Peter F. Biehl
Douglas C. Comer
Christopher Prescott
Hilary A. Soderland  *Editors*

# Identity and Heritage

## Contemporary Challenges in a Globalized World

Springer

# SpringerBriefs in Archaeology

## Archaeological Heritage Management

**Series Editors:**
Douglas C. Comer
Helaine Silverman
Willem J.H. Willems

Peter F. Biehl • Douglas C. Comer
Christopher Prescott • Hilary A. Soderland
Editors

# Identity and Heritage

Contemporary Challenges
in a Globalized World

*Editors*
Peter F. Biehl
University at Buffalo
The State University of New York
Buffalo, NY, USA

Christopher Prescott
University of Oslo
Oslo, Norway

Douglas C. Comer
Cultural Site Research and Management Inc.,
Baltimore, MD, USA

Hilary A. Soderland
University of Washington School of Law
Seattle, WA, USA

Printed on acid-free paper

# Contents

# Contributors

**Margaret Bertulli**  Parks Canada, Winnipeg, MB, Canada

**Peter F. Biehl**  University at Buffalo, The State University of New York, Buffalo, NY, USA

**Jennifer L. Campbell**  State University of New York, Potsdam, NY, USA

**Douglas C. Comer**  Cultural Site Research and Management, Inc., Baltimore, MD, USA

**Margaret Comer**  University of Cambridge, Cambridge, UK

**Panik Lynn Cousins**  Nunavut Field Unit, Parks Canada, Iqaluit, NT, Canada

**Peter Dawson**  Department of Archaeology, University of Calgary, Calgary, AB, Canada

**Margarita Díaz-Andreu**  ICREA-Universitat de Barcelona, Barcelona, Spain

**Lyle Dick**  History and Heritage, Vancouver, BC, Canada

**Manuel Gándara**  Escuela Nacional de Conservación, Restauración y Museografía (ENCRyM), ENCRyM-INAH, San Diego Churubusco, Coyoacán, Mexico

**Pablo Alonso González**  University of Cambridge, Cambridge, UK

**David R. Guilfoyle**  Applied Archaeology International, Albany, WA, Australia

Northern Land Use Research Alaska, Fairbanks, AK, USA

Centre of Excellence in Natural Resource Management, University of Western Australia, Albany, WA, Australia

Western Australian Museum, Perth, WA, Australia

**Richard Hingley**  Durham University, Durham, UK

**Anders Högberg**  Linnaeus University, Kalmar, Sweden

**Robert I. MacDonald** Archaeological Services, Inc., Toronto, ON, Canada

**Myles B. Mitchell** Applied Archaeology International, Albany, WA, Australia

National Centre for Indigenous Studies, Australian National University, Acton, ACT, Australia

**John A. Peterson** University of Guam, Mangilao, GU, USA

**Christopher Prescott** University of Oslo, Oslo, Norway

**Caroline A. Sandes** University College London, London, UK

**Hilary A. Soderland** University of Washington School of Law, Seattle, WA, USA

**Wayne Webb** Wadandi-Bibbulmun Senior Custodian, Dowark Foundation, Walpole, Australia

**Ronald F. Williamson** Archaeological Services, Inc., Toronto, ON, Canada

**James A. Zeidler** Colorado State University, Fort Collins, CO, USA

# About the Editors

**Dr. Peter F. Biehl** is Professor of Anthropology and the current Chair of the Department of Anthropology at the University at Buffalo. He is also Director of the Institute for European and Mediterranean Archaeology (IEMA) and is an executive board member for the European Association of Archaeologists (EAA). He has developed an interdisciplinary Master's Program in Cultural Heritage and teaches an introductory course on cultural heritage and an advanced course on digital heritage. He was the organizer of "The Future of Heritage: Laws, Ethics and Sustainability," an interdisciplinary symposium that was funded by the Baldy Center for Law and Social Policy of the University at Buffalo. He directs the international West Mound research project at Çatalhöyük in Turkey and supervises a Ph.D. on heritage management in Turkey. He has published widely on Neolithic and Copper Age Europe and Near East, archaeological method and theory, cognitive archaeology and the social meaning of visual imagery and representation, archaeology of cult and religion, museums and archaeological collections, multimedia in archaeology, and heritage studies.

**Dr. Douglas C. Comer** is President of Cultural Site Research and Management (CSRM) and the CSRM Foundation, and Co-President of the International Committee on Archaeological Heritage Management (ICAHM) for ICOMOS. A Fulbright Scholar in cultural resource management, he served for 15 years as Chief of the United States National Park Service Applied Archaeology Center and 9 years as Chair of the Maryland Governor's Advisory Committee on Archaeology. After two terms on the Board of Trustees for the United States Committee for ICOMOS (US/ICOMOS), he now represents the Society for American Archaeology (SAA) on the Board. He is Senior Editor of the Conservation and Preservation Section of the *Encyclopedia of Global Archaeology*, Senior Editor for the Springer Press/ICAHM publication series *Multidisciplinary Perspectives in Archaeological Heritage Management*, Fellow at the Whiting School of Engineering, The Johns Hopkins University, and Visiting Independent Advisor with the NASA Jet Propulsion Laboratory at Caltech (JPL/NASA). He has published extensively on archaeology,

aerial and satellite remote sensing, and heritage management, and has conducted research and provided management, tourism, and interpretive planning and design at numerous archaeological and historic sites on five continents.

**Dr. Christopher Prescott** is Professor of Archaeology and Head of Research at the Department of Archaeology, Conservation and History at the University of Oslo, Norway, and Docent at Gothenburg's University, Sweden. He has served as a section and program leader in Bergen and Oslo, as well as Head of Department for archaeology, conservation and art history (Oslo). From 1997 to 2002, he was Dean of Studies for the humanities faculty at the University of Oslo. He was the editor-in-chief of the Norwegian Archaeological Review from 1997 to 2001, and has edited several anthologies. He has published articles and monographs concerning Neolithic to Early Iron Age prehistory in Scandinavia and Italy, history of archaeology, and theoretical and political issues. Prescott has been on the board of numerous rescue archaeological projects, and has participated in several public outreach initiatives (exhibitions, lectures, media appearances). He has also worked on issues concerning illicit trade in antiquities and questions concerning how to train archaeologists and conduct outreach in a population becoming increasingly heterogeneous due to migration.

**Dr. Hilary A. Soderland** directs the PhD in Law Program at the University of Washington School of Law and teaches interdisciplinary courses to law as well as social science and humanities graduate students. Specializing in archaeology, cultural heritage, and the law, Soderland received her MPhil and PhD from the University of Cambridge and her Juris Doctorate (JD) from the University of California-Berkeley's Boalt Hall School of Law. A Registered Professional Archaeologist, her publications include articles, commissioned work, and a co-edited book manuscript concerning archaeology legislation, cultural heritage law, repatriation, and archaeological resource protection and heritage management. She has been a Visiting Scholar at the American Bar Foundation in Chicago and at Tel Aviv University's Cegla Center for Interdisciplinary Research of the Law. Her museum work on three continents has encompassed curation, accessioning protocol, exhibition preparation, and legal compliance. For the Society for American Archaeology, she co-founded and served as co-chair of the *Heritage Values Interest Group* and she currently serves on the *Committee on Ethics*, the *International Governmental Affairs Committee*, and as a legal advisor to the *Repatriation Committee*. Soderland also is a manuscript reviewer and editorial board advisor for journals in the fields of anthropology, law, cultural heritage, and museology. Her professional service further includes pro bono legal work.

# Part I
# Introduction

# Chapter 1
# Identities and Heritage: Contemporary Challenges in a Globalized World

**Hilary A. Soderland, Peter F. Biehl, Douglas C. Comer, and Christopher Prescott**

The great acceleration of globalizing forces presents those in the heritage field with a series of urgent challenges. Chief among them is the weakness of contemporary mechanisms for addressing collective global issues. With the appearance of a distinctive form of "global politics" marked by intense interconnectivity within transnational frameworks, global problems cannot be resolved by any one nation-state or people. Collective and collaborative action is required, yet problem-solving capacities at the local, regional, and global levels are partial and incomplete. While a multidimensional system of global governance—combining supra- and sub-state agencies alongside national and interstate frameworks—has developed to regulate the processes of globalization, there is little to no consensus on how to generate public policies that bridge overlapping political boundaries and socio-economic lines of responsibility.

In a globalized world of contested and increasingly blurred identities, the concept of heritage has taken on added significance for all stakeholders. Local and minority communities, indigenous populations, heritage managers, civil society organizations, and state bodies are all affected. The collection of chapters in this

H.A. Soderland (✉)
University of Washington School of Law, Seattle, WA, USA
e-mail: hsoderla@uw.edu

P.F. Biehl
University at Buffalo, The State University of New York, Buffalo, NY, USA
e-mail: pbiehl@buffalo.edu

D.C. Comer
Cultural Site Research and Management, Inc., Baltimore, MD, USA
e-mail: dcomer@culturalsite.com

C. Prescott
University of Oslo, Oslo, Norway
e-mail: christopher.prescott@iakh.uio.no

book follows a multidisciplinary approach to conceptualizing archaeology and heritage as both a global public good and a local identity good (Chap. 2). The implications of this duality for identity politics hold particular resonance as expressions of diversity continue to define our contemporary society (Chap. 3). A powerful example of how culturally-sensitive places, landscapes, and objects are indelibly linked to the identity of descendent communities is illustrated by the case of the Wadandi people of southwestern Australia (Chap. 9).

When "local" becomes "global," grassroots perspectives on the past challenge the dominance of state-led frames of reference and expand the networks of stakeholders claiming a right to decide that which is valued and why. Simultaneously, the politicization of narratives increasingly becomes a tool to empower—or indeed to deny—specific claims of belonging. This rings true both at national and local levels, particularly when the political identity of a community is in a state of flux. The clash of competing national narratives in Spain (Chap. 14) and the contested assertions of sovereignty over the archaeological record in eastern North America (Chap. 10) are just two present-day exemplars. Such trends have considerable implications for the analysis of questions of identity and heritage as well as for the changing patterns of civic engagement in a globalized world.

## Global Challenges and Local Responses

A key difficulty in connecting local actors with broader processes of global change is the projection of accountability when decisions that affect everyday life are taken remotely. Many of the chapters in this book examine how local communities are engaging with such globalized processes—primarily by trying to establish a measure of control over them. Across the globe, a complex array of networks operating beyond the confines of the nation-state is giving voice to people and organizations, underscoring the values and ideas they represent on a global stage. Heightening local issues to global attention is especially relevant to groups of minorities and indigenous peoples as they work to overcome legacies of discrimination to assert their voices in heritage management and political action. One illustrative example is the longstanding series of attempts by the Chamorro of Guam to protect and preserve the few remaining intact *latte* sites and structures from United States military encroachment (Chap. 12).

In the local-global praxis, a persistent concern is that local problems repeat themselves internationally while global challenges impact locally. Both phenomena are touched upon in every chapter of this book. An example of the former is the difficulty of protecting fragile, vulnerable, and often geographically isolated archaeological and heritage sites. A case in point of the latter is how to preserve such sites against anthropogenic factors, which include climate change or pollutants arising from encroaching patterns of human behavior and settlement. The threats posed by the effects of climate change and human activity require practitioners to make greater use of the concept of "heritage at risk" as a criterion in

determining the significance of sites (Chap. 11). By integrating theoretical insights into the functioning of archaeology and heritage as "public goods" in a global commons with a set of empirical case-studies, the contributors to this book make a powerful case for a more concerted response to globalization's impact on local communities. In this context, it is imperative to recognize that urban areas and prosperous "world cities" are not immune to global forces. Even in central London, the efforts and struggles by relatively disempowered communities to conserve local heritage and identity in the face of intense urbanizing pressures are instructive (Chap. 4).

## Heritage Politics and Stakeholders

The rapid growth of multicultural societies gives rise to new considerations as to how archaeologists and heritage managers engage with the wider public as well as who constitutes that "public" and who holds decision-making authority over the politics of the past. As globalization has spawned a defensive reaction that, in some quarters, has manifested itself in a sharpening of identity politics, heritage practitioners must navigate a delicate path. Several of the case-studies in this book describe how the circle of stakeholders has widened in response to the changing demographies of both host societies and target audiences. Sweden (Chap. 5) illustrates diverging pathways of embracing or resisting issues of diversity and inclusion vis-à-vis heritage and identity. The growing complexity—and geographical orbit—of stakeholder networks also requires greater cross-disciplinary expertise and cooperation. For example, it is increasingly difficult, if not virtually impossible, for an archaeologist not to engage with contemporary debates over the representation and significance of excavation findings. No longer can practitioners operate in academic silos, isolated from one another as well as from sociopolitical currents. All stakeholders must engage more deeply and openly in order to counter the strain that global forces exert upon the equitable and effective management of the past. The contributors to this book help not only to bridge the gap among disciplines but also to make a case for re-thinking existing concepts of identity and heritage in the management and presentation of the past.

## Structure of the Book

Following this Introduction, the subsequent 15 chapters are organized into two major sections and a concluding chapter. Part II consists of seven chapters clustered around the theme of "Identities of Heritage: From Global Publics to Local Communities." The first two chapters apply economic modalities to heritage. In Chap. 2, Douglas C. Comer explores the treatment of archaeological goods in the marketplace and argues that archaeology is both a global public good and a local identity good.

Applying an anthropological perspective to economic concepts of global and local goods within market structure, Comer describes how anthropology can contribute to the discussion of how best to interact with market forces that threaten the preservation of archaeological materials. In Chap. 3, Pablo Alonso González analyzes how the theorization of heritage as a commons complicates the relationship of heritage and identity and is the outcome of a complex process. González explores whether and how heritage managers and scholars can function as mediators between global flows of value and local communities in order to mobilize the notion of a "shared" heritage in the face of broader processes of commodification.

In Chaps. 4, 5, and 6 each author presents an empirical case-study from Europe with global implications. In Chap. 4, Caroline A. Sandes focuses on the intersection of identity and heritage in her study of the Barbican Estate and Robin Hood Gardens in London's historic city center. By studying two modernist residential estates, Sandes assesses the impact of neoliberal urban development and gentrification on local urban heritage, community, and identity. Sandes juxtaposes the success one community achieved in obtaining historic listed building status in the face of impending demolition. Moving from a global city to a multicultural society, in Chap. 5 Anders Högberg details the methods by which the heritage sector in Sweden has addressed issues of heritage, identity, and heritage management in relation to multiculturalism. Högberg examines how empirical and theoretical interpretations of heritage are translated into day-to-day work and thus become manifested in management, stewardship, and administration. In Chap. 6, Richard Hingley examines the values of Roman frontier heritage at multiple local, national, and global levels throughout the areas that once constituted the periphery of the Roman Empire. Hingley situates his discussion of the frontier as a global heritage asset within the context of current debates about mobility and the evolution of more recent restrictive border practices pursued by the European Union.

The final two chapters of Part II focus on Pakistan and Mexico but underscore some universal challenges confronting policy-makers, practitioners, and local communities. In Chap. 7, Jennifer L. Campbell assesses how the "war on terror" affects and heritage in conflict zones, particularly in the Walled City of Peshawar in Pakistan. Campbell demonstrates how states experiencing economic, political, or social turmoil often lack the economic, technical, and infrastructural resources to propel their heritage to designated lists, including the UNESCO World Heritage List. Campbell argues that advancing more targeted intervention and assistance to states in conflict zones may be necessary to ensure the maintenance of collective heritage. Pure global recognition is not sufficient. In Chap. 8, Manuel Gándara explores the theory and practice of heritage interpretation as a conservation tool in Mexican archaeology. Gándara identifies the problem of preserving an enormous archaeological landscape spread across a vast range of vulnerable and scattered sites—a reality archaeology and heritage practitioners face the world over.

Part III, "Identities of Heritage: Minorities and Indigenous Peoples in a Globalized World," also contains seven chapters. The first three chapters span three continents yet are united in raising issues of common concern to indigenous communities. In Chap. 9, David R. Guilfoyle, Myles B. Mitchell, and Wayne Webb use a case-study

of the Wadandi people of southwestern Australia to examine the relationship between social identity and what the authors label as "culturally-defined methods of adaptation." Guilfoyle, Mitchell, and Webb describe how the Wadandi people, in the face of massive social upheaval, sought to maintain a strong sense of identity by actively controlling the pace and direction of external changes associated with the twentieth century colonial settlement of their traditional lands. In Chap. 10, Ronald F. Williamson and Robert I. MacDonald examine the role of archaeological heritage in the modern-day politics of Aboriginal peoples in southern Ontario as archaeological sites have emerged as contested commodities in an ongoing quest for land, rights, resources, and power. Similarly, in Chap. 11, Peter Dawson, Margaret Bertulli, Lyle Dick, and Panik Lynn Cousins utilize the concept of an "ontology of connectivity" to define Fort Conger's importance in both the heroic age of polar exploration and as a place where indigenous knowledge and Western science met to mutual advantage. The authors explore the wider significance of Fort Conger as a heritage site in light of the destructive effects of climate change and human activity that imperil the site's long-term survival and now require the mobilization of public support for extensive and costly preservation works.

The final four chapters of Part III add further nuance to the identities of heritage of minority groups and the interplay among identities of the dominant or majority vis-à-vis that of the minority or the subaltern. In Chap. 12, John A. Peterson examines the nexus of political action, identity, and preservation at the late pre-contact site of Pagat in Guam. Peterson chronicles how a community activist group led a coalition of local organizations in protest against proposals to situate a live fire training range nearby. In so doing, Peterson documents how the preservation of heritage became the focal point for expressions of cultural identity and local resistance to the military's plan. In Chap. 13, Margaret Comer uses a case-study of bog bodies in Denmark and Ireland to examine how ancient human remains are caught up in debates over the concept of national identity and questions of "belonging" based on ethnic or cultural group membership. Comer argues that such debates are becoming more charged as globalizing forces continue to move people, commodities, and ideas across national boundaries. In Chap. 14, the synergies of heritage and migration are also addressed by Margarita Díaz-Andreu. Díaz-Andreu elucidates how several nationalisms are in competition within the one nation-state of Spain and that rapid immigration precipitates rapid changes in the composition of Spanish society. By documenting how archaeologists have responded to immigration in Spain, Díaz-Andreu integrates the study of migrants, language, and heritage. Finally, in Chap. 15, James A. Zeidler examines how the interpretative component of a large archaeological project in Ecuador can best accommodate the disparate knowledge base and heritage interests of potential tourists. Zeidler analyzes how a uniform archaeological narrative, based upon the current heritage identity politics of Ecuador, can reconcile the role of interpretation based on scientific archaeological research with an interpretation based on more popular, but often unscientifically-documented, views of the local archaeological record.

As the 16 chapters in this book indicate, it is clear that the identities of heritage in a globalized world face many challenges. Local concerns increasingly hold global

significance. Local communities are now more likely to partner with, be informed by, and/or form alliances with those confronting similar issues situated half a world away. A global perspective is becoming ever more important yet the discourse of heritage and the disciplines upon which it draws have not yet matured with capabilities that can consistently or effectively address the status quo. What constitutes global heritage? To whom? What entity defines the *modi operandi*? For instance, achieving just and successful governance structures in heritage management is far from straightforward. Should there be "universal standards" for heritage managers? UNESCO's 1972 *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* established a standard for heritage of "outstanding universal value." Should the global community strive to achieve such "universal standards" in policy or legislative frameworks? Do such standards undermine or bolster expressions of identity? Do they counter or exacerbate the very real pressures of globalization? What is the best way to approach heritage and identity in a globalized world?

These questions, among others, are brought to the fore in Part IV. Part IV constitutes the "Outlook" in which the editors appraise the future challenges and potentialities of heritage and identity in our globalized world.

# Part II
# Identities of Heritage: From Global Publics to Local Communities

# Chapter 2
# Archaeology as Global Public Good and Local Identity Good

**Douglas C. Comer**

Archaeology is an academic discipline; the things, services, experiences, and information intentionally produced or created as by-products of archaeology are, in economic terms, goods, and these goods are traded in the marketplace. Understanding this is essential to successfully dealing market forces that threaten the academic objectives of archaeology, which can only be achieved by examination of archaeological materials in an uncontaminated state and original context.

In economic terms, an archaeological good can range from a body of knowledge of the sort that the Nobel Prize winning economist Joseph E. Stiglitz calls a global public good, to those that he terms local goods, which would include artifacts, services, or experiences (Stiglitz 1999:310). The latter can be produced and consumed in ways that threaten the former. I argue that that the demand for archaeological and more generally "cultural" goods is driven in large part by the ubiquitous human need to establish an identity, that is, to establish a position in the "cognitive chart" that allows humans to navigate through society (see, for example, Spradley 1979).

It would follow that anthropology has much to contribute to economic models. A word of clarification is essential here: I will address below *formalist* models, as opposed to a *substantivist* arguments, both of these terms coined by Karl Polanyi (1957), and the latter bolstered by the work of ethnographers half a century ago (Bohannon 1965). The school of thought established by these scholars has become known as economic anthropology. In what follows, however, I will assume, as mainstream, formalist economists do, that supply and demand are the basic determinants of market structure, and that, therefore, to better understand and direct market structure, it is necessary to identify as precisely as possible the forces that alter supply and demand. One might say that the approach taken here is an anthropological economics as opposed to traditional economic anthropology. Much more could be said about the value of conducting economic analysis informed by anthropology,

D.C. Comer (✉)
Cultural Site Research and Management, Inc., Baltimore, MD, USA
e-mail: dcomer@culturalsite.com

|  | Excludable | Non-excludable |
|---|---|---|
| **Rivalrous** | Personal Goods: food, clothing, cars, personal electronics | Common Goods (Common-pool resources): fish stocks, timber, coal |
| **Non-Rivalrous** | Club Goods: cinemas, private parks, satellite television | Public Goods: free-to-air television, air, national defense |

**Fig. 2.1** Types of goods

but room does not permit that here. The final chapter of this book will make observations and suggestions, however.

Certain categories of goods were derived from a seminal essay by another Nobel Prize winning economist, Paul Samuelson (1954). These categories of goods (Fig. 2.1) now appear in many of the most widely-used economics textbooks (e.g., McConnell et al. 2009), and have become central to any discussion of how rights of ownership or access to certain kinds of goods affect societal well-being. What is said here about goods applies equally to services, experiences, and information.

Goods are organized in Fig. 2.1 according to two criteria: *rivalry* and *excludability*. The former means that if a good is consumed by one party, it cannot be consumed by another; the latter that a good can be made available only to certain parties, thus limiting access to it by all.

*Personal Goods*: There is little ambiguity about ownership and rights of access to these goods. Personal goods, such as clothing, are both rivalrous and excludable, because access by one person renders them unavailable for access by another, and the owner of a personal good can exclude the use of it by all others.

*Common Goods*: These are also known as *common pool goods, common stock goods*, or *common resources*. While no one can be excluded from access to common goods, common goods are rivalrous because consumption by one person or party removes the possibility that another person can consume that good. The classic example of a common good is the stock of fish in the ocean. While there is no really effective way to exclude access to fish, depletion of the stock of fish means that fewer fish are available to everyone.

*Club Goods*: Club goods are those for which access can be denied to all except those within a certain subset of the public. Yet, among the group that has gained access,

consumption by any single person does not diminish access by any other. For example, the provider of satellite television service can limit access only to those who subscribe to the service, but access by one subscriber does not affect access by any other subscriber.

*Public Goods*: Finally, a public good is available to all, but access by any single person or party does not diminish access by any other. While a public good is to be thought of here in economic terms, as an item, service, or experience that is exchanged in the marketplace, and not as an ethical ideal, Samuelson clearly had the general good of the public in mind when he constructed his argument (Samuelson 1954:389). It is as evident that economists today also have the well-being of society in mind. Public goods are typically introduced to students as an element in discussions about *market failure*. This was implicit in Samuelson's essay (1954:389): "But there is still this fundamental technical difference going to the heart of the whole problem of social economy: by departing from his indoctrinated rules, any one person can hope to snatch some selfish benefit in a way not possible under the self-policing competitive pricing of private goods…."

Goods that fall purely into this category are rare, and, in fact, there are those who have argued that true public goods do not exist (for example, Randall 1983:134). Examples of public goods frequently offered include national defense and light houses. In the case of national defense, this is true only to the extent that one considers the public only to be citizens of a nation that has developed a defense system and citizens of allied nations. Something similar could be said of lighthouses: a given lighthouse directly benefits only those vessels that sail in the vicinity of it. Other economists would say that these are simply examples of *local public goods* (Tiebout 1956; Stiglitz 1977, 1983).

Joseph E. Stiglitz identified five *global public goods*: international economic stability, international security (political stability), the international environment, international humanitarian assistance, and knowledge (Stiglitz 1999:310). With regard to knowledge, Stiglitz recognizes the need to protect intellectual property. Through patents, trade secret laws, and other means, some forms of knowledge are excludable, and therefore knowledge is often thought of as an impure public good, one that can become private or club, at least temporarily (Stiglitz 1999:309–310). Nonetheless, Stiglitz argues that in the service of equitable development, "…basic research and many other fundamental forms of knowledge are not, and certainly should not be, protected by an intellectual property regime. In these areas efficiency requires public support. And this public support must be at the global level" (Stiglitz 1999:320).

## Supply and Demand

The basic supply and demand model is useful in understanding the forces that drive allocation of goods; however, governments, which provide the legal framework for exchange, do not stand apart from these forces. This is highly relevant to the kinds
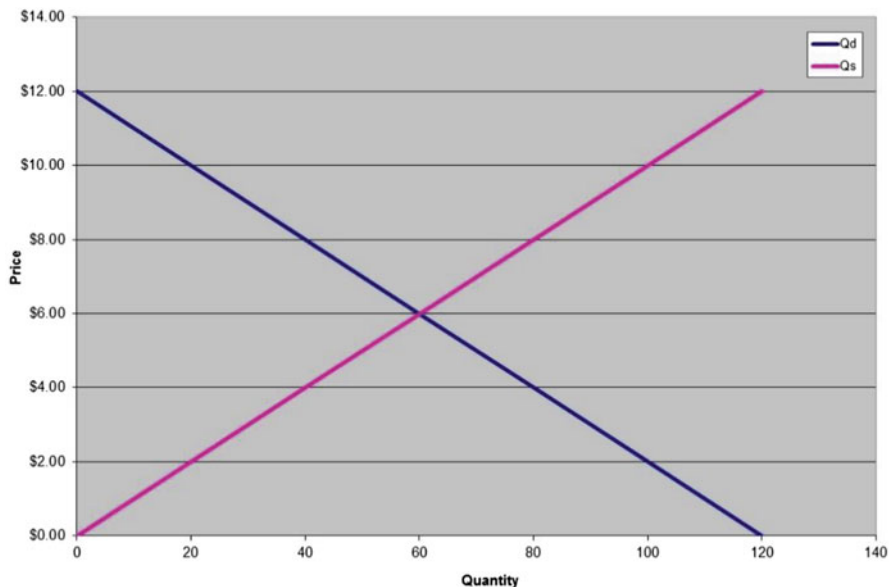
**Fig. 2.2** Supply and demand curves for conference coffee mugs. *Qd* demand quality, *Qs* supply quantity

of government interventions that are often used as remedies for market failures, and I will return to it. First, however, I will present the model in very simple terms.

Let's say at the next archaeology conference you attend, you pass a table where the professional organization that is sponsoring the conference is displaying coffee mugs bearing the organization's logo. If they are free, people will take many, perhaps not all at once, but they might come back several times for more as they think of archaeologists who could not come to the conference who might want such a mug. However, if the coffee mugs are sold, then the scenario differs. At $2 or $4 per mug, they are still a bargain, so many mugs would be sold, 100 at $2 and 80 at $4. At $12 per mug, none are sold. This would align with the basic supply and demand model, in which price is the primary determinant of sales: the lower the price, the more goods of any type sold. The model also assumes that price drives supply as well as demand. So, at the next annual conference, if the sponsoring organization actually wants to make a profit from coffee mug sales, it will have no motivation to sell mugs at $0, very little if they can be sold only at $2, little at $4, moderate motivation to sell mugs at $6, and increasing motivation as the price goes up in $2 increments to $12. Where the supply and demand curves cross, the actual price is set, which in this case is at $6. This would be the *equilibrium price* for the market (Fig. 2.2). Equilibrium is as temporary in markets as it is in most systems, however, and so equilibrium changes are influenced by a number of factors.

Among the most influential factors that affect the demand side of market equilibrium are the price of related goods (these can either be complementary goods or replacement goods), income, taste, expectations, and number of buyers. For demand, this can be represented as:

$$Qd = f\left(Px,\, Py,\, I,\, T,\, E,\, B\right)$$

where Px is the price of the good in question, Py is the price of related goods, $I$ is income, $T$ is taste, $E$ is expectations, and $B$ is the number of buyers.

For our conference coffee mugs, demand might be increased by the expectation that prices will go up at the next conference when they are not used as inducements in a membership drive ($E$), or if the Starbucks in the conference center is selling mugs at \$15 (Py), or if there are 1,000 attendees instead of 100 attendees ($B$). However, one of the most powerful of the factors that drives demand is taste. For this reason, companies invest great sums of money in advertising and marketing. The term "taste" should not be taken literally; it refers to consumer preference. For example, consider vodka. In a blind taste test reported by the New York Times on January 26, 2005 as, "A Humble Old Label Ices Its Rivals, http://www.nytimes.com/2005/01/26/dining/26wine.html?_r=0&pagewanted=print&position=" Smirnoff vodka, which typically sells for about \$13 per 750 mL bottle, was rated as best. All other vodkas in the top 10 cost more, and some two or almost three times as much per 750 mL bottle. As with demand for conference coffee mugs among archaeologists, the consumption of vodka—akin to the consumption of almost anything—is a performance that proclaims the identity of the consumer to the world at large and to himself or herself. There is more than a half century of anthropological literature that explicitly examines performance and identity. Some of the most widely read includes Gregory Bateson (1955), Schechner (1988) and Turner (1974, 1986), and, more recently, Inomata and Coben (2006). To Clifford Geertz, human culture itself is an "acted document:" humans reenact and recreate culture through public performance (1973). Accordingly, archaeologists reaffirm their identity as archaeologists when they consume conference coffee mugs. By consuming expensive vodka that is publically consumed by celebrities in motion pictures and in glossy magazines, vodka drinkers are doing the same.

Major factors that influence the supply side of the market place are often given as the price of inputs (materials and other resources required to produce goods) and technology, as represented below:

$$Qs = f\left(Px,\, R,\, T\right)$$

where Px is the price of the good in question, $R$ is inputs (materials and other resources) required for production of the good, and $T$ is the technology used in producing the good.

Generally, demand is the *value* side of the model, which is determined, ultimately, by consumer perception of value. Supply is, more simply, the *cost* side of the model. Both determine price. Therefore, when value or cost change, the entire
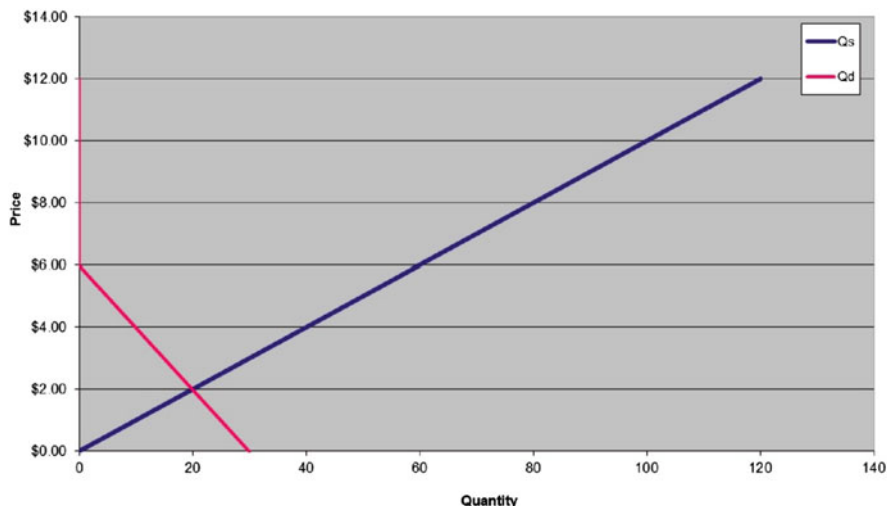
**Fig. 2.3** Supply and demand curves for archaeology conference coffee cups sold at a creationist conference. *Qd* demand quality, *Qs* supply quantity

*market structure* changes. This means that the market equilibrium for any good will change accordingly, but the change requires time.

To illustrate, consider a situation in which archaeology conference coffee mugs are sold at a creationist conference. Our supply and demand curves might look something like those in Fig. 2.3.

## Defining Archaeological Goods

Archaeological goods are traded in the marketplace, but as importantly, they play a role in the production of services and experiences. "Experience goods," for example, are those about the quality of which a person cannot be certain until such goods are obtained and consumed. Obvious examples are foods, wines, and hotels, but the term encompasses all kinds of goods and services, from clothing to health care (see, for example, Alfnes 2007). Branding is one pertinent avenue of research here (Brakus et al. 2009; Bloch et al. 2003). The importance of branding is that it functions to remove a level of uncertainty in the mind of the consumer. The consumer associates different qualities with different brands that contribute to a public and internalized identity, as is evident in the consumption of vodkas and coffee mugs.

## Archaeology as a Global Public Good

The types of information that can be obtained from the analysis of uncontaminated archaeological materials in original context conform closely to what Stiglitz characterizes as a global public good, as discussed above. For example, archaeological research provides information about the ever-changing relationship between the natural environment and human uses of it. There is ample archaeological evidence to suggest, for example, that humans have degraded regional environments during many eras and in many places in ways that greatly exacerbated natural climatic cycles so that complex social organization became impossible (Cook et al. 2012; Turner 1974). Archaeological evidence suggests that both desertification and increased mortality rates in Wadi Faynen were associated with deforestation and mining during the Roman and Byzantine eras (Barker et al. 2007), which carries with it important implications for similarly arid regions in the Middle East, North Africa, and elsewhere. Cook et al. (2012) have developed climate models using information derived from archaeological investigations that suggest precipitation decreases in the order of 5–15 % in southern Mexico and the Yucatan during the Mayan Late Classic and Post-Classic Periods because of deforestation. This, they argue, produced drastic population decreases after 1500 CE. Given the present-day scale and pace of development around the world, and in numerous locations that only a few decades ago were largely undeveloped, this suggests the real possibility of environmental degradation on a global level. Some have gone so far to say that "sustainable development" is an oxymoron (O'Riordan 1985; Paehkle 1995; Trzyna and Osborn 1995). Other archaeological research assumes a more fine-grained approach to sustainability. It has been argued persuasively that low-density development during the later Angkorian period proved unsustainable, and led to the collapse of a complex form of society, which would recommend against such development today (Evans et al. 2007). In general, archaeology provides information about the many ways that humans have organized themselves, and how human organizations have influenced human well-being. The Hangzhou Declaration, recently adopted by UNESCO, identifies "access to cultural goods and services" as a cultural right for all people in the world (UNESCO 2013). This constitutes an acknowledgement of archaeology and other cultural goods and services as a global public good. We must ask ourselves, however, how likely is it that the capacity to effectively implement this kind of international customary law, or indeed laws and regulations instituted at the national level, exists in most countries in the world? We need only to take note of drastic environmental degradation in rapidly developing countries and on a global scale to find an answer.

## Archaeology as a Local Identity Good

Much as information itself can be rendered rivalrous and excludable on a local level, so too, can archaeological goods. As noted previously, archaeological materials themselves can be traded as goods, and they can also prove an experience that can be marketed as an experience.

## *Demand Side*

Artifacts are among the goods that find their way into the marketplace. Among such artifacts are those collected by the use of metal detectors. What is said about these artifacts in terms of factors that influence supply and demand applies to other types of artifacts, although these factors influence other sorts of artifacts differently. Figure 2.4 presents a market structure for Civil War miniballs. Prices and quantities are hypothetical, as were those for coffee mugs, although some guidance for prices was obtained by perusing eBay advertisements for Civil War artifacts.

Again, demand can be presented as: $Qd = f(Px, Py, I, T, E, B)$, where Px is the price of the good in question, Py is the price of related goods, $I$ is income, $T$ is taste, and $E$ is expectations.

As prices go down for a good, demand increases because more people are able to purchase the goods, yet supply declines because there is less incentive to produce the good. As prices rise, the reverse occurs: demand declines, while supply increases. By far, most artifacts removed from archaeological sites have little or no monetary value because they are not intact. They might not even be recognizable as an artifact–or indeed "branded" with value–to a non-archaeologist. It would be unusual to find potsherds, lithic debitage, or fire-cracked rocks in antique and pawnshops because of this. They can, however, be acquired (although not always legally) at no cost when found by hikers, collectors, or recreational pot hunters. The classic
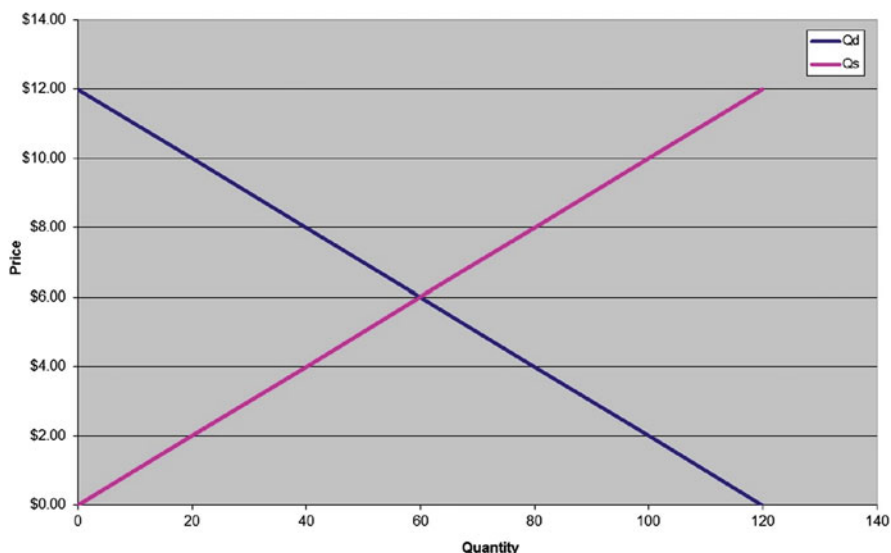


**Fig. 2.4** Supply and demand curves for US Civil War miniballs. *Qd* demand quality, *Qs* supply quantity

demand curve suggests that a demand for free goods exists even if the economic value is negligible. Over time, this demand will exhaust a finite supply.

Saleable artifacts taken from archaeological sites vary greatly in price. Statuary or intact pots from famed sites or of a type especially valued by collectors command very high prices, but even intact artifacts from historic periods after the advent of mass production are usually inexpensive. There are many reasons for this, which are related to the factors already listed, and are discussed below.

## Py, Price of Related Goods

### Complementary Goods

Complementary goods are consumed in tandem with a good in question, so as the cost of complementary good rises, the demand for the other falls. In this case, complementary goods are often complementary experiences. They include attending a convention of Civil War artifact collectors or historic reenactments where artifacts are sold. By means of collective experiences of this sort, which are performances in an anthropological sense, participants enter an imaginary, romantic past. If entry fees go up, this provides a disincentive to attend and consume.

The experience of collecting itself provides a sense of discovery and competence when artifacts are found. Fines levied on collectors who conduct activities at most public lands provide a disincentive to consume the complementary experience and the good itself.

On the other hand, as the price of a complementary good declines, the demand for the complemented good increases. Metal detectors have declined in price steadily over the years, and so the expected looting of metal artifacts from battlefields and historic sites would increase because demand has increased. Also, television shows that celebrating the excitement of looting with metal detectors can be consumed at no cost. As the media portrays the experience of looting, which assists in "branding" the artifacts obtained and/or the experience of obtaining the artifacts, the demand for looted goods can be expected to increase.

### Substitute Goods

A substitute good is one that can be consumed in place of a given good. Substitutes for miniballs might include musket balls and cartridge casings. As these decrease in price, the demand for these items increases, and demand for miniballs can be expected to fall. Related experience also can be thought of as a substitute good. When a person with a metal detector is provided the opportunity to participate in research under the direction of an archaeologist, a substitute for the experience of looting and the ownership of a miniball, demand for the miniball itself is removed and the price of miniballs falls to zero.

## *I*, Income

Income should be thought of as including not only salaries but also savings and net worth. Income affects consumption of products according to product quality. If product quality is *normal*, consumption goes up with income. Therefore, more automobiles and houses are sold when the economy is good and salaries and net worth are rising. Consumption of *inferior* products, however, actually falls when income levels are high. An inferior product is one that people will make do with instead of the product that they value more. For example, public transportation is considered an inferior product because most people aspire to car ownership. When income rises, people will purchase cars rather than taking public transportation, a global phenomenon that has greatly worsened air quality in rapidly developing, as well as developed, countries.

As this applies to artifacts, an inferior product would be one with uncertain provenience or authenticity. There are shops in Bangkok where potential customers are shown photographs of statuary or friezes in situ. If they commit to a purchase, the artifact is obtained. Even this does not ensure provenience or authenticity, of course; the consumer would have to acquire the artifact himself or herself in order to be absolutely sure of these qualities. This market exchange is an incentive to loot, and looting is indeed rampant in isolated locales where frequent patrols are not possible. To offer a looted good in the marketplace, however, is more difficult, unless evidence of provenience is provided. This can be problematic unless documentation is provided that artifacts were taken from private property in a country that assigns rights to artifacts to the owner of the private property. Thus, among the many reasons that miniballs and similar artifacts are worth little in the marketplace is that provenience is typically not well documented. One of the reasons that provenience is not well documented can be that the artifact was taken illegally from public lands where the most important battlefields and historic sites are to be found.

## Taste

Taste is more precisely consumer preference, and consumer preference is often related to identity, because consumption is a performance that proclaims identity to the world and to one's self. Tastes can be the result of fashions or fads, and they are heavily dependent upon marketing and the identity constructed by consumption. This is the case with vodka. The collection of miniballs is marketed by companies that produce metal detectors. The characters that appear in the National Geographic reality television show *Diggers* are spokespersons for the Anaconda Metal Detector company. They were featured on the company's website before the appearance of the television show. They are portrayed as salt-of-the earth types, slightly offbeat and resentful of authority, and enjoying themselves immensely through the pursuit of their inexpensive hobby. The experience of looting is conveyed as something like hunting or fishing, with the added attraction that one might strike it rich. National Geographic *Diggers* for a time added a character portrayed as an archaeologist.

She was more sober, and while not an object of ridicule, she was obviously not "one of the boys." In terms of identity, consumers of the inferior products that are metal artifacts looted from battlefields and historic sites would seem to be similar to those who attach their identities to male-oriented, low-cost outdoor pursuits.

## Expectations

Demand is influenced by expectations related to income, taste, and price. The relationship between income and demand for goods from houses to televisions is an obvious one. Taste is again closely related to fashion and fad: many newspapers and magazines, for example, publish lists of what is "in" and what is "out" each year, and as opinions circulate among the target demographic and beyond, demand rises and falls accordingly. If prices are expected to rise or fall, more consumers will either choose to purchase a good immediately or to wait. With regard to our test universe of cultural material, artifacts collected by metal detectorists, a good number of advertisements for firearm projectiles and other Civil War materials highlighted the 150th anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg, and suggested that items taken from that battlefield would be increasingly valuable. The index of consumer confidence, of course, is related to the supply and demand for all goods. The perception that income might fall would have the effect of increasing demand for inferior goods.

## Number of Buyers

This is relevant to market demand. As the number of buyers increases demand increases and vice-versa. The number of buyers is again related to marketing; effective marketing in this case is not just of the goods, per se, but of complementary goods, which include experiential goods, and even more specifically, identity goods. Effective marketing is concerned with developing fad and fashion by means of what the marketing industry terms *frequency* and *reach*. Frequency refers to the number of times that a message is delivered to a prospective market, and reach to the breadth of demographic segments that can be convinced to consume the goods in question. Electronic media are much more effective at both than were print media only a few years ago.

Supply Side

Major factors that influence the supply side of the market place are often given as the price of inputs (materials and other resources required to produce goods) and technology. This we can represent as:

$$Qs = f\left(Px, R, T\right)$$

where Px is the price of the good in question, *R* is inputs (materials and other resources) required for production of the good, and *T* is the technology used in producing the good.

