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"The Ruins and Us Go Together": The Neoliberal Challenge to Archaeological Heritage and Patrimony in Mexico

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"THE RUINS AND US GO TOGETHER": THE NEOLIBERAL CHALLENGE TO

ARCHAEOLOGICAL HERITAGE AND PATRIMONY IN MEXICO

by

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ABSTRACT
"THE RUINS AND US GO TOGETHER": THE NEOLIBERAL CHALLENGE TO
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by

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When it comes to the pursuit of archaeology, what would archaeologists like to do, what are they required to do, and what do they end up doing? These questions are at the heart of this dissertation, which studies how archaeologists from the United States who work in Mexico negotiate the web of relationships in which they find themselves. Foucault's concept of governmentality allows us to learn more about how power flows within and between these relationships and shows the tensions that exist when these relationships are unequal. As outsiders, foreign archaeologists need to become more informed about local culture, including an understanding of political processes at the local level, among interested stakeholders, the national level, as representatives of INAH, the National Institute of Anthropology and History, and at the transnational level, where multinational corporations, such as Wal-Mart, and transnational organizations, like UNESCO, are also major actors regarding the fate of archaeological resources.

The unfolding story of two archaeological sites in Mexico, the Cañada de la Virgen and Teotihuacán, serve as examples of how these relationships play out in the context of modern Mexico. Mexico's socio-political history has also been influential, where the liberal origins of the Mexican state and its creation of a national identity through the hybrid notion of *mestizaje* that combines Mexico's indigenous and colonial

past establish the foundations of the protection and interpretation of its archaeological resources. Currently, changes in Mexico's political and economic climate toward neoliberalism and increasing privatization have increased the threats to Mexico's archaeological resources. Tourism has been heavily promoted as a means of preserving these resources and providing economic assistance to the local communities, but these benefits have yet to be realized and may actually worsen the situation. A community engaged anthropology that leads to improved collaboration between archaeologists and local stakeholders may prove to be a successful strategy for approaching these issues, although there is also a need for archaeologists to be more aware of their motivations, biases, and professional goals that can be illuminated further through the ethnography of archaeology. The fate of Mexico's archaeological heritage is at stake.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this project is to determine how Mexico's economic agenda of privatization threatens the management and protection of the state's archaeological resources. The perspective of governmentality allows me to show how the state uses privatization as a means of divesting itself of its responsibilities while privileging moneyed interests. As decisions made in the higher levels of government work their way down to affect local politics, we can observe the impact these policies have on Mexico's archaeological resources. The disconnect that exists between Mexico's Constitutional mandate to protect these resources and how these resources are managed (or mismanaged) locally demonstrate the negative effects of economic austerity and privatization. Therefore, with this information I can further explore how archaeology is practiced in Mexico, including the political processes that bind archaeologists to other stakeholders interested in archaeological resources.

The project explores the events surrounding two archaeological sites in Mexico, the Cañada de la Virgen and Teotihuacán, as a means of learning more about these processes. I chose archaeologists from the United States who work in Mexico as my subjects to better understand their relationship among these groups. These relationships place archaeologists in a position of considerable stress, and these tensions can be used as a measure of the effectiveness of the existing system of archaeological resource management. It is a subject of interest to see how individual archaeologists differ in their responses to these tensions. Through the study of this context I can investigate the historical context of the management of archaeological resources in Mexico and explore

how and why it has been changing in recent years, and determine what the major obstacles are for archaeologists working in Mexico. The data acquired from this project comes from individual interviews, archival research, contemporary news stories, and biographical and autobiographical accounts. These methods also allow for a greater understanding of the role other socio-political phenomena have played in the way heritage management has developed in Mexico, for instance, the effects of colonialism, ethno-linguistic differences, and economic factors.

The results of this project demonstrate the need for greater involvement on the part of archaeologists in collaborating with local communities and communicating effectively the importance and relevance that archaeological resources have for these communities. Because the development of these resources for tourism has become increasingly connected with archaeological practices around the world, archaeologists must be the ones to work with local communities in ways that benefit both groups by protecting archaeological sites and helping to improve the economic conditions in the community through grassroots sustainable projects. This requires archaeologists to approach their practices in new ways and illustrates how ethnographic archaeology can be used to learn more about how archaeologists make their decisions within a complex social web of interactions between stakeholders. This knowledge can be used to help advise and guide communities as they enter into negotiations with private interests to develop archaeological sites as tourist venues.

This project contributes significantly to anthropology by turning the lens of research upon the discipline itself by providing a means for exploring the pursuit of archaeology in modern political contexts. This research builds upon the existing body of

work on the ethnography of archaeology by focusing more upon the web of relationships in which archaeologists find themselves and stresses the need for better cultural awareness and political understanding on the part of archaeologists. The project also draws further attention to the threats to archaeological resources in Mexico as a result of privatization, including the ambivalent attitudes toward those resources by the Mexican state. By framing these issues within the context of governmentality, this research offers a means for learning more about the tensions faced by foreign archaeologists who work in Mexico.

My research plan was approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. The project was determined by the IRB to be one of minimal risk due to the potential concerns of confidentiality of my informants' identities. Because they are professionals who work within the field of archaeological heritage management, their careers could conceivably be adversely affected by voicing their opinions and criticism of management practices and government regulations. In short, because they were all dependent upon staying within the good graces of INAH, they ran some risk by being critical of that organization. Of course I have made every attempt to preserve anonymity for those who wish to disguise their identities.

During the summer of 2004 I first learned about an archaeological site at the Cañada de la Virgen, near the municipality of San Miguel de Allende in Mexico. Through communications with one of the parties interested in the fate of that site I began an exploration of the status of archaeological sites in Mexico and the concerns that, after decades of pursuing neoliberal economic policies, Mexico's archaeological resources may be threatened by those policies. This was also when I learned about the proposed

construction of a Wal-Mart affiliated store, Bodega Aurrera, at San Juan de Teotihuacán, two kilometers away from the ruins of Teotihuacán. The controversy that surrounded, and continues to this day, the construction of the store made it seem like the worries about the protected status of Mexico's pre-Columbian heritage were, in fact, grounded in reality. Clearly there was something important going on that had a pressing need to be studied.

In the case of the Cañada de la Virgen, it appeared that Mexico's cultural patrimony laws, which had been in place since the early 20th century, were being skirted in favor of the interests of private capital. At Teotihuacán, the concern was that corporate interests were being placed above the well-being of the archaeological heritage at the site. Both of these sites were connected to the potential for tourism, albeit from different ends of the spectrum; Teotihuacán has long been a major tourist draw and it was hoped that the Cañada de la Virgen could be developed as a tourist magnet. Teotihuacán is a World Heritage site and the Cañada de la Virgen was a small collection of ruins that had yet to be reconstructed and was barely stabilized from further decay[1]. Yet these two sites (Figure 1), so different from each other, were linked by modern-day economics and politics. It appeared to be an important issue and an interesting one at that.

As I continued to do my preliminary research into the subject, there was one group of stakeholders that struck me as significant, a group who, collectively, would be deeply affected by what happened at both of these sites and who were probably the least considered in a discussion of those impacts -- archaeologists. To be more specific, archaeologists from the United States who conducted research in Mexico, which was a tradition of research that itself went back to the early part of the 20th century. What were

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[1] Although the Protective Town of San Miguel de Allende and the Sanctuary of Jesús Nazareno de Atotonilco were inscribed to the World Heritage List in 2008, the archaeological sites at the Cañada de la Virgen are not included.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Baja California

Baja California Sur

Sonora

Chihuahua

Sinaloa

Durango

Coahuila de Zaragoza

Nuevo León

Tamaulipas

Zacatecas

San Luis Potosí

Nayarit

Ag.

Jalisco

Guanajuato

Querétaro

Estado de Hidalgo

Co.

Michoacán

Mo.

Estado de México

Tl.

DF

Puebla

Veracruz de Ignacio de la Llave

Guerrero

Oaxaca

Tabasco

Chiapas

Campeche

Yucatán

Quintana Roo

B.

GUATEM.

HOND.

DF : Distrito Federal
Ag. : Aguascalientes
Co. : Colima
Mo. : Morelos
Tl : Tlaxcala

Cañada de la Virgen

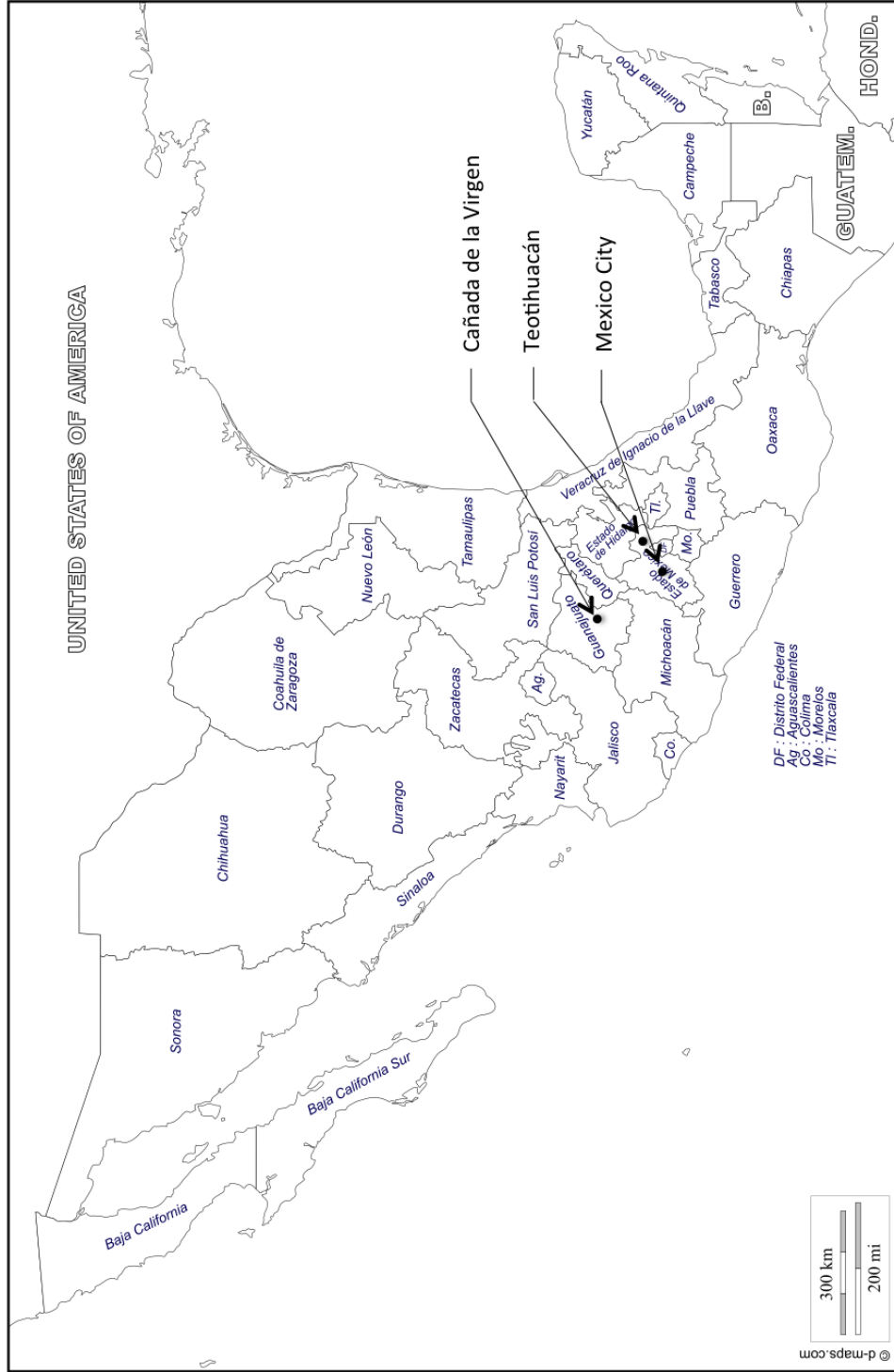Teotihuacán

Mexico City

300 km
200 mi

© d-maps.com

Figure 1. Central Mexico, including the locations of Mexico City, Teotihuacán, and the Cañada de la Virgen.

Base Map Source: d-maps.com

their opinions, both professional and personal, regarding the looming threat to archaeology in Mexico? Surely they had something noteworthy to say about the subject.

Because all archaeology in Mexico is under the control of the National Institute of Anthropology and History (INAH), all archaeologists who work in Mexico, including those from the United States, work on behalf of the Mexican state. However, archaeologists must do their work within and nearby those communities who are connected to archaeological sites geographically, if not historically. These communities must have some interest in the sites, whether as a source of identity or as a source of income from the tourist industry. Since these people also have something to lose or gain from the sites, they may very well have ideas for how these sites should be interpreted and managed that differs from how INAH and the Mexican state would have the sites managed and interpreted. It would be interesting to see how frequently that disconnect occurs as well as the state's response to it.

Foucault's (2001) concept of governmentality has become useful as a framework for exploring the relationship that exists between the state and other interested stakeholders, particularly within neoliberal contexts (Ferguson and Gupta 2002; McDonald 1999). According to Foucault, the state is not itself a thing, but emerges from "the institutions, procedures, analyses, and reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power" (2001:219-220). That is, the state is created out of the myriad practices by individuals and organizations that connect these interested parties together. Governmentality brings to light the ways in which "power circulates through these relationships" (McDonald 1999:275), thereby

illustrating examples of conflict, resistance, and irrationality among and within these interested parties.

Within a modern, globalized context, such as the neoliberal state, governmentality allows us to look at how non-state actors have been granted state-like functions due to outsourcing and privatization (Ferguson and Gupta 2002:990), and the impacts of these functions throughout these relationships. The result, therefore, is not less or smaller government, but rather a different expression of government that shifts part of the responsibilities that traditionally belong to the state, such as the management of archaeological resources, onto private interests (Ferguson and Gupta 2002:989). Interestingly, as Ferguson and Gupta (2002:990) point out, even so-called "grassroots" efforts are themselves part of the web of globalization, as they are often supported by transnational non-governmental organizations (NGOs), such as UNESCO. As with multinational corporations within the context of privatization, these NGOs also assume some of the responsibilities of the state, such as working toward the recognition of indigenous rights; however, when they do, they end up playing by the rules of neoliberalism, thereby entangling themselves within the very set of circumstances against which they are ostensibly fighting (Hale 2005:13).

Foucault's notion of governmentality is intimately intertwined with neoliberal thought and the neoliberal state. Neoliberals oppose the intervention of the state into the market, believing that free market principles, that is, free from meddling by the state, will provide the best options for creating wealth (Harvey 2005:20). In theory, the neoliberal state "should favour strong individual private property rights, the rule of law, and the institution of freely functioning markets and free trade" (Harvey 2005:64). At its core, the

neoliberal state requires privatization of public assets by turning those segments of society that are run by the government over to private interests, where, presumably, competition for control over these previously government-run resources will lead to greater efficiency and increase productivity, which in turn will lower consumer costs for access to these resources (Harvey 2005:65). Governmentality, therefore, allows us to observe how the practices of these non-state actors link together with those of the state and consumers.

Today, archaeologists often find themselves enmeshed within these relationships as representatives of transnational organizations, multinational corporations, or state institutions. How do archaeologists negotiate being placed in this position? How do they fulfill their required obligations to the State and their moral obligations to the local community? Furthermore, how do they balance these competing interests with their own? After all, as professionals, archaeologists certainly have their own ideas regarding interpretation and management, and these may differ from both the State's and the community's. In other words, what would these archaeologists like to do, what are they required to do, and what do they end up doing?

Therefore, in order to understand the roles played by archaeologists from the United States who work in Mexico, we must consider how governmentality plays out through these relationships and practices. These specific relationships include the aforementioned archaeologists; Mexican archaeologists; state organizations, such as INAH; transnational organizations like UNESCO; multinational corporations, including the tourism industry, and, in the case of Teotihuacán, Wal-Mart; as well as those groups that make up the local communities, such as politicians, business owners, academics, and

other interested parties. For Foucault, all of these groups, their relationships, and their practices and ideologies, create different aspects of governmentality (McDonald and Hawkins 2013a:18). These behaviors and relationships also produce particular consequences; for example, we can view governmentality in the general inability of tourism to produce benefits for local communities, although it does benefit a tourism industry comprised largely of multinational corporations as well as transnational organizations like UNESCO that promote tourism through the constructed concept of universal heritage. Neoliberalism assumes participants are well-informed actors who make rational decisions; therefore, when local communities do not benefit it is considered to be their own fault for making poor choices or failing to understand their options (McDonald 2003:180; McDonald and Hawkins 2013a:41).

The following four chapters discuss further my pursuit of this project. The nature of the research questions meant I needed to ground the project in applied archaeology, and community engagement in particular, the subject of Chapter Two. The purpose of applied anthropology is to use anthropological knowledge in new ways to solve existing problems or develop public policy (Lucas 2004:119-120). Because applied anthropologists often work in collaboration with members of the local community (Shackel 2004:12), they take a somewhat different approach that elevates those who used to be seen as research subjects to partners and participants (McDavid 2004:36). The central core to this idea is that because local communities will be taking an interest in the work of community engagement through applied anthropology, these individuals should be viewed as stakeholders in the process.

For this project, communities are defined as those people who have an interest or connection to the research site (Marshall 2002:216). These people may be the modern-day descendants of past communities, people who live in proximity to the site, or both. They may have different levels of professional expertise in the subjects of archaeology and heritage management (Pyburn 2007:179). Throughout this project I consider archaeologists to be a stakeholder community, since they work at these sites and are deeply concerned with how these sites are interpreted and managed. The archaeological community also interacts with other stakeholder communities, and these interactions inform many of the decisions archaeologists make as well as place competing demands upon the archaeologists.

For example, archaeologists from the United States who work in Mexico have been directly placed between INAH, which they represent, and the local communities, where they live while doing their fieldwork. Community engagement in this case involves a number of possible activities, such as learning information about the site and its history with the community and expressing the importance of archaeological knowledge to that community. Community engaged anthropologists in other venues may also share control over the project with local people, incorporate the interpretations of other stakeholders, and otherwise integrate local people into various stages of the research. While foreign archaeologists in Mexico ultimately must leave the local community behind, in other contexts, an ongoing relationship with the community could be formed that would allow local people to continue to learn from the project (Marshall 2002:218).

Anthropologists can expect to be challenged more frequently by stakeholders regarding research questions, design, and interpretation. This does not mean that archaeologists must accept all counter interpretations as equally valid or privilege local knowledge above their own, but rather that they should acknowledge local contributions and allow stakeholders to have their voices heard as part of the research process (Greer et al. 2002:283; Reeves 2004:80). Applied anthropology possesses a degree of self-reflection, where anthropologists can see this as an opportunity to consider their own perspectives and what their projects could mean to the local community. By creating an open dialogue with all interested groups, anthropologists have an opportunity to make anthropological research and knowledge relevant to those outside of the discipline.

Community engagement attempts to find solutions to problems, particularly social problems (Besteman 2010:407). Collaboration with members of the local community communicates to them that, first of all, there is an issue that exists that potentially affects them in some way, and secondly, that because they have a stake in the problem, they also have a voice and a role in helping the anthropologist in resolving the situation. One means by which social problems can be addressed is by involving more concerned actors in policymaking. Although anthropologists are not generally those who create policy (van Willigen 1993:9), they do gather and interpret information and can work alongside local activists who do seek ways to fix these problems by (Besteman 2010:411). The associations that anthropologists form with community members allow for relationships where anthropologists can serve as advisors and facilitators with local communities and can aid in the dissemination of knowledge about local sites, for example through publication online.

Chapter Three explores how the concept of the ethnography of archaeology can allow us to learn more about this role played by archaeologists in the field. While archaeologists have used ethnography to inform archaeological knowledge, this method has largely been directed toward local informants who may possess information useful to archaeological interpretations of the past (Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos 2009:67). What I am proposing here is to turn that anthropological lens back upon the archaeological community in order to learn more about how archaeologists make their decisions. The only means to access this information is to do an ethnography of archaeology and let the archaeologists speak for themselves, in their own words. While still relatively new, this approach has become increasingly widespread because it does allow us to learn something new about archaeology (for example, Breglia 2006a and 2006b; Castañeda 2005 and 2009; Edgeworth 2006 and 2010; Gomes 2006; Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos 2009; Hollowell and Nicholas 2008; Matthews 2008).

The methodology behind ethnographic archaeology does not differ from ethnography in general. Data are collected through "formal and informal interviews, participant observation, archival research, or ethnographic site tours," to name a few (Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos 2009:67). The usual difficulties of conducting ethnographic research still apply, such as the need to gain access to the subject community, as well as the trust and cooperation of knowledgeable informants (Ervin 2004:151; Hammersley and Aktinson 1995). Informants, even trusted informants, have their own motivations and agendas, plus differing levels of expertise and reliability (Berry 2002). They will also be concerned with how they and their community might be

portrayed within the academic literature (Peirano 1998). All of this is true, even when the subject community is comprised of professional archaeologists.

That said, among those who conduct ethnographic archaeology, there is no consensus over the correct way to approach the process, beyond the desire to learn more about the discipline by studying those who practice it (Geertz 1973:5). As a community, archaeologists are no more monolithic and homogeneous than any other community (Hollowell and Nicholas 2008; Pyburn 2007), and it would be a mistake to treat them as such. That leads to the questions of why do they do what they do? How do archaeologists make their decisions? Why did they make those choices and not others? What is archaeology, as it is practiced today, actually meant to accomplish (Carman 2006:95)? By and large, archaeologists themselves have been silent on these questions. My goal was to confront these questions to gain insight into the processes of why archaeologists make the decisions they do and what both constrains and informs this decision-making.

There are those who expect archaeologists themselves to be more self-reflexive about the work they do (Castañeda 2008:29; Edgeworth 2010:54), or that, at least, some degree of reflexivity contains some benefit to the practice of archaeology (Chambers 2009:377; Leone 2008). Others promote the inclusion of ethnographers with archaeological teams (Breglia 2006a:179; Pyburn 2007:177), leaving the work of archaeology to the archaeologists and allowing the ethnographers to study them in action. At any rate, the end result is to create a more "socially responsible" archaeology (Breglia 2006a:173; Zimmerman 2008:201) that contextualizes archaeological practices within the communities within which archaeologists are connected. For those archaeologists who do

take a more reflexive turn, there are additional ways through which to learn more about the work they do.

Autoethnography, literally, the ethnography of oneself, is the outcome of the self-reflexive approach, and yet there is virtually nothing describing this method within the literature of ethnographic archaeology. An autoethnography of archaeology would be one that allows the archaeologist to more deeply consider their experiences in relationship to others, such as the archaeological community or the local communities where they work and interact (Maydell 2010:2; Ngunjiri et al. 2010:6). It is a critical look at oneself (Mitra 2010:13) and it may be emotionally moving or even disturbing to confront our personal or professional challenges (Chatham-Carpenter 2010:9). I feel there is something of great potential value to our knowledge of what we do and why we do it by looking inward and challenging our biases and motivations. At the very least it helps us to become more aware of our actions and more relatable as we engage with others regarding the practice of archaeology.

The research continues with a discussion of archaeology, heritage, and tourism in Chapter Four. Generally speaking, heritage refers to how people use history and connect with their own history (Jameson, Jr. 2008:53). Heritage is seen as having some type of value for people, whether that value is tangible or intangible (Davison 2008:33). Therefore, heritage is often viewed as a resource that can be and needs to be managed. Seen this way, heritage is something deeply personal and how individuals interact with their heritage may be rather different than how heritage professionals do so. However, there are additional issues that complicate the issue of what heritage is and how it should be used.

Archaeological sites may be considered places of local, national, and even universal heritage. Despite the personal values attributed to heritage, nation-states frequently are interested in how these heritage resources can be interpreted as they can be used to create a national identity for the members of the nation (Silverman 2002; Skeates 2000) and, at the same time, can be abused for the same purpose (Arnold 1990). These places of local and national significance take on new meaning when they are defined as possessing universal significance; UNESCO's World Heritage List takes these places, many of which are archaeological sites, and ascribes new value to them as being something that should be preserved for all of humanity (1972:2). The philosophical ideals that inform the World Heritage Centre's vision of universal heritage become inscribed onto these places, supposedly making them significant to everyone.

The idea of universal heritage notwithstanding, there are many more sites around the world that are contested locally as to their meaning, value, and significance. In the United States, for example, the designation of traditional cultural property (TCP) is meant to bring interested stakeholders together to discuss potential effects to these sites in the hopes of minimizing negative impacts (King 2003:137). Instead of a situation where government agencies, developers, and heritage professionals decided the ultimate fate of a site, the TCP label was intended to ensure that all interested groups would have input toward that fate (King 2003:174). Unfortunately, as a model for dialogue and collaboration, TCPs have had a checkered history, largely due to continued misunderstanding of what the process requires (King 2003:13). Although the idea is a good one, it apparently still needs more time to catch on before it could be seen as an ideal means of managing and protecting heritage resources.

Others have opted to forestall development by acquiring archaeological sites and leaving them in their current state, at least for the time being. Within the United States, organizations like the Archaeological Conservancy purchase sites and hold them until they can be transferred to an organization or institution that is capable of managing the site (Barnes 1981:617). Because the Archaeological Conservancy depends upon donations for site acquisition not every desired property can be purchased, but the organization's mission is similar to that of the Nature Conservancy. This makes sense, because archaeological heritage protection shares many of the same goals as that of environmental anthropologists, including how resources are interpreted, globalization effects, and the impacts of market forces (Brosious 1999). Tourism is the point that directly connects cultural and natural heritage management by both commodifying and preserving these resources.

Because tourism has become a major industry worldwide, its influences over heritage management cannot be ignored. Neoliberal economic policies have led to public-private partnerships as a result of reduced public investment and an increased push for the privatization of traditionally public services (Chambers 2000:42). The justification given is that private industry can better develop these services, in this case, heritage tourism venues, and that turning this development over to private interests will bring economic benefits to the communities that host these venues (Chambers 2000:30; Slick 2002:219). It is taken for granted that these economic benefits will materialize and bring prosperity, jobs, and infrastructural improvements to the local community (Herreman 2006:420; Slick 2002:219). Those who promote tourism maintain that these benefits will result

through a multiplier effect that runs through the service industry (Chambers 2000:30;

Martínez Muriel 2001:61).

However, these benefits do not always materialize, nor will they necessarily take the form by which they were promised. Low wages, poor working conditions, seasonal employment, and the transfer of money from the local community to transnational corporations are significant economic results of tourism around the world (Boniface 1999:291; Chambers 2004:202). Culturally, tourism can lead to conflicts and stereotyping as outsiders enter into local communities with preconceived ideas (Boniface 1999:288; Chambers 2000:80). On a practical level, some locations may be underdeveloped in favor of others that are perceived to have more appeal (Silverman 2005:147) or may be ignored by developers entirely. Local people may be left out of the planning entirely or may directly engage with heritage professionals in the hopes that their sites will be developed (Adams 2005a:54). This complex web of relationships makes it difficult to devise policy recommendations for sustainability, which is unfortunate because responsible, sustainable approaches to archaeological heritage tourism are exactly what are required worldwide.

Chapter Five explores in greater detail the discipline of archaeology in Mexico and how the Mexican State approaches its archaeological heritage as a resource, how it develops those resources through tourism, and the influences of neoliberalism on heritage and tourism. The nature of archaeology in Mexico today reflects its origins in the early 20th century as a form of nation building that itself dates back to the 19th century and was designed to create a Mexican identity of *mestizaje* that was partially grounded in its indigenous past. The efforts of an early generation of Mexican anthropologists, led by Manuel Gamio, promoted archaeology as a profession that could bridge the gap between

past and present. Ironically, Mexico's indigenous population has not often benefited from these efforts, even though their past has been valued. Mexican archaeology was used by the state to inform its cultural heritage, yet today that heritage is threatened by the neoliberal economic policies pursued by the state. The federal government and local communities have looked to tourism as a means to protect and develop Mexico's archaeological heritage for profit to both the communities and its private partners, although direct, long-term benefits for the communities have been slow to emerge.

Archaeology in Mexico is centralized through INAH, the government agency created to manage the country's archaeological resources. All archaeological resources in Mexico belong, by law, to the federal government, although the physical property where these resources are located may be owned privately. Archaeologists who work in Mexico, whether Mexican citizens or foreigners, conduct research on behalf of the federal government through INAH, which makes these archaeologists *de facto* representatives of the state. INAH's mandate to protect and manage Mexico's archaeological heritage places the agency in control of the estimated more than 100,000 archaeological sites and over 670,000 archaeological objects located in Mexico's hundreds of museums (Castillo Mangas 2007:38; Martínez Muriel 2007:17). There are attempts to register the known archaeological sites and standardize recordkeeping, but these efforts have been slow due to the enormous scope of the work (Sánchez Nava 2007:22). Money and personnel are required to accomplish these goals, but Mexico's movement toward neoliberalism potentially hinders INAH's mission.

The Mexican state, under pressure from international organizations and transnational corporations, began to privatize its extensively state-supported industries

beginning in the early 1980s (Musante 2002:126). Mexico had hoped to resolve its increasing problems with the national debt and these corporations sought access to Mexico's previously closed-off markets, with the end goal of limiting government spending and increasing economic productivity, to the benefit of all, but particularly to foreign corporations that invested in Mexico. Privatization has been profitable for corporations, although local businesses and the public have suffered from high unemployment, low wages, and a shrinking safety net, which has increased poverty rates and economic inequality (Huber and Solt 2004:156; Shefner and Stewart 2011:354). While neoliberalism has, thus far, not directly affected Mexico's heritage resources, indirect effects, such as the privatization of communal *ejido* lands, have contributed to increases in poverty.

Tourism has been promoted as a path to prosperity for local communities where local heritage resources could be developed as tourist venues, thereby bringing outside money, jobs, and infrastructural upgrades to these communities. Even though most of the money made by heritage tourism leaves the community through multinational corporations, many local communities still believe that tourism is their own opportunity for economic revitalization. As a result, some archaeologists have been working more closely with these communities in an attempt to address the needs of the community and develop more sustainable grassroots tourism options. Despite some positive examples from the past few years, nationwide there is greater concern over the potential threats to Mexico's archaeological heritage from neoliberalism and privatization.

In Chapter Six I explore these issues further through two case studies in Mexico and discuss how they both reflect and are a product of these issues. The archaeological

sites at the Cañada de la Virgen and Teotihuacán are, in many ways, very different. The Cañada de la Virgen is the smaller site, far less well-known than Teotihuacán. Teotihuacán is a World Heritage site and holds even greater importance for Mexico as a symbol of national identity. However, both sites have been affected by Mexico's efforts to increase privatization, as the Cañada de la Virgen was slated to be developed as a tourist resource and Teotihuacán's integrity was seen as being in danger from the construction nearby of a Wal-Mart store. The lessons we can learn from these two sites tells us about the potential fate of Mexico's archaeological heritage.

The Cañada de la Virgen, like so many archaeological sites in Mexico, is located on private property. Normally this is not a reason for concern, because Mexican heritage laws take this into account: the site itself belongs to the nation, whereas the land where the site is located belongs to its owner. Indeed, the owner of the property at the time was working with the archaeological team, the political leaders of the nearby community of San Miguel de Allende, and the tourism industry on a plan to develop the site as a tourist venue (Patterson 2007:258). The project, which included all of these interested groups from the beginning, received nearly unanimous support and the enthusiasm of the local community. Public and private funds were made available to pursue the project and members of the community contributed resources to assist the archaeological team in their work (Patterson 2007:272).

The plans were nearly derailed after the property was sold and the new owner, who was not a Mexican citizen, apparently misunderstood how archaeological sites were defined under Mexican heritage law and believed she was the owner of the site. This misunderstanding led to animosity between the new owner and the archaeological team;

although she eventually learned how archaeological heritage was defined and protected under Mexican law, the archaeological team was replaced. Two years ago the archaeological site opened to tourism and is presumably protected, at least for the time being. The lesson here is that, sometimes, despite their best intentions and openness with the local community, there will be stakeholders who have different motivations and conflicts may be inevitable. The desire for profits threatened the site, which, ironically, would have continued to deteriorate over time from neglect had it not been considered a potentially viable tourist venue.

