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**Fixing the territory, a turning point.
The paradoxes of the Wichí maps of the Argentine Chaco**

“In 1984 the provincial State wanted to divide this area and then sell the plots to the *criollos*—a term which refers to the settlers in the area. So, we had to find a way to explain that we lived there. That it was an Indigenous territory. But the most difficult thing is to explain what it is. Now we have the map, the map is our territory. No matter if there are changes, the map remains our territory.”
(Francisco, interview June 1, 2016, Cañaverall, province of Salta).

This statement was made by Francisco, the leader of the Indigenous Communities Association Lhaka Honhat, which means Our Earth, from the province of Salta, Argentina. This is a fairly recurrent speech that emerges during interviews. These words underline the difficulty the Indigenous peoples encountered in formulating a land claim that would be apprehensible for the competent authorities. Making a map of their territory was the best solution they found to overcome this misunderstanding with public institutions. However, Francisco’s remarks demonstrate the influence intrinsic to the map, which it can wield over the future of the Indigenous peoples. The lives of Wichí, who are present in the Argentinian Chaco, reveal a complex contemporaneity, marked by transformations of such a scale that they impact both these populations’ social structure and their spatial organization.

Introduction

Starting with the example of the Lhaka Honhat map, this paper does not aim to question the political effectiveness of Indigenous maps, but rather to discuss the issues and paradoxes that arise from cartographic representations of the territorial dynamics of Indigenous peoples. It seeks to grasp the way maps influence the trajectories and the future perspectives of native populations. The gap between the mobile territoriality of the Wichí and the static representations upon which their claims are based is striking. Indeed, although the maps are a safeguard against any attempt to grab Indigenous territories, they actually contribute to freezing extremely shifting territorialities. Nonetheless, in a context of socio-political marginalization, and faced with economic integration of spaces once considered marginal, it is important for Indigenous peoples to find the best way to make their territoriality intelligible and thus to enforce their territorial rights.

For the Indigenous peoples such a choice is neither inconsequential nor unconscious (Johnson et al. 2006). On the contrary, they know it involves a negotiation of how to be in and on the map, especially in countries like Argentina that long denied their presence in the national territory. The map serves to reveal their spatial capital, or all the resources accumulated by an actor, which depending on his strategy, enable him to take advantage of the use of the spatial dimension of society (Lévy 2003). This capital is expressed punctually on the map for social and political purposes, and defined by the networks of actors who contribute to its realization. Since it establishes the substratum that constitutes this capital and defines its perimeter, the map becomes a political tool for visualizing, locating and enhancing the capital itself by spatializing the knowledge and resources of a group of actors in order to engage, support or supervise a dialogue, negotiation or claim. Nevertheless, this also implies adapting this capital to Cartesian perspectives and the geometries imposed by the dominant territorial ideology.

Now, to what extent does the mapping of the Wichí territories affect the evolution of their spatial capital? Once the utility of Indigenous cartography has been established, and without

seeking to question its value, the thesis presented in this paper is that the mapping of the Wichí territories gives rise to more paradoxes than it clarifies. It can hence become a constraint for the future claims of Indigenous peoples, and may even risk undermining their spatial capital.

Firstly, we shall locate our study within the context of critical cartography, paying particular attention to the debate concerning the role maps can play in the future of Indigenous peoples and their claims. We will next present Lhaka Honhat's map and land claim process. Building on this example, the issues and paradoxes of mapping an Indigenous territory will finally be discussed.

This paper is based on the map of the Lhaka Honhat territory—that was produced independently of the author of the paper—as the result of a participatory process conducted between 1999 and 2001. This process is analysed through a corpus of 120 qualitative interviews covering the contentious context of production, the cartographic support, the issues, the impacts and the applied methodology. These interviews with Wichí informers and NGO members who operate in the department of Santa Victoria Este, in the Province of Salta, were conducted by the author between 2015 and 2018 as part of a doctoral research on citizenship claims and the evolution of the territoriality of the Wichí.