### R*, Inputs*

A crucial point here is that artifacts of archaeological importance cannot be reproduced. They are absolutely nonrenewable. Whereas natural resources can be conserved by wise management to maintain stocks of resources at a level and within conditions that allow resources to recover from exploitation, this is not true for archaeological artifacts.

Services and experiences related to archaeology range from those that remove artifacts from a context in which they can be analyzed in ways that contribute to global public goods to those that can act to preserve artifacts in context. A classic example of the former is the collection of Civil War artifacts by users of metal detectors. Also in this category are television shows and websites that glorify. What holds out some level of hope for the preservation of the archaeological record is that educational documentaries, careful management of tourism at archaeological sites, and a host of other services and experiences can be developed that encourage preservation of the archaeological record.

### T*, Technology*

Technology holds both great danger and promise for the preservation of the archaeological record. For example, as metal detectors have become increasingly available and electronic media have increasingly celebrated looting by use of them, the supply of irreplaceable archaeological material has increased in the marketplace. This, however, has occurred at the cost of reducing the stock of a nonrenewable resource, one that if preserved would be a global public good. On the other hand, technology can be used to gain more information from archaeological materials and to transmit that information to the global public.

## Market Failure

As an introductory level economics textbook puts it, a market failure is, "a circumstance in which private markets do not bring about the allocation of resources that best satisfies society's wants" (McConnell et al. 2009:335). There are many types of market failure; among them are externalities, information asymmetries, the development of monopolies and oligopolies, transaction costs, and agency problems. Market failures are most frequently associated with public goods and common goods because free exchange of these goods can alter the structure of supply and demand in ways that ultimately threaten the viability of the market system itself. Room does not permit a discussion here more than externalities, but these are the

sort of market failures that are often associated with depletion of resources, including archaeological resources.

Voluntary exchange in the marketplace can produce externalities, which are benefits that can be enjoyed or costs to be borne by parties not involved in an exchange. Only a voluntary exchange itself is subject to forces of supply and demand, and so externalities are termed a type of market failure. Well-known negative externalities include air pollution and depletion of fish stocks in the ocean. Many people not involved in the production or consumption of energy by the use of fossil fuels will pay taxes for environmental remediation, for example, or will pay for health care that would otherwise not be required. Commercial fisheries impose costs on indigenous groups who depend upon aquatic resources for subsistence, and sports fishermen are deprived of enjoyment, which in turn lessen incomes for those who vend to sport fishermen. There are also positive externalities. Medical treatments that cure individuals of communicable diseases lessen the chances that others will become ill with that disease and require treatment. Externalities ultimately find their way back to the marketplace. Negative externalities typically result in overproduction of the related good or service and over allocation of resources to that production. Positive externalities encourage underproduction and under allocation of resources. Market failures constitute threats to the general well-being, and thus the stability, of a society. Societies deal with them by a variety of means, from taxation and regulation, which often carry with them other economic costs, to innovation in the market system itself. The looting of archaeological materials is a form of negative externality.

## Adjusting for Externalities

Government intervention is typically seen as the means by which to adjust for market failures. These can be in the form of bailouts, taxes, subsidies, regulations, wage controls, and price-controls. Bailouts, for example, were used in the recent US recession that followed what has become known as "the real estate bubble." The recession illustrates several points about an essentially free-market system: that market failures are recurrent, that government intervention is controversial, and that intervention can disproportionately benefit one or another economic and demographic sector. It is far from perfect.

Consider, for example, a situation in which a government lays claim to all property, all modes of production, and, essentially, all goods. Were that government interested only in the welfare of its citizenry, one would expect exemplary stewardship of all public and common goods. Clearly, this was never the case among countries governed by communist regimes. Clean air, a classic public good, time and again is not provided to citizenry when the government controls, as opposed to merely regulating, modes of production. As this applies to archaeological goods, Zijun Tang (2013:6) has noted that, in China, the government owns all heritage resources. Further, the government usually sets up state-owned enterprises to be responsible for the matters of protection and utilization of heritage. Since the

property rights of heritage have been monopolized by government, the regulation agency of government and the development enterprises of heritage become the same. When heritage damage and inappropriate utilization occur in practice, the regulation agency cannot make an objective and fair judgment and take effective measures to stop those behaviors because they have common interests with the state-owned enterprises. This regulation system does not aim to maintain the sustainable development of heritage, but rather is foremost concerned with economic profit. Thus, the system is not only a serious impediment to the formation of a real market mechanism for heritage protection and utilization, but also causes great damage to irreplaceable heritage resources.

The economic ties between free-market governments and corporations are similar in many ways to those between monopolistic governments, such as that in China, and the agencies appointed by those governments to oversee production and distribution of goods. This is because the government taxes the private sector for revenue, and so often intervenes in ways that increase taxable private sector profits and taxable wages paid to employees. As the economist Niall Ferguson points out, corporations were seventeenth century creations of the state (2008:128). This was the time during which the great powers of Europe vied over control and exploitation of resources in the New World. Alliances shifted, but war was continuous, and expensive. Success depended upon the ability to raise revenue needed for armies and navies. At a certain point, taxation became highly problematic, and resistance to taxation could topple governments. The failure of the monarchy in France, for example, might well have owed as much or more to the great debts run up by the government as to the ideology of democracy. The English devised an innovative approach to raising revenue at the dawn of the seventeenth century: they formed the English East India Company. With a virtual monopoly on trade, the state and its allied cartel could raise the capital necessary to deal with uncertain returns from any specific trading expedition, and control supply in order to stabilize prices and ensure large profits. Government–corporate alliances have since been common in what are called free-market economies. In 2009, the US Treasury owned 61 % of General Motors stock, prompting some to refer to GM as "Government Motors." This was not uncontroversial, and by June of 2013, the US Treasury owned just 14 % of the company's stock, yet the safety net for corporations in times of market failure clearly remains.

## The Resolution: Support for Global Public Good

Stiglitz argues that public support for knowledge as a pure global public good must be at the global level because governmental mechanisms are not available internationally; they are available only to sovereign nation-states. In fact, as discussed just above, sovereign nation-states are not disinterested parties in the marketplace. Indeed, governments have enormous interests in the marketplace because the operation of governments depends upon a share of market revenues and stability.

The only effective means of support for the global public good must reside with public sentiment.

Archaeologists around the world have been greatly remiss in generating the sentiment among the public required for the preservation of uncontaminated archaeological materials in original context. They have bowed both to the public's interest in the discovery of things and the media's "branding" of the discipline, and have not attended as much to the dissemination of information that has been produced by archaeological research. Archaeologists must become much more active on the supply side of archaeology in the marketplace, creating services and experiences that encourage preservation. They must not only promote the excitement of discovery, but also the excitement of how archaeology can contribute to the knowledge base that is both in the global public good and indeed is *a* global public good. Interventions by governments and international organization such as UNESCO can assist in the development of such archaeological products through contracting and grant protocols that reward archaeologists for contributing to this global public good.

# References

Alfnes, F. (2007). Willingness to pay versus expected consumption value in Vickrey auctions for new experience. *American Journal of Agricultural Economics, 89*(4), 921–931. Published by: Oxford University Press on behalf of the Agricultural & Applied Economics Association. Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/4492870.

Barker, G., Gilberston, D., & Mattingly, D. (Eds.). (2007). *Archaeology and desertification: The Wadi Faynan Landscape Survey, Southern Jordan. (Wadi Faynan Series Volume 2, Levant Supplementary Series 6) (Supplementary CD)*. Oxford, England: Oxbow Books.

Bateson, G. (1955). A theory of play and fantasy. *Psychiatric Research Reports, 2*, 39–51.

Bloch, P. H., Brunei, F. F., & Arnold, T. J. (2003). Individual differences in the centrality of visual product aesthetics: Concept and measurement. *Journal of Consumer Research, 29*, 551–565.

Bohannon, P. (1965). *Markets in Africa*. New York: Doubleday Anchor.

Brakus, J. J., Schmitt, B. H., & Zarantonello, L. (2009). Brand experience: What is it? How is it measured? Does it affect loyalty? *Journal of Marketing, 73*(3), 52–68.

Cook, B. I., Anchukaitis, K. J., Kaplan, J. O., Puma, M. J., Kelley, M., & Gueyffier, D. (2012). Pre-Columbian deforestation as an amplifier of drought in Mesoamerica. *Geophysical Research Letters, 39*(16).

Evans, D. H., Pottier, C., Fletcher, R., Hensley, S., Tapley, I., Milne, A., et al. (2007). A comprehensive archaeological map of the world's largest preindustrial settlement complex at Angkor, Cambodia. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America, 104*(36), 14277–14282.

Geertz, C. (1973). *The interpretation of cultures: Selected essays*. New York: Basic Books.

Inomata, T., & Coben, L. S. (2006). *Archaeology of performance*. Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press.

McConnell, C. R., Brue, S. L., & Flynn, S. M. (2009). *Microeconomics*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

O'Riordan, T. (1985). Research policy review 6: Future directions in environmental policy. *Environment and Planning A, 17*(11), 1431–1446.

Paehkle, R. (1995). Sustainable development. In R. Paehkle (Ed.), *Sustainable development and environmentalism: An encyclopaedia* (pp. 615–616). New York: Garland.

Polanyi, K. (1957). The economy as instituted process. In K. Paolanyi et al. (Eds.), *Trade and market in the early empires*. Glencoe, IL: The Free Press.

Randall, A. (1983). The problem of market failure. *Natural Resources Journal, 23*, 131–148.

Samuelson, P. A. (1954). The pure theory of public expenditure. *The Review of Economics and Statistics, 36*(4), 387–389.

Schechner, R. (1988). *Performance theory*. London: Routledge.

Spradley, J. P. (1979). *The ethnographic interview*. New York: Rinehart and Winston.

Stiglitz, J. E. (1977). Theory of local public goods. In M. S. Fieldstein & R. P. Inman (Eds.), *The economics of public services*. New York: Halsted.

Stiglitz, J. E. (1999). Knowledge as a global public good. In I. Kaul, I. Grunberg, & M. A. Stern (Eds.), *Global public goods: International cooperation in the 21st century. United Nations Development Programme* (pp. 308–325). New York: Oxford University Press.

Stiglitz, J. E. (1983). Public goods in open economies with heterogeneous individuals. In J. F. Thisse & H. G. Zoler (Eds.), *Locational analysis of public facilities*. Amsterdam: North-Holland.

Tang, Z. (2013). Does the institution of property rights matter for heritage preservation? Evidence from China. In T. Blumenfield & H. Silverman (Eds.), *Cultural heritage politics in China*. New York: Springer.

Tiebout, C. M. (1956). A pure theory of public expenditures. *Journal of Political Economy, 64*, 416–424.

Trzyna, T. C., & Osborn, J. K. (Eds.). (1995). *A sustainable world: Defining and measuring sustainable development*. Sacramento, CA: California Institute of Public Affairs.

Turner, B. L. (1974). Prehistoric intensive agriculture in the Mayan lowlands. *Science, 185*(4146), 118–124.

Turner, V. (1982). *From ritual to theater: The human seriousness of play*. New York: PAJ Publications.

Turner, V. (1986). *The anthropology of performance*. New York: PAJ Publications.

UNESCO. (2013). The Hangzhou declaration. Paris: UNESCO. Retrieved from http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CLT/images/FinalHangzhouDeclaration20130517.pdf.

# Chapter 3
# Conceptualizing Cultural Heritage as a Common

**Pablo Alonso González**

## Introduction

The first image (Fig. 3.1) portrays a man getting rid of the stone covering his recently built brick and concrete house, while the second captures a moment of the construction of a monumental heritagized mansion that is being covered with stone (Fig. 3.2). The pictures come from Val de San Lorenzo, in Maragateria, a region of northwest Spain where I have been carrying out research since 2006. The insights provided here arise in the friction between empirical experiences in the field and theoretical reflection. In Val de San Lorenzo, the heritagization process has little to do with preservation; everything is about constructing and deconstructing. The ongoing process is far from being an exclusively social construction of heritage, but rather a quite material one. Why is this happening?

## Heritage as a Common

Post-Workerist thinkers have set out a novel conceptualization of the commons as the collective potential embodied in social creativity, information, knowledge, and forms of life in the era of cognitive capitalism. The flexible post-industrial economy dissolves the boundaries between leisure and work, production, and consumption (Thrift 2005). While the standard liberal narrative affirms that private property is the locus of freedom and productivity as opposed to the public sphere, Hardt and Negri (2009) argue that today the "common" is the locus of freedom and innovation, whose privatization/regulation curtails the open-ended productivity of social life.

P. Alonso González (✉)
University of Cambridge, Cambridge, UK
e-mail: Pa332@cam.ac.uk

**Fig. 3.1** A man gets rid of the stones covering his brick and concrete modern house



**Fig. 3.2** A supermodern house, conceived and constructed with modern ideas and materials and covered with old-looking stones and tiles to become a "heritage object". It functions as both a real estate investment and a representation of the individualized identities of its owners

The "common" can be equated with the concept of the "commons" found in works by other authors. It is defined as a heterogeneous realm of differences that the multitude sets out to "reappropriate" by a claim and seizure of "not only its products but also its means of production, that is, the common as its own self-positing and self-referential production" (Casarino and Negri 2008:17).

Science, language, art, knowledge, or heritage values grow when they are socialized and diffused. Heritage is part of the common goods, which are not only water or air, but also the entities created through artistic dynamics which escape the logics of production/consumption to which the logic of scarcity does or need not apply (Lessig 1996) The expansion of social productive powers in open social networks creates new common values.[1] Contrarily, the production of new goods through the logic of capital entails an intrinsic alienation implying that certain entities can only be "yours or mine."

My conception of heritage commons is a situated one that stands in contrast to imperialist traditions treating heritage as a universal global endeavor. This position is embodied by UNESCO, for instance in its condemnation of the destruction of the Bamiyan Buddhas by the Taliban in Afghanistan, whose "acts of destruction committed against cultural monuments" were considered "as crimes against the common heritage of humanity" (Manhart 2001:388). This universalist understanding of the common implies a Western rationality or point-zero perspective (Castro-Gómez 2003), a God-eye view representing itself as being without a point of view. My conceptualization of heritage as a common must be enriched through the juxtaposition of two different ontological senses of it, or different "modes of existence" of heritage. Keeping these two modalities together and connecting them with the concepts of community and identity generates a friction that opens up new potential paths for research.

Heritage entities should be considered common in a twofold way. Their first mode of existence comprises their given status in actual states of affairs. They do not have the property (essence) of being heritage or inherently valuable, but rather the capacity to become so. This first mode of existence of heritage is better framed through phenomenological accounts highlighting the radical embodiment of the individual in the community. This "being-in-common" emphasizes the preexistence of community and its identity before our coming into being. Here, community is not a "something"—an essence—but rather "something that happens to us" (Nancy 1991:2). In turn, identity is conceived as a consequence of modern processes of subjectivization and individuation, a long-term distillation process. This is the realm of the given, in which being is lived in-common and consequently shared and relational. Here we find the "common givens"—traditions, the past, material objects or buildings, co-created by unspecified subjectivities during time, and which can be subject to heritagization processes.

The second mode of existence comprises the heritage commons as productive forces. The productivist ontology of Deleuze assumed by Hardt and Negri emphasizes the ongoing processes of construction/deconstruction of the common, necessary to sustain or shatter communities. Here, community must be seen as a terrain of struggle where certain forces tend towards disciplining, segmenting, and positioning the community in the market, while alternative forces push towards a

---

[1] In Gabriel Tarde's sense, values are co-constituted in complex assemblages of culture-economy: they cannot be restricted to cultural or aesthetic judgments or economic phenomena.

governing through community and the reappropriation of collective values from below (Barchiesi 2003:3–4; Rose 1999). What matters here is how the heritage givens are put to work through novel assemblages of value creation. These are paralleled by discourses of identification which reframe modern given identities, fuelled by the agency of self-aware groups able to generate self-representations (Massey and Rose 2003). The modern identity of a village can then be reified as an entity consisting in an abstract identity to which some heritage elements are attached. Identity becomes then a representation that can be marketed and connected to flows of tourism and investment. Which heritage processes foster and which prevent the creation of the common? What appropriations of the common heritage values of communities reinforce or shatter them?

Knowledge about heritage processes must get rid of the essentialism that accounts for heritage retroactively without acknowledging the complex process necessary for its formation. We must avoid the "salto mortale" that social constructivism or positivism imply, by positing the knowledgeable subject and the object as the essential terms of the knowledge construction equation. Knowledge cannot be understood as the establishment of a relation between the idea of heritage with the real heritage out there, but "rather as a chain of experiences woven into the tissue of life" (Latour 2007:89). Object and subject are not the "adequate points of departure for any discussion about knowledge acquisition"… but rather "they are generated as a byproduct … of the knowledge making pathways themselves" (Latour 2007:89). The construction of heritage objects is an emergent process involving a relational interplay of knowledge, information, expert regimes, emotions, and institutions.

Thus, heritage knowledge is achieved not by linking representations to reality, but through the analysis of the complex chains of experiences leading many different agents to shift "from an uncoordinated to a coordinated movement" (Latour 2007:92) by which heritage is constituted as a social object. In other words, the capacities of some given entities are used by social actors to construct heritage objects relationally, relying on what Gabriel Tarde called the co-operation between brains: heritage cannot exist without high levels of education, tourists who appreciate it, people willing to preserve it for the sake of nationalist or localist passions and believes, and so on (Lazzarato 2002). The value of heritage is sustained by relational networks comprising evaluations without any fundamental essence or basis. Similar to marketing and the service economy, what matters for the construction of heritage is not the object in itself, but the affective and social environment where it can make sense and become valuable. Also, it is fundamental to understand who profits and captures this value in the form of immaterial rents (Vercellone 2008). Whether the "becoming valuable of heritage" is used for the expansion of the common or not is beyond the realm of epistemology and must be related to politics: is the common being captured or put to work for the common good?

## On Bricks and Stones

Most people have been devoted to textile work since medieval times in Val de San Lorenzo, a small village of 700 inhabitants in northwestern Spain. The slow and late industrialization progress freed many hands from work and led many to emigrate to South America and the Caribbean between 1870 and 1950. These emigrants influenced the different paths towards modernization in the village. Two clear tendencies emerged. A group influenced by the liberal ideas coming from the emigrants in Cuba followed an individualist path towards modernization. They strove to create private textile companies with salaried labor comprising all productive processes. A more numerous second group assumed the socialist ideas arriving from Buenos Aires. They established a communal textile company called "Communal" that continued with traditional forms of production based on commonality and the familial unit of production. This communitarian ethos was reflected in the homogeneity of the village, by the use of similar architectural elements and local materials such as stone and straw (Fig. 3.3), and an overall lack of individualization of houses. During the burst of the Spanish economy between 1960 and 1980 the "liberal entrepreneurs" made great profits and started to build huge brick and concrete houses conforming to the patterns of modernity (Fig. 3.4). Thus, architecture was used as a marker of symbolic power, which disrupted the aesthetic homogeneity of the village.

Although communal producers could overcome the shock of the Spanish Civil War and Franco's dictatorship, their profits were not enough to afford building with bricks and concrete. As stone had become a symbol of poverty and backwardness, they covered their façades with limestone. After 1980, industrial profits decayed and companies started to close gradually. In an attempt to reinvigorate the economy of the village, liberal entrepreneurs and the city council implemented a plan of



**Fig. 3.3** An abandoned vernacular house made of stone, wood, and straw, inhabited until the 1980s

**Fig. 3.4** A modern house characteristic of the industrialization process of the 1970s and 1980s



heritagization that would facilitate the transition towards a service-based economy. In sum, the city council set up urban laws favoring the use of stone and old-looking tiles while punishing the use of concrete, bricks, and plastic in façades and roofs. In turn, the old Communal factory, closed during the 1990s, became a textile museum in 2006. The heritagization of the building set the standard for future restorations and urban interventions (Fig. 3.5). The process involved the city council, the future curator of the museum, and the architect in charge. They got rid of the "ugly materials" such as plastic or metal, and the concrete covering the stone façade, while brick walls were covered with limestone. Moreover, they decided that a certain kind of blue was the "traditional color" of the region and painted the building accordingly. Rather than historic preservation, this was a process of historic reinvention. The story told in the museum is one of technical progress and modernization, where the existence of a common productive system is disregarded, along with the role of emigrants, women, or workers in the process. Fundamentally, the museum guarantees the immaterial value of the brand "Val de San Lorenzo" in luxury textile objects and reinforces the identity of the village as a touristic destination. The strategy followed to generate symbolic capital is thus halfway between the patent and the copyright.

In turn, liberal entrepreneurs reinvested their resources in hotels and restaurants, restoring old houses and building new monumental buildings from scratch, both for themselves and for sale. Those who had so readily embraced modernity and its materiality now move to a supermodern phase (Augé 2008), in which brand new

**Fig. 3.5** The aspect of La Comunal as a factory with fiber cement roof and concrete in sight (*above*) and as a heritagized entity made of artisan tiles and painted with "traditional" colors. Now, stones are on sight while concrete has been covered (*below*)



brick houses are covered with old-looking stones and tiles, allowing architects to freely experiment with vernacular building traditions. Instead, the changes in the houses of ex-communal producers reflect their will to acquire the formerly inaccessible materials such as concrete, bricks or corrugated iron roofs. Paradoxically, they cannot afford to build with stone now, although urban laws encourage it. Both realities clash with the will of entrepreneurs and the local council to preserve the formal homogeneity and urban harmony of the village—which had been disrupted by them before—for touristic aims.

Clearly, the old common, the given heritage of the village—vernacular buildings, material culture, pasts, traditions, artisanship, features traditionally considered to be "monuments", archeological sites, and landscapes—has been put to work for the valorization processes implemented by local entrepreneurs. They have shifted from a productive industrial paradigm to a model based on the capture of the rents generated by the common values of the village through tourism and service-based economies. At the symbolic level, the museum and urban policies endeavor to establish a new ideal of community that recreates a harmonic past that never existed. This strategy is aimed at creating a touristic destination, an identity, and a brand distinguishing the village from other places.

However, this situation entails a twofold oppression. At the level of identity politics, it excludes from participation, silences the voices, and does not represent the

identities of most people in the community. At the level of ontological politics (sensu Mol 1999), it does not acknowledge the common sources that provide the value captured by local entrepreneurs. If the communal factory had been meta-phorically appropriated and its existence discursively silenced, the common values of the village are materially captured by a few people while the village rapidly decays, economically and demographically. This entails a disaffection of the popu-lation with their textile past and traditions, a split between subjects and objects. In addition, it leads to the gradual destruction of the common values of the village— for instance, by people not caring about its aesthetics, preserving textile objects and traditions, or even purposefully acting against the heritagization process, as the man getting rid of stones to leave to ugly bricks in sight shows in the first figure. During the period of industrialization, communal production emerged as a response to the liberal and individualist producers in the village. Could we similarly devise models of reappropriation of the common to oppose its privatization in the post-industrial period?

## Conclusion

The construction of heritage as a social object is a complex process involving many objects and subjects. It is not out there, waiting to be discovered, nor in here, in the mind of the researcher. Rather, heritage is an emergent assemblage that implies novel distributions of the material and the discursive. Architects and curators bring in their knowledge practices, handworkers, and construction entrepreneurs, their know-how and techniques, politicians pursue their networks and influence, and tourists are, or are not, attracted by the heritage elements. All those, among many others, participate in the construction of the relational chain of experiences, mean-ing, and value that enables the construction of heritage entities.

The fundamental alienation and inequality entailed by the appropriation of com-mon values through heritage constructions calls for a politically involved approach to heritage studies. Granting ontological status to these common values in our criti-cal accounts and working with communities to help them in acknowledging the existence of these values would be a first step. Leaving aside issues of authenticity, we should focus on the connection between people in communities and the things— the given heritages—they value most, and how the heritagization process might disrupt or reinforce these associations. We should overcome outwardly critical accounts of these processes to start devising potential responses to processes of capture of the contemporary commons beyond the simple reaffirmation or recogni-tion of identities. Ultimately, what communities and people need is to harness and strengthen their common creativity and potential, and have an equal share of it. There are a series of ongoing experimentations in forms of reappropriating heritage common values. These include cultural parks or heritage areas with strong public management schemes and democratic decision making like the Val di Cornia in Italy, semipublic institutions of heritage production such as the *Oficina del*

*Historiador* in Havana, Cuba, or communal experiences of ecotourism (Alonso González 2013; Stronza 2009). Although addressing these modes of reappropriation goes beyond the scope of this paper, it constitutes a fruitful research strand needs to be further explored.

# References

Alonso González, P. (2013). *Cultural parks and national heritage areas: Assembling cultural heritage, development and spatial planning*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars.

Augé, M. (2008). *Non-places*. London: Verso.

Barchiesi, F. (2003). Communities between commons and commodities: Subjectivity and needs in the definition of new social movements. *The Commoner, 6*, 1–6.

Casarino, C., & Negri, A. (2008). *In praise of the common: A conversation on philosophy and politics*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Castro-Gómez, S. (2003). *La Hybris del Punto Cero: Biopolíticas imperiales y colonialidad del poder en la Nueva Granada (1750–1810)*. Bogotá: Instituto Pensar, Universidad Javeriana.

Hardt, M., & Negri, A. (2009). *Commonwealth*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Latour, B. (2007). A textbook case revisited: Knowledge as mode of existence. In S. Jasanoff & Society for Social Studies of Science (Eds.), *The handbook of science and technology studies* (pp. 83–112). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Lazzarato, M. (2002). *Puissances de l'invention: la psychologie économique de Gabriel Tarde contre l'économie politique*. Paris: Empêcheurs de penser en rond.

Lessig, L. (1996). Reading the constitution in cyberspace. *Emory Law Journal, 45*, 896–897.

Manhart, C. (2001). The Afghan cultural heritage crisis: UNESCO's response to the destruction of statues in Afghanistan. *American Journal of Archaeology, 105*(3), 387–388.

Massey, D., & Rose, G. (2003). *Personal views: Public art research project*. Milton Keynes: The Open University.

Mol, A. (1999). Ontological politics. A word and some questions. In J. Law & J. Hassard (Eds.), *Actor network theory and after* (pp. 74–89). Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Nancy, J. L. (1991). *The inoperative community*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Rose, N. S. (1999). *Powers of freedom: Reframing political thought*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Stronza, A. L. (2009). Commons management and ecotourism: Ethnographic evidence from the Amazon. *International Journal of the Commons, 4*(1), 56–77.

Thrift, N. J. (2005). *Knowing capitalism*. London: Sage.

Vercellone, C. (2008). The new articulation of wages, rent and profit in cognitive capitalism. In *The Art of Rent*. London, England: Queen Mary University.

# Chapter 4
# Identity and Heritage in the Global City: The Barbican Estate and Robin Hood Gardens, London, UK

**Caroline A. Sandes**

## Introduction

The Barbican Estate (Fig. 4.1) is a modernist estate on the edge of London's historic core, the City. The estate also incorporates in situ Roman/medieval city wall sections and a Grade I listed medieval church. It is an historic place with a specific identity, and the estate buildings are listed and protected as Grade II historic buildings. Those that live and work in the Barbican strongly identify with it, but it is reviled by others as an ugly, impenetrable behemoth. Similar feelings have been roused by Robin Hood Gardens (Croft 2009) (Fig. 4.2), also a modernist estate but built in East London for social tenants and, rather than being protected, is to be demolished.

   This dichotomous response towards a specific urban place is seen with a variety of urban places. Often poorer communities living in older areas derive a similar sense of identity from them, but because they are less well defined or have become run down, or damaged during conflict, they are decried by others as fit only for redevelopment, ultimately leading to the loss of the community, its heritage and identity in all but the most superficial sense. Conservation of modernist or post-1945 architecture is still quite controversial in some spheres; by using the Barbican and Robin Hood Gardens estates as case studies, the vulnerability of urban heritage and community identity to social, political and economic agendas, particularly within the neoliberal, globalized form of urban development that now has a hold on many cities worldwide, is highlighted.

C.A. Sandes (✉)
University College of London, London, UK
e-mail: csandes4@gmail.com

**Fig. 4.1** The Barbican Estate, London



**Fig. 4.2** Robin Hood Gardens, London

## Neoliberal Urban Development and Gentrification

The descent into the globalized neoliberal agenda for urban growth began at about the same time as modernist urban planning theory of cities as "machines for living" gave way to, as Hall (2002:379) suggests, a postmodernist concept of cities as "machines for wealth creation". The consequence is that cities have increasingly become "themed" into commodities of economic value; a crude mechanism of inter-city competition reduces the historic urban landscape to the status of mere symbolic capital intended to create spectacle resulting in the disneyfication of urban space, and urban heritage along with it, and a corresponding loss of local identity (Amin and Thrift 2002; Zukin 2010; Harvey 2013:72) (Fig. 4.3). This has been furthered by globalized neoliberal policies that favor gentrification (Slater 2009:298). Gentrification, once considered negatively, has become a major neoliberal urban strategy and is now considered positively (Smith 2002). This has led, it has been argued, to careful and concerted plans designed to create what may be considered the "post-justice city", where social housing and welfare has been dramatically reduced, policing has been reconfigured to reinforce marginalization, and the urban designs that are promoted are the ones that remove residents considered to be undesirable—the human equivalent of blight (Cuthbert 2003:5). The current planning and management of the historic urban landscape appears to support these two key practices: gentrification and commodification, particularly of the inner city. As a consequence, neglected historic urban areas are denigrated as slums needing



**Fig. 4.3** Spitalfields Market, London

regeneration, i.e., complete redevelopment, while other built cultural heritage is considered only as part of place—and tourist industry—promotion. The results of such policies are often severely detrimental to the uniqueness of a place's cultural heritage, and to existing urban communities (Kaminer et al. 2011:12).

This has potentially serious connotations for local urban heritage, community and identity, particularly if the community of an area is poor and/or unable to ensure that the development has long-term positive outcomes for them, as now will be demonstrated by a brief examination of two modernist estates in London. Both are residential estates designed by renowned architects and built in the style of Brutalist modernism, so both are loved and hated in equal measure. Both have well-established communities. One has successfully achieved listed historic building status, the other is due to be demolished.

## The Barbican

The Barbican is a purpose-built estate, designed by Chamberlain, Powell and Bon for the City of London Corporation as part of its post-Second World War redevelopment. The Barbican is situated in an area rich in history, on the northwest corner of the Roman fort, where the subsequent Roman and medieval settlement developed. Remains of the western gate and some standing remains of the Roman and medieval city wall have been preserved in situ, as has the sixteenth century church of St. Giles Cripplegate.

The building of the Barbican was a complicated process, plans only being finalized in 1959 and the first tenants moving in 1969 (Harwood 2011). It was specifically designed to provide housing for middle and upper class people employed in the City, but was also designed to be multipurpose. The Barbican comprises over 2,000 apartments housing some 4,000 residents. There is also a small amount of social housing. There was a YMCA hostel providing accommodation for disadvantaged young people but this was closed down in 2012. The estate also contains the Barbican Arts Centre, the Guildhall School of Music and Drama, the City of London School for Girls, a cinema, a public library, and linked to its southwest corner, the Museum of London. It also provides public open space in some of its surrounding gardens and around the Arts Centre.

The Barbican is very much a "city within a city", or an urban village. An important aspect of it is that it was carefully rooted into the history of its surroundings. Its name was a preexisting name from the area, and the naming of the towers and blocks are all references to notable historical figures that had something to do with the locality. The standing archeological sites were always to be conserved in situ as part of the development, as was the church (Sandes 2010). It is evident that the Barbican is a part of London's heritage—it draws upon and adds to it. It is unique and, given for example that the towers were once the tallest residential towers in Europe, it is considered a landmark.

While it certainly has its own social stratifications, the Barbican residents also have an influential Residents Association and a Residents Consultation Committee. They mount strong defenses against anything from, for example, noise from external users to major urban developments that may impinge on the Barbican and its peace and quiet. Any changes to the Barbican, any prospective developments around the Barbican and any changes to those developments, must go before the residents' committees and be agreed upon by them (for example, see Barbican Association 2013b). Even listing of the estate as an historic structure and the subsequent management guidelines were not achieved without extensive consultation with the residents (City of London 2013). A suggestion has been put forward to make the whole area into a conservation area to afford greater protection (Barbican Association 2013a).

The only piece of the Barbican to have suffered from redevelopment is Milton Court. It was the first building of the Barbican to be built. While it was an interesting building in its own right—being inspired in part by Le Corbusier's architecture—it was not, for some reason, included in the original listing, leaving it unprotected. It was subsequently demolished to provide space for a development that has given the Guildhall School of Music and Drama a greater performance space, and above that, the Heron, a large upmarket residential tower.

The Barbican was designed to enclose itself and be self-contained in that respect. Preliminary interviews with key stakeholders suggest that not only do the residents strongly identify with the place but also many of those who work there, even though many cannot afford to actually live there. It is all well maintained and managed, and there appears to be a kind of symbiotic relationship between its community and its heritage, and, despite some major development plans for around the area, since its listing in 2002, there has been little threat to it or, by extension, to its community.

## Robin Hood Gardens

Robin Hood Gardens is situated in East London in an area that has historically been quite poor. It gets its name from a small street that pre-dates the site, and was built to provide homes for the people displaced by the demolition of the overcrowded Grosvenor Buildings. Grosvenor Buildings were themselves built to provide much needed housing for an area condemned as slum in the late nineteenth century (Stewart 2013:9). Like the Barbican, Robin Hood Gardens is a classic example of Brutalist modernist architecture, and some consider it an architectural masterpiece (Glancy 2009). It was designed by Peter and Alison Smithson and completed in 1972. It is much smaller than the Barbican, comprising two sinuous blocks, one of ten stories and the other of seven stories, that together accommodate 213 flats with wide access balconies, or "streets in the sky". As with the Barbican it encloses a central green area, though unlike the Barbican, this is not an elaborately landscaped garden; it is more park-like. The central mound was in fact created from the rubble of the demolition of the previous Grosvenor Buildings.

As with the Barbican, it was designed to look inwards and to screen out the outside world, understandable given the fact that the site is like a giant traffic island with roaring traffic on two sides. It is owned and run by Tower Hamlets Council. Like the Barbican it was carefully designed, but unlike the Barbican it was built to serve as social housing. From its inception it was treated as such, as it was not built to high enough standards, was consistently poorly maintained and overcrowded, and suffered a certain amount of antisocial behavior by some of the residents (Glancy 2009). Having said that, residents who have been there since it was built recall that the estate was once considered to be "posh" or grand and people were happy to have moved in there (Glancy 2009).

In 2008, it was announced that Robin Hood Gardens and the surrounding area were to be completely redeveloped as part of the Blackwall Reach Regeneration Project. Consultation of the residents by Tower Hamlets council, which gave them the option of renovation, or demolition of the existing buildings with tenants to be rehoused in a new development on the site, produced an almost 80 % rate of approval for demolition and development (BBC 2008; Hurst 2009:1). So the decision was made to demolish Robin Hood Gardens.

However, as a significant and unique work of important architects—the Smithsons—and of modernist architecture generally, a campaign was immediately launched to save it by major international architects and the Twentieth Century Society amongst others. English Heritage advisors, led by Barry Cunliffe, suggested it should be listed and protected (BD News Desk 2008). However, the Minister for Culture at the time, Margaret Hodge, was completely against what she termed "concrete monstrosities", and English Heritage, unusually, overrode its own advisors and advised against listing it (Hurst 2008:1).

There are concerns with this decision to demolish and replace Robin Hood Gardens. Firstly, another survey carried out by a resident using a Bangladeshi translator (a large proportion of the residents are Bangladeshi), found that a significant number of people were in fact in favor of refurbishment, calling into question the 80 % apparently in favor of demolition (Hurst 2009:1). Furthermore, it seems that the choice given to residents by Tower Hamlets meant that there were more favorable terms offered for redevelopment—such as a new community center—that were not offered with refurbishment. Minutes from a council meeting suggested that either the estate be demolished and redeveloped as part of the Blackwall Reach regeneration project or residents would be living in substandard housing for years (Tower Hamlets Council 2009). In other words it seems that the only real option was demolition and redevelopment. A series of interviews with residents available on YouTube suggest that there is a very well-defined sense of community, that many do like living there with some having been there since it was built, and that in reality, the problems are not so much the buildings themselves but the overcrowding, the poor maintenance and the antisocial behavior (Croft 2009).

A counter argument (Stewart 2013) supporting demolition suggests that the buildings were a failure from the start because they incorporated modernist ideals that were already considered not to work and had led to social problems elsewhere, that the buildings themselves had various physical problems such as leaking roofs,

and that the so-called "streets in the sky" were too low and too narrow and worked as wind tunnels. Furthermore, London is in desperate need of housing. The Blackwall Reach project will result in a maximum of 1,575 new homes, and all Robin Hood Garden residents wanting to be rehoused in the new development will be so (Blackwall Reach 2013).

There are several problems in terms of heritage and identity, both of the area and of the community. This interesting and unique estate will be replaced with a generic glass box type development with a generic sounding name: Blackwall Reach (Blackwall Reach 2013). That the architecture of Robin Hood Gardens will disappear is sadly not in doubt, and while those who want to be rehoused in Blackwall Reach, once it is completed, will be so, they will first have to be "decanted" from Robin Hood Gardens to temporary accommodation until Blackwall Reach is completed. It seems likely, however, that the identity, the community, and the heritage of the area will be demolished along with the buildings themselves to be replaced by a generic and gentrifying redevelopment.

## Discussion

There is growing concern that the kind of development where social housing is demolished in order to be replaced by a new development project that mixes social housing with upmarket private properties, as will happen with the Blackwall Reach project, is simply a way of displacing poor communities and pushing them further out to the peripheries. Corresponding to this we know that historic urban areas are no longer simply places where people and communities live and work. Instead, their primary roles are now tourist attractions or areas of investment. What results is the use of heritage to create, for example, an urban shopping destination characterized by multinational chain stores and businesses, a globalized style of architecture and a kind of neutralized historic urban environment devoid of all identity and community except that which it is aimed at, for example, the global rich.

In other words, it now seems that urban conservation is only about promoting redevelopment and gentrification, so that places like Robin Hood Gardens are replaced by expensive but generic redevelopments, which all but destroys the specific heritage and identity of a place, not least in the destruction of the preexisting community. By contrast it has been argued that the task for cultural heritage conservation today is to reconnect to its original goals, these being: sustaining social memory via conservation of the historic urban landscape, addressing pressing social and cultural issues at the human scale, and re-asserting the relevance of conservation's insights and ethical principles into contemporary planning, urban design, and society (Mason 2006). There has also been a rediscovery of the importance of sense of place, combined with the understanding of the need to incorporate the multicultural aspects of urban communities (Ashworth et al. 2007). Given the loss of local identity that globalized, neoliberal urban development tends to inflict on urban places, it is becoming increasingly important that unique places, such as Robin Hood Gardens,

be protected, which often means identifying them as such before they become run down or the community forced out by the so-called "regeneration" project. Furthermore, in terms of the global city, if heritage and identity are to be truly conserved and protected, the community that comes with it needs to be equally supported.

# References

Amin, A., & Thrift, N. (2002). *Cities: Reimagining the urban*. Cambridge, England: Polity Press.

Ashworth, G. J., Graham, B., & Tunbridge, J. E. (2007). *Pluralising pasts*. London: Pluto Press.

Barbican Association. (2013a, April). *Newsletter*. Retrieved October 11, 2013, from www.barbicanassociation.com

Barbican Association. (2013b, July). *Newsletter*. Retrieved October 11, 2013, from www.barbicanassociation.com

BBC. (2008). *Row over 'street in sky' estate*. Retrieved October 11, 2013, from http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/london/7281156.stm

BD News Desk. (2008). EH fails to support Robin Hood Gardens. *BD (Building Design), 1818*(1).

Blackwall Reach. (2013). *Blackwall reach regeneration project*. Retrieved October 11, 2013, from http://blackwallreach.co.uk/

City of London. (2013). *Barbican Estate: A listed building guide for residents*. Retrieved October 11, 2013, from http://www.cityoflondon.gov.uk/services/environment-and-planning/planning/heritage-and-design/listed-buildings/Pages/Barbican-Listed-Building-Management-Guidelines.aspx

Croft, C. (2009). *Robin Hood Gardens. Twentieth Century Society*. Retrieved October 11, 2013, from http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LqerCukyUuA

Cuthbert, A. R. (Ed.). (2003). *Designing cities: Critical readings in urban design*. Oxford, England: Blackwell.

Glancy, J. (2009). Is London's Robin Hood Gardens an architectural Masterpiece? *Guardian*. Retrieved October 11, 2013, from http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1JmLxwjzE5w

Hall, P. (2002). *Cities of tomorrow: An intellectual history of urban planning and design in the twentieth century* (3rd ed.). Oxford, England: Blackwell Publishing.

Harvey, D. (2013). *Rebel cities: From the right to the city to the urban revolution*. London: Verso.

Harwood, E. (2011). *Chamberlain, Bon and Powell: The Barbican and beyond*. London: RIBA.

Hurst, W. (2008). Only listing can save it. *BD (Building Design), 1807*(1).

Hurst, W. (2009). New Robin Hood Survey Challenges Demolition. *BD (Building Design), 1874*(1).

Kaminer, T., Robles-Durán, M., & Sohn, H. (Eds.). (2011). *Urban asymmetries. Studies and projects on neoliberal urbanization*. Rotterdam: 010 Publishers.

Mason, R. (2006). Theoretical and practical arguments for values-centered preservation. *CRM, 3*(2), 21–48.

Sandes, C. A. (2010). *Archaeology, conservation and the city: Post-conflict redevelopment in London, Berlin and Beirut*. Oxford, England: Archaeopress.

Slater, T. (2009). Missing Marcuse: On gentrification and displacement. *City, 13*(2), 292–311.

Smith, N. (2002). New globalism, new urbanism: Gentrification as global urban strategy. *Antipode, 34*, 427–450.

Stewart, G. (2013). *Robin Hood Gardens, Blackwall Reach: The search for a sense of place*. Retrieved August 19, 2013, from www.wildsearch.org/files/WIL895_Robin_Hood_Garden-FINAL.pdf

Tower Hamlets Council. (2009). *Agenda Item: Blackwall Reach Regeneration (CAB 007/090)*. Retrieved October 11, 2013, from http://moderngov.towerhamlets.gov.uk/mgAi.aspx?ID=20656

Zukin, S. (2010). *Naked City: The life and death of authentic urban spaces*. New York: Oxford University Press.

# Chapter 5
# The Heritage Sector in a Multicultural Society: A Discussion from a Swedish Perspective

**Anders Högberg**

## Introduction

All modern societies display some form of historical or ongoing migration or contain some form of cultural diversity. Movement across fictitious and real boundaries has been the rule rather than the exception throughout (pre)history. How diversity is understood and organized can, however, differ radically. Pluralistic societies look different depending on how meaning is ascribed to the diversity, how it is structured and how it is linked to identity and heritage. An understanding of diversity related to national minorities can be radically different from an understanding shaped from a migration perspective. Diversity considered in ethnic nationalist terms can differ greatly from diversity as it is assessed from a regionalist perspective (Kivisto 2002).

From this it is easy to conclude that the manner in which authorities, especially those working with cultural heritage, formulate diversity in a pluralistic society is significant for the way citizens see what holds their society together, that is, what they consider constitutes the social order. This text presents a study of how an authority and a central actor in Swedish cultural heritage management, the County Administrative Board (CAB), think about plurality, heritage, and identity.

## The Study

Sweden is divided into 21 administrative regions. In each region there is a CAB. This is the authority charged with the task of representing the state regionally. The heritage management departments in the CABs are the authorities responsible

A. Högberg (✉)
Linnaeus University, Kalmar, Sweden
e-mail: anders.hogberg@lnu.se

for supervising heritage sites and protected cultural landscapes within their own region. The CAB also has to ensure that contract archeology in the region is conducted in accordance with heritage regulations and laws.

From 2010 to 2012, the CABs ran a national umbrella project named after the Swedish word for Kaleidoscope (Molin 2012). The project was intended to develop forms of cooperation to extend the perspective of cultural heritage management and the way in which CAB's cultural heritage management departments handle the work with diversity. The project is presented as follows:

> How can ideas about everyone being of equal worth be translated into practice in our work with cultural heritage? In today's public debate one hears arguments that cultural heritage is something that has grown organically and that parts of the cultural heritage should be protected in order to create a stronger national identity. This way of viewing cultural heritage is not a basis for the work of the County Administrative Boards. The aim instead is that work with cultural heritage should include everyone […] We want to highlight more narratives and start a debate about how cultural heritage is created, changed and used. (Kalejdoskop 2012)

This project description should be viewed against the background of an increased focus on issues of heritage and identity in the political rhetoric of exclusion in Sweden since the 2010 election. Then, for the first time in the country's history, a right-wing extremist party was voted into parliament, advocating a form of exclusionary cultural conservatism in heritage politics (Gustafsson and Karlsson 2011).

