnipresent in the Argentine and Uruguayan society favors the tango sustainability. -The diversity and the multidimensional wealth of tango: artistic-poetry, music and dance- but also historic, geographic and popular, which involves the two countries. - There is an imagery of tango that perhaps is not desired regarding the heritage element, but it has contributed to reinforce the Argentine identity in the world and contribute to maintain tango alive. - Tango as heritage, but also as tourism product (as it was set out in relation the Festival) makes the meeting between tradition and new expressions possible, contributing in this way to its safeguarding. - In the same way, tango as heritage and as tourism product allows a strengthening of the porteña identity. - Concerning Uruguay, the inscription of tango to the UNESCO has contributed in revitalizing the Uruguayan tango. Thanks to Argentina and the declaration of the UNESCO, Uruguay is starting to make inventories. - We think that the phase of tango heritage recognition is in progress. - The Tango Festival organizers 	<p>What is the “heritage tango” and how to define it?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In the tango presentation Dossier they didn’t give a clear description of what is the heritage of tango and what is/are the heritage elements. This definition is fundamental in order to establish a safeguarding plan. - Risks of losing some practices such as dance styles, the “cabeceo”. The places (some milongas) are also threatened and the feature of some districts considered as emblematic in the tango history. - The presentation to the UNESCO has planned a series of initiatives linked to the safeguarding. However, the majority of them haven’t been carried out. - Some tensions are recognized due to the fact that tango is a “living heritage”: it is a phenomenon in movement, in expansion. 	<p>The challenge to define what is heritage tango and which is the community.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Encouraging the construction of a dynamic bilateral forum between Buenos Aires and Montevideo, which is reinforced by international workshops and activities and which can take part sometimes in other international forums about ICH safeguarding and tourism, generating a dynamic activity of exchanges. - Create a commitment, an exchange between the academic and public sectors. - Encourage the creation of a participative public-private institution which would network with other private and public associations, in order to guarantee the full accessibility to intangible and tangible heritage linked to tango and support the research on this heritage. - Tango as heritage is forms part of two dimensions: tangible and intangible. The challenge is to achieve a dialog between them. The development of a participative, proactive, interested and committed inventory. - Attributing a percentage of the tango income to institutions who are dedicated to the conservation, restoration and safeguarding of heritage tango.

DEFINITION OF THE TANGO COMMUNITY

consider that the Festival participates to the heritage safeguarding of tango.

- The beginning of the inventory based on the community promoted by the UNESCO in Buenos Aires, allowed to define a “community of referents”. In Uruguay they have begun to meet the tango referents and they have defined themselves as “tango collective”. They are currently in the process of compiling an inventory.

- Generational renewal of tango: new generations of young people and adults who didn’t dance in their youth and young people who produce new musical genres, have extended the community. This issue has strengthened the transmission of the dance and music practice.

- The Tango Festival is seen as a meeting place for the different generations (the “old tangueros” with the new generations).

Who is/are part of the “tango community”?

- The tango inscription to the UNESCO was done without a clear, delimited and precise definition of the community. It is a necessary definition in order to establish a strategic plan of tourism and a safeguarding plan.

-This is justified by the fact that the community is very large, varied and diversified: dialog is not easy.

- The associations represent a very little part of the community universe and they require involving all the persons who are not part of these associations.

- They need more social organizations in order to represent the different sectors that make up the tango community.

- It is a challenge to define who make up the “tango community.” These definitions (with the definition of what is heritage tango) are required for a tourism management and heritage safeguard plan in line with what was done for the candombe.

- Concerning the definition, it is necessary to think in the plurality of collectives, in the scale of the community (ies) -between Europe, South America and Argentina (Buenos Aires)- and if the tourist or the different tourist profiles can be part of the community.

- A proposal is to create a tango communities Council for the planning, with a democratic participation.

PUBLIC POLICIES AND PARTICIPATION OF THE TANGO COMMUNITY

- There are no policies or plans of heritage safeguarding. But there are some initiatives: particularly linked with the safeguarding of the bandoneon and the scores. Moreover, there is a legislative measure which is the National Law of Bandoneons Protection (n°26531).

- They have organized some activities linked with the safeguarding and tango promotion, in which some referents –most of all from the music sphere- have been summoned. This is the case of the “notable cafés” programming and the publication about the same thematic: “Café y tango en las dos orillas” (Cafés and tango on both banks).

- A public policies concept dominates from top to bottom, with little community participation.

- There is a larger interest for tango from the tourism public policies (it can be observed in the role the Observatory has, in the holding of festivals and championships and carrying out surveys), than from the heritage policies (regarding the local government). For example they have planned the compilation of a National Register of Bandoneons, as a result of the National Law already approved, but it is still a project.

State involvement alone is not enough for the tango safeguarding as heritage. The challenge is to promote some kind of collaboration between the State, the private sector and the NGOs.

- From the local sphere dedicated to tango safeguarding as heritage a plan to create a local bandoneons factory and schools to learn bandoneon, to organize a festival on both banks (Montevideo and Buenos Aires), a Chair for the formation of new generations, among other initiatives.

- The State institutions have to find a dialog with the community

- The inventory based on the community is an initiative of the "Living Heritage" project supported by the UNESCO, and also by various organisms from the Secretary of State of Culture and the Government of Buenos Aires city.

- The Festival is not only designing a program, but taking into account the needs of the sector.

- The creation of a Safeguarding Program of Tango Heritage by the NGO the FECA Institute is very important. They have already digitalized phonograms, and have elaborated. A safeguarding Workshop with the objective to work and define with the tango community the elements in danger.

- The community, in some particular cases, participates extensively: it is the case of the bandoneon luthier who has a repair and tuning workshop, but it is also the case of the milongueros who organize milongas, give classes, participate as members of the jury during the Festival, etc.

- Few initiatives linked with heritage safeguarding plans.

- The participation of the community is not always achieved due to the regulation. But they are working on this way to change it.

- Lack of community integration in relation with tourism-cultural districts: for example in Caminito, it was not only an eviction of the local population, but there was no participation by the habitants in the tourist and cultural development of the site.

- There are associations connected with tango which have a limited integration inside the community and society as a whole.

stating in which direction they want to go: towards homogenization and mass tourism or the conservation of diversity and making people aware of the importance of tango as heritage.

- Commitment of the public policies towards the community. It would be a sustainable commitment.

- An important challenge is that the public policies provide economic support to the actors with minor economic sustainability, so they really participate in the support to tango. Example: bandoneon luthier.

- Creating a typical tango orchestra of the Rio de la Plata, and also a festival of the two banks, were some of the initiatives thought up by the local government heritage office.

- A challenge for the Tango Festival organizers is to not promote a stereotyped model, but the routine character of tango in the city life.

TRANSMISSION AND EDUCATION

- Within the framework of the local heritage public policies, a project is to create schools to learn bandoneon with the objective of safeguarding and transmitting the knowledge.

- Some particular initiatives, such as the school for the transmission of the profession of bandoneon luthier, are an example of transmission inside the tango sphere.

- Other initiative from the local public sector, such as the Tango Festival, is to promote the transmission through a meeting between the different generations: the transmission of the tradition to the new generations is one of the festival's objectives.

- Before transmission was oral but today it is done through an educational academic system. This modality inserts tango in an institutional and educational format which tends to transmit stereotyped and standardized tango models (it can be observed particularly in the case of the dance).

- Strengthening in the long term: including the transmission of the knowledge and the importance of the intangible heritage in the contents of communication and education. This challenge will strengthen the transmission of tango identities as heritage.

- We consider that the local communication from the tango community strengthens the knowledge and the transmission of the heritage value, particularly to the young people.

- It is a challenge to achieve measures which contribute to the actors training. Among them, classes which allow better training of the actors focused on tango.

- It is an important challenge to think about the transmission of tango knowledge and practices in tourist places. For example, during the shows they offer in the tanguer-

**TANGO
RELATION WITH
THE SPACES AND
THE TERRITORY**

- There is a reinterpretation and a new function attributed to particular spaces thanks to their relations with tango. This is the case of the Confitería La Ideal, elevated to “notable café” and its transformation into a milonga collaborate in as much so that tango or at least a heritage element linked to the genre, doesn’t disappear.

- Multiplication of the sites for the Tango Festival: Usina del Arte, Exhibition Center, Parque Centenario, etc. Each year there are more sites in the city and each of these sites respond to the particular needs of the different sectors of tango.

- Social impact applied to the territory: by creating new touristic spaces it is producing population displacement, more segmentation.

- In general, it appears that the spaces and sites linked to tango don’t communicate or not enough with the surroundings. Spaces are created which are like islands. And examples of that are the Festival, Usina del Arte, Caminito, tanguerías or milongas of the city center.

rias and restaurants (such as the Querandi and Café de los Angelitos), it would be relevant to give out some educational information (from the historic processes to the different styles of dance, music, etc.) in the form of leaflets or by the entertainers themselves.

It is important not to forget in the transmission, the musicians and craftsmen.

- Spatial challenge: articulation with the districts. How to measure the impact that the contents have on the district? In the districts are the cultural contents integrated? Example of La Boca and Usina del Arte.

-The need to promote exchanges with the territory, in particular with the Tango Festival and world championship which until today doesn’t encourage this articulation outside its site. We have to think about the relationship with the surrounding community. We have to involve more the communities in the running of those places. Taking the territory into account is a way to involve the communities so they can obtain some benefits from this activity.

- Another challenge is the diffusion of tango in the city suburbs. Is there any possibility to organize festivals in the suburbs? Maybe we should think about this integration in the heritage and tourism system. For example it can consist in support for festivals created in other spaces, not only limited to the Tango Festival.

**TOURISTIC
DEVELOPMENT
OF TANGO**

**TANGO AS
A TOURIST
PRODUCT**

- Tourism gives visibility to tango.

- There is tango throughout the entire world but the real tango is only experienced in Buenos Aires

- The Festival has allowed for greater access, facilitating the access

-Due to the development in tourism we see also a tendency towards tradition. In some milongas in particular, they only play music from the golden decade (40s and 50s), as this is the “authentic” tango what the tourists want to listen and dance to and not rock & roll or other melodies.

- Transferring the income generated and assigned to tango tourism to the community for training and organization. Transmitting to it the decision making power and improving its sustainability.

- Although we outline that tourism is a positive element in the tango

for the non-resident public.

- Tango tourism development implies employment opportunities, new professions and new trades.

- All the tourist-cultural events in the Culture Ministry calendar are free. The Festival ticket is free.

- Because it is a “living heritage”, tourism helps to keep it alive, despite some transformations.

- For Argentine people, the perception of the rest of the world is very important. Tango succeeded in Paris in the 1920s and it was revitalized also in Europe and in the USA in the 1980s. The international impact of tango is seen as a positive brand associated with Buenos Aires.

- A greater geographical decentralization of the offer (championships in different milongas of the city) is seen as a strength.

- August, Tango month, is seen as a strength regarding the new direction tourism is taking in Buenos Aires.

- It can be seen as positive that tango has strengthened the arrival of international tourists and an increase in the number of tourists.

-A certain “folklorization” of the heritage element.

- We perceive a certain homogenization of tango, concerning the dancing. With the today’s professionalism everybody dances in the same way. It is not easy to see any variation in style among the different districts.

- The kind of dance on offer has led to the product becoming more standardized and showy.