Positioning within critical mapping

The process of deconstructing the map, begun by B. Harley (1988, 1989), is far from finished. Quite the contrary, the debate on the ontology, the function, or the power of maps still seems very lively (Wood 2010; Rose Redwood 2015). As they are modes of representation and of geographical knowledge, along with the role of cartographers, maps need to be rethought and re-contextualized (Dodge et al. 2009). Critical mapping has had the merit of linking spatial knowledge, power and politics by demonstrating that maps are social constructs (Crampton 2001). They strengthen the values and cultural beliefs of those who produce them, helping to maintain relations of domination and power (Rundstrom 1990). The power of maps consists in proposing a world view, a social model, a spatial ideology as well as changes that they legitimize and entail in different spaces and for the actors they represent (Black 1997; Crampton 2010).

Researchers have widely shown how they served the conquest and expansion of colonial States first and republican States later, including by constructing and reproducing institutional domination (Dodds 1993). In this respect, their function of reproducing the social order has been largely documented (Pickles 2004). Maps are not neutral representations, but spatial inscriptions of the dominant knowledge. In other words, maps precede and produce the territory they represent (King 1996). In recent years, the development of new technologies for land surveying and geographic information processing, such as GPS and GIS, has contributed to these debates and to the gradual opening up of the discipline (Crampton and Krygier, 2005). Thanks to projects to preserve and value Indigenous peoples' cultural practices the latter have seized upon these tools, which allow them to break the cartographic silence that was forced upon them. We are hence witnessing the rise of an "Indigenous cartography", a term that refers to the maps produced by and for the Indigenous peoples using various methodologies, ranging from those that include modes of representation specific to these peoples to those that draw from the "Western" cartographic tradition—a generic term that covers a very heterogeneous reality of intentionalities, techniques and representations—(Hirt 2009). In most cases these maps are the result of participatory processes, which means they have been developed to different degrees by Indigenous peoples in partnership with a variety of actors (Herlihy and Knapp, 2003).

In its early stages, Indigenous mapping was used to represent environmental management practices and local knowledge of forest conservation (Peluso 1995; Harris and Hazen 2006). But

in Latin America, as a result of agrarian counter-reforms driven by the neoliberal turn of the 1990s and the rehabilitation of the local that accompanied them, Indigenous cartography was integrated into a cartographic-legal strategy (Wainwright and Bryan 2009) of land claims. On the one hand, maps developed through participatory processes have the advantage of showing the uses that Indigenous peoples make of territories (Chapin et al. 2005). On the other hand, they represent the relationship they have with their territory, and the way in which they participate in their identity constructions (Kosek 1998; Offen 2003). Hence there is a radical difference between the so-called "Western" and Indigenous cartography: whilst for the former it is the map that makes the territory (Craib 2000), for the latter it is a matter of mapping a way of being in the territory (Pearce and Louis 2008).

Debating the future of, in and through Indigenous maps

For Indigenous peoples, mapping their territory is a way of making themselves visible to others in a new manner. To put it differently, they are obliged to translate their way of being in the world, using other people's cartographic conventions and thus fixing and limiting their territory on and through maps (Belyea 1992). Indeed, one of the main challenges of participatory mapping is creating the conditions for Indigenous peoples to make maps that defy hegemonic knowledge (Noucher 2014) and thus questioning the cartographic and cultural system that is monopolized by the dominant spatial ideology (Johnson et al. 2006). Researchers prefer to speak of "counter-mapping," in the sense that Indigenous peoples position themselves and their territory on the map in both a cartographic and a political sense (Sletto 2009a). For some, this involves producing maps that reject the dominant images of Indigenous territories colonized by modes of representation drawn from the Western cartographic tradition, which are connected to the language of the modern State (Peluso 1995; Wood 2010). For others, Indigenous peoples must embrace the principles of this "Western" cartography and use them in the service of Indigenous spatial knowledge (Johnson et al. 2006).

However, two closely related major debates emerge from the literature on Indigenous cartography (Hirt 2009). The first concerns the effective participation of Indigenous peoples in their appropriation of new cartographic technologies. Researchers question who has the power of representation and who decides on the prioritization of spatial information, while challenging the potential for a renewal of participatory GIS (Schurmann 1999; Chambers et al. 2004). Some claim that the latter constitute a tool that serves to perpetrate relations of domination over Indigenous peoples and colonize their spatial knowledge (Pain 2004; Pearce and Louis 2008; Bauer 2009). Others emphasize the empowerment of natives through new technologies, which help rectify the power relations with the dominant society (Herlihy and Knapp 2003), in addition to contributing to building communities (Parker 2006).