The Kaleidoscope project gives an up-to-date picture of how central actors in Swedish cultural heritage management work with issues of plurality. This chapter is based on analyzes of 16 separate projects run as part of the overall Kaleidoscope project by CABs in different regions in Sweden (Högberg 2013).

The study builds on a detailed reading of project plans, documents, and reports produced by each project. I have analyzed how heritage is ascribed meaning in these projects. Specifically I have been interested in how the projects have formulated themselves regarding their understanding of how citizenship, heritage, and identity are to be given meaning in relation to a pluralistic society.

## Ethnos and Demos

The study proceeds from the terms *ethnos* and *demos*. Ethnos refers here to ethnic citizenship and is based on the notion that the populations of the earth consist of ethnic peoples and groups with different cultures. Demos refers to political democratic citizenship.

What defines a population as citizens in the framework of an ethnos is the idea of an ethnic nation, that is to say, perceptions of ethnicity based on a shared origin linked to blood and soil, a shared, essentially based sense of belonging together in the present, and hence also implicitly an idea of a shared future (Habermas 1994; Taylor 1994).

In the framework of demos it is not ethnicity, origin, and essentialism that define a population as citizens. Instead it is an understanding of a shared present and a shared future where a sense of belonging together is linked to agreed democratic values, obligations, laws, rules, states, constitutions, and so on.

Translated to a discussion of diversity in work with cultural heritage management, this means that cultural heritage management can be given legitimacy through agreements based on democratic consensus, thus applying the concept of demos with reference to the loyalties of a citizen. Or it can be legitimized through ideas of belonging linked to origin, based on an idea of ethnos with reference to loyalties deriving from one's origin (Mansbach 2010). Historically the actors in cultural heritage management all over the world have taken the latter as their premise, and although alternatives have been discussed, the notion of ethnos is still strong in the discourses of cultural heritage management (Smith 2004). The question for this study is how the CABs have handled this in their work with diversity as part of the Kaleidoscope project.

## Result and Discussion

The results show that the majority of the activities proceed from a clearly essentialist view of representativeness linking past and present. Individuals or groups are ascribed a cultural heritage with reference to their origin, and this is considered to be directly representative of a cultural heritage today. This often takes place in definitions of oneself and others on the basis of constructed opposites. The most common approach is to define someone as an immigrant, either explicitly or implicitly in contrast to a nonimmigrant.

Consider one out of many examples of a project that has been conducted, immigrants taking a class to learn Swedish were invited to visit a heritage sites in the vicinity of the city they live in. At the site they were taught about Swedish heritage. Back in class they were encouraged to write about their own heritage from their home country and discuss similarities and differences between their own heritage and Swedish heritage. The reason for doing all this, according to the CAB, was that the immigrants could learn more about Swedish heritage, compare it with their own heritage, and by understanding differences and similarities, become more integrated in Swedish society.

This project raises several questions: Why does the CAB that conducted this project think that knowing about Swedish heritage makes one more integrated in society? A person born in Sweden of parents born in Sweden does not normally get educated in Swedish heritage while visiting a heritage site, and therefore does not acquire the knowledge these immigrants get. In that sense immigrants gain an esoteric knowledge that they share with few others, making them anything but more integrated. And, why does the CAB link heritage to origin and place of birth? The immigrants in question live their lives in Sweden and create their identity according to that.

The active substance in diversity work in these contexts consists of narratives about the past that are made representative today, without any discussion of how this takes place. In this way new narratives are squeezed into established frames and pre-understandings of what the past is and what it can and should be used for. Heritage is linked to identity in the same way as has always been done since the nineteenth century, that is, by referring to origin and ethnic nationalism (Smith 2004). People are given qualities through relations between themselves and the geographical place they come from. This is done through root metaphors—stories that root a particular population to a certain place. The root metaphor is decisive in classifying and evaluating differences and similarities. Ownership rights to the past, passed down throughout history in a direct line, are taken for granted and are both a presumption and a goal even before the remains and traces of the past have been studied. A vision of origin and belonging that defines people according to a heritage ascribed to them—woven together by a supposed community of fate through a collective past—brings with it an emphasis on differences. People are classified according to who they are, not according to what they do.

When a group of professionals working with heritage management within the state-regulated heritage sector uses categorizations which define and specifically link heritage and identity to origin and place of birth, many people in society will assume that since it is professionals that express themselves in this way, there are objective and down-to-earth reasons to link heritage and identity with origin and place of birth.

However, there is nothing in the results of the study to show that those within the heritage sector who express themselves in this way have a clear understanding of what defines somebody's heritage and how this is linked to identity. These projects fail to deconstruct one-sided images of the past. They do not challenge ideas about simple links between past and present. They do not provide alternative understandings and do not seek to achieve a deeper theoretical awareness that narratives about the past are constructions in our own times. Since these projects so explicitly stress differences based on origin, they risk contributing to an increased segmentation of society.

But the results of the study also show that a few projects have worked with other ways to deal with heritage. They have tried to formulate ideas on how the plurality of the past and the present can be transformed into heritage management without referring to essential meanings that uncritically link origin to heritage and identity.

For one example, there is a small town in Sweden that has a dark history. In the 1920s a group of travelers, a semi-settled group of people who traveled around for work, were forced away by a mob from their homes. Police and authorities witnessed what happened but did nothing to stop it. Individuals participating in the mob were identified but not prosecuted. Today the event is something people know about, but do not talk about. Living relatives still feel guilt and anger. The CAB in the region decided to start a project to collect narratives about the event and mark out important places in the landscape associated with it. In doing so they engaged the whole community with the perspective that heritage is what we make of it today and how we chose to give meaning to the past in the present. In that way, identity is

not linked to origin or groups of people. Instead, heritage is made into a part of the identity of the town of today.

This and a few other similar projects are explicit in the kind of knowledge they provide, how this knowledge links the past to the present, and how heritage and identity are addressed as a reference to the present day, not to origin. People are not classified according to who they are, but according to what they do, i.e., according to how they contribute to the project. Heritage is the result of that contribution.

## Conclusion

As a coherent project with a focus on diversity issues and with the majority of the country's CABs involved, the Kaleidoscope project stands out as unique for Swedish cultural heritage management. Never before has so much work been done in the organization of county administration with such a clear focus on diversity practices in cultural heritage management. These are qualities that other people have noticed as well (Holmberg and Weijmer 2012).

But the differences between individual projects within Kaleidoscope are great, from those lacking the knowledge to handle diversity issues, to those with well-developed methods for dealing with diversity issues. The differences are so great that it is not possible to say anything general about the diversity work of the CABs as a concerted activity.

Diversity and pluralism generate a great many different individual identity projects. These are manifested in society through demands for attention and acceptance (e.g., the right to citizenship), in repudiation and condemnation (e.g., xenophobia) or in demands for special treatment (e.g., special conditions for people with strong religious beliefs in the encounter with society's established institutions). The diversity and complexity of the interplay between individual identity projects and society's national narratives have led many people to declare that the time of grand cohesive narratives is over. This in turn has led others to call for a (re)vitalization of grand narratives in order to create what they regard as the necessary cement of society. The reason for this is that they see the plurality of individual narratives as fragmenting society, fostering conflicts between interests, and thus these narratives cannot function as a basis for social cohesion (see Taylor 1994, for a discussion).

But the fact that there are several different individual identity projects in a society does not necessarily prevent social integration or the establishment of a sense of solidarity, and does not necessarily lead to fragmentation and conflicts, as long as individual projects are felt to complement each other and not be incompatible (Eriksen 2010).

This means that it is important how cultural heritage management authorities express themselves about collective and individual identity, and the values ascribed to these (Ashworth et al. 2007). Does one define oneself and others in terms of opposites, that is, differences, or does one describe oneself and others as structurally equal? Are the identity narratives created by cultural heritage management in its diversity work potentially complementary or incompatible?

This study has found that one of the major actors in Swedish cultural heritage management largely defines citizens in terms of ethnos. This shows that cultural heritage management reproduces old ways of thinking within new frames of diversity. This is not unique for Swedish cultural heritage management; it can be seen locally, regionally, nationally, and transnationally in many parts of the world today (Kuper 2003; Högberg 2006; Macdonald 2013).

A few projects have nevertheless managed to go beyond old ideas and instead apply a demos perspective to find new ways of handling issues of heritage, identity, and citizenship. These projects demonstrate the potential to develop the work of heritage management into something that does not reproduce old ideas about ethnic nationalism.

This way of working has only just been started, in Sweden and in the rest of the world (Harrison 2013). It requires what many have defined as transmodern renegotiations of modernity's eagerness to erect boundaries derived from taken-for-granted categories such as ethnicity, nationality, descent, and gender (Habermas 1994). This renegotiation means ceasing to assign people to categories according to what they are perceived to be. Such categories can be newcomer, emigrant, immigrant, Swedish, and so on. Yet this should not be viewed as a desire for a relativistic world without definitions, since that is a utopian ideal rather than a practical and pragmatic reality (Fahlander 2013).

One way to renegotiate heritage and identity is to shift the focus from boundary drawing to processes; from categorizing individuals' and groups' cultural heritage and their character, to talking about the processes that shape the character of cultural heritage. This gives opportunities to create a sense of belonging in relation to actions and ongoing discussions, instead of imagined ideas about origin and character.

Ethnicity and origin as both past and present constructions should be deconstructed, and attention should be focused on the significance of origin narratives and ethnicity in political and individual identity projects.

For cultural heritage management, this means creating an understanding of processes as the point of departure, while at the same time fully accepting people's wishes to place themselves in a constructed identity. This means that differences are highlighted, not as a way to separate people but to show structural equality. This is combined with the ambition to create narratives that are complementary rather than incompatible. Developing this way of working is one of the greatest challenges facing cultural heritage management, from local to global.

# References

Ashworth, G. J., Graham, B., & Tunbridge, J. E. (2007). *Pluralising pasts: Heritage, identity and place in multicultural societies*. London: Pluto Press.

Eriksen, T. H. (2010). *Samfunn. CULCOM*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Fahlander, F. (2013). Are we there yet? Archaeology and the postmodern in the new millennium. *Current Swedish Archaeology, 20*, 109–129.

Gustafsson, A., & Karlsson, H. (2011). A spectre is haunting Swedish archaeology—The spectre of politics. Archaeology, cultural heritage and the present political situation in Sweden. *Current Swedish Archaeology, 19*, 11–36.

Habermas, J. (1994). Struggles for recognition in the democratic constitutional state. In C. Taylor (Ed.), (edited and introduced by Amy Gutmann) *Multiculturalism. Examining the politics of recognition* (pp. 107–148). Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Harrison, R. (2013). *Heritage. Critical approaches*. London: Routledge.

Högberg, A. (2006). The EU: In need of a supranational view of cultural heritage. In T. Meier (Ed.), *Landscape ideologies* (pp. 199–208). Budapest: Archaeolingua Alapitvány.

Högberg, A. (2013). *Mångfaldsfrågor i kulturmiljövården: Tankar, kunskaper och processer 2002–2012*. Lund: Nordic Academic Press.

Holmberg, M. I., & Weijmer, M. (2012). *Utvärdering, Kalejdoskop—sätt att se på kulturarv*. Göteborg: Institutionen för kulturvård, Göteborgs universitet.

Kalejdoskop. (2012). Länsstyrelsen Västernorrland. Accessed 2012.

Kivisto, P. (2002). *Multiculturalism in a global society*. Oxford, England: Blackwell.

Kuper, A. (2003). The return of the native. *Current Anthropology, 44*(3), 389–402.

Macdonald, S. (2013). *Memorylands: Heritage and identity in Europe today*. New York: Routledge.

Mansbach, R. W. (2010). Nationalism and ethnicity in World politics. In M. Beeson & N. Bisley (Eds.), *Issues in 21st century World politics* (pp. 108–122). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Molin, A. (2012). *Slutrapport Kalejdoskop—sätt att se på kulturarv*. Länsstyrelserna Sverige.

Smith, T. A. (2004). The end of the essential archaeological subject. *Archaeological Dialogues, 11*(1), 1–20.

Taylor, C. (1994). *Multiculturalism: Examining the politics of recognition*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

# Chapter 6
# The Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site and Transnational Heritage

**Richard Hingley**

## Introduction[1]

This chapter discusses the significance of the Frontiers of the Roman Empire (FRE) in the context of current debates about mobility and bordering practices.[2] It addresses the narratives adopted to characterize the FRE WHS and questions how these relate to the evolving "bordering practices" pursued by the European Union. Major problems have arisen on the frontiers of the EU over the past decade and, as many internal borders have been made more permeable, the external borders have been reinforced to prevent migration into the EU (cf. Carr 2012 for an account of "Fortress Europe"). At the same time, an EU-funded initiative has pursued the idea that the FRE should be inscribed as a transnational WHS (Breeze et al. 2005). To what extent does the debate about the FRE WHS relate to the reinforcement of European borders? Why should the frontier works of an ancient imperial dictatorship be taken to represent a global heritage asset today? This chapter argues that, as a series of interrelated monuments connecting territories with highly contrasting cultural and religious identities, these works incorporate a particularly rich range of local, regional and global meanings. These are likely to articulate with life on the frontiers

---

[1] This chapter extends the perspectives explored in a recent study of one section of the Roman frontiers—Hadrian's Wall (Hingley 2012; cf. Witcher in press)—to address the values inherent in this transnational monument. I am grateful to colleagues in the 'Life of the Frontiers' project in Durham for discussion of these issues and to Professor David Breeze and Dr. Robert Witcher for comments on the chapter.

[2] For work that has influenced the concepts of mobilities and bordering practices adopted here, see Richardson (2013). The definition of what constitutes a border or a frontier is not explored here. A simple definition is that a frontier is a physical structure, such as a wall or fence, while a border need not be marked by any substantial physical work.

R. Hingley (✉)
Durham University, Durham, UK
e-mail: Richard.hingley@durham.ac.uk

of our increasingly connected but divided world. Contemplation of the FRE may help to conceptualize and communicate contemporary bordering narratives and practices within broader historical and political contexts.

The FRE constitutes the physical works that defined the borders of the Roman Empire from the early second to early fifth centuries AD. These landscapes include a variety of tangible frontiers structures, such as walls, ditches, forts, watchtowers and roads, that exploited physical aspects of the landscape, including river systems, hills, mountains and deserts (Breeze 2011). The FRE encircle the Mediterranean world and extend northwards into Central and Western Europe, encompassing highly variable political, economic and religious zones (Fig. 6.1). As a result of the EU-funded initiative, UNESCO has inscribed sections of the FRE in England, Scotland and Germany as parts of the transnational WHS, while other sections of the frontier in Western and Central Europe are currently under consideration (David Breeze personal communication) The debate about the FRE and its constituent parts has emphasized their significance through international discussions and networking (Breeze and Jilek 2008; DCMS 2012). Nevertheless, the UNESCO member states that border the southern and eastern Mediterranean have yet to propose their own sections for inscription.
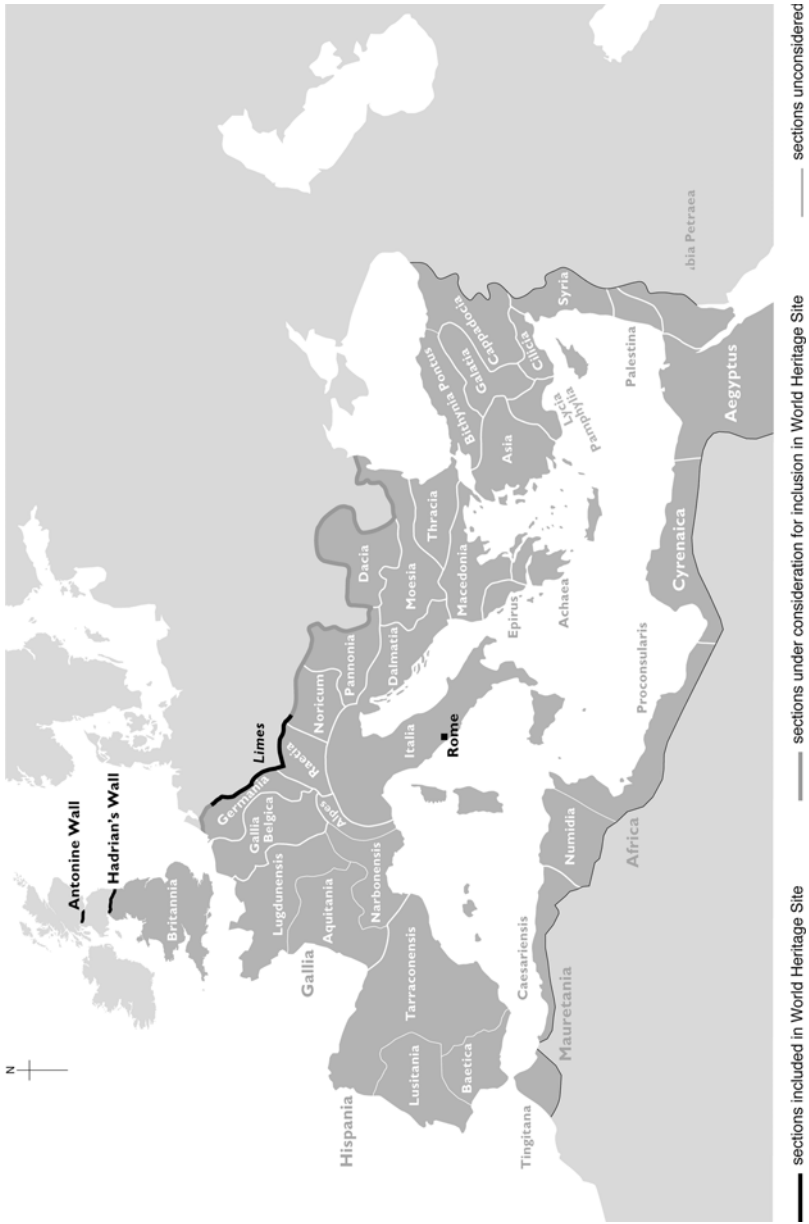
**Fig. 6.1** The Frontiers of the Roman Empire showing sections already forming parts of the World Heritage Site and other sections under consideration. Drawn by Christian Unwin

## Inclusive and Exclusive Bordering

This EU-sponsored discussion has prioritized global conceptions of the monument's relevance, exploring its genealogical significance to contemporary peoples (cf. Hingley in press). Two recent statements regarding the global significance of the FRE provide an introduction to the narratives through which this debate is framed. An initial report derived from the EU-funded project states:

> Roman frontiers are part of a common heritage of the countries encircling the Mediterranean Sea. … Successive generations have built on that heritage and modified it thus helping to create our modern world. Today our world appears to be diverse, divided by language, religion and traditions. Yet, our heritage is more common than we sometimes appreciate. Much knowledge of the ancient world has come to us through the Arab world, the real inheritors of the late Roman Empire. (Breeze et al. 2005:12)

This publication incorporates text in English, German, French and Arabic to reach a broad audience. The EU funding of this initiative may have served to prioritize the European sections of the FRE, but the project's aim reaches beyond Europe.

A lengthy subsequent discussion has led to the creation of a [*Draft*] *Statement of Outstanding Universal Value for the Frontiers of the Roman Empire and its Component Parts*. The latest version available on the Internet is a document of several pages that is currently subject to further discussion, but part of the "Brief Synthesis" that precedes the "Criteria for Nomination" argues that:

> The FRE as a whole has an extraordinarily high cultural value. It was the border of one of the most extensive civilizations in human history, which has *continued to affect the western world* and its peoples till today. It had an important effect on urbanisation and on the spread of cultures among remote regions. The scope and extent of the frontier reflects the unifying impact of the Roman Empire on the wider Mediterranean world, an impact that persisted long after the empire had collapsed while the frontiers are the largest single monument to the Roman civilization. (DCMS 2012:2; author's emphasis).

This creates an inclusive image by stressing the unifying effect of the Roman Empire over the vast territories that it incorporated, but it is also effectively serves to disentangle the sections of the FRE in the western world from those of the East.

The ways that the concept of "Rome" has been recycled in post-Roman times help to explain this reference to the West. The Western Roman Empire collapsed during the fifth century, but the concept of imperial Rome has been constantly recycled by dominant powers to create political, military and economic control over extensive territories (Morley 2010). Imperial Rome constituted a focal genealogical model for the territorially expansive activities of modern empires, including those of Britain, France and Italy. The organization now known as the EU was founded through a Treaty signed in 1958 in the city of Rome. This choice of venue was not random, since, in the words of Jan Figel (2008:1), this city stood "for peace, governance, law and order, and above all unity". Indeed, the original Treaty stresses the ideas of integration and the dissolution of internal borders (European Commission 1957).

Despite these appropriations, Western Europe has no monopoly over the concept of Rome. As the world's dominant superpower, the USA has often been compared to Rome and the idea of the Roman Empire as a grand, international, multicultural society has encouraged the analogy between classical Rome and the economic forces of modern globalization (Hingley in press). In the countries of the southern and eastern Mediterranean, the Roman Empire has often been associated with the idea of western imperialism, reflecting back the imperial narratives and practices that the West appropriated, but this does not mean that the remains of classical societies are ignored. Until the recent troubles, classical sites in North Africa and the Near East provided a significant source of income for local communities from western tourism. Kathryn Lafrenz Samuels and Darian Totten (2012:23) have argued for a broader political relevance for classical Rome across these regions: "citizenship, and especially the notion of the global citizen, are constructed through Roman material within the market logic of neoliberalism". Roman Frontier culture may, therefore, provide a range of nuanced meanings that unite and divide peoples, communicating important messages about the interrelationship of the past and the present.

## Cosmopolitan and Divisive Frontiers

The statements about the FRE in both documents stress the assimilative character of Rome and the role of frontiers in defining and protecting the incorporated urban civilization. For example, "the Roman frontiers … were essential for the stability and therefore the economic growth of the interior: they allowed the cities of the empire to flourish" (Breeze et al. 2005:14). The focus on assimilation and economic growth is reflected in contemporary heritage policies for the marketing of the FRE, particularly with regard to Hadrian's Wall, which is currently being managed with the intention of creating a sustainable tourist destination (Fig. 6.2; Hingley 2012:311–318). People from across the globe are encouraged to travel to and explore the Wall's landscape ("Hadrian's Wall Country") and the Roman monuments and museum displays it contains. A long-distance footpath, a cycle path and a regular bus service channel visitors along the Wall to the individual sites and museums across this landscape. Monuments, museums and visitor centres provide accessible information about the Roman past. This coincides with the heritage policy for the FRE WHS, which encourages populations from across the world to visit the different areas of the monument across Europe and around the Mediterranean rim (cf. Breeze et al. 2005).

Heritage narratives and marketing practices support this inclusive message. A recent art installation called "Connecting Light", which formed part of the Olympic celebrations of summer 2012, consisted of hundreds of light-filled balloons that formed a communication network along the 70 miles of Hadrian's Wall (Connecting Lights 2012). Cooper and Rumford (2013:108) argue, on the basis of a number of case studies from across the UK, including Connecting Light, that
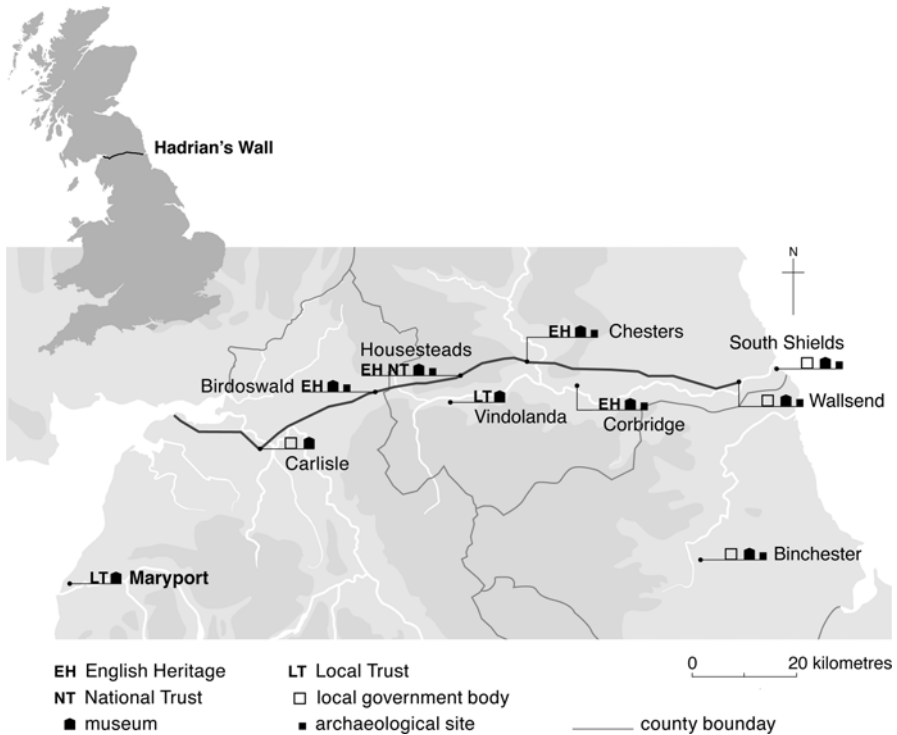
**Fig. 6.2** Hadrian's Wall showing major archaeological sites and museum venues. Drawn by Christian Unwin

"post-national borders" can be viewed "less as markers of division and more in terms of mechanisms of connectivity and encounter", as "channels" or "conduits" of passage. From this perspective, border monuments "(pragmatically) link cultural values and interests that originate well beyond the locality of the border" (ibid: 120–121; cf. Breeze and Jilek 2008:26). The FRE fit especially well with Copper and Rumford's conception of the cosmopolitan "post-national" border (2012:114). The contemporary manifestation of these Roman heritage landscapes draws upon a genealogical sense of place that provides residents and visitors with a conceptual link to the ancient multicultural communities that lay at the heart of Roman bordering practices, since the Roman soldiers that served on these frontiers were derived from across the Empire (Fig. 6.3; Mills 2013:1–2).

Tim Richardson (2013) has argued, however, that the consideration of mobilities in the contemporary world raises the issue of the constraints placed by borders on the movement of many peoples. Does the picture of a broadly assimilative Roman Empire provide a realistic picture of the past or a useful model for the present? The two FRE documents discussed above identify the military character of the communities living in these frontier lands, but they do not explicitly mention other relevant aspects of Roman practices, including the forceful appropriation of land from local

**Fig. 6.3** The Roman tombstone from South Shields of Victor the Moor who served on the Roman frontier (Bruce 1907:245)

people during the construction of frontier works or the surveillance and control of movement of local people and migrants across the frontier (cf. Breeze 2011:194–205). These issues resonate with the aspects of contemporary bordering practices, which materialize frontiers as rigid divisions to bound territory in order

to directly control the movement of particular people (cf. Richardson 2013:5). The overtly positive interpretation of the function of Roman frontiers is sometimes contextualized through the contemplation of the Israeli-Separation Wall and the USA-Mexico frontier (e.g. Hingley 2012:319–320; Mills 2013:184–185), but another contemporary example that is rather closer to home is that of EU bordering practice, which is causing serious human rights problems for migrants caught up in desperate situations within a number of border areas surrounding "Fortress Europe" (cf. Carr 2012).

The narratives and practices through which the EU and its member states create and police their frontiers are highly complex, but in some places these actions may draw on Roman practices. The European border agency "Frontex" recruits its border guards from the member states of the EU and sends them, at the request of particular states, to help to patrol and guard sections of the international frontier under serious pressure from migrants (Burridge 2012). Frontex appears to be modelled on the idea of the Roman imperial army, since this also recruited auxiliary forces from various provinces of the Empire and sent them to patrol the FRE (cf. Breeze 2011:172–176). Frontex's logo contains three Latin words—*libertas*, *securitas*, *justitia* (liberty, security, justice)—which appears to cement this connection.

## Conclusion: Frontier Tales

The FRE were constructed in the distant past to control population movement across their lines, but they may also be seen as an inclusive monument that provided venues for transformational cultural encounters. The fact that the FRE ceased to operate for their original purposes well over one and a half millennia ago provides a reminder that physical frontier works do not last forever. Today, the remains of the FRE survive as heritage assets that benefit from the multicultural communities that live along their lines and experience them through tourism. I should stress that I am not suggesting that the current attempts to communicate an inclusive message about the values of the FRE should be replaced by an overtly negative contemplation of Roman frontiers as analogies for ethically problematic aspects of contemporary bordering practices. Rather, I am emphasizing the connections and differences between the present and the past by communicating the complexities of the FRE as an extensive series of heritage landscapes that retain a living significance but no single set of meanings (cf. Lafrenz Samuels 2008).

These reflections could form part of a co-ordinated programme of heritage interpretation that aims to communicate the multiple significances of transnational frontiers through time (Mills 2013). The FRE WHS has a particular potential to communicate the role of frontiers as structures that fulfil both inclusive and divisive roles. Indeed, the debatable nature of the lands through which the FRE run helps to articulate their value as a device from which the current opportunities and constraints of our increasingly globalized and fractured world may be reflected back in ways that help to imagine better futures. This is only likely to be possible if research

is undertaken to explore the range of values held by people in the localities and regions through which this monuments runs. Such local, regional and global accounts may help to challenge monolithic ideas about the EU (and the West) as the exclusive inheritors of Roman civilization, while not ignoring the power politics of our global world. Local and regional tales and values may provide a range of competing and conflicting ideas and images that help to communicate alternative ways of viewing the classical past and the present (Hingley in press), but these accounts have yet to be collected.

# References

Breeze, D. (2011). *The frontiers of imperial Rome*. Barnsley, England: Pen & Sword.

Breeze, D., & Jilek, S. (2008). *Frontiers of the Roman Empire: The European dimension of a World Heritage Site*. Edinburgh: Historic Scotland.

Breeze, D., Jilek, S., & Thiel, A. (2005). *Frontiers of the Roman Empire*. Glenrothes: Historic Scotland/Deutsche Limeskommmission.

Bruce, J. C. (1907). *The hand-book to the Roman wall*. London: Longmans, Green & Co.

Burridge, A. (2012). Border management at the external boundaries of the European Union. *Borderlines, 11*, 1.

Carr, M. (2012). *Fortress Europe: Dispatches from a gated continent*. London: Hurst & Company.

Connecting Lights. (2012). Connecting lights. Retrieved July 22, 2013, from http://connecting-light.info

Cooper, A., & Rumford, C. (2013). Monumentalising the border: Bordering through connectivity. *Mobilities, 8*(1), 107–124.

DCMS. (2012). *[Draft] Statement of outstanding universal value for the Frontiers of the Roman Empire and its component parts (WHS FRE) (C430)*. Retrieved July 22, 2013, from http://old.culture.gov.uk/images/publications/SOUV_Frontiers_of_the_Roman_Empire.pdf

European Commission. (1957). *The Treaty of Rome*. Retrieved July 22, 2013, from http://ec.europa.eu/economy_finance/emu_history/documents/treaties/rometreaty2.pdf

Figel, J. (2008). Foreword. In D. Breeze & S. Jilek (Eds.), *Frontiers of the Roman Empire: The European dimension of a World Heritage Site* (p. 1). Edinburgh: Historic Scotland.

Hingley, R. (2012). *Hadrian's wall: A life*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.

Hingley, R. (in press). Post-colonial and Global Rome: The genealogy of empire. In M. Pitts & M. J. Versluys (Eds.), *Globalisation and the Roman World: Perspectives and opportunities*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lafrenz Samuels, K. (2008). Value and significance in archaeology. *Archaeological Dialogues, 15*(1), 71–97.

Lafrenz Samuels, K., & Totten, D. M. (2012). Roman place-making: From archaeological interpretation to contemporary heritage contexts. In D. M. Totten & K. Lafrenz Samuels (Eds.), *Making Roman places, past and present* (pp. 11–32). Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology. Supplementary Series 89.

Mills, N. (2013). *Presenting the Romans: Interpreting the Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site*. Woodbridge, England: Boydell Press.

Morley, N. (2010). *The Roman Empire. Roots of imperialism*. New York: Pluto Books.

Richardson, T. (2013). Borders and mobilities: Introduction to the special issue. *Mobilities, 8*(1), 1–6.

Witcher, R. (in press). Globalisation and Roman cultural heritage. In M. Pitts & M. J. Versluys (Eds.), *Globalisation and the Roman World: Perspectives and opportunities*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

# Chapter 7
# World Heritage and Sites of Conflict: How the War on Terror Is Affecting Heritage in Peshawar, Pakistan

**Jennifer L. Campbell**

## Introduction

World Heritage was first defined by UNESCO in the *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* (1972). The convention identified that cultural heritage was in many cases under threat, and that it was therefore the obligation of the international community to assist, where deemed necessary, to protect heritage that was important to all humanity. The document begins by noting that "the cultural heritage and the natural heritage are increasingly threatened with destruction not only by the traditional causes of decay, but also by changing social and economic conditions which aggravate the situation with even more formidable phenomena of damage or destruction" (UNESCO 1972:1). It acknowledges (1972:1) that the protection of heritage for many nations is often impossible due to a lack of "economic, scientific, and technological resources" and as a result heritage in these nations can be deemed "at risk."

Those nation States that signed on to this convention agreed that it is their responsibility to identify and, when possible, protect the various heritage properties that are located within their geographic territory. The convention also establishes the World Heritage Committee, which is tasked with working with States party to the convention to create a "World Heritage List." This committee also maintains the list of "World Heritage in Danger," which inventories properties that are in need of conservation and for which assistance has been requested. Assistance is also available to States who request it for heritage sites seen as "potentially suitable for inclusion in the lists" (UNESCO 1972:7).

This convention (UNESCO 1972) is a powerful international agreement that compels State parties to protect their natural and cultural heritage while also offering

J.L. Campbell (✉)
State University of New York, Potsdam, NY, USA
e-mail: campbejl@potsdam.edu

international recognition and support for those heritage elements deemed to be of universal value to mankind. The number of Nation States party to this convention currently sits at 160 (UNESCO 2014). The World Heritage List includes 981 properties: 759 cultural, 193 natural, and 29 mixed (UNESCO 2014).

On the international level, we might look to the World Heritage List as one measure of the success of a given State in garnering international assistance in the protection of heritage sites within their territory. By beginning with the World Heritage List, we impose a top-down view of heritage sites; it is important to remember that long before a site is listed or proposed to be listed as World Heritage it is subject to national, regional, and local consideration. These processes involve the interaction of a number of "voices" in heritage. These voices can include and are not limited to governments, heritage representatives, academics, developers, and affected or interested members of the public. Each heritage site is the focus of a series of negotiated identities formed from a multitude of voices.

## Peshawar's Heritage

I turn my focus now to the ongoing process of cultural heritage protection at a specific site. Doing so, I move discussion from the general and overarching guidelines provided by the UNESCO Convention (1972) to the specific engagements with these guidelines as seen through one example of a State party's attempts to protect its cultural heritage. The example I draw on is from Peshawar, Pakistan, the capital of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province (previously known as the Northwest Frontier Province).

The city of Peshawar is located 40 km from the eastern border with Afghanistan, in the Peshawar Valley. Over its history the city has seen various changes in control relating to the movement of groups into and out of South Asia through the Khyber Pass. The position of the city of Peshawar in relation to this pass has allowed the city to flourish as a supply center on one of the main travel and trade routes into and out of South Asia. Though an economic boon, this position also puts the residents of Peshawar in the path of any group intent on conquest and control of the Peshawar Valley and the lands to the east. Thus, the city has seen numerous changes in control and its historic populations have constantly realigned themselves in order to benefit from the strategic position of their city. The history of the Peshawar Valley has been synthesized in the works of several researchers (Jaffer 1945; Dani 1995; Nichols 2001; Khan 2004).

Peshawar's unique history can be seen in the art, architecture, monuments, and cultural spaces that comprise the city today. The oldest sections of the city are found within what is called the Walled City of Peshawar. In 2004 this section of the city was part of an initial heritage assessment sponsored by the Government of Pakistan, UNESCO, and the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS). This assessment was the first step toward proposing the addition of the Walled City to UNESCO's World Heritage List (Peshawar Document One 2004). The heritage

inventory of the Walled City was first called for by the Government of Pakistan, UNESCO, and United Nations Development Program (UNDP) report on *Cultural Tourism in Lahore & Peshawar* (2004). This report called for the increased protection of heritage sites within the Walled City of Peshawar, as well as the development of infrastructure in support of cultural tourism to these areas. The connection between sustainability of heritage and healthy cultural tourism was overt (Cultural Tourism 2004:1). Concerns at the time of these studies largely related to the need for documentation, protection, and conservation alongside the development of cultural tourism infrastructure and training programs for tourism/conservation specialists. The UNDP's involvement provided an emphasis on the reduction of poverty within the Walled City; the development of cultural tourism to the region would create jobs as would the ongoing conservation and preservation of the heritage sites after appropriate training programs were established (Cultural Tourism 2004:10).

The documents also call for the application of rigorous legal protection to heritage sites, general environmental improvements, and community outreach (Cultural Tourism 2004:13).

The Pakistan Antiquities Act was created in 1975 and amended in 1992; it provides protection for monuments, buildings, and sites that are more than 75 years old. It also legislates that all archaeological activities must be carried out under license from the Federal Department of Archaeology. The UNDP report called for the further development of a National Policy on Heritage and Culture (Cultural Tourism 2004:133).

## Challenges in Achieving World Heritage Listing

Through investment by international (UNESCO, ICOMOS, etc.) bodies as well as National, Provincial, and Municipal stakeholders, progress has been made in the documentation and protection of the Walled City of Peshawar as a cultural heritage site. However, it has taken much longer than initially projected to gain the necessary traction to move all aspects of the heritage plan forward. This should not be read as a failing of these initiatives. Some of the difficulties encountered serve to highlight the incredible complexity in coordinating heritage stakeholders, and specifically organizing stakeholders toward the end goal of nomination to the World Heritage List. Areas where the program seems to have experienced difficulty include the generation of cultural tourism, the increased engagement of the expatriate community, and increased knowledge of the value of culture and heritage by community members.

Concern was raised in the UNDP document about the dangers of developing tourism in the Walled City. The central concern was the damage that might be done to the historical sites and their components should throngs of visitors begin frequenting these places. At the time, domestic tourism was seen to be the greater threat as international tourism was not yet developed enough to generate significant

concern (Cultural Tourism 2004:27). International tourism to Pakistan has historically been low (Cultural Tourism 2004:36–37); however, domestic tourism was identified as a potential growth area, as was outreach to the expatriate community. These growth areas necessitated the development of tourism infrastructure, including accommodations and shopping centers (Cultural Tourism 2004:37).

World Heritage Designation or advancement of the site to the tentative list have not been forthcoming for the Walled City of Peshawar and work on its preservation and conservation continues. Numerous news stories document the ongoing conservation efforts afforded to various structures within the city. UNESCO has continued to be involved in these labors and has included the Walled City or components of the Walled City in its directed programs on Caravanserais, Silk Roads, Ghandarhan artifacts, etc. The Heritage Foundation of Pakistan has a focused project on the conservation and preservation of one of the nineteenth century Sethi Houses located within the city (Heritage Foundation of Pakistan 2014). The Sarhad Conservation Network has established artisan space within the Walled City and maintained its task of keeping heritage conservation issues in the news and running heritage tours within the province.

With these successes have also come failings. An examination of news stories relating to heritage and conservation within Peshawar reveals unrest and concern with the government's genuine interest in the conservation and protection of heritage sites. Several stories highlight the continuing deterioration at heritage sites and the lack of effective response or enforcement of cultural laws.

> Despite boasting more than 5,000 archaeological sites in KP, only around 90 sites are protected under the act. In spite of the rich cultural profile only one archaeological site has been included as yet in the UNESCO World Heritage list (Takht-i-Bahi in 1982). (Conservation: Heritage at the Front Lines 2013)

News coverage swings from stories of successful restoration work to revelations of heritage destroyed or on the verge of destruction. Where conservation is being carried out, concern is raised about the qualifications of the conservation specialists. Conservation training was a primary goal of the *Cultural Tourism in Lahore & Peshawar* (2004) planning document, and it appears that the use of such specialists has not happened in all cases. Restoration without guidance from trained heritage specialists distorts the heritage site and jeopardizes the protection of those sites by the international community in the future (Cameron 2008). Knowledge of heritage sites by the general public does appear to be improving, as was initially hoped. The increasing identification of archaeological sites in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province is not; however, being matched with an increasing awareness of culture and its value by the general population.

> According to a survey conducted by Hazara University in collaboration with the University of Leicester, UK … 98 per cent people in KP have no idea what is archaeology, heritage and culture, and most of them have never been to a museum in their whole life… the research sample included bureaucrats, administrators and custodians of archaeological heritage. (Conservation: Heritage at the Front Lines 2013)

## Protection in a Warzone

One of the major impediments to the development, protection, and conservation of heritage sites within Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province is the ongoing war on terror. The city of Peshawar has been heavily affected by this war and heritage protection has been impacted directly and indirectly. In 2010, UNESCO assessed the damage to historical sites from terror attacks in what was then the Northwest Frontier Province. They found that 255 monuments had been damaged in Peshawar with an additional 530 monuments damaged between the adjacent districts of Mansehra and Chitral (UNESCO assesses damage to historical sites in NWFP 2010). Damaged sites came from a number of time periods and cultural traditions, and involved the targeted destruction of monuments, buildings, and works of art.

The war on terror has also put enormous financial stress on the government of Pakistan. Pakistan's finance minister noted in December of 2012 that "Pakistan's economy suffered over $100 billion losses in the last 12 years after becoming a US ally in its war on terror since 9/11" (12-year war on Terror 2012). It is impossible to accurately assess the financial impact these expenditures have had on national heritage projects. Dr. Abdul Samad, a member of the Sarhad Conservation Network, has remarked that "[w]henever asked why the cultural heritage is decaying, the government officials unanimously reply: 'We are in a state of war and we have other priorities than culture and archaeology!'" (Conservation: Heritage at the Front Lines 2013).

Tourism and tourism infrastructure, deemed so crucial to heritage protection by the UNDP, UNESCO, and Government of Pakistan joint studies, has been severely impacted by the war on terror. The Pearl Continental Hotel, the flagship hotel in the city for international visitors, was bombed on June 9th, 2009. The bombing destroyed the hotel and killed at least 17 people; it also resulted in the United Nations removing its staff from Peshawar. Speaking to The Dawn newspaper on the resultant closure of the Pearl Continental, Murtaza Razvi (2009) notes that "[t]he closure comes as a telling sign of the real impact the war against terrorism has had on the Frontier province on the whole, and its fabled, yet not too long ago modernizing, capital." In addition to the closing of the hotel, Razvi (2009) goes on to note that as a result of the unrest, "[a] majority of airlines have simply struck Peshawar off their maps." Additional attacks in Peshawar have targeted areas that would normally attract tourists: the historic monuments, mosques, and bazaars. Places that typically would draw tourists have now become sites of violence, and for some, fear.

## Conclusion

Interest in heritage sites from the local community, domestic tourists, international tourists, and expatriate visitors is impacted by the politics and unrest occurring at the sites in question. Heritage initiatives often suffer cuts, are put on hold, or are

delayed indefinitely when conflict arises within the nation State responsible for them (for examples of the specific impacts of conflict on heritage sites, see Cheikhmous 2013; Creighton 2007; Manhart 2001; Rowlands and Butler 2007). The turmoil in this area of Pakistan, caused largely by the ongoing war on terror, has to be weighed when the successes and failings of any heritage programs are considered. The central tension here is that States experiencing economic, political, or social turmoil often lack the resources—economic, technical, and infrastructural—to advance their heritage to designated lists. Changes in government can lead to discontinuity of heritage laws and their application. Pressing matters in a State's domestic realm can necessitate that resources, namely financial, be redirected to address immediate national concerns: quelling societal unrest, ensuring economic stability, dealing with natural disasters and/or conflict, and maintaining public health and safety. In this situation, heritage and its protection is not often seen as the national program needing the most immediate attention.