Teotihuacán, on the other hand, was never physically threatened by the proposed construction of a Wal-Mart store at the nearby town of San Juan de Teotihuacán. The threats in this case came from the fear that the store would diminish the integrity and significance of the ruins and represented growing concerns over the expanding influence of foreign corporations in Mexico (Ross 2005:28). Local vendors were worried that they would lose their livelihood after the Wal-Mart opened (McKinley, Jr. 2004a). Other local residents, however, favored the construction of the store because of the promise of jobs and low-priced goods (McKinley, Jr. 2004b). Despite a series of protests and accusations of bribery and corruption, the store was completed and opened for business. The long-term influence of Wal-Mart's presence in Mexico and its impact on Mexico's archaeological heritage is uncertain.

What does appear to be certain is that Wal-Mart was actually resorting to bribing public officials in order to gain quick approval for its construction projects (Barstow and Xanic von Bertrab 2012). At Teotihuacán, public zoning maps were mysteriously changed at the last minute, construction began without the required permits and

archaeological surveys, and nobody at INAH seemed willing to take responsibility for its involvement in the controversy (Barstow and Xanic von Bertrab 2012). The full extent of the story will probably never be known, despite an investigation by the United States Department of Justice (Horwitz and Yang 2012), which raises some troubling questions. If the mission of the government agency that is directly responsible for protecting and conserving Mexico's archaeological resources can be circumvented by the desires of multinational corporations, what does this mean for the future sustainability of those resources? Will the Mexican state be able to address these issues and, if it does, will its archaeological resources be privatized or will they continue to be protected? What options are available for other interested stakeholders to pursue and how could they more successfully protect archaeological sites?

Chapter Seven concludes this account by reflecting on the lessons I have learned in the pursuit of this project and how I would like to proceed further. Additional research on the topic is warranted and there is no shortage of sites to be discovered, or of excavations that are ongoing, or stories about the pursuit of archaeology that need to be told. Increasing collaboration with local stakeholders and challenges put forth by the desires of private capital mean that the issues faced by archaeologists are very real and are not going away anytime soon. Because most of the research on the ethnography of archaeology is about the sites instead of the archaeologists, more study of the effects of modern political and economic climates on archaeologists is needed. There are changes that must be made to the discipline; the status quo is unsustainable.

The fate of archaeological sites and how archaeological resources are used is a topic of growing importance. Archaeological sites around the world are threatened

through development, privatization, and subversion of the existing laws that protect these resources. Archaeologists, particularly those from other countries, need to be in possession of greater cultural awareness and political understanding of the relationships in which they find themselves with other stakeholders. Because archaeological resources are increasingly used by local communities for heritage purposes and as tourism venues, continued research on this topic is critical and further research into these issues is desperately needed.

CHAPTER TWO

APPLIED ANTHROPOLOGY AND COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT

Some anthropologists consider applied anthropology to be a fifth subfield worthy of addition to the four-field model of anthropology; whether or not this way of looking at applied anthropology will eventually catch on remains to be seen. However, after a long history of anthropologists doing applied research, applied methodologies are more recently gaining greater recognition of their usefulness. My view of applied anthropology in this research project considers how archaeologists today need to take an increasingly applied approach in order to engage more effectively with local communities, and how community engagement can provide the discipline with greater relevance today.

As a discipline, anthropology has, of course, evolved over time, most notably in its methods for understanding people and their place in the world. Part of that change is the desire of some anthropologists to use anthropology as a means for solving real-world problems by engaging in a more collaborative approach with those whom we previously studied as subjects (Ervin 2004:146). By shifting our relationship to one that is focused more on partnership, applied anthropology takes our interpretations into new directions that can incorporate both academic and contract-driven methods (Chambers 2009:377).

There has long been an applied sense to anthropology through the notion that anthropology should serve a purpose by telling us something about people, their relationships to each other, their cultures, societies, pasts, and environments. Applied anthropology makes this desire more explicit by devising methods that bring the results of anthropological research to others, especially through policy recommendations, whether formally or informally (Lucas 2004:119-120), as well as in producing theoretical

knowledge (McDonald 2002:5). Applied anthropologists are more expressly committed to working with local communities and in sharing the results of our research with these communities (Lyon 1999:623; Shackel 2004:12). In so doing, others become participants in the anthropological process, rather than continuing the role of more-or-less passive subjects (Lucas 2004:127; McDavid 2004:36); therefore, applied anthropological research overtly acknowledges that the people being studied or those who are otherwise connected to the area of research will be affected by that research. This is where applied anthropological research differs from more academic research that pursues knowledge for the sake of knowledge or contract-based research that is driven by legislation, although both of these can include an applied component, and some argue that they should (McDonald 2002:5; van Willingen 1993:7).

Who is considered a stakeholder in the community, how these stakeholders should be reached, and even how to define the community itself are all issues that need to be addressed in greater detail. Pyburn (2007:177), for instance, argues that the researcher should contact and communicate with those community members who already possess an understanding of, and experience with, the Western scientific perspective as well as working with those from outside of the community. Preferably, these will be local academics and intellectuals who understand such concerns as the political process, who will be affected by the research, and what it is the researcher is attempting to accomplish (Pyburn 2007:179). Outsider anthropologists should find it easier to build rapport with these individuals, who can facilitate communication between the anthropologist and other members of the community (Pyburn 2007:178). More to the point, these relationships should ideally be established prior to entering the field (Watkins et al. 2000:75-76).

However, there appears to be a decided lack of consensus over definitions. Some researchers dislike the term "community" at all, because of a tendency to misuse the concept in ways that reinforce inequalities in the status quo and blur the distinctions that exist within the group (Waterton and Smith 2010:5). Others agree with this assessment, but suggest that, despite the difficulties associated with the term, it is still a useful shorthand for identifying those who have an interest in the site by virtue of geographical proximity, are descendants of those who were connected to the site in the past, or both (Marshall 2002:216). Therefore, a broad definition of what a community is and who its members are seems to be common.

On the other hand, McClanahan eschews the idea of having predetermined ideas of who makes up a community and what its boundaries are, suggesting instead that this needs to be determined on a "case-by-case basis" through "social histories and the use of qualitative research methods, particularly ethnography" (2007:52). This seems to match up with much of the recommendations found in the literature on applied anthropological research that place a greater emphasis on the flexibility of methods rather than taking a one-size-fits-all approach to the issue. This makes sense, given that each community is unique, but it does render the task of developing policy recommendations problematic.

For my purposes here, I will take the broad definition of the local community of those who are interested in the site, have geographic proximity to that site, and/or are descendants of those who were connected to the site in the past as the most relevant to my project. This project, the study of archaeologists from the United States who work in Mexico, is predicated on the presumption that these outsider archaeologists must travel to the sites and thereby come into contact with members of the local community. The ways

by which archaeologists become involved with the local community vary, but there are particular methods that should be undertaken in order to be more inclusive of local peoples, while still navigating the requirements placed upon them by the Mexican state.

Anthropologists often find themselves placed between governmental institutions and agencies and the lay public. Aside from the need for funding or acquiring contracts, most anthropologists are not typically in the position of having to justify others of the value of anthropological research (Lucas 2004:119), as it is taken for granted that the research is necessary; for example, in Mexico archaeological work is required by law for the protection and management of archaeological resources. For applied anthropological research, however, the research may have to convince both the government and the local communities of the necessity of the research. As Lucas (2004:121) states, "applied archaeologists are presented with the dual challenge of interpreting the past while making it relevant to their present constituents." This need to demonstrate how anthropological research personally connects to others is a strong component of applied research.

There is no single, perfect means of accomplishing these goals. Where there is agreement is in the recognition of a critical need for engaging with members of the community and entering into negotiations and consultation over interpretations of the past, in the case of applied archaeology (Lightfoot 2005:29; Lucas 2004:119; Reeves 2004:80). Rather than coming in as outside experts of other peoples' pasts, applied archaeologists work with the community by making them an integral part of the research process from the beginning stages of the project (McDavid 2004:37). Applied archaeologists also need to accept and understand that their own interpretations will likely be challenged and questioned by members of the community, who will have their

own interpretations of their individual and collective pasts (Greer et al. 2002:267).

Additionally, because communities are not monolithic entities, there will undoubtedly be

many different, and often contradictory, interpretations of the community's past offered

up by different members of that community. It is not the applied archaeologist's job to

determine which is the most likely or valid interpretation, but rather to make sure all

voices are heard by the interested stakeholders.

In taking the path of community engagement, anthropologists become

collaborators with members of the community, working toward a common goal, instead

of serving as "cultural brokers" who are experts in the pasts and cultures of other peoples

(Shackel 2004:2). Collaboration is an open dialogue between anthropologists and local

community members where all participate by offering and sharing their knowledge sets

as part of the research project (Connolly 2012; Lightfoot 2005:28). The results of this

process help to make anthropological research more relevant to those outside of the

discipline, which has been an increasing problem for some time (Pyburn 2007:179).

Assisting others in understanding not just what we do, but why we do it, and how we

come to our conclusions creates openness and transparency that was absent from much

anthropological research in the past.

Collaboration should be undertaken at an early stage in the research process,

rather than as an afterthought or hurdle to be crossed later, when the anthropologist has

already decided how to proceed (Reeves 2004:79). In order to be effective in this attempt,

the anthropologist needs to have a minimal level of background information that will help

them to build rapport and share information with the relevant stakeholders. Without

possessing this "cultural competence" early on, the endeavor stands a greater chance of

failing (Greer et al. 2002:268; Tuttle 2002:15). When achieved, the anthropologist will be able to clearly explain the research agenda and goals to members of the local community.

By including others as part of the process, the role of the anthropologist changes to that of advisor or facilitator (Moser et al. 2002:231). In addition, this change demonstrates the interest that the anthropologist has in the knowledge and perspectives that community members possess, and the value of this knowledge to the project, which changes the nature of the relationship away from the more traditional one of researcher-informant. It also means relinquishing some control over the project away from the anthropologist, which takes the relatively unusual step of moving the anthropologist outside of their comfort zone (Connolly 2012; Marshall 2002:218). This also forces the anthropologist into the position of being more self-reflexive about their own knowledge, perspectives, and preconceived ideas about how the project should proceed and be interpreted (Shackel 2004:2).

Therefore, archaeologists can expect to be challenged more frequently, especially as self-acknowledged experts of the past, and will encounter disagreements as to goals, methods, and interpretations (Greer et al. 2002:283). While archaeologists are not expected to give up and relinquish all control to local people, they will need to acknowledge the diversity of perspectives that exist, and recognize that all stakeholders want to have their voices heard (Reeves 2004:80). Again, there is an opportunity for self-reflection as challenged archaeologists should examine their own position and interpretations and consider their role in the community and in the project. They do not have to like everyone, or be liked by everyone, but they should foster an atmosphere of

mutual respect even in the face of disagreements (Moser et al. 2002:232). Certainly this is not an easy task, but it is one worth pursuing.

A community engaged anthropology is predicated upon the notion that there is a problem that needs to be resolved, typically a social problem of some kind (Besteman 2010:407). This problem is one that is going to be of concern to at least some of the members of the local community, hence the need for their involvement, as they will be affected by the resolution of the problem. On the other hand, Castañeda (2005:32) points out that the community members themselves may not even be aware of the problem, although that does not make the problem any less real. In addition, the interest in the problem may very well differ among members in the community, and how they feel the problem can best be resolved can vary, not just from each other but from the anthropologist as well. The impacts of heritage management and tourism, the subjects of Chapter Four, can be quite strong on the community, particular for those communities that are more economically marginal than others. They may look to the anthropologist as someone who can improve their situation, and may expect more from anthropologists than can be delivered.

The purpose of policy is to create a guide for behavior that is consistent. Anthropologists, even applied anthropologists, are rarely going to be those who actually create policy. As a discipline, writing policy is not our strength (Besteman 2010:414; McMurtrie 2013). Policymakers need to work quickly to assess situations, do not necessarily deal in context and broad perspectives on society, and often work in absolutes. This is practically the opposite way in which anthropology works, and our gifts are our ability to do long-term studies that take challenging, complex issues and ground

them in particular contexts (Besteman 2010:410). We are able to develop close relationships with our research communities, which can place us at odds with those in power.

For these reasons, we are information gatherers, capable of understanding and analyzing the types of situations that lead to policy formulation (van Willigen 1993:9). By collaborating with members of the local community who are likely also going to be marginal in terms of policymaking, applied anthropologists serve as a potential bridge between government and community (Besteman 2010:415). When we include the perspectives of the local community in our conclusions, and present those conclusions to policymakers, we help to enfranchise those whose voices have not always been so clearly heard. Therefore, cultural competence is required not just at the local level, but at the policymaking level as well, although this assumes that policymakers are interested in developing the best policies for the community, which is not always the case (McDonald 2003:178).

Pyburn (2007:175) argues that, for cultural resource management (CRM) programs to have a sustainable future, particularly in the developing world, anthropologists trained in community engagement will be necessary in order to collaborate with local people, demonstrate the relevance of CRM programs, and formulate policy. Because the benefits of CRM are often intangible (Dorochoff 2007:30), archaeologists are placed in the position of having to explain the importance of these intangibles to people from both local communities and policymakers, who will be more interested in the tangible aspects of CRM (Dorochoff 2007:30). Applied anthropologists can therefore assist in policymaking on either side of the matter. Feedback from

stakeholders can provide a useful input as applied anthropologists prepare their reports for government agencies and other interested groups (Ervin 2004:146; van Willigen 1993:166), although Beeman (2002:57) cautions that anthropologists engaged in proprietary research that has been commissioned by other parties risk losing control over the results of this research. Likewise, McDonald (2003:180) warns that socio-political factors also play a role through unequal power relationships among stakeholders.

Anne Pyburn (2007:176) recalls how she was sent to Yemen in 1984 by USAID to find out why a project to teach new gardening techniques by the American agricultural extension college was failing. She discovered that the Yemeni men who were learning at the school were using their credentials from the school to find white collar jobs elsewhere instead of applying their new knowledge back in their home villages (Pyburn 2007:176). From talking to local women, Pyburn learned that not only was home gardening viewed as a woman's activity, but that these women could not learn these gardening techniques themselves because their culture forbade them from traveling and talking to male foreigners (Pyburn 2007:176). The lesson to be learned, as with the example from Tuttle, is that research success depends in no small part on possessing cultural knowledge about the local community beforehand.

In the same article, Pyburn lays the groundwork for this strategy by finding an emerging context in which to test her ideas. The sites of location are Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan, and Pyburn takes the opportunity to encourage visiting archaeologists "to learn about local interests and knowledge at the same time that they explain what they know about CRM, national interests in archeology, and global politics" (2007:181). The goal is for the local villagers to participate in developing community exhibits designed to

create interest in concepts of heritage that will hopefully cross borders and defuse any potential cultural conflicts by highlighting cultural commonalities (Pyburn 2007:181). Pyburn closes the discussion by pointing out the failure thus far to gain the trust of the villagers, partly because of the difficulty in gaining linguistic competency (2007:181), but also for the reason that local people already have a history of distrust of outsiders coming in to their villages and asking questions "about their preferences and interests in national identity and heritage," and closes by drily noting that this will be a long-term project (2007:182). However, that is the point -- these are important steps to take and cannot be accomplished quickly, and the stakes are too high not to make the attempt.

The overall ability of the typical archaeologist from the United States to affect policy change in Mexico is fairly marginal, for reasons that will be discussed further in Chapter Five. However, to be effective, a community engaged anthropology does not necessarily have to take a top-down approach. Indeed, because of the nature of anthropological research, the potential for greater success comes from more grassroots, bottom-up tactics. It should not be the anthropologist's role to be always a force for social and political change, but rather to be the facilitator of change through relationships with members of the local community (Besteman 2010:411; Connolly 2012). This is not to say that anthropologists should never try to take the part of the activist, but instead that our activism should be tempered by our acknowledgement that we are neither superior to nor particularly equals with those with whom we work in partnership. We can work alongside community activists, assisting and advising them through the results of our research.

Catherine Besteman (2010) describes her experiences with policymaking to make a case for the utility of applied anthropology to grassroots, activist efforts. She recalls

how, in 1992, she, along with other academics who were experts on Somalia, were invited to a policy briefing for the State and Defense Departments (Besteman 2010:408). As Besteman remembers the situation, her "knowledge of kinship complexity, cultural history, local flexibility, and the structures of inequality, race, and class did not translate into terms our State and Defense Department audience could use," and that her "inability to translate my knowledge of local realities into a framework that policymakers could use… clarified for me the huge gap between the complex ethnographic knowledge of an academic anthropologist and the neater models required for foreign policy and military intervention" (Besteman 2010:408). After a decade studying Somalia, Besteman turned her attention to South Africa, where she worked with activists in Cape Town, which "renewed my understanding of the relevance and value of anthropology for people struggling to transform harmful policies" (2010:410). She found advocacy a better fit for anthropology because activists tend to be more "interested in challenging the status quo" than government policymakers, which gives the results of anthropological knowledge more relevance (Besteman 2010:410). This realization brought Besteman back to Somalia by combining a new role as a community advocate for immigrant Somalis in the United States with her work as an academic, noting that because her "earlier efforts to engage policymakers on United States policy toward Somalia had been so unsuccessful, it is ironic that activists and community leaders were able to make use of my academic publications" (2010:411), which further demonstrates that the real power of our work is in bottom-up, not top-down, solutions.

Our role as the self-appointed stewards of the past has been challenged by members of the public who have taken a greater interest in their own pasts, which means

the real relevance of anthropological research, at least insofar as non-anthropologists are concerned, is through public education (Besteman 2010:415; Brighton 2011:344; Lightfoot 2005:29). The results of our work must be communicated to those outside of the discipline, in particular to the local community, in a format that is understandable to non-academics and non-professionals. This can be accomplished simply by using "plain language" whenever possible and avoiding an over-reliance on jargon (Moser et al. 2002:230). Dense academic prose may work well for the journals, but it does not promote our cause in helping others to understand the implications of our research for their lives.

Moser et al. (2002:221) discuss the excavations of a Roman-period Red Sea harbor in Quseir al-Qadim, Egypt, particularly how the project was seen as an opportunity to involve the local community as much as possible, up to and including the establishment of a heritage center for presenting the research results to both local people and tourists. The authors point out that local communities in Egypt have long been excluded from involvement in the research process as well as in forming the interpretations of that research, which made this project the first of its kind in that country (Moser et al. 2002:221). They also note that local people have only recently begun to realize the importance of their sites on the international scene, especially in regards to tourism, and NGOS, such as USAID, have been working with national governments, such as Egypt's, to develop more sustainable tourism resources (Moser et al. 2002:221). It was with this long-term goal of tourism in mind that the project was initiated, and feedback from community members concerning all aspects of the project stages and goals were acquired (Moser et al. 2002:227). Local people were trained and employed as site workers, interviewers, and in heritage management, exhibit displays, and even in

computing and information technology (Moser et al. 2002:232-233). The authors suggest that this comprehensive level of involvement has increased the community's interest in their past, including pride of place, as well as providing the project leaders with additional local knowledge that was useful for the project (Moser et al. 2002:243); they caution that this was a decidedly unusual case, but nevertheless strongly recommend that archaeologists should adopt at least some of their strategies, echoing Pyburn's statement that these will be long-term projects.

We cannot forget that archaeologists are also stakeholders in the site. Archaeologists are dependent upon sites for their own livelihood, and have their own interests in how a site is interpreted, managed, and developed. These interests may differ from the rest of the local community, and the expectations placed upon the archaeologist by the state, for whom the archaeologist is a representative, at least in Mexico, may be at odds with the interests of the archaeologist and the local community. The web of relationships in which archaeologists find themselves are complex, and complicated further when individuals overlap different categories, such as members of the local community who are also government officials (Figure 2). Archaeologists may not even be fully aware of the pressures that exist from competing claims; the following chapter helps to shed some light on how to recognize them along with methods for how to enter the site location better prepared for facing and learning from them.

Stephen Brighton (2011:347) illustrates the usefulness of taking a collaborative approach to archaeology with his case study of the town of Texas, Maryland. Throughout the 19th and early decades of the 20th centuries, the major industries of Texas were its limestone and marble quarries (Brighton 2011:347-349); after the quarries closed, the
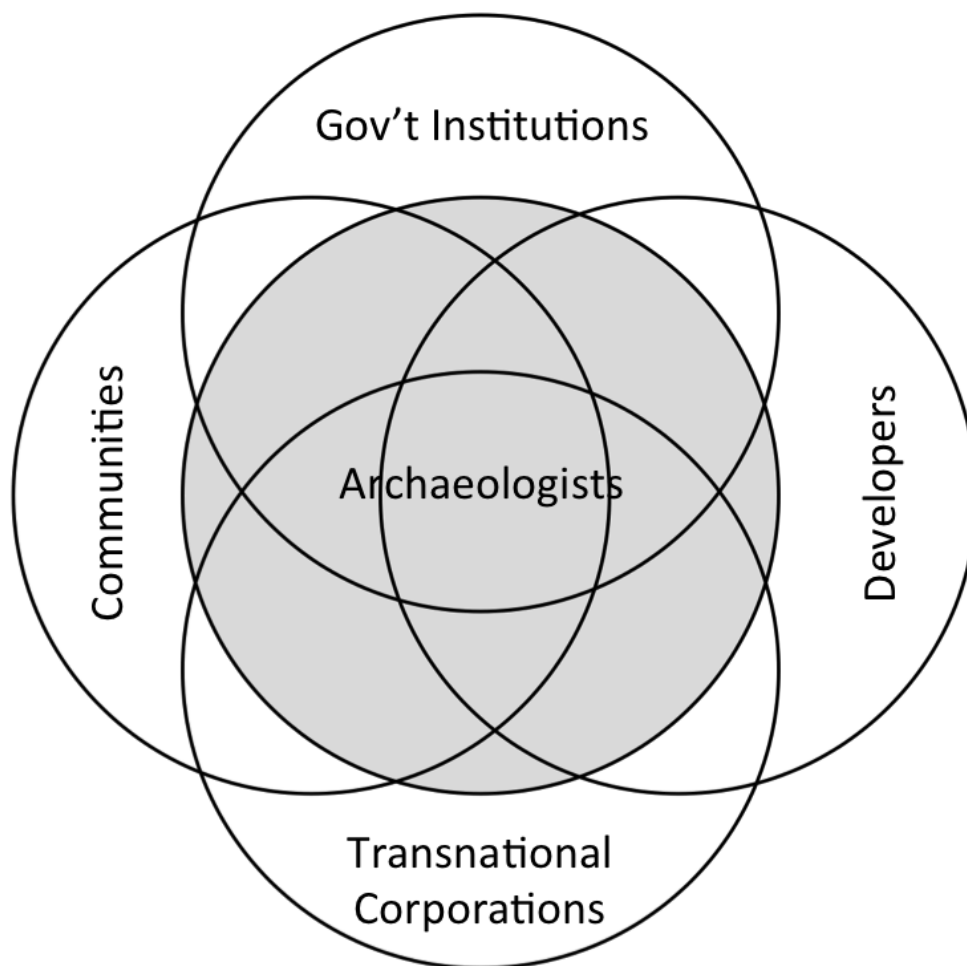
Figure 2. Illustration of the web of stakeholder relationships within the neoliberal economy.

town went into a steep decline and it no longer exists today (Brighton 2011:349). Brighton recounts that the project itself was prompted by a request from a descendant of the community, who was hoping "to organize contemporary residents of the area and descendants of the original Irish immigrant inhabitants" in order to "establish a movement to confront commercial and municipal development in and around Texas's historic landscape" (Brighton 2011:350). It was felt that archaeology would be the best means of discovering and highlighting this historic landscape, and part of the collaborative aspect is in inviting descendants to help interpret what the various recovered artifacts mean within the context of their shared heritage (Brighton 2011:350). As with so many of the previous cases discussed, this is an ongoing project with long-term goals that include the participation of the descendant community (Brighton 2011:351-352). Indeed, this seems to be a continuing theme, in that these types of community engaged projects are meant, by design, to increase the time spent with the project not just by the archaeologists, but by members of the local communities.

For archaeologists there is no single means of accomplishing these goals, but there are some common aspects that one can expect to find within a project that is focused on community engagement. First and foremost, regardless of the level of engagement and how the project is structured, is that the community involved with the project should retain some control over the project at every stage (Marshall 2002:212). One of the obvious limitations of community engaged archaeology is that such projects typically lack relevance for those outside of the communities involved and may be unknown outside of these stakeholder groups (Marshall 2002:214). Therefore, not every archaeological project is amenable to community engagement; which communities would

be interested in the project and the extent of their probable involvement need to be determined before the start of the project. In addition, the government agencies or developers that are funding the project may be uninterested in or unwilling to include local communities (McDonald 2003:180); again, this would need to be negotiated before the project starts.

The involvement of interested communities means working with those communities to establish how the archaeological site will be managed, interpreted, and represented to the public (Marshall 2002:215). This is keeping in mind the fact that, as a potential tourist venue, the site will also draw visitors from outside of the local community, and their interests in the site will be different. Additionally, within the local community itself there will be competing interests and needs, and some members of the community will have a greater ability to pursue their agenda than others will. Finally, interest in the project may wax and wane among different community groups (Marshall 2002:215). Archaeologists working on a community engaged project will need to be flexible and practice patience.

Those communities that are interested in the project will be dependent upon the site. For example, there will be those who live in physical proximity to the site but are not or do not consider themselves descendants of the original inhabitants of the site, and others who are or may consider themselves to be descendant groups but may no longer live near the site (Marshall 2002:216); another likelihood is that interested community members will be composed of descendant and non-descendant groups, both of whom live in proximity to the site, and both of whom have their own wants and needs regarding how the site is developed. Members of these groups may already have a site in mind and

agenda for its management and development and will seek out archaeologists to assist them in this endeavor (Marshall 2002:216). In each of these instances there are diverse factions with whom archaeologists will need to consult and collaborate.

Rather than assuming that all interested groups will always compete against each other and oppose the others' agendas or involvement, a project that is community engaged will seek to find areas of common ground and goals (Marshall 2002:216). People are complex and have many areas of interest and involvement and may also be open to new ideas; archaeologists should not assume that local communities are single-minded in their purpose or stereotype the motivations and needs of these groups (Marshall 2002:217). This is where having greater cultural knowledge about the local community will prove invaluable for the community engaged archaeologist. Pyburn's (2007:179) advice to outsider archaeologists to seek out and engage with local academics and public intellectuals who can assist archaeologists not only with understanding local cultural ways but also with navigating local politics.

The purpose of community engagement is to improve the practice of archaeology by including voices, ideas, and interpretations beyond those of the archaeological community (Marshall 2002:218). In order for archaeology to continue to have a viable future, archaeologists need to engage with other interested communities who will serve as allies in helping to manage and promote archaeological resources, particularly during an economic climate where governments are increasingly turning to privatization as a means to divest themselves of the expense of maintaining these resources. Again, not every project is going to lend itself to community involvement, but when archaeologists can include local and descendant voices this allows for a potentially richer archaeology that

has more opportunities for future sustainability (Marshall 2002:218). Archaeologists are

the self-appointed stewards of the past, but the past can be owned by more than one

group, and it benefits the pursuit of archaeology to work with these groups and include

them in the process.

Moser et al. describe seven components they feel are important for a community

engaged project, although they point out that these are guidelines, not rules:

1. Communication and collaboration
2. Employment and training
3. Public presentation
4. Interviews and oral history
5. Educational resources
6. Photographic and video archive
7. Community-controlled merchandising [2002:229]

A project that is truly collaborative will integrate the local community into different

stages of the project and acknowledges that their integration will continue after the

anthropologist has finished the project. Part of giving up some of the power over the

research means accepting some loss of control over how that research will continue to be

interpreted and used by the community after the anthropologist has left the community

(Marshall 2002:218). This is why a healthy and open collaborative process from the

beginning will assist the anthropologist in helping to establish a clear direction for the

project and how the community can contribute to the research and find relevant ways of

using that research and incorporating it into their lives. Unfortunately, it may also mean

that anthropologists may find it difficult to overcome the biases and preconceptions of

local stakeholders (McDonald 2003:178).

Archaeologists often employ local individuals for their projects. This brings

money into the local economy, but Moser et al. discuss other benefits that are gained

from employing local people, not just for excavations but for all aspects of the project. They emphasize the need for training along with employment, so that local people will possess the necessary skills for managing the site and presenting it to the public after the archaeologists have left (Moser et al. 2002:232). This is particularly important for those places where there are few native archaeologists (Belford 2007:104). In addition, training and employment provide local communities with greater control over their archaeological resources (Moser et al. 2002:232). However, they also note that this kind of training is expensive and that it can be difficult to obtain the funding needed to help local people gain these skills (Moser et al. 2002:232); this is an issue that archaeologists will need to address prior to starting the project. The costs of training can be written into the project's budget, although funding agencies will likely need to be convinced of the need for this expense (Moser et al. 2002:233). This is another area where disinterested agencies may care very little over how the project actually helps out the local community.

The archaeological community has changed greatly over the past few decades in terms of the sophistication of our methods and expansion of our theoretical models. However, very little of this work is relevant outside of archaeology, and our focus on educating the public should be that of demonstrating the ways in which archaeology connects the past to the present, including the different perspectives that exist within those connections. There are a number of means at our disposal, and creative types can devise more, but at minimum, public talks, excavations, and exhibits are popular efforts made toward reaching the local community (Brighton 2011:345). These serve the dual purpose of allowing archaeologists to actively, directly, and visibly reach out to the

public as well as providing a way to publicize and otherwise make available to that public the results of our research.

Quetzil Castañeda discusses the development of an exhibition that was used as an "ethnographic installation" to present the results of ethnographic fieldwork to the community, as well as to elicit their response and contributions to the installation (2009:262). Castañeda's research was located in the Maya community of Pisté, which is located near the site of Chichén Itzá, Yucatán, Mexico. Castañeda utilized archival material, including texts and photographs, from the Carnegie Institution of Washington's research conducted at Chichén Itzá and Pisté during the 1920s and 1930s, along with other relevant archival resources, some of which had never before been published (Castañeda 2009:263-264). In Castañeda's words, his goal was "to bring this archive of materials that embody anthropological knowledge into the hands of the community that was a subset of these ethnographic and archaeological projects," in order to create a connection between past and present for the community (Castañeda 2009:264). A large interactive display, comprised of five areas, or "zones" allowed visitors to walk through the installation as they were invited to reconceptualize notions of history within the context of the exhibit (Castañeda 2009:266). The intent was to trigger "memories, experiences, thoughts, questions, dialogue" rather than impose a predetermined narrative upon the visitors (Castañeda 2009:270), thereby returning knowledge to members of the community, along with publicly engaging them with the research (Castañeda 2009:276).

These venues can also be used by the public to provide their own input and interpretations, which can help to ground the research in ways that are of the most interest to the community (van Willigen 1933:96). The visual power of excavations and artifacts

are more effective at reaching the public than are policy documents, can demonstrate the value of archaeology to different audiences, and the depth of that message can be tailored to the audience as well (Brighton 2011:345). This is where community engaged anthropology can play to our strengths and express our own passion and interest for our work to others, rather than to try and pretend to be something many of us are not, such as bureaucrats. This is anthropology "put to use" for a cause that benefits the discipline and society as a whole (van Willigen 1993:7).

Community engaged projects seem to lend themselves to non-traditional methods and the use of older techniques in new or different ways. Gabriel Moshenska (2007:91) discusses how oral history can and is being used to develop richer perspectives in archaeological research. The combination of oral narratives with archaeological excavations can serve to stress the importance of the site to the community, particularly in terms of what the site means to community identity (Belford 2007:104; Moshenska 2007:91). Additionally, the use of these narratives "encourage dialogue between archaeologists and oral historians" (Moshenska 2007:92), underscoring the multidisciplinary possibilities in undertaking community engaged projects. The inclusion of oral narratives is not entirely a new approach in archaeology, particularly in community engagement; projects in the United States and Australia have used oral histories from indigenous populations to help protect sites and foster more positive relationships with the archaeological community (Moshenska 2007:92), although this approach has led to more negative outcomes in some cases (as in, for example, the conflict over the remains of Kennewick Man [see Thomas 2000]).