- With many tourists attending some places, as in some milongas, there is a risk that some habits from the popular cultural practice could disappear. An example is the potential disappearance of the cabeceo (head sign) in the milongas in the city center, where the largest concentration of tourists is to be found.

- The efforts by the Tourism Authority, in terms of tango tourism development are mainly focused on the Tango Festival and championship.

- The Government of Buenos Aires city emphasizes the creation of a Buenos Aires brand, closely associated tango. The problem is that once this idea is crystallized, it will be difficult to change it and make it more complicated to diversify tourism.

- The income from tourism benefits tour operators, who are in the main outside the tango community.

- The activities linked to tourism situated in some tourist place like La Boca (Caminito), the Abasto tend to make the tango practice more folkloric in style and to generate income which is not distributed to the community.

development as heritage element, it is a challenge to minimize the negative impacts, revitalizing the sectors affected negatively by tourism.

- Research on the impact of the heritage recognition and the tourist promotion of tango. What does making it commercial contribute? This issue of the research has to be carried out at different levels.

- It is important to have a tourism strategy for tango, and not only in terms of brand. Some points to observe are:

1. Integrating the tourism strategy to a greater management strategy of the element. Avoiding a sectorial focus. Integrating the safeguarding challenges of the element in the tourism strategy.

2. The construction of this tourism strategy entails governance. In other words, not only uniting the tourism stakeholders with the ones of heritage but also with the community.

3. Integrating the milongas in this tourism strategy not transforming them in tourist attractions, but to see with the milongueros what the limits are.

4. Temporary dimension: the strategy for the moment is very focused on the Festival during August. What is the challenge in terms of this temporary situation?

5. Defining a strategy to observe and monitor the results. Strengthening in this sense the Tourism Observatory of the city.

6. Spatial issue:
 - Establishing an exhaustive reference center about tango, responding to the tourists needs. Example: the Fado Museum.

- Challenge of making more professional and economic sustainability of the activities: what are the sites of activities that generate income except the shows? We have to think about the musicians, dancers, artisans (shoes and clothes makers, etc.) and to identify what their need are.

-Challenge linked to the knowledge of the tourism demand: the need to know the evolution of the demand in the long term. It is a task for the Tourism Observatory. We have to increase the knowledge regarding what tourists want concerning tango, about the diversity of tourists and analyzing the diverse profiles in order to accompany the demand mutation. This study carried out of the different tourists will permit to see if the distinction made by the locals is true (tourists-visitors-foreigners) and to how it corresponds in terms of numbers.

- Defining with the tourism operators a set of ethical principles and norms, in order to present tango according to the Cultural Tourism Charter. Giving an accreditation or certification for the development of tourism regarding tango. This would allow for better control over tourism concerning tango heritage.

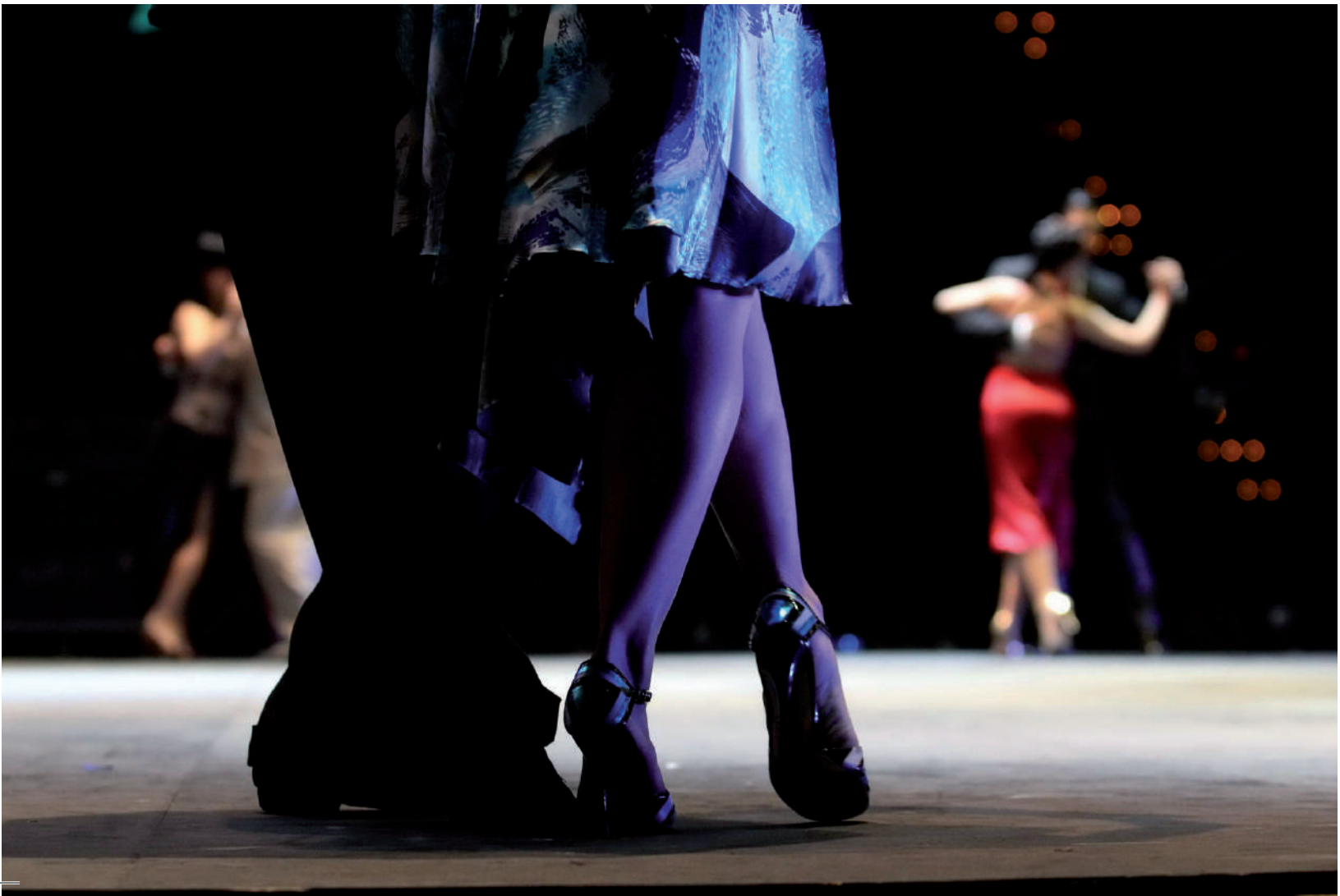
- To think in terms of carrying capacity regarding the milongas: in other words giving a membership card to regular clients, in order to find out each day how many non-members attend so as to see how many tourists can go, planning attendance at different moments. It is a way to organize the distribution.

- There is a very large field of production, mainly arts and crafts, such as shoes, clothes, musical instruments (bandoneon) which require a multitude of competences. It is therefore a challenge to strengthen the different areas of the sector so as to develop cultural and creative industries.

- Regarding the souvenir production, today they say that everything is made in China. We have to think about the development of quality activities concerning the local production of tango souvenirs. Creating for example small businesses in relation to the identification of resources, job opportunities for the new generations.

- Binding the strategy of dissemination of tango in the different districts of the city. This spatial strategy has to think particularly about the carrying capacity of the spaces concerning the tourists who temporarily visit those places and to the link with the local community.

Compiled by the Workshop organizers "Intangible cultural heritage, identity and tourism. Tango as rioplatense expression", UNESCO Chair, Buenos Aires, Argentina, on basis of the presentations given by experts who attended the Workshop, the visits and according to the results of the three thematic groups..



APPENDIX VI.- TANGO AS HERITAGE OF HUMANITY, SHOULD WE FREEZE IT OR REFLECT ON IT?

Lic. Liliana Barela

In many meetings in which I have participated, the idea that tango “is not the one that it used to be” was present. Actually, nothing is as it used to be, not life, us, the world or the neighbourhood. This arouses nostalgia; however, it should please us because the only way that no change takes place is when something is dead.

In an interview with Liliana Herrero somebody asked her if she believed that someday Cuchi Leguizamón’s music (poet and composer of Argentine folklore) might “die”, and she replied: “No, not as long as there are musicians who dialogue with Cuchi”. She was speaking about dialogue, not repetition. That seems to be the key regarding discussions about tango. When starting to work on tango as ICH, many doubts arose. The first was on the very notion of heritage, especially about what do we have to consider as heritage? And what are the valid criteria to evaluate it?

The idea of heritage has changed a lot in recent decades. A growing and progressive interest in cultural heritage led to the appreciation by UNESCO of practices, representations, expressions, knowledge and skills of different groups and their inclusion in the definition of intangible.

The first definitions of intangible heritage that appeared in the documents put emphasis on certain conditions such as the oral transmission, the risk of disappearance, and the question of belonging to a minority or indigenous cultures, which is quite close to the concept of cultural reserve¹³.

Cultural Heritage. Therefore, a concept that was traditionally limited to objects (buildings, monuments, and works of art) regarded as having historical and cultural value expanded, significantly extending the range of heritable expressions and allowing the inclusion of intangible cultural heritage and thus, the chance to develop policies to safeguard them. However, this addition of the immaterial condition allowed us to rethink and to go deeper into the concept of heritage, making explicit something that was underlying: heritage has always been traversed by the relation of its tangible and intangible dimensions because no material assets are considered as heritage unless some group or community bestows a

symbolic value upon it, and at the same time, there is no intangible heritage lacking in physical support.

In the III International Tango Congress, Frédéric Vacheron spoke of a holistic view of the Heritage of Humanity similar to what we have been defending for a long time and which has not always been understood. A proof of this is when I was participating in the heritage commissions, many times people called me “architect” because they could not understand what a historian like me could be doing there. However, when we say that a building is “heritage”, we are not only considering its material existence, but we are also talking about major events that happened there, or performing an art appreciation, or stressing a particular technique.

That is to say, the value we attach is immaterial. Separating heritage issues is as difficult as setting chronological limits in history (how do we determine in history the moment when one era ended and another began?) or isolating the different dimensions of social processes: economic, social, or political, as they are not fixed compartments. They are always arbitrary operations, but they are necessary to understand. Moreover, if society, history, life cannot be separated or fragmented, neither can be heritage.

The notion of intangible cultural heritage is subject-like any definition of culture- to the social dynamism where multiple dimensions of human nature intersect. Heritage is a sphere where economic, political, social and symbolic aspects are discussed. Things do not speak for themselves any heritage operation is a meta-language that speaks “of” and “about” things.

The most important landmarks of the process at the international level until Tango was declared intangible heritage, are very recent.

In the late nineties, the process that led to proclaim, between 2001 and 2005, ninety Masterpieces of Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity through prepared list systems in order to safeguard certain heritage elements, was started. The need for a regulation instrument for intangible cultural heritage, culminated with the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage,

which came into being on 20 April 2006.

For political and management matters, I have participated in presentations to UNESCO at different times and conditions. In 2001, I worked on the presentations of Tango and Guarani Cultural Universe as Masterpieces of Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity. These efforts were unsuccessful¹⁴.

Conversely, in 2009 Tango was declared Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity.

The comparison between the two experiences allows some reflections on international standards, and on the ways in which we carry out these issues from our countries.