Although many researchers have written about heritage at sites of conflict, there has been little progress toward improving the situation on the ground. Some continue to see UNESCO as the "top down" imposition of Eurocentric management agendas (Meskell 2013:488; Rowlands and Butler 2007:1). Meskell (2013) has written at length on the economic instability of UNESCO's heritage programing (a situation heavily connected to the withdrawal of funds by the United States as a result of the extension of UNESCO membership to Palestine) and the deep impact this has on the ability of the organization to implement heritage programing within party States and specifically at "Sites in Danger" moving forward. The protection of World Heritage at or within sites of conflict by UNESCO and other international organizations like ICOMOS or the World Heritage Fund is increasingly difficult and can be distilled into two primary failings. The first is that UNESCO lacks the ability to enforce its calls for heritage protection (Manhart 2001; Meskell 2013:493). UNESCO party States are held to the Convention only by their conviction of membership. When the Taliban government in Afghanistan announced in February of 2001 that it intended to rid the country of statues so as to prevent the "adoration of idols" (Manhart 2001:387), UNESCO worked with a number of international, national, and religious representatives to condemn such a call and to persuade the Taliban to reconsider its position toward cultural heritage. Ultimately the pleas for reconsideration went unheeded and statues throughout Afghanistan were destroyed; including the Buddhas at Bamiyan (Manhart 2001:388). The second tension results from the complicated negotiation between various stakeholders of what comprises heritage and how heritage should be protected, preserved, conserved, reconstructed, or forgotten. Heritage protection for the benefit of the human collective is a noble and worthy goal yet as "sites" vie for consideration any designation is met with debate from UNESCO committee members around the application of listing guidelines (Cameron 2008).

If we accept the UNESCO convention (1972:1); "that deterioration or disappearance of any item of cultural or natural heritage constitutes a harmful impoverishment of the heritage of all the nations of the world," then it seems that moving forward more targeted intervention and assistance to States in conflict may be necessary to ensure our collective heritage is maintained. The heritage of the world

has to find its place amongst the needs and concerns of the world's population. Paradoxically, our collective heritage might be better protected by placing the emphasis for its protection on local populations. UNESCO as a guiding body might continue to assist in education, training, and infrastructure development in member States that find themselves lacking in these areas but a reconsideration of the "Lists" might be warranted. Emphasizing the value of heritage to local populations and assisting in the efforts to empower local heritage stakeholders may offer more long-term "World Heritage" protection than attempting to compile, maintain, and bankroll a centralized list.

# References

12-year war on Terror cost $100bn, says Dar. (2012, December 12). *Dawn*. Retrieved February 1, 2014 from http://www.dawn.com/news/1072098/12-year-war-on-terror-cost-100bn-says-dar

Cameron, C. (2008). From Warsaw to Mostar: The world heritage committee and authenticity. *APT Bulletin, 39*(2/3), 19–24.

Cheikhmous, A. (2013). Syrian heritage under threat. *Journal of Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology and Heritage Studies, 1*(4), 351–366.

Conservation: Heritage at the front lines. (2013, March 24). *Dawn*. Retrieved February 1, 2014, from http://www.dawn.com/news/797641/conservation-heritage-at-the-front-lines

Creighton, O. (2007). Contested townscapes: The walled city as world heritage. *World Archaeology, 39*(3), 339–354.

Cultural tourism in Lahore & Peshawar. (2004). Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, Pakistan.

Dani, A. H. (1995). *Peshawar historic city of the frontier*. Lahore, Pakistan: Sang-E-Meel Publications.

Heritage Foundation of Pakistan. (2014). Retrieved February 1, 2014, from http://www.heritagefoundationpak.org/Hf

Jaffer, S. M. (1945). *Peshawar: Past and present*. Peshawar, India: S Muhammad Sadiq Khan—Kissa Khani.

Khan, M. N. (2004). *Peshawar: The unwritten history*. Lahore, Pakistan: Gandhara Markaz Shahbaz Garhi.

Manhart, C. (2001). The Afghan cultural heritage crisis: UNESCO's response to the destruction of statues in Afghanistan. *American Journal of Archaeology, 105*(3), 387–388.

Meskell, L. (2013). UNESCO's world heritage convention at 40: Challenging the economic and political order of international heritage conservation. *Current Anthropology, 54*(4), 483–494.

Nichols, R. (2001). *Settling the frontier: Land, law and society in the Peshawar valley, 1500-1900*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.

Peshawar Document One: Walled city of Peshawar. (2004). National register historic places of Pakistan. Directorate of Archaeology and Museum, NWFP and Heritage Foundation of Pakistan.

Razvi, M. (2009, September 1). Not Peshawar anymore. *Dawn*. Retrieved February 1, 2014, from http://www.dawn.com/news/487879/not-peshawar-anymore

Rowlands, M., & Butler, B. (2007). Conflict and heritage care. *Anthropology Today, 23*(1), 1–2.

UNESCO. (1972). *Convention concerning the protection of the world cultural and natural heritage*. Paris: United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation.

UNESCO. (2014). World heritage list. Retrieved February 1, 2014, from http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/

UNESCO assesses damage to historical sites in NWFP. (2010, February 2). *Dawn*. Retrieved February 1, 2014, from http://www.dawn.com/news/922265/unesco-assesses-damage-to-historical-sites-in-nwfp

# Chapter 8
# Heritage Interpretation as a Conservation Tool in Mexican Archaeology: Theory and Practice

**Manuel Gándara**

## The Problem: How to Preserve an Enormous Archaeological Heritage

Mexico's archaeological heritage is found throughout its territory. While the most spectacular and well-known sites lay on its central and southern regions—the area known as Mesoamerica—the north has literally thousands of hunter-gatherer sites, with rock art and other fragile cultural expressions. In terms of chronology, Mexico's heritage ranges from about 15,000/20,000 years b.p. to industrial archaeology at the end of the XIX century.

The Archaeological Atlas Project in the 1980s showed that there are at least 250,000 sites visible on 1:250,000 aerial photographs; most of these were at least regional and local capitals, not to mention the huge urban centers like Teotihuacán, Monte Albán, or Chichén Itzá. The pattern emerging from the best surveyed areas shows that each large site has at least four subordinate communities which supported it; this would quadruple the initial figure and bring it close to 1 million sites. Adding hunter and gatherer camps, underwater, colonial and historical and industrial sites, this figure probably approaches 1,200,000 sites. Of these, only about 180 have been extensively studied and presented to the public. And not even half (about 60) have the highest level of legal protection, a Presidential Decree.

In order to study, conserve, and present this huge heritage Mexico has a federal institution, the National Institute of Anthropology and History (INAH, by its initials in Spanish). There are other institutions that do research in the country, such as our National University, the departments of Anthropology at different state and private

M. Gándara (✉)
Escuela Nacional de Conservación, Restauración y Museografía (ENCRyM),
ENCRyM-INAH, General Anaya N° 187, Col. San Diego Churubusco,
04120 Del. Coyoacán, Mexico
e-mail: gandarav@cablevision.net.mx

universities, as well as projects sponsored by foreign institutions. But only INAH is legally entrusted with Mexico's heritage: while it grants research permits to other institutions, it is the official steward for heritage.

INAH is the largest research institution in Mexico with more than 350 full-time, tenured archaeologists, and another 600 archaeologists working intermittently in salvage projects. If we add those working in other national and international institutions with research permits from INAH, then there are, at the most, 1,200 archaeologists. 1,200 professionals in charge of around 1.2 million sites!

Of course, not all these sites have the same research significance. Many are just small peasant villages, which may be thought as very similar, in structural terms, to each other. Perhaps these could be considered "redundant" and all we need is a representative sample of them to get an accurate picture of the past. But we still need to locate them and do at least an initial survey in order to determine which ones can or should be preserved.

Other government agencies and the private sector claim that, of course, we cannot protect everything. Globalization increases the pace of large development projects in the country: highways, hydroelectric dams, high tension lines, low cost housing complexes in expanding cities, and mass transportation systems. All this development puts the heritage at risk everyday.

The problem is that not only the small sites are in peril but also the most famous ones. For example, according to the official then in charge of Teotihuacán, one of the largest cities of the ancient world (Sarabia, Alejandro, personal communication, Taxco 2005), by 2020 about 75 % of the area pertaining to this site outside its fence will be lost to development. Teotihuacán is one of only a dozen of cases all over the world where we can study the rise and development of social classes and the state. It is unique site and it is at great risk.

The normal line of defense has been legal. Mexico has strong legislation (the 1972 Ley de Protección de Zonas y Monumentos Arqueológicos…). This law has been under siege, especially by the private sector that would like to freely exploit our archaeological resources. Since many of the top sites are important tourist destinations, there is much pressure to allow unrestricted construction and use of the land on or near them. This has led to at least three attempts to reform the law, successfully countered by conservation activists. Still, the pressure keeps mounting.

I would contend that it is time to reevaluate this line of defense: legal protection is crucial and should continue, but clearly it alone is not sufficient, because the public must support legal protection in order for it to be effective. Further, without the support of the public, the legal structure itself is in jeopardy. Laws can be changed, and the public perceives INAH as a punitive institution, obstructing progress by constantly stopping or at least slowing down important development projects that not only have inherent benefits, but also bring jobs to areas with high unemployment.

Tensions peaked some years ago, when the construction of a Wal-Mart store started just meters away from the fence of Teotihuacán (Fig. 8.1). The supermarket chain had bought a plot of land for which, decades ago, INAH had granted a limited construction permit, based on preliminary excavation of a portion of the plot. As construction proceeded, it was obvious that, given the scale of the new building and

**Fig. 8.1** Proximity between the Teotihuacan Archaeological Site (*yellow*) and the Walmart (*blue*) controversially built in the town of San Juan Teotihuacan. By Bryce Davenport, CSRM, Inc.



**Fig. 8.2** Activists protesting at Cuicuilco. Omar Meneses, photographer. Published by newspaper La Jornada. http://www.jornada.unam.mx/1997/08/10/cuicuilco.html, accessed 08/02/2014

the importance of the remains that were being found, the initial permit should be revoked. INAH was unable to do it, despite the archaeological community's and heritage activists' protests against the development. But what I find most telling about the incident is the fact that the signs carried by the activists saying "No to Wal-Mart," were met by counter-signs saying "No to the Pyramids, we want Wal-Mart." Their argument was simple: "We have enough pyramids already within the fence. What we need are cheap prices and a better selection of products." (Fig. 8.2).

It has been argued that this local group was paid for by Wal-Mart. But to me, this is not important. If the people that live near or on top of the sites do not understand

their importance, it will be a miracle if the sites survive. Some of them insist that they do not benefit economically, or do so only marginally: there have been even attempts to seize the ticket booths at several sites. The only value they see in "the ruins" would seem to be simply economic. Not even nationalism, once a potent reason for preservation, seems important to them now.

## A Possible Solution

Our cultural heritage attracts many national and international visitors: around 18 million of them in 2011 (according to El Economista newspaper web site—www. elconomista.com.mx, accessed, Jan 26th, 2011). Since many of these visited more than one site or museum, we can adjust the figure to an estimated 12 million separate visits.

Now, what would happen if not 10 %, not even 1 %, but barely 0.1 % of these visitors understood the values of heritage? If we were able to show them the importance of preserving it, we would have around 12,000 people *each year* well informed as to why and how we should preserve archaeological sites. Their level of commitment would vary, no doubt, but at least they would not be indifferent to heritage. In order to do this we would need to radically change our approach to that potential audience. It is no secret that many people find museums and heritage sites boring. For example, it is known through visitor studies around the world that not even 10 % of the visitors read museum labels (Falk and Dierking 2011). We have no formal visitor surveys at archaeological sites in Mexico, only a handful of probes, but I would not be surprised if only 1 % read labels at archaeological sites. Why is this so?

One reason must surely be the way that we communicate at museum and heritage sites. The specialist finds it hard to understand that her concerns do not necessarily match those of her audiences. Many exhibits—and corresponding exhibit labels—are designed with other curators in mind, or to please the exhibit designer's aesthetic, or the critic's opinion (Fig. 8.3). They do not have the real, everyday visitor as a genuine target group. While informative to the specialist, to tell people that Cuicuilco is an important Middle/Late Formative site on the southern Basin of Mexico, with ceramic types such and such, is to tell very little that will engage a wider audience. As Freeman Tilden (1967:38) is often paraphrased: You only preserve what you appreciate, and you only appreciate what you understand. If heritage is not relevant to the public, because it does not understand and hence do not appreciate its values, the public will not help to preserve it. At best, people will only conserve what gives them economic benefits.

Sam Ham's "environmental interpretation" (Ham 1992) provides us with a new perspective on the dynamics of preservation, through its theoretical underpinnings in cognitive psychology, pedagogy, and applied communication. It was rooted in the interpretative tradition (Merriman and Brochu 2006) first systematized by Tilden (1967) of the National Park Service in the USA, and later developed by authors like

**Fig. 8.3** First generation interpretive label (circa mid-1990s) for site of Paquimé, Chih., for a building. These early labels were made of printed ceramic tiles embedded in a heavy cement base. They were expensive to manufacture, but quite resistant to climate. DOS-INAH

Veverka (1998), Beck, Cable and Knudson (Beck and Cable 2002), Larsen (2003), Brochu and Merriman (2008), Colquhoun (2005), and many more.

It is generally accepted that interpretation is a form of translation: from the language of the specialist to that which a general audience can understand and enjoy. It is a form of heritage education aimed specially at informal contexts. Ham (1992) showed that not all interpretation is what he called "thematic": while all is about some *topic*, not all has a clear *theme*—in the sense of main message, point or "thesis". The thesis gives a program a clear structure and attempts to create relevance for the visitor. It allows articulation of clear objectives and is thus a powerful conservation and management tool.

We had used these ideas informally in the defense of the site of Cuicuilco. We worked with a group of activists from a nearby housing complex called "Villa Olímpica" (Fig. 8.2). But instead of focusing on chronology, typology, or the formal description of the buildings, we centered our attention on heritage values, and especially values that made sense to the activists. For example, presenting the site as one of the earliest expressions of a society that was no longer egalitarian brought about the question of why egalitarianism was abandoned; or that Cuicuilco was one of main the poles of growth in the Basin, in competition with the incipient town of Teotihuacán, a competition that maybe ended when the volcano Xitle erupted over Cuicuilco. These questions begged answers that lay in the archaeological site

(and its hinterland), and if this was lost, the questions would be left unanswered. Through this process Cuicuilco became relevant to a broader audience.

This strategy, as well as social factors like the activists being a middle-class group with an above average education and many anthropologists within its constituency, created a special commitment to defending the site. The activists even registered with INAH as "collaborating defense organization" when a project to erect a 18 story building, a premium residential unit, hotels, and a shopping mall, just meters away from the main pyramid, was announced. The proposed development enraged heritage activists—who were supported by the then popular Zapatista movement. Cuicuilco became an election issue in the campaigns for city major that year. The Villa Olímpica activists were key promoters of the movement. The idea that involving the citizenship is essential to the preservation of our heritage had a first validation. Now the question was how to produce similar effects in other cases.

The first obvious step was to change the way we interpret and present our heritage to the everyday visitor. INAH had started by the mid-1990s a project to "put signage" (their terms) in all the major archaeological sites. This meant placing "cédulas" (labels or panels) with information on the major structures and features of the site, as well as maps and other aids. I was fortunate enough to work with them and learn together how to do a better job at what they now recognized as "interpretation". This office, called *Dirección de Operación de Sitios* (DOS) began revising the second generation of site labels with an aim to communicate with visitors.

Some colleagues were not quite happy to part ways with their long descriptions full of technical terms, period, and type names (Fig. 8.3). They protested that their texts had been "tampered with" to make them readable (Fig. 8.4). But others understood that INAH works for the general public—as their information panels demonstrated.

Some objected to the name of the strategy, "environmental interpretation": Ham's term evoked natural heritage. We changed it to "thematic interpretation" to stress Ham's insistence on central messages or "thesis"; but this was understood to mean "thematic" as in "thematic park," which stirred objections. Still, in one criticism they were right: we needed to adapt the approach to archaeology and to the local conditions of our country.

This is how the "anthropological approach" to interpretation came about. One of the main differences with environmental interpretation is that for that heritage we have solid theoretical principles, which can explain complex natural phenomena; while in archaeology, after the postprocessual critique, we still discuss whether such theories are feasible or even desirable. A possible solution is to use a broad anthropological theory, amenable to different academic traditions, but that makes use of the idea of a common, but culturally diverse humanity. While normally heritage is used to support particular identities, it is equally necessary to stress the commonalities that make us human.

Initially, we used this approach to design multimedia software for museums exhibits (Fig. 8.5) (Gándara 2001); and later extended it to sites in a number of

**Fig. 8.4** Second-generation label (Circa late 1990s) for Paquimé, Chih. This is the entrance label to the site, with a longer text since this summarizes its story. The *left panel* is written in English. DOS-INAH

dissertations (e.g., Jiménez 2001 and Ledesma 2007); finally it was adopted by INAH (with modifications) thanks again to the receptivity of the DOS team. During the late part of the last decade, DOS developed a complete methodology for what they call "interpretative frameworks" (Mosco 2012). They applied it to a number of sites, both pre-Hispanic and colonial. We worked together in sites like Paquimé (Fig. 8.6), Chichén Itzá and Tajin, doing diagnostic probes of visitors' perception and their use of interpretive materials. One of its first products is the new label program recently installed in Paquimé, and developed with the enthusiastic support of the local archaeologist, Eduardo Gamboa.

**Fig. 8.5** Final screen on an interactive game about diversity in attire among indigenous populations of Mexico. Developed for the Museo de las Culturas de Oaxaca, Oaxaca, 1998 (Graphic design by Antonio Alcántara, programming by Karl F. Link, game design and content by the author)
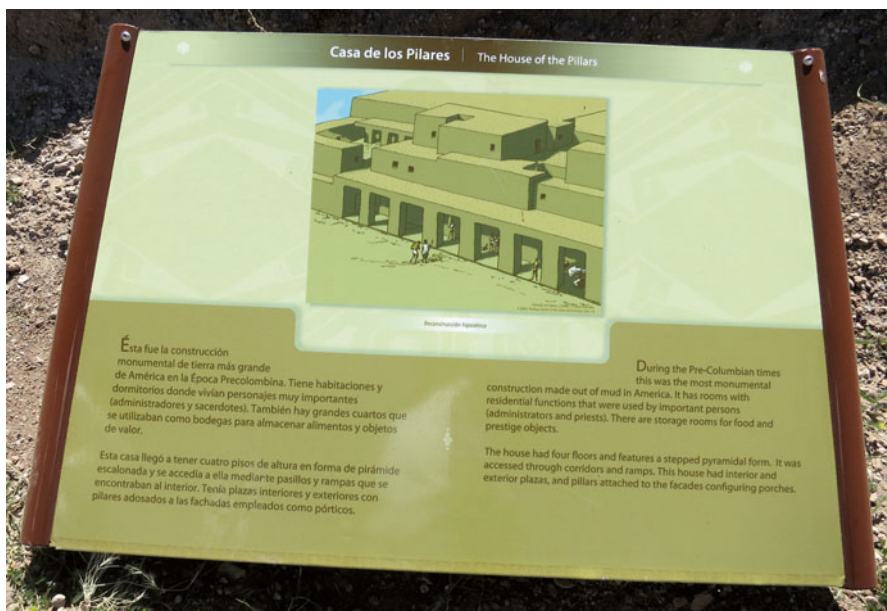


**Fig. 8.6** Fourth generation label (2010) for Paquimé, Chih. This new generation of labels for the site was written by the site's curator, Dr. Eduardo Gamboa, after a workshop on interpretation coordinated by DOS-INAH at Paquimé in 2008

## The Immediate Future

By the end of last decade, the approach evolved again, incorporating new elements of cognitive theory, dramatic theory and making an explicit commitment to constructivist pedagogy—Ausubel's "meaningful learning" (2000), as well as a model of communication that recovers what we have learned about it in museums. We call it now "meaningful dissemination of archaeological knowledge," to stress the difference that exists in Spanish between "Difusión" and "Divulgación" (Gándara, en prensa). The first refers to communication between peers (like in specialized journals or scientific meetings); this requires no translation of terminology, nor historical background or context: we can assume that our audience has the necessary insights. The second refers to communication with the public at large, that typically is not familiar with the terminology—requiring not only that we translate, but provide background and context with in order to establish relevance. And this is where dramatic theory becomes useful: it is through universal values and the emotions they give rise, on which we can hope to engage the visitor and generate a commitment to conservation (compare with Larsen 2003). Narration is a powerful device that, when available, we should employ to tell a coherent story to better engage the visitor.

This new approach has been used as an analytical tool,[1] and also as a design methodology in the conceptual design for the Museum "Palace of Mayan Civilization," in Yucatán (Ortiz-Lanz et al. 2012).

Two conclusions of these early attempts are the realization that heritage interpretation, certainly in archaeology, should involve many disciplines: from the ones mentioned above to even such apparently distant ones like "wayfinding," also called "environmental design," which deals with how to better orient visitors at large sites or museums (Gibson 2009). Furthermore, that we should apply (and adapt) many of the procedures used in museums to study visitors and to evaluate interpretation at archaeological sites. There is much to do, and a global dialogue with colleagues facing similar challenges will benefit us all.

## References

Ausubel, D. P. (2000). *The acquisition and retention of knowledge: A cognitive view*. New York: Springer.

Beck, L., & Cable, T. T. (2002). *Interpretation for the 21st century: Fifteen guiding principles for interpreting nature and culture* (2nd ed.). Urbana, IL: Sagamore Publishing.

Brochu, L., & Merriman, T. (2008). *Personal interpretation: Connecting your audience to heritage resources* (2nd ed.). Fort Collins, CO: InterpPress.

Colquhoun, F. (2005). *Interpretation handbook and standard: Distilling the essence*. Wellington, NZ: Department of Conservation.

---

[1] To diagnose the narrative at the Museo de la Revolución, Cuba and the Aboriginal Peoples Room of the Australian Museum, Sydney; as well as the self-guided trail in Chichén Itzá (Gándara 2013).

Falk, J. H., & Dierking, L. D. (2011). *The museum experience* (annotatedth ed.). Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.

Gándara, M. (2001). Aspectos Sociales de la Interfaz con El Usuario. Una Aplicación En Museos. Ph.D., Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-Azcapotzalco.

Gándara, M. (2013). La narrativa y la divulgación significativa del patrimonio en sitios arqueológicos y museos. *Gaceta de Museos, 54*, 17–23.

Gándara, M. (en prensa). De la interpretación temática a la divulgación significativa del patrimonio arqueológico. In M. Gándara & M. A. Jiménez (Eds.), *Interpretación del Patrimonio Cultural. Pasos hacia una divlgación significativa en México*. México: ENCRyM/INAH.

Gibson, D. (2009). *The wayfinding handbook: Information design for public places*. New York: Princeton Architectural Press.

Ham, S. (1992). *Environmental interpretation: A practical guide for people with big ideas*. London: Atlantic Books.

Jiménez, M. A. (2001). La Conservación Del Patrimonio Arqueológico Mediante La Interpretación Temática. Licenciatura en Arqueología, ENAH.

Larsen, D. L. (2003). An interpretive dialog. In Meaningful interpretation: How to connect hearts and minds to places, objects, and other resources. Washington, PA: Eastern National: National Park Service.

Ledesma, P. (2007). Arqueología e Interpretación Temática En Tlatelolco. Tesis de licenciatura en arqueología, ENAH.

Merriman, T., & Brochu, L. (2006). *The history of heritage interpretation in the United States*. Fort Collins, CO: National Association for Interpretation.

Mosco, A. (2012). Metodología Interpretativa Para La Formulación y Desarrollo De Guiones Para Exposiciones. Maestría en Museología, ENCRyM.

Ortiz-Lanz, J. E., Gándara, M., Becerril, F., et al. (2012). MAYAX: Palacio De La Cultura Maya, Yaxcabá, Yucatán. Cultur -Yucatán, Mérida., Estudio Museográfico.

Tilden, F. (1967). *Interpreting our heritage*. Chapell Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

Veverka, J. A. (1998). *Interpretive master planning: The essential planning guide for interpretive centers, parks, self-guided trails, historic sites, zoos, exhibits and programs*. Tustin, CA: Acorn Naturalists.

# Part III
# Identities of Heritage: Minorities and Indigenous Peoples in a Globalized World

# Chapter 9
# Identity and Culturally Defined Methods of Adaptation Amongst the Wadandi People of Southwestern Australia

**David R. Guilfoyle, Myles B. Mitchell, and Wayne Webb**

## Introduction: Impacts and Processes of Colonialism on Traditional Society

> We have been very fortunate to have been able to continue our traditions and cultural responsibilities especially during and after European settlement. It is the land and places that gives us the strength and knowledge, living on, to this day, and will live on through our koolungers (children) for many more generations. Our family still remains despite the pressures and changes to the landscape. We will survive through many more as we strive to protect Noongar boodjera (our land). Something that we cannot own it shall always own us and so we shall always try to do what we were born to do that is look after the land and in return, the land shall look after us (Webb 2011).

Throughout the twentieth century, the cultural life of the Wadandi people of southwestern Australia was subject to a series of external changes associated with

D.R. Guilfoyle (✉)
Applied Archaeology International, Albany, WA, Australia

Northern Land Use Research Alaska, Fairbanks, AK, USA

Centre of Excellence in Natural Resource Management, University of Western Australia, Albany, WA, Australia

Western Australian Museum, Perth, WA, Australia
e-mail: davidg@appliedarchaeology.com.au

M.B. Mitchell
Applied Archaeology International, Albany, WA, Australia

National Centre For Indigenous Studies, Australian National University, Acton, ACT, Australia
e-mail: mylesbmitchell@gmail.com

W. Webb
Wadandi-Bibbulmun Senior Custodian, Dowark Foundation, Walpole, Australia
e-mail: spidy_webbz@yahoo.com.au

the colonial settlement of their traditional lands. The people had to adapt their lifestyles, and at certain times, adapt very rapidly. The historical events and processes, though externally derived, did not equate to a passive response to change. Rather, the Wadandi people actively controlled the pace and in some cases the direction of change, maintaining a strong sense of identity and traditional life ways, in the face of massive social upheaval. The people actively employed 'culturally defined methods of adaptation' (CDMA), including an ongoing spiritual link to land. This strategy cross-cut new colonial settlements and townships, and involved the maintenance of a highly adaptable settlement-subsistence regime linked to traditional seasonal and economic cycles, that incorporated elements of the new colonial systems into their own Indigenous cultural systems.

For contemporary Wadandi people, the tangible and intangible heritage associated with such adaptive responses to change are an important part of their identity. Therefore, CDMA is high on the Wadandi cultural heritage research and management agenda. This presents opportunities and challenges for archaeologists (and other researchers/heritage professionals) in developing methodologies that can assist in researching and interpreting the 'heritage of culturally defined methods of adaptation'. This paper looks at a case study of a cultural mapping project that seeks to understand and interpret how CDMA affected settlement patterns and life ways of one Wadandi family. The case study focuses on a local cultural place known as Carbunup, and the family's use of this place during the mid-twentieth century (see Fig. 9.1). The Carbunup cultural map is compared with broad settlement models of
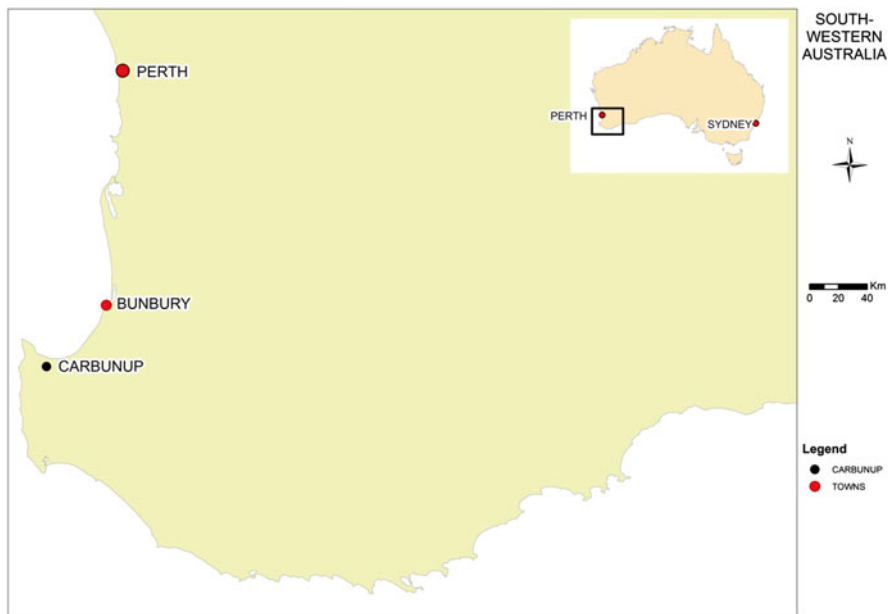


**Fig. 9.1** General location map

precolonial Wadandi society to understand more about CDMA among the Wadandi. This reflects the dislocation of people from their principle habitation areas and sacred places, as major towns and settlements developed. Anglo Australian society so often chose locations that were of prime spiritual, social or economic significance to Wadandi people to locate town sites, residences or other permanent settlements, and thus had major impacts on Wadandi settlement. The case study draws from research into the processes and impacts of colonialism and post-colonialism on traditional society and culture, with a focus on the archaeological manifestations of these processes.

While the theme of this paper has been researched at a number of anthropological levels (c.f. Liebkind 1989; Nagel 1998; Omi and Winant 1994), this paper explicitly examines the relationship between archaeological heritage management and identity, following the work of Byrne and Nugent (2004) and others, within the broader concept of postcolonial theory and indigeneity (Goldie 1989; Mudrooroo 1985). Broadly, this paper contributes to a wider investigation of colonial change and adaption amongst colonized people, as summarized by Papastergiadis (2000:128):

> Colonized people forcibly brought into contact with colonial regimes, and with new systems for social organization, were compelled to both internalize the dominant order, and to invent new strategies for cultural survival. As most studies of colonialism have tended to either condemn or celebrate the perspective of the colonizer, little attention has been paid to the actual strategies of survival and adaptation by the colonized. For while the colonized had little control over the dominant culture, they were not always willing to reproduce, in either a pure or wholesale manner, a worldview that was alien to them.

This study explores two elements of CDMA specific to the Wadandi people.

1. A Separate Worldview: Maintenance of ongoing spiritual links to land that crosscut new colonial settlements and townships while establishing distance and separation from colonial values.
2. Cultural Landscape and Identity: Maintenance of a highly adaptable settlement-subsistence regime linked to traditional seasonal and economic cycles, while incorporating new (colonial) systems into their own Indigenous cultural systems.

Of immediate interest are the seemingly contradictory statements of people 'establishing distance' from colonial values in the first element, yet 'incorporating new colonial systems' as part of the second element. This is not a contradiction but rather an 'adaptive balance' that is the key to cultural survival. That is, cultural survival in this context requires a clearly defined maintenance of spiritual and traditional connection, while strategically integrating aspects of the colonial socio-economic system. To operate one method on its own would severely undermine the ability to maintain a balance between identity, kinship and traditional cultural practice on the one hand, with the pressures imposed by the colonial system on the other. This study uses a place-based counter-mapping methodology (Byrne and Nugent 2004), to understand more about the spatial and geographical underpinnings of CDMA among the Wadandi. Additionally, it incorporates methodologies developed over several years of community and natural resource management projects within this

region (Guilfoyle et al. 2009; Guilfoyle et al. 2011). Through this developing model, the authors have come to understand more about how the Wadandi used landscape and patterns of movement as a deliberate and important CDMA, and in turn how such usage is an important aspect of Wadandi heritage and contemporary identity.

## Traditional Social Organization and Historical Geography: *Protectors* and *Intruders*

The Wadandi people are a distinct land-holding (language) group within the larger cultural society commonly referred to as the Noongar Nation, occupying the Southwest corner of Western Australia. The Noongar Nation comprises 13 sub-groups, all of whom share a set of customs, beliefs, language and technology that distinguishes them from neighbouring desert groups to the north and east. In Wadandi culture, moieties and totems established individuals and groups with a specific set of relationships to the local flora and fauna and thus to the ecological systems that support human life. These relationships are intricately linked to the spiritual world and landscape, established and maintained by the system of law commonly referred to as the Dreaming.

People have occupied the Southwest for tens of thousands of years, evident at a number of stratified archaeological sites such as Devil's Lair near Margaret River (Dortch 1974; 1976), less than 100 km from Carbunup. The great antiquity of occupation and human history in this region is manifest in the landscape today, in the form of stone artefact scatters, marked trees, lizard traps, rock art sites, burials, quarries, fish traps and other sites. The human occupation during this time has been dynamic and diverse, with people adjusting and adapting patterns of settlement and subsistence with changes in the climate and resource configurations. The landscape itself is imbued with meaning and social/spiritual significance, as the Traditional Owners maintain a central connection to the natural environment.

The network of landform features collectively describes the integrated cultural and ecological landscape. As such, this interdependence creates a 'web of life', and any system of behaviour that upsets this interdependence upsets the ancestral spirits who exist within the landscape, and will bring harm to either the individual or group responsible. Information collected over the years via consultations and commercial ethnographic surveys with the Wadandi, has been integrated with existing research (e.g. Dortch 2002; Goode 2003; Hallam 1975) that clearly identifies seasonal patterns of movement as one method to embed aspects of sustainability within the specific ecological setting. People moved to areas at different times of the year both to take advantage of major resources becoming available and to ensure any one area was not over-exploited. Systems were in place to prevent fishing or hunting during breeding seasons (of mullet or kangaroo, for example).

Cultural survival of a people suppressed by colonial regimes requires actively articulating key differences between colonized peoples and the oppressors. For the Wadandi, the understanding of the need to protect and manage the *boodja* (land) in

itself became one major form of CDMA during the colonial period. In the most direct way, the imposition of new colonial land ownership regimes was countered internally by an understanding that the new settlers, ignorant of the integrated ancestral landscape and set of obligations would face sickness and harm, whether immediately or at some point in the future. An adaptive response was to continue active teaching to uphold connection to their traditional places despite many areas being dissected by new farming plots and townships, roads, and railways. This way, a method to protect their family from the direct attack on the spiritual landscape by new settlers was embedded in a constant articulation of the meaning and significance of the many special places, waterways and landforms that were progressively cleared, tilled and constructed. The Wadandi articulated their role as 'protectors' in the face of massive landscape change and degradation. While the settlers were viewed as 'apart' from the land, the Wadandi continually understood and defined themselves as the protectors.

## Fringe Dwellers at Carbunup River: Mapping the Historical Geography of Wadandi CDMA

After European arrival, Wadandi people were forcibly banished to the fringes of colonial towns/settlements (Fig. 9.2), despite the fact that often times these new settlements were situated directly upon the Wadandi's principle habitation areas or sacred places. The Wadandi became fringe dwellers by definition, and in many ways



**Fig. 9.2** Busselton area fringe camp (no date) (Haebich 1992:106)
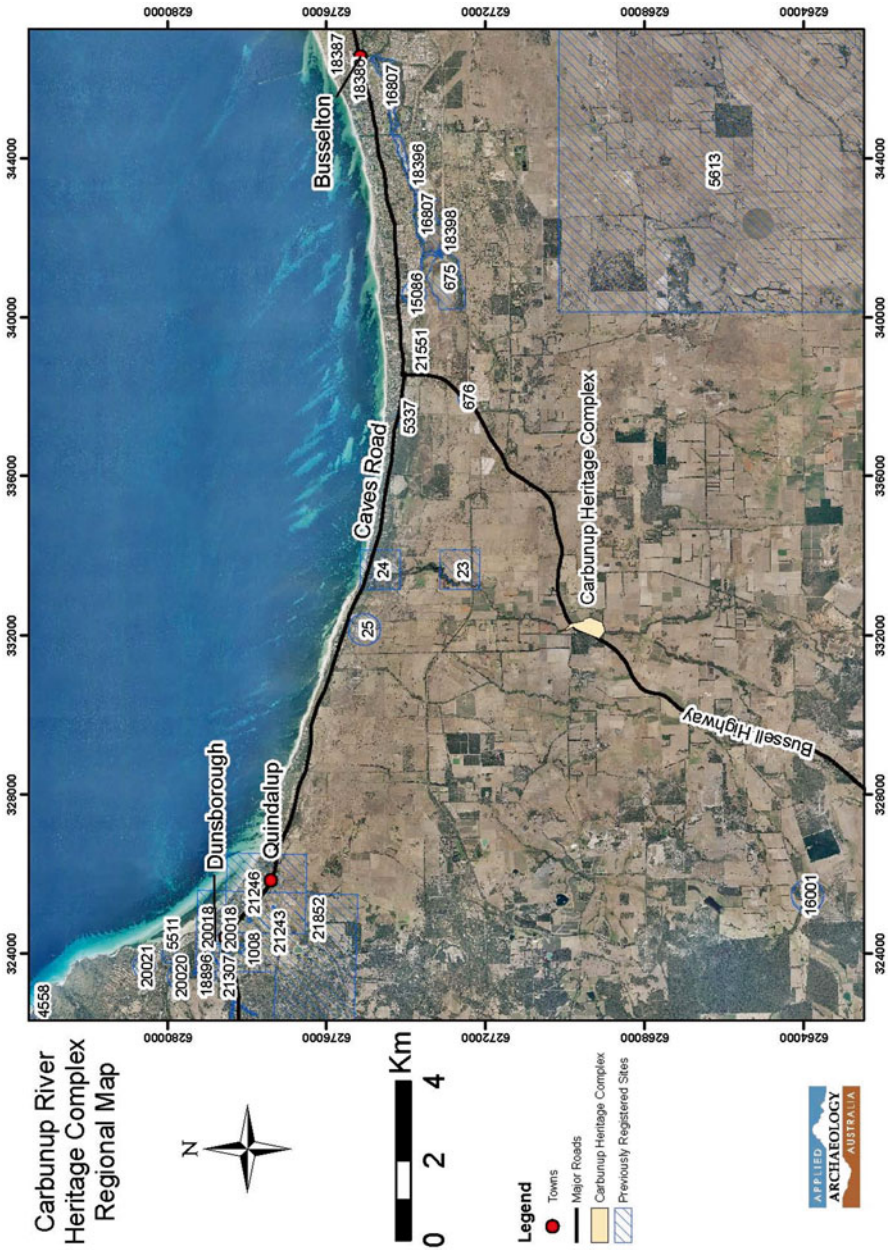
**Fig. 9.3** Location of the Carbunup River Heritage Complex in relation to surrounding heritage sites

this suited them because it allowed for the continuation of their cultural practice. However, being fringe dwellers was more than a practical or spatial reality for the Wadandi; it was and continues to be a fundamental part of Wadandi identity. As the colonial regime continued to tighten controls and sought to restrict the Wadandi from practicing their culture and speaking their language, the Wadandi mechanisms of cultural survival became more covert, and continued to play a central role in their life as fringe dwellers, which was an important mechanism of CDMA. Part of their cultural survival also depended on maintaining economic independence, which the Wadandi managed through the integration of seasonal work, associated rations and traditional food sources.

A small area of bushland adjacent the Carbunup River, gazetted by the Western Australian state government as an Aboriginal Reserve, became a seasonal camping place for an extended family group (Vilma Webb's extended family) of numbers fluctuating between 20 and 30 people—Elders, men, women and children—during the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s (Fig. 9.3). The Carbunup River heritage complex is an example of a place that developed important historical associations as the Wadandi were gradually restricted from travelling their traditional pathways. Here family groups settled on the coast and moved up and down the river for seasonal work, and for the continuation of traditional customs; on the fringes of the major settlements of Busselton and Dunsborough (see Fig. 9.4).

The following extracts demonstrate how the family incorporated traditional subsistence practices into a new economy; an important mechanism of cultural survival through CDMA (see also Fig. 9.4).

> The Carbunup River campsite was a seasonal camp that the group used as a base when working on surrounding farms. Their main camp was down on the coast at Galway Bay, which is where they lived when they were not working on the farms. Working on the farms was a family affair and the children would work with the adults doing intensive farm work from ages as young as six years old. The work on adjacent farms was general farmhand work which included hunting and killing poisonous snakes such as tiger snakes and dugites (to keep the numbers down on the farms), as well as hay cutting, sheering, crutching, cutting lambs tails, digging potatoes and clearing land.
>
> [...The Carbunup River was] a reliable water source that always had water, marron, fresh water mussels, and a range of bush tucker. The kids used to catch marron from the river pool using traditional snares made from sticks and vines. Freshwater mussels were also collected from the site and they are still apparent today […] The women (Aunty Vilma and her sisters, mother, aunties) used to wash all the clothes in the river. They subsisted on a combination of foods focused around bush tucker and river resources. They also supplemented their diet with food from the farms such as offal, lambs tails and potatoes. For shelter, the group used to 'use anything, old car bodies, bits of old tin, canvas, anything' as well as the local vegetation to make mia mias or 'lean-tos' [shelters]. They used to clear the camping areas of trees and vegetation (the clearings are still visible today) and would sweep the campsite clear of footprints and debris before going to sleep each night so they would know if anyone, or anything had come into camp during the night (Applied Archaeology Australia 2011).