The second debate concerns the forms of representation of Indigenous territories on the maps (Roth 2009). Threatened with the loss of their territories, the natives are forced to map them, draw boundaries and mark borders (Fox 1998). The challenge is thus to map before being mapped (Offen 2009). But although territorial limits sometimes date back to a time prior to the cartographic process, it would seem that boundaries are most often created by the maps themselves, which then contribute to spreading the concept of territorial exclusivity previously alien to Indigenous cultures (Chirif and Hierro 2007). Paradoxically, this helps to freeze boundaries that may evolve over time, to fix shifting and changeable realities, to delineate land-based structures founded on land sharing, and to constrain highly mobile peoples within finite spaces (Sletto 2009b). In short, as pointed out by B. Thom, the real paradox of setting limits on Indigenous maps is that such a procedure modifies social relations (2009).

Faced with a simplification of the complexity of Indigenous territories, new modes of representation have been suggested. They are more attentive to the experience and the practice of space (Pearce 2008; Green and Green 2009), and draw from verbalisations that help define the relationship of individuals to their space by placing their knowledge and history in the landscape (Tuan 1991; Collignon 1996). They also attribute new importance to narratives (Caquard and Cartwright 2014) and are based on emotions (Gagnon and Desbiens 2018) or dreams as a source of geographic information (Hirt 2012).

Although maps are produced through participatory processes that respect the spatial perception of Indigenous peoples, this does not preclude the simplification and abstraction of the approach that characterizes cartography. Thus, assuming that maps have a transformative power (Peluso 1995), the issue is to grasp the orientation of this transformation, by nuancing the possibility that maps and mapping uphold colonial relations (Mollett 2013). What are the changes that emerge after the mapping of an Indigenous territory? Admittedly, maps and GIS are tools for social transformation (Pavlovskaya 2018). But to what extent does this actually occur? Is society as a whole undergoing a transformation, or are Indigenous peoples the most affected? Indigenous maps give a voice to these peoples' present, past and future (Sletto 2009a). But to what extent do they influence the future and affect Indigenous spatial capital? How do they reframe and redefine Indigenous trajectories and perspectives?

Indigenous peoples and their maps in Argentina

The analysis of the map produced by Lhaka Honhat requires a brief contextualization of the Indigenous situation in Argentina. Since its creation in 1816, the nation-State of Argentina has been built upon the invisibilisation of Indigenous peoples in the national territory (Briones 2008). The dichotomous couple "civilization-barbarism" justified the promotion of military campaigns on the territories considering the Indigenous peoples the Other in relation to which the national identity was constructed.

However, thanks to their mobilizations, international pressure and the convergence of various political and economic factors, Indigenous peoples gained increasing visibility, until their existence before the nation-State was finally recognized by the constitutional reform of 1994. Nevertheless, this recognition has not found concrete applications. More than twenty years later, there is still no land status that legally defines the Indigenous territories in the Argentinian legislative body. With regard to Indigenous territories, the only text available is Law 26.160 of 2006, which declares "the urgent need to assess the territories claimed by Indigenous communities affected by evictions" without implying the legal recognition of these territories, nor the granting of land titles.

In Argentina the failure to develop public policies for the recognition of Indigenous territories explains that almost all maps produced by Indigenous peoples in defence of, or in order to reclaim their territories, are produced by participatory mapping processes supported by NGOs. These maps are very rare, and can, in most cases, be defined as emergency and reaction maps. Indeed, they are produced once the territory has already been affected by the intrusion of market actors, or when the community has already been evicted. In this sense, they refer more to attempts at recovering territory than attempts at appropriation. Used essentially in the courts, they must justify the presence of natives in the territory even before demonstrating their historical and continuous occupancy. Therefore, these maps are evidence of existence before being evidence of indigeneity.