However, Moshenska (2007:92) does attempt to bypass these types of cases by distinguishing between using the oral traditions of a group collectively and the oral histories of individuals within that group. The latter instance is the subject of his article and he describes its use specifically within the context of archaeological projects connected with major events of the 20th century, in this case World War II (Moshenska 2007). During excavations of a London neighborhood that had undergone bombardment during the Blitz, Moshenska began to encounter people who had lived in or near the neighborhood during that time, so he undertook interviews with them to collect their stories (2007:92-93). Many of these interviews took place during tours of the site, where their memories would recall what it had been like to live under those circumstances (Moshenska 2007:94-95). Moshenska asserts that this method not only provides an additional line of evidence that helps to create a more complete picture of the past (2007:92), but can also "have a socially powerful outcome in community involvement" (2007:97), which illustrates yet another way to include members of the local community and collaborate with them on archaeological projects.

For the Levi Jordan Public Archaeology Project in Brazoria, Texas, Carol McDavid has sought to make the research results from the project relevant to both the African-American and European-American descendant communities, which could have been a difficult task, given that the site had been a plantation during the 19th century (2004:39). Both groups were concerned with the potential repercussions that public knowledge of the plantation, including the slaves and slave owners, would have on them, such as embarrassment, guilt, or discrimination (McDavid 2004:39). McDavid's plan was to develop a website that would interpret the project for the public through collaboration

with people from the local community (2004:40). Members of descendant groups were recruited to advise and consult on the project and its mission; in addition, McDavid collaborated with others in particularly strategic ways, such as consulting descendants about the use of genealogical information regarding their ancestors, which could have been used without explicit permission due to having been gained through public records, but soliciting permission directly was seen as respecting privacy and reinforced the collaborative effort of the project (McDavid 2004:44). Likewise, the archaeologists give public lectures and site tours, which also serve as a means of receiving feedback for the project's interpretations (McDavid 2004:48). McDavid (2004:50) ends her discussion by pointing out that collaboration means not just between researchers and communities, but, for public projects such as this, within the discipline of anthropology, where archaeologists and ethnographers bring their own skills, knowledge, and interpretation together for the project.

There are many possible opportunities for bringing interested groups into this process. For example, Orange (2013:42) describes how social media can be used to disseminate information rapidly to diverse groups through tactics that include Facebook and Twitter. Status updates on Facebook and weekly tweets serve to keep interested parties up to date, as well as generating occasions for providing other interesting information related to projects and operations (Orange 2013:42). While tweets or uploads to Facebook may not have the cachet of public talks, they are both time- and cost-effective and have the power to reach a much larger audience (Orange 2013:44). While there are still limitations to this approach, for instance, local groups need to be identified and connected through social media in order to take advantage of the technology in the

first place, the future potential for taking advantage of social media is another tool available to be utilized by community engaged archaeologists.

The topic of merchandising at first seems like a strange inclusion, but it is appropriate for those projects that are designed for tourism. Gift shops and nearby vendors who sell various types of souvenirs can be found at virtually all archaeological sites that are open to the public, and the sale of these items provides financial support to the vendor and the site itself (Gazin-Schwartz 2004:93). Archaeologists also tend to complain about the overall cheapness and tackiness of souvenirs, such as shot glasses, pencils, t-shirts, and fridge magnets, as having little to do with the site itself, much less as an opportunity to learn more about the site itself (Gazin-Schwartz 2004:94-95). Gazin-Schwartz (2004:101) argues that, for most tourists, the purchase of souvenirs is a part of the process of creating their own experiences of the site, and they typically purchase those objects that are the most meaningful for that experience, within their available budget. For all of these reasons, Moser et al. (2002:241) view merchandising and souvenirs as an important aspect of a community engaged project.

Within the context of Egypt, they note how souvenirs have almost created a parody of what the nation and its history is like, for example, stereotypical objects associated with the pharaohs, even at locations that are nowhere near pharaonic monuments (Moser et al. 2002:241). With that example in mind, they worked with the community to select objects for sale at the site that were more closely associated with the site and its history, along with locally produced items, such as replicas of local historic ceramic wares (Moser et al. 2002:241-242). With an eye toward education, children's books that are based on the site are also available (Moser et al. 2002:242). There are also

the ubiquitous t-shirts available, with a project logo that was designed as part of the collaborative effort (Moser et al. 2002:242). The point here is that community engagement means all aspects of the project and seeks ways to help the community sustain its archaeological resources.

Finally, archaeologists are themselves a community, in that they are interested in the site, and, for the purposes of their work, have geographical proximity to the site. The archaeological community is certainly fluid and not homogeneous in its makeup, goals, or biases (Ronayne 2008:120-121). Archaeologists are often tourists themselves, interested in visiting other archaeological sites, learning more about the past, and even purchasing souvenirs. Archaeologists have their own personal and professional agendas for how to interpret the past, and, while grounded in the discipline, some archaeologists are even comfortable with the notion of taking on an activist role. Their stories, ideas, and perspectives are every bit as much a part of the archaeological site as are those of other interested groups, even if the archaeological viewpoint today does not carry as much weight of privilege as in the past. Even there, that history is part of the collective legacy of archaeology and one that both weighs us down and guides us to be more involved, ethical contributors of the study of the past. Although much archaeological work is conducted on behalf of the government, it seems apparent that our work is most useful to the local communities, their advocates, and activists. The realization of this dichotomy is undoubtedly a potential source of stress for archaeologists, since our work is in the best interests of those for whom we are not directly employed and many times they are not the beneficiaries of our research.

CHAPTER THREE

ETHNOGRAPHIES OF ARCHAEOLOGY

The relationship between ethnography and archaeology goes back at least as far as the development of ethnoarchaeology, learning about past behaviors by studying modern people (i.e., the so-called "ethnographic present"). However, there are three additional ways in which I envision how ethnography can be utilized by archaeologists. First, ethnography can be employed by archaeologists as a means of learning more about the stakeholders and local communities with whom the archaeologists will be collaborating. Secondly, ethnographic methods can be used to study how archaeologists actually do archaeology. Finally, archaeologists can use autoethnography to engage more reflexively with their own experiences as archaeologists. While ethnoarchaeology does fall outside of the scope of this research project, the remaining three methods for ethnography listed above deserve to be discussed in greater detail.

By ethnography, I mean in its broadest sense, "an approach that contains a variety of information-gathering techniques that involve various forms of observation" (Ervin 2004:142), rather than placing an emphasis upon a single method, such as interviews. These can include:

> formal and informal interviews, participant observation, archival research, or ethnographic site tours amongst local and trans-local communities, amongst visitors to an archaeological site, and amongst the archaeological team (including workmen and workwomen); ethnographic and other participatory and dialogic events in schools, with the active involvement of schoolchildren, and performative and art installations in various media [Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos 2009:67].

Therefore, taking a broad approach allows the ethnographer to utilize different methods for different situations, since fieldwork and access to informants can be rather complex

and at times difficult to achieve (Ervin 2004), since ethnographers are typically outsiders who are attempting to insert themselves into cultural contexts that are not their own. Often these informants are elites, or "prominent local figures," typically referred to as "gatekeepers" (Ervin 2004:151, Hammersley and Aktinson 1995), who, because of their position in the community, are intimately familiar with how those communities function and serve as a figurative point of access to that community.

Because the ethnographer, at least initially, lacks prestige or status within the community (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995), elite informants decide whether or not to cooperate with and allow access to the researcher (Ervin 2004). Elites also serve the role as a source of information, and much preliminary information comes from these elite informants (Berry 2002), although, as with any research subject, the information they provide is only as reliable as their knowledge allows, along with their own motivations in providing that information (Berry 2002; Ervin 2004), although it can also be useful to contrast the "party line" against what is really occurring on the ground. Since our understanding of other cultural contexts is our interpretation of that context (Geertz 1973), we should not simply rely upon what elite informants have to tell us; as archaeologists we will need to learn from community members who come from a range of backgrounds.

Ethnographic practices have also expanded beyond an emphasis on participant observation and interviewing. First, there is a greater recognition in recent years that research about other people's means entering into a more complex relationship than in the past, at least in part because local people often have access to the results of anthropological research and can read for themselves how they and their culture are

portrayed in the academic literature (Peirano 1998). Because the output of our work is an interpretation of that culture, rather than an objective account of it (Badley 2004:2), we take on some responsibility for how we come to make those interpretations. Turning the anthropological lens back upon ourselves, as practitioners of the discipline highlights our own personal and professional biases and helps us to better understand our own relationships to our cultures and communities (Peirano 1998:122-123). Archaeological practices can and should withstand the ethnographic gaze as well.

As already stated, ethnography is no stranger to archaeology, although its use in the past has largely been confined to the application of ethnoarchaeology. The uses and limitations of ethnoarchaeology have been discussed in greater detail elsewhere (Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos 2009), so I will confine my remarks to note that cultural anthropology has more to offer archaeology beyond creating analogues for past behaviors. Certainly, ethnographic methods allow the archaeologist, as an outsider-researcher, to be able to better learn about and understand these contexts in which archaeologists often find themselves (Hollowell and Nicholas 2008:66). What ethnography allows is for the archaeologist to enter into a dialogue, or conversation, with the members of local communities, who themselves enter into the conversation with their own individual sets of biases, experiences, wants, and needs (Hamilakis and Anagnostopouos 2009:67).

It is important to point out at this stage that the philosophy behind, and practice of, archaeology has changed greatly over the last century and more. Those archaeologists who would argue that they are independent, objective interpreters of the past are certainly a small minority of the archaeological community today, largely due to the influence of

postmodernist perspectives, which have shown that archaeology, and archaeological knowledge, are socially constructed (Edgeworth 2006; Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos 2009). This does not serve to delegitimize archaeological interpretations, but rather highlights that archaeologists are constructing a version of the past as opposed to serving as a bridge between the past and the present by bringing past truths into present circumstances (Breglia 2006a; Edgeworth 2006; Pyburn 2003).

This is not to say that all possible archaeological interpretations are valid or that the past can never truly be known (Pyburn 2003:169). Over the years, archaeologists have developed and refined numerous methods designed to support their interpretations of the past empirically; this dependence upon empiricism has been among the strengths of how archaeologists approach the study of the past (Little 2002). However, empirical data still need to be interpreted, and it is here that the socially constructed nature of archaeology becomes most apparent. In the same way that ethnographers interpret contemporary cultures, archaeologists interpret the past by constructing past cultures. All too often these constructions homogenize the past, by blurring or smoothing out behavioral variations, and fail to take into account the real people who make up descendant communities (Zimmerman 2008:184).

At issue is the role archaeologists play as the producers of knowledge about the past. As a practice, archaeology can be considered a science or, at the very least, that it can be done in a scientific manner (Edgeworth 2010:59), and I am not going to belabor the point that archaeologists exist within particular social contexts. Nevertheless, archaeologists enjoy a certain amount of authority as knowledge experts about the past (Castañeda 2008:53), which means archaeological knowledge can be privileged over

other kinds of knowledge about the past (Edgeworth 2010; McDavid 2004). This means there needs to be a recognition that, for a truly collaborative effort between archaeologists and local communities, stakeholder voices need to be included, making the process "about them, not us", or about contemporary political dynamics (Zimmerman 2008:201). Archaeologists can take what they know and use that knowledge and expertise to address public needs (Castañeda 2008:54; Leone 2008:133).

As a form of response, a growing number of indigenous and minority voices, both within and outside of the discipline, have helped to influence the philosophical evolution of archaeology. These voices have expanded the archaeological viewpoint in terms of how the past can be interpreted by forcing archaeologists to acknowledge the connection between the constructed past and the very real present (Zimmerman 2008:185). As one example, in the United States, the passage of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) in 1990 demanded that archaeologists take a greater consideration of indigenous communities in their practices. Nearly a generation later, NAGPRA is simply a part of how archaeologists function in the United States, and while it changed archaeology it was certainly not a precursor of archaeology's destruction, as some forewarned (Meighan 1992).

The point here is that the practitioners of any profession can be resistant to change and must sometimes be forced to alter their attitudes. Expectations that change can and should more readily come from within the profession will often be unmet expectations from year to year. As I continue forward in my discussion of the uses of ethnography to archaeology, I recognize that there are already archaeologists who currently apply ethnographic methods, in various degrees; however, these archaeologists are in the

minority and it would be to the benefit of the profession to take a greater consideration of what ethnography offers archaeology. I do not expect archaeologists to become ethnographers (Pyburn 2007), although there is something to be said for that approach, but rather for archaeologists to take greater advantage of what can be learned through the ethnography of archaeology.

Among the changes to archaeology in past years is the transition from a "pure" academic archaeology to an archaeology that is that is more practical and goal-oriented (Dorochoff 2007; Marshall 2002; van Willigen 1993). In the United States, this type of archaeology is usually referred to as cultural resource management (CRM), and its practitioners may be professional or academic archaeologists, both of whom generally work on a contractual basis. Archaeologists from the United States (hereafter referred to as American archaeologists, out of convenience), usually academic archaeologists, often practice archaeology in other countries as guests or representatives of that country's government, as in Mexico, where all archaeologists, foreign or native-born, work on behalf of INAH (Villareal Escarrega 2006). These archaeologists, like all archaeologists, are working at archaeological sites located near modern-day communities.

Working with and within a community brings its own set of challenges. To the outsider, the community can appear, at least on the surface, as a monolithic, monocultural entity, which is probably why there are many warnings against taking this perspective in the literature (Castañeda and Matthews 2008; Hollowell and Nicholas 2008; Marshall 2002; Pyburn 2007; Rodriguez 2006). In reality, communities are diverse arrangements of "real or potential interactions" (van Willigen 1993:93) that may be defined by their physical proximity to an archaeological site and/or by their relationship to the past people

who lived at the site (Marshall 2002:216). Therefore, local communities are composed of a number of different publics with their own interests and concerns. Some of these groups will be more interested in local archaeology than others (Hollowell and Nicholas 2008:78; Rodriguez 2006), and that interest will stem from differing motives, such as personal connection to the site, interest in cultural history and heritage, financial gain from tourist development, and so on. When archaeologists interact with members of the local community, they need to recognize which stakeholder group(s) these members belong to. A stakeholder is anyone with an interest in the site, although the nature of that interest will likely vary among the different stakeholders (Dorochoff 2007:30; Jerabek and McMain 2002).

Archaeologists have always had some connection to the local communities. They live in or nearby the community while working at the site, the community can serve as a source of supplies, and archaeologists have frequently recruited fieldworkers from local communities. Often in the past, however, beyond these there was little involvement between archaeologists and local people on a day-to-day basis. This relationship has been changing, most notably in terms of protecting archaeological resources from looters, as archaeologists have recognized that local interest has been the best means of protecting sites, and interest stems from education about the relevance of these resources (Pyburn 2008; Sun 2006; Valdés 2006).

The growth of the tourism industry has also served to make archaeological resources more relevant to local communities, as these communities, along with government agencies and private developers, seek financial gain from these resources (Breglia 2006b; Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos 2009; Herreman 2006). The extent of

local involvement with tourism development will vary from case to case, and the success of the tourist venture will depend in part on this involvement, as well as investment in infrastructure, such as roads, hotels, restaurants, and other facilities that are tangential to the archaeological work at the site (Breglia 2006a). Unfortunately, tourism is not necessarily a solution for the economic woes of a community (Pyburn 2003:179), and there are other considerations, such as the relationship between heritage resources and local identity (Little 2002), which will be discussed further in the next chapter.

As an outsider, it can be difficult to know who all of the interested stakeholders are; one possibility is to engage with local people who possess that knowledge and can assist outsider archaeologists with navigating among these different groups (Pyburn 2007; Pyburn 2008). Although forming these relationships is not a guarantee of success for the project (Matthews 2008:167), it can assist with the goal of satisfying the greatest number of stakeholders (Dorochoff 2007). In addition there is critical information that can be gained from these groups (Jerabek and McMain 2002:391). Often outsider archaeologists lack extensive cultural knowledge about local people beforehand, and tend to be more interested in the cultural past than the present (Zimmerman 2008). This is a mistake, because archaeologists need a deeper cultural understanding of the people in these communities in order to more effectively work with and alongside the locals and to better communicate the goals of the project (Tuttle 2002:15), what the archaeologists have learned, and how that knowledge is relevant to the local community (Hollowell and Nicholas 2008:72; Lucas 2004:119). This is where ethnography can be used to inform archaeology before the excavations even begin (Zimmerman 2008:201).

Ethnography can also serve the purpose of studying archaeologists and how they practice archaeology. This is especially true for foreign archaeologists, such as American archaeologists in Mexico, who serve as representatives of the government but must also work with the local communities. Archaeologists are too rarely considered to be stakeholders, yet they have a vested interest in the site as well. As professionals, archaeologists have an understanding of how to best excavate and preserve the site, but they are also constrained by what the government requires, in terms of that country's laws and regulations, by how the site is expected to be developed and interpreted, when the site is considered a tourism or heritage resource, and by the local community's interest in the site (Rojas Delgadillo 2006; van Willigen 1993:13). What the archaeologists want to do, what they are supposed to do, and what they end up doing can oftentimes be very different.

The notion that the anthropological lens can and should be turned upon anthropologists themselves is not a particularly new one, but it has been gaining greater popularity in recent years (Edgeworth 2010; Hollowell and Nicholas 2008; Minetti and Pyburn 2005). There is a long history within the discipline of anthropologists "Othering" different groups and cultures (Thomas 1991), with the anthropologists serving as the self-described experts of culture and, in the case of archaeologists, the past (Edgeworth 2006:14-15). The ethnographic study of archaeologists allows us to gain greater insight to how they navigate the social position they find themselves in as they interact with various stakeholders.

As Clifford Geertz (1973:5) pointed out, "if you want to understand what a science is, you should look in the first instance not at its theories or its findings, and

certainly not what its apologists say about it; you should look at what the practitioners of it do." John Carman (2006:95, emphasis in original) takes this a step further: "We archaeologists know what we do. Archaeologists have a good idea why we do what we do. My challenge is that we do not know what we do *does*." Minetti and Pyburn (2005:93) echo this sentiment by asking "what is it we are looking at the past for?" What does archaeology actually do; that is, what does it accomplish? There are no "typical archaeologists" (Rodriguez 2006:168), so why do archaeologists do what they do -- how do they make their decisions? Why those decisions and not others, when there are a number of options and strategies available (Wilmore 2006)? To me, this is at the core of what an ethnography of archaeology is.

Not that there is necessarily any consensus among the practitioners of ethnographic archaeology as to how to define it. Matt Edgeworth (2010:54) argues that the purpose of ethnographic archaeology is to "understand the cultural practices of archaeology itself." Quetzil Castañeda expands upon this definition, by noting that the practice is rooted in the present and tells us something about the present (2008:29), rather than the past, and highlights the reflexive nature of ethnographic archaeology, which in turn suggests something done by archaeologists about archaeologists (2008:33). This is at odds with Lisa Breglia (2006a:179), who suggests that the ethnographic work should be performed by ethnographers who are members of the archaeological team, and Anne Pyburn, who directly states that archaeologists should not be expected to become ethnographers (Pyburn 2007:177). Others appear to be more agnostic on the matter, emphasizing instead the reflexivity that ethnography offers and that this reflexivity is

necessary in order to create an archaeology that is collaborative and relevant (Chambers 2009:377; Leone 2008).

Larry Zimmerman continues the theme of relevance and collaboration, arguing that archaeologists should be doing ethnographies as part of a larger effort in "community building" (Zimmerman 2008:201). Others take a big picture approach by asserting that the ethnography of archaeology serves a larger purpose that situates the researcher, whether ethnographer or archaeologist, in their socio-political context, and, therefore, all archaeological projects should contain an ethnographic component (Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos 2009:74). In this instance, Breglia agrees, by emphasizing a need for "socially responsible research agenda" (Breglia 2006a:173) that she views as the outcome of combined ethnographic and archaeological research.

Because Breglia views a distinction between the ethnographer and the archaeologist, her approach to the ethnography of archaeology treats archaeologists as any other group to be studied and her role is that of the participant observer, who, in this case, participates by helping with archaeological fieldwork (2006b). However, as part of that larger picture, she also forms relationships with members of the local community (2006a:180), thereby creating a multi-sited ethnography (Marcus 1995) that takes on the "social and cultural politics of the field" (Breglia 2006a:180) as well as the assumptions made by the archaeologists as they attempt to explain the benefits of their work to the local community (Breglia 2006a:181).

Concern about collaboration and relevance is a common theme in discussions about the ethnography of archaeology. Castañeda views this as an opportunity to learn how modern communities construct and place value upon the idea of the past (2009:263).

In addition, ethnographic archaeology provides a means to engage with the public (Castañeda and Matthews 2008:3; Hollowell and Nicholas 2008:66), even when that means sharing control of the research and allowing for the inclusion of different voices when it comes to interpreting the past (McDavid 2004:37). The realization that the archaeological site itself is a social construction, and therefore fair game as an object of ethnographic study (Edgeworth 2010:64; Hamilakis and Anagnostopolous 2009:67) is another idea that has begun to take hold.

That said, I believe there is a concern within the archaeological community that a critical look at archaeological practices, as well as the attitudes and experiences of the archaeologists themselves, will be designed to cast archaeology in a negative light (Edgeworth 2010:61). However, critical does not necessarily mean to find fault with, but rather can be used as a critique, an understanding, of how archaeologists engage in decision making. Certainly my purpose in this study has never been to blame archaeologists for any perceived or real shortcomings, but instead to understand better how archaeology functions in a postmodern, 21st century, globalized context. Nevertheless, the difficulties involved in the ethnographic study of archaeology are not easily surmounted.

Quetzil Castañeda uses his ethnographic study of tourism at the archaeological site of Chichén Itzá (1996:18-19) to explore his own sense of self and community. Castañeda discovered that despite having a family linkage to both Mexican and Guatemalan culture, his personal background as an American citizen, raised in the Midwestern United States, served to place a spotlight on his position from and between different worlds (1996:23). While at the Maya site of Palenque, he realized that he had

much in common with the tourists, also from the United States, in that they were also seeking a connection with the past in order to learn something basic about themselves (Castañeda 1996:23). Castañeda switched from archaeology to ethnography in order to study archaeology itself as a subset of anthropology (1996:24). Because Castañeda saw himself as a mirror of the tourist community, he felt he could use that position to better understand Maya culture through its interactions with tourism and anthropology, rather than as a displaced descendant of Mayan heritage (1996:24).

Lisa Breglia similarly takes on issues of heritage and archaeology, but instead of addressing their connections to tourism, at least directly, she focuses on their relationship to the state and other institutions (2006b:6). In this case, which also takes places at the ruins of Chichén Itzá, she uses ethnography to explore the relationship between archaeology, the state, and private interests (Breglia 2006b:7). While on the surface, at least, Breglia's research appeared to be shockingly (and dismayingly) similar to my own research interests, her study differs somewhat in that she is more concerned with the specific impacts of public-private partnerships on cultural patrimony and the local communities (2006b:8), whereas my objectives are more focused on how the archaeologists position themselves amongst these groups. It quickly becomes apparent that there are many possible directions to take in learning more about these issues and the various stakeholders who are involved, and that these are important, ongoing concerns for the anthropological community to address.

Cynthia Reeves Tuttle (2002:14) tells a cautionary tale about investigating infant feeding practices in the European and Maori communities for a project sponsored by the New Zealand Lottery Health Board. Tuttle, who was from the United States, recounts

how, while the European component of the project was successful, the Maori part quickly failed. She takes on much of that failure herself with the realization that she did not really know anything about Maori culture or how to collaborate with members of the Maori community (Tuttle 2002:15). She feels that if she had consulted with the tribal community about the project and involved them from the beginning, the research would have had a greater chance of success (Tuttle 2002:15). Tuttle argues that a lack of clear guidelines and protocols for doing research among the Maori community also contributed to dooming the project (2002:16); for example, she found that, despite having questionnaires that had been accurately translated into the Maori language, the questions themselves were often viewed as intrusive, and interviewers often felt reluctant to ask participants all of the questions (Tuttle 2002:15). She concludes with the admonition to work with the local community from the outset and to be prepared to give up some control over the direction of the research depending upon the needs of the community (Tuttle 2002:17-18).

The third use of ethnography, autoethnography, could also be used to study the practice of archaeology. Autoethnography is, at the moment, somewhat more popular in disciplines other than anthropology, and, as far as I am aware, I am the first to coin the phrase "autoethnographic archaeology." What I propose is that archaeologists, while not necessarily needing to take on the dual roles of ethnographer and archaeologist for their projects, nevertheless should be taking a more reflexive look at their own role as a stakeholder in their work as archaeologists, including the power flows within the communities where they are working. The acknowledgement of their own social context, including expectations and biases, and how they negotiate the different groups interested

in and affected by their work, would help to illuminate how archaeological work is conducted today.

Autoethnography, as the name suggests, focuses on the experiences of the researcher and acknowledges that being a researcher and doing research are frequently conflated (Mitra 2010:7). It requires "being aware of one's backgrounds, contexts, and predilections, and realizing how it affects the way we do research" (Mitra 2010:14) and that when we do research it becomes an extension of our lives (Ngunjiri et al. 2010:2). To do the autoethnography of archaeology, then, means that the archaeologist is both the subject and the object of the research (Ngunjiri, et al. 2010:2), which allows the archaeologist the opportunity to explore in greater detail the issues of why they do what they do and what does it mean. Autoethnography requires the lived experiences of the researcher in order to gain understanding by placing the researcher directly into the larger social context of what is being studied (Hernández et al. 2010:3; Pearce 2010:4); in my case, the archaeologist within the social networks of the archaeological community and the local community.

In order to demonstrate the role of autoethnography within the larger context of ethnographic research, Caroline Pearce (2010:2) describes her research of the experiences of young women who had lost their mothers. Although Pearce (2010:2) points out that she had already written about her personal experiences regarding the death of her mother, she found that the research forced her to confront her own emotions about her mother's death again. She explains how her grief and vulnerability on the subject had shaken her self-confidence as an objective researcher, until she realized that her emotions "were an integral part of the research process" (Pearce 2010:2). This self-awareness of her own

emotional state and connection to the research problem helped her to understand and empathize with the participants of the study, whereas trying to remain objective had actually hindered the project because of her fixation with her own grief (Pearce 2010:12). The acknowledgement of her own feelings was what provided her with the ability to "hear and listen to their voices" (Pearce 2010:12).

Just as there is no single way to do the ethnography of archaeology, there are a number of approaches to autoethnography. The narrative of personal experiences may be intertwined within the larger text or they may be separated (Noy 2003:3). The description of experiences may be explicitly personal or may show the relationship of the researcher to others (Maydell 2010:2; Ngunjiri et al. 2010:5). The emphasis may be about the privileged position of the researcher (Ngunjiri et al. 2010:6), the desire to learn more about oneself (Maydell 2010:2), or your emotions (Pearce 2010:10), and/or personal or professional crises (Hernández et al. 2010:5). What is agreed is that autoethnography should be critical (Mitra 2010:13) and contextual (Ngunjiri et al. 2010:3). It can also be personally challenging, as you are forced to deal with what are often painful experiences (Chatham-Carpenter 2010:9) as you go through the process of reconstructing those experiences (Hernández et al. 2010:12).

Don Patterson (2007) uses a letter to his daughter, Jessica, as a framing device for his autobiographical account as an American expatriate in Mexico who ends up working on INAH archaeological projects for the better part of thirty years. The letter takes the form of career advice for his daughter that follows in parallel with his own professional career path (Patterson 2007:1). Additionally, the letter presents the *Popol Vuh*, the Quiche Maya creation story, as a metaphor for Patterson's life in Mexico (2007:3).

Patterson takes the titles of the book's chapters from the names of the six tests faced by the Hero Twins, Hunahpu and Xbalanque, as they move through Xibalba, the Maya underworld (2007:3). Patterson takes their story and makes it his own by adding two additional chapters, and therefore two additional tests in his own life (2007:4). He ends his account by pointing out that the only way the Hero Twins were able to overcome the Lords of Xibalba was through their own transformation (Patterson 2007:297); the obvious analogy being that Patterson's own professional transformation freed him from the Lords of INAH, which colors many of his anecdotes throughout the book, yet indicates the bureaucratic power that INAH holds over all of Mexican archaeology, and Patterson warns that INAH must also transform itself in order for the organization to survive (2007:296).

The point, therefore, is not to engage in self-indulgent narcissism (Davies 2008:217), but rather to reflect upon our relationships with others (Davies 2008:218) and the ways in which we, as researchers, are accountable to those with whom we interact (Mitra 2010:16). To me, it makes perfect sense for archaeologists, who are placed within and between competing interests in the site and how that site will be interpreted, to acknowledge their own interests, both personal and professional, as stakeholders instead of as dispassionate observers. It is not self-indulgent for archaeologists to admit that they care about what happens to the site.

Davíd Carrasco's and Leonardo López Luján's interviews with Eduardo Matos Moctezuma follow a metaphoric structure similar to that of Patterson's autobiography. Whereas Patterson drew his inspiration from Mayan cosmology, Carrasco et al. (2007:3) employ Aztec myths and the power of the number five to divide the narrative of Matos

Moctezuma's life story. Like Patterson, Matos Moctezuma describes his experiences with INAH (Carrasco et al. 2007:5), but unlike Patterson, Matos Moctezuma was vastly higher on the bureaucratic ladder, and Patterson worked for Matos Moctezuma on the Templo Mayor Project in Mexico City (Patterson 2007:147). The tone of the two works differ greatly; Patterson takes a more critical insider-outsider tone with his depiction of archaeological work in Mexico, whereas Matos Moctezuma has the leisure of being interviewed by former students who are themselves well-known within archaeology. The interviews with Matos Moctezuma feel more like a glimpse into the life of an important figure, while Patterson represents the more technical, "in the trenches" style of Mexican archaeology.

In fact, in my experiences of the past decade, archaeologists love to talk about their work and are passionate about that work. I have sat in bars many nights after graduate seminars and at annual conferences, and "talked shop" with other archaeologists about what they do and how they feel about their work. Even as they are unwilling to go on the record with such information, clearly they feel strongly about all of these issues and have no shortage of opinions and experiences in the matter. Yet, when it comes to the professional literature, these voices are mostly absent as they try to assume the role of a largely indiscernible, objective, culturally invisible narrator (Hernández, et al. 2010:4; McManamon et al. 2008:19). I feel that the inclusion of a personal narrative would enrich, rather than detract from, the larger picture of what we are trying to accomplish, despite, or perhaps, because it challenges notions of researcher objectivity.

The passion of personal experience would help to make archaeology more relatable and relevant to the general public. Dry, impersonal, jargon-laden articles turn

the public away from archaeology and toward more flashy, but less substantive, popular depictions of archaeology, and, even worse, pseudoarchaeology (Lipe 2002; Little 2002; McManamon 2002). A compelling personal encounter with archaeology, backed up with the empiricism of professional practices, will go far when it comes to gaining public support. For the last decade, I have been reading about how archaeology is facing a crisis of public support. Considering the value that people place on personal stories, it seems intuitive that archaeologists should be able to interweave personal narratives into the larger picture of archaeological work and counter-intuitive to not do so.

CHAPTER FOUR

ARCHAEOLOGY, HERITAGE, AND TOURISM

Archaeological sites can be found in every country and these sites often play an important part in understanding the human pasts of those countries. However, how archaeologists define the past may be quite different from how individuals, communities, and nations define what they consider to be their pasts. These personal, localized pasts are generally considered to be heritage, and the interpretation of archaeological sites contributes to this heritage. Further, national governments and global agencies alike will interpret archaeological resources in the interest of promoting identification with the past. What is meant by heritage, how it is used at different levels of society, and how heritage is largely seen as a resource to be exploited for financial gain are important, intertwined issues to be discussed. To begin, however, we must first consider what a site is and how sites are considered to be an element of heritage.

According to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), sites are described as "works of man or the combined works of nature and man, and areas including archaeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view" (1972:2). In Appendix IV of the United States National Park Service's *National Register Bulletin 16*, a site is defined as the

> location of a significant event, a prehistoric or historic occupation or activity, or a building or structure, whether standing, ruined, or vanished, where the location itself possesses historic, cultural, or archeological value regardless of the value of any existing structure [1991:3].

Both definitions share the idea that a site must be a physical location that is or has been associated with some sort of human activity. Also, a site must have "value," whether

"outstanding universal value," "historic, cultural, or archeological value," or the ill-defined value of the structure. An archaeological site, therefore, represents a physical location of past human activity, which has likely been identified as such by professional archaeologists.