One of the authors (Webb) remembered his Elders as fully initiated traditional Wadandi people with tribal markings that identified their traditional skin groups. These Elders were in their 70s, 80s and 90s when Wayne Webb was a child in the
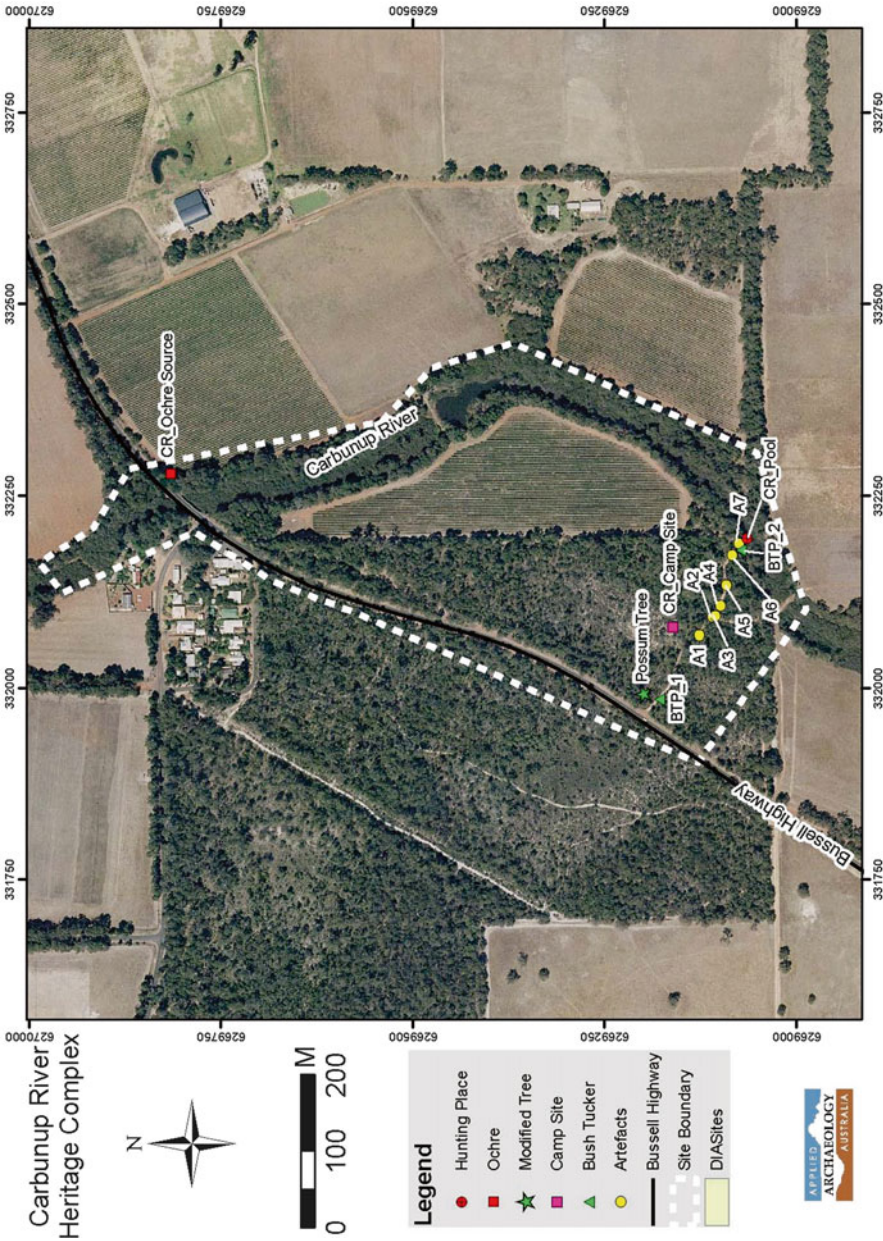
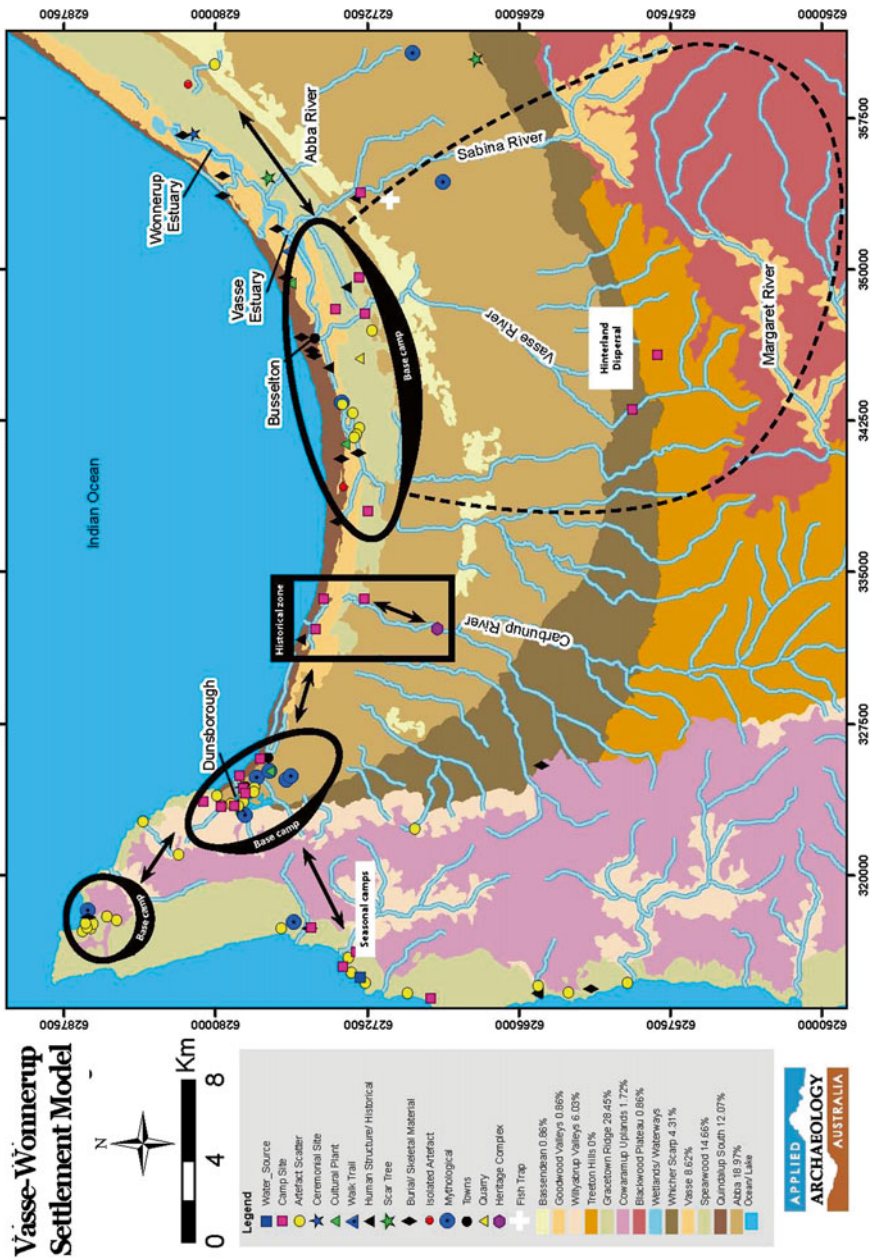**Fig. 9.4** Features within the Carbunup River Heritage Complex

**Fig. 9.5** Map showing the changing settlement and land use models of Wadandi country

1960s—some of them were born as early as the 1860s. At Carbunup there is an ochre source nearby where the 'the old people would paint themselves up'. Like today, Wayne remembers being a child and seeing stone artefacts littering the ground 'all around here' and beyond, 'before all these vineyards were put in'.

The mapping and oral history work demonstrates the peripheral location of the Carbunup settlement in relation to historical period towns, and core areas of Wadandi precolonial settlement (see Fig. 9.5). The Carbunup River heritage complex is an example of a cultural landscape that developed important historical associations for the Wadandi as they were gradually restricted from travelling their traditional pathways and were forced into outlying areas away from the main towns and colonial settlements. At Carbunup, family groups settled near the coast and moved up and down the river for seasonal work on farms, in the timber mills and other seasonal occupations. This seasonal movement was also an important part of the continuation of traditional customs, which focused on the coast as much as possible, but required periodic forays inland, via the river systems. The rivers served as important travel routes and rich sources of food which included fish, mussels and 'jewlgies' (small freshwater crustaceans), as well as associated plant species that grew in abundance along the rivers. This seasonal movement along the Carbunup River presents a kind of microcosm of Wadandi precolonial settlement, which focused on the coast but incorporated periodical forays into the hinterland to fulfil a range of responsibilities that were vital to Wadandi society and economy (Dortch 2002). While the scale of movement is far more limited in the Carbunup complex, the pattern is the same, with a larger, more permanent camp on the coast, and smaller seasonal camps 'up-river'. As the map in Fig. 9.1 demonstrates, the Carbunup complex is only a very small component of the overall Wadandi lands, situated between the towns of Busselton and Dunsborough, which demonstrates the extent to which Wadandi mobility was restricted during the colonial period.

## Summary: CDMA, Identity and Significance

This paper has discussed the topic of CDMA as an Indigenous response to colonial imposition. In particular the paper presents a case study relating the Wadandi response to colonial settlement in Western Australia, focusing on the experience of a particular family and a particular place. The case study presents an example of a fringe dwelling lifestyle along the Carbunup River, which gave the family the ability to maintain many elements of traditional culture while incorporating core components of a new economy and new society. This CDMA was important, not only for cultural survival but also for sustaining Wadandi identity. That is, for all the disempowerment and dislocation imposed by a new colonial system, the Wadandi had maintained core elements of their culture and life ways, including their connection and responsibilities to the land (cultural survival). Such maintenance of cultural practices and ideals not only provides a sense of pride to the Wadandi but also a

sense of identity, then and now. Identity in this context is a notion of *self* that articulates what it means to be Wadandi and how this notion is deeply embedded in place—Wadandi country.

Herein lies the significance of these places, pathways and landscapes to the Wadandi; they are integral to Wadandi identity. This is an important point because 'significance' is a critical measure in so much cultural heritage management, and a strong significance statement may be the difference between the destruction/degradation of a heritage place, or its survival. It can often be difficult to articulate the significance of a historical camping place, such as Carbunup, but as this case study demonstrates, the heritage significance of a place can in fact be linked directly to the identity of descendent Indigenous communities. That is, CDMA among Aboriginal communities under colonial imposition, contribute to a sense of identity, not only at the time of adaptation but also in future generations, and therein lies the significance of places, pathways, landscapes and objects associated with the act/s of CDMA. Archaeologists and other heritage professionals may contribute to the mapping of such significance, using a counter-mapping methodology.

## Concluding Thoughts

While the theme of this paper is necessarily specific to a small family group within the Wadandi society, we aim to highlight some underlying principles in seeking archaeological understanding of the multifaceted adaptive responses used by peoples around the world to the equally multifaceted and enormous pressures of colonialism. From an archaeological heritage management perspective, this process emphasizes the importance of community controlled processes of assessment, which is in fact, another stage in Wadandi strategy for CDMA. This ensures the heritage professionals embrace the holistic nature of the pre- and post-contact heritage landscape as defined by those with direct cultural links to archaeological places.

As archaeologists who have worked with Wadandi people for several years, our methods of archaeological assessment have been shaped by the Wadandi themselves (Guilfoyle et al. 2011), representing an important strategy in Wadandi CDMA. This is very much due to the deliberate reaction against colonialism in all its guises by the Wadandi, whereby archaeology itself is viewed largely as a colonialist enterprise (Watkins 2005), and even more so within commercial or compliance-based 'industry'. In response, a method of adaptation is to change the way that archaeologists operate. While this may represent a direct form of political action, at its core, we clearly see this as a commitment to cultural protocols and the protection of cultural places that are the essence of Wadandi identity. In so doing, we also see that such a process is far from an impediment to archaeological investigation, but an opportunity for developing more meaningful archaeological assessment and management actions.

# References

Applied Archaeology Australia. (2011). *Cultural and ecological values of the Preston river and Vasse-Wonnerup Wetlands, Western Australia*. A report for the South West Catchments Council, Bunbury, Western Australia.

Byrne, D., & Nugent, M. (2004). *Mapping attachment: A spatial approach to aboriginal post-contact heritage*. Sydney: Department of Environment and Conservation (NSW).

Dortch, C. E. (1974). A twelve thousand year old occupation floor at Devil's Lair. *Mankind, 9*, 195–205.

Dortch, C. E. (1976). Two engraved stone plaques of late Pleistocene age from Devil's Lair, Western Australia. *Archaeology and Physical Anthropology in Oceania, 3*, 32–44.

Dortch, C. E. (2002). Modelling past aboriginal hunter gatherer socio-economic and territorial organisation in Western Australia's lower south west. *Archaeology in Oceania, 37*, 1–21.

Goldie, T. (1989). *Fear and temptation: The image of the indigene in Canadian, Australian and New Zealand literatures*. Kingston, Ontario, Canada: McGill-Queens University Press.

Goode, B. (2003). *A desktop preliminary Aboriginal Heritage Survey for Water Corporations proposed development of the Yarragadee Aquifer in the lower south west corner of Western Australia*. A report prepared for Gutteridge, Haskins and Davey Pty. Ltd. On behalf of Western Australian Water Corporation.

Guilfoyle, D. R., Bennell, B., Webb, W., Gilles, V., & Strickland, J. (2009). Integrating natural resource management and indigenous cultural heritage: A model and case study from South-western Australia. *Heritage Management, 2*(2), 149–176.

Guilfoyle, D. R., Webb, W., Webb, T., & Mitchell, M. (2011). A structure and process for 'working beyond the site' in a commercial context: A case study from Dunsborough, southwest Western Australia. *Australian Archaeology, 73*(Dec 2011), 25–32.

Haebich, A. (1992). *For their own good: Aborigines and government in the southwest of Western Australia, 1900–1940*. Nedlands, WA: University of Western Australia Press.

Hallam, S. J. (1975). *Fire and hearth: A study of aboriginal usage and European usurpation in southwestern Australia*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.

Liebkind, K. (1989). The identity of a minority. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, 10*(1), 47–57.

Mudrooroo. (1985). White forms, aboriginal content. In J. Davis, B. Hodge (Eds.), *Aboriginal writing today*. Canberra: Australian Institutive of Aboriginal Studies.

Nagel, J. (1998). Constructing ethnicity: Creating and recreating ethnic identity and culture. In M. W. Hughey (Ed.), *New tribalisms: The resurgance of race and ethnicity*. New York: New York University Press.

Omi, M., & Winant, H. (1994). *Racial formations in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s* (2nd ed.). New York: Routledge.

Papastergiadis, N. (2000). *The turbulence of migration: Globalization, deterritorialization, and hybridity*. Cambridge, England: Polity Press.

Watkins, J. (2005). Through wary eyes: Indigenous perspectives on archaeology. *Annual Review of Anthropology, 34*, 429–449.

Webb, W. (2011). We Are Wadandi. Dunsborough, online video. Accessed on Sep 1, 2014. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f2ornYHcJHU.

# Chapter 10
# Echoes of the Iroquois Wars: Contested Heritage and Identity in the Ancestral Homeland of the Huron-Wendat

**Ronald F. Williamson and Robert I. MacDonald**

The region occupied by Northern Iroquoians constitutes most of what is now known as southern Ontario, southwestern Quebec, New York State, and northern Pennsylvania (Fig. 10.1). The Iroquoian languages of the peoples that inhabited this area are distantly related to Cherokee, spoken in the southern Appalachians, and to Tuscarora, spoken near the mid-Atlantic coast. The term "Iroquoian," therefore, should not be confused with "Iroquois," an Algonquian word used by Europeans to refer to the Five Nations Confederacy of New York State.

In pre-contact times, the northernmost of the Iroquoians were the Huron-Wendat, a confederation of tribes inhabiting the north shore of Lake Ontario and historically the land between Georgian Bay on Lake Huron and Lake Simcoe. The Tionontaté (Petun) nation lived immediately to the southwest of the Wendat while the Neutral or Attiwandaron Confederacy lived farther to the south between the lower Grand River Valley and the Niagara River. Despite their European name, given by the French to signify the peace between the Attiwandaron and the Wendat and the Attiwandaron's refusal to participate in the long-standing feud between the Wendat and the Iroquois, the Attiwandaron were, nevertheless, engaged in blood feuds with Algonquians to the west. Prior to the seventeenth century, the five tribes of the Haudenosaunee or Iroquois Confederacy lived in tribal clusters south of Lake Ontario in New York State. These tribes were culturally distinctive due to their long separate developments as reflected in differences in language and material culture as well as clan organization, kinship terms, and mortuary patterns.

There were also Iroquoian-speaking communities living to the south and west of the Neutral and in the St. Lawrence Valley. General characteristics defining the cultural pattern of all of these Northern Iroquoians included a primary reliance on horticulture for subsistence and a similar division of labour. Men engaged in land

R.F. Williamson (✉) • R.I. MacDonald
Archaeological Services, Inc., Toronto, ON, Canada
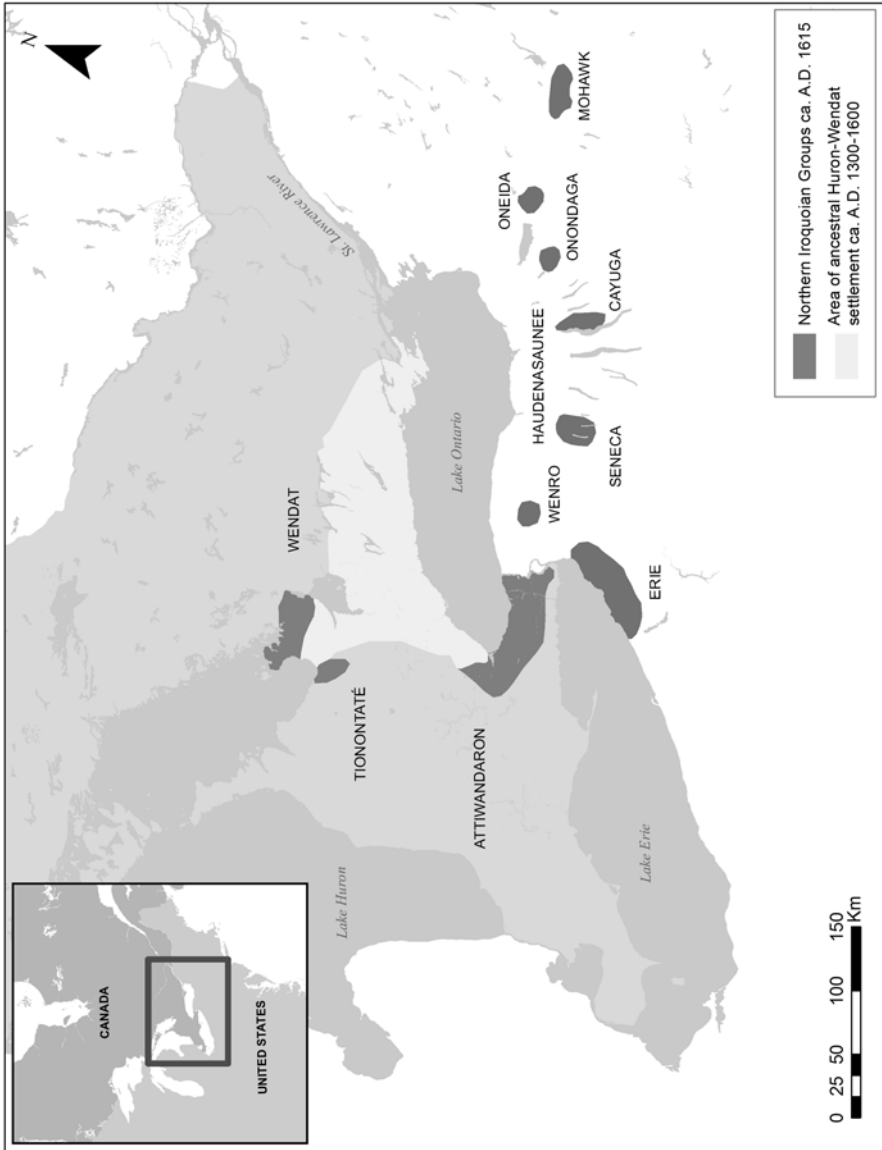e-mail: RWilliamson@iasi.to; rmacdonald@iasi.to

**Fig. 10.1** Location of Northern Iroquoian groups

clearing, hunting, fishing, building houses, trading, and defending the community, while women cared for their young children, manufactured many items including ceramic vessels, and planted, tended, and harvested hundreds of acres of crops. Habitation was in frequently fortified villages containing bark-covered longhouses shared by typically matrilineally related extended families. Membership in clans that extended beyond each village to other communities integrated villages within tribes and confederacies. All had separate organizations for civil and military functions and common social values and attitudes expressed in careful attention to internal and external social relations. They also shared a set of religious beliefs and practices and participated in ritualized warfare, trophy-taking, and prisoner sacrifice (Trigger 1976: 91–104).

Perhaps one of the most interesting historical circumstances of northern Iroquoians is their standing as an "island" of Iroquoian speakers in the middle of a "sea" of Algonquians. Their origins in the lower Great Lakes region, therefore, always have been of interest to anthropologists but are also of critical concern for northern Iroquoian (and Algonquian) descendent communities in regard to still-contested lands and rights in eastern Canada and the northeastern United States. The abilities of anthropologists to recognize ethnicity in the archaeological record and to outline their histories and that of their neighbours are now evaluated regularly in the courts (for a summary of these issues and recent Canadian case histories, see Von Gernet 2006).

Recent genetic research using mtDNA from the skeletal remains of a number of northeastern pre-contact sites in comparison with several contemporary, potentially descendent Native American populations including Algonquian and Iroquoian-speaking groups (Shook and Smith 2008; Pfeiffer et al. 2014) has demonstrated that there was genetic homogeneity across language barriers as well as close similarity amongst ancient populations in the Mississippian drainage and southern Ontario. This suggests there was sufficient gene flow amongst geographically distant populations to maintain regional continuities in populations for at least 3,000 years. The introduction of maize into the Great Lakes region by at least 2,000 years ago and the gradual transition to settled village life (Hart et al. 2007; Hart and Lovis 2013), apparently involved the introduction of new genes without replacing existing populations. It is likely, therefore, that a small number of Iroquoian speakers introduced the language to resident Algonquian-speaking Great Lakes populations after which the language, perhaps in association with maize subsistence technology, gradually gained widespread acceptance. This is consistent with Engelbrecht (2003:112–114) and others who have called for an "ethnogenetic" perspective on Iroquoian origins because it can accommodate population movements, acculturation, diffusion of ideas and continuity allowing for a realistic and complex view of Iroquoian development rather than more simplistic arguments set in either migrationist or diffusionist frameworks. The implications of this scientific research are that not only are the different Iroquoian nations derived from the same genetic base but so too are their neighbouring Algonquian-speaking populations.

The traditional periodic enmity between the Huron-Wendat and the Haudenosaunee seems to have peaked in the late fifteenth century (Birch and

Williamson 2013:160–161) but re-escalated with the arrival of Europeans as they were all drawn into a complex web of global geopolitics and economics locally fueled by competition for trade in beaver pelts. This led to the dispersal of the Wendat, Tionontaté, Attiwandaron, and their Algonquian allies from southern Ontario by 1650, after which the Haudenosaunee briefly held the lands throughout south-central Ontario (Fig. 10.2). By 1700, however, the area was inhabited by Anishinaabeg (Fig. 10.3).

Power struggles amongst First Nations and Europeans continued well into the eighteenth century, but these gradually abated and by the mid-nineteenth century, encroachment by European settlers largely had circumscribed First Nations communities. Today beaver pelts have been replaced by archaeological sites as property that is contested in the modern-day identity politics of Aboriginal peoples in southern Ontario.

Aspects of these politics are played out on a daily basis on the front pages of Canadian newspapers. "Idle No More" is a grass-roots Aboriginal movement currently challenging the Canadian government over environmental legislation that seems to have been enacted without Aboriginal engagement as required by the Canadian Constitution (i.e., Bill C-45, an omnibus bill that involved updating the Navigable Waters Protection Act and the associated approval and consultation process). The momentum of this movement, which also advocates on behalf of a variety of other Aboriginal concerns, also has undermined the existing community, regional, and national First Nations leadership by pursuing these agendas outside of established Aboriginal institutions (e.g., Assembly of First Nations). While the impetus for this movement is clearly a set of issues that crosscut traditional sociopolitical boundaries and individually constituted First Nations, it remains to be seen how this ethnically diverse and regionally disparate cacophony of Aboriginal voices will move their agenda forward.

Amongst the many concerns of Aboriginal peoples, control over the narrative of culture history, as revealed in the archaeological record, is a growing source of conflict. While there has been a long-standing polemic between Aboriginal peoples and the mostly non-Aboriginal archaeological establishment, arising from the critique that archaeologists' stories of an indigenous past reflect an ongoing colonial master narrative (e.g., Ferris 2009), there has arisen a new series of debates that involve factions of Aboriginal people contesting one another's archaeological heritage. For example, the Huron-Wendat recently have reached out from their current home in Quebec successfully to gain a court-sanctioned mandate to have a meaningful voice in decisions over their archaeological heritage and the buried remains of their ancestors in Ontario (e.g., Hiawatha, et al. v R 2007; for a summary see Birchall 2007). This has been met with suspicion and resistance by some of the current Indigenous population in Ontario, including some Anishinaabeg and Iroquois factions.

Obviously, part of the difficulty is current tenure versus historical tenure of these lands; all three of these groups (Six Nations of the Grand in the case of the Iroquois) currently reside *away* from their pre-contact ancestral homelands, and all three can claim *some* historical tenure in south-central Ontario. Centuries of dislocations and the resulting confusion amongst descendent populations have yielded what Ferris
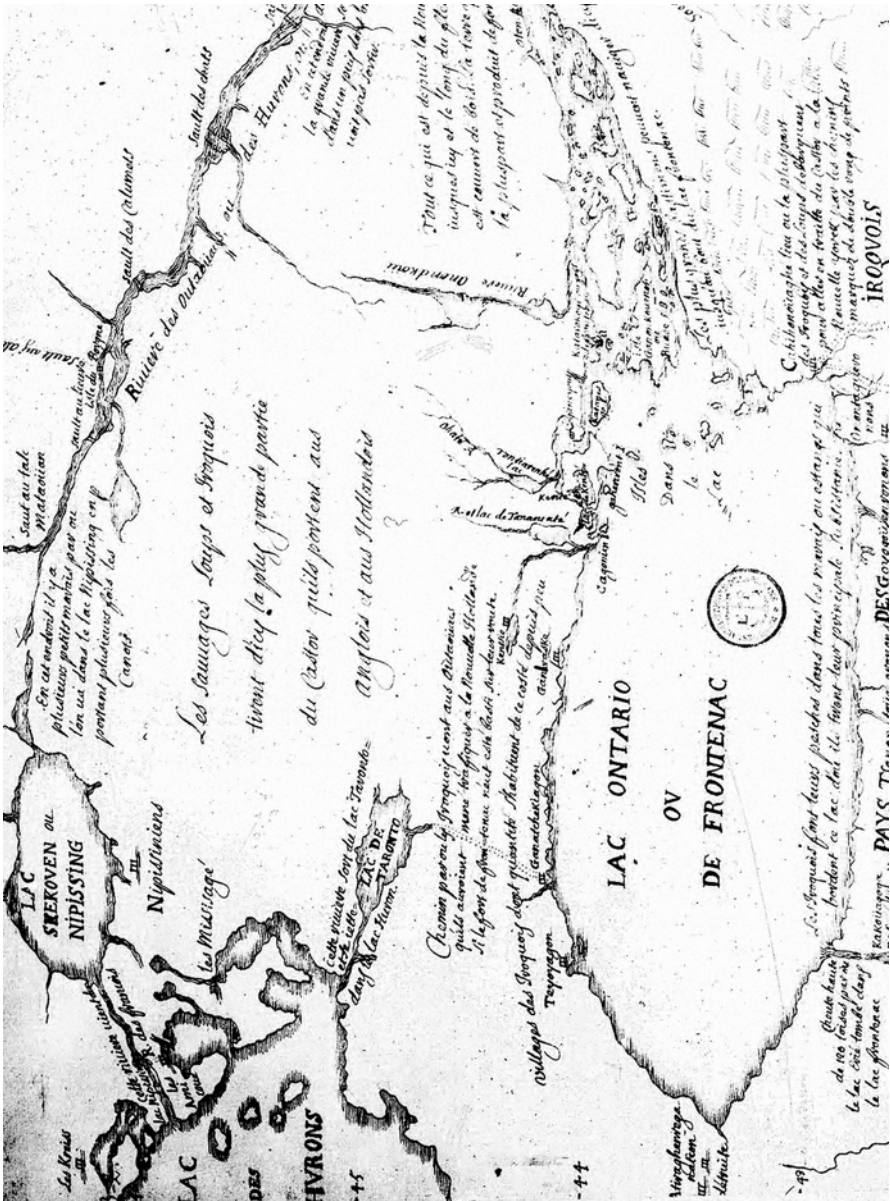
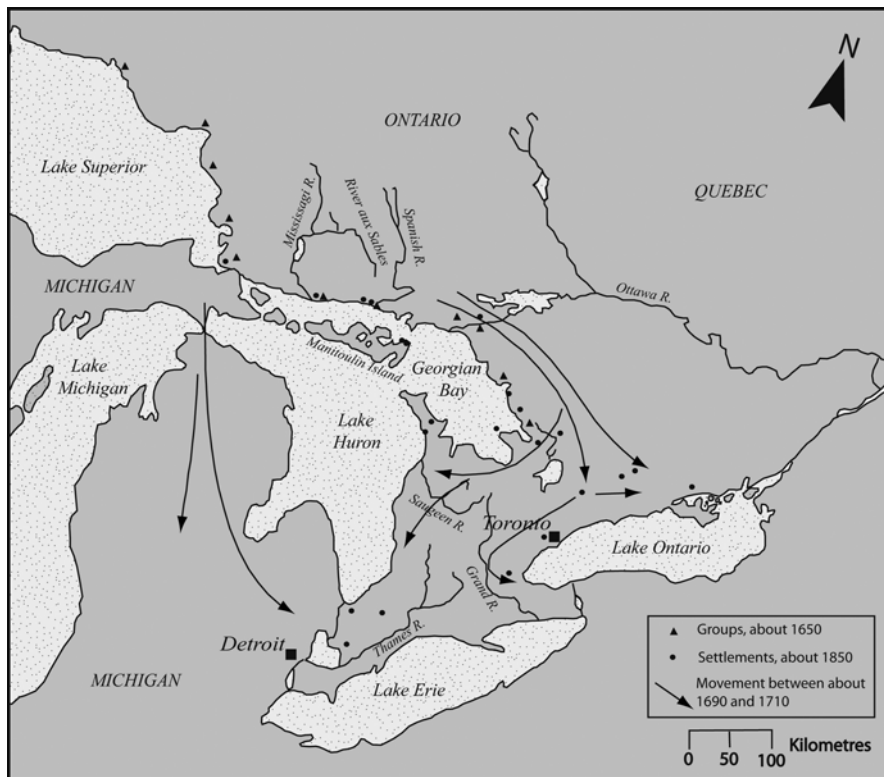**Fig. 10.2** Detail of a map ascribed to Claude Bernou c. 1680 (Trigger 1985:272)

**Fig. 10.3** Map showing movement of Anishinaabeg groups at the end of the seventeenth century (Rogers 1978:760)

has called "a collage of contested meanings that blended contemporary and historically derived notions of self and community identity" (Ferris 2009).

Even in the distant past, this region had a dynamic history that featured constantly changing communities and identities. Centuries of household and village amalgamations seen archaeologically across the region reflect a vital, long-term process of fluidity and continual revision of social identity and community membership (Birch and Williamson 2013). Populations were in a continual notion of "becoming," in the sense that "family, community and broader group or Nation identity would have been continually renegotiated and redefined though social processes of incorporation flexible enough to accommodate changing configurations inside the palisade, and changing relations with neighbours beyond the palisade" (Ferris 2009). One of those processes, as referred to in the European record of the seventeenth century, was literal and metaphorical adoption that saw individuals, families, and even village populations adopted into an existing village community, in some cases as "resurrected" deceased community members.

In a recent volume entitled *Beyond Blood*: *Rethinking Indigenous Identity*, Pamela Palmater (2011) argues that the complexity of identity formation is no different today. She recognizes multiple contemporary Aboriginal identities at the family, community, and national level, and argues those identities are dynamic. She explores how identities transform significantly over time and questions why broader Canadian society expects Aboriginals to reflect their pre-contact identities while accepting that their own cultural make-up has changed and is changing dramatically. While pointing to an essential tension between an individual's identity and that of his/her community, Palmater recognizes that Aboriginal cultures underwent and undergo dramatic transformations in response to internal and external circumstances and developments. A frozen approach to identity and rights ignores the dynamic nature of cultural identity and the fact that cultures undergo deep transformations over time. To limit Indigenous people to pre-contact cultural practices not only locks them in a cultural time box, but also sentences them to "cultural death" when change occurs over time.

Thus, the context in which archaeologists witness contested assertions of sovereignty over the archaeological record is a complex one and we as archaeologists need to navigate very carefully through the landmines that influence our reaction to these issues. One needs to be certain that the fluidity of Iroquoian identity and history making, and their implications for responsibilities around who speaks for an archaeological site are carefully considered.

This is especially true in the context where the conflicts that led to the mid-seventeenth century dispersal of the Wendat are described in most of our narratives as decimation by the Iroquois. Such descriptions might lead to incorrect assumptions that the Huron-Wendat were either extinguished entirely or were not involved in the negotiation of treaties concerning southern Ontario. In fact, the Huron-Wendat continued to engage with the Crown and other nations in treaty-making exercises pertaining to southern Ontario throughout the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Havard 2001).

There is ample archaeological and ethnographic evidence of Huron-Wendat occupation of ancestral lands along the north shore of Lake Ontario until the end of the sixteenth century when they migrated to their seventeenth century homeland called Wendake in central Ontario (Sioui 1999; Warrick 2008; Birch and Williamson 2013). Yet this history is not generally known by now resident Iroquois or Anishinaabeg groups, most of who came to inhabit south-central Ontario only well after the dispersal of the Huron-Wendat. These groups have thus, until recently, assumed responsibility for all of the archaeological record in south-central Ontario including that of the Huron. The current expansion of a highway along the north shore of Lake Ontario has led to contestation between the Huron-Wendat and a faction of the Iroquois regarding the cultural affiliation of a number of villages for which salvage excavation was required and therefore with which Nation the Ontario government should consult.

In the case of the Iroquois, the fact that ancestral Huron-Wendat sites have been called Iroquoian or worse, "Ontario Iroquois," by some archaeologists for a half century contributes to this confusion. Yet, when one considers that the vast majority

of the archaeological record cannot be linked with any one community, why would the current communities in southern Ontario not assume stewardship of this record, and especially stewardship of mortuary remains? Indeed, the Ontario government through its Cemeteries Act traditionally has looked to the geographically closest First Nation to represent the interests of the deceased. Thus the stewardship of the record over the past century by local Indigenous communities is clearly at odds with the desire of the Huron to represent their own record.

The entire situation in Ontario is exacerbated by both legitimate and untested assertions of overlapping treaty rights in areas of the province including those with Huron sites. In some cases, ignorance or wilful disregard of the legal decisions about these treaties (e.g., the 1701 Albany deed or agreement reached by the British and the Iroquois concerning hunting lands to which the Iroquois desired continued access; the extent of the deed was reviewed and defined in R. v. Barberstock 2003) has led to unfounded assertions and politically tense encounters between some factions of the Iroquois, the Huron, their former Algonquian neighbours, archaeologists, and the State, for example, the highway expansion project.

We argue that, at times, the post-modern obsession with unreflectively giving voice to multiple narratives is ill-advised. It has emboldened claimants to emerge from the margins, either from colonial or First Nations worlds, to manipulate indigenous or professional identities or reject well-reasoned and carefully positioned narratives.

There are two fundamental questions: (1) how do the State and all concerned First Nations come to recognize the appropriate First Nations representatives to speak for the archaeological record? and (2) what is the role of the archaeologist in that process? Identification of which contemporary First Nation or Nations might represent a particular record, a process in which we, as archaeologists, find ourselves profoundly involved, is a process filled with danger. Those of us who operate in a heritage management context are often asked to provide critical decision-making data about Aboriginal archaeological features. This should bring about an awareness and appreciation for the power of archaeological knowledge and of our responsibilities when asked to mediate judiciously between First Nations, government, our development clients, and the academy.

In this case, we believe that the contemporary Huron-Wendat, even if they now live in Quebec, should have the principal voice in determining what happens to a sixteenth century ancestral Huron-Wendat village, but we are completely at a loss for how to help mobilize all of the players in this scenario toward a common understanding of this position. In some cases, the very fact that the sites are Wendat is contested. While it is true that it is in part an archaeological narrative that is identifying the cultural affiliation of these sites, it is also true that seventeenth century accounts by Wendat and contemporary Wendat scholars such as Georges Sioui (1999) have contributed to the construction of that narrative. It is politically motivated and at times uninformed factions that are at the heart of the problem. Asserting the earth is flat for them is serving political purposes but what unnerves us is that these players show no signs of acknowledging that the history comes from seventeenth century and contemporary Huron-Wendat voices as well as an unequivocal

archaeological record; it is not clear whether the position originates out of ignorance, or political manoeuvring, or both.

From our experience, the question of who speaks for the archaeological record derives from a complex interplay of traditional versus non-traditionalist perspectives, as well as asserted versus verified cultural identities, the latter usually verified on the basis of written instructions from Chiefs and Councils. While seemingly straightforward, major areas of contest arise out of situations where players from both within and outside of the Indigenous community assert false or misleading identities or roles or where there are clearly competing interests within the communities or amongst communities.

While such a dynamic might be expected in Aboriginal societies as in non-Aboriginal societies, the truly disconcerting individuals are the archaeologists who manipulate these situations to advance their own interests. They have positioned themselves by manipulating the goals and methods of archaeology in an overtly political way. Trigger (1997: x) has cautioned us that in not contradicting a false belief, Indigenous or otherwise, about when and where people lived or were buried in the past, and in not conveying the evidence against those positions honestly and straightforwardly, they have risked archaeology being viewed as "mythography, political opportunism, and simply bad science." Trigger describes such behaviour as "scarcely less patronizing than the interference of Indian agents and missionaries in the past" and that any "rejection of the scientific method is to abandon any means for refuting the claims of fascists, sexists, and racists." Science should be used to reveal the complexities of the past, not to simplify the present.

Potential solutions for these issues could involve professional associations educating consultant archaeologists who are either naïve or ignorant and disciplining those who are neither and advance their own interests. With time and the emerging tendency to consult about archaeological sites with not only those nations who have the closest cultural affiliation but also those in whose traditional territories the sites are situated, perhaps widespread recognition of one another's narratives and jurisdictions might subdue those who refuse to acknowledge that history. In this way, the politics around these issues will eventually give way to collaborative thought on how to conserve the archaeological portion of the ancestor's record.

# References

Birch, J., & Williamson, R. F. (2013). *The Mantle site: An archaeological history of an ancestral Wendat community*. Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press.

Birchall, C. (2007, November) *Hiawatha et al. v. Minister of the Environment, Ontario Realty Corp. and Council of Huron-Wendat Nation, Ecobulletin, CBA national environmental, energy and resources law section newslette*r. Retrieved from http://www.cba.org/cba/newsletters/pdf/ENV-Hiawatha.pdf

Engelbrecht, W. (2003). *Iroquoia: The development of a native world*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.

Ferris, N. (2009). *Archaeologically reclaiming Iroquois/Wendat heritage: A millennium of being Iroquoian.* Paper presented at the 42nd Annual Canadian Archaeological Association Conference, Thunder Bay, Ontario, May 13-17, 2009.

Hart, J. P., Brumbach, H. J., & Lusteck, R. (2007). Extending the phytolith evidence for early maize (*Zea mays ssp. mays*) and squash (*Cucurbita sp.*) in central New York. *American Antiquity, 72*(3), 563–583.

Hart, J. P., & Lovis, W. A. (2013). Re-evaluating what we know about the histories of maize in northeastern North America: A review of current evidence. *Journal of Archaeological Research, 21*, 175–216.

Havard, G. (2001). *The Great Peace of Montreal of 1701: French-native diplomacy in the seventeenth century*. Montréal: McGill-Queens University Press.

Hiawatha et al. v R. (2007). *27 C.E.L.R. (3d) 197; (2007) 2 C.N.L.R. 186, Ontario Superior Court of Justice, Divisional Court.*

Palmater, P. (2011). *Beyond blood: Rethinking Indigenous identity*. Saskatoon: Purich Publishing Ltd.

Pfeiffer, S., Williamson, R. F., Sealy, J. C., Smith, D. G., & Snow, M. (2014). Stable dietary isotopes and mtDNA from Woodland period southern Ontario people: Results from a tooth sampling protocol. *Journal of Archaeological Science, 42*, 334–345.

R. v. Barberstock. (2003). *Her Majesty the Queen against Gregory Barberstock Shawn Brant Joseph Maracle Mario Baptiste, Ontario Court of Justice, Collins J., Judgment: April 9, 2003, Docket: Campbellford 539/99, 09/99, 20/99, 39/99.*

Rogers, E. S. (1978). Southeastern Ojibwa. In B. Trigger (Ed.), *Handbook of North American Indians: Northeast* (Vol. 15, pp. 760–771). Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institute.

Shook, B., & Smith, D. (2008). Using ancient mtDNA to construct the population history of northeastern North America. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology, 137*(1), 14–29.

Sioui, G. (1999). *Huron-Wendat: The heritage of the circle* (J. Brierley, Trans.). Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Trigger, B. (1976). *The children of Aataentsic: A history of the Huron people to 1660. 2 vols*. Montréal: McGill Queen's Press.

Trigger, B. (1985). *Natives and newcomers: Canada's "heroic age" reconsidered*. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Trigger, B. (1997). Forward. In G. Nicholas & T. Andrews (Eds.), *At a crossroads: Archaeology and first peoples of Canada, publication no. 24* (pp. 7–13). Burnaby: Archaeology Press, Simon Fraser University.

Von Gernet, A. (2006). The influence of Bruce Trigger on the forensic reconstruction of aboriginal history. In R. F. Williamson & M. Bisson (Eds.), *The archaeology of Bruce Trigger: Theoretical empiricism* (pp. 174–193). Montréal: McGill Queen's Press.

Warrick, G. (2008). *A population history of the Huron-Petun, AD 500-1650*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

# Chapter 11
# Heritage Overlooked and Under Threat: Fort Conger and the Heroic Age of Polar Exploration

**Peter Dawson, Margaret Bertulli, Lyle Dick, and Panik Lynn Cousins**

## Introduction

Fort Conger is located in *Quttinirpaaq* National Park, on northeastern Ellesmere Island in the Canadian Arctic (Fig. 11.1). The site is of national and international significance because of the important role it played in several High Arctic expeditions between 1875 and 1935, particularly during the height of the race to the North Pole around 1900–1910 (Dick 2001). Fort Conger's historic connections, heritage resources, and enduring sense of place are the reasons for its many designations and honors as a heritage site. In particular, the three standing structures built by American Polar Explorer Robert Peary in 1900 have achieved the highest level of designation made by Canada's Federal Heritage Buildings Review Office as Classified Federal Heritage Buildings, the same accorded Canada's Parliament Buildings in Ottawa. Fort Conger is also one of two places in the Arctic at which the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada (HSMBC) commemorates the First International

P. Dawson (✉)
Department of Archaeology, University of Calgary,
2500 University Dr. NW, Calgary, AB, Canada T2N 1N4
e-mail: pcdawson@ucalgary.ca

M. Bertulli
Parks Canada, 145 McDermot Avenue, Winnipeg, MB, Canada R3B 0R9
e-mail: margmb@mts.net

L. Dick
History and Heritage, #103, 1055 Harwood Street, Vancouver, BC, Canada V6E 1R5
e-mail: ericlyledick@gmail.com

P.L. Cousins
Nunavut Field Unit, Parks Canada, Box 278, Iqaluit, NT, Canada X0A 0H0
e-mail: lynn.cousins@pc.gc.ca
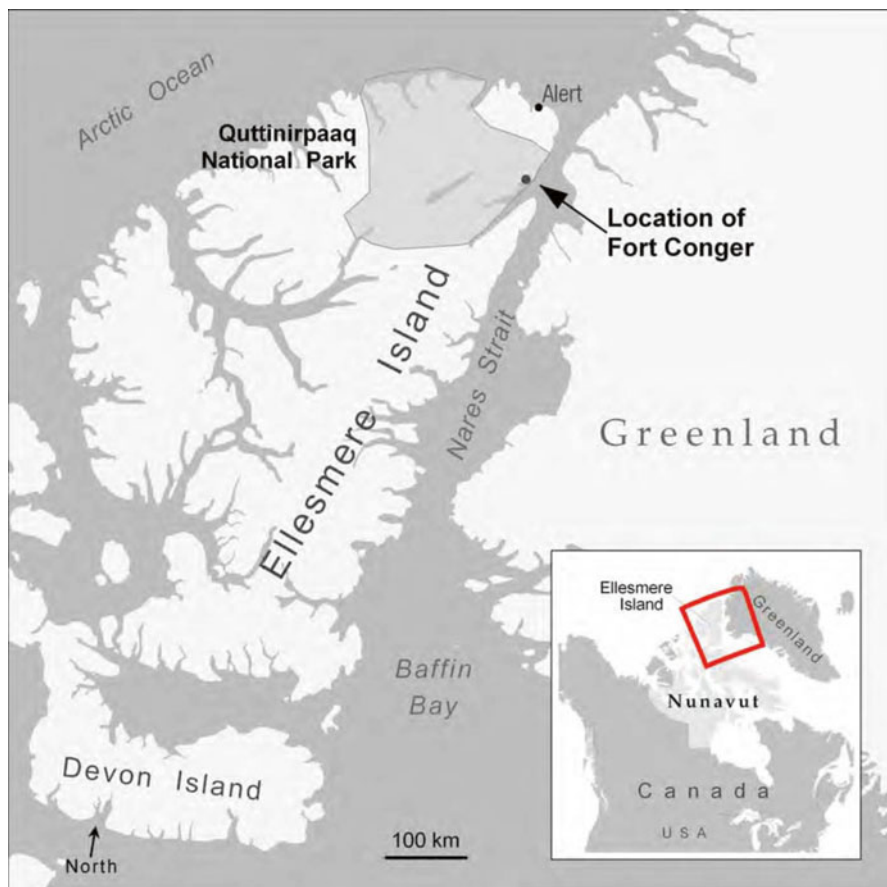
**Fig. 11.1** Map showing location of Fort Conger

Polar Year (IPY) of 1882–1883 as a National Historic Event. This relates specifically to the United States Lady Franklin Bay (Greely) Expedition, which established Fort Conger in 1881 (Bertulli et al. 2013). Fort Conger is likewise under consideration as a site of international significance by the International Polar Heritage Committee of the International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) for inclusion on a list of 20 significant cultural heritage sites in the north and south Polar Regions.

The aforementioned designations focus almost exclusively on the achievements of what has been called *The Heroic Age of Polar Exploration*, and Western science as practiced during the First IPY. As a consequence of this, other factors that are equally crucial to defining Fort Conger's significance as a heritage site have largely gone unacknowledged. For example, the roles played by Indigenous Greenlandic *Inughuit* (Polar Eskimo) in assisting these expeditions, as well as the sacrifices and hardships endured by all participants, have been critically overlooked (Bertulli et al. 2013; Dick 1995; 2001). Furthermore, the destructive effects of climate change and human activity that presently threaten Fort Conger are only now being recognized (Environmental Sciences Group 2009; Broodhagen et al. 1979).

In this paper, we adopt Rodney Harrison's (2013) concept of *Ontology of Connectivity* to explore the wider significance of Fort Conger as a heritage site, by considering the connections and associations existing among *all* of these factors. We argue that such an approach is warranted, given that any future remediation and preservation efforts will require strong public support, as such work is likely to be extremely expensive due to the site's remote location and inaccessibility.

