Theoretical and Methodological Reflections on the Representation of Cultural Heritage and the Negotiation of Authenticity in the Americas. Introduction to the Dossier

Reflexiones teóricas y metodológicas sobre la representación del patrimonio cultural y la negociación de la autenticidad en las Américas. Introducción al dossier

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In February 2022, two Mexicans hacked the audio guides of the Viennese Weltmuseum to narrate the story of the famous headdress of Moctezuma as one of plunder. In addition, they demanded the return of this and other Aztec objects. A short documentary about their 'intervention' on social media, *Audioguides of the Truth*, secured not only worldwide attention for the two activists, Sebastián Arrechedera, a documentalist, and Josu Arangüena, a publicist, but also led to some Austrian members of parliament expressing support for Mexican people reclaiming the feather crown (Animal MX 2022).[1] This is only one event in a much larger debate surrounding the restitution of historical and cultural patrimony in the Americas and beyond (Humboldt Forum 2021;

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[1] A broad documentation of the activists' work is offered on the page, https://www.truthaudioguides. org/ (08.01.2024), including a survey on news coverage in February 2022, interviews with the two documentary film makers and the speech of Nahua dancer and activist Xokonoschtletl Gómora, which has been displayed on the alternative audio guide in Spanish, English and German translation.

Hahn *et al.* 2021; Hicks 2020; Sarr and Savoy 2019, among others). However, the dispute over the headdress[2] leads us directly into the heart of our discussion about the negotiation of 'authenticity' and the representation of cultural heritage in the Americas. The Viennese ethnographic museum is famous for displaying the headdress as the only remaining object of its kind. Thus, the Austrian institution draws prestige from the authenticity and uniqueness of the headdress. It claims that it once belonged to a priest, while the general Mexican public interprets it as the crown of the Mexican emperor Motecuhzoma II. (c. 1466-1520). The National Museum of Anthropology in Mexico City (Museo Nacional de Antropología) holds a headdress which is an exact copy of the Viennese headdress in terms of its material, form of production and design. According to discussions on social media, many Mexicans consider this copy to be inacceptable, since it is seen as 'inauthentic' (see: the explanation of Xokonoschtletl Gómora in the podcast "El penacho es nuestro" en *Radio Ambulante* (2022).
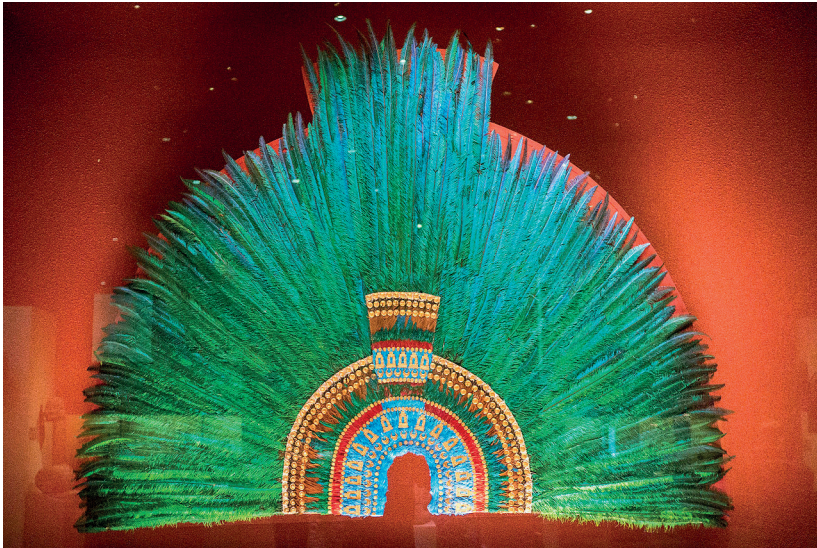

Figure 1. Modern reproduction of the feather headdress at the Museo Nacional de Antropología e Historia, México (photograph by Thomas Ledl, 2015. Licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International).