Globally, there are no clearly defined universal means of assessing the potential significance, or value, of any given archaeological site; neither are there any comprehensive studies of management practices and the obligations of governments and professionals toward the various stakeholders, in particular archaeologists and other heritage professionals. Part of this problem stems from the fact that each nation has its own standards and protocols regarding the importance of archaeological sites and how these should be managed (Pickard 2001). Another substantial obstacle toward determining significance lies in the ambiguity of what is meant by a site's significance (Hardesty and Little 2000). That decision could be based on any number of factors, including the age of the site, the types and number of artifacts recovered, or even its overall research potential (Lynott 1980). Mark Lynott (1980:120) also notes that "significance is not a static, universally applicable set of values," which only adds to the difficulty. There is an extensive body of scholarship worldwide that serves as a resource for framing this research project, but these sources are not unanimous on any of the primary concepts with which this project is concerned.

The problem is that universal standards of practices can be rather difficult to apply on the ground where every local situation is different in some way. In other words, the question is, should archaeological practices be standardized across the board, for all countries, according to Western, scientific practices, or should these practices be

modified based upon the traditional values and practices of local traditional or indigenous communities (McManamon et al. 2008:19)? A strict adherence to these standards can result in local voices not being heard (McManamon et al. 2008:19), an all-too-unfortunate but common circumstance, especially in the past. On the surface, the notion of a middle-way approach sounds like it should be ideal, but what, exactly, would that look like? How should professional standards be adapted to incorporate local needs? These questions are also global in scope, in that professional archaeologists face them regardless of geographical location, which means a greater acknowledgement of these issues and a more open discussion of how to address them should be part of the discussion (McManamon et al. 2008:20). One of our goals, then, would be to attempt to identity commonalities in practice and forms of negotiation among the disparate approaches used on the ground by the archaeological community.

This is a critical concern, because the protection, interpretation, and use of archaeological resources are of importance to nearly all modern nation-states (McManamon et al. 2008:20). There are well-defined standards for preservation, for example, but at the same time, interpretation will depend upon the audience. The problem, therefore, can be defined as a top-down versus bottom-up dispute, with the archaeological community in the middle. The public generally finds archaeology appealing, for reasons that must go beyond the fact that we can tell a good story about the past (Baillie et al. 2010:56); it is the experience of that story that is compelling (Schouten 1995:21), and yet a site is capable of bearing more than one interpretation of that story (Watkins and Beaver 2008:20). The question then becomes, what role will archaeologists

play in promoting those stories or will they be more instrumental in suppressing those that are inconvenient for the professional narrative?

Stonehenge serves as a textbook example of a site with diverse levels of significance, as well as an illustration of the sometimes bizarre ways in which the public past is regarded in England. The site arguably has a place of symbolic prominence in England in much the same manner as, for instance, Teotihuacán does in Mexico. As for managing the site, English Heritage is in charge of the site itself, while the National Trust is responsible for 1,500 acres of land surrounding it (Bender 1998:116). As Barbara Bender (1998:116-117) puts it, English Heritage and the National Trust "own" the site "in the interests of the nation." On the other hand, when members of that nation attempt to access the site as part of its ongoing significance to them, the result can take unfortunate forms, such as the debacle of the summer solstice of 1985, when English Heritage and the National Trust, represented by the local police, came into violent contact with the Druids and other visitors to the site who were attempting to conduct their annual solstice ritual (Chippindale 1986). There can be a tyranny to preserving the past in such a way that it disenfranchises the public as effectively as if the site was sold to private interests.

Ireland's archaeological resources have suffered from increasing privatization. Early in the 1990s the Republic of Ireland adopted the principle of "developer pays," that is, those who have made archaeological work necessary through development must be the ones to bear the costs of that work as "a legitimate part of development costs" (Ciuchini 2010:12). Unfortunately, Ciuchini (1990:13) objects that the developer pays principle has often been narrowly applied to excavations and research at the expense of the publication

of site reports and the long-term curation, conservation, and storage of archaeological

materials, which should also be considered part of the archaeological process. While

there are legal options, such as sanctions, these are directed against the archaeologists and

not the developers who are able to avoid financial responsibility for these costs (Ciuchini

2010:13). Maggie Ronayne (2008:116) goes further and accuses both the state and

private developers of corruption, particularly in the context of road construction.

  The specific case is the development and subsequent construction of the M3

motorway through the landscape of Tara, which Ronayne describes, appropriately, as

"Ireland's Stonehenge" (2008:118) due to its significance as a symbol of Irish heritage.

Activists, including archaeologists and other academic and public intellectuals, opposed

the construction of the motorway through Tara, particularly since there were other

locations for the route that were considered less damaging to the site. (Ronayne

2008:118). Ronayne asserts that land speculation was the reason for the chosen route,

citing the potential for revenue from tolls and industrial development (2008:118-119).

She also points out that there were archaeological companies that did not oppose the

project and provided recommendations to the state (Ronayne 2008:120-121), which

demonstrates how the archaeological community itself is hardly monolithic in how its

members approach the study and preservation of the past. Ronayne (2008:124) laments

the influence of developers on archaeology in Ireland as she points out that while there is

more archaeological work being undertaken, there are pressures to work quickly for low

wages, and agrees with Ciuchini that much of this work remains unpublished. She

concludes that collaboration with private interests ultimately damages archaeology by

subjecting its practice to market forces (Ronayne 2008:126).

Across the Channel, the French government passed a law designed to protect all archaeological sites, although its implementation remains in question mainly due to opposition toward giving the state exclusive control over access to these sites (Audouze 2001:8). Prior to this change, the French position was that the practice of "rescue archaeology" fell into the category of public works projects, and as such was subject to the caprices of market forces (Audouze 2001:5). In response to continued protests by both public and university archaeologists, the French government drafted and passed a change to the laws which reaffirmed "that [all] archaeology was a research activity," wherein the government acknowledged its responsibility for the protection of the past (Audouze 2001:5). In fact, a counter-proposal was briefly debated, and ultimately rejected, that would bring all archaeological sites into the public domain, using the Scandinavian model as its guide (Audouze 2001:5). Nevertheless, the current law makes all sites significant, at least to some degree, and forces the government to be more aware of its responsibilities to the national patrimony.

As another example, Willem J. H. Willems (1998:298) describes how European archaeology has taken on a political role in promoting unification in the European Union. This project has not always been successful, however, as in the example of "the so-called 'Bronze-Age Campaign,' launched by the Council of Europe… and officially terminated in 1997" (Willems 1998:298). According to Willems, the purpose of the campaign was more to promote archaeology and common heritage than it was to pursue Bronze Age research, with the Bronze Age chosen because it was seen as having more universal appeal than the Vikings or Romans (1998:298). Unfortunately, the campaign was a failure and ended when the funding ran out; Willems suggests that this failure was due to

a lack of public interest, although he does not speculate on the reasons for the lack of public engagement with the campaign (1998:298). It could be as simple as an inability to be all things to all people; matters of heritage tend to be more complex.

The status of archaeological sites elsewhere in Europe is in a state of flux. As the nations in Europe seek to consolidate themselves more securely into the European Union, issues such as the laws defining how the practice of archaeology and the management of archaeological resources will continue to come to the forefront. The question is, which way will the European Union go in the future? Will there be recognition that the protection of the past is a national, or in this case a transnational, responsibility, or will the imposition of economic austerity measures and potential short-term economic gains of privatization hold sway? The future of archaeology globally will undoubtedly be influenced by events in Europe.

Archaeological sites can be considered places of cultural heritage, but the word heritage itself suffers from abuse through overuse, although within the realms of archaeology and heritage management there are definitions in common. Robin Skeates (2000:9-10) provides two related, albeit general, ways of defining heritage, "as the material culture of past societies that survives in the present; and second, as the process through which the material culture of past societies is re-evaluated and re-used in the present." Skeates continues by noting that governments and heritage professionals tend to rely on the first definition, even as they dominate the processes of the second (2000:10); local stakeholders use the second definition and increasingly have begun to challenge official narratives of heritage promoted by governments and professionals (Skeates 2000:10).

Waterton and Smith (2010:12) point out that heritage professionals assume as true that heritage values are universal and that "heritage must be preserved unchanged, along with the cultural values that heritage in some way embodies, so that they can be passed on to future generations," clearly disputing that any such universality regarding heritage exists. Smith, echoing Skeates, has also asserted the role that government plays in defining heritage, and that this role is often at odds with that of the local communities (2007:160). Smith also points out that archaeologists frequently serve as the bridge between government and communities, although archaeological knowledge is generally privileged over local knowledge (2007:161). Willems attempts to avoid these conflicts entirely by focusing on the argument that heritage is a resource that must be managed or be lost, although he does agree that this is a relatively recent concept (1998:294) and that as resources they should serve some type of use or benefit to society, rather than as research subjects (1998:295). Ultimately, however, he also agrees this is a political issue and one in which the role of archaeologists has been changing (Willems 1998:303).

Frans Schouten (1995:26) emphasizes the idea of heritage as a product to be interpreted. As with Willems (1998:295), Schouten agrees that heritage is made of tangible, physical remains, but stresses that these objects are experienced and perceived by individuals who likely have their own interpretations that differ from those of the professionals (1995:22). Schouten asserts that these personal interpretations contain a great deal of power for individuals, so to argue in terms of the evidence that supports heritage interpretations is really missing the point (1995:22). For individuals, heritage is not about a scientifically constructed, evidence based historical report, but rather something personal that gains value through its subjective nature. He wryly notes that this

does not mean heritage professionals should avoid making their own interpretations, since, if they do not, then "visitors will do so for themselves," so at the very least professional interpretations can still help to inform these personal narratives (Schouten 1995:30).

The reason for all of this is very simple, as Schouten defines heritage as "history processed through mythology, ideology, nationalism, local pride, romantic ideas or just plain marketing into a commodity" (1995:21). Heritage is how people use history; heritage is how people connect to their histories, regardless of whether these are personal, community, regional, or national histories (Jameson Jr., 2008:53). Heritage is seen as having some sort of value to people, which could be monetary in nature but could just as easily, if not more so, be the intangible value of a memory, experience, or expectation (Davison 2008:33). The heritage management industry is predicated upon preserving and developing archaeological sites as a resource, and relies upon people's connections to their past as their heritage, even when an individual's interpretation of heritage differs from that of the heritage professional. Even more to the point, how heritage is managed has become a major global industry.

For the nation-state, heritage, particularly archaeological heritage, can be used as a means for nation-building by glorifying the achievements of past cultures or through legitimization by creating (oftentimes mythical) connections between the past and the present (Arnold 1990; Herzfeld 1991; Silverman 2002; Skeates 2000). As the following chapters will show, Mexico provides an almost textbook case of this nationalist myth-making, since the Mexican state possesses a monopoly over the archaeological resources it uses to construct a particular narrative about its past (Alonso 1988:42), a narrative that

has not always been accepted at other levels of society (Alonso 1988:48). Mexico has long used the country's indigenous past as a foundational aspect of its modern identity, while simultaneously attempting to force the modern indigenous population into cultural assimilation (González 2004).

In recent years, indigenous groups around the world, and particularly in Latin America, have made political gains toward recognition and rights. Hale (2005:13) disputes the extent of these gains by noting that many of these rights have been granted by neoliberal states that use indigenous rights as an issue to actually gain greater control over these groups. Hale termed this phenomena "neoliberal multiculturalism" (2005:12) and points out that neoliberal states care very little about indigenous rights, beyond the extent to which these states can take advantage of indigenous groups by enmeshing them within the state bureaucracy and forcing them to play by the state's rules through tacit acceptance of the neoliberal agenda (Hale 2005:12). In Guatemala, for example, the state has gone so far as to grant collective land rights to Mayan populations, because by allowing these collective rights, the state can then prescribe how the land is developed as well as weaken Mayan political power by encouraging their approval of state policies in exchange for their cooperation (Hale 2005:18). Basically, small gains prove to be satisfying to the majority, and the extremists appear needlessly antagonistic and ungrateful (Hale 2005:24). This places increasing pressure on indigenous groups to demonstrate they deserve these rights by behaving properly; neoliberal multiculturalism manages to simultaneously recognize the rights of indigenous peoples even as it continues to work to assimilate them (Hale 2005:24). In Mexico, anthropologists have played a part in these politics, from the excavations of the ruins at Teotihuacán to activist

work as cultural brokers mediating between indigenous communities and government agencies (González 2004). To further complicate matters, sites like Teotihuacán and Chichén Itzá are considered to be sites of not just national heritage, but global heritage as well.

In 1972, the *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* was adopted by UNESCO. The first concern noted in the *Convention* is the threat to both natural and cultural heritage "not only by traditional causes of decay, but also by changing social and economic conditions" (UNESCO 1972:1), the latter two conditions being singled out as potentially more destructive than the first. It is interesting to observe that, nearly forty years after the adoption of the *Convention* and the subsequent creation and promotion of the World Heritage list, contemporary social and economic conditions still continue to threaten this notion of natural and cultural heritage. Before pursuing this line of thought, however, it is necessary to discuss what UNESCO means by heritage, whether natural or cultural, and the organization's intentions toward that heritage.

The *Convention*'s first two articles define the cultural and natural heritage. Cultural heritage is comprised of monumental and architectural works, including archaeological sites, that "are of outstanding universal value" (UNESCO 1972:2); likewise, natural heritage includes natural features, both biological and geological, that are also of "outstanding universal value" (UNESCO 1972:2). These definitions are simultaneously specific, including both the art found in cave dwellings and the natural habitats of threatened animals, and vague, where the phrase "outstanding universal value" itself is never defined, although the *Convention* notes that the loss of this heritage

"constitutes a harmful impoverishment of the heritage of all the nations in the world" (UNESCO 1972:1). However, the *Convention* leaves it to the individual governments (or States Parties, as referred to in the document) to determine which locations within their borders possess outstanding universal value (UNESCO 1972:3), and, therefore, which ones add to the overall enrichment of the world heritage, to use the language suggested by the *Convention*.

These are certainly lofty ideals. UNESCO's starting assumption is that, around the world, there are locations that go beyond local, regional, or national importance, and should be valued on a global scale. Additionally, UNESCO believes the world would be for the worse should these locations disappear or deteriorate to such an extent that their value would be lost, although the source of this value is not clearly defined, beyond such descriptors as "unique", "irreplaceable", and interesting (1972:1). However, implementation of the *Convention* is the responsibility of the World Heritage Committee (WHC), and it is the WHC that has developed somewhat more specific guidelines for determining the outstanding universal value of sites that are nominated by the States Parties for inclusion on the World Heritage List (hereafter referred to as the List).

The World Heritage Committee reviews potential locations for inclusion on the List. At the onset of 2013 there were 962 properties inscribed on the list, of which 745 are considered cultural sites, 188 are listed as natural sites, and twenty-nine are mixed cultural and natural sites (whc.unesco.org). Since 2005, the WHC has used ten criteria for consideration of inclusion in the list, which are essentially that the site must "be a masterpiece of creative genius; have exerted great architectural influence; be associated with ideas or beliefs of universal significance; or it may be an outstanding example of a

traditional way of life that represents a certain culture" (whc.unesco.org). The site does not have to meet all of these criteria, but it must meet at least one of them. Additionally, the site must be "authentic" and have "integrity" (Fowler 2004:5).

While the inclusion of particular sites on the List may be politically motivated for some nations, the WHC has certain expectations that should ideally be met by those nations. Some of these expectations are rather abstract and are more a reflection of the philosophy behind the concept of a list of the world's heritage than they are indicative of the concrete needs behind maintaining these sites. For example, in addition to having "outstanding universal value," the WHC expects the site to "reflect a specific spiritual relation to nature" (Fowler 2004:10-11). There is, of course, no means for objectively defining what it means for a site to reflect a specific spiritual relationship to anything, and the case could probably be made for most sites that they could embody this value in some way. Fortunately, the WHC does have other criteria for potential applicants to meet.

Among the most important of these is that the nation actually has the means to manage the site, that it has a Management Plan in place for doing so, and that the public will have access to the site (Fowler 2004:10). These could be considered both good and bad criteria. While it is good in that the nation is required to effectively manage the site, this criterion is also bad because many nations may not have the resources necessary for management, and therefore their sites would not be included on the World Heritage List. However, if one looks at the list, or at least at the nations represented on it, one finds that a sizable number of underdeveloped nations are in fact represented, even though European nations are decidedly overrepresented. Mexico has inscribed thirty-two properties to the List, as of 2013. As a counter example, the United States is curiously

underrepresented, given its cultural history, natural resources, overall size, and wealth. Unfortunately, despite the management requirement, the World Heritage Committee does not have the ability to enforce management and protection of these sites; that task is left to the individual States Parties.

The criterion of access to the site by the public is an interesting condition. While it may seem obvious that a site of declared universal value or appeal should be made available to the public, this condition advocates a democratic ideal that may be absent in the political philosophy of the nation. Likewise, the concept behind creating a list of sites worldwide with universal cultural value also suggests a particular means of identifying, labeling, and valuing the past that may be foreign to the cultural mores of the nation, and, in fact, imposes those values on specific locations within that nation's borders. The local populace may have its own ideas of what these sites represent that could be at odds with how it is represented on the List; that World Heritage Sites, almost by definition, become magnets for tourists adds another layer to the mix, which will be discussed in greater detail momentarily.

How archaeological heritage is used in Mexico, including how interpretations of that heritage are directly managed by the Mexican state to support its national identity, will be the subject of the following chapter. To establish a point of comparison, we can first explore in more detail how heritage resources are defined by the United States. While the United States does not entirely work as an analogue to Mexico due to the differences in their colonial histories, how archaeological resources are used by the state, and the structure of archaeological heritage laws between the two nations, nevertheless I include the United States here because this is the context from which archaeologists from

the United States who work in Mexico find themselves, and these differences may have implications for how these archaeologists view their role as well as their expectations for their involvement with local communities and interactions with government officials.

There are various federal and state laws that regulate identifiable cultural resources on federal and state lands, respectively (King 2009:13). However, rather than, for example, using these laws to promote and advance heritage resources for the benefit of society, their intent and use is to manage the potential impacts of development on these sites (King 2009:15-16), which means options such as protection and preservation may be considered, but not necessarily selected. Changing economic and political climates can shift the extent to which preservation options are considered (Doelle 2001:27). For the United States, the National Register, under the supervision of the National Park Service, maintains the official list of all significant sites, both prehistoric and historic (National Park Service 1991).

To be eligible for inclusion on the National Register, a site must demonstrate significance through one of the following criteria: it must be associated with particular historic events or important people, or it must possess distinctive physical characteristics, or it must have the potential to provide important information about the past. The site must be at least fifty years of age and possess particular qualities of integrity (National Park Service 1991). The National Register is designed to protect both public and privately held properties. The federal government has additional responsibilities under the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA), which outlines the government's stewardship role with respect to the federal properties it manages. However, a study by the Advisory Council for Historic Preservation (2001) found that no federal agency meets

all of the requirements established by the NHPA. The Advisory Council's (2001) report suggests that inadequate funding and the lack of a clear understanding of historic preservation by agencies are much to blame.

Most of the archaeological work in the United States has been contracted to cultural resource management (CRM) firms by the government in order to comply with NHPA (Doelle 2001:27). CRM may be conducted by either private or non-profit organizations, and the effectiveness of CRM is entirely dependent upon the amount of public funding available (Jameson, Jr. 2008:47). In addition, because CRM archaeology is focused toward the mitigation of potentially negative effects to the site, the emphasis is on sites that are currently threatened, rather than pursuing a research agenda of knowledge about the past (Barnes 1981:610). Therefore, sites that are not immediately threatened by development, are located on private property, and do not meet the National Register's criteria for significance are potentially at risk due to lack of visibility, obvious importance, or research funding.

These reactive policies are curious, at least given the role that the United States played in helping to establish the concept of global, or universal, heritage through UNESCO. The United States was even the first nation to ratify the World Heritage Convention in 1973 (Reap 2006:234). Two of the first twelve sites to be inscribed on the World Heritage List, Mesa Verde and Yellowstone National Park, are well-known sites in the United States (Reap 2006:234). In 1980 NHPA was amended to give "the Secretary of the Interior the responsibility of directing and coordinating U.S. activities under the Convention" (Reap 2006:234) through the National Park Service, and sites must be eligible for the National Register in order to be nominated to the List (Reap 2006:235).

However, while twenty sites were nominated by the United States and listed between 1978 and 1995, only eight are considered cultural heritage sites. Furthermore, no sites, either cultural or natural, were nominated until 2010 when Papahānaumokuākea, a collective grouping of small islands located near the main Hawaiian Islands that is classified as a mixed cultural and natural site, was added to the List.

This is peculiar when you consider that, for many countries, it almost seems like a point of honor or pride to have as many sites included on the List as possible. Indeed, the World Heritage Committee was eventually forced to limit nominations to one a year for each country (Araoz 2002:4). Many countries, most of them from Europe, have nominated sites nearly every year. By no means is the United States deficient in the number of sites that could potentially be nominated, and the lack of interest for fifteen years has been interpreted in a number of ways, which can be distilled down to two general reasons.

The first is the prevalence of a political climate that distrusts the United Nations and fears undue influence of the U.N. over the sovereignty and private property rights of the United States (Araoz 2002:6). These fears are unfounded because the United Nations has no authority over sites in the United States and U.N. treaties and agreements do not supersede the laws of the United States (Reap 2006:236). Countries are required to manage and protect their sites, but since most sites from the United States are national and state parks, there are already management plans in place at the federal and state levels. The second reason, and the one in which the archaeological community has the greatest potential to educate the public, is a general lack of knowledge and understanding by that public regarding the idea of world heritage (Araoz 2002:6). Virtually all citizens

of the United States are familiar with the park systems, and many at least recognize sites inscribed on the National Register, but fewer know that some of these sites are also considered sites of world heritage. This creates an opportunity for public outreach and education by the archaeological community in the United States.

As one means for addressing these issues, Thomas King (2003:34) was instrumental in creating the concept of the traditional cultural property (TCP). King (2003:107) was critical about the elevation by both government officials and heritage professionals of professional knowledge and expertise over local concerns and information regarding the protection of threatened, or potentially threatened, sites. Because heritage laws in the United States were not applied equally across (and even within) communities, King felt that the TCP designation would be a better way of addressing sites that were of concern to local communities, who would then be provided the opportunity of addressing those concerns when it came to development that affected the site (2003:137). Rather than create a hostile environment between developers, heritage professionals, and local people, the hope was that identification of a TCP would bring affected people into consultation in order to minimize potential adverse impacts of development on the site, and even if such mitigation were not possible, at least the affected people would have their voices heard and not be shut out of the process entirely (King 2003:174). Additionally, opening up this dialogue would be of potential value to heritage professionals, who would likely learn something about the site by talking to interested local individuals (King 2003:242). In this way, future relationships are formed that are of benefit to all parties.

Apparently, however, TCP identification has proven to be more problematic than King anticipated. He has been critical of the "lip service" paid by developers, governments, and heritage professionals toward consultation and suggests that the reason is that these groups typically have already decided how they are going to develop a site and are not interested in how local people feel about it (King 2009:113). He also feels the philosophical intent behind the TCP has been misunderstood; rather than hobbling an agency or developer, the acknowledgement that a property has some form of local value simply means that the concerns of local people should be taken into consideration (King 2009:16). In denying TCP status, a federal agency is ultimately questioning just how significant a site is to the local community and deciding it really must not be that important at all (King 2003:113). It seems to be a common theme by this point that resistance to recognizing the interests that others have in a property and collaborating with these stakeholders is somehow tantamount to a loss of authority and control. At all levels, collaboration and dialogue are increasingly necessary in order to protect and support the archaeological heritage.

As a proactive means of protecting sites from destruction and saving them for future research possibilities, the Archaeological Conservancy (www.americanarchaeology.com) was formed in 1980 as a non-profit organization "dedicated to acquiring and preserving the best of our nation's remaining archaeological sites." According to the Conservancy, it has acquired more than 400 sites across the country. Its purpose is to protect sites from development by purchasing and holding these properties until such time as they can be excavated, if excavations are not already ongoing. From its founding, the Conservancy had no intention of doing the actual

curation of its sites, preferring instead to leave that task to some other group or agency (Barnes 1981:617). Some sites have been incorporated into existing national and state parks, but the majority of acquisitions remain in their acquired condition, for the time being. The Conservancy acquires sites with funds derived from memberships, donations, fundraising activities, and foundations. As the Conservancy solicits funds for site purchases, it also engages in public education designed to "inform the general public about the destruction of our cultural heritage" and the options available for site preservation (Ford 1983:221-222), which is critical to its mission.

The Archaeological Conservancy has obviously been influenced by other non-profits, particularly the Nature Conservancy (Barnes 1981:617). Indeed, it appears that archaeological resource protection efforts follow in parallel those of environmental resource protections, and at times this connection is made explicit (Jameson, Jr. 2008:57). For example, environmental anthropologists have long been interested in "issues of power and inequality" (Brosius 1999:278) and how humans interact with their local environments (Foster et al. 2010:155), which is echoed in much of the recent literature on archaeological heritage (Martínez Muriel 2001:59; Pyburn 2007:172). The challenges faced by environmental anthropologists in protecting and promoting the values of natural resources, such as public interpretations of those resources, the impacts of globalization, and the incursion of market forces (Brosius 1999) are the same as those faced by archaeologists. The continuing role of ecotourism as a "strategy for conserving biodiversity while also meeting the needs of people" (Hunt and Stronza 2011:376) serves as a direct comparison to the growing influence of tourism on archaeological resources. In both instances tourism has been seen as necessary as a means for countering dwindling

financial support for natural and archaeological resources by the state (Carrier 2001:36; Chambers 2004:202). Therefore, it is necessary to go into greater detail in describing the relationship between tourism and archaeology.

Archaeological research around the world has undergone a state of crisis due to a lack of support, both financial and philosophical, from the government and the general populace (Pyburn 2003; Skeates 2000). Furthermore, archaeologists and other heritage professionals have tended to neglect the pursuit of meaningful philosophical support for their research even as funding has continued to decline (King 2003:37). Therefore, as heritage tourism grows in popularity worldwide, professionals "trained to conserve, manage and present" heritage sites (UNESCO 2004:19) need the cooperation of local communities for continued access to resources (Slick 2002:226). Considering how much of the archaeological record has already been lost and continues to be threatened by modern development and lack of funding for preservation and research, tourism has become, for many places, the industry in which hope for the future has been placed (McManamon 2008:461). Whether that hope is well-placed or misguided remains to be seen.

Taken as a whole, tourism is now the world's largest industry (Cleere 2000:104; Slick 2002:219). As to what tourism is, the definition is fairly straightforward; Chambers (2000:18) describes a tourist as "anyone who spends a certain amount of time or travels a specified distance away from home." The tourist experiences places and people that are outside of the tourist's normal, familiar routines (Boniface 1999:290). As one form of tourism, heritage tourism includes visits to "museums, historic districts, re-enactments of historical events, statues, monuments, and shrines" (Salazar and Porter 2004:2). Heritage

can refer to the staged representations of indigenous cultures (Chambers 2000:80), although Chambers (2000:80) points out that these types of tourist experiences can be categorized as ecotourism as well. Archaeological tourism would also be included within the definition of heritage tourism (Silverman 2002:883); therefore, I will use heritage tourism as a shorthand for any or all combinations of these locations and venues as tourist destinations. Essentially, any site where the past has been interpreted, marketed, and promoted for the purpose of attracting visitors can be considered a site for heritage tourism.

As for what tourists do, the answer is somewhat broader. Most significantly, at least for our purposes here, tourists bring money to countries and communities that host tourist destination sites (Chambers 2000:30; Herreman 2006:420; Slick 2002:219). Because tourism is part of the service sector, there are a number of connected industries that benefit from the presence of tourists, such as hotels, restaurants, transportation, and touring agencies and guides (Chambers 2000:30; Martínez Muriel 2001:61). Both locally made crafts and mass-produced souvenirs are industries connected to tourism (Gazin-Schwartz 2004:100; Martínez Muriel 2001:60). Basically, the more time that a tourist spends in a community, the more money they will be spending within the local service sector, where the overnight visitor is seen as being the most economically desirable. In addition to the need for places to sleep and eat, extended-stay tourists will be more likely to visit venues that are less well-known than the one that attracted them to the location, so it is in the interest of the local communities to promote awareness of these venues (Slick 2002:224). The argument, therefore, is that tourism brings jobs as all of these industries need to be present in order to create a positive experience for the tourist, and many seem

to take it as granted that this will result in a net positive benefit for the community (Herreman 2006:420; Slick 2002:219).

However, others contend that there are hidden costs within this scenario (Boniface 1999:291). For instance, service sector jobs tend to pay low wages and do not always result in dependable employment, particularly if tourism is seasonal in the community (Chambers 2004:202). Many restaurants and hotels are part of international chains and not owned locally, which means that a portion of the money spent in the community does not stay in that community (Ardren 2002:385). The presence of outsiders can have cultural repercussions for local people; resentment and conflicts may result from cultural differences (Boniface 1999:288). Tourists have expectations for what local lifeways should be like and this can lead to stereotyping, especially if particular cultural traditional behaviors, such as festivals, have been promoted as tourist venues (Bauer 2009:84; Chambers 2000:80). One outcome of large numbers of visitors is wear and tear to infrastructure and local governments may be unwilling or unable to maintain and replace this infrastructure on a regular basis (Silverman 2005:146; Valdés 2006:98).

Many tourist venues around the world today are the product of public-private partnerships because neoliberal economic policies have led to reduced public investment in the local community in favor of privatization of these previously public services (Chambers 2000:42; Salazar and Porter 2002:3). Private developers are going to be picky about which sites could be best developed as tourist attractions and will demand a return on their investment (Chambers 2000:31); smaller communities may find themselves unable to invest properly in developing and promoting their own heritage sites. Because developers have profits to consider, they may relocate to communities that are deemed

more suitable for tourism. This can lead to resentment by underdeveloped communities and conflicts with those communities that are viewed as more favorable (Silverman 2005:147).

Helaine Silverman describes how the promotion of the archaeological discovery of the tombs of Sipán by the Peruvian government clashes with local concepts of heritage. Silverman points out first that merely the naming of the occupants of the tombs, for example, the Lord of Sipán, by the project archaeologist ascribed an identity to the deceased that captured the public's imagination and helped to create a connection between the present and the past (2005:142). The remains of the Lord of Sipán have been treated as actual royalty, receiving the accolades of ambassadors, the president of Peru, and the general public (Silverman 2005:142). The discovery and promotion of the tombs by the Peruvian government has elevated Peru on the international stages and assisted in developing Peru's tourism industry (Silverman 2005:152). At the local level, however, the site has been involved in contestations over interpretations of the past, including unintended consequences.

Silverman paints a less rosy picture of how promotion of the archaeological site of Sipán has affected the modern-day community of Sipán. To begin, the Royal Tombs of Sipán Museum, constructed specifically for the display and interpretation of the artifacts and reproductions of the remains from the site, was not built at modern-day Sipán, but instead at the town of Lambayeque (Silverman 2005:145). Without the brand-new museum to promote tourism at Sipán, the community has continued to suffer its lack of basic infrastructure, such as running water, a sewage system, and paved roads, which would almost certainly have been upgraded had the museum been built there (Silverman

2005:146). According to Silverman (2005:147), the residents of modern-day Sipán feel

disenfranchised from the benefits provided by the archaeological site of Sipán, both

culturally and economically, and feel antagonism toward both archaeologists and the

federal government. As she sharply notes, "it is difficult to conceive of the residents of

Sipán ever becoming and feeling like stakeholders" (Silverman 2005:147).

For the anthropologist who studies tourism and conducts research in these

communities there are additional hazards, both professional and ethical. In most

locations, anthropologists are outsiders who are guests in that country and representatives

of the government. Government officials may want to ensure that the anthropologist will

help to promote tourism in exchange for these professional considerations (Adams

2005a:46). Equally likely and a more difficult situation from which to distance oneself,

the local communities may see the presence of the anthropologist as an opportunity to

bring economic benefits to them through tourism development (Adams 2005a:54;

Chambers 2000:40).

Kathleen Adams describes her experiences in Indonesia as a cautionary tale in

how the anthropologist can be seen as a means for promoting tourism by local

governments and communities. She first relates how her host used her as an unwitting

translator to help sell souvenirs and trinkets to tourists (Adams 2005a:46). As her host

outsold the other villagers with Adams' assistance, she realized that this had placed her in

an extremely awkward position, and, fortunately, she was able to forestall any future

recurrences (2005a:46). Adams uses this anecdote to foreshadow the other ethical

dilemmas in which she found herself during her fieldwork. She warns that

anthropologists can often find themselves drawn into these situations, even when they are anticipated (Adams 2005a:46).

