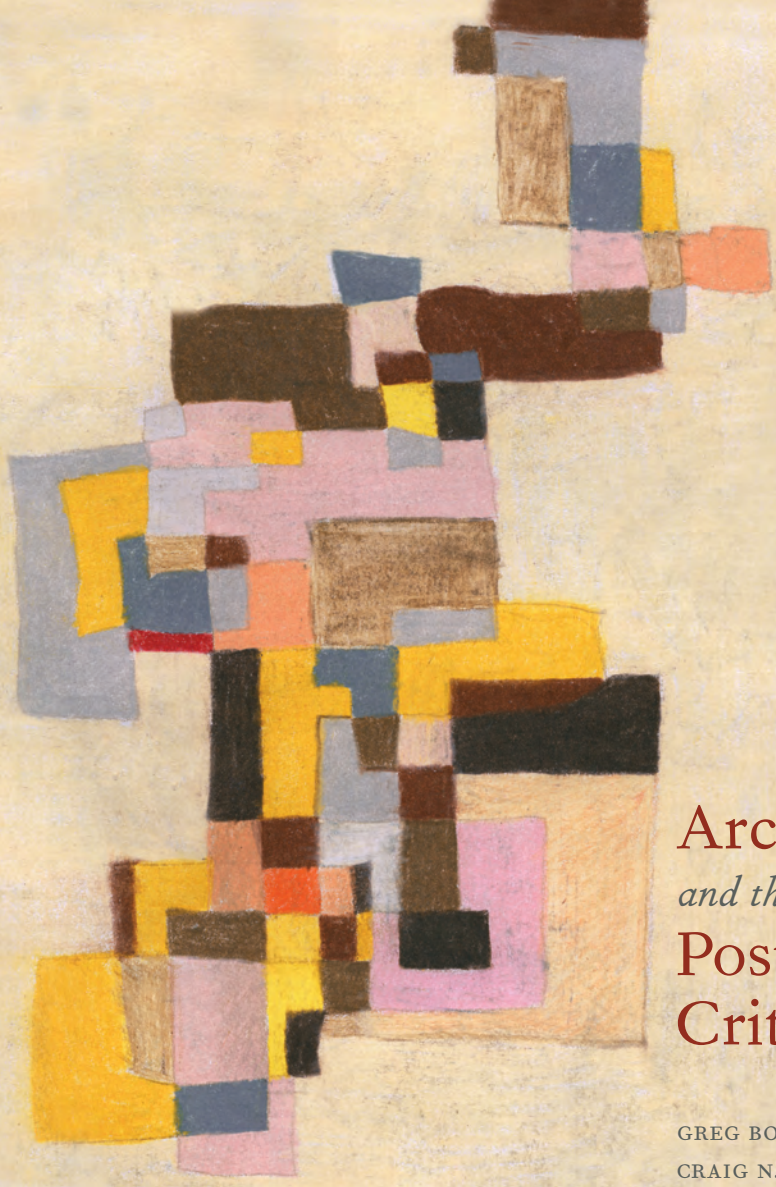

Archaeology *and the* Postcolonial Critique

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ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE POSTCOLONIAL CRITIQUE

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ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE POSTCOLONIAL CRITIQUE

MATTHEW LIEBMANN AND UZMA Z. RIZVI

ALTAMIRA PRESS
A Division of Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
Lanham • New York • Toronto • Plymouth, UK

AltaMira Press
A division of Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
A wholly owned subsidiary of The Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, Inc.
4501 Forbes Boulevard, Suite 200
Lanham, MD 20706
www.altamirapress.com

Estover Road
Plymouth PL6 7PY
United Kingdom

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Information Available

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Liebmann, Matthew, 1973-
Archaeology and the postcolonial critique / Matthew Liebmann and Uzma Z. Rizvi.
p. cm.
Inc
ISBN-13: 978-0-7591-1004-5 (cloth : alk. paper)
ISBN-10: 0-7591-1004-2 (cloth : alk. paper)
ISBN-13: 978-0-7591-1235-3 (electronic)
ISBN-10: 0-7951-1235-5 (electronic)
1. Archaeology—Social aspects—Case studies. 2. Archaeology—Political aspects—Case studies. 3. Archaeology—Methodology. 4. Archaeology—Philosophy. 5. Postcolonialism. 6. Postcolonialism—Study and teaching. 7. Antiquities—Collection and preservation—Social aspects. 8. Antiquities—Collection and preservation—Political aspects. I. Rizvi, Uzma, 1973- II. Title.