Mapping the territory: the Wichí of the Argentinian Chaco

To grasp the issues and paradoxes of mapping Indigenous territories, we can look at the case of the Wichí estimated at just over 40 000 individuals and distributed mainly over the northern provinces of Argentina, with few groups living in southern Bolivia. The Wichí coexist with a few Indigenous peoples in the Gran Chaco, a forest region characterized by a dry climate. Since the beginning of the 20th century, they have coexisted there with the agricultural settlers who practice fenceless breeding, which implies vast herd mobility, with the livestock constantly travelling in search of water and food. When we talk about the Wichí, we refer to a group of autonomous communities, speaking different dialects of the same language, who maintain parental relationships and weave alliances with each other (Palmer 2005). Their areas of occupancy overlap, constituting a vast territory within which they migrate. The Wichí traditionally travelled along more or less regular routes between the river and the forest depending on the availability of resources (Montani 2017). But while their economy was previously based on hunting, fishing and gathering, it has now integrated livestock and slash-and-burn agriculture. More recently, the Wichí have joined the market economy as day labourers on large farms in the region or they live off social assistance.

A difficult-to-access area, the Argentinian Chaco has not been the target of agricultural policies to support small producers, or development programs for Indigenous peoples. Since the neoliberal turn of the 1980s this region has gradually been subjected to a dynamic of socio-economic integration that primarily affects local populations, including the Wichí. Since the beginning of the 2000s, we have witnessed the construction of road infrastructure to facilitate access to these remote areas, accompanied by a process of land grabbing (Murmis and Murmis 2012) and extremely rapid deforestation (Volante et al. 2016). In this unprecedented context, the natives are mobilizing to claim their territories, contributing to the multiplication of land conflicts with both institutions and the settlers.

The Lhaka Honhat map

Indigenous peoples, mostly Wichí, from the Santa Victoria Este Department, in the northeast of the province of Salta, formed the Lhaka Honhat Association in 1991 to reclaim their territory. With the support of the NGO Survival International, and the commitment of anthropologists, a first map was produced in 1994. It brings together more than 1 000 toponyms on a territory estimated at over 500 000 hectares, located along the Pilcomayo River that separates Argentina from Bolivia and Paraguay. Nevertheless, local and national public institutions have never accepted this map, nor considered the claim. However, in 1996 a bridge was built over the river, prior to the construction of an international road crossing the claimed territory. Lhaka Honhat occupied the site until the construction was halted, forcing the State to pledge to grant the Wichí a land title. Although the national authorities did not honour this agreement, these events allowed the Association to bring its claim before the Inter-American Commission of Human Rights, which accepted it in 1998. In order to be able to judge the validity of the claim, the court asked the Association to produce a map showing the occupancy and use of the territory, besides delimiting the claimed territory and making it legible before the law and commensurable for the state officials.

Finalized in 2001, the Lhaka Honhat map is the result of a participatory mapping process that lasted two years, and included volunteers from some of the twenty-seven communities that formed the Association. Technical and cartographic support was provided by the NGO Asociana,

which is affiliated with the Anglican Church of Northern Argentina. The working method was validated by the Association, following the proposal made by Andrew Leake, an environmentalist who had previously worked on pioneering participatory mapping projects, first in Nicaragua and later in the Paraguayan Chaco (Herlihy and Leake 1997). As for other Indigenous peoples (Sletto 2009b), the main objective was to justify the claim to a non-exclusive territory, shared among several communities and without internal limits, and thus to compel the authorities to accept the project of granting a cadastral parcel per community. At the same time, the Wichí claimed a territory free from settlers' herds, although this did not imply the eviction of the population itself. This was a major challenge because it involved mapping the territory without setting limits or marking lines.

The method adopted consisted in dividing the area to be mapped into twelve sectors, and identifying a surveyor for each of them. Each surveyor visited a different community and listed the places the members of its assembly wanted to put on the map. Assisted by sketches and accompanied by members of the community, the surveyor visited each of the sites identified and marked them with a GPS. He also completed a questionnaire on the vegetation cover and noted the toponym and the stories potentially linked to each site. Management of the data collected was then centralized so that they could be digitized. After integrating them into a common database, a GIS was created using a satellite image as the background map. Once a first version of the map including the points marked by every community was printed, the surveyors returned in order to validate or modify it. After this process was completed, all the data were placed on a GIS in order to print a different map, based on the usage envisaged by the Association. However, due to a lack of financial and technical resources to continue surveying and printing, only one version of the map was in circulation in 2001: the one that is currently in use. Indeed, as in other cases (Wainwright and Bryan 2009), once the agreed version of the map was produced and printed, the involvement of the Wichí focused merely on the lawsuit. For these reasons, the surveyors returned to their communities and the mapping process was halted. Today, the map shown in Figure 1 is the only format available. It is printed on an A1 sheet, with a fixed scale of 1:100.000 and the entire territory occupied and claimed by the Association is represented, enclosed by a green line and traversed by some brown lines for the routes. It also indicates the presence of some settlers' living quarters.