Firstly, in 2001 presentation to UNESCO for the List of Oral Masterpieces, there was neither agreement nor enough joint work between countries that shared Guarani culture and tango. The latter was treated as Buenos Aires heritage, it was not until later that Uruguay joined in. The City of Buenos Aires conferred on itself the power over a music genre even though we knew that there was a natural corridor connecting us to Montevideo and that it should be a shared area.

In addition, there were questions and concerns that we all formulated and that could not be easily answered: What should be preserved? Which among all “tangos”? Scores only? The tango for dancing? Of what period? From which period? The one that included bandoneon or the one that did not? Tango in its beginnings or the one belonging to the period of its greatest success?

The questions are not confined to past practices but reach the present, where many actors with different views participate. The same as in the issue raised by Liliana Herrero I have mentioned at the beginning, we can see that tango dialogues with new generations and shines worldwide. At the moment, there is no clear evidence that tango may disappear. Here comes the problem of living cultures, the same as with the Guarani, or the Carnival of Oruro. In our city live people from Bolivia who were not used to participate in the Carnival of Oruro when they lived there, but here they have adopted it and celebrate it as a way to reaffirm their Bolivian identity in Buenos Aires. Something similar happened to tango, its

13. This means that it was restricted to certain traditional and popular cultures, and promoted over them an imaginary with little or no dynamism of the involved social sectors.

14. In 2001, it was believed that tango was undergoing a revitalization and expansion process at national and international level, while the Guarani language was revitalized and protected by the Paraguayan state since the fall of dictator Stroessner. In addition, legislation gave priority to oral transmission and both the tango as well as the Guarani language use written support. It was concluded that none needed special protection for its preservation.

vigorous health made decision-makers wonder about the need to preserve it.

After these discussions, and other decisions of UNESCO concerning the evaluation of these cultural expressions, we found another way to legitimize the presentations, a form related to how communities feel the importance of tango.

In 2009, we became aware of the corridor that connects us to Montevideo and of a broader expression: tango as music, poetry, dance, and also as the spaces where it was expressed.

We arranged meetings in Montevideo and Buenos Aires, where issues such as neighbourhoods, the railway and certain individual stories with common features appeared, because they form part of the River Plate history.

At that time, we already had a new Convention establishing clearer rules. The second more deeply thought and smoothly worked presentation was made jointly by Buenos Aires and Montevideo.

Both cities investigated different groups linked to tango (musicians, dancers, poets, scholars, etc.), specific communities in which we must turn to in order to legitimize an intangible value. A better synthesis of this cultural expression belonging to the two sister cities was achieved, with a common origin and a history that travelled a similar highway. We analyzed similarities and differences; we discovered nuances we had not seen before, probably because they were obvious and naturalized. For example, Argentine and Uruguayan people believe that great musicians and singers are our fellow countrymen, without really knowing their birthplaces.

Moreover, we also do not know what kind of tango has been created on either bank.

Other discussions arose, such as the validity or not of electronic tango, or tango adapted and sang by rock musicians. During these discussions, many of us had the feeling that when different generations begin to take stock of their lives, they need a tango. It is practically a miracle how tango experience is transmitted and reworked. My grandmother heard the first tangos but could not dance them because they were deemed “indecent”; my mother used to dance tango when she was young; I just listened to it, especially Piazzola; my daughter wants to dance tango, but she must go to tango academy to learn it because her father and I do not dance it. Each generation approaches tango in a different way, and tango is present in everyone’s life.

So, how do you know what to preserve? And, what do we have to encourage to prevent tango from extinction? That is our goal, keeping tango alive, and we believe that we should encourage

dialogue to accomplish it.

Musical cycles in renowned bars were an interesting exchange experience (“Cycles on both banks”), which allowed Uruguayan singers to come to Buenos Aires and some Argentines to go to Uruguay. We had a hard time, because, for example, an Argentine singer going to Montevideo was news, while a Uruguayan coming to Buenos Aires was not, even though all of them were excellent professional musicians. We have to work out these issues.

Another important experience is the Orquesta Escuela de Tango, where young musicians learn different styles and ways of playing. However, knowing what great musicians were doing in the past does not mean copying them; but it is good to use this knowledge to open roads, so that they can find their own way to express tango. Generally speaking, these new expressions that are slowly gaining popularity among the young people already exist, but they have not yet achieved the greatness that at one time innovators like Pugliese had, so it is important to take action to make them known. It is not a question of innovation for the sake of fashion, but if you try to freeze tango, you will surely kill it. There have always been change lovers and detractors. In the sixties, the issue was whether Piazzola’s music was tango or something else; someone also said that Julio Sosa reciting La Cumparsita was the worst thing that happened to tango. Many views, many feelings, many tangos, but only one identity.

That musical identity that was exported in the thirties and forties along with the cinema is now exported via our musicians and dancers.

We are currently experiencing a crisis of identity. In the first decades of the twentieth century, tango emerged as the synthesis of an urban society formed by waves of immigration. Today we have many migration flows in our city but they listen to other music, especially different types of cumbias, sometimes from opposing groups.

Heritage and democracy form an inseparable pair. National identity is necessary, but it is dangerous to reduce it to a single or a few expressions, leaving the rest outside. It is tempting, true, but it is the way dictatorships effectively operated on culture in general and, in particular, on intangible heritage as rituals, festivals and celebrations.

Democracy is the institution that enables community to propose and confirm the authenticity of cultural expressions in a participatory manner. This is an important advance in the management of intangible heritage for UNESCO.

“The feature this recognition must meet is to become a benchmark for the construction of our



identity, understanding it as a process in which many actors participate. From that starting point, we call for respect of the diversity and for the integration, being aware that tensions and other conflicts between groups, rather than an obstacle, are an opportunity to enrich the memory and senses, and build our identities as people”¹⁵.

Tango designation as Heritage of Humanity creates obligations to institutions. We have already done some things: tango has been incorporated as a career in some schools (previously it was only in the School of Music in Avellaneda); the cycle *Café del tango* from both banks was co-produced with Uruguay; the book “*Cafés de las dos orillas*”; the artistic production of *Orchestra del Porvenir* was performed; *Orquesta Juvenil del Sur* was created with children from kids’ orchestras that we call solidarity action; milongas and workshops are held in the cultural spaces of the city; some concert series of school ensembles took place on the Partenon theatre of Parque Centenario and at the Conservatoire, and more. Other actions are aimed at restoring spaces, such as the facade of *Café Margot*, or the *Trianon* in Boedo, or creating new spaces in La Boca.

Sometimes I wonder about the importance of large spectacles, however, without bypassing them, I personally appreciate more the reproduction value of small things like quality musician presentations in small spaces (cafes,

bars) and the performance of exchange cycles (such as “both banks”). This is to ensure excellence and spread excellence. Tangos will succeed if they have good music and if they have good lyrics; mass acceptance will come later. However, for that purpose we must ensure training.

It is true that in the milongas there is little space for new tangos, as tangos from the 40s are especially preferred for dancing. However, alternative routes and spaces for new groups with mostly a young public are expanding.

We have to protect the small expressions through direct actions, such as *Los Laureles* in Barracas neighbourhood, where neighbours used to gather to talk about tango.

We know that there is not one single expression of tango, and trying to determine it would be the first step to freeze tango. There are different dance styles, styles that are a synthesis of the spontaneous creation of many dancers of the past. Each of them claiming it is theirs. In addition, all those that dance different styles of milonga criticize show dancers that adorn their presentation with jumps. Regardless of the kind of tango I like, the important thing is that the other ones exist as well; the important thing is that tango is alive.

Sometimes nostalgia is a trap that makes us avoid the difficulties of the current times. Nowadays tango is a moment in the history of tango. We need to encourage what exists. Overcoming nostalgia means to overcome the

temptation to preserve what represents only a few of us, forgetting that our children need to choose from that past what suits them better to build an identity in freedom for the future.

That is why, when designing actions on heritage, we need to talk with the involved actors from all generations. Moreover, we have to use the State as a mediator, because it is responsible for ensuring cultural diversity and respect for people’s freedom of expression.

15. Barela, Liliana, “intangible heritage, society and identity”, in *Intangible Heritage and Native American peoples.*, International Colloquium, Institute for Constitutional Studies at the State of Queretaro, National Institute of Anthropology and History, Queretaro, Mexico, 2008.

APPENDIX VII.- WORKSHOP PROGRAM

Coordinated by **Mónica Lacarrieu**, UNESCO consultant.

June 11

3.00 pm – 7.00 pm: **Buenos Aires City Tour including visit of Teatro Colon and Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes**

8.30 pm: **Welcome: Dinner Tango Show “El Querandi”.**

June 12

8.30 am: **Departure from Hotels**

9.00 am – 9.30 am: **Workshop Introduction, by Dr. Mónica Lacarrieu**

Objectives
Work methodology and dynamics
Topics for discussion.

9.30 am – 10.00 am: **Tango: Intangible Heritage of Humanity (UNESCO).**

Lecture:
Dossier submitted by Buenos Aires to the UNESCO. By Lilita Barela, General Director of the Heritage Department, Ministry of Culture, Government of Buenos Aires City.

10.00 am – 10.30 am: **Tango as a rioplatense expression.**
By Sergio Pujol (historian and essayist).

10.30 am – 11.00 am: **Coffee break.**

11.00 am – 11.30 am **“Intangible Cultural Heritage, Identity, and Tourism. Tango as a rioplatense expression”**,
by Hernán Lombardi, minister of Culture and Tourism authority chairman of the City of Buenos Aires / Frédéric Vacheron, head of the Culture Sector, UNESCO Office Montevideo / Maria Gravari Barbas, head and coordinator of the UNITWIN- UNESCO Network on Culture, Tourism & Development.

11.30 am– 12.30 pm:

Safeguarding measures and actions submitted by Buenos Aires.

By architect Carlos Pernault (one of the authors of the Dossier submitted by Buenos Aires), Teresita Lencina (director of FECA –Argentinean Cultural Studies Forum), Arch. Horacio Spinetto (Bares Notables Buenos Aires-Montevideo Program) and Walter Santoro, collector.
Coordination by Lilita Barela.

12.30 pm- 1.00 pm:

Dossier and safeguarding measures submitted by Montevideo (Uruguay).

By Antonio Di Candia (Uruguayan National Commission for UNESCO).

1.00 pm – 2.00 pm: **Lunch break.**

2.00 pm – 7.00 pm: **Tango Tour:**

Visit to Caminito street (La Boca).
Visit to Usina de las Artes and interview with Gustavo Mozzi, director of the International Tango Festival.

Visit to a luthier's workshop specialized in bandoneons: Ana María Weckeser.
Visit to the National Tango Academy.
Visit to a "milonga": La Ideal.

8.30 pm -9.30 pm: **Reception hosted by the President of the AAMNBA,**
Dr. Julio César Crivelli.

June 13

8.30 am: **Departure from Hotels**

9.00 am – 10.00 am:
Tango as an "alive heritage" by Dr. Mónica Lacarrieu
Preparation of inventories by Dr. Mónica Lacarrieu and Leticia Maronese.
**Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage/Operational Guidelines
for the Implementation of the World Heritage**
Convention. By Dr. Mónica Lacarrieu/ Dr.Amareswar Galla.

10.00 am -10.30 am:
Tourism and development. The impact of tourism and sustainable development in relation to tango as intangible heritage.
By Mónica Kapusta, Director of the Tourism Observatory, Department of Tourism, Government of Buenos Aires City.