## Ideas of Heritage

In his recent book "Heritage: Critical Approaches," Rodney Harrison makes a compelling argument that heritage preservation in the postmodern age needs to be reconsidered. The concept of "what is old" and "what is new" has largely been derived from modernity's relationship to time, ordering, and uncertainty (Harrison 2013:228). Modernism's response to uncertainty, caused by the accelerated pace of linear time, has been to develop a series of principles to order and classify heritage. Thus, what we choose to salvage or protect is often based on objective criteria such as age, accessibility, and national interest. Modernist approaches also treat intangible heritage, such as oral histories, knowledge and skills, as the counterpart of that which can be touched, such as buildings and objects (Harrison 2013:206).

In contrast, postmodern approaches view heritage as a form of production involving the assembly and reassembly of connections among human beings, material objects, and physical landscapes (Harrison 2013:227). This idea is borne out by the fact that physical objects and places often acquire meaning through their connection to intangible heritage such as oral histories. Furthermore, because heritage sites exist in the present, they gain meaning through connections to broader issues like national sovereignty, indigenous rights, and environmental sustainability (Hodgetts 2013). Heritage is seen as an emergent property of these kinds of *dialogical* relationships, and it is within this *ontology of connectivity* that heritage sites acquire their significance, and from which basis decisions affecting heritage sites should be made (Harrison 2013:227). Thus, heritage is no longer seen as simply the material evidence of past events; rather it is something to be experienced in the present. This idea is embodied in institutions like the Holocaust Museum in Washington, DC, where the exhibition of the tiny shoes of a little girl who died at Auschwitz is less about history, and more about experiencing the tragic death of her dreams, those of her families, and the loss of generations not yet imagined (Cameron 2007:41). The same can be said of Fort Conger. Even though the deaths of 19 of its members occurred several hundreds of kilometers away on Pim Island following the abandonment of Fort Conger, the material remains strewn across the site are a constant reminder of the dramatic events of survival and loss of life associated with the Lady Franklin Bay Expedition, including the deaths of 19 of its members (Barr 2008:11). Unlike the Holocaust Museum, however, Fort Conger is difficult for people to experience in such a visceral way, due to its remote location. In the absence of these kinds of first hand experiences, it is therefore not surprising that polar heritage sites have been defined primarily in modernist terms.

## Defining Heritage Significance Through National Interests

The effects of global climate change have recently turned the attention of the world towards the Canadian Arctic (Soloman 2007). A warmer Arctic means decreases in sea ice severity, opening up waterways and straits in the Queen Elizabeth Islands to the possibilities of merchant ships and petroleum exploration in the decades to come (Ho 2010). Not surprisingly, the Canadian Federal Government sees these activities as a threat to national sovereignty, due to different interpretations of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) (Gaillard 2001). In a recent article, Hodgetts (2013) argues that the Canadian Government has attempted to substantiate its claims of arctic sovereignty by using HMS *Investigator*, a British Naval ship lost in 1845 AD while searching for the Franklin Expedition, and recently discovered by Parks Canada's Underwater Archaeology Service (UAS). Comments made in the media by Former Environment Minister Jim Prentice were that the ship "represents the convergence of the history of Arctic adventure with the history of Inuit occupation. This is a continuous record of our sovereignty" (Prentice cited in Hodgetts 2013:86). In a similar move, The HSMBS has declared the two Lost Franklin Expedition ships HMS Erebus and HMS Terror as National Historic Sites, even though they have yet to be found (Government of Canada 2010). Hence, the governments of circumpolar nations are quick to support the stewardship of polar heritage sites when national interests are at stake.

The awards and designations afforded Fort Conger to promote Canada's arctic sovereignty indirectly through the site's association with the science of the first IPY. This might seem counterintuitive at first, as many circumpolar nations temporarily set aside their concerns for acquiring new territory in polar regions to engage in collaborative scientific research to the benefit of all humankind (Barr 2008). However, Canada's participation in the most recent IPY (2007–2009) represents an attempt to demonstrate arctic sovereignty through significant investment in polar infrastructure and science. "Scientific inquiry and development are absolutely essential to Canada's defense of its North, as they enhance our knowledge of, and presence in, the region," said Prime Minister Stephen Harper in 2007. "Like I've said so many times before, use it or lose it is the first principle of sovereignty." (Government of Canada 2007). The fact that Fort Conger has attracted various polar expeditions for well over a century, and that many after 1948 were comprised primarily of Canadian researchers and explorers, makes it the embodiment of Harper's "first principle of sovereignty" and a strong symbol of national interest.

## Defining Heritage Significance Through Indigenous Contributions

While associating Fort Conger with events like IPY is important, there has been a tendency to overlook other criteria relevant to the site's significance. By commemorating and memorializing the scientific achievements and polar ambitions of

Euro-North Americans, for example, the contributions made by Greenlandic Polar Eskimo or *Inughuit* to the various expeditions of Fort Conger have been largely ignored. One poignant case concerns the exclusion of *Inughuit* from attempts to claim a "farthest north" by the Lady Franklin Bay Expedition (Dick 2001:193). The architects of the First IPY wanted to avoid the international steeplechases of past polar expeditions, in which explorers attempted to plant their nations flags at higher and higher latitudes as a means of conferring honor on themselves and their countries. Regardless, Adolphus Greely, as leader of the expedition, considered the attainment of a new "farthest north" off the coast of Greenland as his expedition's greatest accomplishment (Dick 2001:212). Lieutenant James Booth Lockwood and Sergeant David Brainard, as well as their West Greenland guide Frederick Christiansen participated in this sledging expedition (Bertulli et al. 2013). It was Christiansen's hunting skills and knowledge of sea ice, weather, and driving dog teams that allowed the party to succeed. However, Christiansen's contributions largely have gone unrecognized, as is evident from his omission from a museum diorama constructed some years after the expedition to commemorate this achievement (Dick 2013, personal communication).

Inuit knowledge also made enormous contributions to polar exploration following the tragic conclusion of the Greely expedition. It was put to practical use by Robert Peary, who began questioning the logic of importing technologies and knowledge wholesale from the south for use in the Arctic (Dick 2001). Peary adopted strategies of traveling, hunting, clothing, and shelter based on *Inughuit* traditional knowledge (Dick 2001:349). He employed *Inughuit* from northern Greenland as his primary work force because of their extensive experience living in the High Arctic. At Fort Conger, Peary relied heavily on indigenous technology, as can be seen in his use of Inuit architectural practices for the construction of his winter headquarters (Fig. 11.2) (Dick 1991:349). Peary's hut complex consisted of three small structures connected together using long snow tunnels with a single entrance (Dick 2001:358–359). These tunnels served as a buffer from outside cold, and regulated the intake of fresh air (Dick 1991). With the addition of insulating layers of earth and snow, the complex was far better suited to North-Eastern Ellesmere Island than Greely's original prefabricated expedition headquarters (Dick 2001:375). With the exception of one *Inughuit* woman who reportedly died of "liver trouble" in January 1901, all other members of the party survived the winter of 1900–1901 while based at Fort Conger (Dick 2001). They were the first group to attempt this since 19 members of the Greely expedition perished in 1883–1884. Despite competing claims by Frederick Cook who said he got to the North Pole a year earlier, Peary's successes were due, in large part, to the application of Inuit knowledge to their local situation (Bertulli et al. 2013). Sadly, Peary's use of *Inughuit* knowledge and labor was not always to mutual benefit. There is very little awareness or recognition of the many stresses and hardships endured by *Inughuit* men and women while working at Fort Conger in the service of these expeditions (Dick 2001:381–389). These include the experience of working far away from their homes and families in Greenland, working in unfamiliar surroundings and under difficult circumstances, episodes of food insecurity and, for women especially, episodes of sexual harassment at the hands of expedition members (Dick 2001:381–389).

**Fig. 11.2** Robert Peary's hut complex reflecting basic principle of *Inughuit* (Polar Eskimo) architecture

## Defining Significance Based on "Heritage at Risk"

The effects of climate change and human activity are widely acknowledged as threats to heritage sites, as well as the larger ecosystems of which they are a part (Blanchette et al. 2008). It is therefore surprising that the concept of "heritage at risk" is rarely used as criteria for assigning significance, as the value of something usually increases when it is at risk of being lost. For example, increases in global temperatures have accelerated erosion and biodegradation at sites like Fort Conger (McBean et al. 2005). Ice, snow, and water, accumulating in the interiors of Peary's hut complex according to season, foster moss growth, which, in turn, breaks down wood (Bertulli 2010). Furthermore, Peary's huts have sustained damage from polar bears, which likely caused of 2007–2008 collapse of the only ceramic chimney on the northeast hut (Bertulli 2010). Bank erosion of the tableland on which Fort Conger sits also currently threatens the site. For example, the distance from the northwest corner of the Greely House to the eroding bank was 11.7 m in 2007 and 9.4 m in 2010 (Bertulli 2010).

Most unexpected of all, inorganic chemicals, used in scientific research carried out during the first IPY, present a severe hazard to Fort Conger and its cultural resources. Recent analysis of soils at the site by the Environmental

Fig. 11.3 The "Ontology of Connectivity" defining Fort Conger's significance as a heritage site
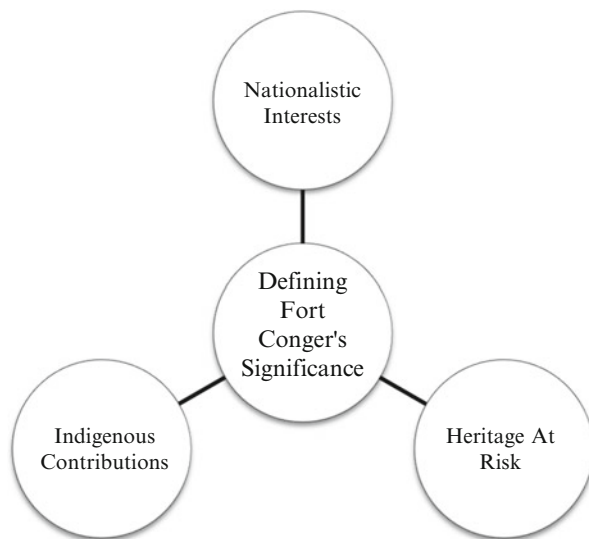


Research Group at the Royal Military College of Canada revealed unexpectedly high levels of arsenic, copper, lead, and zinc as well as some cadmium, chromium, nickel, and mercury (Fig. 11.3) (Dawson et al. 2013; ESG 2009). It is likely that the Lady Franklin Bay Expedition transported these chemical to the site for the requirements of scientific work: arsenic trioxide to preserve faunal specimens for natural history collections; weather recording instruments with mercury; and batteries with copper and zinc (ESG 2009; Bertulli et al. 2013). Tarpaper used in building construction also contains polycyclic aromatic hydrocarbons (PAHs). For these reasons, Fort Conger has been categorized as a Class 1 Site, High Priority for Action on the National Classification System for Contaminated Sites (Bertulli et al. 2013). It is sobering to realize that such elevated contaminant levels stem directly from the very same historical connections that have engendered Fort Conger as a heritage site of national and international significance (Fig. 11.4).

## Discussion and Conclusions

In summary, Fort Conger acquires an even greater global significance when more broadly defined in the following ways: (1) as a place where Indigenous knowledge and Western science met to mutual advantage; (2) as an environment where Euro-North American and Indigenous peoples both endured great hardship and suffering; and, (3) as a remote site threatened by climate change and toxins from an earlier

**Fig. 11.4** Piles of arsenic trioxide observed in the north part of the Greely house foundation, Fort Conger

century. In particular, the legacy of chemical contaminants left behind by the Lady Franklin Bay Expedition is a powerful testament to the lasting negative impacts that human activities can have on fragile ecosystems like the High Arctic. This fact alone should resonate at a time when many resource extraction industries are turning their attentions towards a warming Arctic (Ho 2010). Yet, such factors have traditionally been overlooked in favor of more modernist notions of heritage, focusing on commemorating the polar ambitions of Euro-North American explorers and scientists. *Ontologies of connectivity*, which explores how *all* of these factors connect to define the significance of Fort Conger, unite the site with important global issues like climate change and the legitimacy of Indigenous knowledge systems. We believe that this will further justify its continued protection and preservation to a general public that is largely unaware of Fort Conger, due to its remote location and inaccessibility.

# References

Barr, W. (2008). The expeditions of the first International Polar Year, 1882-83 (Technical Paper No. 29). Calgary, AB: Arctic Institute of North America, University of Calgary.

Bertulli, M. (2010). *Cultural resource management at Fort Conger, Quttinirpaaq National Park in 2010*. Winnipeg, MB: Western and Northern Service Center, Parks Canada.

Bertulli, M., Dick, L., Dawson, P. C., & Cousins, P. L. (2013). Fort Conger: A site of Arctic history in the 21st century. *Arctic, 66*(3), 312–328.

Blanchette, R. A., Held, B. W., & Jurgens, J. A. (2008). Northumberland House, Fort Conger and the Peary huts in the Canadian High Arctic: Current condition and assessment of wood deterioration taking place. In S. Barr, P. Chaplin (Eds.). *Historical polar bases—Preservation and management* (Vol. ICOMOS Monuments and Sites No. XVII, pp. 30–37). Oslo, Norway: International Polar Heritage Committee.

Broodhagen, V., Parmenter, C., & Konotopetz, L. (1979). *Fort Conger, Ellesmere Island, NWT., as found recording*. Winnipeg, MB: Parks Canada.

Cameron, F. (2007). Beyond the cult of the replicant: Museums and historical digital objects - traditional concerns, new discourses. In F. Cameron & S. Kenderdine (Eds.), *Theorizing digital cultural heritage: A critical discourse*. New York: MIT Press.

Dawson, P., Bertulli, M., Levy, R., Tucker, C., Dick, L., & Cousins, L. P. (2013). Application of 3D laser scanning to the preservation of Fort Conger, a historic polar research base on northern Ellesmere Island, Arctic Canada. *Arctic, 66*(2), 147–158.

Dick, L. (1991). The Fort Conger shelters and vernacular adaptation to the High Arctic. *Bulletin of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada, 16*(1), 147–158.

Dick, L. (1995). "Pibloktoq" (Arctic hysteria): A construction of European-Inuit relations? *Arctic Anthropology, 32*(2), 1–42.

Dick, L. (2001). *Muskox Land: Ellesmere Island in the age of contact*. Calgary, AB: University of Calgary Press.

Environmental Sciences Group. (2009). *Human health and ecological risk assessment of Fort Conger, Quttinirpaaq National Park, Ellesmere Island*. Kingston, ON: Environmental Sciences Group (ESG), Royal Military College.

Gaillard, M. (2001). Canada's sovereignty in Arctic waters. *Northern Review, 24*, 184–189.

Government of Canada. (2007). *PM Bolsters Arctic Sovereignty with science and infrastructure announcements*. Retrieved July 10, 2013, from http://pm.gc.ca/eng/media.asp?id=1840

Government of Canada. (2010). *Erebus and terror national historic sites of Canada*. Retrieved September 7, 2013, from http://www.historicplaces.ca/en/rep-reg/place-lieu.aspx?id=16563

Harrison, R. (2013). *Heritage: Critical approaches*. London: Routledge Press.

Ho, J. (2010). The implications of Arctic sea ice decline on shipping. *Marine Policy, 34*(3), 713–715.

Hodgetts, L. M. (2013). The rediscovery of HMS Investigator: Archaeology, sovereignty and the colonial legacy in Canada's Arctic. *Journal of Social Archaeology, 13*(1), 80–100. doi:10.1177/1469605312458735.

McBean, G., Alekseev, G., Chen, D., Førland, E., Fyfe, J., Groisman, P. Y., et al. (2005). Arctic climate: Past and present. In *Arctic climate impact assessment* (pp. 22–60). Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Soloman, S. (2007). *Climate change 2007: The physical science basis: Contribution of working group I to the fourth assessment report of the intergovernmental panel on climate change*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

# Chapter 12
# Co-opted Heritage: Political Action, Identity, and Preservation at the Pagat site, Guam

**John A. Peterson**

Guam occasionally gets its 5 min of fame on the international stage, just as in April 2013 when Kim Jong Un threatened Guam with nuclear incineration along with targets in Hawaii and the US west coast. Ironically, if a proposed military buildup on Guam had proceeded as planned, there would be a battery of antimissile rockets to defend the island, but the buildup fizzled out and only a temporary missile battery was moved to Guam in response to North Korea's recent blustering. Some of Guam's Senators who opposed the buildup a few years ago are now urging the US Army to bring on the missiles, along with the economic benefit of several billion dollars of related development. Opponents of US military basing and indigenous rights activists are relieved that the buildup stalled, but for the political and business leaders of Guam it has been a time for belt-tightening and retrenchment.

The military buildup on Guam was conceived as a central part of American force in the Asia-Pacific Rim, where a US base on US soil, albeit territorial soil, would be "the tip of the spear" and would project US military force in the region. Ocean shipping lanes, China–Taiwan relations, Japan–China relations, the emergence of independent economies in Southeast Asia, territorial disputes with Japan and the Philippines over resource rich islands in their overlapping zones of influence, along with monitoring of shipping lanes in the region from the Malaccan Strait and throughout Micronesia are all compelling reasons for the USA to project itself into the power relations of the region, especially as the world is turning toward China in the twenty-first century.

The military buildup on Guam emerged also as a resolution to problems on Okinawa, where popular resentment against US basing there has been punctuated by a rape case attributed to a US serviceman in 1995 and by the crash of a US Marines helicopter on the grounds of Okinawa International University in Ginowan

J.A. Peterson (✉)
University of Guam, Mangilao, GU, USA
e-mail: jpeterson@uguam.uog.edu

City in 2004. The crash galvanized popular resistance to the US military and the closing of Futenma Marine Corps Air Base was one of a series of demands signed into a treaty agreement in the late 1990s. Futenma lies astride the university, and the base and its training activities can be viewed from faculty offices that overlook the runway on the west side of the campus. The relocation of Futenma has become a point of contention both in Okinawa and in Guam.

Plans to expand Camp Schwab near the small village of Henoku in Nago, northern Okinawa, have become a lightning rod for US military basing opposition in Japan, and protesters from Honshu bus to the site nearly everyday to participate in protest tourism. The development is still underway, but has been slowed by the global economic downturn, as a key component of the Okinawa basing hinges on Japanese funding of the military buildup on Guam. By treaty agreement 8,000 US Marines were to be based on Guam along with another 20,000 dependents and support personnel.

Guam has been a military stronghold for the USA since 1944 when it was captured from the Japanese in a fierce battle that toppled one of the key Japanese Imperial Army positions in the western Pacific. Along with Tinian and Saipan, Guam became the staging area for bombing runs on Japan during the last year of WWII. During the battle and in its aftermath when over 250,000 US personnel were on the island, Guam was transformed into a gigantic military base. Over 80 % of the island was developed for Army, Marines, Navy, and Army Air Force operations. Bombs were unloaded in Apra Harbor in the south and hauled to Andersen Air Force Base in the north. After the devastating landing at Peleliu, the battle of Okinawa where 130,000 civilians, 70,000 of the Japanese Army, and 5,000 US forces were killed, and the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki where 100,000 to 200,000 were incinerated, life on Guam slowly began to return to its prewar bucolic condition, except that over a third of the island remains to this day US military basing (Frank 1999:287). On an island only 32 miles long and 8–12 miles wide, this is a significant land area.

Guam's relation to the USA emerged after WWII from a territory, to a captured military base, to a territory, along with American Samoa, Puerto Rico, and the US Virgin Islands. The signing of the Organic Act in 1950 and the adoption of a charter in 1979 has led to a semi-dependent relationship where people on Guam are US citizens, but lack federal representation. There is a nonvoting congressional delegate, and people ON Guam are ineligible to vote in presidential elections. There has been a dissident resistance to this status since the 1970s that has an ethnic overtone; native Chamorro identity has been a core element of this political dissidence at least since the late 1960s.

The population of Guam is now about 160,000, nearly 20,000 less than the 2000 census count. Of these, about 37 % are self-identified as Chamorro, and another 11 % are Pacific Islander, 26 % are Filipino, whites are 7 % and other Asians are 6 % with Other as the remaining category. In the early 1800s, after over 120 years of Spanish colonization, only a few thousand Chamorros survived, and Filipinos were brought by the Spanish as laborers and soldiers. Chamorro identity today is tied to lineage, language, and culture that emerged from the colonial mixing of

Mexicans, Spanish, Carolinians, and Filipinos, and has led to a strong Chamorro identity with its roots in the nineteenth century town and rancho lifeway promulgated by Spanish governance (Underwood 2013). Mass adoption of Catholicism, *reducción* from the scattered *latte* villages of the seventeenth century, and in-migration of Filipinos dramatically altered gene flow as well as cultural identity. The cultural trait lists recorded by early twentieth century anthropologists for Guam depict a people still distantly connected to their native past, but most cultural practices were derived from the Spanish world culture of its nineteenth century colonial empire. The *zarzuela* replaced island dances, and extended patrilineal families resided in village bodega houses and rural ranchos. Catholicism displaced the cultural memory of Chamorro legend and religion. Today only 22 % of the total population claim fluency in Chamorro, and while the language has a resilient Malayo-Polynesian core, there is a strong fusion with Spanish terms and grammar. Another 22 % claim fluency with Filipino languages, as many as claim Chamorro.

Guam markets itself to tourists as a Pacific Island paradise, with a distinctive, friendly culture. Fiestas are commonplace on the beaches, in the villages, and around the churches. Chamorro hospitality is real and aggressive; the importance of a village or a family is noted by attendance at fiestas. The custom of paying *chenchuli* at funerals binds families together with obligations to attend the sponsors' funerals as well. Even outsiders are welcome. One white newcomer to Guam bragged that he fed himself for 3 months exclusively at fiestas that he attended, just to see how long he could keep it going!

Guam has strong historical preservation laws to protect the few remaining historical sites that survived WWII. The US National Historical Preservation Act governs federal activities, and the National Park Service sponsors a State Historic Preservation Office. A roughly parallel Guam Historical Preservation Code provides for a Guam Register of Historical Places and regulation of development undertakings. In the 1990s the Guam Preservation Trust was established to administer fees from building permits for historical preservation efforts. This has been as much as $1 million each year, in busy years, and has led to the preservation of several significant structures. In the 1970s the Guam Historical Preservation Office was especially active, and conducted an inventory of significant sites that were listed in both the territorial and national registers. The Pagat site was listed as one of these, and excavations conducted around that time fully documented a very significant site from Guam's indigenous past.

The Pagat site clings to a narrow karstic bench above the rugged Pacific coastline of northeast Guam. A steep cliff rises above the site several hundred feet to the top of the limestone plateau of northern Guam. Inset to the cliff is a flank-margin cave with a clear spring issuing from the freshwater lens stored in the aquifer of the plateau. A *latte* period village site straddles the base of the cliff for a couple of hundred meters. The distinctive architecture from Guam's late precontact past consists of thatch-roofed A-frames set on stone pillars with caps, or *harigi* and *tasa*, which form the *latte* stone supports of residential as well as communal and special-purpose structures such as canoe houses. *Latte* villages were built as early as 800 A.D. and flourished in the period 1200–1680 AD. When the Spanish attacked outlying

villages and ordered the *reducción* in the 1690s, the *latte* villages were abandoned, later to be replaced by Spanish style ranchos that persist to the present as rural retreats.

In the 1960s Fred Reinman from Cal State in Los Angeles conducted a survey where he documented over 100 latte villages (Reinman nd). They were predominantly on the coastline, ranging from the villages at the back of broad bays like Gila'an, Tumon, and Hagatna to the Cliffside villages like Pagat. There also lined the few river valleys of South Guam that drained big enough areas to provide regular water. They also were found in prominent locations like the Pulantat site that was the largest, with the largest stones and was located in the heights with commanding views of both the Pacific Ocean to the east and the Philippine Sea to the west. Another very large set of *latte* stones is found on Tinian in the Northern Marianas, and the size of the stones in these places has led to social theories associating them with social rank or religious power (Graves 1986).

For Chamorros today *latte* structures that are relatively intact have tremendous social and sacred power. The *latte* symbol is a powerful theme in public architecture, social branding, and even Catholic altars. They are seen lining the driveways of prominent citizens. There are very few intact *latte* sites remaining on Guam. The Tumon bay sites were taken out when the hotel row development sprawled along the shoreline; most beachfront property in private ownership has been built-up, such as in Hagatna and Pago Bay. Occasionally a *latte* site is excavated as part of compliance archeology for an undertaking. With a few exceptions the remaining intact sites are on US military property.

The southern half of Guam consists of volcanic highlands dissected by river valleys from a high Cordillera along the west coast. In the interior of the southern highlands a precontact landscape with intact *latte* stone villages has been preserved by its later and current use as the US Naval Ordnance Annex. Scattered concrete bunkers house the ordnance for aerial bombardment by B-52s flying from Andersen Air Force Base in the north of the island. During the Vietnam War convoys of 18-wheelers transported bombs on Marine Drive (now Marine *Corps* Drive) from the Navy Base around Apra Harbor to Andersen. This Ëscherian loop was overshadowed by the aerial loop of B-52s that lumbered from Guam toward Vietnam where they dropped their payload and returned to Guam to be refilled. The Naval Ordnance Annex has preserved thousands of hectares of relatively pristine landscape that has some of the best-preserved *latte* village sites on Guam.

In the north, in the narrow coastline below Andersen Air Force Base, the Ritidian Unit of the US Fish and Wildlife Guam Refuge is another area of federal property where *latte* village sites have been well preserved, and these have been the sites of several University of Guam research projects and field schools since the early 1980s. As recently as 2010 the University of Hawaii teamed with the University of Guam to excavate a pair of *latte* structures (Bayman et al. 2012). Another project documented the remains of the Spanish Casa Real or church site that had been burned by Chamorros in the 1690s when the priests forbade the native practice of *urritao*, or concubinage, in the men's house (Jalandoni 2011). The villagers killed the priests and burned the structures. The US Navy finished the job in the 1970s when they

razed them for the "Hunt for Red October" supersecret submarine listening post. A *latte* village was destroyed for the parking lots for the post, but otherwise the long stretch along Ritidian beach has been preserved and is an intact resource that has contributed to archeological knowledge.

In the early 1950s Douglas Osborne engaged the Seabees to clear the extensive *latte* sites of Gun Beach in Tumon Bay and the Pulantat site in the central highlands. Since then both of these sites have been plundered and their integrity compromised. The sites that were still relatively intact during the 1974 survey by GHPO and Fred Reinman are now mostly destroyed, though there may be archeological deposits at some of them. The *latte* stones have almost entirely been removed. Gila'an and Jinapsan Beaches are still intact; Gila'an was recently conveyed by the US Navy to the Government of Guam. One Senator proposed installing a zipline so that tourists could zip in from the plateau and swim in the Lost Pond. Jinapsan is Castro family land protected both by the family and by its landlocked location inside the Andersen Air Force Base. The Guam Historic Preservation Office has not been notably engaged in preserving the few *latte* sites on Government of Guam lands. Most recently the biggest effort to preserve the latte as a symbol has been the construction of a $1.3 million giant latte structure behind the Governor's Complex at Adelup. The structure is used as for public events and fundraisers.

The Pagat site never received the attention that was proposed in the 1974 preservation plan. The *latte* stones were still mostly intact, but the site had become a dumping ground for "white trash," appropriately named, burned automobiles, and plastic diapers and other flotsam and jetsam. The pristine spring-fed pool had been contaminated by artifacts ranging from pull tabs to pop-tops, melted wax from floating candles, and bottle tops and glass shards. These were strewn amongst the *latte* period sherds, netsinkers, tridacna adzes, and other artifacts that had littered the floor of the *latte* village. The site was visited by the boonie-stompers who did some maintenance. Dave Lotz, the volunteer leader of this weekend hiking club, had been part of the team that prepared the preservation plan in 1974, and promoted conservation of the Pagat site as well as many other out-of-the-way localities on Guam.

In the spring of 2008 the Pagat site was rescued from ignominy by the announcement by the US Navy during the launch of the Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) that it would be the center of a series of training ranges for rifle and grenade-launching for the relocation of US Marines to Guam. There were other concerns about the proposed buildup: 20,000 new residents on Guam in addition to the 180,000 thought to be there would have been a stretch for local resources. Never mind that Guam has the highest birth rate in the USA at nearly 30/1,000 population. This, even corrected by a mortality rate of 4/1,000 population would have led to a population doubling within 40 years. The 2010 population actually declined by 20,000 from 2,000 due to out-migration, so the net effect of the buildup would have been negligible. Nonetheless, traffic grid-lock and long lines at the supermarkets were all blamed on the military buildup, and it hadn't even begun.

The original plans for the buildup were to have begun construction on housing areas, training ranges, and associated facilities by 2012. Early funding of $320 million was committed through the Federal Highways Authority to upgrade

transportation on Guam. This was in addition to the yearly $18 million budgeted through the Territorial Highways Fund for Guam's share. Since that began in 2008 there has been a radical transformation of road surfaces and intersections. Other improvements targeted upgrading facilities at the existing bases and improvements to the Port of Guam. A $20 million dog kennel was proposed and built. New facilities on Andersen in the North Field for purposes ancillary to the buildup have been completed. The major undertakings, however, were to be barracks and family housing in Finegayan and the training ranges near Pagat site. These were planned to begin by 2012 in the main rollout of the buildup.

As public hearings proceeded, however, it was becoming clear that there were serious problems and objections to buildup planning. The scale, pace, and extent were all too fast and thought to be too disruptive. There were objections to the military expanding beyond the 30 % of its current footprint. Taking land from the government of Guam for the training ranges would have added 390 acres to base holdings. The increased population was an issue for infrastructure planners in the areas of transportation, water and wastewater, and housing. While there had been feverish speculation in the condo and housing markets in 2006 and 2007, this had gone from nearly double in value from 1990s prices to a drop of over 20 % by 2008. Low income housing stocks on Guam were not keeping up with the over 30 % population below poverty level on the island, and yet military rent subsidies were forcing rents up to nearly $2,000/month from previous rents 1/2 to one-third as high. The reaction to these objections emerged during the EIS Scoping process and in tandem with the Council on Environmental Quality a new strategy to slow down the pace and reduce the scale was underway.

For Pagat, the original plans called for three ranges that had somewhat overlapping "safety zones" that fanned out over the sea from firing positions on the plateau near Highway 15. The ranges would have taken land in use for a drag racing strip leased from the Government of Guam, and other undeveloped land between the road and the sea. This location had been selected from a number of alternatives including an existing firing range near Haputo Bay that had been eliminated early in the planning because of fishermen's concerns that there would be closures of prime fishing areas on the west, leeward, side of Guam. Few ventured into the rough waters and coastline along the east, windward side of the island, near Pagat, as it was quite dangerous. Fishermen and tourists had been swept from the rocky littoral and drowned, and boats had no refuge along the shore.

The first objections to the location of the firing range came from landowners in the area as well as users of the drag strip. The noise from the drag strip had never been a problem to nearby residents, but they all anticipated that the noise from the firing ranges would be unacceptable. The nearest neighbors were a former Guam Senator, who had a palatial house in the midst of this otherwise rural and undeveloped landscape. The most significant objections, however, were raised by a newly formed group, We Are Guahan, who became the voice for the Pagat site, and who parlayed their preservation efforts into a lawsuit against the US Navy for "inadequate alternatives" in the EIS process and into international concerns for the preservation of the site. Both the National Trust for Historic Preservation and the

International Committee on Sites and Monuments (ICOMOS) listed Pagat site in their 2011 "most endangered" lists. Their brief blurbs indicated that the site would have been destroyed by the training range.

The National Trust already had conducted several legal battles with the Department of Defense over preservation issues. Their legal staff and affiliated firms had a heavy finger on the trigger for DOD issues. They rallied to Pagat at the invitation of the Guam Preservation Trust. The Trust was an active member of the Pacific region for the National Trust and its director served on National Trust committees. "Save Pagat" was launched as a national cause even before it became a local issue.

The lawsuit was filed in Honolulu District Court because it was thought to have a better chance at success. As the lawsuit played out, several local protest actions were organized by We Are Guahan. When Nancy Sutley, CEQ director, and Jacqueline Pfannenstiel, Assistant Secretary of the Navy visited the site along with Congressional Staff in 2010, We Are Guahan escorted them to the site and to hearings at Adelup, the Governor's Complex. The notoriety of Pagat was bringing much needed attention to the site; volunteers cleaned up the trash and the Government removed the "white trash" from the road to the cliff edge. University class groups visited the site, as the leadership of We Are Guahan was mostly University of Guam faculty, including Vicki Leon Guerrero and Michael Bevacqua, along with other young professionals such as local attorney Leevon Camacho. These were heady days for the protest movement, and the Navy quickly retrenched and offered compromises on the training ranges that would keep it open for access to the public.

Pagat site was never threatened by any direct impact from development of the ranges. All the original planning called for closure of the area because it would have been in a "safety zone," meaning that there might be a 1 in 1,000,000 chance that a stray bullet, if shot straight up in the air, might land in the vicinity of the site. Even so, prudent management required closure of the area to protect the public. By shifting the orientation of one or more of the ranges, Pagat could be removed from the "safety zone," and access could then be provided. This compromise was negotiated early in the planning process. Nonetheless, the lawsuit continued. The Navy had from the beginning treated Pagat as a National Register property to be accorded full preservation protection. After conceding access, Navy plans included enhancing access by improving the road, creating a parking area and developing trails to access the park. Interpretive structures were considered. The Navy plans were beginning to resemble those drawn up by GHPO in 1974. The lawsuit continued to work its way through the court system in Honolulu.

Parallel to this drama, historic preservation was being put to another purpose within the Government of Guam. Negotiation of the Programmatic Agreement (PA) between the US Navy and the Government of Guam had been dragging along from the early planning stages for the buildup. By November 2009 a PA was developed by then Director of the Guam Historical Preservation Office Patrick Lujan. The document called for support for historic preservation on Guam in the form of additional staffing to handle the volume of consultation that would be required by the sheer scale of the buildup. There was a request for additional computer equipment

and vehicles. There was a call for mitigation strategies to protect sites and to require extensive data recovery of other sites. It was a tough document that was based on Guam's infrastructure needs to promote historical preservation both on and off the military bases, and it demanded that the US Navy assist GHPO with staff and equipment for the task.

During this same period, a group of Guam legislators since then infamously called the "Fab Five" were openly critical of the EIS Scoping process and the military buildup. A former Director of the Guam Historical Preservation Office who was sympathetic of this political clique was re-installed on an unrelated budget bill rider. Patrick Lujan was transferred to an ancillary position. The PA was held hostage.

Along with "Save Pagat!", the outcry in the government of Guam became "Scrap the PA!".

The agreement was withdrawn from the edge of its signing, and redrafted with new demands for funding for a Guam Museum ($20 million), return of all artifacts in the possession and curatorship of the US Navy (housed in a warehouse facility on the military base), additional staffing and equipment requests over those previously negotiated, among several other issues usually unrelated to consultation Agreements. The Guam Preservation Trust, We Are Guahan, and several other activist and indigenous groups signed on as "interested parties." The equivalent of several Boeing 767's were worn out by the party of bureaucrats now required to scuttle back and forth negotiating the PA for the military buildup of Guam.

By the spring of 2011 there was new impetus to moving on the buildup. The lawsuit was pending, and that was holding up the location of the training ranges. The PA had not been signed, but funding was wending its way through Congress and through the Defense Department, and over $1 billion worth of MACC's (multiple award construction contracts) were in place waiting for the ink to dry on the Programmatic Agreement. The battle raged and the PA was not closer to resolution. Outside experts were deeply critical of the Navy version of the PA (Ridgel 2010), and the Senators held firm and lectured visiting Congressional delegations and US Navy undersecretaries that Guam was neither for sale nor for rent! Their appointee resolutely withheld her signature as SHPO on the PA.

The new Governor in January 2011, on the other hand, was a stout supporter of the buildup and its economic benefits for Guam. The tourism industry had soured following the 2008 economic downturn, and Guam's second economic lynchpin, tourism, had declined by nearly 20 %. Threats to the infusion of funding for the buildup were beginning to shake the other pillar of Guam's economy, the US military bases. The bases are a major employer of Guam's workforce, and even all federal employees including sailors and airmen paid while on Guam contribute their federal income tax to Guam through Section 30 accounts from the US Treasury. Negotiations on the PA continued, and ultimately the GHPO Director and SHPO signed a much weakened and flawed PA, and launched the buildup under the terms of the CEQ record of decision following the EIS. The Governor's elation over the signing was short-lived. It was too little, too late. The 112th Congress in Washington had already trashed the federal budget-making process, the support for the MACC's was withdrawn, and the buildup fizzled to an end.

In other news, though the tone and plans and even the laydown for the training ranges was morphing, shifting, and was delayed, the lawsuit continued to languish on the District Court docket. In the Fall of 2012, however, it was announced that the case had been dismissed by the court. We Are Guahan, nonetheless, took credit for a victory, and its spokesperson, Leevon Camacho, said that the lawsuit had forced the Navy to reconsider its decisions and to consider alternative locations. When asked about one of the alternate locations, on the Naval Munitions Site (MNS) where the intact *latte* villages at Alamogosa Springs and the Lost River have been preserved, he said that location would be okay, as those sites have been protected by the Navy for many years and access had already been restricted. They would have no objections to that location.

Many Chamorro descendants on Guam are not so sanguine about the usurpation of some places; Sumay is in the center of the Navy Main base and was one of the largest villages before WWII when it was destroyed, first by the Japanese base, then by the Liberation invasion; then by 75 years of base activities and exclusion. A prior generation of activists like Angel Santos, himself a career army sergeant, protested this exclusion and what he labeled the poisoning of Guam by alleged military dumping that he thought had led to the death by liver cancer of his 2-year-old son. Angel Santos expressed the opposition to military basing on Guam in reaction to a perceived threat to his family. He became a leader of Chamorro politics in Guam (http://guampedia.com/angel-leon-guerrero-santos/). There are deep roots of animus toward the military presence on Guam among some who also embrace it, and We Are Guahan are the contemporary inheritors of the oppositional role.

From one global perspective, contention over historical preservation forced the US Navy to its knees and to beg "Uncle Sam." "Save Pagat" and "Scrap the PA" led to long delays and to revised planning for the buildup. Saul Alinsky might have been proud to have devised so successful a program to alter public policy and stop governmental programs. Likely, though, he would have seen the tactic within a broader class-based agenda that could have empowered people through economic opportunity.

Tourism is picking up this year, and has topped one million visitors for the first time in history. New hotels are under construction and another destroyed in typhoon Pongsona in 2002 is finally being refurbished. A supplemental EIS is underway to re-start the buildup with a force reduction of between 4,000 and 5,000 instead of the 8,000 in the earlier plan. The family housing is going away, so the marine basing will be "rotational," with reduced residential construction. This is more desirable from the point of view of a lesser footprint, but an itinerant military force may lead to problems previously protested in Okinawa, such as encouraging a transient sex work force and sexual violence in the community. The highway money is still underway, but federal assistance and Japanese funding for wastewater and other infrastructure are now flagging. Other buildup funding in the era of sequestration may not keep pace with the present "notional" plans to begin buildup construction in 2015.

Pagat and the PA didn't single-handedly take down the buildup, but they did contribute to a hiccup in its rhythm that, along with the economic downturn took it

off track just long enough to stall out. But these issues did highlight historical preservation and the significance and importance of heritage preservation on Guam. Pagat was identified as a Traditional Cultural Place in a study contracted by the US Navy to the University of Guam for the buildup process (Griffin et al. 2009). It is recognized as a very significant place where both indigenous Chamorros and outsiders can go to experience the essential relationship between place and culture. Pagat is a stunningly beautiful place that deserves to be respected and preserved under the laws and regulations of the USA and Guam, and also for funding directed toward its care and protection. Now that it is out of the headlines, the trash is returning, the artifacts on the surface have been diminished, and there is graffiti on the wall of the cave along with vandalism.

This is a bigger call as well, for Guam, to support the remaining landscapes and cultural sites that preserve its special culture and beauty. Cultural landscapes in the villages of Southern Guam such as Umatac and Inarajan still retain integrity as historical and cultural landscapes (Griffin 2012). Even if the military buildup never comes, Guam's population will double in the next 40 years, and these landscapes will be deeply impacted. Hopefully the arousal of public concern for historical preservation will lead to effective governance, agency support, and funding to identify, do preservation planning, and enact preservation practices for these landscapes.

The sense of culture as well as the sense of place was enlivened by these political movements. Even if native Chamorro practice may no longer extend to living in *latte* villages, the *latte* house is a palpable cultural emblem to empower people on Guam. The cultural memory of nineteenth century Guam is perhaps closer to other places in the Spanish cultural world of the period, but in remote places like Pagat one can still experience landscapes that resonate with indigeneity. These places such as Pagat still retain a sharp sense of land and sea, and cultural spaces that accommodate both the indigenous Chamorro and the later Spanish cultural landscape of small ranches for pigs, horses, chickens, cattle, and carabao or water buffalo that were later introduced by the Spanish. The current drive toward historic preservation privileges all these historical spaces as rural and bucolic as well as natural landscapes, and attracts a small portion of the islands tourist visitors. In a deeper sense, though, preservation of these places renews cultural memory and respect for history and landscape among the islanders and especially the island youth who are taken on field trips from pre-school to college age field trips to rekindle respect for the culture and nature of the place. It is critically important to future cultural identity that islanders have access to the places that kindle this vision.

# References

Bayman, J. A., Kurashina, H., Carson, M. T., Peterson, J. A., Doig, D. J., & Drengson, J. (2012). Household economy, gendered labor, and Spanish colonialism in the Mariana Islands, Western Pacific. *Journal of Field Archaeology, 37*(4), 259–269.

Frank, R. B. (1999). *Downfall: The end of the Imperial Japanese empire*. New York: Random House.

Graves, M. W. (1986). Organization and differentiation within late prehistoric ranked social units, Mariana Islands, Western Pacific. *Journal of Field Archaeology, 13*(2, Summer), 139–154.

Griffin, A. E. (2012) *An interim report cultural landscape inventory of selected properties located on Civilian lands, Island of Guam.* Prepared for Office of Island Affairs, Department of the Interior.

Griffin, A. E., Carson, M. T., & Peterson, J. A. (2009). *A study of potential traditional cultural properties in Guam.* Prepared for Department of the Navy, Naval Facilities Engineering Command, Pacific.

Jalandoni, A. (2011). The casa real site in Ritidian, Northern Guam: An historical context. *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society, 39*(1), 27–53.

Reinman, F. (n.d.). *An archaeological survey and preliminary test excavations on the Island of Guam, Marianas Islands, 1965–1966*. Los Angeles, CA: California State University.

Ridgel, C. (2010). "Revised Programmatic Agreement Still Problematic," article for Pacific News Center. Wednesday September 8th, 2010. http://www.pacificnewscenter.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=7798:revised-programmatic-agreement-still-problematic&catid=45:guam-news&Itemid=156

Underwood, R. A. (2013). Leapfrogging our way through history: Hayi I Manaina-Mu. Marianas History Conference, Saipan, June 16.

# Chapter 13
# Ancient Bodies, Modern Ideologies: Bog Bodies and Identity in Denmark and Ireland

**Margaret Comer**

Mummies and bog bodies have fascinated viewers for millennia; from ancient Roman travelers' accounts of gazing upon Egyptian mummies to the modern poems, songs, and books centered around Tollund Man, it is clear that the physical remains of past peoples can exert a special hold on the minds of the living. Indeed, public exhibitions of human remains can be quite profitable; witness the phenomenal success of the touring "BodyWorlds" and "Mummies" exhibitions. National museums that display human remains as part of their exhibitions can also benefit from increased visitation; however, they have the added task of fitting these past people into modern narratives of each nation-state's history and ancestry.

The rise of the modern nation-state has been accompanied by the creation of origin stories for each country, national population, and national language. Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities* deftly examines the role media played in creating national identities that became strong enough to bind together the stable modern nations we see today through providing a reason, "over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings" (Anderson 2006:224) in nationalist conflicts. Bog bodies, since they represent actual faces and bodies, seemingly pulled intact from the past, are tempting locations on which to build modern-day identities. This chapter will examine bog bodies on display in the national museums of Denmark and Ireland, as well as the differences in official narrative that are built around the questions of who these people were, why they died, and how they are related to modern-day Danish and Irish people, respectively.