Figure 1a/1b

In the most commonly used version, the map has the advantage of showing that communities share the same territory and their areas of occupancy overlap. As shown in Figure 2, a zoom to better understand the map, a red and black dot and a bold toponym serve to identify each community. Each has an associated colored dot—one color per community—corresponding to hunting, fishing or gathering places, religious and sacred sites, temporary campsites or any other place of interest to the Wichí. In Figure 2, red dots show the occupancy area of the Pozo la China community, and the light-blue dots represent the Bella Vista. All these places are identified by a toponym and its translation and the story associated with it are registered in a database. Some of these sites appear on the map. The set of dots of the same color gives an overview of the occupancy area of a community. This has the advantage of not delimiting these areas and thus illustrates how the use of the territory is non-exclusive and overlapping. Finally, the choice to represent settlers' living quarters by small brown houses, accompanied by their place-name, demonstrates the will to include the presence of non-natives within the territory.

Figure 2

The map helped facilitate and frame the negotiations for land sharing between the settlers and the Wichí and in 2014 this led to the granting of a provisional land title for an area of 400 000 hectares shared among all Indigenous communities and free from settlers' herds. The local and national governments are committed to relocating the livestock on an adjacent 243 000 hectares plot. However, the negotiations for relocation took longer than expected due to the lack of funding from the national government. For this reason, in 2018 the case was handed over to the Inter-American Court of Human Rights (IACHR). Following a first hearing in March 2019, the case is currently awaiting a final decision.

Three paradoxes on one map

The map serves three different functions depending on the scale and the context. In the course of the dispute between the Wichí and the national State, which the IACHR is called upon to judge, the map serves the Indigenous peoples in order to make their territoriality intelligible to the authorities, to anchor a foundation to their claim and thus to make visible what was previously invisible. The map allowed the Indigenous peoples to become legitimate interlocutors for the public authorities while also constituting a means of being recognized. According to Francisco, "thanks to the map, the government can no longer act as if we did not exist. Now the government has to listen to us because we have a map, we are now on the map." (Interview June 1, 2016, Cañaverl). Locally the map is a powerful tool for negotiating land sharing with non-Indigenous peoples. In the words of Rogelio, who participated in the project as a surveyor, "it is thanks to the map that we can better negotiate with the settlers. Before we always lost, we yielded when it was not necessary. With the map, this is no longer the case. The map is our territory." (Interview May 20, 2016, La Curvita).

Fifteen years after its completion, the map seems to have stabilized the image of a very dynamic territory. Among the Indigenous peoples, the map became the territory. Although, as a result of internal tensions, the Association now includes more than 70 communities, and although the region is increasingly affected by the dynamics of integration, the map remains unchanged. While the map allowed the Wichí to make themselves visible to Argentinian society—which gave them a huge political advantage—, it seems to have also contributed to the establishment of their territory and the perpetuation of their spatial capital. Even if this issue is never explicitly discussed by the Wichí informers, as was the case for others Indigenous peoples (Bryan 2011) the cartographic formalisation of their territory led the Wichí to overlook its social construction, based on multi-layered networks of kinship and residency. The requirement of intelligibility in order to pursue the legal recognition of their territory is the price they are forced to pay to make themselves visible in the eyes of state officials and society as a whole (Mollett 2013). This raises three major paradoxes which constitute as many undesirable outcomes (Wainwright and Bryan 2009) of the production of the map.

Indigenous territory, a finite network.

The territory of Lhaka Honhat, as it appears on the map, is delimited by the international border, separating Argentina from Bolivia and Paraguay, and by the boundary between the provinces of Salta and Formosa. Since it is spread over two public plots—consisting of State-owned land that could be sold, leased or granted to citizens who can demonstrate possession of it—it is also part of the State's administrative network and is adjacent to private property. Aware that a cartographic representation straddling the border, or including private lands would have prevented them from obtaining a land title, the Indigenous peoples chose to respect the administrative boundaries and

to represent their territory according to the current cadastre. Thus, although the map shows a networked spatial organization, the Association chose not to represent the itineraries usually used by the natives to move about in the forest and between communities. Fearing this complex representation would translate into an entanglement of tracks that would have filled the map while rendering it illegible, they favoured a representation of their territoriality in accordance with "Western" cartographic techniques ensuring its intelligibility for public authorities.