She recalls another circumstance when she was invited by local leaders to "participate in a community-based team to assess and nominate potential new tourist sites" (Adams 2005a:48). She acknowledges that she owed some obligations to many of these individuals, who had helped her in establishing a presence locally and had granted her interviews (Adams 2005a:48-49). However, she also realized that her insertion into local politics would have potential future ramifications, particularly since her expertise would be used to promote these villages against others that were also competing for tourism development (Adams 2005a:49). While Adams recognized the difficult position in which she found herself, she also realized that she had been completely unprepared for these types of encounters. Her solution was to participate minimally, and provided her perspective on the suitability of sites after the locals had already made their decisions, so as not to influence them (Adams 2005a:49).

Adams warns that dilemmas are not limited to local people and governmental officials. When the village where she had conducted her fieldwork was nominated for inclusion on the World Heritage List, she knew there were potential conflicts due to the differences in the definition of heritage between UNESCO and the local villagers (Adams 2005a:52). While participating at a conference with UNESCO officials in attendance, she was concerned that "misinterpretation of my discussion of the village at the conference could potentially jeopardize the village's hard-earned status as a potential World Heritage Site" (Adams 2005a:52). She realized that she had an obligation to the villagers to not jeopardize their potential inclusion on the List, yet she would not reframe her analysis of

the village in a way that was more agreeable to UNESCO (Adams 2005a:52). Ultimately she decided to use her talk as a chance to educate the UNESCO officials on the diversity of heritage definitions across cultures, and hopefully to expand how UNESCO approaches the idea of heritage more generally (Adams 2005a:52). Each of these examples demonstrates how anthropologists can be placed in difficult situations between their own ethics and the wants and needs of other stakeholders.

The development of a site for tourism does not guarantee that it will prove successful at attracting tourists and their money. However, the lure of better economic times ahead will often override concerns about the feasibility and sustainability of tourism development, particularly if the desire comes from local communities who have little experience in the creation of this industry (Ardren 2002:390; Chambers 2000:32; Slick 2002:224). Local individuals who come into contact with anthropologists may attempt to sway the anthropologist's opinion or curry favor by telling anthropologists what they think the anthropologists want to hear or outright ask the anthropologist to help them promote their potential tourism resources (Adams 2005a:54). Naturally, this places the anthropologist in a difficult ethical quandary, where it is necessary to gain the trust of local people, yet not mislead them or make promises that would be difficult if not impossible to keep.

How an anthropologist navigates these requests and demands will be left up to each individual's personal and professional ethics. However, one option that will not work is to avoid the problem entirely. This is especially true for, but not entirely limited to, applied anthropologists (Chambers 2004:198). As an industry, tourism has become too large and too involved in local circumstances to be ignored by the anthropological

community. Because prominent archaeological sites can double as tourist destinations, tourism has become intertwined with the management of heritage sites and anthropologists who study those sites cannot divorce themselves from this part of the overall equation (Adams 2005a:57; Slick 2002:226). Indeed, how to accommodate large numbers of visitors is an essential component of the management plan for the site.

UNESCO's World Heritage Centre has been complicit in helping to foster this relationship between tourism and heritage. Countries nominate their heritage sites not just to promote national identity but to promote tourism (Di Giovine 2010:8). Almost by definition, a site that becomes a world heritage site also becomes a major tourist attraction (Sun 2006:151). The appreciation of world heritage sites is packaged and marketed as a feature of being a world citizen who is tolerant and knowledgeable about other cultures (Herreman 2006:421). However, the problem here is there are only so many tourists and these tourists have limited time and resources that restricts how many sites they can visit (Chambers 2000:31). Additionally, tourists are not distributed evenly across all tourist venues; some sites, especially World Heritage sites, attract larger numbers of visitors, which complicates site management, and leaves other locations less visited, which prevents any economic benefits from being realized (Slick 2002:224).

Ostensibly, heritage tourists are seekers of knowledge (Chambers 2000:5), yet even so they are going to demand entertainment value from their visits (Slick 2002:223). The challenge has been how to balance the educational aspect with entertainment in such a way that doesn't cheapen the educational experience, but at the same time does not induce boredom. Museums, historical districts, monuments, and archaeological sites rely on tourists for economic sustainability, whereas tourists are looking for new, positive

experiences where they are willing to spend their time and money (Salazar and Porter 2004:3). If tourists encounter negative experiences, word of mouth could affect the future viability of the site. Unfortunately, this aspect of the tourist experience lies outside of the scope of this project, although it is a subject of study with increasing importance and relevance.

What the sites require also needs to be taken into consideration. After all, if the integrity of the site is degraded through overuse and poor management, it will no longer be profitable as a tourist venue (Valdés 2006:98). Likely, it will no longer be of use as a form of heritage to the community as well (Sun 2006:153). Therefore, protection of the site is the responsibility for tourists and locals alike (Hodder 2003:142). Public-private partnerships need to be aware of these concerns and incorporate their mitigation into the site development plans. Museums have increasingly taken on the role of attracting and entertaining tourists, in addition to their mission of educating the public, in an attempt to alleviate over-attendance at major sites as well as promoting minor sites by connecting them thematically (Herreman 2006:421; Sun 2006:152). However, museums, like archaeological sites, encounter issues of interpretation -- who is doing the interpreting, who is the audience, and do some groups dispute these interpretations (Adams 2005b:436).

Here again we encounter difficulties in formulating policy recommendations. The management and protection needs for each site, the relationship between that site and the local community, the real or probable tourist potential for the site, the degree of financial support available from the government, the extent to which private interests are allowed to develop the site, and how local people incorporate the site into their own cultural

values are all variables (McManamon et al. 2008:20-21; Miksic 2002:89). In other words, each case is unique, which makes policy-making difficult, if not impossible. However, when it comes to protecting, developing, and managing archaeological resources, it would seem apparent that private parties should not be given free rein in determining the best way to in controlling these resources (Sun 2006:152).

This is where community engaged anthropology can work best as an endeavor that facilitates greater involvement and agency among the local communities (Lekakis 2008:309; Miksic 2002:90). As archaeological resources continue to be viewed as commodities that can be exploited for commercial gain, anthropological perspectives and input are invaluable means for countering the commoditization of the past (Baram and Rowan 2004:9). There continues to be a need for the anthropologist as public educator to highlight the intangible values of protecting the past, for the present and the future (Little 2004:277). While we cannot, and in the current economic climate probably should not, fight the use of archaeological resources for private gain, we do need to ensure that we are part of the discussion as stakeholders, working for, and alongside, the local communities.

However, as a counterpoint, Kérya Chau Sun explains how Cambodia has taken a different approach to tourism. Sun explains that the Cambodian government has taken steps to preserve, protect, and promote its monuments, particularly Angkor Archaeological Park, without resorting to excessive commercialism (2006:151). Concerns about the long-term sustainability of both its cultural and natural heritage prompted Cambodia to limit the potential for rampant development and land speculation (Sun 2006:151). This is not to say that Cambodia discourages tourism, but rather that the

government believes that tourism can be used to help protect its heritage resources by channeling development toward sustainable options (Sun 2006:151). Initiatives that include awareness training in Cambodia's cultural and natural heritage among Buddhist monks, law enforcement officials, and the news media, theater shows about Cambodian heritage, and maintaining "a consistent human presence" at Cambodian heritage sites have been developed in order to help protect the country's heritage resources (Sun 2006:153). It would be interesting to follow developments in Cambodia to gauge their effectiveness as a potential source of policy elsewhere in the world.

We should be using our expertise to be the voice of reason, educating the public about the realities of developing heritage resources for tourism and continuing to study the impacts of heritage tourism on sites as well as on the local communities. Our recommendations will probably not always be welcomed, or listened to, but we have professional and ethical obligations to try our best and strive toward a better understanding of long-term plans of protection and development. If privatization continues to increase, as it undoubtedly will, the work of anthropologists will be needed to force the dialogue toward the middle, which is the best we can probably hope for at the moment. If not, the trend will be toward greater commercialization and overdevelopment, neither of which is sustainable in the long run. The following chapter will explore this issue more thoroughly within the context of archaeological resources in Mexico.

CHAPTER FIVE

ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE SOCIO-POLITICAL HISTORY OF MEXICO

Mexico possesses a rich abundance of archaeological and historical resources that reflect the country's indigenous and colonial past. In addition, the early years of Mexican independence have played a profound role over how this past has been interpreted. For centuries, Mexico has been a popular subject of study by those who have been fascinated by Mexico's pre-Columbian past. Foreign archaeologists, especially those from the United States, have been influential to the practice of archaeology in Mexico. This influence continues today as these archaeologists also play a role as representatives of the Mexican state as they pursue their research. The management of archaeological resources in Mexico today has also been affected by the impacts of neoliberal economic policies and the tourism industry. Therefore, Mexico's history, its interest in its ancient and colonial past, and the responsibilities of archaeologists, both foreign and domestic, in managing these resources, are worthy of some mention here.

Mexico's independence from Spain began on September 16, 1821; however, this statement is misleading because it suggests a political unity that was largely nonexistent at the time. Instead, it could be said that there were many different Mexicos, with competing ideals and political agendas. The royalists, or monarchists, felt that Mexico should still remain a part of the Spanish Empire, whereas the autonomists, or republicans, fought for an independent Mexico (Guedea 2010:272-273). There were others who went so far as to consider annexation by the United States a viable option, and proposals were extended to the American government toward this goal (MacLachlan and Beezley 2010:79). Racial strife endured between Spanish Europeans who lived in Mexico;

criollos, "pure blood" whites who were born in Mexico; *mestizos*, the "mixed blood" descendants of Europeans and Mexico's indigenous population; *Indios*, the indigenous people of Mexico; as well as a black population (Carmack and Gossen 2007). The *Indios* in particular were by no means homogeneous, but were comprised of many different indigenous groups with their own particular histories, customs, and languages (Carmack and Gossen 2007).

Among those who desired an independent Mexico, there was no conclusive agreement as to how that nation should be governed. The federalists favored a weakened version of the system modeled by the United States, with politically strong regions connected by a less powerful central government, whereas the centralists believed a strong central government was necessary to unify the Mexican state (Carmack and Gossen 2007:258-259). The centralists tended to favor existing power structures that included the Church and military; the federalists, in opposition, were more liberal, secular, and interested in modern ideas of social progress (Carmack and Gossen 2007:259). Therefore, as regards the socio-political future of Mexico, while there was largely consensus that Mexico needed to modernize, using the United States and Great Britain as its guides, there was little agreement as to how this should be accomplished.

The opposing groups were broadly known as the Liberals and the Conservatives, but even within these groups there were more moderate factions opposed by extremists. The Liberal agenda was aimed at creating a modern, industrialized Mexico (MacLachlan and Beezley 2010:78). This modern Mexico would also be a secular nation that looked forward to the future rather than backwards at colonialism, the monarchy, and the Church (MacLachlan and Beezley 2010:82). Many Mexican Liberals were influenced by a

positivist outlook of social progress that considered education, urban development, and capital investment as the future of Mexico (Carmack and Gossen 2007:262). The Liberals were opposed by Conservatives who favored more traditional alliances of the landed aristocracy, the military, and the Church (Carmack and Gossen 2007:258).

In 1862, Mexico's Conservatives sought assistance from France. The result was that the French emperor, Napoleon III, successfully invaded Mexico and installed Maximilian, the younger brother of the Hapsburg emperor Franz Joseph I, as Maximilian I, Emperor of Mexico (MacLachlan and Beezley 2010:92). Although Maximilian's policies were rather similar to those of the Liberal faction, he ruled ineffectively (MacLachlan and Beezley 2010:95). After the French, under pressure from the United States and Prussia, withdrew from Mexico in 1867, Maximilian was ultimately captured by Liberal forces, was tried and found guilty of treason, and subsequently executed via firing squad on June 19, 1867 (MacLachlan and Beezley 2010:98). The Liberals triumphed under their first champion, Benito Juárez, a Zapotec Indian from Oaxaca, who pursued the Liberal agenda during his presidency, and, despite (or perhaps because of) his background, his policies were not beneficial to Mexico's indigenous populations (Carmack and Gossen 2007:276).

Porfirio Díaz, whose reign would become known as the Porfiriato, continued the liberal agenda and more explicitly established the image of the Mexican nation as *mestizo* (Carmack and Gossen 2007:275; Vackimes 2001:23). This ideal of *mestizaje* worked as a national metaphor: Mexico's past was a hybrid of Spanish colonialism and traditional indigenous civilizations, and the *mestizos*, as hybrids of these different races, were Mexico's future (Velazco y Trianosky 2013:283). Unfortunately, *mestizaje* would also

serve to create the appearance of a unified Mexican identity largely at the expense of Mexico's indigenous populations. Díaz, along with Mexico's future political leaders, glorified and appropriated Mexico's pre-Columbian past as the foundation of the modern Mexican state, utilizing the imagery of temple pyramids, in particular those at Teotihuacán, as obvious symbols of the grandeur, stability, and endurance of Mexico's heritage (de la Peña 2005:724). By extension, the *mestizos*, who were descendants of both this indigenous past and its modern European conquerors, were its successors.

As far back as the eighteenth century, maps and drawings of Mexico's ancient ruins were documented in publications that described expeditions in search of treasure (Sánchez Nava 2007:20). During the mid-nineteenth century, the romanticized engravings of Mayan ruins at Palenque and Uxmal, created by Federick Catherwood, accompanied John Lloyd Stephens' accounts of their travels across the Yucatán Peninsula (Sánchez Nava 2007:20-21). In 1868 President Benito Juárez declared that all antiquities found within Mexico belonged to the nation (Castillo Mangas 2007:35). President Porfirio Díaz was perhaps the first Mexican leader to appropriate Aztec imagery to symbolize his authority over the nation by drawing a connection between a "glorious" pre-Columbian past and the present (de la Peña 2005:724; Vackimes 2001:23). However, these symbolic connections were simply useful devices and there was no true development of professional archaeology within Mexico until after the 1910 Revolution (González 2004:141).

After the Revolution, the Mexican State began to sponsor an archaeological program of promoting national unity by using archaeology to highlight and distinguish Mexico's diverse cultural pre-Columbian past as unique among modern nation-states

(Trigger 1984:359) and draw these diverse peoples together as one nation (González 2004:141-142). In 1909 Manuel Gamio went to the United States, to Columbia University, to train under Franz Boas (González 2004:142). In 1918 Gamio was appointed Director of Anthropology, a position that was under the Ministry of Agriculture, and began a research program based in the Teotihuacán Valley (de la Peña 2005:724). Gamio's work was influential in establishing a scientific basic to the practice of archaeology in Mexico (Krotz 1991:183) and Gamio himself had been influenced by Liberal positivism.

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, Mexican archaeology continued to grow under the supervision of the Mexican government. In addition to Gamio's work at Teotihuacán, Alfonso Caso conducted excavations at Monte Albán, Oaxaca (González 2004:142), both of which are major sites of cultural heritage in Mexico. The Department of Pre-Hispanic Monuments was created in 1925; in 1935 the Archaeological Chart of the Republic of Mexico was comprised of archaeological maps and a system of classifying archaeological sites (Sánchez Nava 2007:21), as the Mexican government attempted to document and keep track of the numerous, but not entirely known, archaeological and historical sites distributed across the country. In 1939, the National Institute of Anthropology and History (INAH) was established in order to "explore archaeological sites and to protect, conserve, and restore Mexico's archaeological, historical, and artistic monuments" (Villareal Escarrega 2006:395).

However, despite its reliance on indigenous symbols and pre-Columbian ruins and imagery for constructing a national identity, the Mexican government has long had a relationship with its indigenous population that could be described as uneasy at best

(Trigger 1984:359). Although the 1917 Constitution redistributed farmland to the indigenous population through the communal system of *ejidos* (Breglia 2006b:40), it was the *mestizo* population of Mexico that found an identity through the bridging of past and present through *mestizaje* (Alonso 2004:472; Jimenez Betts 2007:32). Manuel Gamio, among other Mexican intellectual elites, felt that the problem with Mexico's indigenous population was that it was culturally backwards and needed to be modernized and assimilated into Mexico's *mestizo* culture (Alonso 2004:475; Friedlander 1986:363).

Therefore, Mexico's indigenous people did not benefit from being the living descendants of Mexico's glorious past. Instead, the indigenous populations were seen at worst as a threat to Mexico's modernization and at best as culturally backwards but could be rehabilitated (Carmack and Gossen 2007). This ambivalent view toward indigenous groups would persist throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, where it would be transformed, somewhat, as part of the neoliberal project of the late 20th and early 21st centuries (Hale 2005). At the very least, the Liberal agenda as regards Mexico's indigenous population could be said to be paternal and benevolent, as the Liberals truly believed they had the best interests of both the indigenous population and the nation in mind (Buffington and French 2010:375). Unfortunately, as has proved so often to be the case, this benevolent patronage was imposed upon Mexico's indigenous groups without input from those groups themselves.

Because the late 19th and early 20th century Liberals were heavily predisposed toward an extreme positivist outlook that was deeply influenced by social evolutionism, development meant progress (Buffington and French 2010:374). Therefore, Mexico's evolution as a modern state meant everyone needed to move forward politically, socially,

and economically. Indigenous peoples, who represented the past, a more traditional and therefore less modern culture that included communalism, needed to be educated, in order to bring them up to the level of modernity desired by the Liberals. The National Indigenist Institute (INI) was created in 1948 in order to study the indigenous population and promote the official policy of assimilation (Friedlander 1986:363). Despite its efforts, the INI was never successful in fully assimilating the indigenous population of Mexico nor did that population disappear entirely. The ultimate fate of *ejido* lands and their connection with the cultural heritage of Mexico will be addressed momentarily in this chapter.

By 1930 the responsibility for the identification and protection of Mexico's cultural heritage had shifted to the Ministry of Public Education. The 1930 Law on the Protection and Conservation of Monuments and Areas of Natural Beauty defined monuments as "movable and immovable objects the protection and conservation of which was in the public interest because of their artistic, archaeological, or historical value" (Rojas Delgadillo 2006:115). It is noteworthy in that both monuments and natural areas were considered to be part of the public interest and that the state had a responsibility toward protecting that interest. Four years later, the 1934 Law on the Protection and Conservation of Archaeological Monuments, Typical Historic Towns and Areas of Natural Beauty superseded the earlier law and further defined monuments by classifying them as archaeological if they predated the Spanish Conquest and historical for those after Conquest (Rojas Delgadillo 2006:115). These monuments also differed in that archaeological monuments were automatically entitled to protection, whereas the Ministry needed to declare specific historical monuments as under its protection. In

addition, monuments located on privately owned land required a decree of protection (Rojas Delgadillo 2006:115).

Cultural heritage law changed again in 1970 with the passage of the Federal Law on the Cultural Heritage of the Nation. Under this law, the definition of cultural heritage was expanded beyond monuments to include "ethnological and paleontological items, specimens of flora and fauna, and areas of natural beauty" that were "deemed to be of cultural value from the point of view of art, tradition, science, or technology" (Rojas Delgadillo 2006:115). Therefore, Mexico's cultural heritage explicitly included areas of both human activity and the natural environment. The Law also allowed for the state to appropriate privately owned cultural property on behalf of the public interest (Rojas Delgadillo 2006:116). However, by 1987, "areas of natural beauty" had been removed from definitions of cultural heritage (Rojas Delgadillo 2006:117). In 1972 the Federal Law on Archaeological, Artistic and Historical Monuments and Sites was passed, and this is still the basic of cultural heritage law in Mexico today (Rojas Delgadillo 2006:117).

The 1972 Law clarifies the earlier definitions of cultural heritage and outlines the role and responsibilities of INAH in protecting and promoting Mexico's cultural heritage. INAH is required to conduct scientific research on anthropology and history; conserve and restore archaeological and historic heritage sites; protect, conserve, and restore cultural property; and educate the public about Mexico's cultural heritage (Villareal Escarrega 2006:395). Archaeological monuments are defined as both "movable or immovable property produced by pre-Hispanic cultures… as well as the remains of flora and fauna related to these cultures" (Rojas Delgadillo 2006:117). Historical monuments

are those buildings "constructed between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries" including "movable property produced between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries that is located or was discovered within such buildings," along with archival government and religious documents and manuscripts and other printed materials produced either in Mexico or abroad "between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, which, because of their rarity or importance to Mexican history, should be conserved in the country" (Rojas Delgadillo 2006:117). The breadth and depth of how cultural heritage is currently defined in Mexico, in addition to the declaration that all such property is under the direct protection of the state, strains Mexico's ability to actually protect its heritage.

INAH is under the purview of CONACULTA (Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes [National Council for Culture and the Arts]), which itself is part of the Secretaría de Educación Pública (Secretariat of Public Education), a federal Cabinet-level body. The Secretariat appoints the Director General, currently María Teresa Franco, who is the highest authority in INAH (García-Bárcena 2007). Below the Director General are four patrimonial councils for paleontology, archaeology, conservation, and historical monuments (Figure 3). These councils review research projects and follow up on research proposals for their respective fields. Council members are composed of INAH members and outside members from other Mexican research institutions, and are appointed by INAH's Director General (García-Bárcena 2007). This strong bureaucratic structure, which may have been necessary during INAH's early years, poses some problems for the organization today. The power wielded by the Director General means that INAH's efficacy is largely dependent upon the strength of the Director General's appointments. It also means that it takes time for decisions to make their way through the

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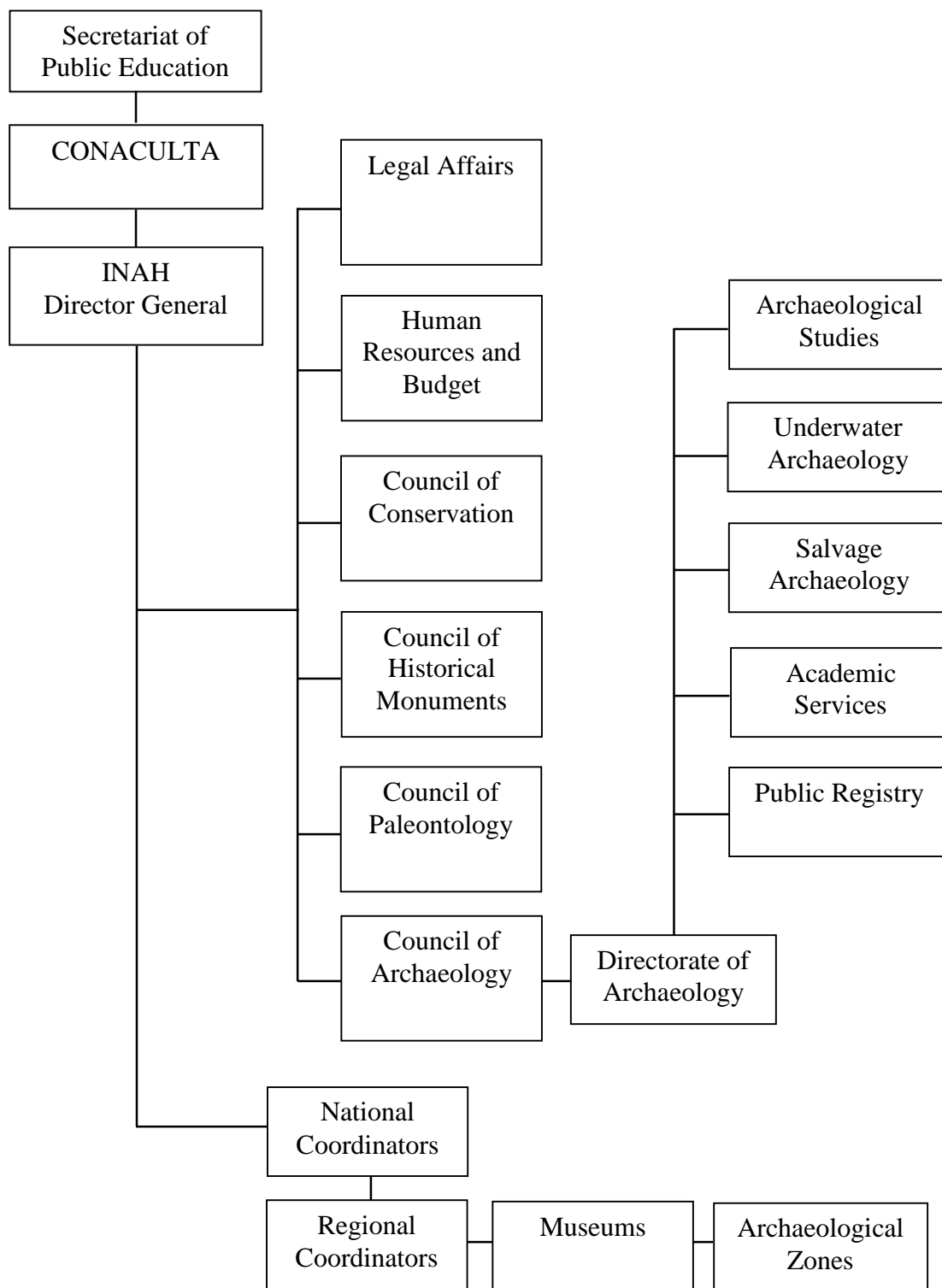
Figure 3: Simplified INAH organizational chart highlighting its archaeological structure.

bureaucratic structure and change occurs slowly, which could be disastrous during times of rapid political and economic upheavals.

The Consejo de Arqueologia (Council of Archaeology) consists of a President, ten members, and twenty-two specialists (García-Bárcena 2007). Below the Council is the Directorate of Archaeology, with sub-directorates for Archaeological Studies, Underwater Archaeology, Academic Services, Public Registry, and Salvage Archaeology (Robles García 2000). Additionally, there are seven national INAH coordinators, thirty-one regional centers, as well as national, regional, local, site, community, and metropolitan museums (http://www.inah.gob.mx/iquienes-somos). Finally, at the base of INAH's organizational pyramid, 136 archaeological zones are open to the public (Robles García 2000).

The pursuit of archaeology is highly centralized in Mexico through INAH (Sebastian 2007:12). INAH controls all archaeological work through its Council of Archaeology (Sebastian 2007:11). The Council approves all proposals for archaeological fieldwork, which are then authorized by INAH. An authorization is required to legally conduct fieldwork in Mexico, and 15 percent of the research funds are applied to site conservation (García-Bárcena 2007:15). Most of the 600 or so annual archaeological research projects in Mexico are official INAH projects; around half of the foreign research approved by INAH is conducted by anthropologists from the United States (García-Bárcena 2007:15). Because Mexico controls its cultural heritage, archaeological artifacts must be studied in Mexico, except for unusual circumstances, such as tests that are unable to be carried out by any laboratories in Mexico (García-Bárcena 2007:15). In addition, INAH requires archaeologists to consolidate architectural structures before

undertaking excavations, as part of its mission in site preservation (García-Bárcena 2007:15).

INAH's mission has expanded since it was founded. The National School of Anthropology and History (ENAH) was established under INAH in 1942 (Ladrón de Guevara 2007:26). In 1985 INAH began its National Archaeological Atlas Project, which was designed to eventually be a registry of all of Mexico's archaeological sites and standardize how collected data is recorded (Sánchez Nava 2007:21). The scope of this project is almost breathtaking; there are more than 35,000 registered archaeological sites (Sánchez Nava 2007:22), with an estimated number of sites that totals at least 100,000 (Martínez Muriel 2007:17). However, despite INAH's mission of public education, less than 200 of these sites are open to the public (Martínez Muriel 2007:17). There are more than 110,000 known historical monuments in Mexico (Villareal Escarrega 2006:396). INAH is in charge of 121 museums throughout Mexico (Castillo Mangas 2007:38), which range from the National Museum of Anthropology in Mexico City, which opened in 1964 (Krotz 1991:184), to small community museums, such as the one located in San Miguel de Allende, Guanajuato (Patterson 2007:253). In all, there are more than 671,000 objects stored in these museums and INAH-coordinated state centers (Castillo Mangas 2007:38). Additionally, INAH determines where objects will be stored and undertakes the curation and cataloguing of these objects (Castillo Mangas 2007:37-38). There is undeniably a burden placed upon INAH as it struggles to fulfill its legal obligations to protect and conserve Mexico's cultural heritage.

For all of this, only a small number of archaeological sites are actually owned by the state. Although Mexico is in control of its cultural heritage, the property itself, the

land, may be owned by any number of private individuals, organizations, or may be *ejido* lands (Martínez Muriel 2007:18). This can complicate matters for archaeologists, particularly foreign archaeologists, who may assume that their INAH authorization allows them *carte blanche* to conduct fieldwork. The reality is that consent from the community, including local government officials and landowners, is also required (Feinman and Nicholas 2007:41). Feinman and Nicholas (2007:41) caution foreign archaeologists to not lose sight of the fact that, regardless of the research questions they are attempting to answer, there will be "political and cultural implications" of this research for the local communities. Echoing Pyburn (2007), they also advise non-Mexican archaeologists to collaborate with local archaeologists when it comes to interacting with other members of the community, since these archaeologists naturally possess the cultural knowledge necessary to defuse potential problems that outsiders will almost certainly lack (Feinman and Nicholas 2007:42).

Despite the widespread distribution of archaeological sites across Mexico, these sites have not been equally protected and conserved. INAH's limited resources, both financial and in personnel, have meant that central and southern Mexico have received the most support for research and conservation while the northern states have suffered from its absence (Vallalpando 2001:49). In addition, much of the research that has been carried has been conducted by archaeologists from the United States instead of from Mexico (Villalpando 2001:50). M. Elisa Villalpando (2001:53) describes how recent joint ventures between archaeologists from both countries have contributed to knowledge about the history of Sonora, community building, and identity formation. She also

cautions that one result of this effort has been the creation of unanticipated obligations on behalf of the archaeologists toward the local community (Villalpando 2001:53).

The site, Cerro de Trincheras, is the only major archaeological site in Sonora that has been protected; access to the site is controlled through a joint effort that includes the local community, Sonora, and INAH in an attempt to curtail looting (Villalpando 2001:53). Local pride, and likely the hope of tourism, led to plans for the construction of a site museum, which would be the first of its kind in Sonora (Villalpando 2001:53). As Villalpando explains, the people of Sonora have not felt connected to the archaeological heritage of the area because of the local attitude that "if there are no pyramids, there is no archaeology" (2001:54). As a result, local people are more familiar with Aztec and Mayan history than their own (Villalpando 2001:54); however, local identity does feel a sense of connection with the more recent history of *mestizo* ranching and denies their indigenous ties to the past (Villalpando 2001:54). Nevertheless, the presence of actual archaeological excavations at the community has led to increased interest in Sonora's archaeological past.

As Villalpando points out, she and her team are archaeologists who are working on behalf of the federal government, which means that they only do archaeology at the site (2001:54). How the archaeological resources are managed beyond the excavations, such as opening the site to the public or planning the museum, go beyond their authority; these are actions that are initiated at higher levels of INAH's bureaucracy (Villalpando 2001:54), yet as the representatives of INAH with whom local people come into contact, they must navigate their way carefully so as to not make promises that might not be kept. As a further complication, and an indication of the arbitrariness of international borders,

the indigenous group, Tohono O'odham, with members in both the United States and Mexico, also has a stake in how archaeological resources are managed and interpreted.

The Tohono O'odham, as an indigenous group in Mexico, have suffered as a result of Mexico's indigenous problem, as described above. However, Mexico deals with the issue of indigenous people and culturally affiliated remains in a different manner from that of the United States. In the United States, of course, cultural materials, including human remains, would be repatriated to the tribe. In Mexico, however, there is no equivalent to NAGPRA and, as the owner of all heritage resources, the items found in burials, even human remains, belong to the state, and archaeologists are free to analyze and conserve such items as required by federal law (Villalpando 2001:55). However, in this case, for some reason, cultural artifacts were repatriated to the Tohono O'odham in Mexico, which has been controversial (Villalpando 2001:55). Clearly there are ongoing concerns regarding the status of indigenous people in Mexico, their claims to their own cultural heritage, and how these claims conflict with those of the Mexican federal government.