The current queen of Denmark is descended from the same lineage as the first Danish king, the Viking Gorm the Old, who began his rule in 965, giving the country a long, unbroken "national" history along with ties to the Viking age prior.

M. Comer (✉)
University of Cambridge, Cambridge, UK
e-mail: margaret.a.comer@gmail.com

Perhaps this is why many national Danish symbols display images from the country's ancient past, like the Stone, Bronze, and Iron Age artifacts adorning Danish kroner notes. As Appiah (2006) has pointed out, much of what is valued as the "patrimony" of various modern countries (in his example, the Viking material culture of Norway) was produced by people who "didn't think of themselves as the inhabitants of a single country" (119). Thus, it is a logical fallacy to refer to the people who made the artifacts on kroner notes as "Danes," since nothing approaching an organized, centralized nation-state existed when those artifacts were made. Nevertheless, on the ideological and sentimental levels where rhetorics of nationalism operate, these items function as aesthetic appeals to a shared past of cultural achievements and, thus, a shared ancestral Danish identity. Once established, both this ancestral past and ideal common identity, rooted in the land, can then be strengthened on the national and personal levels.

Among other nationally funded sites, the National Museum of Denmark, located in Copenhagen, and the Silkeborg Museum, in Silkeborg, display well-known bog bodies. The remains of Tollund Man reside in Silkeborg. Tollund Man lies in the center of a room dedicated to displaying himself and aspects of his life. A walkway surrounds the case, which is slightly sunken, so that one must peer down into it to see his remains; the effect is somewhat like looking down into a grave. The exhibit text explains that he was probably about 30 years old when he died and that he was likely a human sacrifice or otherwise ritually killed, as ligature marks around his neck and the cord found with him suggest (Silkeborg Public et al. 2004a).

Tollund Man is famous for being extremely well preserved—his face, especially, is conserved so well that one can clearly see wrinkles. His "serene" expression has given rise to much artistic and academic speculation over the years, with poets like Seamus Heaney moved to write about his resemblance to family members (Sanders 2009:85–86). Much of the exhibit and its associated website focus on humanizing Tollund Man; there are full-color artist's renditions of him, dressed in the clothes he was found wearing, as well as several theories about exactly how he might have died (Silkeborg Public et al. 2004b). The museum's researchers have concluded that he was probably not a criminal, considering how carefully he was placed in the bog after death; instead, "the most likely explanation is that he was sacrificed to one or more gods," (Silkeborg Public et al. 2004b).

The Silkeborg Museum does not make a final judgment on whether or not Tollund Man was a criminal or a citizen of the group, noting only the sacrificial nature of his death. Similarly, other noted bog bodies found in modern-day Denmark, like Huldremose Woman and Grauballe Man, are currently characterized by the conclusion that they were ritually sacrificed, but no further conclusions are made about their places in society, although the lack of signs of physical labor on Grauballe Man's hands has led some to believe that he held a high status (see Silkeborg Public et al. 2004b; Sanders 2009, etc.). Crucially, however, the website refers to the land they lived in as "Denmark" (Silkeborg Public et al. 2004b), even though that modern iteration of a nation-state did not exist then. In this way, the Iron Age bog bodies are placed within the borders of the modern Danish state and corresponding ideology of Danish identity.

Conversely, as Karin Sanders points out in her definitive work on bog bodies, Tollund Man and his ilk have been made to represent all sorts of ideas and ideologies over the past few centuries, including assertions about proto-Germanic humanity (Sanders 2009:2). Neither he nor Huldremose Woman nor Grauballe Man would have had any understanding of modern ideologies like fascism, and yet states have used all of these peoples' bodies as symbols towards ideological ends. Perhaps the most infamous of these appeared under the Nazi regime, when state archeologists insisted that the bog bodies found in modern-day Germany and Denmark were the remains of people who had been considered "undesirable" and so had been removed from society (Sanders 2009).

Thus, the current refusal of Danish national museums to categorically label "Danish" bog bodies as belonging to one social group or another in life—a distinct difference from classifying their way of death—may be considered a step towards a more progressive way of characterizing these people, whose bodies have previously been used as sites for bolstering modern, overtly discriminatory political narratives. It may also be seen as an extension of the welfare state's ideology of equality, under which the population is meant to come out with a fairly equal standard of living, as opposed to models like the American one, which promise equal opportunity, but not equal outcomes (Jöhncke 2011:31). Accordingly, it would not be in Denmark's best interests to separate ancient bodies into classes of person on speculation, not fact, since it does not fit with the overarching narrative of Danes as "being of one kind" (Jöhncke 2011:38). The paradox of this widely held belief in equality in a country that so highly values its royal family, of course, is a subject that requires much further study.

In contrast, in the past few years, support has grown for a new theory that says some bog bodies found in modern-day Ireland represent royalty. The National Museum of Ireland's Eamonn Kelly, having conducted a thorough study of the thousands of Bronze and Iron Age bog bodies found in modern-day Ireland, has suggested that a specific subset of them, found on the borders of ancient royal property areas, are actually the bodies of kings who were perceived to not have sufficiently provided food, fertility, and safety to their people (Kelly 2006:30). Currently, the National Museum of Ireland's "Kingship and Sacrifice" exhibit "is centred on a new theory that connects human sacrifice with sovereignty and kingship rituals during the Iron Age" (National Museum of Ireland 2013). On display are four bog bodies who are thought to have been sacrificed kings, as well as numerous items thought to have been sacrificed in associated kingship rituals, including clothing and the so-called "bog butter" deposits (National Museum of Ireland 2013). As the exhibition's website puts it, "[e]ach of these objects appears to have been buried in boundary areas as a statement and definition of the king's new sovereignty" (National Museum of Ireland 2013). Clear connections are also made between some goods found with or on those bog bodies and high social status, like the hair resin found in Clonycavan Man's hair, which must have come from France or Spain (Kelly 2006). When the exhibition first opened, in 2006, accompanied by Kelly's book of the same name, there was ample press coverage within and outside of Ireland, including a BBC documentary centering on the idea that these bodies were actually the remains of former Irish kings (Mulhall 2010).

While Denmark has been virtually independent since 965 C.E., the modern Republic of Ireland was under the colonial control of the United Kingdom for almost 800 years, a period marked by repressive rule and periodic episodes of extreme brutality aimed at the native population (Davies 1999). Particularly in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the British rulers embarked on a campaign to "Anglicize" Ireland, which included attempting to stamp out use of the Irish language, in favor of English; this, in turn, meant that Irish-language folklore and stories pertaining to ancient Irish history and kings were not taught in the English-speaking schools (see McMahon 2008; Hutchinson 1987, etc.).

It was common for many independence movements of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, not just Irish ones, to consciously intertwine "native" language and culture with political aims of self-determination and independence (see, for example, Anderson 2006). Indeed, as John MacNamara points out, "Both Michael Collins and his adversary in the civil war, Eamon de Valera, stated that to them the restoration of Irish was at least as important as political independence" (1971:40). These movements, most notably the Gaelic Revival, played large parts in rebuilding a sense of national identity and re-introducing Irish language to schools (Hutchinson 1987). Some scholars have argued that the entire idea of an independent Irish state was modeled on a conception of nation firmly rooted in the ancient past; modern revolutionary leaders "utilized violence to gain power and enacted government policy to achieve the mythical Gaelic nation they idealized or imagined" (White 1999:49). Irish mythology, with its sagas of indigenous kings who fraternize with the supernatural and battle gods, would be especially helpful for these political ends, since, as with the mythical kings of Tara, these myths told of power flowing to the kings from the very stones and hills of Ireland (Raftery 1994). However, as Anderson points out, the importance of an ideal, shared ancestral past does not disappear once independence has been won (2006); instead, the new nation's "imagined community" must have a strong enough hold on its people's allegiances that they will continue to be loyal to it and its people (Anderson 2006).

In Ireland's case, the identification of these early bodies as "kings" not only provides material evidence of a nigh-forgotten ancient "Irish" past, but it speaks to a national self-conception of the Irish as people who were rulers, not just subjects. Further, under Kelly's theory, those kings were subject to being overthrown and sacrificed if their reigns were not peaceful, prosperous, and powerful; rule came from the gods, but it was subject to human scrutiny and action (Kelly 2006). Considering the realities of Irish history for the past several centuries, the appeal of this theory's narrative of national identity is clear to see, with its suggestions of indigenous Irish power, drawn from supernatural sources but answering to the will of the people.

In clearly connecting Irish identity to ancient, self-determined royal leaders, the narrative differs from its Danish counterpart, where pains are taken not to classify the bog bodies as any one type of person in life. In Denmark, although the socialized welfare state and democracy are considered to be cornerstones of the state (Jöhncke 2011:40), the Danish monarchy is also held to be an integral part of national identity, as displayed by the extensive ties between the state church and the royal family

evidenced at the first two World Heritage Sites listed in Denmark—respectively, the site of a runic stone commemorating the Christianization of Denmark and the burial site of all Danish monarchs (except one) since the Reformation. Thus, there is no need to underline a connection between these ancient bodies and Danish self-determination, which has not been in question since the days of Gorm the Old. The discriminatory narratives in which these bog bodies, especially Tollund Man, were placed during the Nazi regime do need to be rebuked, however, and the resistance to definitively labeling those bodies as "deviant" in any way reflects that necessity. Both museum narratives, however, clearly place these ancient bodies within the geographic and symbolic patrimony of their respective modern nation-states, claiming these people as part of each ancestral past.

As the forces of globalization continue to move people, commodities, and ideas across borders, the concept of national identity becomes both ever more important and fraught, with long-held assumptions regarding "belonging" and "not belonging" due to ethnic or cultural group membership called into question. In many nations—not just Denmark and Ireland—human remains of ancient people are pulled into the debates, as their very bodies become symbols and evidence of long-standing identities linked to the respective lands. Studying the vast array of social and cultural responses to death, throughout time and space, one might reasonably conclude that each group treats its own dead (at the very least) with a measure of respect. What that respect consists of, however, varies greatly between societies and cultures. Further, once a set of human remains goes on display in a museum, it unavoidably becomes part of a curated narrative, not one entirely of its own making. But is it ethical to knowingly have the people of the past "speak" for political identity ideologies they would not have understood and with which they may not have agreed? Although the bog bodies in Denmark and Ireland have not been subject to the same kinds of repatriation or identity debates that, for example, indigenous remains in the USA have, that does not mean that their interpretations do not reflect historical and modern conflicts over national identity; on the contrary, their respective narratives consciously position the bodies inside specific, state-sanctioned narratives of belonging and identity. Studies of the human body and the ancient past have been around for millennia, but polishing up the dead of centuries past, lighting them carefully, and choosing display text that fits their stories into a larger, nationalism-inflected, or commercially concerned narrative shades into appropriation. It must be carefully handled, if a museum chooses to use bodies in such a way, and the question of whether an exhibit's aim truly necessitates the use of human remains must be honestly weighed, for the sake of respect for the living and the dead.

# References

Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London: Verso.

Appiah, K. A. (2006). *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of strangers*. London: Penguin.

Davies, M. (1999). *The Isles: A history*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hutchinson, J. (1987). *The dynamics of cultural nationalism: The Gaelic revival and the creation of the Irish nation state*. London: Allen & Unwin.

Jöhncke, S. (2011). Integrating Denmark: The welfare state as a national(ist) accomplishment. In K. F. Olwig & K. Paerregaard (Eds.), *The question of integration: Immigration, exclusion and the Danish welfare state* (pp. 30–53). Newcastle upon Tyre, England: Cambridge Scholars.

Kelly, E. P. (2006). Secrets of the Bog Bodies: The enigma of the Iron Age explained. *Archaeology Ireland, 20*(1), 26–30.

MacNamara, J. (1971). The Irish language and nationalism. *The Crane Bag, 1*(2), 40–44.

McMahon, T. G. (2008). *Grand opportunity: The Gaelic revival and Irish society, 1893–1910*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.

Mulhall, I. (2010). The peat men from Clonycavan and Oldcroghan. *British Archaeology, 110*, 34–41.

National Museum of Ireland. (2013). Kingship and sacrifice. Retrieved 1 April from http://www.museum.ie/en/exhibition/list/exhibition-details-kingshipsacrifice.aspx

Raftery, B. (1994). *Pagan Celtic Ireland: The enigma of the Irish Iron Age*. London: Thames and Hudson.

Sanders, K. (2009). *Bodies in the Bog and the archaeological imagination*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Silkeborg Public Library, Silkeborg Museum and Amtscentret for Undervisning, Aarhus Amt. (2004a). The Tollund Man's appearance. Retrieved 8 Mar from http://www.tollundman.dk/udseende.asp

Silkeborg Public Library, Silkeborg Museum and Amtscentret for Undervisning, Aarhus Amt. (2004b). Why did He have to Die? Retrieved 1 April from http://www.tollundman.dk/doeden.asp

White, T. J. (1999). Where myth and reality meet: Irish nationalism in the first half of the twentieth century. *The European Legacy: Toward New Paradigms, 4*(4), 49–57.

# Chapter 14
# Heritage and Migration in Barcelona: Building Constructive Citizenship

**Margarita Díaz-Andreu**

## Heritage and National Diversity

Spain is a country in which several nationalisms are in competition. In response to an all-encompassing Spanish nationalism, Catalans, Basques, and Galicians are proclaiming their national uniqueness (Díaz-Andreu 1995). For two centuries, the work of archaeologists has provided data for the creation of the various national discourses. Nationalisms in Spain are mainly based on language, territory, a distinct historical development, and culture. These nationalisms are not exceptional, in the sense that they are not monolithic, unchanging discourses, as each of them contains competing views. In practice, national discourse changes continuously and needs to be constantly recreated (Díaz-Andreu 2012).

The strength of nationalism in Spain is not a thing of the past. A combination of historical claims and the current economic turmoil in Europe has led to nationalism gaining ground. People living in Spain are very aware of this and those of us living in Catalonia experience it daily. Examples of it are everywhere and are very easily found on days of special national importance, such as the National Day. In Catalonia this is celebrated on 11 September to commemorate the fall of Barcelona to the Bourbon King Philip V in 1714 and the loss of autonomy to Madrid. In the last few years this celebration has been able to gather large multitudes. I have personally experienced the 600,000 to one million people—depending on which source you believe—who gathered in Barcelona in 2012 and the 400-km-long (250 miles) human chain formed in 2013 by hundreds of thousands of Catalans holding hands to press for the freedom to vote on Catalonia's independence.

M. Díaz-Andreu (✉)
ICREA-Universitat de Barcelona, Barcelona, Spain
e-mail: m.diaz-andreu@ub.edu

Archaeology has not remained untouched by this nationalist surge. I recently had two experiences that demonstrate how Catalan nationalism is permeating archaeology. The recent reopening of the Born Market as a cultural center on the Diada (Catalan National Day) on 11 September 2013 allows visitors to see the excellently preserved remains of some of the streets of what was one of the city's most important commercial areas in the early eighteenth century. The informative panels tell us not only about life in the city at that time but also about the battle that took place in Barcelona on 11 September 1714, one of the events that led the Catalan area to lose its autonomy in favor of a tightly controlled centralization in Madrid. In the center of the site is a huge board that reads "1714×2014 Viure Lliure" (1714×2014 [Let's] Live Free; Fig. 14.1). The display is obviously not politically



**Fig. 14.1** The born cultural center in September 2013 (photo by author)

neutral and so far I have not heard any critical analysis of archaeology's role in this. My second experience also took place in a museum. During a guided tour last September of the new Iron Age Iberians exhibition at the Archaeological Museum of Catalonia, for practical reasons given its size the group was divided into two halves. I chose to alternate between both and the differences were clear in terms of the information they were given. One was told that the exhibition had been changed as the result of a perceived need to weed out finds from the rest of Spain to better show what was Catalan in the collection. The reason for the renovation given to the other group referred simply to a revamp of the exhibition. As a non-Catalan I felt more at ease participating in the second group.

It would also be easy to demonstrate how Spanish centralist nationalism is growing and how regional feelings are also becoming entrenched. I have focused on Catalonia in general, and in Barcelona in particular, because it is the area I am currently living in and it is easier for me to present examples of my everyday experiences. I have no doubt that I would encounter similar examples in museums in other parts of Spain and in Madrid itself, as the many cases published in the literature demonstrate (Díaz Santana 2002; Ruiz Zapatero 2006; García Sánchez 2009; Ruiz Zapatero 2009; Marín Suárez et al. 2012).

## Migrants, Language, and Heritage

The recent use of archaeological remains to boost national and regional feeling seems to have been undertaken in ignorance of the changes that the Spanish population in general, and the Catalan population in particular, are currently going through. I am referring to the massive arrival of migrants that has taken place in the last two decades. On 30 June 2013 the total number of official foreign residents in Spain was over five and a half million, out of a total population of forty-seven million. This represents almost 12 %, compared with 2000 when only around 2 % of the population was of foreign origin. Migrants come mainly from five countries: Romania, Morocco, Ecuador, Colombia, and the United Kingdom. Catalonia is the area of Spain with the most migrants: 1,261,416. Most of them are men between the ages of 16 and 64, while children make up 18.68 % (29.17 % among Moroccans) (Gobierno de España 2013). In Barcelona alone there are more than 500,000 non-EU migrants, of which more than a fifth is from Morocco and less than a tenth each from Romania and Pakistan (IDESCAT 2013).

It would be unfair to say that Catalan nationalism is anti-immigrant, as its core element is language; as long as migrants speak Catalan, they are generally welcome. This was exemplified in the most recent Diada (i.e. the Diada on 11 September 2013), when among the main events organized for the occasion was a choir of immigrants of various origins who sang several Catalan songs, including the Catalan national anthem—Els Segadors—on the steps of Girona cathedral. Given the importance of language, it is no surprise that learning Catalan has for many years been officially promoted through the "linguistic normalization" scheme. Catalan lan-

guage courses funded by the Catalan government are offered free of charge and in schools the main language is Catalan, with Spanish considered a second language. Migrants, therefore, have the means (although perhaps not the time) to learn the language if they so wish, and their children learn it at school.

There is a significant difference between support given by the Catalan government to the Catalan language and that given to other aspects of Catalan nationalism, such as heritage. It is true that all children learn Catalan history at school but, to my surprise, at least in the case of those who join the system at secondary school level, it is one of the subjects they have most difficulty with. This is what I was told in early October 2013 in a collective interview with a group of 14- to 16-year-old immigrant girls who had recently arrived in Catalonia and who were being given extracurricular support in the evenings at the Fundació Ateneu Sant Roc cultural center in Badalona, a town in the Barcelona urban area. The problem, they told me, is that they did not understand what it was all about. They considered math or biology as easier subjects. Where history is concerned, they didn't have a clue. This comment made me more aware than ever before of the cultural component in our history courses, even at school. I wonder whether schools are aware of this, as history is not seen as a subject that is likely to present any difficulty for these newly arrived children.

## Museums and the Recent Immigrant Population

Are immigrants interested in either Spanish or Catalan heritage in general, and specifically in archaeological heritage? No data have been officially gathered to be able to answer this question very precisely, but I was fortunate enough to obtain some figures from Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya—Olèrdola (MAC-Olèrdola n.d.). Official data indicate that during the months of July and August 2013 there were 1,897 visitors to the museum of which 69.5 % (1,318) were from Catalonia, 3.4 % (65) from the rest of Spain, and 27.10 % (514) from other parts of the world. Speaking from memory, Jordi Amorós, who works at the museum, explained that during those months at least two Moroccan families (about ten people) had visited the museum. One consisted of a husband and wife, three or four children, and a relative. They were living in nearby Vilafranca and wanted to know something about the history of the area. The other family was a husband and wife who had migrated to France and their son, who was a university student in Casablanca, had read about the site, and spoke good Spanish. In addition, there had been about eight Latin American families from Ecuador, Peru, and Colombia (between 15 and 20 individuals) living in nearby Penedès and Garraf counties, who also wanted to know about the history of the area. He also commented that some Argentineans and Uruguayans (about 8–10) living in Sitges come to the site as an activity to do when they receive visits from relatives or friends from their home countries, as they wish to show them the oldest archaeological remains in the area. This is also why German, French, Dutch, and British residents (about 20–25 in total) from the nearby area visit the museum.

He could only remember one visit by a pair of friends from Sub-Saharan Africa, migrants living in El Vallès county. No Chinese, Indian, or Pakistani migrants had visited the museum (Jordi Amorós and Nuria Molist Capella, September 2013, personal communication).

In addition to the voluntary visits to archaeological museums discussed above, there have been some projects that have included recently arrived immigrants in Catalonia. Among them I would like to describe two projects organized in Barcelona and Terrassa.

## The Patrimonia'm Project

Museums do not usually take into account the social makeup of likely users when they organize activities. This is very clear with school activities, as an offer is made regardless of the type of children attending schools, on the understanding that teachers will adapt the activity to the specific idiosyncrasies of the pupils. The Patrimonia'm project tried to break with this approach. Since 2005, the Museum for the History of Barcelona (MUHBA, Museu d'Història de Barcelona) has encouraged several schools located in its neighborhood, Barcelona's old quarter (Ciutat Vella), to participate in a joint project specifically formulated for the children living in the area. This project was devised by Josep Liz, an educational assessor at the MUHBA, and Júlia Quintela, the director of the museum's education department, who worked in conjunction with several teachers from a series of schools.[1] For several years some of the associated activities were commissioned to the professional commercial heritage firm, KuanUm (2010), and others to Fragment Serveis Culturals (MUHBA 2013). The Patrimonia'm project is still running, although a reduction in funding has led to a fall in the number of associated activities.

Ciutat Vella has experienced a profound social transformation in the last 15 years, as it has been one of the preferred areas for the new migrant communities, with a concentration as high as 10 % of the total migrant population of Barcelona in the years during which the project was running (Recio et al. 2007). This concentration had a repercussion on the schools, where a high percentage of children, up to 80 % in some cases, were migrants of non-European origin, many of them still in the process of adapting to living in their new country. The project's aim was to "improve social cohesion, communicating the city's heritage, promoting the values of citizenship and establishing connections between historical monuments and local communities" (Garcés et al. 2009).

The experience of the Àngel Baixeras School was examined in an article jointly written by the teachers and the project coordinator (Garcés et al. 2009). The teachers explained that they had decided to take part because of the school's location, to help

---

[1] The schools mentioned in the chapter are in the Ciutat Vella (Escola Àngel Baixeras) and Raval districts (Rubén Darío, Collaso i Gil, Pia Sant Antoni, Vedruna Àngels, and Institut Milà i Fontanals). In addition, other centrally located schools outside the core area were mentioned: the Escola Mestre Morera de Ciutat Meridiana and the Escola Parc de la Ciutadella.

the children understand the architectural remains that formed part of their daily experience. They also considered that an activity related to the Latin language and culture would help them understand Catalonia better and that some of them would be able to identify some of the Roman remains (for example, the public baths) as being similar to those they were familiar with in their countries of origin. The teachers also wanted the children to get to know their neighborhood better, as a way of boosting their sense of belonging and improving their knowledge of the city of Barcelona (Garcés et al. 2009:127–128). The children acquired communication and artistic skills, learned to engage with digital information and orientation, and were encouraged to enhance their personal initiative in the social, cultural, and technological environment in which they lived. Finally, they also learned social competence and respect for the rights of other people and communities (Garcés et al. 2009:128). There were seven didactic units with stimulating titles: "Our Friends, the Ancients"; "Our Neighbors, the Romans"; "Barcino"; "The Roman Wall"; "Roman Society"; "Modus Vivendi"; and "A Grosso Modo". They were included in the official curriculum for Year 6 (ages 11–12). The starting point for the activities was a tour of the museum, followed by weekly visits to particular Roman remains in the area. The schoolchildren wrote about the activity and organized presentations and craft activities (Garcés et al. 2009:131–134). The activities were adapted to the aim of enhancing oral communication in the "Welcome Classroom" (Aula d'Acollida), the school group for children recently arrived in the country who lacked the language skills to follow lessons with the other children (Garcés et al. 2009:135) (Fig. 14.2).



**Fig. 14.2**  Party of the Roman Wall at the Patrimonia'm project (Garcés et al. 2009: fig. 1)

## *Who is Behind the Image?*

The Patrimonia'm project is not the only one in which recent immigrants were involved. Another activity including this section of the population was organized in Terrassa, a town about 30 km to the northwest of Barcelona. With a population of more than 200,000, Terrassa is the fourth largest city in Catalonia and has an important industrial heritage, mainly due to the major textile industry that developed there in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In recent times the social makeup of Terrassa has changed and today almost 50 % of the population is of Moroccan origin (IDESCAT 2012).

The activity "Who is behind the image?" was devised by Rahma Tayar Ahajtan and took place at the Museum of Science and Technology of Catalonia (mNACTEC, Museo de la Ciència i la Tècnica de Catalunya) in May 2013. It was linked to a portfolio she had to write for the practical work towards her college degree in Sociocultural Support Studies (Animació Sociocultural). Tayar's practical work involved organizing an activity for 18- to 25-year-olds that managed to attract youngsters to the museum. She planned it as an open activity in which, after being given a few guidelines, the youngsters themselves decided how to implement it. To start with she approached a wide range of local associations, some related to folklore activities, such as the Terrassa Castellers (Human Towers) and others linked by cultural affinity (reading groups) or sports (skaters). Having come up against a total lack of interest on the part of these groups in participating in her proposed activity, the museum curator Joan Muñoz, one of Tayar's practical work co-supervisors, suggested that she could take advantage of her Moroccan background to approach the youth committee at the local mosque. The mosque committee representative for the youth group was consulted. After initial opposition due to the open nature of the activity, he finally agreed, but only on the condition that he supervised it. In the end he was happy enough after the first day and did not return. The support of the mosque was essential for Rahma Tayar, as it enabled her to guarantee the minimum number of youths she needed to run the activity. Eventually, in addition to the youngsters from the mosque, three other youngsters from a non-recent migrant background participated. The number of females and males was balanced. Despite the fact that they were all from Terrassa, the composition of the group was so uncommon that the people working in the museum asked about the country the youngsters came from (Muñoz, 14 September 2013, personal communication).

The full program consisted of three sessions. Each session lasted about 2 h and all three took place on Saturdays during the month of May 2013. The first day consisted of taking a photograph and posting it on a Facebook page specially set up for the project. The participants had to do this without revealing their authorship. All the participants had to work out who had taken each photograph on the basis of the information they exchanged on the Facebook page. The experience of the first encounter and the days that followed was such a success that participants obtained permission from the museum to organize a mid-afternoon brunch (*berenar*) during the second activity meeting. The second meeting consisted of getting to know the

**Fig. 14.3** Photo taken during the "Who is behind the image" project at the mNACTEC (courtesy of Rahma Tayar Ahajtan)

museum's exhibition better and continuing with the socialization activities. On the third and last day they discussed the experience and prizes were awarded. At the request of the participants, the 3-day experience ended with a party. The figures indicate the success of the activity: the number of participants went up from 26 to 29 and then to 31 (Fig. 14.3).

Rahma Tayar Ahajtan's project achieved two goals that had never before been reached at the museum. It attracted a constituency that is largely in short supply in museum activities. On the one hand, it involved a large group of youngsters who actively engaged with the museum, and on the other, a large percentage of the group consisted of recent immigrants to the area, a sector of society that is also generally absent from museum activities. The activity had also managed to bring together local and recently migrated youngsters, the former expressing surprise at how well they all got on (Muñoz, 14 September 2013, personal communication) (Tayar Ahajtan 2013). Also, the head of the mosque's youth committee indicated to Rahma Tayar the willingness of the group to participate in future activities, as he saw them as an opportunity for social integration into Catalan society (Tayar Ahajtan, October 2013, personal communication).

Although this experience involved heritage, it was not directly archaeological heritage. However, its importance is clear. In fact, as Joan Muñoz explained to me, the success of the activity was not directly related to the museum content, but to the

opportunity given to the youngsters to build social relationships. The learning process was a by-product of this social interaction and therefore archaeological museums could have equal success with such a scheme. Having recently moved to the Museum of Archaeology of Catalunya (MAC, Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya), he is planning to organize similar activities there.

## What for? Who for?

In a recent paper, the archaeologist David Javaloyas argued the need for archaeology to engage with the public (Javaloyas Molina 2011). However, this is easier said than done. One of the obvious ways to engage the public is to support the creation of memory (Wilson 2009), and the literature and examples this chapter show how easy this is in a nationalist context. However, how can archaeology create memory in the case of recent immigrants from distant places? This question is of pressing importance, given the massive change in the social makeup of many countries in the Western world.

   Perhaps the answer lies in seeing history, and therefore archaeology, as a way of building constructive citizenship (cf. Copeland 2009). In building constructive citizenship the emphasis is on the community and the individual, rather than on a sense of belonging and obedience to rules. Citizens are active, participative individuals and knowledge is gained through an interactive process of interpretation. Heritage is community based, memory oriented, intercultural, multicultural, and flexible. A museum with a constructivist approach emphasizes big concepts (chronology, change, evidence, and interpretation), rather than facts; it considers visitors as participants and thinkers, rather than passive spectators, and encourages critical discussion (Copeland 2009: table 6). Visitors, in short, are allowed to construct their personal heritage, contributing their own experiences, while also learning about those of others. This, I would argue, may be an ideal way in which archaeology, in a nationalist context, can integrate a large amount of the population actually living in an area, who are actually there to stay and who will be the ancestors of future generations.

## References

Copeland, T. (2009). Archaeological heritage education: Citizenship from the ground up. In P. González Marcén (Ed.), *Patrimoni, identitat i ciutadania: un nou paper per a l'arqueologia i la historia. Ponències presentades al 7è Seminari d'Arqueologia i Ensenyament, Treballs d'Arqueologia 15* (pp. 9–20). Bellaterra: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.

Díaz Santana, B. (2002). *Los celtas en Galicia. Arqueología y política en la creación de la identidad gallega*. Noia (A Coruña): Toxosoutos.

Díaz-Andreu, M. (1995). Nationalism and Archaeology. Spanish Archaeology in the Europe of Nationalities. In P. L. Koh & C. Fawcett (Eds.), *Nationalism, politics, and the practice of archaeology* (pp. 39–56). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Díaz-Andreu, M. (2012). Nationalism: Nationalism and archaeological practice. In N. Silberman, A. A. Bauer, M. Díaz-Andreu, C. Holtorf, & E. Waterton (Eds.), *The Oxford companion to archaeology* (Vol. 2, pp. 450–452). New York: Oxford University Press.

Garcés, M., Liz, J., & Terrado, C. (2009). Patrimonia'm. Un treball cooperatiu del Museu d'Història de Barcelona i les Escoles de Ciutat Vella. In P. González Marcén (Ed.), *Patrimoni, identitat i ciutadania: un nou paper per a l'arqueologia i la historia. Ponències presentades al 7è Seminari d'Arqueologia i Ensenyament, Treballs d'Arqueologia 15* (pp. 123–136). Bellaterra: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.

García Sánchez, J. (2009). El uso político de objetos arqueológicos: las estelas gigantes de Cantabria. *Saldvie [Zaragoza], 9*, 249–263.

Gobierno de España. (2013). *Extranjeros residentes en España. Principales resultados*. Retrieved October 2013, from http://extranjeros.empleo.gob.es/es/Estadisticas/operaciones/con-certificado/201306/Residentes_Principales_Resultados_30062013.pdf

IDESCAT. (2012). *Distribución por distritos. 2012. Terrassa. Origen geográfico: Marruecos*. Retrieved October 2013, from http://www.idescat.cat/poblacioestrangera/?res=e277&nac=d228&b=10&lang=es

IDESCAT. (2013). *Estrangers amb autorització de residència. Per país de nacionalitat. Províncies*. Retrieved October 2013, from http://www.idescat.cat/pub/?id=aec&n=272

Javaloyas Molina, D. (2011). Para el pueblo pero sin el pueblo. La arqueología mallorquina del siglo XXI. In J. Almansa Sánchez (Ed.), *El futuro de la Arqueología en España. Charlas de café- 1. 45 profesionales hablan sobre el futuro de la Arqueología* (pp. 125–129). Madrid: JAS Arqueología S.L.U.

KuanUm. (2010). *PATRIMONIA'M, un verdadero programa de integración social desde el ámbito de los museos, la arqueología y la reconstrucción histórica*. Retrieved October 2013, from http://kuanum.blogspot.fr/2010/01/patrimoniam.html?m=1

MAC-Olèrdola. (n.d.). *Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya—Olèrdola*. www.mac.cat/Seus/Olerdola

Marín Suárez, C., González Álvarez, D., & Alonso, G. P. (2012). Building nations in the XXI century. Celticism, Nationalism and Archaeology in northern Spain: The case of Asturias and León. In R. Ó. Ríagáin & C. N. Popa (Eds.), *Archaeology and the (de)construction of national and supra-national polities* (Vol. 27, pp. 11–31). Cambridge: Archaeological Review from Cambridge.

MUHBA. (2013). *Les Escoles al MUHBA Curs 2013-14*. http://www.bcn.cat/museuhistoriaciutat/docs/muhbaEscoles.pdf

Recio, A., Parella, S., Pajares, M., & Sabadí, M. (2007). *Immigració i mercat de treball a Barcelona. Un projecte de la Fundació Jaume Bofill i el Consell Econòmic i Social de Barcelona*. Barcelona: Fundació Jaume Bofill, Consell Econòmic i Social de Barcelona.

Ruiz Zapatero, G. (2006). The Celts in Spain. From archaeology to modern identities. In S. Rieckhoff (Ed.), *Celtes et Gaulois, l´Archéologie face à l´Histoire, I: Celtes et Gaulois dans l'histoire, l'historiographie et l'idéologie moderne* (pp. 197–218). Bibracte: Center archéologique européen.

Ruiz Zapatero, G. (2009). La divulgación arqueológica: las ideologías ocultas. *Cuadernos de Prehistoria de la Universidad de Granada, 19*, 11–36.

Tayar Ahajtan, R. (2013). *Qui hi ha darrere d'una imatge. Know-how fotogràfic al mNACTEC*. Unpublished portfolio for the Instituto de Educació Secundaria Ies Ribot i Serra.

Wilson, R. J. (2009). History, memory and heritage. *International Journal of Heritage Studies, 15*, 374–378.

# Chapter 15
# Presenting Archaeological Heritage: Identity and Interpretation in Heritage Tourism Planning

**James A. Zeidler**

## Introduction

In a 2008 paper delivered at the annual meeting of the Society for American Archaeology (Zeidler 2008), I explored the anthropological theory of visual art proposed by anthropologist Alfred Gell (1998) as a means of assigning "agency" to certain forms of Jama-Coaque ceramics, ranging from elaborate scale models or effigies (*maquetas*) of architectural form to more mundane and redundant serving vessels possessing a unique decorative style. I did this analysis with the intent of both elucidating archaeological settlement systems of the Jama-Coaque culture (250 BCE–CE 1532) (Fig. 15.1) in northern Manabí province of coastal Ecuador, and demonstrating how these ceramic forms functioned as "actors" or "agents" in a spatial network of hierarchically ranked sites. The ceramic forms selected for study were argued to be associated with social power on a local scale exerted from a chiefly mound center at the site of San Isidro (M3D2-001) in the central Jama Valley (Fig. 15.2) and therefore, their mere presence at a distant archaeological site was argued to be material expression of that social influence and the specific vessel form and associated decorative style an *index* of that social relationship (Zeidler 2008).

Regional archaeological survey in the Jama Valley has documented some 239 sites in three distinct survey strata within a 785 km$^2$ study area (Zeidler 1995). The lower valley along the coastal strip (Stratum I) is physiographically separated from the middle and upper valley (Stratum III) by a band of rough hilly terrain (Stratum II) where the Jama River has cut a deep gorge into the underlying volcano-sedimentary rock (the Jama Narrows). The prehistoric inhabitants of the valley were predominantly distributed in the broad alluvial pockets of Strata I and III throughout the entire cultural sequence, while Stratum II had relatively sparse occupation.

J.A. Zeidler (✉)
Colorado State University, Fort Collins, CO 80523, USA
e-mail: James.Zeidler@colostate.edu

| PERIODOS | | GUAYAS | | MANABI | | MANABI NORTE | FASES CERAMICAS DEL RIO JAMA | ESMERALDAS | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | COSTA | CUENCA | SUR | CENTRAL | | | RIO ATACAMES | RIO ESMERALDAS | RIO SANTIAGO | SITIO LA TOLITA |
| 1500 1000 | INTEGRACION | Manteño (Huancavilca) | Milagro-Quevedo | Manteño | | Jama-Coaque II | Muchique 4 / Muchique 3 / Muchique 2 | Tardío Temprano / Transición | Balao | Tumbavido Herradura | Tardío Clásico |
| 500 0 | DESARROLLO REGIONAL | Guangala Jambelí | Daule Tejar Guayaquil | Guangala | Bahia | Jama-Coaque I | Muchique 1 | Tiaone / Chevele | Tiaone | Guadal Selva Alegre | Temprano |
| 500 1000 | FORMATIVO TARDIO | Chorrera (Engoroy) | | Chorrera | | Chorrera | Tabuchila | Chorrera (Tachina) | Chorrera (Tachina) | Mata ? | |
| 1500 | | Machalilla | | Machalilla | | Machalilla (?) | | | | | |
| 2000 2500 3000 3500 | FORMATIVO TEMPRANO | Valdivia (8,7,6,5,4,3,2,1) | | Valdivia (8,7,6,5,4,3,2) | | Valdivia (8,7,6) | Piquigua | | | | |
| 4000 | PRECERAMICO | Vegas Tardío | | | | | | | | | |

**Fig. 15.1** General cultural chronology for coastal Ecuador. The Jama-Coaque cultural chronology and its corresponding ceramic phases can be found in the fourth column to the right
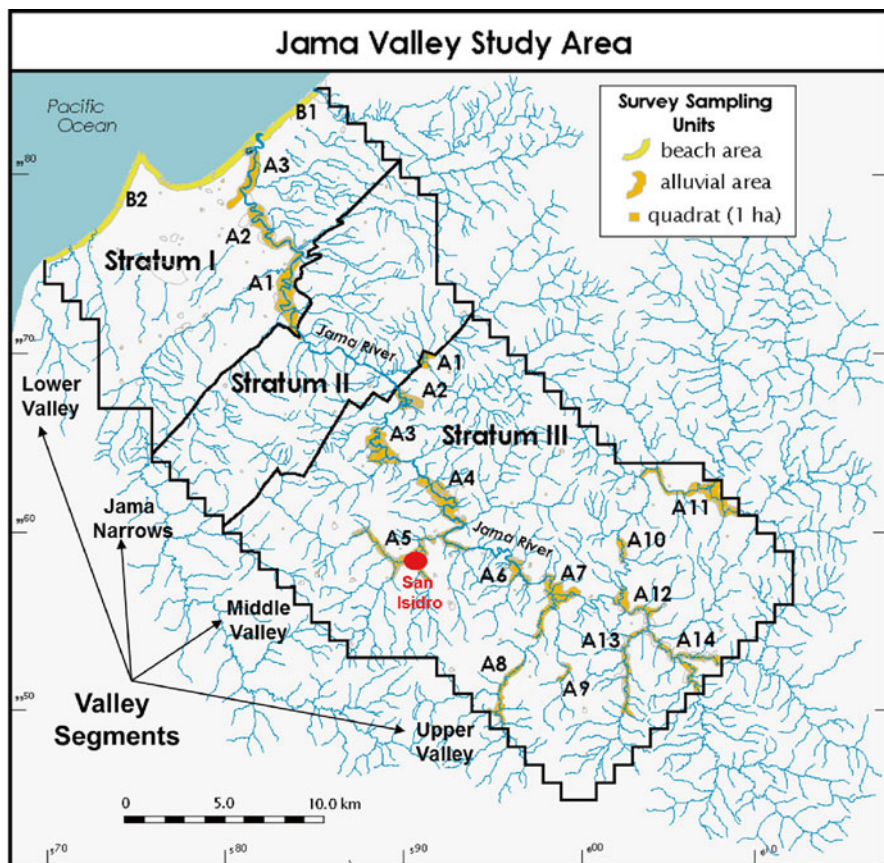
**Fig. 15.2** Map of the Jama Valley Study Area for the 1989–1991 archaeological survey, showing the location of the San Isidro site in Survey Stratum III in the Middle Jama Valley

For the time periods under discussion here, Muchique Phases 2 and 3 (see Zeidler et al. 1998 for detailed discussion of the Jama Valley cultural chronology and Zeidler 2002 for an overview of the ancient Jama-Coaque tradition), the prehistoric population reached its highest levels and was expressed in a three-tiered settlement hierarchy based on site size. Of particular interest for understanding chiefly political economy and territoriality during these phases is the spatial distribution of ceremonial platform mounds throughout the valley. Four different size categories have been defined based on basal mound dimensions, the larger of which are confined to the major alluvial areas. Functional variability is difficult to determine in the absence of more excavation, but ethnohistoric data from Manabí Province (Benzoni 1985) and elsewhere in Ecuador suggests that such platform mounds were built to support the households of chiefly elites, with relative size following an approximate status hierarchy and degree of ritual or ceremonial importance to the populace at large. Spatially, three discrete "mound centers" can be clearly delineated at the locations
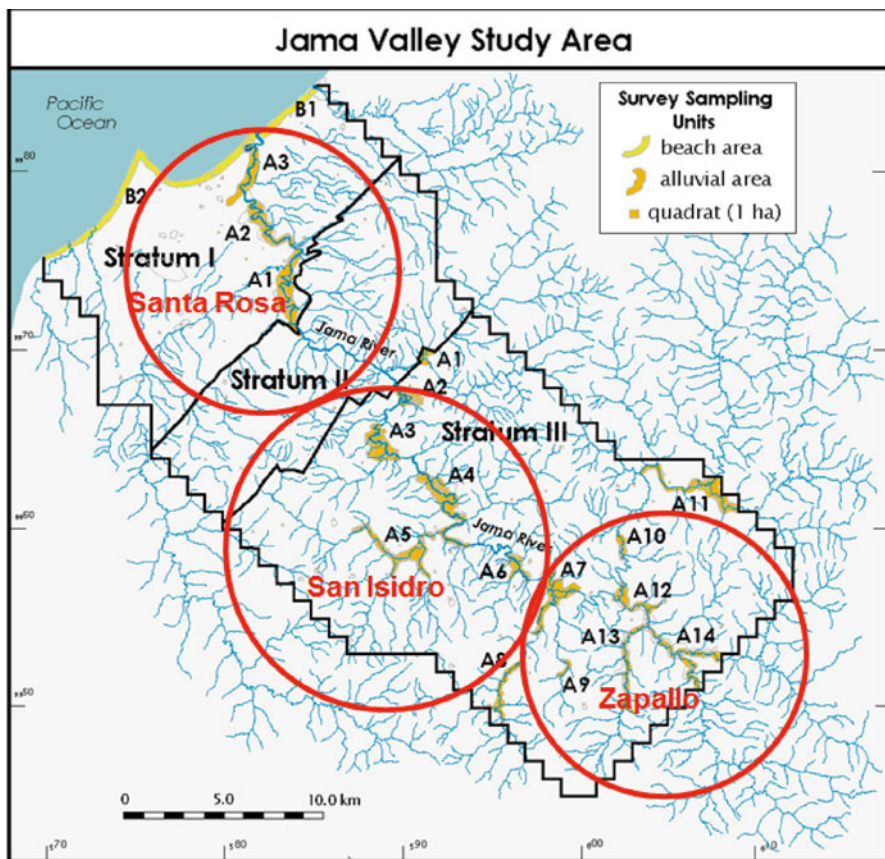
**Fig. 15.3** Approximate boundaries of three chiefly polities for Muchique Phases 2/3 in the Jama Valley. These are centered at the sites of Santa Rosa in the lower valley, San Isidro in the middle valley, and Zapallo in the upper valley

of the three largest mounds and the secondary mounds at sites clustered in their immediate vicinity. The three centers are *Santa Rosa* in the lower valley, *San Isidro* in the middle valley, and *Zapallo* in the upper valley (Fig. 15.3). The San Isidro site has long been known as a primary mound center of Jama-Coaque culture, with a central platform mound measuring well over 66,000 cubic meters. The mound has a square-shaped basal perimeter but has been considerably eroded through intensive urban occupation in modern times. As a chiefly polity, its relative political autonomy and territorial extent have been discussed previously on the basis of rank-size distribution of sites (Zeidler 2005), mound distribution (Zeidler 1994; Zeidler and Zeidler 2002), and ceramic serving bowl distribution (Sutliff and Zeidler 2000; Zeidler 2005; Zeidler and Sutliff 1994). A social network analysis of site distribution within the Jama Valley is currently in progress, highlighting the shifting role of the three chiefly mound centers over time. Examining role of certain Jama-Coaque

ceramic artifacts as material *agents* or *actors* in these geographical networks has been an important heuristic device to identify patterning in the archaeological record, both spatially and temporally.