However, the Wichí territory in fact exceeds its cartographic representation as the population circulates well beyond the limits marked on the map, following itineraries that know no borders. The borders of their territory are actually extremely vague and permeable since they spread, are rearranged or shrink according to the evolution of their network of sociability and the alliances the communities have constantly woven amongst themselves. The simplification of their territoriality, defined less by limits than by their social relations, has led to the trivialization of a very dynamic and fluid territory. On this map, the Indigenous territory was thus established in a way that made it a static territory. It is no longer a continually recomposed network but a demarcated territory, or paradoxically a finite network. This is to the detriment of a representation closer to the Indigenous peoples' socio-spatial organization, based on mobility and kinship practices that bind the different communities. While these itineraries reveal Wichí sociability and their spatial practices, the Wichí territory, as it is represented, adapts to the imposed administrative boundaries representing a finite space. This has the advantage of being understood better, but paradoxically limits the possibilities of future land claims.

No place on the map for new centralities.

At the time when the Indigenous peoples were configuring their territory on the map in 1994, they and their territory were harshly impacted by the integration dynamics affecting the region. New roads have been built along with infrastructure that facilitates access to basic services. This has contributed to the creation of new villages where the Indigenous peoples are concentrated. Many Wichí—even whole communities—have settled there, and live more sedentary lives, less and less scattered through the forest. As they find it increasingly difficult to locate the resources they need for their livelihood in the forest, villages provide them access to new resources. Some have paid employment, children go to school, they can obtain social assistance and have access to medical care. The spatial organization of the Wichí territory evolves over time with their spatial capital. Thus, while places marked on the map are currently less frequented, villages are emerging as new centralities.

In addition, from these new villages it is easier for the Wichí to reach larger cities in the region. Unprecedented relationships are developing and the social network of the Wichí is expanding. This does not affect the validity of the map, nor does it imply that the forest area is neglected. On the contrary, the territory spreads to the nearest urban centres and there is a constant back and forth between cities, villages and the forest, generating a kind of commuter mobility. The former Wichí forest tracks evolve, change scale and integrate new places that do not appear on the map. Paradoxically, it has become a constraint for a territory that goes far beyond the limits imposed.

Nevertheless, the absence of these new places on the map is the result of the rapidity of the socio-spatial changes that currently affect the territory represented. But it also stems from the current criteria for defining indigeneity in Argentina. Although this is never stated in legal texts, it is commonly accepted that the city constitutes a space where indigeneity is negated. According to the hegemonic narrative, the Indigenous condition is still closely linked to the forest and rural environment. Indigenous peoples are perceived as living in the forest, outside the market

economy and away from cities. Proletarianization and urbanity are two factors that challenge the Indigenous condition. Therefore, the presence of Wichí in urban centres is considered a form of assimilation into the dominant society. The cartographic representation of the Indigenous territory is expected to respect the criteria imposed by the nationalist rhetoric, although this may invalidate any future land claims they may wish to make. While the fact that the villages where the Wichí now reside are not shown on the maps allows the claim to be considered valid, it nevertheless contributes to the exclusion of new centralities that are part of the Indigenous territory. Thus, the evolution of the Wichí spatial capital is not accompanied by an evolution of its spatial representation and paradoxically, it forces them to stick to a discourse that does not necessarily match their current socio-economic reality.

One map, several generations.