As a counterpoint, Jeffrey Parsons (2001:99) notes that archaeological research in the Basin of Mexico, especially at Teotihaucán, has been fairly well supported through funding for decades. However, most of this support has been for fieldwork, particularly surveys and excavations (Parsons 2001:99). The part of research that is sorely underfunded would be the storage and curation of archaeological materials that includes, beyond durable lithics and potsherds, the bags in which artifacts are kept, the labels that identify these artifacts, and the field notes and photographs that document the artifacts and provide context (Parsons 2001:99). Of course, context and documentation are

critically important to professional archaeological practices and if this documentation was lost through neglect, it would be impossible to replace this lost information. Parsons points out that what contributes to this problem are the high costs of long-term storage and curation, along with the underlying attitude, both within and without the archaeological profession, that fieldwork is more valuable than curation (2001:99).

Parsons proposes a new approach to the study of archaeology in the Basin of Mexico that would help to justify the long-term storage and curation of artifacts and documents, as well as provide newer generations of archaeologists with research opportunities that would advance our knowledge of the region's past (2001:99). His solution is simple: go back through existing collections and re-analyze them using modern-day techniques. With decades of stored artifacts available that have not been studied in years, there would be new data that can be learned from these collections, particularly since, in many cases, the original archaeological sites no longer exist due to development (Parsons 2001:101). With the sites long gone, the stored artifacts are now the only means of revisiting the past; new techniques that were unavailable before, such as neutron activation analysis, could be (and have been) applied to these artifacts and new information has been learned from them (Parsons 2001:101). In turn, this raises new research questions that will keep the discipline moving forward.

As development continues to threaten the destruction of the archaeological record, archaeologists need to find new ways to ensure archaeology's future sustainability. Parsons describes how Elizabeth Brumfiel was able to work with the community at Xaltocán in establishing a local museum designed to store and exhibit artifacts from the site and allow access to the artifacts for researchers to study (2001:104). He admits that

Brumfiel had to convince the community of the need for this project, which would require archaeologists to invest more effort in collaborating with local people and that, while this is not a long-term solution to the problem of storage, it was a positive step in experimenting with new approaches to these issues (Parsons 2001:104-105). Additionally, these local venues can serve as opportunities for public outreach and education about the importance of archaeology and involve the local community more in its support of professional archaeology (Parsons 2001:105). These kinds of bottom-up solutions are those that work best for archaeologists and have some potential for future practices in other cultural contexts.

Because only a small number of archaeological sites are open to the public, local people may be suspicious of foreign archaeologists or otherwise not understand the purpose of the excavations (Martínez Muriel 2007:17-18; Patterson 2007:188-189). In other circumstances, local people may have hopes that archaeological excavations will bring tourists, money, and infrastructural improvements (Martínez Muriel 2007:18-19). This is unfortunate, since most archaeological sites do not earn profits and must be subsidized by public money (Martínez Muriel 2007:19), but most people are unaware of this fact, and believe, probably out of desperation, the hype surrounding tourism development. Policies of deregulation and privatization only add to these problems, as the public grows concerned about their own fate as well as that of their cultural heritage.

Starting in 1982, the Mexican federal government reversed decades of direct state intervention in the economy and embarked on a program of neoliberal reforms (MacLeod 2004:10). Ostensibly, neoliberalism was seen as the solution to Mexico's growing debt crisis (Pastor and Wise 1997:421); multinational corporations and transnational

organizations pressured Mexico toward these policies, which were designed to control spending and increase economic productivity (Musante 2002:126). In exchange for loans by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (INF), the Mexican government was required to introduce austerity measures on public spending, deregulate or otherwise privatize previously nationalized industries, and open Mexico's markets to foreign-based corporations (Peck 2004:399). By the early 1990s, the lure of neoliberalism had spread across North America, eventually resulting in the adoption of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) between Mexico, the United States, and Canada in 1994 (Shadlen 2000:81).

The justification behind neoliberalism and privatization is that government is less efficient than private industry at providing services and excessive government intervention in markets will hinder productivity and curb economic growth (Huber and Solt 2004:150; Musante 2002:123; Shefner and Stewart 2011:354). However, it is a myth that markets are self-regulating in a climate free from government influence; therefore, neoliberal markets still require management, only now government managers are encouraging private investors rather than working on behalf of the public (Peck 2004:394). The problem is, as MacLeod (2004:19) notes, that public ownership (i.e., the state) of property is meant to be inclusive, whereas private ownership, by definition, excludes non-owners from participation or use of resources. The state can be seen as a "loss-leader" that can provide services in the absence of profits, whereas private industries must operate at profits in order to survive (MacLeod 2004:254).

That said, as a result of Mexico's pursuit of privatization, markets are indeed more open to foreign investment (Pastor and Wise 1997:455). However, these

multinational corporations are able to outcompete smaller, local businesses, thereby driving smaller companies out of business (Shadlen 2000:74) and costing hundreds of thousands of jobs (Charnock 2005:6). Even those with jobs have paid the price of privatization, as wages stagnated and purchasing power declined (Charnock 2005:6). As the social safety net eroded over time (Huber and Solt 2004:158), levels of economic inequality and poverty increased (Huber and Solt 2004:156; Shefner and Stewart 2011:354). Because the best interests of the people are not being represented at the highest levels of government, ultimately privatization can be said to be undemocratic (Shefner and Stewart 2011:373).

Mexico's path of privatization has thus far not officially affected the country's heritage resources (although indirect evidence to the contrary will be explored further in the next chapter), the concern is that archaeological sites will become part of the trend toward privatization (Breglia 2006b:1; Castañeda 1996:80). Government policies that favor economic austerity, coupled with the vastness of Mexico's heritage sites, many of which are still unregistered and unprotected, suggest a looming threat to Mexico's heritage that is not unfounded. The irony is how the siren song of privatization increases as politicians climb the political ladder. When he was the governor of Guanajuato, Vicente Fox encouraged the development of the archaeological site at the Cañada de la Virgen and even pledged matching public funds to achieve this goal (Patterson 2007:258-259). A few years later, President Fox's economic record of unemployment, wage stagnation, and industry slowdown were the result of his dedication to privatization (Charnock 2005:6).

Multinational investment in Mexico contributed to income inequality through the intentional underdevelopment of Mexico's industries (Portes 1997:231). Since multinational corporations need to seek new markets in order to remain profitable, privatization opens previously closed markets to foreign competition and interference (Peck 2004:399). For example, in 1992, after seventy-five years, Mexico's Constitution was amended to allow *ejido* land to be privatized (Musante 2002:123), thus transforming these communal properties into private property. The combination of privatization and the effects of NAFTA resulted in deeply negative impacts on *ejidos* and the agricultural sector (Ros 2003:230). Agricultural imports undercut local production and *ejido* workers were forced to find non-farm sources of income (Ros 2003:230). As has been already discussed, those who live in economically depressed communities frequently view tourism development as an opportunity for economic improvement; with few alternative options available, tourism becomes the last hope for the community. However, international tourism is predicated upon the notion that it is possible to transform a site of local heritage into an investment opportunity for those outside of the local community (Breglia 2006b:13; Peck 2004:397).

Tourism is one of the largest industries in Mexico, and in 2006 generated nearly $9 billion (in U.S. dollars) of income (Herreman 2006:420). Nearly half of all the visitors to those archaeological sites that are open to the public are foreigners (Herreman 2006:422). Unfortunately, the big business of tourism is that it is a business; the multinational corporations that develop and expand the tourism industry are the primary beneficiaries of this income and the local communities, especially those that have come to depend upon tourism, continue to suffer (Ardren 2002:385). Privatization helped to

create these circumstances by allowing for foreign investment in Mexico, but also by how transrnational organizations like UNESCO prop up the tourism industry by promoting the idea of universal heritage (Herreman 2006:421; Peck 2004:397). In Mexico, as elsewhere, we see the double-edged sword of tourism and archaeological heritage management.

As archaeologists we are concerned about protecting archaeological sites and what we can learn through the study of these sites. Members of the local community, on the other hand, may be uninterested in what the site can tell them about their past (although in other instances, sites are an important source for identity), but might have strong economic reasons for protecting and promoting the site as a potential source of income from tourism. Traci Ardren describes two such communities and how the archaeologists collaborated with members of these communities in the hopes of fostering mutual benefit for all involved (2002:385). The archaeological project took place at the site of Chunchucmil, nearby the modern-day villages of Chunchucmil and Kochol, in Yucatán. According to Ardren, the research project was initially a fairly straightforward study of the site that evolved into a community-based project of collaboration with the local communities that would assist them with tourism development (2002:380), based on the economic needs of these communities (2002:385).

Ardren points out that, in the beginning, the archaeologists were welcomed by the community leaders because they would employ local people to assist with the excavations, although the people of the communities did not have much interest in how the archaeology of the site connected them to their cultural past (2002:385). However, the workers at the sites were initially concerned that the foreign archaeologists would take

away artifacts from the site (Ardren 2002:386), which prompted the archaeologists to begin working to establish great trust with the communities. Ardren explains how the archaeologists met regularly in the evenings with community leaders and other interested individuals to explain the archaeological process talk about some of the benefits of archaeology, not as authorities but rather as equals in a conversation (2002:386). In addition, members of the community were invited to visit the laboratory to see what had been found and even handle some of the ceramics as a means of generating interest in the actual results of the project and continue building trust between the archaeologists and communities (Ardren 2002:386-387). Project members gave presentations to the communities to keep them informed of the research, posters with images of artifacts were donated to the communities, and an informational video, narrated in both Spanish and Yucatec, was produced for the communities (Ardren 2002:387).

At the site, schoolchildren were allowed to explore and asked questions about the artifacts, with many answers provided by the local workers who could respond in the children's native Mayan language (Ardren 2002:387). The archaeologists collaborated with community leaders over which features of the site would be the most likely to attract visitors and therefore which should be consolidated first, eventually deciding to focus on the household groups as being the most representative of the Mayan people (Ardren 2002:388). Ardren tells how community members noticed the similarities between how the ancient homes were structured and their own modern-day homes and they joked that they should move to the site, since it was a nicer location than where their own homes were (Ardren 2002:389). As a result of these efforts toward public outreach, a proposal was made to create a living museum, where local volunteers could reside for a time in a

reconstructed home, grow a garden of native plants (of which the produce could be sold), and demonstrate native skills like pottery-making, roof thatching, and the tending of medicinal plants (Ardren 2002:389). Clearly the idea was to draw tourists to the site through small demonstrations of indigenous life and draw obvious connections to the past.

Whether or not these efforts will be rewarded economically through an increase in tourism remains to be seen. The point of Ardren's article is to discuss how a project can change on the ground based upon the needs of the community, and how there is a growing need for archaeologists to work with these communities by building trust and not simply assuming that the benefits of archaeology will be clear or even the same for each individual community. Ardren argues that to make archaeology relevant to local people, how archaeologists approach the community must change to be more responsive to local conditions (2002:391). This includes partnering with local people in making decisions about how the site, and its materials, will be managed (Ardren 2002:392) and even acknowledging the past relationship between the community, the site, and the natural environment (Ardren 2002:393). Ardren finishes by pointing out that when children do not feel connected to their archaeological heritage or when indigenous people believe that archaeologists are there to steal from them, then the discipline has failed in its mission (2002:396).

Without tourism to promote archaeological heritage resources, their protection and conservation have traditionally been underfunded and underappreciated. With the economic impacts of modern-day cultural tourism, suddenly there is a great deal of concern over how these sites are managed and whether or not their usefulness for tourism

can be sustained (Herreman 2006:421). In countries like Mexico, where these impacts have been amplified through decades of economic struggle and increasing inequality, the stakes are even higher. The irony is that the people believe the myths of the economic benefits of tourism, even as they have suffered from the effects of privatization. Because the state has promoted nation-building and a national identity through its archaeological heritage resources, the threat of state divestment of its obligations to these resources threatens the stability of the state itself.

CHAPTER SIX

RESEARCH ANALYSIS

At the heart of this project were two archaeological sites in Mexico: the Cañada de la Virgen, in Guanajuato, and Teotihuacán. Despite being two very different archaeological sites, it seemed to me that the threats they faced resulted from the same problem. At the Cañada de la Virgen, there was conflict due to a misunderstanding of Mexico's cultural heritage laws. At Teotihuacán, the conflict arose out of fears that the site's integrity was threatened by encroaching development. In both instances, it appears that Mexico's pursuit of neoliberalism and privatization has headed toward a relaxing of the cultural heritage laws that have been in place for decades. These laws formed the foundation of both modern archaeology and tourism in Mexico, and it looks like the latter is slowing beginning to prevail over the former.

In order to obtain data for this project I utilized information from informal, unstructured interviews, biographical and autobiographical materials, news items, and archival documents. Interviews took place through email exchanges and in-person conversations. One interview took place during the annual meeting for the Society for American Archaeology in Austin, Texas, in 2007. Don Patterson agreed to go on the record in a series of email conversations held in 2004 and 2005. In the interest of thoroughness and transparency I have included their words verbatim as much as possible. In 2007, Don published an autobiographical account of his archaeological experiences in Mexico. David Carrasco's interviews with Eduardo Matos Moctezuma, at one time the Director of INAH's Council of Archaeology, also published in 2007, served to provide information on the higher level workings of that institution. I also relied on information

obtained from INAH's archives as well as news stories from the United States and

Mexico for recent information about the following events.

The Cañada de la Virgen (from this point on, I will use the name of the property

as shorthand for the archaeological site itself) is an area containing several natural and

cultural sites located thirty kilometers southwest from the municipality of San Miguel de

Allende, in Guanajuato State in the central Mexican highlands, which places it on the

Mesoamerican frontier (Figure 4). The cultural features of the site were discovered in

1985 during a period of extensive surveys over an area of 950 km^2, as part of the

Archaeological Atlas of Guanajuato Project, a pilot project for INAH (Nieto 1997). Don

Patterson, who undertook the project as part of a team under Luis Nieto, explained the

implications of what they discovered during the pilot project to me:

> The Cañada de la Virgen Project is the resulting product of a study of settlement
> patterns that took place throughout the mid-1980s. From 1983 to 1987 the project
> crew located and documented almost 100 pre-Hispanic sites, several hundred
> colonial structures, and the location of present-day industries that exploited local
> resources, like brickmaking and stone quarrying… due to the number of pre-
> Hispanic settlements we were finding in the supposed border area with
> Mesoamerica, and taking into account the number of sites in the center, the total
> number of sites in Mexico with standing architecture was amazing. Taking into
> account the economic conditions of the country it was probably impossible for
> INAH to fulfill all of its obligations toward the nation in relation to the project,
> the conservation, investigation, and dissemination of our national patrimony if it
> acted alone.

The property had been privately owned, and was sold to its current owner a few years

before my project began (Patterson 2007:274), which will become a significant aspect of

this story. Today, the property is used for ranching and farming, along with a nature

sanctuary, and, of course, the archaeological sites (Cañada de la Virgen 2004).

The Cañada de la Virgen has numerous pre-Columbian and Spanish colonial sites,

including the site known as Complex A (Figure 5). Complex A is composed of a temple
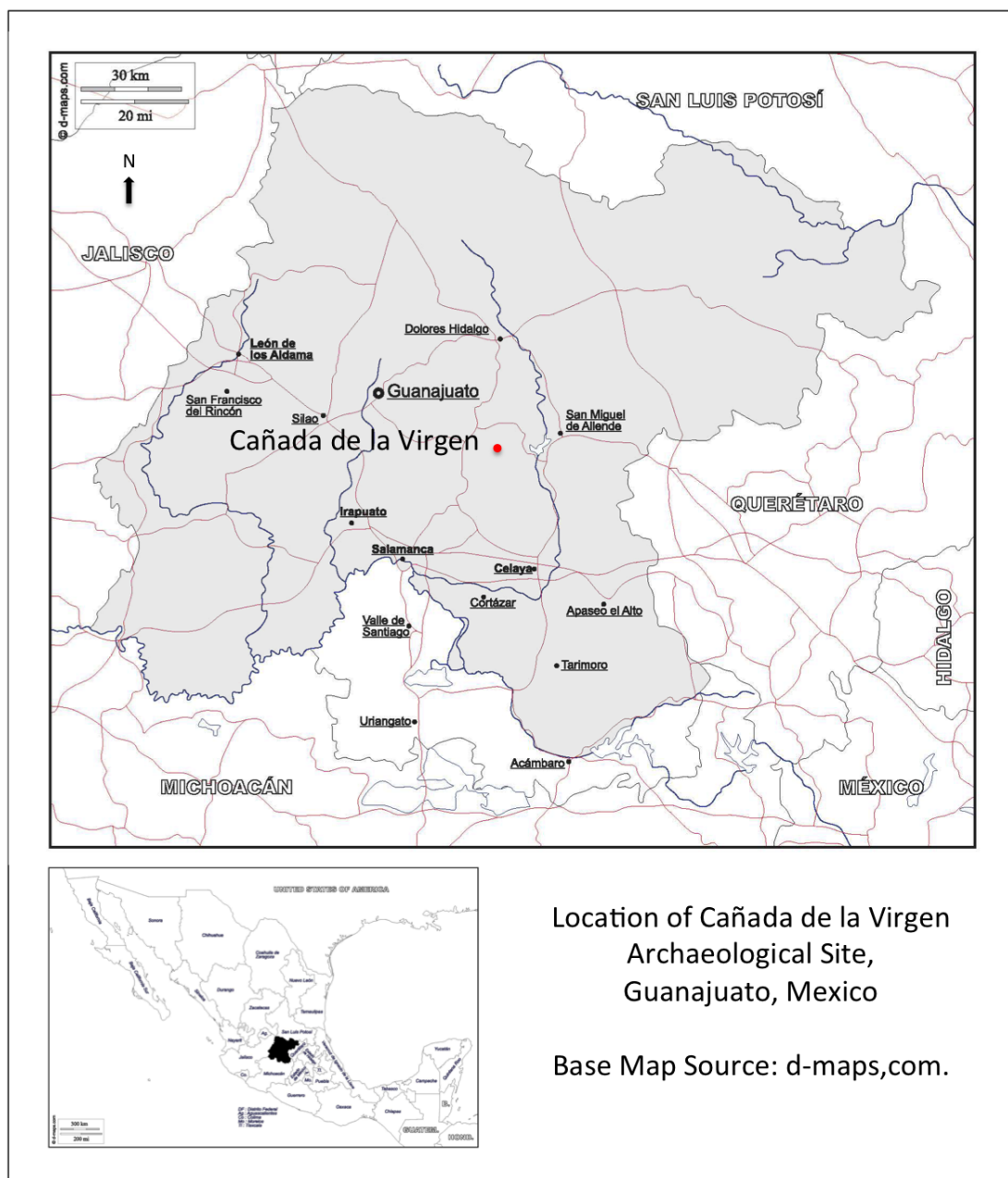
Figure 4. The Cañada de la Virgen and San Miguel de Allende.

Figure 5. Complex A at the Cañada de la Virgen.

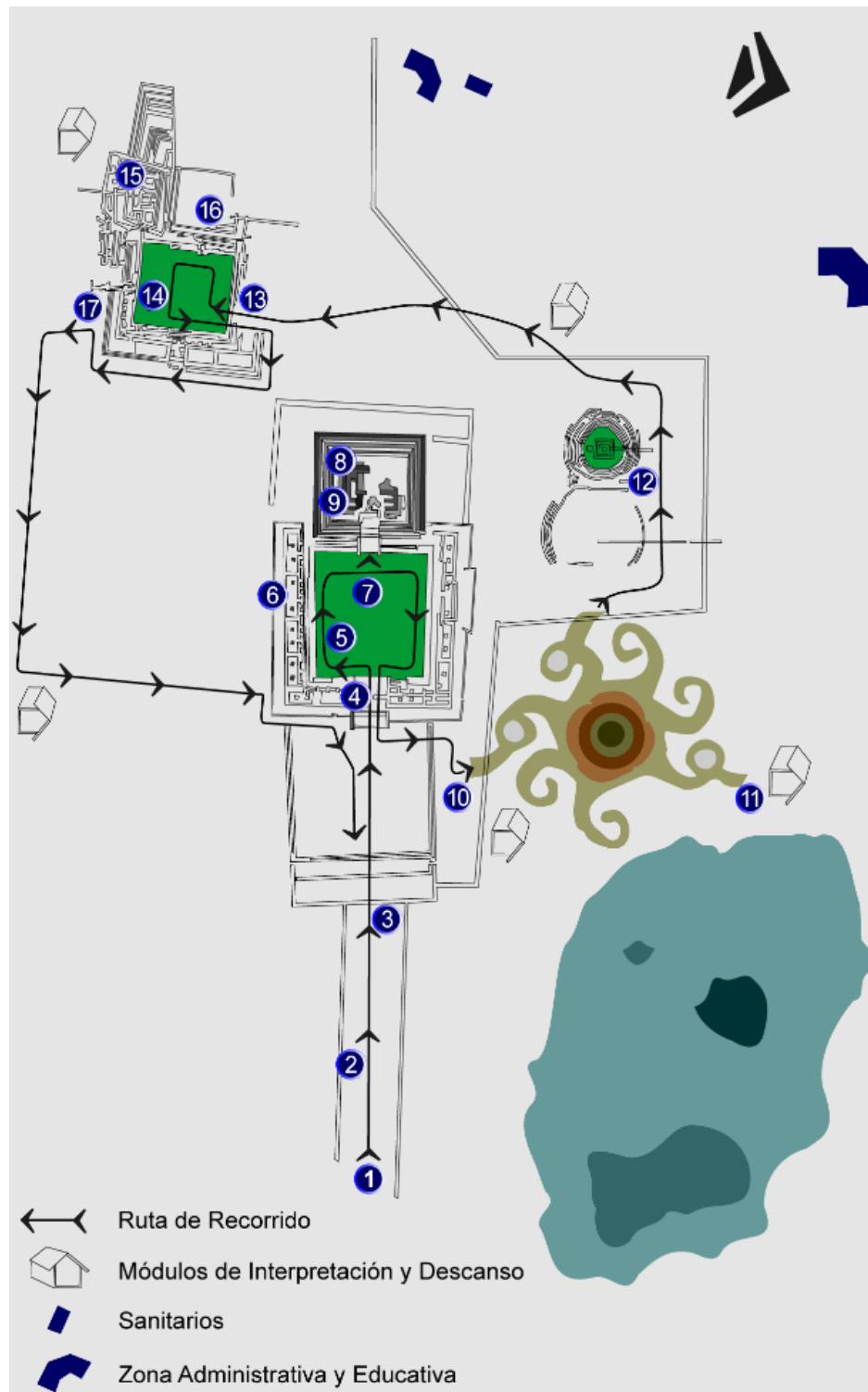Source: Instituto Estatal de la Cultura, Guanajuato

Figure 6. Map of the Cañada de la Virgen

.Source: gtoexperience.mx

1997:134-135). The implications of Teotihuacán's collapse on Central Mexico will be discussed in greater detail momentarily.

The early Postclassic period (CE 900-1524) has greater consequences for southern Mesoamerica than in the north, as the north was already coping with the abandonment of Teotihuacán prior to the Lowland Maya collapse. The later Postclassic, by the early thirteenth century, was the beginning of Aztec dominance in Central Mexico (Adams 1991). For the Maya homelands, this was the time of greater prominence of the Guatemalan Highlands and the Northern Lowlands of the Yucatán following the abandonment of Southern Lowland cities such as Tikal and Palenque (Adams 1991). This is also when the Maya homelands began to be dominated by foreigners from the north, undoubtedly as a result of the shake-up following the fall of Teotihuacán, when people from the northern frontiers of Mesoamerica pushed their way further south (Adams 1991:267).

The excavations at Complex A began in 1989, mostly through clearing away surface vegetation and reinforcing the foundation of the temple pyramid (Nieto 1997). More detailed excavations through the 1995 field season revealed some interesting insights into the history of the site. The archaeologists determined that the ceremonial center was dedicated to the worship of Quetzalcoatl. This interpretation was derived through artifact evidence discovered at the temple, mostly through faunal analysis of animal remains normally associated with rituals performed by the Cult of Quetzalcoatl elsewhere in Central Mexico (Nieto 1997). The other important discovery made by the archaeologists was that there had been at least two major phases of construction at Complex A. Although the final period of construction was a regional variation of

Teotihuacán-style architecture, there was an earlier structure underneath the later

construction (Nieto 1997).

The earlier pyramid was a simple mound of earth that had been smoothed over

with a mixture of sand and lime and painted red. The second construction project was

more complex and was reminiscent of those structures found at Teotihuacán. Adams

(1991:208) points out that "Teotihuacán developed a characteristic architectural style on

which archaeologists depend in the detection of the city's influence on other cities of the

time," although we could probably extend this to the time period following the collapse

of Teotihuacán, given what we know about the movements of craft specialists away from

the city. Most notably, the later construction required around 23,400 pieces of stone that

were specially carved to fit together (Nieto 1997:103). This was a regional variation of

the talud-tablero style of architecture found elsewhere in the region (Figure 7). The

archaeologists also found a number of ceramic wares that were typical of the area and

were consistently dated with other contemporary sites (Nieto 1997). It would thus appear

that Complex A at the Cañada de la Virgen shares cultural and temporal continuity with

other sites in the region.

Nieto (1997:102) concluded that the later phase of the site could be identified as

Toltec-Chichimec. The collapse of Teotihuacán left a power vacuum through Central

Mexico (Adams 1991). The abandonment of the city also led to a dispersal of craft

specialists, and there is evidence that some of these ended up as far away as the Yucatán

Peninsula (Adams 1991:257; Nieto 1997). Shortly after the fall of Teotihuacán, the

Toltecs infiltrated Central Mexico from the north and quickly filled the power void left

by Teotihuacán's collapse (Adams 1991). The Toltecs formed a confederacy with other
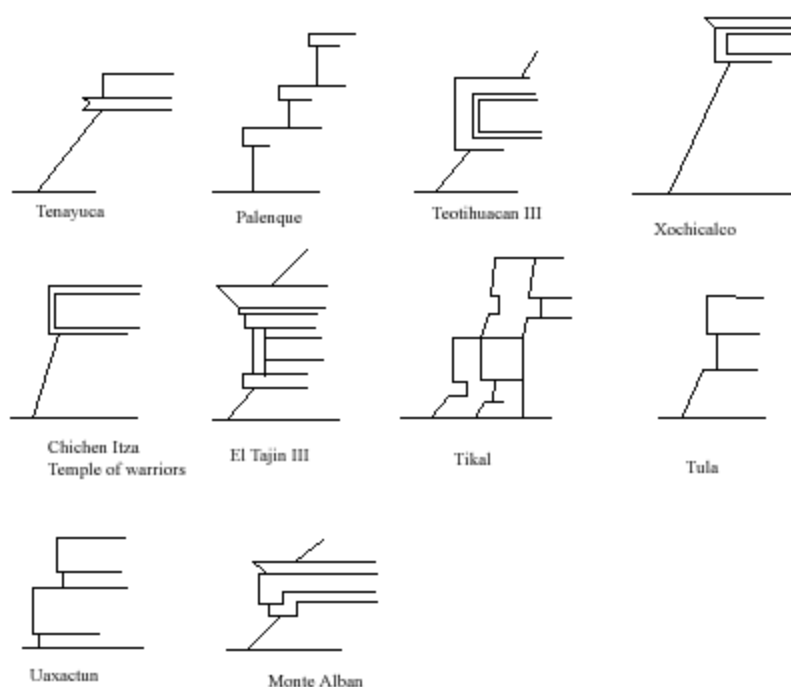
Figure 7. Examples of talud-tablero architectural styles.

Source: Wikimedia Commons

ethnic groups in Central Mexico and were also known as the Toltec-Chichimecs,

probably because at least some of these groups moved from the Gran Chichimeca desert

region located north of the conventional boundaries of Mesoamerica (Adams 1991).

Around CE 960, the Toltecs established their capital at Tula, located northwest of

Mexico City, which had earlier been an outpost of Teotihuacán (Adams 1991; Nieto

1997). It is likely that Tula is also the city of Tollan, which later became known as the

almost mythical Toltec capital, and the source of a number of legends about the Toltecs

(Adams 1991). The Toltecs were associated with the Cult of Quetzalcoatl, who was their

patron god and was adopted as the identity of one of their great rulers. In later centuries,

descent from the Toltecs was seen as a requirement for political legitimacy. In the

fourteenth century, the Aztec emperor Itzcoatl burned and rewrote all of the histories in order to claim descent from the Toltecs (Adams 1991:271). Sometime around 1540 the *Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca* was written, which was a wildly inaccurate and heavily glorified ethnohistoric account of Toltec civilization (Adams 1991:273).

Nieto (1997:105) also deduced that an accumulation of power and surplus production was necessary in order to undertake the second phase of construction at Complex A. This meant a large, organized labor force for the construction process, including the construction of the other structures at the complex, such as the courtyard, raised areas, and roadway. Additionally, craft specialists were needed for the thousands of small, brick-sized stones that were carved for the external walls of the pyramid. Many of these stones were of particular textures and colors not found locally, which indicates long-distance trade networks were in place to bring these materials to the site (Nieto 1997:105).

Nieto (1997:105-106) recorded the main ceramic types recovered from Complex A as *blanco levantado* (raised white), *rojo sobre bayo* (red-on-brown), and *rojo pulido* (polished red). According to Nieto, raised white pottery is the most commonly found throughout the region, as it has been found in eighty-eight per cent of those sites that have been sampled (1997:106). Raised white pottery is usually affiliated with the red-on-brown and polished red types (Nieto 1997:106). Temporally, raised white ceramics have been dated as early as the Preclassic and as late as CE 1150, although the typical range appears to be around CE 800-1000 (Nieto 1997:106). There are also stylistic differences between the earliest and later forms of raised white pottery, which aids in assigning the temporal context to a site (Nieto 1997:106).

Red-on-brown is another widely distributed type. Like raised white pottery, red-on-brown has been dated from the late Preclassic to the early Postclassic, and Nieto (1997:107) suggested it should be dated locally from around CE 850-900 to 1100. He further proposed that more detailed studies of regional sites such as Complex A would be extremely useful in collecting data to further refine these dates (Nieto 1997:107). For the polished red ceramics, Nieto (1997:107) noted that these wares have been found at eighty per cent of those sites that have been sampled in the region and these are always found in association with raised white and red-on-brown pottery.

The ceramic types recovered from Tula that are contemporary with those from the later occupation at Complex A include *mazapan*, "an orange-colored pottery decorated with multiple wavy red lines," and imported wares, such as Late Classic Maya polychromes and fine orange, and plumbate, a lead-colored and -glazed pottery from the Pacific Coast of Guatemala (Adams 1991:276). After the fall of Tula in the twelfth century, the ceramic wares most commonly found in the area are black-on-orange and black-on-white forms (Adams 1991:276). It should be noted that there is no overlap between the main types of ceramics that have been found at both locations, and, in fact, Nieto pointed out that at Complex A there was no significant presence of those ceramic types recovered at Tula and elsewhere, although there may be a few pieces that have not been conclusively identified (1997:108).

Therefore, although the architecture was an imported style, the ceramics found were all of local types that remained largely unchanged throughout the occupation of the site. From this, Nieto (1997:108) hypothesized that while architectural styles might change abruptly, in contrast, ceramic traditions last for much longer periods of time.

Although there are certain implications that logically proceed from this interpretation regarding the nature of social and ethnic networks, along with issues of power, domination and resistance, Nieto did not pursue these lines of thought. Instead, he concluded that further investigations at the Cañada de la Virgen and other regional sites are needed for better comparisons (Nieto 1997:108).

The local ceramic types that were maintained during this period of cultural and architectural change might be interpreted as a form of internal resistance, while the more obvious external markers, such as monumental architecture, were visible connections with Tula. Although Nieto has not specified whether the ceramics were mainly used for domestic or ritual activities, the overall lack of wares typically associated with Tula and the Quetzalcoatl cult could be significant. Using one's familiar pottery in the face of turbulent political change and upheaval as must have occurred during the later Classic may have been reassuring during difficult times. Unfortunately, it is unlikely that further evidence in support of this assertion will be forthcoming from the Cañada de la Virgen in the near future due to changes in the management of the site, as will be explained in greater detail momentarily.