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2   Also referred to as *kopilli ketzalli* ('quetzal/precious headdress/crown') in Nahuatl by the activists.

This example illustrates at least two of many more dimensions of authenticity politics: how it is understood semantically and materially. It also shows that who gets to claim the authority to define authenticity is a highly contested matter. Indeed, even framing a dispute as being about 'authenticity' is contested. Castañeda (2004) and Castillo Cocom (2005) have suggested that authenticity, or 'the real', is the obsession of white anthropologists and mestizo Mexicans, while many Maya people are instead more concerned with earning respect. In that light, the problem of the 'inauthentic' head-dress becomes recast as a matter of respect, which demands returning stolen heritage to its rightful custodians. However, in the following discussion, we will set these concerns aside for the moment.

Looking at the discussions surrounding the complexities of museum politics, provenance, and restitution disputes, helps to shed light on high-stakes negotiations of authenticity with respect to Amerindian cultural heritage that are often overlooked and to critically rethink the concept of authenticity and its use. Thus, in this dossier, we are engaging with the concept on its own terms and place a spotlight on three neglected kinds of authenticity negotiations in particular: Firstly, by analyzing representations of Indigenous[3] culture in tourism, we are interested in negotiations between Indigenous actors as businesspeople (as discussed by Stefanie Schien's contribution on a Shuar developmental project in the Ecuadorian Amazon), tourists that seek to experience 'authentic' Indigenous life (as described in an interview with tourism manager Marcos Canté in the Maya-speaking area of Felipe Carrillo Puerto, Quintana Roo, Mexico) and developmental interests of state agents (as shown in the article by Damián Gálvez and Francisca de la Maza). Secondly, we are looking at the negotiation of knowledge epistemologies in education, via the example of Anna Meiser's work on intercultural Indigenous higher education, which focuses on the Amawatay Wasi, Ecuador. Thirdly, we examine different areas of cultural (re-)presentation of Indigenous cultures and their negotiation in national and international legal frameworks. This topic is highlighted in the description of Markus Melzer on the nomination process of the *Danza de los Voladores* in Mexico as Intangible Cultural Heritage.

This dossier is the result of an extended discussion that grew out of a joint panel of the Mesoamerica, North America, Latin America, and Afro-America working groups at the German Anthropological Association (DGSKA) conference in Konstanz in 2019. The objective of the panel was to discuss negotiations of authenticity and the representations of Indigenous cultural heritage in the Americas. Its contributions discussed the relationship and frictions of authenticity negotiations and non-negotiations with respect to cultural

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3 Following Wilson (2008, 15), Zidny, Sjöström and Eilks (2021, 149) write that "Indigenous (with capital I) refers to original inhabitants or first peoples in unique cultures who have experiences of European imperialism and colonialism. […] Meanwhile, the term indigenous (with lowercase i) refers to 'things that have developed >home-grown< in specific places.'"

heritage in terms of identity politics and the collective memory of local ethnic groups. Rather than seeking to reach a consensus on how to define authenticity in this context, we wanted to provide an impression of the extensive range of experiences and opinions surrounding it. All contributions of the dossier are based on ethnographic field research by the authors and highlight the discourses in the states of Mexico, Ecuador and Chile in their case studies. In our interview with Marcos Canté as the executive director of a local Indigenous community-based tourism project (Quintana Roo, Mexico), we particularly appreciate his insider perspective on an Indigenous community that has been in the international tourism business in the Riviera Maya for more than ten years now. He gives us an idea of how the community project survived the harsh isolating conditions of COVID-19 pandemic and, what challenges the national *Tren Maya*-project poses to them.

In the following, we will provide some theoretical and methodological reflections on the representations of cultural heritage and the negotiations of authenticity surrounding it. We will introduce our general understanding of these concepts as displayed in the five contributions featured in this dossier. Furthermore, we will highlight some additional aspects of the contributions, which help to broaden and nuance the debate around the representation of cultural heritage and the negotiation of authenticity. These include cultural heritage tourism and Indigenous entrepreneurship, encounters between knowledge epistemologies, the (re-)presentation of Indigenous cultures, and the commodification of Indigenous cultural heritage.