The static representation of the territory of Lhaka Honhat through the prism of the new Wichí mobilities and the evolution of their resource system, is the representation of the generational divide that currently crosses most communities. Indeed, the map represents a territory travelled, lived and named by the elders, or more generally by the adults interviewed during its realization. As Daniel, who participated in the project as a surveyor, says, "what the map shows is our territory. This is why it is important for all generations." (Interview April 20, 2016, Puesto Nuevo). However, the spatial practices of the youth differ increasingly from those of their parents. Although they remain extremely mobile, today young Wichí live mainly in villages and do not inhabit their land in the same way as the previous generations. Thanks to social plans and the money they can earn in villages, young people buy motorcycles. This allows them not only to move faster but also to move further and more frequently beyond the mapped territory. In doing this, they leave the map and question the immobility of this cartographic representation. Moreover, it forces them to use tracks and paved roads, better suited to motorcycles. This motorized mobility reduces the use of the forest tracks traced by the preceding generations, and the youth is more interested in the villages and the itineraries that connect them, to the detriment of their ancestors' routes and territory. Paradoxically, while the toponyms on the map produced by the elders portrays a territory lived as a whole, the territory of the young Wichí is recomposed around new centralities.

While it is true that young people are less bound to the forest, it is also true that they are more involved in urban areas. For all the places marked on the map that are less inhabited, there are just as many, or more, that should be added. In this sense, the gap between the spatial practices of the old and the young does not refer to a territorial or identity loss. On the contrary, the Indigenous territory is expanding and encompassing new places, but the relationship with the territory is lived differently across generations. Quite simply, the youth appropriate the territory in other ways, and it is no longer just a forest area. The attachment to the territory persists beyond the social and spatial evolutions that affect the natives, which means that each generation carries within itself its own territory (Desbiens and Hirt 2018). But the map does not adapt well to the updating of the network of places that constitutes the Wichí territory. Therefore, paradoxically, while young people will finally be able to take advantage of the territory claimed by the elders, their practices and their spatial capital will have evolved in the meantime, transforming the Wichí territory as it has been mapped.

Conclusion

Undoubtedly, cartographic production is an excellent opportunity for Indigenous peoples to assert their identity and to position themselves politically vis-à-vis the actors who seek to appropriate

their territory. In spite of this, maps also contribute to freezing a highly mobile territoriality and to marking previously unclear boundaries. Paradoxically, Indigenous cartographic representations crystalize Indigenous spatial capital at a time when the Wichí as well as their territories, are undergoing a process of restructuring. This also involves the risk that the map conveys the idea of an immemorial and immutable Indigenous territory. In this sense, the mapping of their territory influences the socio-spatial dynamics of the Wichí, reframing and redefining their trajectories and their perspectives. In the future, they will have to continually rethink themselves in relation to the map and their claims will continue to be linked to the cartographic image they have provided of themselves as well as of their territory.

In order for them to be intelligible to a non-Indigenous audience, the maps produced are subject to a certain conditionality, in that sense that they must adopt pre-established cartographic canons of fixity, linearity and exclusivity in time and in space because they are part of legal advocacy strategies (Giraut 2017). At the same time, the Wichí are forced to adopt indigeneity criteria defined by others actors in order to be recognized as Indigenous and have their claims legitimized. Despite the wide range of precautions taken, the unforeseeable outcomes of mapping hence renew hierarchies and the colonial perception of indigeneity (Bryan 2011). This restricts the future possibilities for the Wichí to claim land in urban areas. Ultimately, and paradoxically, despite their indisputable usefulness, these maps have to adapt to an Indigenous essentialism that reinforces the hegemonic and dominant identity representations in Argentina, i.e. a view of the Indigenous peoples as are economically dependent on the forest and out of place outside of their forest environment. These maps hence risk binding natives to the forest and limiting their future opportunities of self-determination. For the Indigenous youth who inherit these maps, but not this territory, and whose geographical knowledge has evolved in the meantime, it is important to find other ways of mapping their territoriality and asserting their identity.

While it is true that the map is the language used in the dialogue between Indigenous peoples and the State, it is also true that the map is not an Indigenous language. Even if nowadays mapmaking is a privilege shared by Indigenous peoples, this is not true of the mapping criteria. Maps remain conditioned by the ability to meet both State expectations of legibility and the Indigenous pursuit of recognition (Mollett 2013). One can then wonder if the map is the most appropriate tool for this dialogue and whether other forms of cartographic representation would be better adapted to this process. A real debate on new ways of mapping Indigenous territories has begun in recent years, and it is very rich thanks to the participation and proposals provided by the natives who regain the power to map themselves. But paradoxically, these new representations struggle to impose themselves in the courts as long as the State has difficulty accepting them. Thus, although cartographic knowledge may be undergoing a process of decolonization, the same is not true of the legal system and society as a whole.