10.30 am - 11.00 am: **Coffee break.**

11.00 am - 1.00 pm: **Workshop activity.**

1.00 pm - 2.00 pm: **Lunch break.**

2.00 pm - 5.00 pm: **Workshop activity.**

5.30 pm- 7.30 pm: **Tango Class, Mayoral and Elsa María Academy.**

8.30 pm – 11.30 pm: **Dinner and visit to a "bar notable": Café de los Angelitos.**

June 14

8.30 am: **Departure from Hotels**

9.00 am – 11.00 am: **Workshop conclusions**

11.00 am – 11.30 am: **Coffee break.**

11.30 am – 1.00 pm: **Drafting of the final Workshop document.**

1.00 pm – 2.00 pm: **Lunch break.**

2.00 pm – 5.00 pm: **Meeting of the UNESCO/UNITWIN Network members.**

THANKS

Alejandra Karavaitis
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Anibal White
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Patricia Pécora
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Sergio Pujol
Teresita Lencina
Walter Santoro
Photos:
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Néstor Barbita

TANGO BA FESTIVAL AND CHAMPIONSHIP 2013



The annual survey from the Tourism Observatory of the Tourism Authority of the City of Buenos Aires, registered an increase in the number of tourists of around 15%. This included national and international tourists to the 2013 BA Tango Festival and Championship.

The total attendance, including residents of Buenos Aires, was 550 000 people. According to Hernán Lombardi, president of the Tourism Authority and Minister of Culture of the government of Buenos Aires, the significant increase in attendance of foreign and domestic tourists to the 2013 Festival and Championship highlighted two important aspects. The first is that August has been declared as the month of Tango in the City, which meets a strategic goal in terms of increasing seasonal tourists, since August is a quiet month for domestic tourism and this makes it an extension of the winter holiday period. In terms of international demand, August coincides with the summer season in Europe and North America. It is important to note that over 40 percent of international attendees came from countries experiencing their summer season. This means that despite the scenario of loss of competitiveness of destinations in Argentina, tourist demand responded to the promotion of niches, in this case the tango, with a strong presence in the U.S., Europe, regional markets and neighbouring countries.

COMPARISON 2013/2012 ATTENDEES AND SPENDING

Number of attendees

Place of residence	2013	2012	Var %
Argentina	21.450	20.271	5,8%
Overseas	59.400	49.729	19,4%
Buenos Aires Residents	469.150	430.000	9,1%
Total	550.000	500.000	10,0%

Expenditure tourist attendees

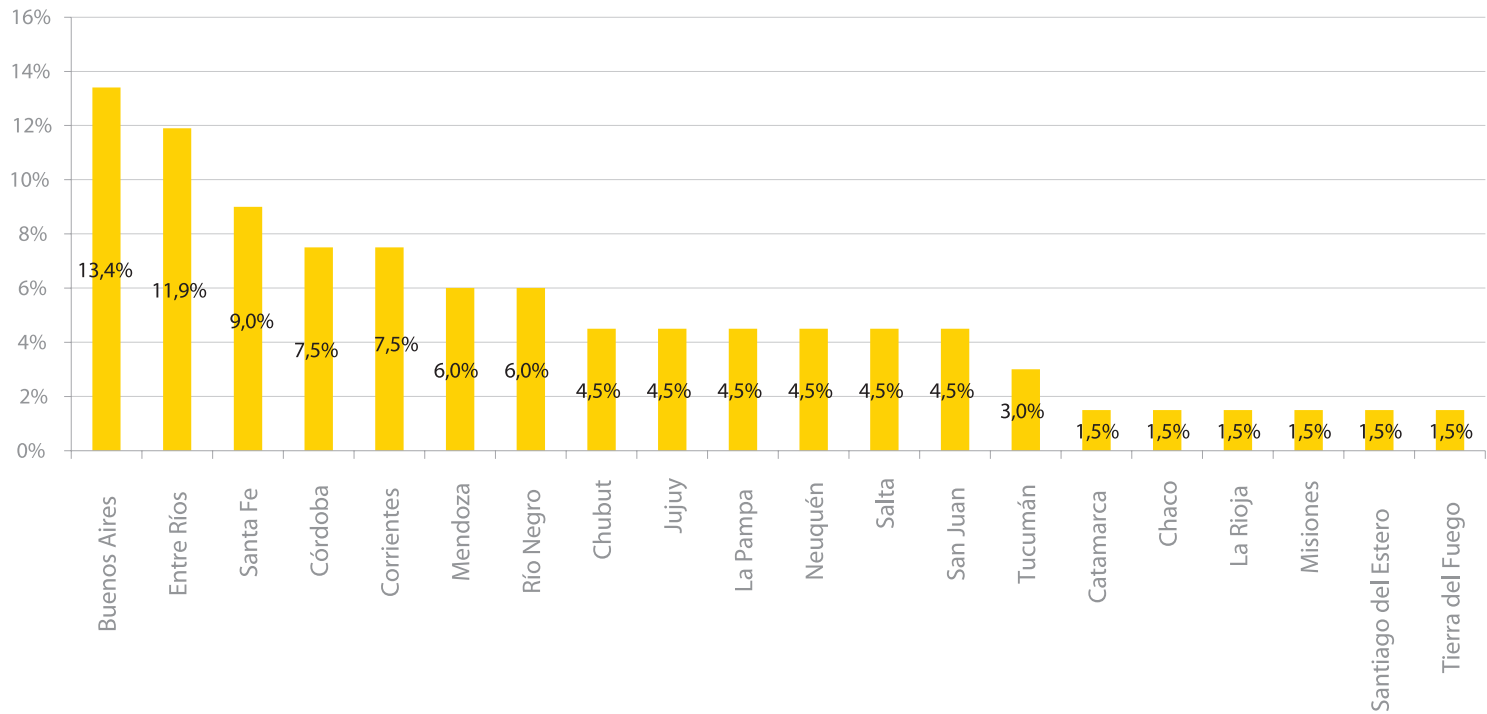
	2013	2012	Var %
Total in U\$D	52.486.346	55.405.061	-5,3%
Total in Pesos	291.824.083	255.417.330	14,3%
Exchange rate	5,56 / 4,61		

Source: Tourism Observatory of the Tourism Authority of Buenos Aires

SURVEY OF NATIONAL TOURISTS

Origin

Origin of Argentine tourists attending Tango 2013



Gender

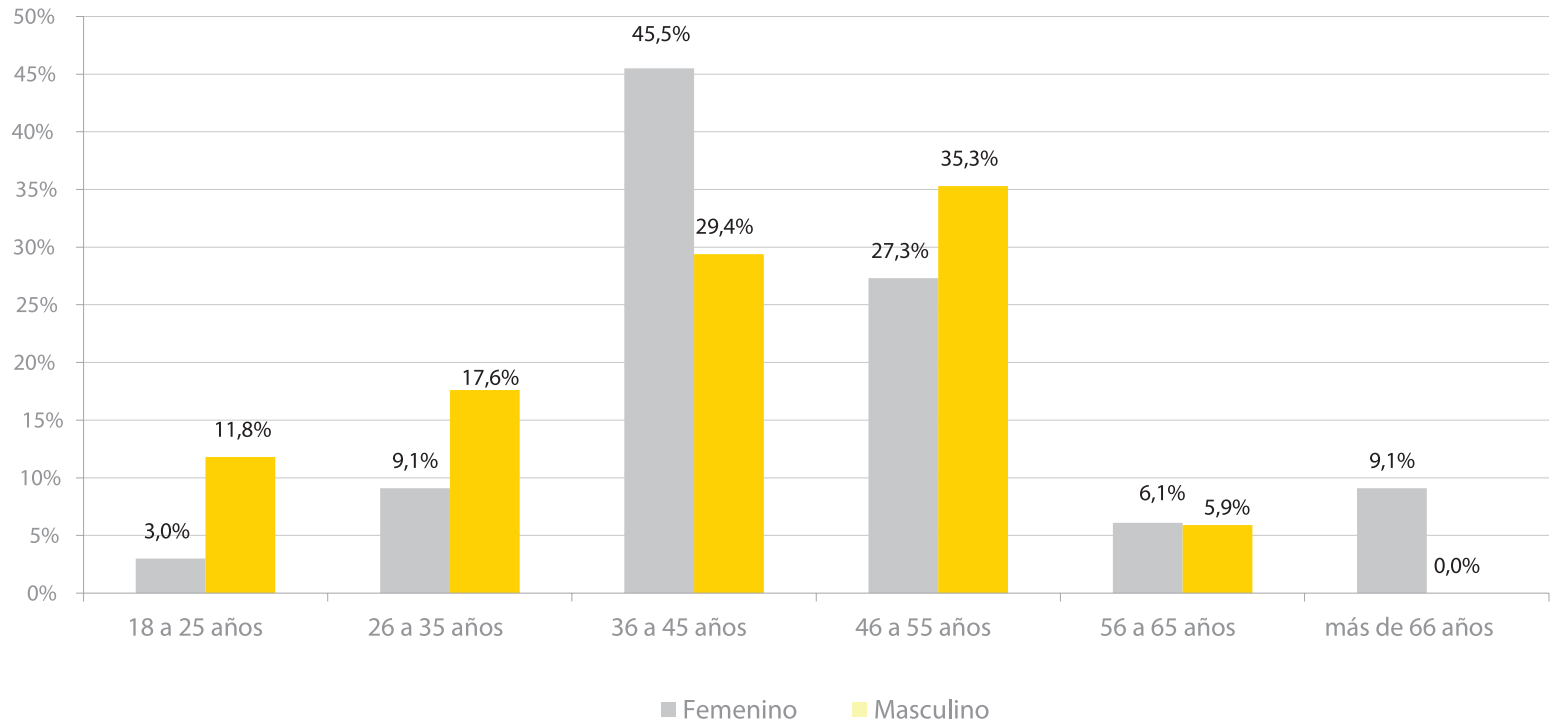
Gender of national tourists

Sex	%
Female	49,3%
Male	50,7%
Total	100,0%

Source: Tourism Observatory of the Tourism Authority of Buenos Aires

Age groups

Ages of Argentine tourists attending Tango 2013



Average stay

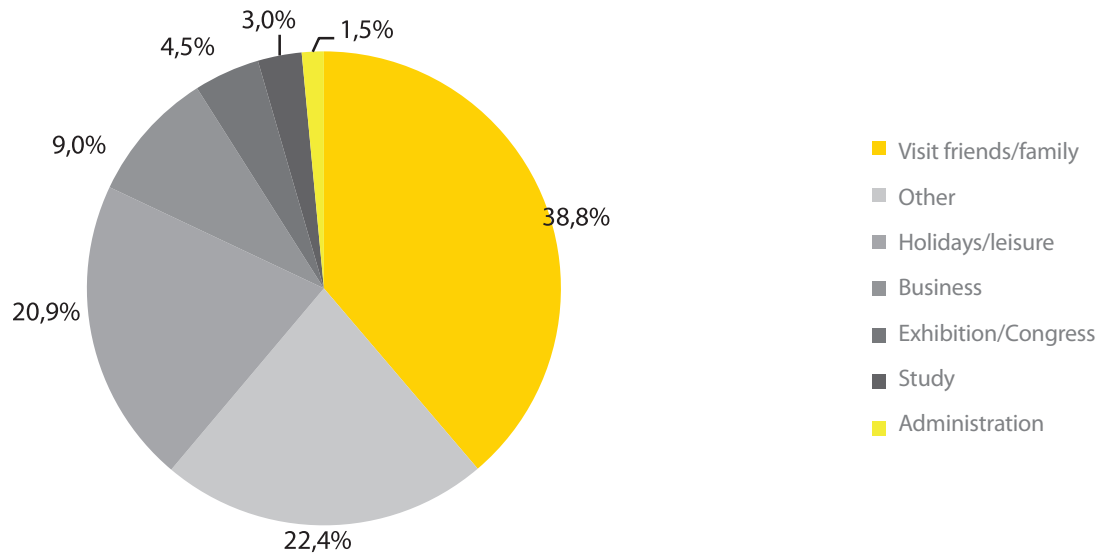
Average stay of local tourists

Noches	%
1 to 4	42,2%
5 to 8	37,5%
9 to 12	3,1%
15 to more	17,2%
Total	100,0%
Average stay	7,31 nights