Representations of Indigenous cultural heritage

Representations of cultural heritage in the Americas conventionally relate to the preservation of what is understood to be the region's 'authentic' cultures. 'Indigenous heritage' typically refers to what are perceived as primordial, patrimonial cultural assets that need to be protected. These include archaeological sites, *artesanías* (handicrafts), regional dances, clothing, and regional cuisine,[4] but often excludes aspects of contemporary Amerindian cultures that are influenced by cultural hybridity (Dean and Leibsohn 2003; De La Cadena 2005; Halbmayer and Alès 2013; VanValkenburgh 2013; Shlossberg 2018, among others). This reveals a troubling purist ideology underlying official understandings of Indigeneity (Whittaker 2021). In general, authenticity is a highly ambivalent concept that is linked to essentialist notions as well as affectively charged identity politics (Theodossopoulos 2013; Fillitz and Saris 2012). For example, fake-branded clothing is often derided for being inauthentic, and also places the authenticity of their owners in question, although they arguably accurately represent a world

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4   See here for example the cultural policies of the former state institution CONACULTA, México, representing Indigenous cultural heritage by local cuisine, handicrafts (textile production and broideries), dancing, music and language.

in which few things are objectively ideal and realness is, to some extent, subjective (Crăciun 2012, 857-859). Rather than being a neutral concept, to declare something as 'authentic' or not is thus a power move.

Accordingly, decision-making processes about what is and is not considered Indigenous cultural heritage are, for the most part, subject to strong political control by national institutions and international legal regimes (see Girke and Knoll 2013, 8-9). In this context, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1995, 373 ff.) has pointed out that the cultural and metacultural production of cultural heritage is predominantly determined by external actors of cultural heritage regimes, while current representatives of the cultures in question are deprived of the right to define their own cultural heritage. Critical Heritage Studies challenge these dominant ways of understanding cultural heritage by considering non-Western concepts and deconstructing patrimonial master narratives (Harrison 2018).

The authors in this dossier share this critical perspective in analyzing current phenomena of Amerindian cultural heritage representations in diverse and changing fields such as tourism, cultural policy, education, religion, and art. Going beyond understandings of cultural heritage as tangible cultural assets (objects and monuments), they examine different forms of intangible cultural heritage as cultural practices, techniques, knowledge, and rituals, and above all as a "self-conscious tradition" (Clifford 2004, 6) which is independently managed by its heirs. Critical Heritage Studies also consider that research must always ask under what political circumstances something is declared cultural heritage, who defines it, and thus appropriates it. Questions about power relations in the context of nationalism, imperialism, colonialism, and ethnically-based exclusion must therefore be asked (Tauschek 2013, 180-185). While state actors appropriate Indigenous cultural heritage for either nationalistic or economic reasons, local communities have to negotiate their position in order to be able to define and determine their cultural heritage themselves. In our interview with Marcos Canté in this dossier, this process of definition and determination is illustrated very well, without denying the influence of tourists' expectations on this collective decision-making process.

Negotiations of authenticity

Academic concepts of 'negotiation' among humans have been widely and for a long time defined by Political and Economic Sciences, Psychology, Conflict Resolution, Behavior and Military Studies (see for example: Kopelman and Olekalns 1999; Horst 2007; Hjelte 2011). Some anthropological studies on 'negotiation' in the 1990-ies have focused on peace processes in post-conflict contexts (Gacaca in Uganda, Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Africa and Latin America, etc., see Kirsch, Knecht and Voss 2019; Kornes 2020), yet, overall, anthropological perspectives on 'negotiation' received little attention compared to those of other disciplines (see for a broader overview: Gulliver 1988). The 1990s were still characterized by the view that negotiations

aimed at consensual conflict resolutions. In that regard, Kirsch, Knecht and Voss (2019) speak of "a certain globalization euphoria in which the removal of barriers in social processes of negotiation appeared to be achievable on a global scale." However, global political and economic developments in the decades after 2000 revealed its illusionary character in the face of social unrest and irreconcilable opposing views. Hence, the 2019 conference theme of the German Anthropological Association (DGSKA) was phrased polemically "The end of negotiations!?".