CC175.L54 2008
930.1—dc22 2008011393

Printed in the United States of America

™ The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI/NISO Z39.48-1992.

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Preface

UZMA Z. RIZVI AND MATTHEW LIEBMANN

THIS VOLUME EMERGED FROM MANY DISCUSSIONS, the first being a quintessential graduate school experience: that of committed and earnest dialogue in the pursuit of higher understanding while on a road trip. We can securely date the origins of this volume to the spring of 2004, when we, the editors, were Ph.D. candidates in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Pennsylvania. During a long car ride returning from Montreal to Philadelphia following the Society for American Archaeology (SAA) annual meetings, we began to discuss the nascent but burgeoning influences of postcolonial theory on the practice of contemporary archaeology. At the time, the term *postcolonialism* was not frequently used in archaeology, and we thought it would be interesting to further explore the potential advantages and disadvantages of this body of theory, particularly how it might differentially apply to Old and New World contexts. Consequently, we organized a symposium entitled "Situating Archaeology in the Postcolonial Condition" for the 2005 SAA meetings in Salt Lake City, Utah. At that symposium eleven scholars, drawing their case studies from different regions around the world, presented papers exploring various facets of the postcolonial critique and its relationship to archaeology, stimulating a lively series of discussions and debates among participants and attendees.

Since then, the overarching themes, concepts, and vocabulary of postcolonial theory have gained a small but evident foothold in contemporary archaeological discourse, a trend we find refreshing and encouraging. However, in the years following that lengthy drive from Quebec to Pennsylvania, we have also noticed that many discussions of postcolonialism in archaeology have tended to cite a similar corpus of (admittedly important) previous archaeological studies, rarely engaging in a direct and meaningful

way with the primary texts of postcolonial studies. Moreover, the use of the postcolonial critique often seems limited to specific types of analysis, overlooking the ability for such positionality to expand and radically alter archaeological theory and practice more generally. As a result, we saw the need for a volume that explicitly explores the relationships between the practice of archaeology and postcolonialism, with a goal of transcending traditional limitations and expanding the conventional boundaries of citation in our discipline. Thus, we challenged the contributors to this volume to engage directly with postcolonial literature and its consequences for archaeology. The thirteen authors included (some participants in the original symposium, others joining the venture later) are graduate students, recent Ph.D.s, and senior scholars, all of whom not only graciously accepted the task we assigned them but also produced a series of innovative, critical, and remarkable chapters that we hope will expand the horizons of the discipline and challenge readers to think about the practice of archaeology in new ways. Bracketing and supporting each end of the volume are contributions by the editors; the introduction articulates the relevance of the postcolonial critique to archaeology, while the conclusion explores possible avenues for future research on the topic. We hope that the contents of this volume attest to the diversity of contexts in which the postcolonial critique can be applied. The chapters herein present both the challenges and prospects of postcolonial theory for archaeology while at the same time establishing the relevance of this body of theory for the practice of archaeology in the contemporary world.

Of course, this venture would not have been possible without the assistance of many people. This volume has benefited from conversations with Gayatri Spivak, Homi Bhabha, and Ania Loomba, each supporting the early stages of our engagement with the topic and providing much fodder for thought and critical discussions. We would like to thank Chris Gosden and Alfredo Gonzalez Ruibal for their helpful reviews of the works herein; their detailed critical comments improved the contents of this volume greatly. This book would not have been possible without the help of the *Archaeology in Society* series editors, Robert Preucel and Ian Hodder, for whose support and encouragement we are truly grateful. Erin Silverstein and Derek Miller provided invaluable assistance in preparing the manuscript for publication. Also, our deepest appreciation and thanks to Jack Meinhardt, Marissa N. Marro, Krista Sprecher, and the staff of Altamira Press for their patience and support in all phases of this project. For the cover design, we would like to thank Asad Pervaiz for his good design, eye, and humor. Finally, we would like to thank Murtaza Vali, who has been a critical reader, editor, and supporter of this project since its inception.