Source: Tourism Observatory of the Tourism Authority of Buenos Aires

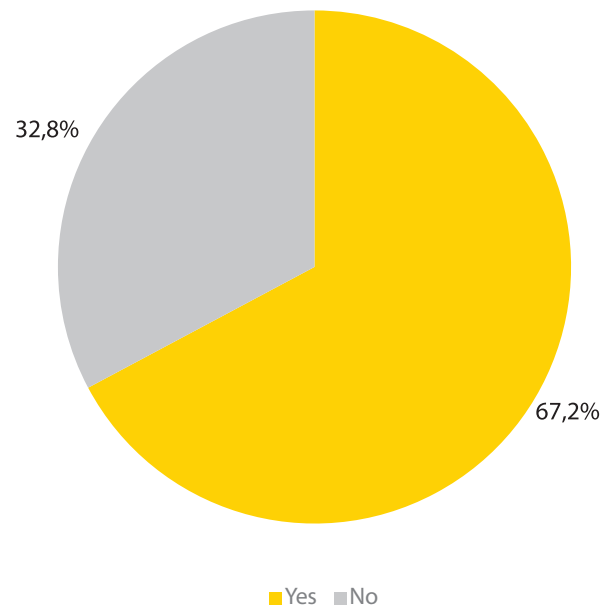
Reason for travel

Reason for travel for Argentines attending Tango 2013 (see list)



Attendance at free shows

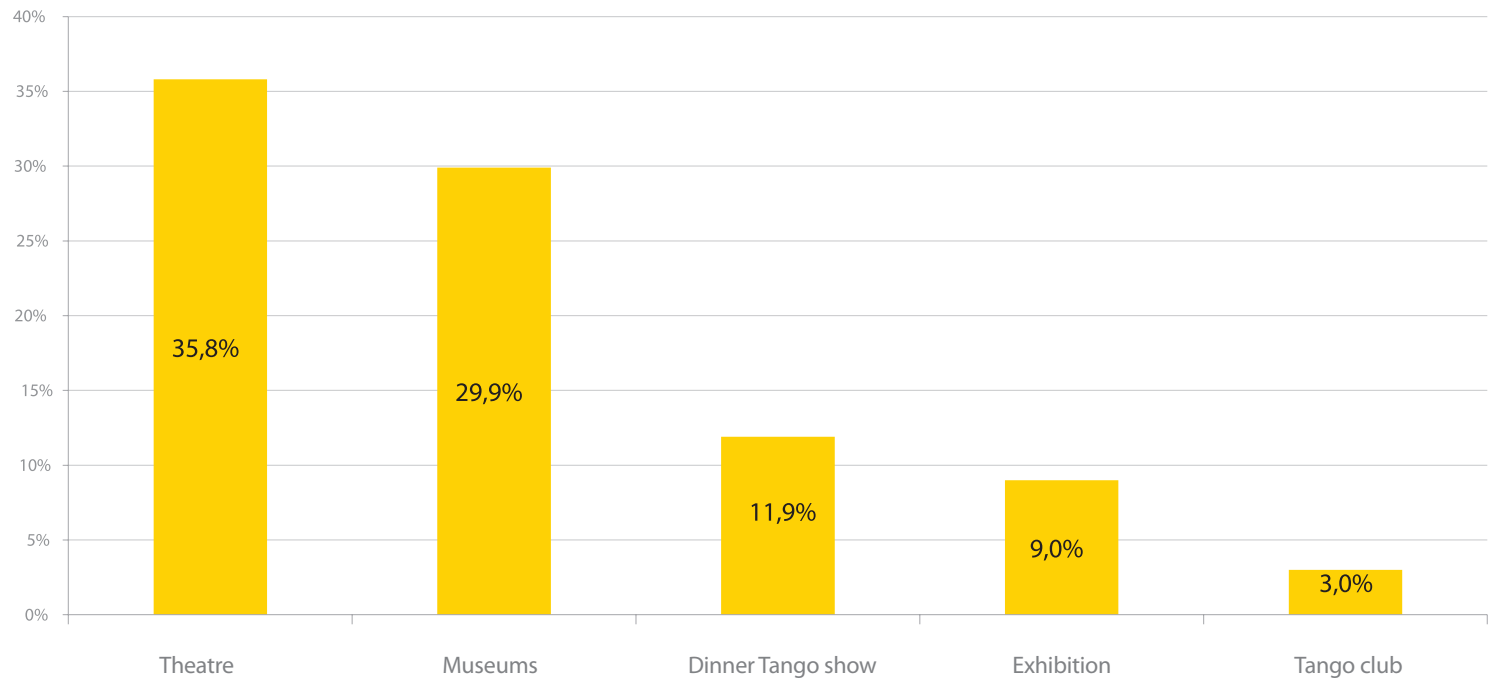
Attendance of Argentine tourists at free shows in the City of Buenos Aires



Source: Tourism Observatory of the Tourism Authority of Buenos Aires

Attendance at ticketed shows

Attendance of Argentine tourists at ticketed shows*



Average spend

Average daily expenditure of national tourists

Average spent daily	\$	USD
Argentines	494,79	88,99

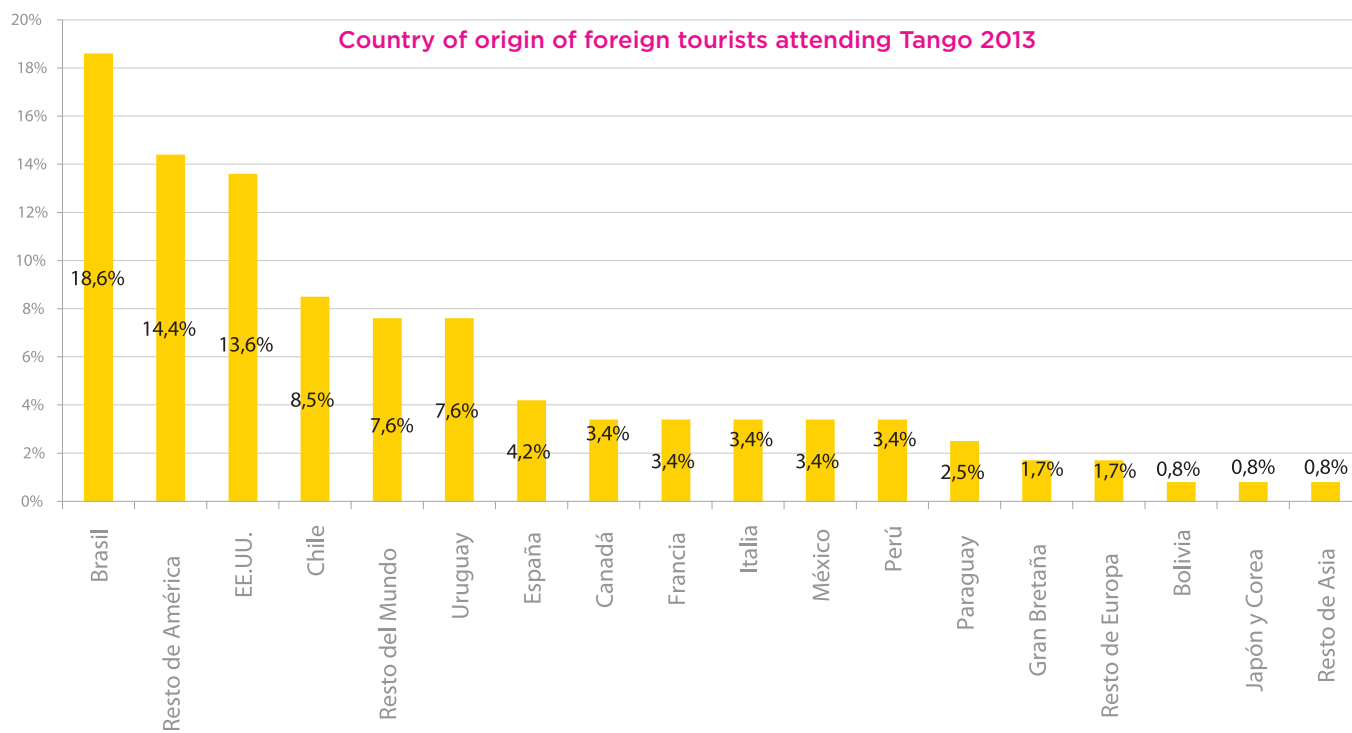
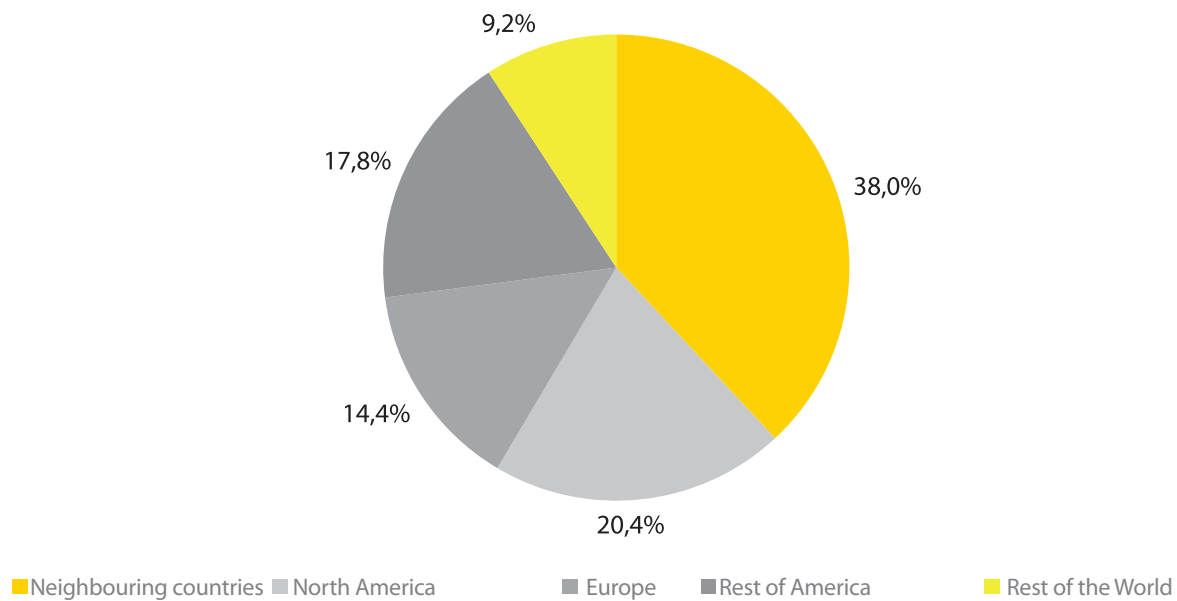
Official exchange rate: \$5,56