In our approach towards the concept of 'negotiation' we refer in the first place to a process that is intended to resolve an underlying conflict, which is possible as long as the conflicting parties are willing to engage with each other productively and have not adopted an extreme or fundamentalist position. Even where there is great inequality involved, negotiation remains possible as long as there is wiggle room on both sides. However, in the second instance, we agree with Kornes (2020) that it is necessary to thoroughly analyze the conditions in which people are forced to, or deliberately decide to negotiate:

> This refers to the social, political, and economic conditions under which people whom we as anthropologists observe and analy[z]e make sense of their worlds and how their ability to negotiate social reality is limited and constrained by these conditions. It equally amounts, however, to the conditions that influence our own negotiation of world and meaning and that shape the environment within which our scholarship is taking place.

Yet what exactly is negotiated and who negotiates? In the following contributions, we can observe different kinds of negotiations of authenticity, regarding representations of Indigenous cultures and of knowledge epistemologies. As the examples of Indigenous organizations in Ecuador and Bolivia show, who gets to speak for Indigenous communities is a highly political question (Lucero 2006). Negotiations of authenticity may not take place on an equal playing field. What limitations do unequal power relations place on negotiations? While the "exotization of Indianness may, at least in certain contexts, offer opportunities for challenging and overturning structures of power that have historically disadvantaged certain people" (Canessa 2012, 110), this comes at the price of reifying "power relations between tourists and those they come to see" (Canessa 2012, 111). Thus, what is at stake when some individuals in rural Mexican communities refuse to identify as 'Indigenous' while celebrating their cultural heritage and highlighting their ownership of it (Rozental 2017, 139 ff; Whittaker 2021, 173)? Why do urban middle-class nationalists, New Agers, and other mestizos occasionally appropriate Indigeneity (González Torres 1996, 8)? Increasingly, local communities have sought to escape the dichotomized thinking that forces them to be either Indigenous or not (Norget 2007). Local communities often find themselves in a double bind, as they have to represent what are perceived markers of 'Indigeneity' and negotiate the terms of their authenticity in order to claim identity rights that have been historically withheld from them because of anti-Indigenous racism (Povinelli 2002). This includes styling their bodies

and garments in relation to Global North concepts of primitivism and exoticism, which allows them to leverage aesthetic authenticity to advance their self-determination and other political goals, such as environmental justice (Conklin 1997, 711-713). By reinventing themselves as rightful representatives of cultural heritage, people in Mexico and other parts of the Americas who have been racialized as Indigenous reject the terms of liberal multiculturalism in negotiating with the state (Povinelli 2002). Taking up these different aspects, Schnepel (2013, 33) argues that authenticity can be understood as

> […] a nostalgic committing and identity-political striving of different, often even heterogeneous thinking and acting actors. Authenticity is not simply there, but has to be sought, found, and created micro- and macro-politically; consequently, it always appears in the form of a search for authenticity tied to specific interests, is result of socio-cultural and political processes of authentication.[5]

While we cannot explain the multiple, dynamic meanings of 'authenticity' in this dossier, we do offer several original perspectives on the concept that help to open it up and to develop a broader view of it. As mentioned above, authenticity is often linked to a discourse of place-based primordialism (Monterescu and Handel 2019). It emerges as a competitive factor in the international tourism industry in the Americas, through which Indigenous communities seek to navigate the global economy as small entrepreneurs. Paradoxically, although this kind of tourism thrives on marketing authenticity, it has been argued that there is no such thing as authenticity in tourism. Some have gone even further, suggesting that we are living in a post-authentic age altogether (Banks 2013).