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Figure 1a/1b

The claimed territory on the Lhaka Honhat's map.
SOURCE: Lhaka Honhat.

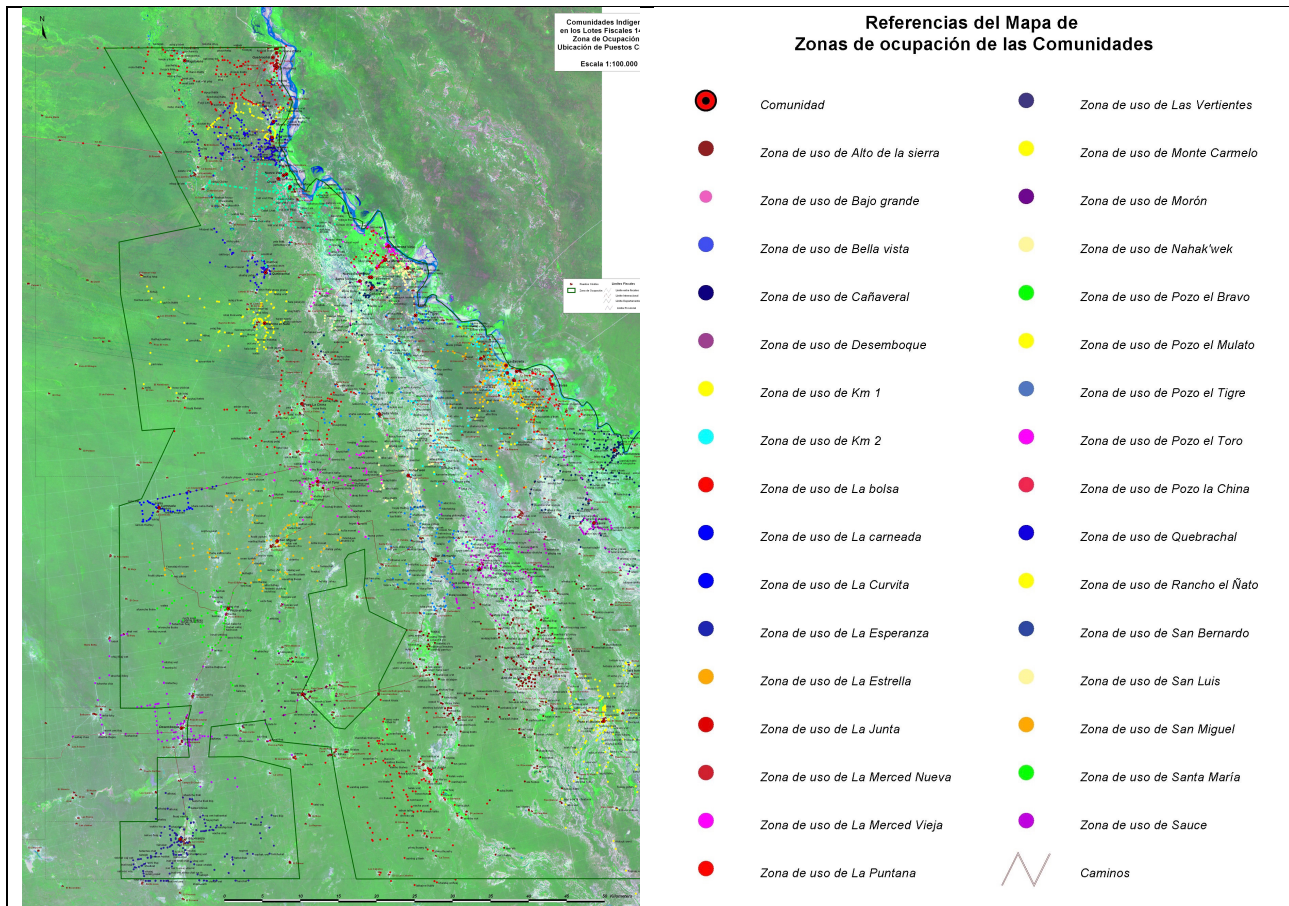


Figure 2

Overlapping occupancies on the Lhaka Honhat's map.

SOURCE: Lhaka Honhat.