Toward the end of 1995, the archaeological team returned to the Cañada de la Virgen to determine its suitability as a tourist attraction. The team surveyed the site and took some early steps toward consolidation that involved clearing away brush from the structures and using this debris to create a barrier to prevent erosion as well as keeping cattle away from the ruins. The protection of the natural environment at the site was always considered during the four and one-half years of work at the site as the archaeologists pruned some of the trees and relocated others, and used soil from the

excavations to create filtration dams that would further prevent erosion (Patterson 2007:265).

Early in 1996, the then-current owner of the property, the archaeologists who had been studying the site, political leaders in San Miguel de Allende, and members representing the tourism industry agreed that the site would be ideal for development as a tourist attraction, and the lead archaeologist held public meetings in the municipality to inform the public about this plan (Patterson 2007:258). An exhibit for the plan was installed at the Allende Museum, with photographs, drawings, and maps describing the site and its restoration (Patterson 2007:258). Vicente Fox, who was governor of Guanajuato at the time, toured the site and pledged matching funds of state money to supplement funding raised by the project (Patterson 2007:259). In all, the amount of money raised in four years for the project amounted to nearly 1.5 million pesos, slightly more than US $150,000 at the time (Patterson 2007:269). The city council of San Miguel de Allende voted to appropriate funding for the project, and, as Patterson points out, "both the PRI and PAN political parties gave their unanimous support and consent to the project" (2007:269). Without the lure of tourism, it seems unlikely that a similar project would receive such enthusiastic backing.

For the community, the project was clearly seen as one that would provide economic benefits, rather than as a source for promoting any sort of local identity for the people. As with the Cerro de Trincheras in Sonora from the last chapter, the Cañada de la Virgen would be the first archaeological site in the state of Guanajuato that would be open to the public and it was financed across different organizations and sectors of society (Patterson 2007:260). According to Patterson, INAH only contributed about ten

percent of the total funding, although the agency did provide "academic and technical support" for the project (2007:260). An architect was hired to draw up a plan for the site, including a parking lot and various tourist facilities. Patterson informed me that the decision was made to situate these facilities at some distance from the site, in part so that tourists would be required to walk to the pyramid complex and take in some of the surrounding natural environment, and partly to accommodate the needs of the owner of the property at the time, who used it mainly for ranching purposes and, despite his support for the project, he did have concerns about how the facilities would affect his cattle.

Enthusiasm for the project extended throughout the community of San Miguel de Allende. According to Patterson, the archaeologists received discounts on purchases of supplies, gas stations sold them fuel on credit, other businesses donated office space and computers, and there were always volunteers who wanted to contribute to the project's efforts in the office or out in the field (2007:272). Patterson attributes this support to the openness and transparency of the archaeologists when it came to communicating about the project with the local community (2007:272). Even during the early years of the project, visitors, "mostly students and teachers and governmental officials" would show up at the site, and the archaeologists provided free, unofficial tours for these groups (Patterson 2007:272). By all accounts, this project was shaping up to be a success story of how a public-private partnership could be used effectively in developing and promoting archaeological sites for tourism, and how inclusion of the local community by the archaeologists could lead to support, both philosophical and financial, for this kind of project.

In 1999, however, the story takes a different turn when the owner sold the property. Patterson recalls how now, that the property was for sale, some of the visitors to the site were real estate agents and other potential buyers (2007:274). In discussions with those who were interested in purchasing the property, Patterson learned that most of them were engaged in land speculation, and planned to break up the property and resell it piecemeal into subdivisions (2007:274-275). Eventually, Regina Thomas von Bohlen, who was herself a foreigner, purchased the property. Her status as a foreign citizen is significant, because, as I was informed, she did not seem to understand, or had not been properly or clearly informed of, heritage property laws in Mexico. This opinion is supported by statements made by von Bohlen that were published in local newspapers, to the effect that she was now the owner of the archaeological site (Patterson 2007:282).

The relationship between the new property owner and the archaeologists could be described as strained at first, then broke down entirely. Patterson asserts that, after meeting with von Bohlen, she began to express hostility toward the archaeologists and the project, and denounced them with "wild public accusations" (2007:280). I was never able to pin down exactly how or why von Bohlen and the archaeologists had fostered such negative impressions of each other. It is possible that, because she was unclear about Mexican heritage law, she felt that the archaeologists were usurping her authority over her property or, as has occurred in local communities worldwide, was afraid that the archaeologists were somehow planning to steal her property. At any rate, even after the dispute over who owned the archaeological site was resolved, von Bohlen's relationship with the current members of the archaeological project never improved.

This was not a protracted situation. The municipality contemplated appropriating the physical property where the site was located. Because the federal government supported policies of privatization, of which this situation would be the exact opposite, petitioning the federal government, through INAH, to acquire the property was ruled out (Patterson 2007:278). However, state and local level governments were not under the same constraints as the federal government in this regard, and some thought was given toward government appropriation, although it was unlikely to succeed (Patterson 2007:278). The matter resolved itself later in 2000, when von Bohlen, who now appeared to understand Mexican heritage laws, donated sixteen hectares of land containing the archaeological site and proposed tourist facilities, to Mexico (Patterson 2007:286). Nonetheless, the project stalled momentarily until INAH Centro Guanajuato replaced Nieto's team with a new team of archaeologists, led by Gabriela Zepeda García Moreno, who is the current director of the Proyecto Arqueológico Cañada de la Virgen.

Today the property has been developed as a nature sanctuary, undoubtedly geared toward the popular tourist trends of sustainable ecology and traditional cultural lifeways. The property promotes "traditional" ranching, by which they mean organic, where the cattle are raised on native plants and are not fed hormones and antibiotics, and claims to be following more than 200 years of cattle ranching traditions (Cañada de la Virgen 2004). There is an annual fiesta that the sanctuary hosts that celebrates the *vaquero*[2] (cowboy) history of the property (Cañada de la Virgen 2004). The sanctuary also engages

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[2] The promotional material for the sanctuary specifically uses the term *vaquero* instead of *ranchero*. According to James McDonald (personal communication), *vaquero* suggests a wage laborer, whereas *ranchero* is more indicative of a smallholder cattle operation, and is the more popular term for that region, along with *campesino* (see also Farr 2004). The use of *vaquero* illustrates the outsider status of the sanctuary's owners, as well as their unfamiliarity with local cultural traditions (see above).

in organic farming, with a special emphasis on medicinal plants like lavender and nopal cactus (Cañada de la Virgen 2004). There is a decidedly "New Age" feel to how the sanctuary has been staged for the public, by relying on tropes such as "mother earth" and "healing energies"; in addition, promotional information for the sanctuary makes reference to its "ancient Maya" roots, despite the sanctuary being located in the central Mexican highlands, many kilometers to the northwest of Mexico City.

The archaeological site opened early in 2011 and local tour companies offer packages for visitors from San Miguel de Allende to see the pyramids on a guided tour provided by a local archaeologist, Albert Tyler Coffee, who was not a member of the original project. It would seem that the project was ultimately successful. The site was developed as a tourist attraction and has been opened to the public. The site was protected and conserved, the property owner is satisfied and, presumably, the government and service sectors of San Miguel de Allende feel that the return on their investment has been satisfactory. Despite all of this, Patterson remains unhappy with what the resolution to the site represents as well as the role that INAH plays today in Mexico's neoliberal government. He does not approve of privatization, particularly the privatization of *ejidos* that has led to increased land speculation in Mexico and results in more privately owned property, with owners who are concerned about profits and place "wall and fences" around their property, where you cannot see what is happening to the archaeological heritage of Mexico (Patterson 2007:294). My second case study, Teotihuacán and the debacle of the construction nearby of a Wal-Mart/Bodega Aurrera store, continues on this theme.

As a World Heritage Site and symbol of modern Mexican political identity, Teotihuacán is one of the most thoroughly researched, mapped, and photographed archaeological sites in the world (Adams 1991; Cowgill 2008; Millon 1964). However, a brief overview of the site deserves some mention here. Systematic excavations at the site, which is located about 45 kilometers northeast of Mexico City, began during the early 20th century and there continues to be much research conducted within and around the ruined city (Cowgill 2008:962; Sugiyama 2013). In 1962, René Millon (1964:345) began the Teotihuacan Mapping Project, which was designed to use intensive surface surveys to produce a highly detailed map of 1:2000 scale of the site (Cowgill 1997:130). The result, Millon's (1973) map (Figure 8), continues to be useful for archaeologists (Adams 1991; Cowgill 1997:132; Cowgill 2008:964).

Teotihuacán's prominence within the Basin of Mexico began around 150 BCE until its fall around CE 650, spanning the Terminal Formative and Early Classic periods (Clayton 2013:89). At its peak, the city encompassed approximately 20 km^2 and sustained a population of upwards of 125,000 inhabitants, which made it a major player in the Basin of Mexico as well as surrounding regions in Mesoamerica (Clayton 2013:87). As mentioned above, in the discussion of Complex A at the Cañada de la Virgen, the end of the city's influence was felt throughout Mesoamerica, for instance as craft specialists left for more promising economic conditions and new political powers arose in the region (Adams 1991). Although there is much that archaeologists do not know about the city (for example, the name of the city itself is a later Nahautl label, and not that used by its inhabitants; likewise, the original names of the city's most prominent
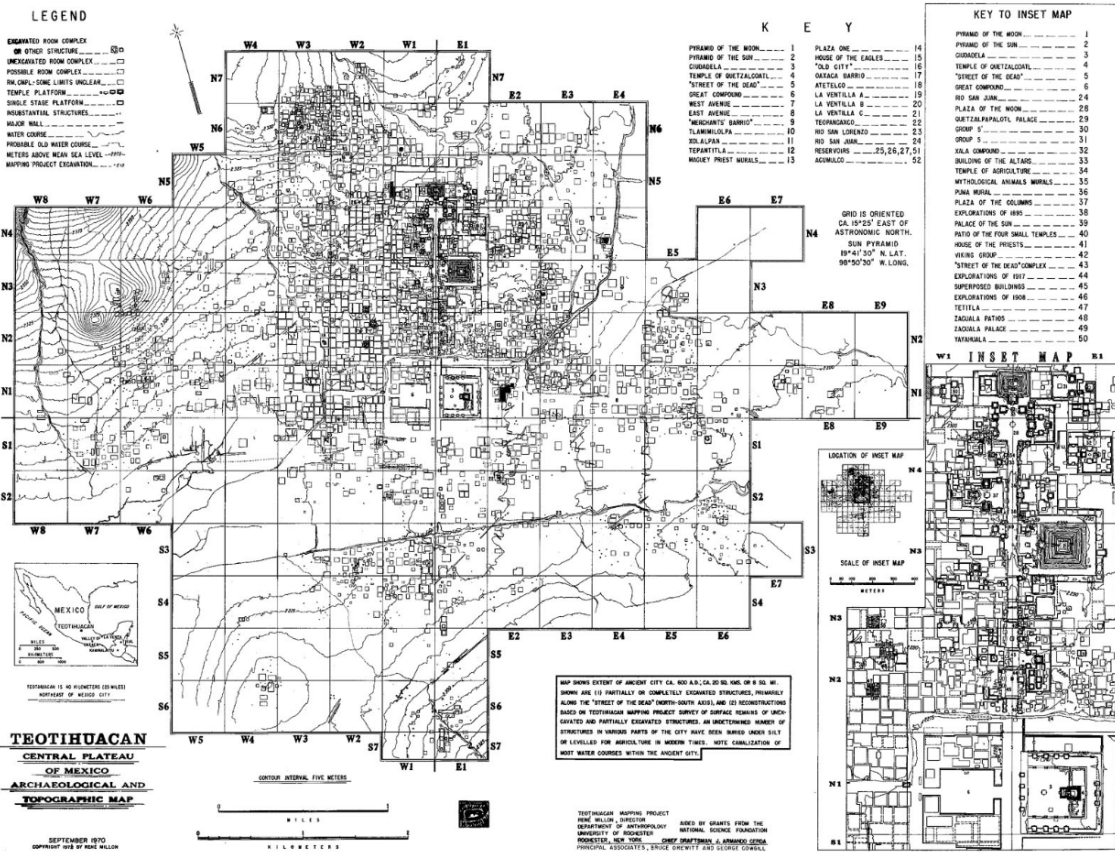
Figure 8. Map of Teotihuacán (Millon 1973)

features [Figures 9 and 10] are unknown) (Cowgill 1997:130-131), research projects on the city, its environs, and its relationship to other regions in Mesoamerica are ongoing.

Teotihuacán's control was felt directly within a 90 kilometer radius of the city and it exerted additional influence through its system of trade networks, and, beyond that, the city's reputation may have carried even further (Cowgill 1997:134). There is evidence of connections with Teotihuacán to the north at Tula, in Hidalgo, and as far south as Tikal and Kaminaljuyú, in Guatemala, although Cowgill (1997:134-135) suggests that local elites may have adopted symbols of Teotihuacán, such as incense burners and art motifs, as a means of co-opting some of Teotihuacán's prestige. Closer to home, Teotihuacán's control over the Basin of Mexico and the nearby Valley of Morelos allowed the city to exploit natural resources for growing maize and beans in the Basin and for cotton production at Morelos (Cowgill 1997:134). In addition, other communities within the city's sphere of control served as "administrative nodes, militarily strategic sites, and seasonal production areas" for "farmers, merchants, and craft specialists" (Clayton 2013:89). Examples of craft specialization found within and nearby Teotihuacán include the working of obsidian, stone carvers, cloth and clothing industries, pottery, artists, and construction trades such as quarrying, masonry, and plastering (Adams 1991:220-221).

Within the city, Teotihuacán is perhaps best known for its monumental architecture, particularly its pyramids. Teotihuacán's representative architectural style, as mentioned above, is the talud-tablero construction technique, which was used for pyramids, platforms, and other elite structures (Adams 1991:208). Pottery styles found at Teotihuacán are equally distinctive. Thin Orange, Red-on-Brown, Matte, Polished, and Painted are all characteristic examples of Teotihuacán-style ceramic wares (Adams

Figure 9. View of Teotihuacán from the Pyramid of the Moon.

Source: Wikimedia Commons

Figure 10. The Pyramid of the Moon, Teotihuacán.

Source: Wikimedia Commons

1991:222; Clayton 2013:97). These typically take the form of various household items, such as bowls, jars, cups, storage containers, and tripod vases (Adams 1991:220; Clayton 2013:97). Other examples of Teotihuacán-style ceramics include small, unfired figurines, effigy jars, and incense burners, all of which were probably used in domestic households for ritual purposes (Clayton 2013:97). Clayton (2013:97) also notes that imitation Teotihuacán ceramics, made using local clays, have been found in outlying communities.

Major research projects within Teotihuacán in recent years have focused on studies of the Pyramid of the Feathered Serpent, the Pyramid of the Moon (Cowgill 2008), and the Pyramid of the Sun (Sugiyama et al. 2013), all directed by Saburo Sugiyama. These studies have explored how Teotihuacán's elites ruled the city and its area of control prior to CE 250, after which the new construction of monumental architecture ceased (Cowgill 2008:966). This research suggests that, in contrast to Maya cities with their iconography of high-profile rulers, Teotihuacán's leaders were less well-emphasized throughout the city, although Cowgill (2008:966) offers possible explanations, such as Teotihuacán's leaders were so powerful they did not need ostentatious references to themselves beyond the mere presence of pyramids, or perhaps the references are there, but have not yet been identified as such.

Research focused on the Pyramid of the Moon, the second largest pyramid at Teotihuacán, has determined that the pyramid underwent seven separate construction phases, beginning between 100 BCE and CE 100 and completed by CE 350 (Cowgill 2008:963). Four tombs containing the remains of sacrificial victims, animal remains, and grave offerings were also discovered during the excavations (Cowgill 2008:963). The Pyramid of the Feathered Serpent, the third largest pyramid, was completed by CE 200

(Cowgill 2008:964). Tombs discovered by the archaeologists included the remains of nearly 200 sacrificial victims, mostly young men with military equipment (Cowgill 2008:964). Cowgill (2008:964) suggests these might have been the guards for an elite household; prior looting of the pyramid has limited the options for discovering new information. However, archaeologists did learn that the pyramid was damaged, possibly deliberately, around CE 300 when part of the structure was burned and built over (Cowgill 2008:965).

Excavations at the Pyramid of the Sun, the largest of Teotihuacán's pyramids, took place between 2008 and 2011 (Sugiyama et al. 2013). The archaeologists were particularly interested in special features within the pyramid, including burials and tunnels (Sugiyama et al. 2013:403). Researchers concluded that the tunnels were not natural features and had been carved out of bedrock prior to construction of the pyramid (Sugiyama et al. 2013:406, 408). Sugiyama et al. (2013:408) reject interpretations of these tunnels as being representations of caves and suggest instead that these tunnels were meant to be used for special offerings and high-status burials. Despite prior intrusions by looters, some artifacts constructed from greenstone and pyrite were discovered in the tunnels (Sugiyama et al. 2013:408). In addition to caches of offerings that contained obsidian blades, conch and spiral shells, pyrite disks, figurines, animal bones, ceramics, and unidentifiable organic fibers (Sugiyama et al. 2013:416-417), the archaeologists found several burials. The graves contained the remains of two infants, a small child, and two adults (Sugiyama et al. 2013). One adult was male, between 35-45 years of age, whereas the other adult was a partial skeleton of indeterminate age and sex (Sugiyama et al. 2013:421). The graves were a mix of primary and secondary burials,

with most corresponding to the pyramid's second construction phase (Sugiyama et al. 2013:415).

As with the Pyramid of the Moon, the archaeological team determined that the Pyramid of the Sun had been built up over time, with at least three phases that predated the pyramid as it is known today (Sugiyama et al. 2013:412). The archaeologists were interested in finding new data on the chronology of the pyramid, obtained radiocarbon dates through samples that included burned and unburned wood, shells, and human remains (Sugiyama et al. 2013:425). The results were correlated with relative dates established through ceramic sequences from the pottery that was recovered at the pyramid (Sugiyama et al. 2013:423). Through these new dates, Sugiyama's team concluded that the bulk of the construction on the pyramid occurred between approximately CE 170-310, which makes all three of the major pyramids at Teotihuacán roughly contemporaneous with each other, and suggests a period of time of massive commitment to the construction of monumental architecture within the city (Sugiyama et al. 2013:429). These are all preliminary finding as research at the site is ongoing (Sugiyama et al. 2013:406).

Outside of the city, there has been interest in sites that would have been under more direct control from Teotihuacán. Sarah Clayton's (2013) research into the sites of Axotlan and Cerro Portezuelo (Figure 11) provides some insight into what life was like for communities around the city. Axotlan and Cerro Portezuelo (as well as other locations that include Azcapotzalco and Cuauhtitlan) can be considered "regional centers", much smaller than the metropolis of Teotihuacán, but too large to be considered villages of minor importance (Cowgill 2008:969). Axotlan, located 35 kilometers west of
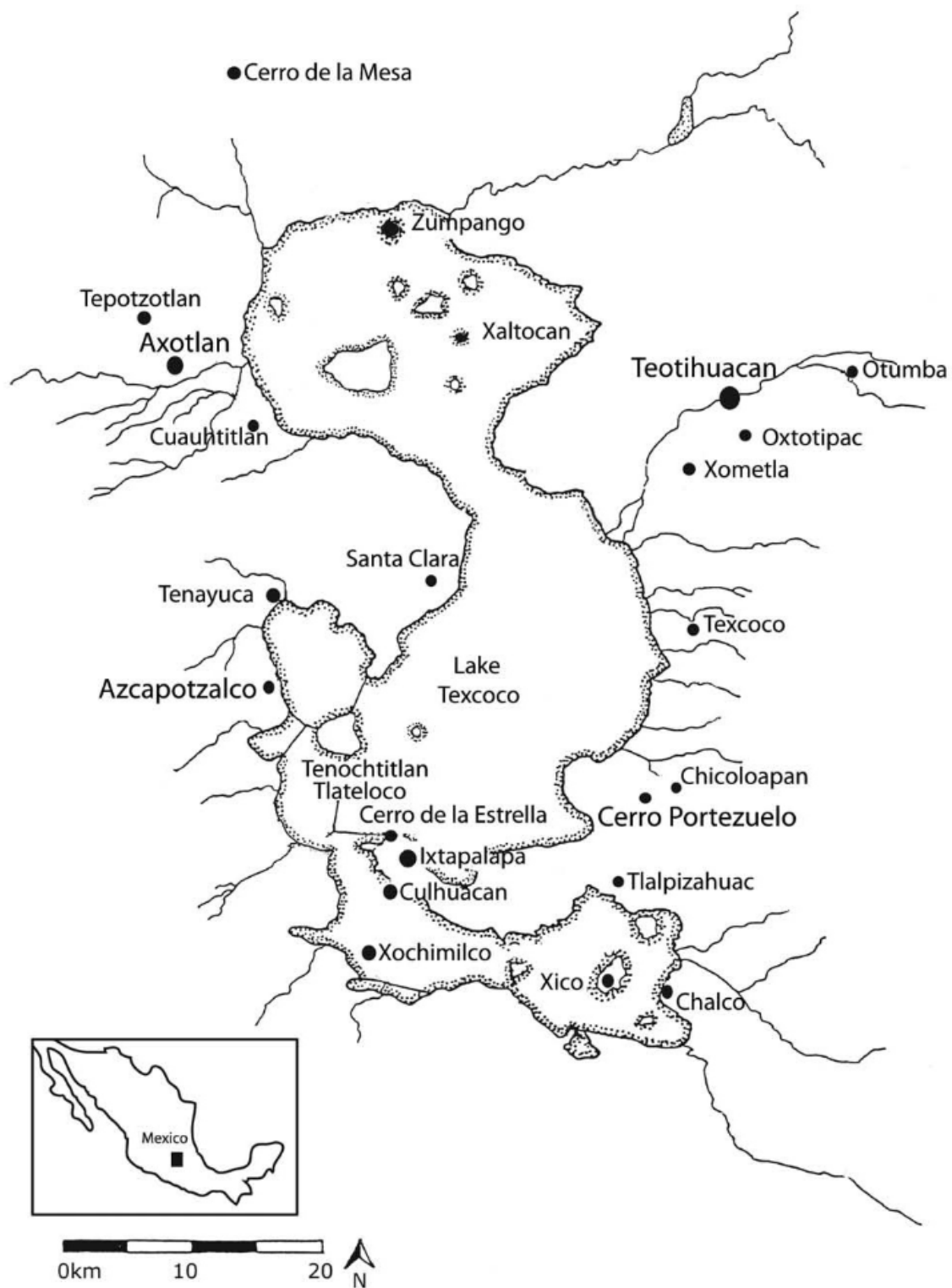
Figure 11. The Basin of Mexico and selected archaeological sites (Clayton 2013)

Teotihuacán, probably served as an administrative center and was likely founded by Teotihuacán for this purpose (Clayton 2013:90). Cerro Portezuelo is 40 kilometers south of Teotihuacán and may have served as a distribution center for locally produced goods, which would have kept the town in contact with other settlements as well, and Clayton interprets this as suggestive that Cerro Portezuelo was under less control from Teotihuacán than Axotlan (2013:91).

The area around Axotlan would have been considered to be of strategic importance to Teotihuacán. The region has a good supply of water from two rivers, which would have supported permanent irrigation projects that would sustain a large agricultural output in key crops that included maize, beans, and amaranth (Clayton 2013:92). Resources from the lakes were also exploited, including salt production from the brackish waters (Clayton 2013:92). All of these products would have made the location invaluable to Teotihuacán. Archaeological excavations indicate the site was founded around CE 200, at the height of Teotihuacán's influence, and Axotlan's residential architecture resembles that of Teotihuacán from the same time period, which suggests Teotihuacán played a part in the town's establishment (Clayton 2013:93). In addition, burial patterns and ceramics recovered from Axotlan from this time period are reminiscent of those from Teotihuacán (Clayton 2013:97). Clayton (2013:102) suggests that Teotihuacán preferred to create Axotlan as a new community rather than taking over an existing settlement in order to avoid any conflicts with previous loyalties among the inhabitants.

Cerro Portezuelo was also a site of production for foodstuffs, lake resources, and maguey, which is a source of fiber, food, alcohol, and fuel (Clayton 2013:92). Unlike at

Axotlan, thus far no evidence has been found of Teotihuacán-style residential architecture, although Clayton notes that their presence may have been destroyed due to later development or that residents may have lived in less substantial structures, which have also been found in Teotihuacán (2013:93). However, the presence of Teotihuacán-style ceremonial platforms have been found at Cerro Portezuelo, unlike Axotlan, where no such structures have been discovered (Clayton 2013:94). Typical Teotihuacán ceramics, such as Thin Orange, are uncommon or nonexistent at Cerro Portezuelo, and the vast majority of ceramics were probably produced locally (Clayton 2013:100). Clayton (2013:102) interprets this in particular as evidence that Teotihuacán had less direct control over Cerro Portezuelo than it did over Axotlan, and this interpretation is reminiscent of the discussion above regarding how the presence of local ceramics at the Cañada de la Virgen might also be indicative of local resistance to outside control. The point to be made here is that there is much ongoing research at and around Teotihuacán, which should be considered a dynamic site of great significance as well as a continued source of information about the civilizations of Mexico's indigenous past.

Around the time that I had learned about the story of the Cañada de la Virgen, I also discovered the Wal-Mart was in the process of completing construction of a store at the community of San Juan de Teotihuacán, located about two kilometers from the ruins (Figure 12). In 1992 Wal-Mart entered Mexico by buying into the Bodega Aurrera chain and by 1997 Wal-Mart owned the chain outright (Ross 2005:28). Wal-Mart became the largest private employer in a country that was already opening itself to foreign investment and a foreign corporate presence (McKinley, Jr. 2004a; Ross 2005:28). By 2004 Wal-Mart had decided to build a store under its Bodega Aurrera brand at San Juan

Figure 12. Teotihuacán and Bodega Aurrera.

Photo © Josh Haner/The New York Times 2012

de Teotihuacán, and the proposal was met by controversy literally at every step along the way. The entire tale will probably never be known in its entirety, but its elements of bribery, corruption, protests, and the destruction of an archaeological site have slowly begun to build up as time has passed.

Of course, the site of Teotihuacán itself was never under any kind of direct threat. The site's presence in the local community, its significance to Mexico, its status as a World Heritage site, and its promotion as a tourist venue ensured that even Wal-Mart would not be so bold as to construct a store any closer than they did. However, Wal-Mart did desire a store near Teotihuacán because the corporation was convinced such a store would be profitable; in fact, the corporation believed a store at that particular location would bring in 250 customers an hour (Barstow and Xanic von Bertrab 2012). The problem facing Wal-Mart at the time was the local zoning laws would not allow the construction of the store at the desired place. This is where the story takes its first turn.

The town of San Juan de Teotihuacán was concerned about the effects of increasing development in the area between the town's entrance and the ruins of Teotihuacán so they had devised a new zoning map that would prohibit further commercial development at that location (Barstow and Xanic von Bertrab 2012). However, when the zoning map was published in the government newspaper, thus cementing the law and the map's authority, it had somehow changed to a different version that would allow Wal-Mart to construct the store at that site (Barstow and Xanic von Bertrab 2012). Once the substitution had been realized, charges of corruption were made toward the town officials, the federal government, and INAH (McKinley, Jr. 2004a). Among those who were the most concerned about the future Wal-Mart store were

local merchants, who knew that when Wal-Mart arrived in a community, local vendors typically suffered as they were driven out of business by not being able to compete against the corporation (McKinley, Jr. 2004a). Despite the reassurance that the store would bring as many as 3,000 jobs to the community, the bitterness of the local merchants came through in a very interesting manner (Ross 2005:29).

These merchants and vendors employed images of cultural heritage by describing the store's looming presence as an attack on their traditions. One merchant complained that the store would be "like having Mickey Mouse on the top of the Pyramid of the Moon" while another lamented that "the ruins and us go together. We are part of this culture. They will leave us without work, without anything" (McKinley, Jr. 2004a). Journalists quoted these merchants in newspaper articles, under headlines such as "No, the Conquistadors are not back. It's just Wal-Mart" (McKinley, Jr. 2004a) and "Teoti-Wal-Mart" (Ross 2005). Public intellectuals joined in, with assertions that "Wal-Mart has profaned the City of the Gods" (Ross 2005:28). Don Patterson sent me an electronic copy of a petition, which asserted that Teotihuacán's status as a World Heritage site and source of Mexican national identity, was threatened by the store's placement in one of Teotihuacán's archaeological zones. This petition was to be sent to President Fox, urging him to block the store's construction. Of course, these efforts proved to be fruitless.

At issue in this case, again since the city of Teotihuacán itself was not being directly threatened, were dual concerns about the archaeological integrity of Teotihuacán and the cultural integrity of Mexico, both of which appeared to be under attack from Wal-Mart, which itself represented the spread of economic and cultural hegemony from the United States across the rest of the world (Barstow and Xanic von Bertrab 2012). Vicente

Yanez, the director of the National Association of Self-Service Stores stated, "It is not good for our sovereignty that all our clothes and our food come from another country" (Ross 2005:28). For other members of the local community, however, Wal-Mart fulfilled perceived needs for the town. The store opened in November, 2004, to a brisk business. Because of the controversy, the press was on hand to witness the opening, and many customers asserted that "they were more interested in jobs and lower prices than in ancient culture" (McKinley, Jr. 2004b). Victor Acevedo, a local anthropologist, admitted that he did not like having a Wal-Mart nearby Teotihuacán, but "where else am I going to shop?" (Ross 2005:30). Cultural heritage is all well and good, but people still need access to goods and services and they need employment. Unfortunately, in this instance, people were expected to give up one or the other, and the party that ultimately benefited from the construction of the store was Wal-Mart.

As it turned out, Wal-Mart has a long history of bribing government officials in order to facilitate store construction across the country. A *New York Times* investigation in 2012 by David Barstow and Alejandra Xanic von Bertrab, for which they were awarded the Pulitzer Prize in 2013 and launched an investigation into Wal-Mart's business practices by the United States Department of Justice (Horwitz and Yang 2012), into the case of Teotihuacán found that $52,000 was apparently sufficient to adjust the zoning map, although in the end Wal-Mart spent more than $200,000 in bribes to build the store (Barstow and Xanic von Bertrab 2012). A prominent source for the article, Sergio Cicero Zapata, was a former Wal-Mart lawyer, who has become a whistle-blower on Wal-Mart's business practices in Mexico. His tale of an institutional culture of bribery reached its peak with the construction of the store at Teotihuacán (Barstow and Xanic

von Bertrab 2012). According to Cicero Zapata, the Teotihuacán Wal-Mart became a symbol for Wal-Mart's presence in Mexico precisely because the store was built despite organized protests and accusations of bribery and corruption, to the point where, he claims, Wal-Mart executives believed this store was a sign that said, "If we can build here, we can build anywhere" (Barstow and Xanic von Bertrab 2012). To be honest, there is little evidence that contradicts this belief, given the current political and economic environment.

The bribery went high enough to implicate INAH officials, since the biggest piece of the mystery was not that Wal-Mart was able to convince a local town government to allow the corporation to build the store, but that the store could be built at all in violation of Mexico's archaeological heritage laws. Local archaeologists knew that Wal-Mart could not possibly have the required permit to excavate because there had been no archaeological survey of the proposed site (Barstow and Xanic von Bertrab 2012). Archaeologists even followed the trucks filled with dirt and debris from the construction site and claimed to have discovered, on closer inspection, "fragments of pottery and other evidence of ancient remains" (Barstow and Xanic von Bertrab 2012). Based on these claims, the local INAH lawyer halted construction, even though the agency had already supplied the corporation with the required permit without having conducted the equally required survey. Cicero Zapata claims that senior INAH officials in Mexico City requested an "official donation" of $45,000 and a "personal gift" of $36,000 for the permit (Barstow and Xanic von Bertrab 2012).

INAH tells a different story, asserting that Wal-Mart had offered the donation, but nobody wanted to take responsibility for accepting it, claiming instead that nobody knew

anything about accepting bribes or donations in exchange for construction permits (Barstow and Xanic von Bertrab 2012). Again, it seems unlikely that the real story will ever be fully known, but the fact remains that Wal-Mart did receive INAH approval for the store's construction, even after that construction was halted twice in order to recover artifacts and document the finds at the site. INAH officials did produce a survey from 1984 that was used as a justification for the permit, although the investigation revealed that this survey was not for the construction site, but for a location adjacent to it (Barstow and Xanic von Bertrab 2012). The store was completed, opened for business, and it seems unlikely that the store would be demolished solely on the basis of these claims. Even if the store was dismantled, the potential loss from the destruction of the archaeological remains at the site can never be replaced. INAH appears to be investigating the matter, but, based on his experiences with the Cañada de la Virgen project, Patterson is skeptical of the agency's ability to swiftly resolve controversial problems, simply because of the weight and inertia that is produced by a large bureaucracy (2007:286).