Source: Tourism Observatory of the Tourism Authority of Buenos Aires

SURVEY OF FOREIGN TOURISTS

Origin

Origin of foreign tourists attending Tango 2013



Source: Tourism Observatory of the Tourism Authority of Buenos Aires

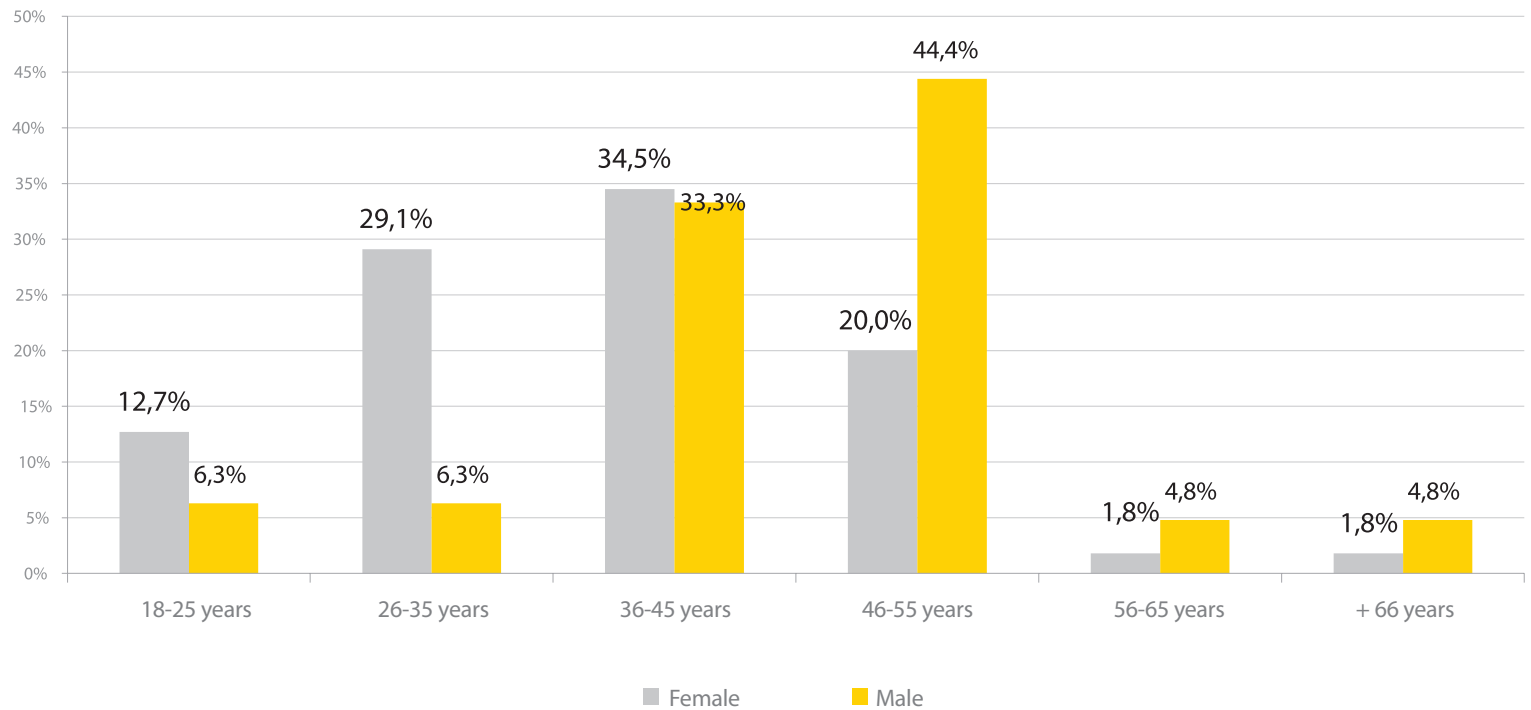
Gender

Gender of foreign tourists

Sex	%
Female	46,61%
Male	53,39%
Total	100,0%

Age groups

Ages of foreign tourists attending Tango 2013



Source: Tourism Observatory of the Tourism Authority of Buenos Aires

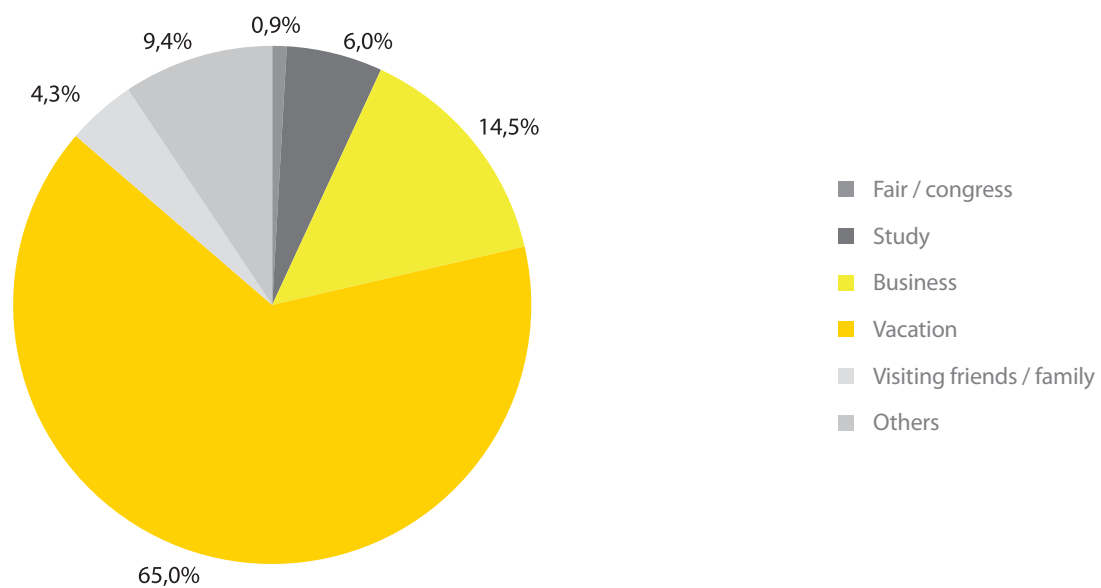
Average stay

Average stay of foreign tourists

Nights	%
1 to 3	12,6%
4 to 6	32,4%
7 to 10	34,2%
11 or more	20,7%
Total	100,0%
Average stay	8,50 nights

Reason for travel

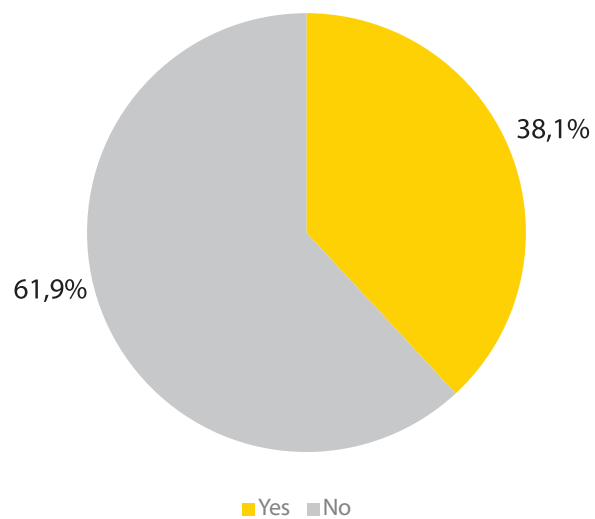
Reason for travel of foreign tourists attending Tango 2013