From the perspective of "the tourist gaze" (Urry 2002), objects have value because of "the putative authenticity of its maker" (Canessa 2012, 109; see also Cant 2019, 68-84). Tourists seek to incorporate authenticity into their own identity by taking part in locally specific experiences (Johnson 2007). This is comparable to the way in which a playful desire for authenticity motivates European hobbyists to re-enact stereotypical images of American Indian culture (Tjitske Kalshoven 2012). However, for Indigenous agents in the tourism business, who react to this touristic desire for the authentic, the commodification of authenticity in cultural production goes hand in hand with difficult decision-making processes. The first thing to think about is, that commodification requires them to buy into essentialist notions of identity (Canessa 2012, 109). Thus, "[…] culture is losing its authenticity" (Schnepel 2013, 22, see also Greenwood 1989, 173). However, we have to take into consideration that Indigenous entrepreneurs have agency

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5   Original quote: „Somit tritt Authentizität hauptsächlich als ein nostalgisches Begehren und identitätspolitisches Streben unterschiedlicher, oft sogar heterogen denkender und handelnder Akteure auf. Authentizität ist nicht einfach da, sondern muss mikro- und makropolitisch gesucht, gefunden und geschaffen werden; sie erscheint folglich immer in der Form einer an bestimmte Interessen gebundenen Suche nach Authentizität, ist das Ergebnis sozio-kultureller und politischer Prozesse der Authentifizierung" (Schnepel 2013, 33).

with respect to being able to choose the themes, objects and circumstances of cultural representation. Based on these considerations and in connection with the topics of the following articles, we have identified several sub-themes, which we discuss below.

Cultural heritage tourism and Indigenous entrepreneurship

Local and ethnic companies, cooperatives, associations, and organizations stage cultural authenticity and Indigeneity in the context of tourism projects, cultural events, religious sites and rituals, historic and memorial sites as well as nature reserves and conservation projects. They negotiate these with national and international institutions, powerful investors or sponsors, and finally with the individual tourist groups, their expectations and desires. From the viewpoint of many Indigenous actors, the goal is not only to generate income streams or to pursue political goals and thus, to demonstrate the value of one's own cultural heritage. Rather, they seek to represent authentic local life in language, cultural and everyday knowledge from the local perspective, and distance themselves from the representations that are regarded as 'distortions' as a means of claiming respect and self-determination (Castillo Cocom 2005, 133-134). This is vividly demonstrated in Marcos Canté's emphatic assertion in our interview, "We are not a show, we are a living culture, authentic," with which he distanced himself from theme parks such as Xcaret at the Riviera Maya in Quintana Roo, Mexico. However, the development of the community-based ecotourism project XYAAT in the municipality of Señor over the last ten years, described by Marcos Canté with its ups and downs, demonstrates quite clearly the harsh conditions for Indigenous entrepreneurship, as they seek to reframe authenticity in the way in which Indigenous culture is articulated and presented within an industrial tourism business with global actors. Here, Indigenous agents see an opportunity to control certain risks involved, as for example with the establishment of shopping malls (USA and Canada) and/or hotel and lodging areas in Indigenous territories and their management by Indigenous specialized staff (see the contribution of Stefanie Schien in this dossier). In this way, income from the tourism business is controlled and benefits the Indigenous community, which is already at the center of tourism interest. Further on, codes of conduct suggest specific 'do's' and 'don'ts' to the visitors, e.g. prohibiting photography of private homes or rituals, as declared in "Rules of Etiquettes" among Pueblo villages in the Southwest of the USA (Lindner 2013, 256ff). In addition, there is a growing awareness of and valorization of Indigenous actors' concepts, emerging from the continuous exchange with tourists' interests (a phenomenon reported also by other anthropologists, e.g. Görlich 2013, 194-197, 204 ff.).