More recently, however, concern for materiality and the interpretation of archaeological objects as "agents" have come to the fore in another context, but one that is no less important than social network analysis of archaeological settlement pattern data. That context is the interpretation of *decontextualized* archaeological objects for a site museum associated with an outdoor archaeological park at the ancient mound center of San Isidro, both of which are currently in the planning stages (Aguilera Loor et al. 2012). I say *decontextualized* because the archaeological objects destined for exhibit display will be drawn from over 6,600 pieces currently housed in the Reserves of the Central Bank Museum of Ecuador, purchased from looters and middlemen during the 1970s and 1980s. The unfortunate extenuating circumstance here is that San Isidro (and northern Manabí province generally) is well-known nationally and internationally as a center of illegal professional-scale looting of archaeological sites and illicit trafficking in antiquities extending back at least to the early 1970s (Zeidler 1982; see also Yates 2007 and Brodie 2010 for more on this topic). The interpretive plan for the site museum will have to find a happy marriage between the scientific archaeological data recovered through systematic field research and the looted yet very thought-provoking anthropomorphic and zoomorphic ceramic artifacts that essentially "float" in archaeological time and space, tethered only to the greater northern Manabí region during a vaguely defined period lasting up to 1,800 years.[1]

My purpose in this brief study is threefold. First, I briefly discuss the nature and scale of the heritage tourism enterprise centering on various tourist attractions planned for the archaeological park at San Isidro. In doing so, I hope to demonstrate the multi-vocalic nature of the interpretive messages under development by the multidisciplinary design team, one narrative based on scientific archaeological research and another based on object-centered interpretations of looted archaeological artifacts. Secondly, I show how these disparate interpretive threads can be effectively conjoined into a coherent archaeological narrative through the current heritage identity politics of the Ecuadorian nation-state in which the discovery and retention

---

[1] See Wylie (1995) for discussion the archaeological use of "looted" data. Numerous scholars have raised the ethical issue of whether or not archaeologists should study, or even make reference to, looted or otherwise unprovenienced archaeological artifacts, the argument being that in so doing, they are unwittingly promoting looting activity and antiquities trafficking by essentially authenticating and raising the market value of the pieces with their scholarly discussions. This argument has a certain amount of validity to it and it is up to each archaeologist to determine where to "draw the line," so to speak, in including such materials in his or her research. My own stance is that any unprovenienced artifact included in archaeological research and writing must meet *all* of the following criteria: (a) it must reside in a reputable public museum in its country of origin; (b) said museum must have a unique accession number assigned to the artifact along with records demonstrating when and how it was obtained; and (c) said museum must be able to provide access to the artifact upon request for independent study by qualified scholars. The archaeological collections of the Museos del Banco Central in Quito and Guayaquil fulfill all of these requirements.

of indigenous "ancestral knowledge" is placed at a premium and multi-vocality (Fawcett et al. 2008) is incorporated into the interpretive process. And thirdly, I draw on the theory of Amerindian ontological perspectivism formulated by Brazilian anthropologist Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (1998, 2004a, b) and others (Santos-Granero 2009) to show how these remarkable ceramic artifacts can be viewed in a different light, one that is *not* grounded in Western philosophies and concepts of materiality.

## "Ciudad Sagrada": The San Isidro Archaeological Park

The "Ciudad Sagrada" project is part of an ambitious heritage tourism project aimed at local area economic development through the creation of an archaeological theme park (Fig. 15.4) that would also serve as a center piece or "magnet site" for up to six other natural and cultural heritage "tours" in the vicinity. The park will be centered on and around the large (>66,000 m$^3$) platform mound in the center of modern San Isidro but will encompass four city blocks. The ultimate purpose, of course, is to attract a wide variety of tourists at a regional, national, and international scale by capitalizing on the renowned archaeological materials associated with the Jama-Coaque culture and its Formative Period precursors—the Chorrera culture (1300–750 BC) and Terminal Valdivia culture (2030–1880 BC). Analysis of the tourism potential of the project (Aguilera Loor et al. 2012) suggests an annual visitation of 32,670 tourists per year resulting in the creation of 83 new businesses aligned with the archaeological park and up to 468 new jobs overall for the community of San Isidro and its environs. Planning for this theme park has been underway for over 2 years with a multidisciplinary design team composed of some 7 individuals working under the umbrella of an architectural firm Aguilera Consultora Sociedad Anónima (AGUICONSA) located in Guayaquil, Ecuador. Funding is still being secured but the project is estimated to be completed within approximately 2 years. As chief archaeological consultant, I am charged with developing and/or approving the "archaeological messages" of this enterprise, ranging from the individual attractions of the outdoor theme park to the substantive content of the proposed site museum. But make no mistake: the heritage tourism industry in Ecuador is driving this development as a local and regional economic enterprise (Silberman 2013), certainly more so than the public thirst for archaeological knowledge. Moreover, multi-vocality is alive and well within the design team as well as the local community. We are following well-known precepts of heritage tourism development and the creation of tourism products and attractions (McKercher and du Cros 2009:122): "Tell a story, make the asset come alive, make the experience participatory, make the experience relevant to the tourist, [and] focus on quality and authenticity."

As stated previously, my challenge is to reconcile the scientific results of my long-term archaeological research in the Jama Valley, including three seasons of systematic archaeological survey and site mapping along with numerous strati-graphic excavations throughout the valley, with the large corpus of looted

# TERCERA PROPUESTA INTEGRAL
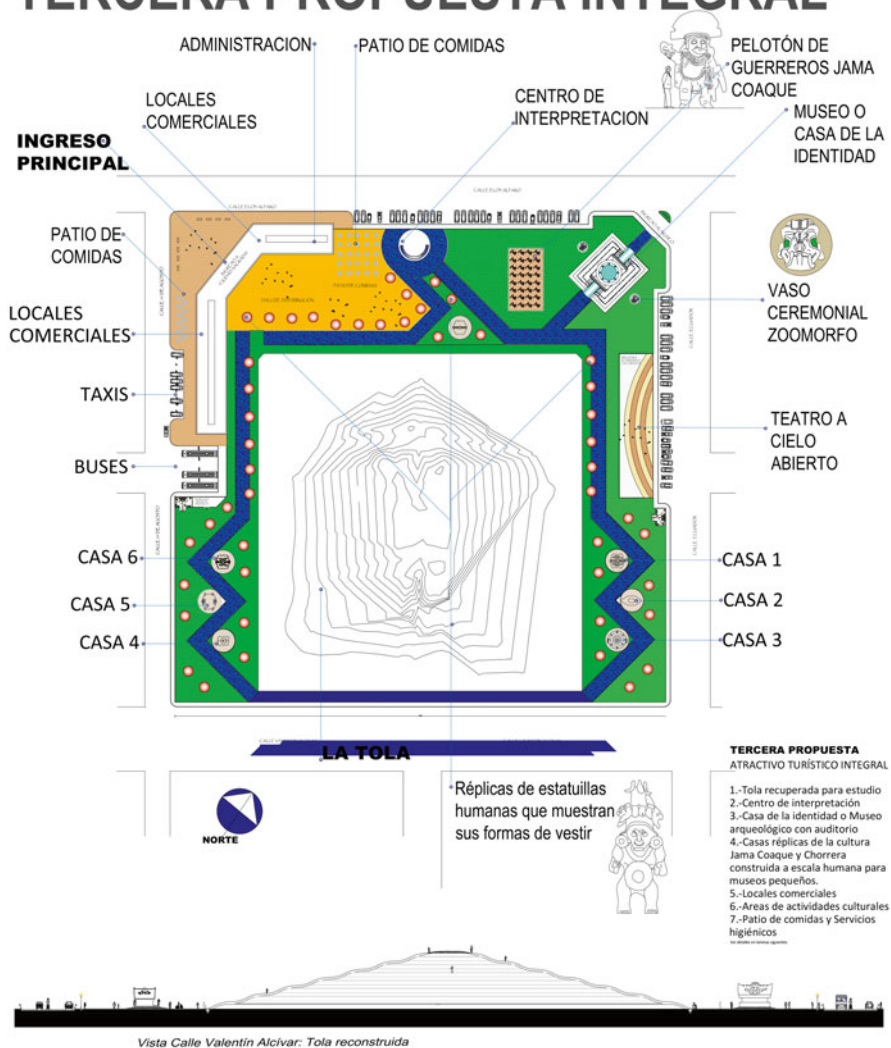


**Fig. 15.4** General plan for the Archaeological Park at San Isidro incorporating the central platform mound into a series of other tourist attractions. This is the third of three alternative plans and the one selected for implementation

archaeological objects in the Reserve of the Museums of the Central Bank of Ecuador that will be incorporated into the exhibit space of the site museum. These objects also will be used as models for life-size or oversized reproductions throughout the outdoor archaeological park. For example, the ceramic architectural *maquetas* or models depicting houses or temples will be replicated to life-size proportions and placed at two different localities within the park. Visitors will be able

**Fig. 15.5** Jama-Coaque
ceramic effigy bottle
probably dating to Muchique
Phase 3 depicting a platform
mound with elaborate
building and elite personage
at the apex of the mound.
Collection of the Museums
of the Central Bank
of Ecuador, Control
No. 1-121-72



to enter these building and find additional didactic materials and information on
Jama-Coaque culture. Likewise, the elaborate mold-made figurines typical of Jama-
Coaque culture will be used as models for the production of oversized replicas of
these human figures up to 8 or 10 feet in height and placed at different localities
within the park, all with accompanying didactic information.

The proposed site museum itself is being designed as an oversized replica of a
famous Jama-Coaque mound-effigy bottle of unknown provenience from the
Reserve of the Central Bank Museums (Fig. 15.5). The museum building, termed
the *Casa de la Identidad* or House of Identity, will have four separate floors with a
total floor area of 770 m², to include an auditorium for audiovisual display and live
lectures, primary and secondary exhibition spaces, a small laboratory and adminis-
trative offices, and a small curation room to house archaeological objects not on
active display (Fig. 15.6). While this on-site museum structure will provide ample
space for didactic presentation of the local and regional archaeological record, a
majority of the display space will be dedicated to the presentation of looted and

## PROPUESTA DE DISEÑO:
## CASA DE LA IDENTIDAD ó MUSEO
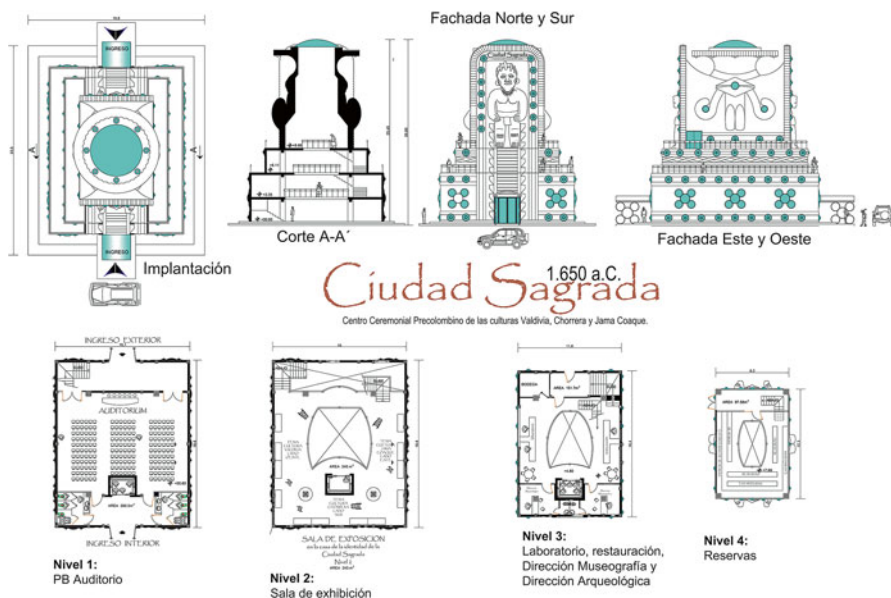


**Fig. 15.6** Proposed design (in Spanish) of the Ciudad Sagrada site museum based on the ceramic mound-effigy bottle depicted in Fig. 15.5

decontextualized artifacts, basically as objects of art. Many of the archaeological pieces that were illegally excavated in this fashion over the past 40 years were purchased by the Central Bank Museums as a nationalist "rescue" operation (to thereby prevent their exportation), such that there is now an impressive number of ceramic vessels and other looted artifacts for archaeological study and for museum display, all duly catalogued and accessioned, but completely lacking in scientific information on their archaeological context. These include a total of over 2,900 artifacts, mostly ceramic vessels and figural sculptures, for the Jama-Coaque culture alone.

## Media, Message, and Archaeological Interpretation

The incorporation of an archaeological site into a heritage tourism enterprise as large as a "theme park" such as that contemplated for the Ciudad Sagrada project is always fraught with difficulties, a point eloquently discussed by heritage specialist Neil Asher Silberman (2008). The media and the message come to be controlled by the heritage tourism industry as an economic enterprise and both the scientifically

controlled archaeological data and multi-vocalic interpretations of that data easily can be accorded an ambiguous status and under-appreciated importance in the drive for success and profit. One way that I hope effectively to counter this tendency is to align the interpretive process with the *heritage identity politics* introduced by the current Ecuadorian government. I am referring here to the 2008 Ecuadorian Constitution established by the government of President Rafael Correa (Asamblea Constituyente del Ecuador 2008; see also Quintero 2008) in which reference is made to the scientific importance of "ancestral knowledge" (*saberes ancestrales*) and, in particular, the indigenous concept of *sumak kawsay* which translates into Spanish as *buen vivir* and into English as "good living." This can be roughly glossed as the search for harmonious relations among human beings and between humans and a sustainable environment. Article 387 of the 2008 constitution states that "it will be the responsibility of the State…to promote the generation and production of knowledge, to foment scientific and technological investigation, and to empower ancestral knowledge, and thus contribute to the realization of "good living," of *sumac kawsay*" (Asamblea Constituyente del Ecuador 2008:171; my translation). How might this national call for the rescue of ancestral knowledge be of use to the archaeological community in its job of meaningfully interpreting the archaeological record for public consumption? Perhaps more importantly, how can such interpretation adequately address decontextualized archaeological artifacts? The answer to both questions lies in the development of a new approach to defining "ancestral knowledge" and to interpreting the material archaeological record.

## Towards a Material Engagement: Agency, Objects, and Amerindian Ontological Perspectivism

If the doctrine of *sumac kawsay* is to be of benefit to scientific archaeological investigation and multi-vocalic heritage interpretation, then perhaps it should encourage us to break away from Western ontologies based on essentialist dualisms (e.g., culture/nature, mind/body, human/nonhuman) and adopt an ontology derived from indigenous thought and practice in the Americas. Brazilian anthropologist Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (1998, 2004a, b) provides a useful approach in his theory of Amerindian ontological perspectivism, in which such dualisms disappear and humans are viewed as related by kin ties to animals and other nonhuman agents in nature. The implication, then, is that relationships between humans and nonhumans are essentially *social* relations and these nonhuman entities such as animals or plants can be accorded a sense personhood and can function as agents and actors in human affairs. Viveiros de Castro also extends this notion of nonhuman personhood to inanimate objects and artifacts as well, whereby certain objects of nature (e.g., quartz crystals) or humanly produced artifacts are also imbued with personhood and agency, and even souls. They may be regarded as "'object-persons' or they might equally exist as 'material embodiments of nonmaterial intentionality'" (Harrison 2013:215; see also Viveiros de Castro 2004a:471). Although Viveiros de Castro

argues that these relations are of secondary importance in Amerindian thought, Santos-Granero (2009) and colleagues contest that notion by arguing that inanimate objects of both natural and cultural origin often have a primordial social history of their own ("the occult life of things") and as subjective agents, can be imbued with power to affect human affairs. Other scholars provide complementary approaches to this topic of "material embodiment" of agency such as Gell (1998), Knappett (2005, 2008), Knappett and Malafouris (2008), Lemonnier (2012), and Olsen (2010).

Seen in this light, a Jama-Coaque jaguar effigy ceramic vessel takes on new meaning far beyond its aesthetic value and workmanship as an isolated object of art. As a humanly produced artifact intimately related to shamanism in an Amerindian worldview, the effigy can be interpreted as an active *agent* or *actor* in shamanic ritual and human-jaguar transformation—not just as an inanimate functional receptacle made of fired clay. Likewise, the mound-effigy bottle mentioned earlier with a heavily costumed, elite human sitting at its apex combines both the animate (chiefly personage) and the inanimate (a multi-tiered earthen platform mound) in a miniaturized representation of social power. If the effigy was circulated for ritual purposes to other sites beyond a chiefly mound center, or was even used as a chiefly burial offering, then one can envision how it might have functioned as an "agent" or "object-person" in these unequal power relations, especially if the physical transfer of its liquid contents were a part if those rituals.[2] In this way, Amerindian ontological perspectivism can at least help us contextualize culturally that which has no context archaeologically. However, such perspective also points to the importance of controlled archaeological contexts, for these objects functioned in dynamic social networks of places across the valley landscape and beyond. It is likely that the social history of such artifacts could be represented in discrete archaeological contexts allowing reconstruction of at least portions of that social history (e.g., contexts of manufacture, use, storage, discard/loss, intentional burial). As decontextualized looted artifacts, they leave the archaeologist wanting to know more (Quinatoa Cotacachi 2012).

## Conclusion: Towards a Dialogical Heritage

It remains to be seen how well the heritage tourism enterprise of Ciudad Sagrada will fare in the near or long term. A recent survey of such economic endeavors around the world by Neil Silberman (2013) does not give much hope. Still, I am willing to participate if I can ensure that my archaeological contribution to multivocalic interpretation can be heard, and that the local community truly receives the social and economic benefits from heritage tourism that are being proposed (Aguilera Loor et al. 2012).

---

[2] See Banks (n.d.), Cummins (1992, 1994, 1996, 2003), Stothert (2006), Usillos Gutierrez (2001) and Zeidler (2001) for different perspectives on the interpretation of Jama-Coaque figural sculptures.

I end with a quote from heritage specialist Rodney Harrison, in his recent book *Heritage*: *Critical Approaches* (2013:222), where he argues in favor of Amerindian ontological perspectivism as a basis for what he terms a new "dialogical approach" to heritage and heritage interpretation:

> The challenge for museums, and the process of heritage management more generally, … becomes one of finding ways of engaging creatively with these objects so as to facilitate their ongoing relationships with people and the other objects around them in the future. This means opening up a dialogue with heritage objects, places and practices as actors in their own right, rather than perceiving them merely as props that stand in for human cultures from the past, in the present.

In other words, the archaeologist as heritage specialist must attempt to interpret these objects as agent-actors in complex networks of people, places, and practices in the prehistoric past with the aid of scientific archaeological research. With decontextualized artifacts, this is difficult at best, so to do this effectively, one must also forcefully educate against site looting and antiquities trafficking. In this sense, such objects may also function as forceful interlocutors in modern narrative contexts treating ancestral knowledge that is now lost to us through the continued pillaging of archaeological sites.

# References

Aguilera Loor, F., Zeidler, J. A. (2012). C*iudad Sagrada: Estudio de Factibilidad Y Propuesta de Diseño a Implantarse para la Puesta en Valor y Uso Social del Antiguo Centro Ceremonial Arqueológico Precolombino de San Isidro, Cantón Sucre, Provincia de Manabí, Ecuador.* Guayaquil: AGUICONSA.

Asamblea Constituyente (del Ecuador). (2008). *Constitución 2008: Dejemos el pasado atrás.* Quito: Gaceta Constituyente. Gráfikos.

Banks, J. (n.d.). Exploring body language: Pose and gesture as indicators of social role in Jama-Coaque figurative sculptures. Unpublished manuscript in possession of the author.

Benzoni, G. (1985). *La historia del nuevo mundo (relatos de su viaje por el Ecuador, 1547-1550).* Guayaquil: Museos del Banco Central del Ecuador.

Brodie, N. (2010). Archaeological looting and economic justice. In P. M. Messenger & G. S. Smith (Eds.), *Cultural heritage management, policies and issues in global perspective* (pp. 261–267). Gainesville: University Press of Florida.

Cummins, T. (1992). Tradition in Ecuadorian pre-Hispanic art: The ceramics of Chorrera and Jama-Coaque. In F. Valdez & D. Veintimilla (Eds.), *Amerindian signs* (pp. 63–81). Paris: Colibri.

Cummins, T. (1994). La Tradición de Figurinas de la Costa Ecuatoriana: Estilo Tecnológico y el Uso de Moldes. In I. Shimada (Ed.), *Tecnología y organización de la cerámica prehispánica en los Andes* (pp. 157–171). Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.

Cummins, T. (1996). *Huellas del pasado: Los sellos de Jama-Coaque*. Quito: Museos del Banco Central del Ecuador.

Cummins, T. (2003). Nature as culture's representation: A change of focus in late formative iconography. In J. S. Raymond & R. L. Burger (Eds.), *Archaeology of Formative Ecuador* (pp. 423–464). Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

Fawcett, C., Habu, J., & Matsunaga, J. M. (2008). Introduction: Evaluating multiple narratives: Beyond nationalist, colonialist, imperialist archaeologies. In J. Habu, C. Fawcett, & J. M.

Matsunaga (Eds.), *Evaluating multiple narratives: Beyond nationalist, colonialist, imperialist archaeologies* (pp. 1–11). New York: Springer.

Gell, A. (1998). *Art and agency: An anthropological theory*. Oxford, England: Clarendon.

Harrison, R. (2013). *Heritage: Critical approaches*. London: Routledge.

Knappett, C. (2005). *Thinking through material culture: An interdisciplinary perspective*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Knappett, C. (2008). The neglected networks of material agency: Artefacts, pictures and texts. In C. Knappett & L. Malafouris (Eds.), *Material agency: Towards a non-anthropocentric approach* (pp. 139–156). New York: Springer.

Knappett, C., & Lambros, M. (2008). Material and nonhuman agency: An introduction. In C. Knappett & L. Malafouris (Eds.), *Material agency: Towards a non-anthropocentric approach* (pp. 9–19). New York: Springer.

Lemonnier, P. (2012). *Mundane objects: Materiality and non-verbal communication*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.

McKercher, B., & du Cros, H. (2009). *Cultural tourism: The partnership between tourism and cultural heritage management*. New York: Routledge Press.

Olsen, B. (2010). *In defense of things: Archaeology and the ontology of objects*. Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press.

Quinatoa Cotacachi, E. (2012). El valor de los bienes ancestrales ecuatorianos. *Nuestro Patrimonio 34*, 17. Quito.

Quintero, R. (2008). *La Constitución del 2008: Un análisis politico*. Quito: Abya-Yala.

Santos-Granero, F. (2009). Introduction: Amerindian constructional views of the world. In F. Santos-Granero (Ed.), *The occult life of things: Native Amazonian theories of materiality and personhood* (pp. 1–29). Tucson: The University of Arizona Press.

Silberman, N. A. (2008). Virtual viewpoints: Multivocality in the marketed past. In J. Habu, C. Fawcett, & J. M. Matsunaga (Eds.), *Evaluating multiple narratives: Beyond nationalist, colonialist, imperialist archaeologies* (pp. 138–143). New York: Springer.

Silberman, N. A. (2013). Discourses of development: Narratives of cultural heritage as an economic resource. In R. Staiff, R. Bushell, & S. Watson (Eds.), *Heritage tourism: Place, encounter, and engagement* (pp. 213–225). London: Routledge.

Stothert, K. E. (2006, Spring). Feeding the living and the dead: Food symbolism in the art of ancient Ecuador. In *Convivium Artium: Food representation in literature, film, and the arts*. Retrieved January 29, 2013, from http://flan.utsa.edu/conviviumartium/Stothert.html

Sutliff, M. J. & Zeidler, J. A. (2000). Ceramic style, social boundaries, and chiefly authority in the Jama River Valley (Ecuador), A.D. 400-1200. Paper presented at the 65th Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, April 5-9, Philadeiphia, PA.

Usillos Gutiérrez, A. (2011). *El eje del universo: Chamanes, sacerdotes y religiosidad en la cultura Jama Coaque del Ecuador Prehispánico*. Madrid: Marcial Maspons.

Viveiros de Castro, E. (1998). Cosmological Deixis and Amerindian perspectivism. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 4.3*, 469–488.

Viveiros de Castro, E. (2004a). The transformation of objects into subjects in Amerindian ontologies. *Common Knowledge, 10*(3), 463–484.

Viveiros de Castro, E. (2004b). Perspectival anthropology and the method of controlled equivocation. *Tipití: Journal of the Society for the Anthropology of Lowland South America, 2*(1), 1–22.

Wylie, A. (1995). Archaeology and the antiquities market: The use of "looted" data. In M. J. Lynott & A. Wylie (Eds.), *Ethics in American archaeology: Challenges for the 1990s* (pp. 17–21). Washington, DC: Society for American Archaeology.

Yates, D. (2007). The Looting of El Dorado: Illicit antiquities and the destruction of Ecuador's past. *News/Blog*. Retrieved 16 October, 2007, from http://www.arch.cam.ac.uk/~dey21/research.html

Zeidler, J. A. (1982). Pothunting and vandalism of archaeological sites: An Ecuadorian example. In R. L. Wilson & G. Loyola (Eds.), *Rescue archaeology: Papers presented at the first new world conference on rescue archaeology* (pp. 49–58). Washington, DC: The Preservation Press.

Zeidler, J. A. (1994). Chapter 5. Archaeological testing in the middle Jama Valley. In J. A. Zeidler and D. M. Pearsall (Eds.), *Regional Archaeology in Northern Manabí, Ecuador, volume 1: Environment, cultural chronology, and prehistoric subsistence in the Jama River Valley* (pp. 71–98). University of Pittsburgh Memoirs in Latin American Archaeology No. 8. Quito: Bilingual volume co-published with Ediciones Libri Mundi.

Zeidler, J. A. (1995). Archaeological survey and site discovery in the forested neotropics. In P. W. Stahl (Ed.), *Archaeology in the lowland American tropics: Current analytical methods and recent applications* (pp. 6–39). Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Zeidler, J. A. (2001). *Metaphors for power in Jama-Coaque ceramic art, coastal Ecuador*. Paper Presented at the 66th Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, 18-22 April 2001, New Orleans, LA.

Zeidler, J. A. (2002). Central coast regional chiefdoms (Ecuador). In P. N. Peregrine & M. Ember (Eds.), *The encyclopedia of prehistory, volume 5: Middle America and Northwestern South America* (pp. 1–11). Dordrecht, Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishing.

Zeidler, J. A. (2005). *Rank-size relationships and prehispanic settlement systems in the Jama Valley, Coastal Ecuador*. Paper presented at the 70th Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Salt Lake City, UT, March 31-April 3, 2005.

Zeidler, J. A. (2008). *Art and Agency in Jama-Coaque ceramics, coastal Ecuador*. Paper presented at the 73rd Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Vancouver, Canada, March 26-30, 2008.

Zeidler, J. A., Buck, C. E., & Litton, C. D. (1998). The integration of archaeological phase information and radiocarbon results from the Jama River Valley, Ecuador: A Bayesian approach. *Latin American Antiquity, 9*(2), 160–179.

Zeidler, J. A., & Sutliff, M. J. (1994). Chapter 7. Definition of ceramic complexes and cultural occupation in the Jama Valley. In J. A. Zeidler and D. M. Pearsall (Eds.), *Regional Archaeology in Northern Manabí, Ecuador, Volume 1: Environment, cultural chronology, and prehistoric subsistence in the Jama River Valley* (pp. 111–130). University of Pittsburgh Memoirs in Latin American Archaeology No. 8. Quito: Bilingual volume co-published with Ediciones Libri Mundi.

Zeidler, J. A., & Zeidler, M. J. (2002). *Earthworks as 'persistent places' in Jama-Coaque political geography*. Paper presented at the 67th annual meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, 20-24 March 2002, Denver, CO.

# Part IV
# Outlook

# Chapter 16
# The Future Challenges of Heritage and Identity in a Globalized World

**Douglas C. Comer, Peter F. Biehl, Christopher Prescott, and Hilary A. Soderland**

## Towards Heritage Scholarship and Theory

Heritage is the past after it has been packaged for certain uses. In the age of global capitalism, heritage is shaped not only by political objectives, as it always has been, beginning with oral histories, but also by economic ones, and thus market forces increasingly become intertwined with political objectives. Nowhere is this more obvious than in the case of identity. A political entity is successful only insofar as it constitutes an identity for its members: nation-states fail when conflicts among families, tribes, and ideologies produce instability, and can only succeed when there is patriotic fervor or a strong conviction that domestic tranquility and the economic advantages of belonging to a successful state are enough to keep ethnic, tribal, or other social groupings, such as class, from splintering the state. In a similar manner, a global heritage holds the possibility of generating a shared human identity based in a vision of the benefits that will accrue to all by the production of global public goods.

This book demonstrates that heritage in practice is very distinct from the academic disciplines that are related to heritage. Academic disciplines that deal

D.C. Comer (✉)
Cultural Site Research and Management, Inc., Baltimore, MD, USA
e-mail: dcomer@culturalsite.com

H.A. Soderland
University of Washington School of Law, Seattle, WA, USA
e-mail: hsoderla@uw.edu

P.F. Biehl
University at Buffalo, The State University of New York, Buffalo, NY, USA
e-mail: pbiehl@buffalo.edu

C. Prescott
University of Oslo, Oslo, Norway
e-mail: christopher.prescott@iakh.uio.no

with past events are most obviously archaeology and history, but, in fact, every scientific or academic field, from economics to physics to law, must look to past occurrences to understand or seek to explain the events that lie within its domain. In all disciplines, explanations for the observed trajectory of past events are formulated, and then these explanations are used to project that trajectory into the future.

The preceding chapters examine the global use of heritage in the formation of identity, both personal identities and communal ones of all sorts: tribal, clan, national, ethnic, corporate, regional, and the human community at large. The chapters consider many different times and places, but more to the point of this book indicate and illuminate the ways that identities manifest and offer critiques on the manner in which such manifestations serve economic, ideological, and political objectives. These critiques often draw upon materials recovered through archaeological means and written histories either to challenge biased presentations of identity or to inform presentations in order to ameliorate bias. Seeing, revealing, understanding, assessing, countering, and encouraging the uses, often covert, to which heritage is put in the service of local communities, including communities of common interest, not just ethnic or political, but also industries such as tourism and entertainment, always have been crucial challenges to heritage management. It is perhaps ironic that while globalization is often portrayed as something that vastly complicates our lives, coming to grips with globalization through a global perspective renders the construction of heritage for purposes that privilege certain communities of identity over others more transparent. This can provide enormous insight to scholars of heritage and identity. There are opportunities ahead, perhaps more than challenges.

Indeed, the first task for those who are formulating a new heritage scholarship is to examine further and, hopefully, to reconcile seemingly oppositional views of the past. On the one hand is the position articulated by Peter Ucko, that "there is no such thing as the truth about the past; only our subjective interpretation, now, about what happened in the past" (Ucko 2000:72). On the other is the "scientific history" (perhaps first proposed by Thucydides, see, for example, Kagan 2009:5–6), formulated by considering and evaluating only evidence that is unbiased by unsubstantiated beliefs. The chapters in this book suggest that Ucko's pessimism about obtaining the truth about what happened refers to heritage; more specifically, to heritage as it has been formed by habits of thought and attention peculiar to individual cultures, or more consciously organized to render it more useful for immediate and local ends. The past for which Thucydides argues is the truthful account of events, which like all knowledge is not and never will be perfectly available to humans, but can be improved in terms of how it can be used to solve the problems that all humans must confront. One need only to consider how facts are presented in a court of law to understand that truth is elusive, but the process is essential to a social order that rests upon reason as opposed to caprice.

A second challenge is to connect the field of heritage management scholarship with other fields and disciplines that have played a strong role in shaping the presentation of heritage to the public. A half-century ago, the anthropologist Karl Polanyi argued that market-force economics were relevant only to industrialized countries,

and that the nature of economic exchange in non-industrialized countries was very different (Polanyi 1957). Studies by other economic anthropologists have suggested that in non-industrialized countries, exchange was seen primarily as the crucial means by which to establish networks of obligation that served to produce social structure and cohesion. Although economic debate has transcended the simplistic "formalist" or "substantivist" debates (e.g., Granovetter 1985, 2005), this conceptual polarity raises a crucial question: in 2014, are any countries, even those considered non-industrialized, unaffected by the global economy? In the 1950s, for example, anthropologists could observe the !Kung in the remote Kalahari Desert and document activities and tools already influenced by the outside world, but could make a strong case that they could discern a way of life that had persisted (at least economically) in much the same form for many millennia (Tobias 1957:33). Today, most indigenous peoples reside within the boundaries of areas that have been reserved for them by a nation-state, wearing tee shirts and running shoes and using plastic containers in lieu of pottery, wooden vessels, ostrich eggs, or stomachs taken from animals. Even in places where this is not the case, change produced by industrial activities, population movements, climate change, and conflicts have altered traditional life ways. Implicit in all is the globalized economy. Where populations are living in a way that might to a visitor seem largely unchanged, this lifestyle has become an attraction marketed by the global tourism industry. The implications that national and global policies and events hold for populations with traditional economic bases suggest the treatment of production, consumption, and exchange of heritage identities as a modern, global market phenomenon as corollary to the local scales that have traditionally been examined by anthropologists.

The chapters in this volume also demonstrate the considerable overlap between heritage management and scholarship and the field of political science. Kenneth Waltz, who is generally credited with having created the *structural realism* school of thought in political science, stated in the *Theory of International Politics* (1979:123), "Structural theories…gain plausibility if similarities of behavior are observed across realms that are different in substance but similar in structure, and if differences of behavior are observed where realms are similar in substance but different in structure….International-political theory gains credibility from the confirmation of certain theories in economics, sociology, anthropology, and other such nonpolitical fields." Waltz looks to these fields for support for his argument (which he shares with realists of slightly different stripes), for example, that nation-states are the most important actors on the world stage, and therefore the fate of the world is determined by the means they have at their disposal, because there is no recourse to an effective higher authority. In essence, Waltz posits anarchy or something approaching it in the relationships among nation-states. He compares the relative anarchy among states to that which he argues existed in what Emile Durkheim characterized as *mechanistic* societies. As every anthropology major knows, Durkheim thought that mechanistic societies were transformed by the essential interdependence among greatly specialized workers that emerged with industrialization and modernity, becoming *organic* societies. In the terms that Waltz uses, societies tend to be either anarchic or hierarchical, terms that he clearly equates with the organic

and mechanical solidarity of Durkheim. Waltz states in a footnote (1979:115), "Emile Durkheim's depiction of solidarity and mechanical societies still provides the best explication of the two ordering principles, and his logic in limiting all types of society to two continues to be compelling despite the efforts of his many critics to overthrow it (see esp. 1893)."

Critiques of Waltz's theory argue that he has overlooked the role that identity plays in the solidarity of all societies whether organic or mechanical, anarchical or hierarchical. One of his most prominent critics is Alexander Wendt, who, in an essay entitled, *Anarchy is What States Make of It*, charges Waltz with overlooking identity-formation, "by denying or bracketing state's collective authorship of their identities and interests" (Wendt 1992:410). At the heart of Wendt's argument is theory that he took, as did Waltz, from the social sciences. In many places, Wendt draws from a work considered seminal in most social sciences, Berger and Luckman's (1966) *The Social Construction of Reality*, subtitled, *A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*.

Lest one think that this discussion concerns only arcane quibbles among academic departments, consider this: Many political scientists, among them advisors to the President of the United States, the State Department, and the Department of the Defense, have said that Waltz's pivotal 1979 work has been the predominant influence on the United States foreign policy since the Cold War, and continues to guide it now that the Cold War apparently has come to an end, even into the post-9/11 world in which developed countries struggle to deal with global terrorism (see, for example, Brown and Ainley 2005:40). Waltz argued that, "…a theory that denies the central role of states will be needed only if non-state actors develop to the point of rivaling or surpassing the great powers, not just a few of the minor ones" (Waltz 1979:95). Terrorism is driven by non-state actors, yet the foreign policy that shapes diplomatic and military strategy is still greatly influenced by Waltz's structural realism.

A corollary to the structural realist premise is that, in the end, the capacity for effective military action will determine which of the changing constellations of nation-states become regional or global hegemons. Yet, at the time of this writing, it has become apparent that military action has had little effect on lessening the threat presented by terrorism. Perhaps worse, terrorism seems to have been held in check only by means of increasingly draconian measures employed by nation-states with the capacity to develop and implement surveillance technologies that threaten the civil liberties of people all over the world, including the citizens of those states which have developed and deployed those technologies.

The challenge to heritage and identity studies is not, per se, to devise more effective ways to deal with terrorism or the deterioration of civil liberties. It is to develop better ways to understand the role of identity in all manner of human affairs, including economics and politics, and by that understanding influence policy in regard to both state and non-state actors. Anthropology, or more broadly, social science, has had no or only a very small voice in conversations about such matters for decades, although anthropologists were employed by the United States government to provide

advice about Japanese culture during the Second World War. In recent years, anthropologists have been embedded in military units. There was, understandably, a furor among anthropologists, and rightly so: the involvement was at an operational level, not a policy one. The policy was largely set by structural realism and the consequent reliance upon military power. Identity studies could, conceivably, inform policy in ways that it simply does not today. Given the stakes, the idea is worthy of attention. Identity is necessary to organization, and organization is necessary to action.

Heritage, in ways that can be seen in all of the chapters in this book, is an essential means by which the identities necessary to collective action can be taken. Identities are formed along the lines of mutual benefit, and for that reason, an individual can have multiple identities: as an American and as an Italian-American or African-American; as an Englishman and as an international banker; as a European Union national, a Spaniard, and a Catalonian; and as a Swede and a Sami. These multiple, community identities are constantly renegotiated because the benefits of embracing one or the other are continually shifting as political and economic structures change. Local identities require the transmission of knowledge (loosely defined), which identifies local points of origin. This can be ferociously presented as genetic, or ideological, or even geographic. Here again is the tension that underpins this type of community, or local, knowledge with Thucydides's "scientific knowledge." Joseph Stiglitz (1998:118) describes something very akin to scientific knowledge as being a global public good, which is a good that should be accessible by all for the well-being of humanity at large. Absent this, there remains only the systemic anarchy that Waltz claims as the *modus operandi* of nation-states. Under these circumstances, resolution of any controversy can be obtained only by power politics, which draws heavily on the ability to use force more effectively than all other players in the arena. An even-handed evaluation of material evidence and a careful interrogation of written and oral accounts of the past can to some extent provide "something on top," the exercise alone providing an alternate to the raw use of political and economic power. Political science and heritage, as is the case with economics and heritage, have not so much come full circle as they have become reconnected by a global perspective.

The global, international perspective on heritage also calls to our attention that the role of the law must be recognized in future conversations and scholarship about heritage. The inability to enforce international legal instruments is a key issue, with broad and numerous implications. As John Mearsheimer, a political scientist at the University of Chicago and former Brookings Institute Fellow, opined in a 2002 interview, "If a state gets into trouble in the international system, it can't dial 911 because there's nobody on top to come to its rescue. It's this anarchy that pushes states to compete for power" (Mearsheimer 2002). What applies to international affairs and jurisprudence in general also applies to matters of heritage; in the absence of an agency to which those with competing versions of heritage can appeal, heritage belongs to—or is controlled by—those who develop and exert the greatest economic and political power and prowess.

The 1972 *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* (commonly known as the World Heritage Convention) established a World Heritage List for cultural and natural sites, to comprise such sites having "outstanding universal value." At the same time, the World Heritage Convention has as its objective, "To ensure that effective and active measures are taken for the protection, conservation and presentation of the cultural and natural heritage situated in its territory" (UNESCO 1972). Protecting World Heritage Sites from degradation by natural forces and nearby development (development that is often stimulated by tourists attracted to World Heritage Sites) demands significant economic investment and management capacity that cannot be provided by most signatory states. True systematic enforcement of the "soft law" created by international conventions remains a universal challenge that customarily depends on the implementation by individual nation-states. On a nation-state level, implementation should include providing state funds to local entities and setting standards and guidelines for how funds are to be disbursed. Yet, even the World Heritage Convention, which arguably can be considered international customary law, does not necessarily engender an even-handed approach to heritage or the protection of archaeological and historical data that can reduce bias in how heritage is produced and identity is formed.

In 1964, the well-known historical archaeologist Ivor Noel-Hume caused a major stir within the archaeological community when he published an article entitled, *Archaeology*: *Handmaiden to History* (Noel-Hume 1964). Perhaps it was because archaeologists did not want to be typecast as handmaidens to anyone that the next few years saw the rapid rise of what was known as the New Archaeology, which culminated in attempts to develop a theory that was purely archaeological. As the quintessential New Archaeologist, Lewis Binford put it: "Archaeological theory consists of propositions and assumptions regarding the archaeological record itself—its origins, its sources of variability, the determinants of differences and similarities in the formal, spatial, and temporal characteristics of artifacts and features and their interrelationships. It is in the context of this theory that archaeological methods and techniques are developed" (Binford 1968:2). The New Archaeology was then subjected to post-processual critique, which argued that humans make up their reality as they go along, or, more usefully, make up their reality in ways that relate to, reinforce, or attempt to challenge the current power structure, the status quo. The study of heritage and identity from a global perspective surely indicates that there is no monolithic power structure, even though from a local, minority, or indigenous perspective this is seemingly the case. There are multiple centers of power, which can be thought of as types of communities, all organized around heritage and identity, all coping with and seeking to control, as best they can, political and economic forces, and all seeking to shape or circumvent the legal structure to their political, economic, or, as some see it, ideological advantage. All of these communities compete, seeking hegemony, and in doing so they make claims about the past in ways that bolster the identity that they need in order to engage in effective collective action, and which they present as a rationale for their power to outsiders. At the very least, archaeology can provide the material evidence to contest unsubstantiated (or ideological) claims, moving heritage and identity closer to a global

discourse that would not presumptively privilege one group over another. Archaeology provides the means by which to introduce empirical evidence into conversations about such matters, regardless of the community so engaged. Among these are scholarly communities, including historians and anthropologists, but just as surely economists, political scientists, lawyers, and even earth scientists studying issues like climate change. With dialogue among disciplines, each becomes better equipped to understand how knowledge is a global public good. Moreover, as the chapters in this book demonstrate, a multidisciplinary global perspective is needed to meet the current and future challenges confronting identity and heritage in an increasingly globalized world.

# References

Berger, P. L., & Luckman, T. (1966). *The social construction of reality: A treatise in the sociology of knowledge*. Garden City, NY: Anchor Books.

Binford, L. R. (1968). Archaeological theory and method. In S. R. Binford & L. R. Binford (Eds.), *New perspectives in archaeology* (pp. 1–3). Chicago, IL: Aldine.

Brown, C., & Ainley, K. (2005). *Understanding international relations* (3rd ed.). New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

Granovetter, M. (1985). Economic action and social structure: The problem of embeddedness. *American Journal of Sociology, 91*(3), 481–510.

Granovetter, M. (2005, Winter). The impact of social structure on economic outcomes. *Journal of Economic Perspectives 19*(1), 33–50.

Kagan, D. (2009). *Thucydides: The reinvention of history*. New York, NY: Viking.

Mearsheimer, J. (2002). http://globetrotter.berkeley.edu/people2/Mearsheimer/mearsheimer-con0.html

Noel-Hume, I. (1964). Archaeology: Handmaiden to history. *North Carolina Historical Review, 41*(2), 214–225.

Polanyi, K. (1957). The economy as instituted process. In K. Polanyi et al. (Eds.), *Trade and market in the early empires*. Glencoe, IL: The Free Press.

Stiglitz, J. E. (1998). *International financial institutions and the provision of international public goods. International financial institutions of the 21st century*. Cahiers Papers, European Investment Bank.

Tobias, P. V. (1957). Bushmen of the Kalahari. *Man, 57*, 33–40.

Ucko, P. J. (2000). Enlivening a dead past. *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites, 4*(2), 67–92.

UNESCO. (1972). *Convention concerning the protection of the world cultural and natural heritage*. Paris: UNESCO.

Waltz, K. N. (1979). *Theory of international politics*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Wendt, A. (1992, Spring). Anarchy is what states make of it: The social construction of power politics. *International Organization 46*(2), 391–425.

# Index