Source: Tourism Observatory of the Tourism Authority of Buenos Aires

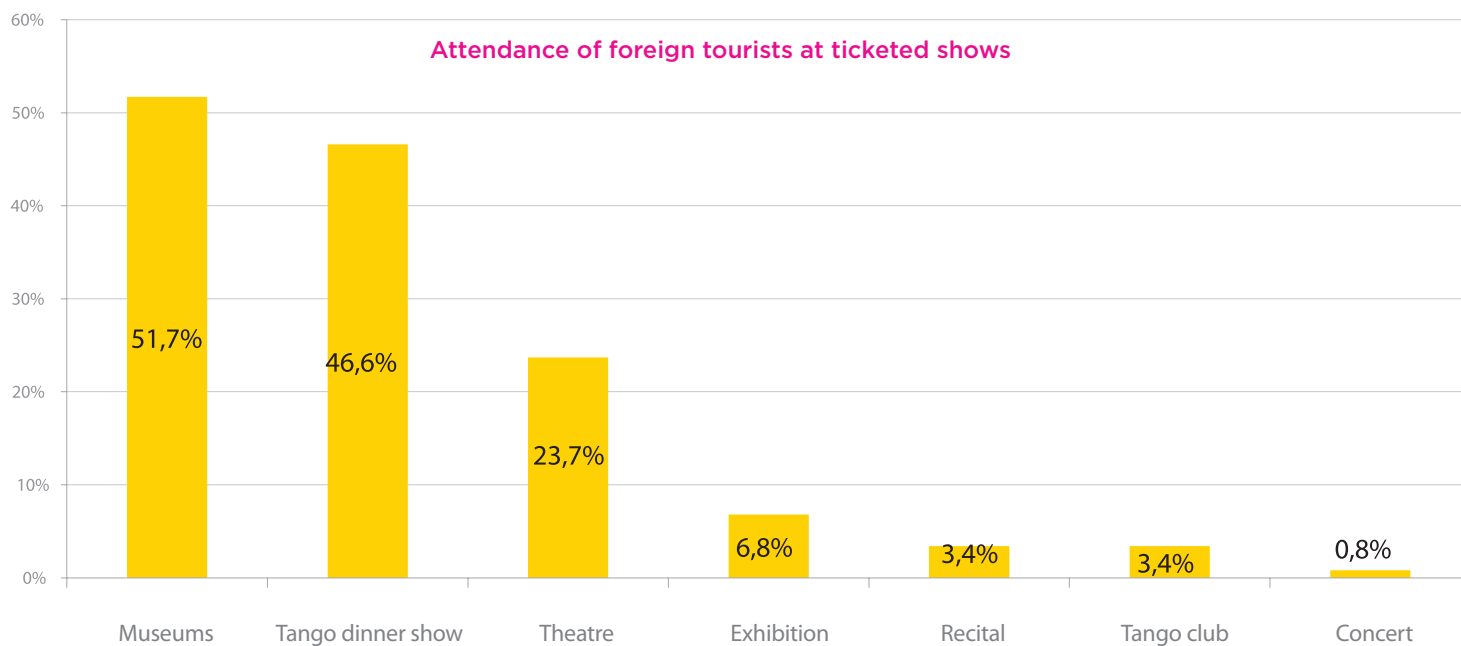
Attendance at free shows

Attendance of foreign tourists at free shows in the City of Buenos Aires



Attendance at ticketed shows

Attendance of foreign tourists at ticketed shows



Source: Tourism Observatory of the Tourism Authority of Buenos Aires

Average spend

Average expenditure of foreign tourists

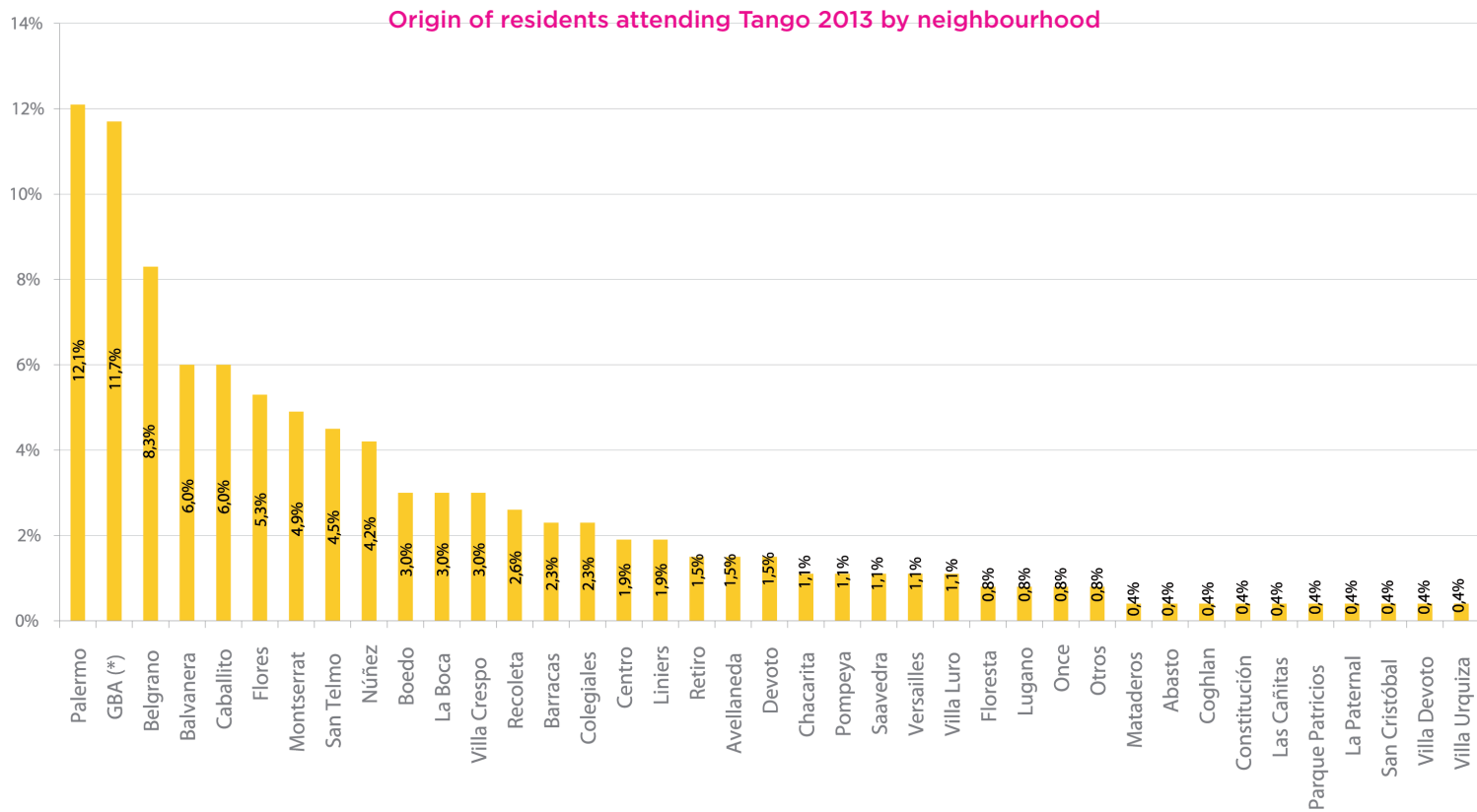
Average spent daily	%	USD
Foreigners	557,94	100.35

Official Exchange rate: \$5,56

SURVEY OF RESIDENTS

As with the 2012 edition, the Observatory of the Tourism Authority of the City of Buenos Aires polled the residents of the City and Greater Buenos Aires attending the Tango BA Festival and Championship 2013.

Origin



(*) GBA : Vicente López 9,7%, San Martín 6,5%, San Isidro y Florencio Varela 3,2% cada uno y sin declarar partido 77,4%

Fuente y elaboración: Dirección Operativa de Investigación Turística

Ente de Turismo Ciudad de Buenos Aires

Source: Tourism Observatory of the Tourism Authority of Buenos Aires

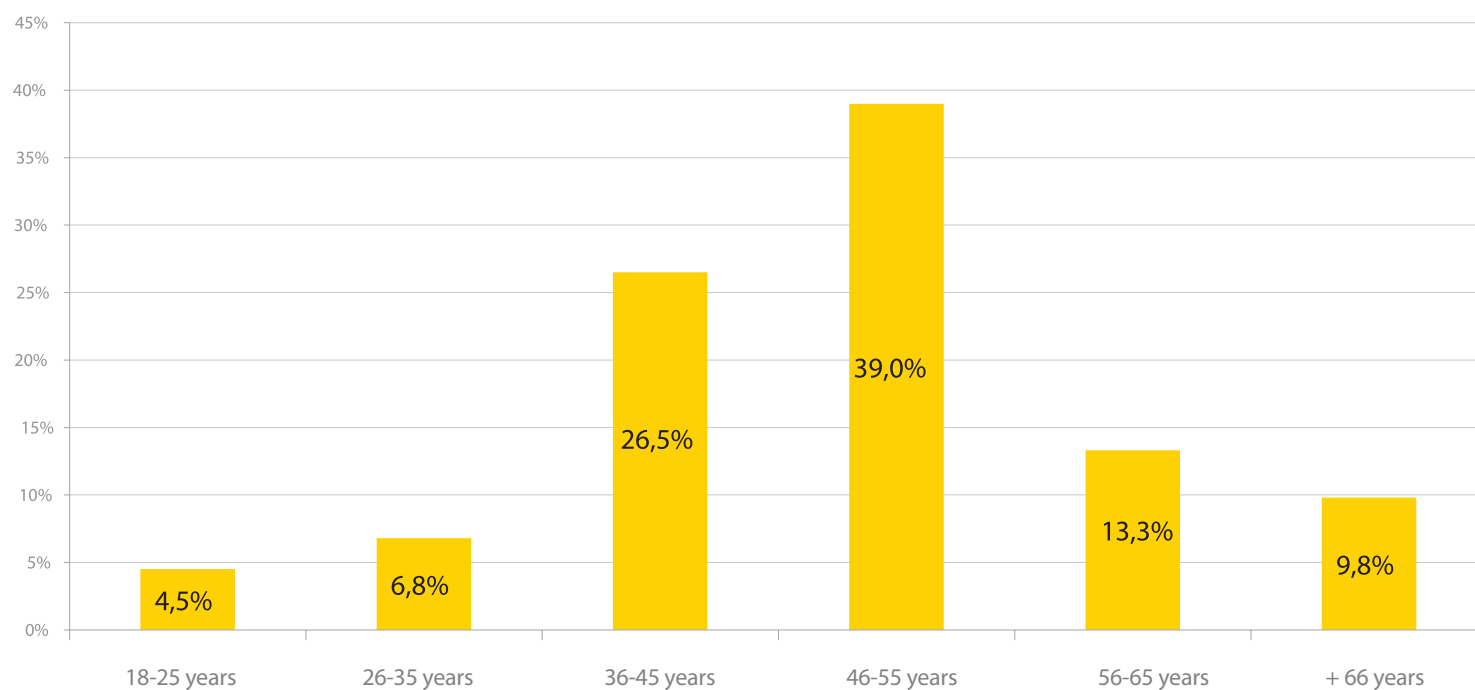
Gender

Gender of residents

Sex	%
Female	54,5%
Male	45,5%
Total	100,0%

Age groups

Age groups of residents attending Tango BA 2013



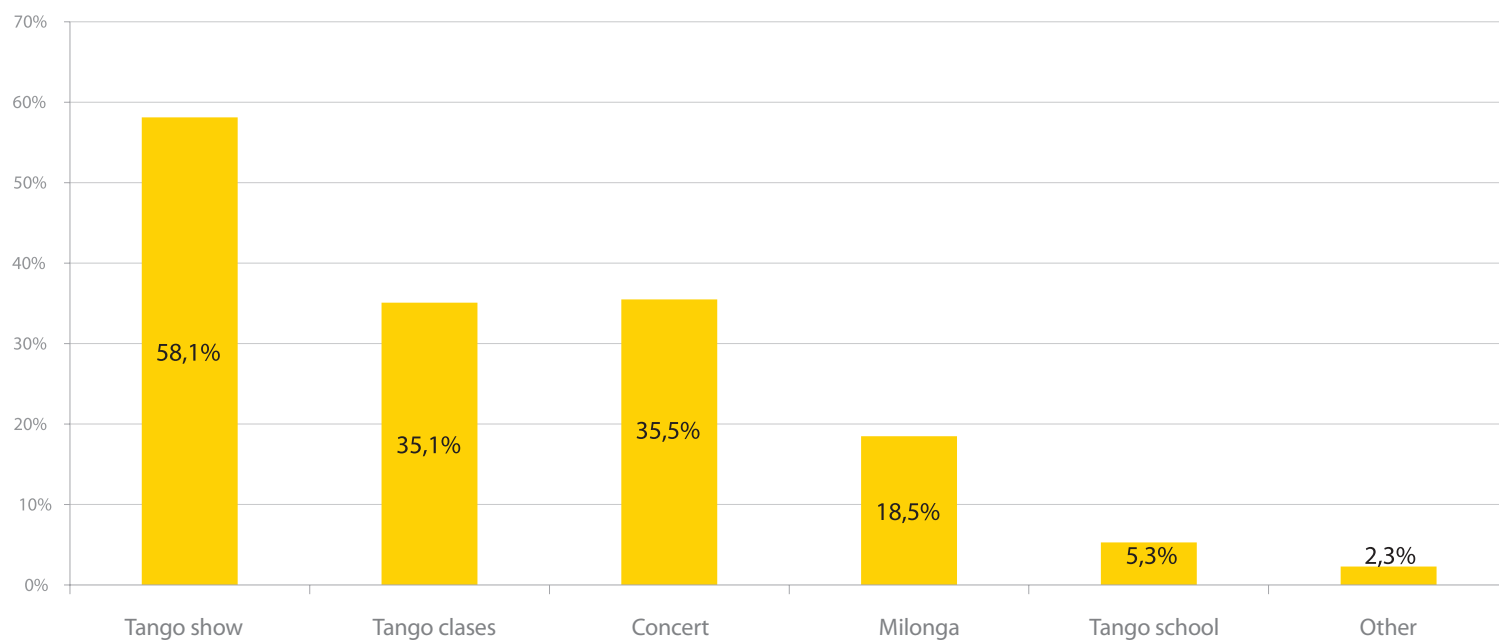
Source: Tourism Observatory of the Tourism Authority of Buenos Aires