Stefanie Schien looks at frictions surrounding the fast-growing phenomenon of volunteer tourism ('volontourism') in Amazonian Ecuador. As little is known about the impact of the presence of international volunteers on the communities visited, Schien's ethnographic case study from a tourism and development project of a Shuar

family in the Amazon region of Ecuador makes an important contribution. She shows that authenticity, Indigeneity and culture are negotiated between Indigenous project workers and international volunteers when there are no external tourism companies or NGOs to channel visitor expectations. By examining discourse, aspects of socialization, and the constraints of Indigenous resistance in the context of financial dependence on voluntary tourists and national political actors, Schien raises the question: How much 'development' (in its classical capitalistic sense) is possible, if one still wants to be considered 'authentic' by cultural outsiders?

Negotiating cultural (re-) presentation of Indigenous cultures
Cultural heritage needs its materialization, as Schnepel addresses (2013, 29):

> Culture as a commodity still lacks immediacy to begin with. It must somehow be reified or materialized, must be put into a saleable form, such as a performance or theme park, museum or food, postcard or souvenir, that is, as something that can be visited, photographed, walked on, eaten, marveled at, enjoyed, touched, loved, paid for, and carried away. And that which is framed, produced, and named for this possibility of disposal is always a concrete abstraction or diacritical sign of culture as a whole (see Sharon Macdonald 1997:155 - 156). In other words, culture is never sold in its entirety, but always only in the form of a material, ideational, or performative representative that symbolically stands for this whole and that has often been trimmed and tailored for this capacity through advertising in travel brochures, etc.[6]

The articles of this dossier show how representations of cultural heritage and its authenticity are negotiated between different actors and in different areas, such as national and international tourism and heritage policies. In the context of national tourism policies, Damián Gálvez and Francisca De la Maza describe how the multicultural politics of the Chilean state produces a range of discourses and narratives that encourage Indigenous peoples to negotiate authentic versions of their ethnic identities through the commercialization of their cultural heritage. The authors discuss the limitations and possibilities of tourism in Chilean Indigenous communities, conditioned by multiculturalist and neoliberal policies, which in the end decide on the 'materialized' representation of cultural heritage. Their study sheds light on how politics of Indigenous difference

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6 Original German quote: „Kultur als Ware mangelt es zunächst noch an Unmittelbarkeit. Sie muss sich irgendwie verdinglichen oder materialisieren, muss in eine verkäufliche Form gebracht werden, etwa als Performanz oder Themenpark, Museum oder Speise, Postkarte oder Souvenir, also als etwas, das besucht, fotografiert, begangen, gegessen, bestaunt, genossen, angefasst, geliebt, bezahlt, und weggetragen werden kann. Und das, was für diese Möglichkeit der Veräußerung gerahmt, hergestellt und benannt wird, ist immer eine konkrete Abstraktion oder ein diakritisches Zeichen der Kultur als Ganzes (siehe Sharon Macdonald 1997:155 - 156). In anderen Worten: Kultur wird nie in ihrer Gänze verkauft, sondern immer nur in Form eines materiellen, ideellen oder performativen Repräsentanten, der symbolisch für dieses Ganze steht und der oft durch Werbung in Reisebroschüren, etc. auf diese Fähigkeit hin getrimmt und zugeschnitten wurde" (Schnepel 2013, 29).

came to be institutionalized in the post-dictatorship era and how this affected the development of Indigenous tourism regionally.

With regard to the Indigenous ritual *La Danza de los Voladores*, Markus Melzer demonstrates how the Mexican state manages to appropriate and transform forms of symbolic capital. In his article, Melzer analyzes the processes of negotiation behind how the *Danza de los Voladores* came to be recognized as Intangible Heritage of the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Melzer shows that the Mexican state used a multiplicity of resources on all national political levels as well as in the supranational context. Drawing on Bourdieu's concept of capital (Bourdieu 1979, 11-47, 333-357; 1983, 197), he explains how the state manages to appropriate, transform, and leverage different forms of capital to accomplish the ritual's declaration as intangible cultural heritage.