Both of these cases illustrate how the fears about the threats to Mexico's archaeological heritage are grounded in reality. INAH's mandate to protect and conserve archaeological sites requires a large bureaucracy to manage the vast number of sites in Mexico, which necessarily entails a growing need for continuing funding at levels that are high enough to ensure the sustainability of these sites. While INAH's bureaucratic structure is immense, the agency's fight for public money to pursue and fulfill its mission is likely not sufficient for its long-term success due to the political and economic situation in Mexico. This means that some difficult choices will need to be made in the

future. Will the Mexican federal government decide to amend the nation's Constitution to change its attitude toward its cultural heritage, will the management of the archaeological heritage trend toward public-private partnerships, or will the situation be ignored until it collapses under its own weight? Only time will tell.

Through the lens of governmentality we can look at the power relationships in which the archaeologists find themselves. Archaeologists in Mexico wield a certain amount of power as representatives of INAH, but only to the extent to which they support INAH and its policies. Breglia (2006b:190) recalls a comment made to her by an INAH official, who stated that "sometimes archaeologists get too involved with the local communities. They make complications where they shouldn't." Clearly, for INAH, local efforts to get involved with the management of archaeological resources can be considered a complication; the involvement of foreign archaeologists, who are supposed to be there for INAH and not the local communities, can be even more of a nuisance. INAH is providing permits to conduct archaeology, but what happens when there are miscommunications or disagreements over what archaeology is and how it should be practiced?

Seen in this context, we can look back at my founding questions regarding those archaeologists from the United States who conduct archaeology in Mexico: what would they like to do, what are they required to do, and what do they end up doing? Each of these questions represents a piece of the power relationships of which the archaeologists are only one part. What they would like to do is a matter of the individual archaeologist, including their training but also their personal nature, such as their background, interests, and biases. The ethnography of archaeology can help to uncover and describe these

biases and motivations. What they are required to do is dependent upon INAH and the extent to which that institution enforces the laws regarding Mexico's archaeological resources; where reality differs from the law is an effect of governmentality. What these archaeologists end up doing, then, is more the result of governmentality effects than it is the ability of the archaeologists to affect the outcome. That is, the archaeologists find themselves at a disadvantage and lacking in power when it comes to the fate of the sites they wish to protect and research. Therefore, how archaeologists in Mexico cope with the problems facing the pursuit of archaeology is not a technical problem, but rather one of power (McDonald 2003:182).

The laws governing Mexico's archaeological resources are fairly straightforward. The Ley Federal Sobre Monumentos y Zonas Arqueológicas, Artísticos e Históricos of 1972 asserts that "moveable and immovable" archaeological objects and monuments are the property of the nation (Breglia2006b:45-46). The Ley Orgánica del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia of 1938 establishes INAH and confirms its custodianship over Mexico's archaeological patrimony (Breglia 2006b:45-46). As described in the preceding chapter, INAH's mandate allows the institution enormous control over Mexico's archaeological resources and creates a weighty bureaucracy in the process. This bureaucratic structure also means that the Director General and subsequent appointees to the Councils can exert their own influence over how this mandate is carried out; there is some concern that at the higher levels, INAH's bureaucratic structure allows for private interests to have greater influence (Breglia 2006b:47).

The practice of archaeology, therefore, is dependent upon how the chain of INAH officials interprets its mandate. This may result in conflicts, as at the Cañada de la

Virgen, where the property owner was permitted to dictate a response, and at Teotihuacán, where local interests were left out of the occasion entirely. At the Cañada de la Virgen, Patterson (2007:263-268) describes his and the archaeological teams interest in the site, how they worked to consolidate the structures, their interest in the local environment, and what this would allow them to learn about the site's history. Generating interest in the site from the tourism industry and local government would allow them to protect the site and continue to pursue their study of it. At Teotihuacán, local INAH archaeologists Sergio Gómez and Iván Hernández knew that there had been no formal archaeological surveys of the site (Barstow and Xanic von Bertrab 2012). Juan Carlos Sabais, the head of INAH's legal team at Teotihuacán, similarly knew that no permit had been granted; he was ultimately unsuccessful in his efforts to stop construction (Barstow and Xanic von Bertrab 2012).

What the archaeologists ended up doing has already been described. At the Cañada de la Virgen, Nieto's team sought to work within the system to protect and develop the site. Within this case, we can see the advantages that can result from the community engagement approach, but at the same time, we can also view this as a cautionary example of Hale's (2005) neoliberal multiculturalism. In order to protect the site it needed to be developed as tourist attraction. The archaeological team worked with the property owner, government officials, and local merchants to obtain support and resources for the project, which was proceeding successfully until the sale of the property to von Bohlen. The representatives of INAH and other government officials were unwilling to force the issue too strongly, and it was von Bohlen who gained control over the process. Even after its development, von Bohlen, through the Cañada de la Virgen

Foundation, was able to develop the site in a way that seemed to be the most profitable, but in the process created a parody of archaeological heritage. That New Age exhortations to Mother Earth and the Mayan past are at odds with the archaeological history of the site are irrelevant to neoliberal multiculturalists, who are content with any interpretation of the past, so long as it is profitable.

Patterson's dismay at how the development of the Cañada de la Virgen proceeded is understandable in this context. He, and the rest of the archaeological team, felt a sense of pride in pursuing the conservation and restoration of the site, particularly after nearly a decade of work. Because the site was considered a minor one, INAH's support was minimal, but nevertheless was still present. The antagonism that arose between the archaeological team and von Bohlen was only resolved after von Bohlen successfully forced a replacement of the archaeologists. Had the property not been sold, or been sold at a later time, the outcome might have looked rather different; as Mexico continues to pursue privatization, and as privatization continues to spill over into the management of Mexico's archaeological resources, we can expect to see further examples like the Cañada de la Virgen that have been created by private interests.

At Teotihuacán, Wal-Mart's decision to build a store in the archaeological zone outside of the site came into conflict with the desire by archaeologists, public intellectuals, and local merchants to protect that zone. The reasons for protesting the store differed; archaeologists cited concerns for the destruction of archaeological resources, public intellectuals decried the decision as a threat to Mexico's cultural identity, and local merchants worried about losing their livelihoods. Unfortunately, their common cause was not successful, opposed as they were by institutions with greater power. As far as the

public record shows, INAH officials acquitted themselves badly by supporting Wal-Mart's choice of location and implicitly allowing Mexico's laws regarding the protection of archaeological resources to be circumvented, despite the probable unconstitutionality of the institution's actions. Ultimately Wal-Mart proved to be more powerful with what has been viewed as a largely symbolic victory over Mexico's heritage. Here, too, we can expect to find more examples of moneyed interests prevailing over the laws of Mexico in the future.

The events surrounding the cases of Wal-Mart at Teotihuacán and the development of the Cañada de la Virgen suggest that INAH's operations within Mexico's current political and economic climate are trending toward abuses of its mandate and mission as the organization succumbs to the siren song of privatization. Although INAH has yet to privatize Mexico's archaeological patrimony wholesale, it is clear that moneyed interests are gaining a greater foothold over the control of archaeological resources in Mexico. It seems unlikely that the situation will improve in the near future without increased organized dissent from both within and without INAH. There is a need for archaeologists to gain greater political awareness of how organizations such as INAH operate and how these organizations interact with other interested players, such as transnational corporations, NGOs, other governmental organizations, and local stakeholders. Political savvy and cultural understanding are necessary before archaeologists, particularly those who are outsiders, enter into these relationships.

However, this is not to say that local stakeholders are completely powerless, however. An anthropology that is grounded in community engagement has the potential to shift the distribution of power by bringing more actors together in a common cause to

affect change. Even in Mexico, where the government's weighty bureaucratic structure means change occurs slowly, there have been instances of local successes at subverting the state's power. In 2002, protestors that included farmers, environmentalists, archaeologists, and other social activists were able to successfully halt the government's plan to build an airport at Texcoco (Cevallos 2002). In 2010, local community groups were successful in blocking the construction of a Wal-Mart at Tlaltenango, Cuernavaca (León 2010; Suarez 2010).

The uncertainty of the future of archaeology in Mexico was the inspiration for this project. For those archaeologists who work in Mexico, the general impression of this future is skeptical. It does seem apparent that tourism provides the best chance of securing the future of archaeology in Mexico, but with certain caveats. First, the plan for tourism must originate within the community, rather than being imposed on that community by outsiders, particularly foreign companies seeking to profit from Mexico's archaeological resources. In this way, the money spent on developing and improving the area to be more amenable to visitors would be spent in those areas most needed by the community, such as upgrades to infrastructure. The money earned from the site would largely stay within the community, where it will continue to help support the people.

Through their involvement from the beginning, local stakeholders will have more opportunities to ensure that the interpretation of the site will be complementary to their own narratives of their heritage, thus avoiding their disenfranchisement along with reducing the chances of resorts to cultural stereotypes. The site will be a tourist venue, but it will also continue to be meaningful to the local community. The people of the community will feel pride of place as their heritage is connected to the larger

constructions of regional, national, and, in some instances, global heritage. This is where archaeologists can take a more active role, as has been demonstrated throughout this dissertation, in facilitating and working with local people on how to accomplish these goals.

This requires an adjustment in how archaeologists approach their research and their interaction with local communities. Archaeologists will necessarily need to become more involved with the local political process. Earlier admonitions to establish good relationships with local academics and heritage professionals apply here, since these individuals will be the conduit by which archaeologists will access local political and cultural leaders. Fortunately, archaeologists from the United States do seem to be more aware of the politics of the past than previously and are more willing to work with local communities through a sense of obligation to those communities for the opportunity to do research there and to help these communities find means of supporting themselves. However, as a cautionary example of the types of unexpected situations in which archaeologists can find themselves, one archaeologist I spoke to, Gale[3], had this to say:

> [The community] is small and poor but they have this small but really interesting site there. We were there to do surveys and we kept running into people from the village, who would all tell us stories about the site's history. We all knew these stories weren't true, and I'm pretty sure they knew we knew, but they really hoped it would improve their chances of getting the site developed as a tourist spot if we included these stories in our report.
>
> Me: How did you get around that?
>
> Gale: Well, we left that up to INAH [Laughs]. We said we couldn't do anything about it right now, we weren't ready for that kind of information yet.

This also means that archaeologists will need to gain deeper insight in their own motivations and how archaeology is itself a social construct (Pyburn 2004:289).

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[3] A pseudonym, by request.

Ethnography should play a greater role in future archaeological research in order to shed light on how archaeologists make decisions and the influence of various pressures and constraints on those decisions. In addition, ethnographic archaeology can point out subconscious biases and presumptions of privilege on behalf of the archaeologist. Archaeologists can take on this task themselves by becoming their own ethnographers, or, as is probably more likely, to include an ethnographer as part of the archaeological team. Ethnographic information will help to provide cultural knowledge and context for foreign archaeologists working in other countries, as well.

Archaeologists will need to become more flexible in how they approach their research. A greater inclusion of local community members in the archaeological process from beginning to end will require archaeologists to give up some of the control they previously enjoyed over their research. This is only fair, since the results of that research will have some influence over the community after the archaeologists have gone, and their involvement will help build a foundation for future successes (Moser et al. 2002). For those archaeologists who have difficulty with this notion, greater creativity into what constitutes necessary research topics may be required; for instance, those archaeologists who are more inclined toward technological analysis could revisit existing collections and add to the body of archaeological knowledge with new data concerning the material culture of the past. What is not sustainable for long-term archaeological practice is the status quo.

From the perspective of governmentality, these case studies demonstrate the opposite, unfortunately. In both instances, proper archaeological practices were thwarted, against the protests of archaeologists and other interested parties. At the beginning of the

project, it did appear that the development of the Cañada de la Virgen would be a prime example of how a public-private partnership in a community engaged project could work well for all parties involved. Instead, private interests, namely the property owner, was given a privileged position in determining the outcome of the project and the government was either unwilling or unable to press its case, particularly after the owner agreed to allow the project to continue. Clearly the representatives of the tourism industry were only interested in whether or not they could begin sending tours of visitors to the site who would hopefully spend additional time in the municipality; how the site was interpreted and developed was of little concern. The original archaeological team were the ones with the least amount of power to effect change and influence the project. They were replaced by others who would be more cooperative, or at least acceptable to the property owner.

At Teotihuacán, the imbalance of power is even starker. Nobody who opposed the construction of the Bodega Aurrera gained any satisfactory response, including archaeologists, merchants and vendors, public intellectuals, and other concerned citizens. All of the decisions regarding the selection of the store's site and its construction were being held at higher levels to which local people were not privy. All attempts on the ground to halt the construction and point out how it appeared that artifacts were being demolished in the process failed, despite the unconstitutionality of this destruction. Contradictory responses were obtained from INAH representatives at the highest levels, and now these same officials are tangled in a story of bribery and corruption. The message is clear that money trumps laws and patrimony.

Archaeological resources across the globe are endangered because national governments have become so enamored with economic austerity and privatization. In a

global commercial climate where profits are demanded of all services, there is little room for business as usual from the archaeological community. It is simply impossible for archaeologists to fight against the might of giant, multinational corporations, as the case of Wal-Mart at Teotihuacán demonstrates, and it would be foolish to try to take on these corporations directly. Our strengths lie locally, in our ability to communicate our love of, as well as the importance of, studying the past and protecting it for the future. We need the local communities because it is through them that we can help to effect change; the local communities need us for our knowledge and skills in studying and managing archaeological sites. Therefore, we need to be better at communicating our needs and assisting them with theirs, to our mutual benefit.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSIONS

Archaeological sites worldwide are being threatened by private development and neoliberal economic policies that promote privatization. Many of these sites have been identified as heritage resources, and public-private partnerships have been and are being promoted to utilize these resources as tourist ventures in an attempt to profit financially from them even as they are being preserved. This growing trend has alarmed the anthropological community, who are concerned that private interests may outweigh the public benefits of archaeological heritage sites. How can the archaeologists who study and work these sites mitigate these issues?

The choice of Mexico for context was obvious. The Mexican government has embraced privatization for decades, so there would be numerous data regarding the status of archaeological sites in that country. For more than a century, the Mexican state has promoted its archaeological resources for identity- and nation-building; while private interests may have an interest in endorsing a romanticized vision of the past as being profitable, there is a real risk that a more realistic depiction of Mexico's indigenous past would be marginalized. Additionally, how could the Mexican state fulfill its Constitutional obligations toward its archaeological resources while divesting itself of the financial burden of those obligations? At the local level, how would the Mexican people react to these circumstances?

My focus is on archaeologists, partly out of self-interest as a member of the archaeological community, but also because I felt that archaeologists were stakeholders who had an inherent interest in how archaeological heritage resources were managed by

these public-private partnerships. Compounding the problem was that, in Mexico, archaeologists work on behalf of the National Institute of Anthropology and History (INAH), a federal agency, which means they represent the interests of the state. However, archaeologists also work in and with local communities nearby to those archaeological sites, which had the potential to place archaeologists in a difficult position. Because archaeologists from the United States had, and continue to, be involved with archaeological work in Mexico I further decided to choose them as my subject community. As foreigners who were government representatives, yet often felt obligations to local communities, I believed this group would be under the most stress both professionally and morally.

Foucault's (2001) concept of governmentality, how government is created by the practice of power within a web of relationships between individuals, agencies, and organizations, illustrates how policies that promote privatization affect the archaeological resources of Mexico. These policies, which originate at the higher levels of the state, privilege tourism and other moneyed interest as the means for encouraging economic growth at the local level, even when this anticipated growth is slow or nonexistent. Because tourism is increasingly tied to archaeology in Mexico, as elsewhere, we can explore the effects of privatization on the practice of archaeology. As archaeologists find themselves enmeshed within these political relationships at different levels of society, they must navigate the competing demands placed upon them by different stakeholders. Archaeologists from the United States, in particular, can find themselves without the cultural knowledge necessary to successfully negotiate these conflicting interests.

As a result of relatively recent ethical changes within the professional discipline, archaeologists have been engaging more directly with local communities regarding the use and interpretation of these nearby archaeological sites. Among the use of these sites is their development as tourism venues, which are widely believed to bring economic relief and possibly even prosperity to the local communities. Therefore, many local people would have their own agenda in promoting the archaeological heritage for commercial gain, even if only to bring much-needed economic relief and upgrades to the basic infrastructure of their community. With all of this in mind, where do the loyalties and obligations of these foreign archaeologists lie, and how do they navigate these sometimes contradictory and unequally empowered factions? More specifically, my contribution to the discipline is through using the case studies of the Cañada de la Virgen and Teotihuacán as a way to provide greater understanding of how archaeologists find themselves enmeshed within political relationships within cultural contexts with which they need to familiarize themselves further.

In Chapter Two, I described how I considered this project to be an example of an applied anthropology that was community engaged, and what taking this approach could mean to the subjects of archaeological heritage and archaeological fieldwork. I saw this as fitting, since applied anthropology takes anthropological knowledge and uses, or applies, that knowledge to work to solve social problems or as relevant information in policymaking (Lucas 2004:119-120), and the global crisis that affects archaeological heritage is desperately seeking potential solutions. The incorporation of the needs of local communities is an essential aspect of community engaged anthropology (Shackel 2004:12), and there has long been an acknowledgement within heritage management that

local communities are stakeholders with an express interest in that heritage. This does change the nature of the relationship between anthropologists and community members, from that of researcher-subject to partner and collaborator (McDavid 2004:36).

We can describe these communities as being comprised of people who live in geographic proximity to archaeological heritage sites, are the descendants of earlier peoples who were connected to these sites, or both (Marshall 2002:216). It has been suggested that outsider archaeologists should consult with local academics or those with similar levels of professional knowledge (Pyburn 2007:179) in order to offset any lack of local cultural knowledge and facilitate connections with other members of the local community whose assistance would be helpful. Although most researchers do not overtly consider archaeologists to be stakeholders, I have expressly defined archaeologists as stakeholders who do have a connection to archaeological sites and as such are keenly interested in the fate of these sites.

With my target community described as archaeologists from the United States who conduct fieldwork in Mexico, these foreign archaeologists come into contact with a number of relevant stakeholders, such as INAH, from whom these archaeologists have obtained permission to work in Mexico, and the local communities, from whom they will need consent and support to conduct their fieldwork. Community members often work for the archaeologists at the field site, and otherwise supply them with lodging, meals, and other supplies. They may also have relevant knowledge about the history of the site and its relationship with the local community that could be of use to the archaeologists. The establishment of contacts that continue after the fieldwork phase has ended can be to

the long-term benefit of the community, since the research could affect how the local community interacts with the site in the future (Marshall 2002:218).

The potential partnership between archaeologists and local communities means that archaeologists do have to relinquish some control over their research projects. On the other hand, this is difficult to accomplish in the context of Mexico, since INAH legally retains jurisdiction over all archaeological resources. However, archaeologists could acknowledge contributions by local communities and incorporate information and interpretations offered by local stakeholders into their findings. This could help to foster ongoing relationships and good will among the local communities, who would have their voices heard (Greer et al. 2002:283; Reeves 2004:80). Community engaged anthropology is about making anthropological knowledge relevant to the public, and this is one means of establishing relevance for local communities.

Applied anthropology through community engagement also seeks relevance by using anthropological knowledge to assist in policymaking. Although our knowledge can be used to formulate policy, anthropologists themselves are not typically involved in the policymaking process (van Willingen 1993:9). We can provide policymakers with the knowledge needed to inform the process, but we can work more effectively by collaborating with local activists by offering to share what we have learned to help them effect change at the local level (Besteman 2010:411). While anthropologists are not necessarily required to become activists themselves, we can facilitate those who are by providing them with the knowledge they need.

The need for information about how archaeology is practiced was explored in greater detail in Chapter Three. The ethnography of archaeology employs ethnographic

methods in order to learn more about archaeological practices (Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos 2009:67). Ethnographic archaeology turns the anthropological gaze back upon itself as archaeologists become the subjects of study. This is an area for continued study as well as one that has great potential for learning something about how archaeology is done (Geertz 1973:5).

Although I view myself as an archaeologist who has become an ethnographer, this is hardly a requirement to engage in the practice of ethnographic archaeology. While some argue that it should be ethnographers who study archaeologists (Breglia 2006a:; Pyburn 2007:177), others contend that archaeologists should be able to take on this task (Castañeda 2008:29; Edgeworth 2010:54). Because the end goal is to make archaeology more reflexive and therefore more attuned to engagements with others (Zimmerman 2008:201), the option of autoethnography is one that should be explored further by those archaeologists who are interested in pursuing ethnographic archaeology. By taking an autoethnographic approach, archaeologists would be critically examining their role as archaeologists and their relationships both within and without the archaeological community (Maydell 2010:2; Ngunjiri et al. 2010:6). The results of this type of deeply self-reflexive research would be interesting to see coming from professional archaeologists.

How archaeologists have been involved in issues of defining heritage and promoting tourism was the subject of Chapter Four. Heritage is a way for people to connect to history (Jameson, Jr. 2008:53). In the Western context, heritage is typically seen as a resource with either tangible or intangible value (Davison 2008:33) that requires management of some sort. How heritage professionals identity and interpret heritage

resources may be very different from the ways that members of local communities do. The personal, emotion responses that heritage evokes adds an element of difficult to its management. That the field of professional heritage management can categorize different levels of heritage only serves to make the issue more complex.

Heritage sites, such as archaeological sites, are not just viewed as a local resource. Modern nation-states deliberately invoke and interpret heritage through these sites as a means to bring the nation together through a constructed national identity (Silverman 2002; Skeates 2000). UNESCO's World Heritage Centre compiles a list of sites with supposed universal significance that are drawn from each country's heritage resources (1972:2). Despite local attachments to these sites, the ideal of universal heritage promotes and places these locations on a global stage. Through UNESCO's vision, the World Heritage Centre imposes these values upon all sites that the international body deems of sufficient significance.

However, not everybody shares in the notion of universal significance nor even that any heritage site should necessarily not be contested as to its meaning to local communities. In the United States, the concept of the traditional cultural property (TCP) began as a means to address conflicting goals for these sites by allowing each stakeholder group to voice their concerns regarding how these sites are developed (King 2003:137). Rather than letting these stakeholder groups dictate the fate of the site, the TCP designation was meant to seek input for how to minimize potential harm to the site, especially for those groups to whom the property has meaning. The recognition of significant local sites as TCPs has not been consistently applied thus far, but continued education for all interested groups may yield better returns in the future (King 2003:13).

Another option exercised by the Archaeological Conservancy has been to literally protect sites by purchasing them to remove the threat of development. These sites are held until the title to the property can be transferred to another institution that can properly preserve and manage the site (Barnes 1981:617). The need for constant funding in order to purchase these sites means that only so many can be acquired and not every attempt will be successful. However, the Archaeological Conservancy has managed to purchase many sites throughout its existence. It is modeled deliberately after the Nature Conservancy, because archaeological heritage management has followed environmental anthropology in its methods, based on the similar goals of the two field of protection from the impacts of globalization and intruding market forces (Brosious 1999). Additionally, both cultural and natural heritage resources face these effects through the influence of tourism.

The global impact of the tourism industry has profoundly affected the management and interpretation of archaeological resources. The growth of tourism has been a direct result of the divestment of public funds into public services through the neoliberal economic policies of privatization and public-private partnerships (Chambers 2000:42). The argument in favor of these policies asserts that private development of heritage resources as tourist venues will bring economic benefits, such as jobs and infrastructure improvements, to local communities (Chambers 2000:30; Slick 2002:219), whereas others argue that these promises benefits do not materialize and exact additional tangible and intangible costs upon the community (Boniface 1999:291; Chambers 2004:202). Regardless of its effects, tourism has and will continue to play a major role in

the management of heritage resources, which illustrates the critical need for responsible, sustainable policy regarding the development and management of these resources.

Chapter Five looked more closely at how the Mexican federal government, through INAH, controls its archaeological resources. However, these resources are threatened by the economic policies of the Mexican government. Since the late 19th century, Mexico has constructed a narrative of national identity, *mestizaje*, that connects the modern people of Mexico to its indigenous past, even though the modern-day indigenous population has and continues to suffer in Mexico's political and economic climate. The sheer volume of Mexico's archaeological heritage contributes to the difficulty in managing these resources. Neoliberal economic policies, such as privatization, have created a shift toward international tourism for providing economic benefits to local communities. Although these benefits are slow to materialize, they do create opportunities for archaeologists to collaborate with the local communities.

As a country that has a richly diverse cultural history through its indigenous past and as a European colony, Mexico possesses an unknown number of sites that would qualify as contributing to its archaeological heritage. However, INAH's Constitutional mandate has possibly given the agency more than it can reasonably handle, particularly in light of today's economic limitations, with more than 100,000 sites and over 670,000 archaeological objects stored in Mexico's hundreds of museums. Archaeologists, including those from the United States, depend upon INAH for authority and funding to conduct research in Mexico, but budget cuts and private development have begun to hinder the ability of archaeologists to effectively pursue archaeology in Mexico. Thus far, archaeology sites have been spared from the greater move toward privatization policies in

Mexico, but these policies still affect the sites and the potential for future harm continues. The people of Mexico, on the other hand, have felt the force of the pursuit of neoliberalism.

Privatization was meant to make the Mexican state more efficient, to reduce government spending, and increase economic productivity. The true beneficiaries of these policies have been the transnational organizations and multinational corporations that pushed the Mexican government toward neoliberalism in the early 1980s. By gaining a foothold in Mexico's markets, these corporations have profited, as have high level politicians who supported these policies. For the people of Mexico, however, privatization led to growing levels of poverty and income inequality as jobs have disappeared (Huber and Solt 2004:156; Shefner and Stewart 2011:354). The privatization of communal *ejidos* has resulted in the promotion of tourism as a means for bringing money back to these communities.

International tourism has been the means by which private interests could potentially circumvent Mexico's cultural heritage laws, because even though the state owns the site, the property where that site is located is often owned privately. Local communities have been encouraged to believe that tourism will bring money and jobs, even after the promised economic benefits have not materialized. Tourists do visit these sites and spend money, but the money tends to flow back out of the community, and the Mexican government must provide subsidies to help manage its archaeological heritage. The one potentially bright spot in all of this is that these economic conditions have brought archaeologists closer to the local communities through increased awareness of their plight and the role that archaeology has played and could play in promoting their

own cultural heritage. The need to explore more options in collaboration between archaeologists and local communities will only increase over time.

In Chapter Six I discussed these themes in greater detail, through two case studies of how the modern political and economic climate impacts archaeological sites. Both sites, the Cañada de la Virgen and Teotihuacán, have become tourist destinations, despite the differences in their sizes and significance. However, Teotihuacán possesses greater meaning toward Mexico's cultural heritage than the Cañada de la Virgen, which has not even been particularly meaningful in that way for the community of San Miguel de Allende. The needs of private development were the prime mover for the events that affected both sites, although the intentions differed. The Cañada de la Virgen had always been intended for use as a tourist venue, whereas Teotihuacán faced dangers from continued development of the area.

The plan to develop the Cañada de la Virgen for tourism had met with approval from all of the interested parties, which included the archaeologists, local leaders, the property owner, the tourist industry, and the community at large (Patterson 2007:258). The project was supported with both public and private funding, and was well underway when the owner at the time decided to sell the property. Land speculators were interested in purchasing the property and selling it in pieces, but in the end a single owner acquired the land. The new owner did not understand Mexican cultural heritage laws and the project stalled for a short time. Today, the site is used as a tourist attraction, although it also serves as a cautionary tale for archaeologists when getting involved with local politics because sometimes there are unexpected conflicts. More pointedly, this case also

demonstrates how private interests are only concerned with how the past can be made marketable to mass audiences.

Nothing was ever really going to threaten Teotihuacán in that way, even when the conflict was the controversial construction of a Wal-Mart store at the nearby community of San Juan de Teotihuacán. Instead, the concerns were largely those of public intellectuals, who felt that Wal-Mart represented the negative aspects of Mexico's neoliberal policies that allowed foreign corporations to establish themselves in Mexico, and local merchants, who feared that the arrival of Wal-Mart would signal the loss of their livelihood (McKinley, Jr. 2004a; Ross 2005:28). Despite public protests and allegations of bribery, corruption, and the destruction of archaeological heritage, which ultimately turned out to be true (Barstow and Xanic von Bertrab 2012), the store was completed and opened, where it attracted customers who were more interested in low prices than cultural heritage (McKinley 2004b). The lesson here is that if Wal-Mart can build a store on the outskirts of Teotihuacán, then the corporation can build a store anywhere.

In the previous chapter, "The ruins and us go together" was a statement made by a local vendor at Teotihuacán who was concerned about the impact the Bodega Aurrera would have on her livelihood. This sentiment is applicable to archaeology, as well, since our livelihood also depends upon the ruins, that is, the presence of archaeological resources. Even more to the point, Wal-Mart's presence in Mexico, through the Bodega Aurrera brand, was made viable through Mexico's embrace of neoliberalism and privatization. In the same way that fears about how multinational corporations could potentially dilute Mexican culture through a homogenizing globalization, the

privatization of archaeological resources can result in a parody of heritage that privileges marketing strategies over archaeological research. Archaeologists need ruins, but who needs archaeologists?

These case studies demonstrate not only the need for archaeology, but the dangers inherent for the state in bypassing the expertise of archaeologists in favor of moneyed interests. The archaeological site at the Cañada de la Virgen is open to visitors, but the interpretation of the site is a pastiche of New Age buzzwords and associations with a Mayan culture that has no actual connections to the site's history. What happens to the site when fads change and visitors are no longer attracted to the fake traditions on display? At Teotihuacán, INAH allowed itself to become embroiled in a controversy that has yet to be resolved or forgotten as the institution bypassed its own mandate to approve the construction of the Bodega Aurrera in an archaeologically sensitive zone. What happens when the public loses confidence in the state's ability to protect its archaeological resources, especially when those resources are the foundation of a national identity? While interpretations and representations of the past are always subject to change, archaeological sites are fragile and subject to deterioration and loss. When these resources are gone, they can never be recovered.

These examples demonstrate why archaeologists need to become more effective in communicating the value and relevance of archaeology to the public and need to become more inclusive in involving local communities with archaeological research. At the moment, it appears that tourism is one way to accomplish these goals by assisting local communities in developing archaeological resources for tourism in ways that are sustainable and still meaningful for the local people. It will require archaeologists to

examine their own practices more closely and further incorporate ethnographic methods in archaeological research as well as to take a more collaborative approach to the practice of archaeology. The end goal would be to use this information and these collaborative practices to assist local stakeholders with developing policies that help to manage these archaeological resources.

I believe this project can be developed further for future research. I would like to build a larger dataset of ethnographic information on how archaeology is conducted in Mexico by foreign archaeologists. With all of the known archaeological sites in Mexico, it would be interesting to explore how archaeologists at other sites have been dealing with the stresses of privatization and the influx of private tourism capital in Mexico. I would like to find additional examples of community engagement between foreign archaeologists and local communities in Mexico to learn more about both local successes and failures. With such a rich professional history of archaeology and literally tens of thousands of archaeological sites, there would be no shortage of stories that need to be told and should be in order to construct a clearer picture of the state of the discipline in Mexico. Because the discovery and cataloguing of archaeological sites is an ongoing process in Mexico, it would also be advantageous to find a case that is unfolding and to document it from its earliest stages.

The threats to Mexico's archaeological resources are real and there is a need to work to find ways to help mitigate these threats. It seems clear that neither privatization nor tourism is going away anytime soon, and these are among the greatest obstacles that archaeologists face in Mexico. As private interests continue to be privileged and as these interests influence the organizations and institutions that are most responsible for

Mexico's archaeological resources, it is apparent that it is left to the archaeologists to learn how to better navigate the political relationships in which they find themselves in order to be more effective stewards of these resources. It will mean facing difficult challenges regarding the practice of archaeology itself, particularly in articulating what it is that we expect to accomplish as archaeologists. Even more challenging is the need for increased collaboration with other stakeholders as potential allies. We find ourselves in difficult times and must adjust to changing political and economic climates, albeit in ways that do not diminish the power of our discipline.

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