Return tourists

Return of residents of Buenos Aires to the Tango Festival and Championship

1st visit to the championship	%
Yes	26,4%
No	73,6%
Total	100,0%

Activities undertaken during the Festival and Championship*



(*) multiple

Source: Tourism Observatory of the Tourism Authority of Buenos Aires

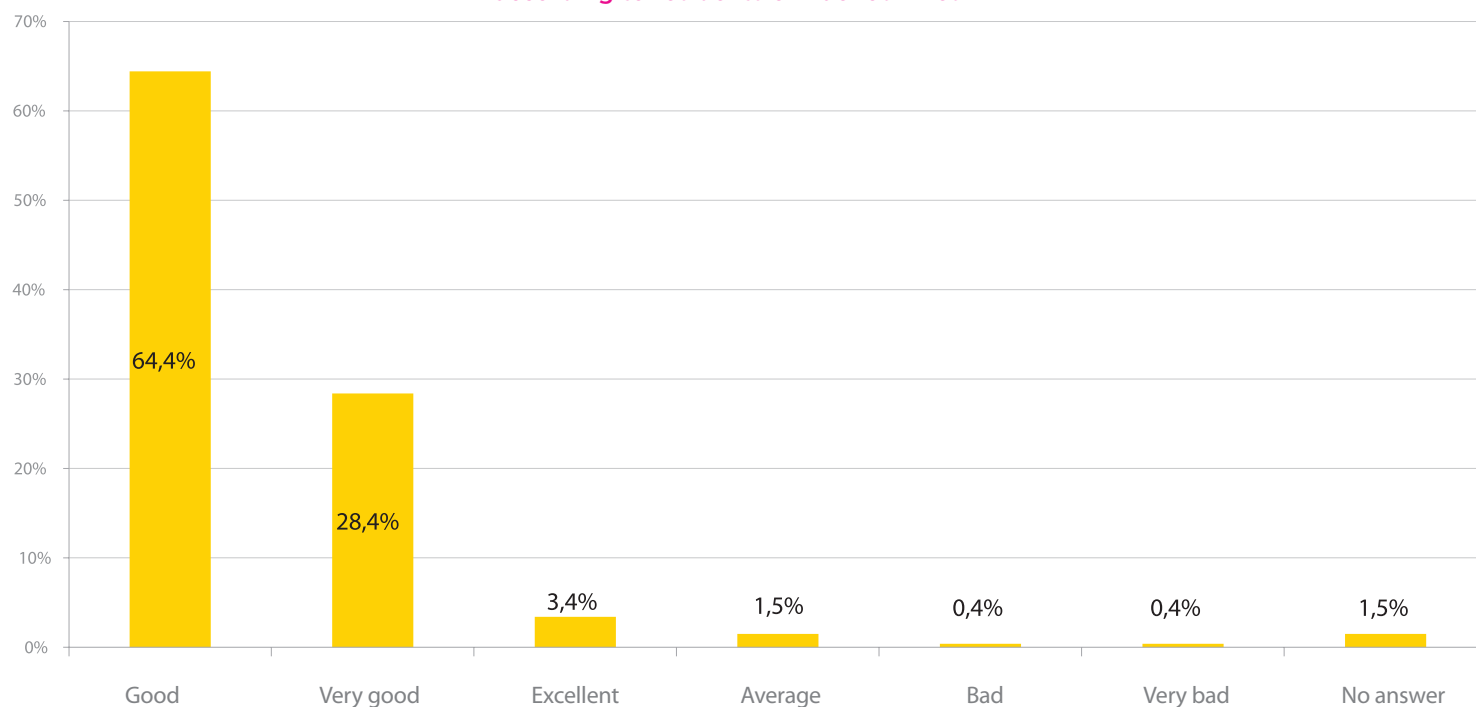
Evaluation of whether the Festival and Championship has improved

Evaluation of the Festival and Championship according to residents of Buenos Aires

The championship has improved	%
Yes	59,8%
No	2,7%
N/A	37,5%
Total	100

Evaluation of organization

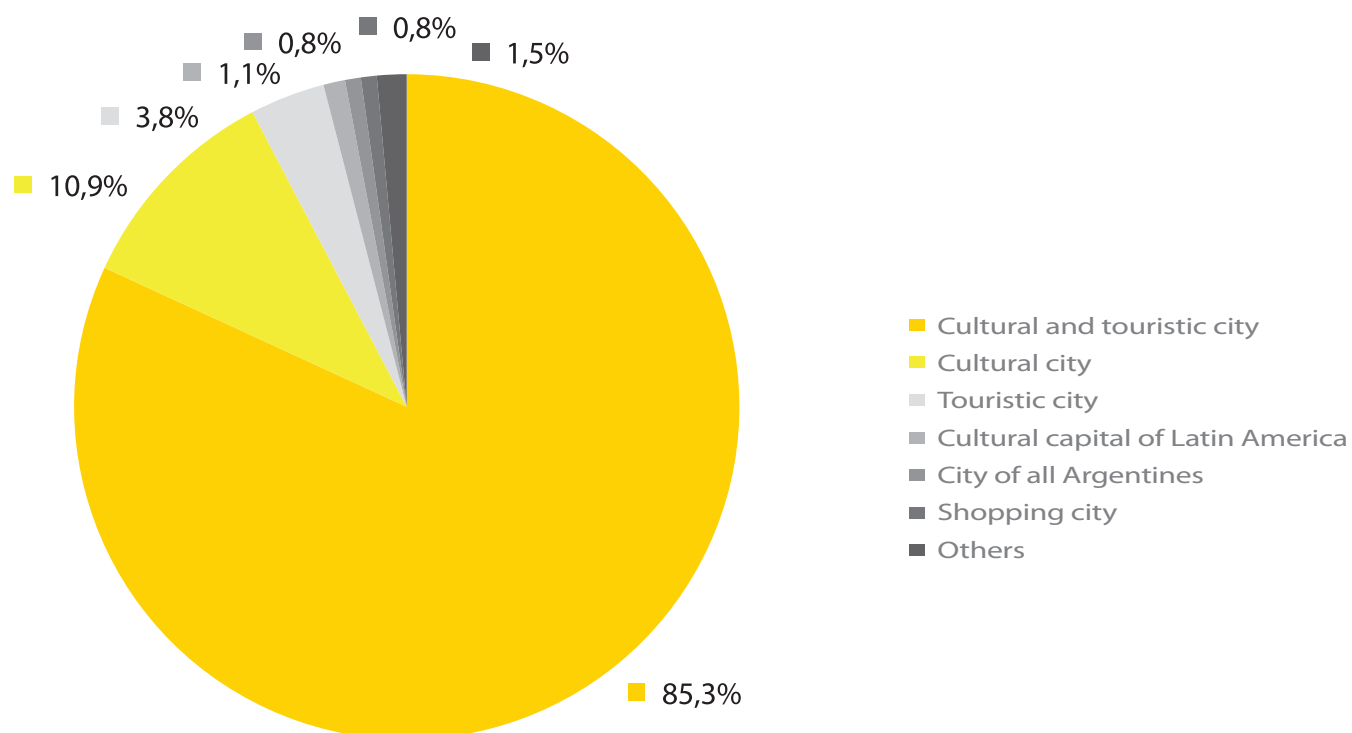
Evaluation of the organization of the Tango 2013 Festival and Championship according to residents of Buenos Aires



Source: Tourism Observatory of the Tourism Authority of Buenos Aires

Identification with the image of the City of Buenos Aires

Identification with the image of the City of Buenos Aires according to residents (see list)

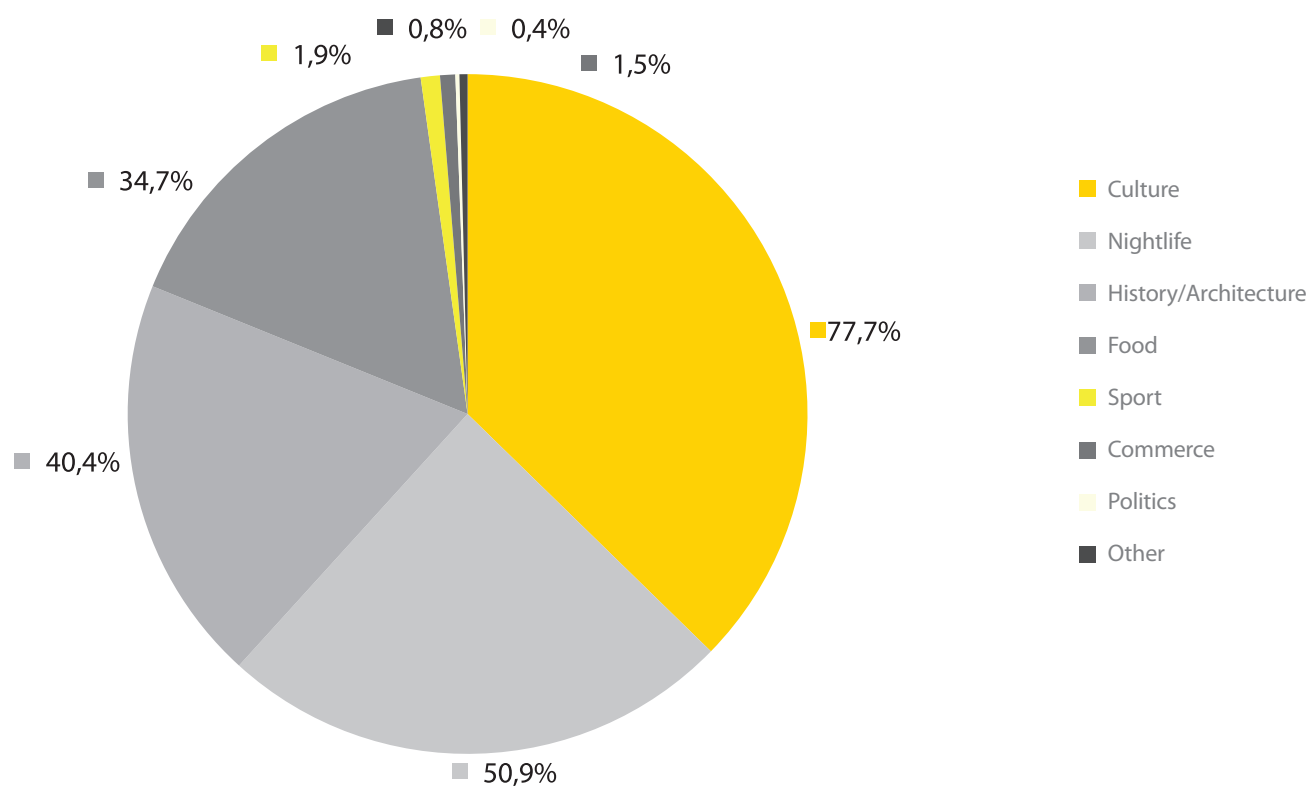


(*) multiple answer

Source: Tourism Observatory of the Tourism Authority of Buenos Aires

Most outstanding aspect of the city (see list)

Most outstanding aspect of the city for residents attending Tango 2013



(*) Multiple

Source: Tourism Observatory of the Tourism Authority of Buenos Aires

METHODOLOGY

Quantative study based on a structured questionnaire.

Target population: Attendees of the Tango Festival and Championship (Residents of Buenos Aires, visitors from Greater Buenos Aires not pertaining to the city and tourists).

Sample: 584 cases. The surveys were taken by interviewing attendees during the event in the Exhibition Center of the City of Buenos Aires, La Usina del Arte and Luna Park.

Time lapse: The study was undertaken during between the 14th and 27th of August 2013.

Prepared by
General Direction of Investigation, Tourism Observatory and Press
Director: Lic. Mónica Kapusta
Tourism Authority
Ministry of Culture
Press

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