'Sharing and protecting' is a characteristic that is not only attributed to sustainable tourism business, but in a very special way to educational institutions. The focus here is on conveying an understanding of cultural heritage to the next generation. This is by no means a conflict-free field. Anna Meiser's contribution engages with the complexities of negotiating tensions between local cultural revitalization efforts and global education standards with respect to Indigenous education. Indigenous Intercultural Universities (IIU) in Latin America claim to represent an Indigenous point of view, drawing on the revitalization of Indigenous and local knowledge traditions. The IIU are thus faced with the challenge of developing an alternative educational model with which to gain recognition within the (inter)national (scientific) community and the Indigenous (scientific) community. This model is negotiated between a variety of stakeholders with divergent interests, including the nation state, scientists, international organizations, Indigenous intellectuals, and the local population. Based on the example of two IIUs in Ecuador and Mexico, Meiser asks, how can it be authentically Indigenous and acceptable for Western ideas of knowledge and technology?

Intervening in the authenticity debate: What questions remain?

The contributions cover a broad range of topics through various regional, empirical ethnographic case studies. These diverse examples address questions regarding how Indigenous actors negotiate with national and international actors about their cultural heritage and the definition and understanding of its authenticity. It was important for us to reflect and to describe the perspectives of different agents in different circumstances. It happened by chance that the contributions focused on Indigenous cultural heritage displayed in tourism, as a topic of cultural policy and a major aspect of intercultural education, religion, and art. It was our intention to shed light on varied circumstances – legal, political, economical, and social – and their influence on Indigenous actors' and others' understandings and performances of authenticity and its commodification.

Previous studies have emphasized the influence of state and UN institutions on Indigenous actors and the display of Indigenous heritage culture. However, the contributions here go beyond this by clarifying what role consumers play in the staging of cultural heritage and how this is contributing to cultural heritage's further development. The studies presented here illustrate the processes under which circumstances cultural heritage is transformed into new cultural tourist destinations. The authors also look at the ways in which Indigenous people cope with the increased national and international interest in what is imagined as authentic, local life. At the center is not a comprehensive critical review of authenticity and Indigenous cultural heritage, but instead the complex discussions around contextualized, contingent, dynamic, and multi-layered negotiations surrounding these concepts are illustrated. Local companies, cooperatives, associations, organizations and intercultural universities have emerged that want to convey 'Indigenous' or local life as 'authentically exotic.' At the same time, the new local actors must also cater to the ideas and needs of national and international entities. This means that 'authenticity' is becoming the object of decision-making on what can be considered 'marketable' and which elements of everyday life are considered to be 'non-marketable.' It remains an open question and thus, a prospect for future studies, whether this selective authenticity is experienced as authentic on the consumers' side.

Marcos Canté openly addressed in the interview in what way the consumers' desires influenced the thematic development of the community-based project, which places are offered to the tourists, in which form and by which one of the community's members. He spoke of learning processes in that regard. However, it is precisely the process of internal negotiation among community project participants that remains inaccessible to the anthropologist when they are an outsider. For the moment, outsiders can only guess that internal decisions about the thematic tour and the representation of local Maya cultural heritage were preceded by long discussions and also tensions between the parties involved (comparable to those thematized in the study of Porter and Salazar 2005). It also remains open to what extent performances for tourists might take on a life of their own and influence Indigenous memory and heritage politics. Long-time observation may reveal how social and political power structures within the communities change due to new economic opportunities and, which projects and actors are ultimately successful and why.

At the same time, we may have to accept that there are limits to what can be known ethnographically (Castillo Cocom 2005, 133-134). Indeed, accepting this may be an important step towards supporting Indigenous sovereignty beyond the "cunning of recognition" (Povinelli 2002) and what might be considered the burden of authenticity. Paradoxically perhaps, getting closer to understanding Indigenous actors' negotiations of authenticity with respect to cultural heritage may mean abandoning the Eurocentric obsession with authenticity altogether. It might not mean the end of negotiations but the Indigenizing of these.

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