Uzma Z. Rizvi, *Brooklyn, NY*
Matthew Liebmann, *Jemez Springs, NM*

Introduction: The Intersections of Archaeology and Postcolonial Studies

1

MATTHEW LIEBMANN

POSTCOLONIALISM IS A TERM THAT ENTERED THE VOCABULARY of the academic world in the late twentieth century to classify an amorphous body of art, literature, and scholarship dealing with the effects of colonialism on cultural formations and societies. In recent decades, postcolonial studies have significantly influenced academic disciplines throughout the humanities and social sciences (Gandhi 1998:viii, 42–63) including history, comparative literature, art history, women's studies, and cultural anthropology. The same cannot be said of archaeology, however, where postcolonial theory has previously exhibited comparatively little influence (Gosden 2001, 2004; van Dommelen 2002:127). The reasons for this lack of engagement are complex (e.g., Pagán Jiménez 2004), but the notorious "theory lag" that characterizes the history of archaeological thought is partly to blame. Furthermore, the tendency of many postcolonialists to employ less-than-lucid prose has not aided the incorporation of their thoughts into archaeological theory (Loomba 1998:xii; Gosden 2001:241; Given 2004:23). However, the work of postcolonial scholars provides critical responses to the histories and literatures that reflexively shaped European colonialism from the fifteenth through the twentieth centuries. Because anthropological archaeology developed from and aided the expansion of Western colonialism and imperialism (Trigger 1984; Patterson 1995; Rowlands 1998; Gullapalli Chapter 3), postcolonial critiques address issues that are central to the discipline of archaeology today.

Archaeology and the Postcolonial Critique attempts to redress this dearth of engagement by explicitly and critically examining the significance of postcolonial studies for the theory and practice of contemporary archaeology.

The main objective of this volume is to engender a dialogue between archaeology and postcolonialism by examining the place of postcolonial studies in archaeology and vice versa. In so doing, this book brings together case studies from different worlds—the Old and the New, the "First" and the "Third"—to investigate both the positive and negative implications of postcolonialism for archaeology. Crucial to this endeavor is an examination of the impacts of postcolonial theory not only in the academic realm but also on the practice of archaeology in the modern world, with all the attendant colonialist, neocolonialist, and imperialist baggage that entails. The chapters that follow thus investigate the prospective theoretical, methodological, political, and legal implications of postcolonialism for the practice of archaeology in the twenty-first century.

Defining Postcolonialism

What defines postcolonialism? Like other theoretical paradigms appended with the prefix of "post" (postmodernism, poststructuralism, postprocessualism), postcolonialism resists any simple and unitary explanation. There is no single, monolithic "postcolonial condition" but, rather, a multiplicity of approaches that have been classified under the umbrella of postcolonialism. At the most basic level, however, postcolonial approaches challenge traditional colonialist epistemologies, questioning the knowledge about and the representation of colonized "Others" that has been produced in colonial and imperial contexts. Postcolonial theories address the complex effects of colonization, colonialism, and decolonization on cultural formations, acknowledging that long periods of forced dependency and hegemony have profound impacts not only on the societies of the colonized but on those of the colonizers as well. Postcolonial writers question the histories, literatures, and anthropologies produced by the Western academic canon, asserting that studies generated within colonial and imperial contexts often inscribe inferiority upon colonized peoples while distorting their experiences (Said 1978). Postcolonialists thus strive to develop new understandings of colonial experiences, often emphasizing the agency of indigenous peoples and investigating the hybrid and novel forms of culture that develop out of the processes of colonialism.

The seeds of postcolonialism were sown as many of the formal structures of European colonialism were dismantled in the wake of World War II, leading to a reexamination of the theories, assumptions, and disciplines that underpinned and grew out of Western colonialism. (For an expanded treatment of the intellectual origins and history of postcolonial studies, see

Patterson's discussion in Chapter 2.) The political roots of postcolonialism can be traced back to an initial wave of radical anticolonial literature, including Mohandas Gandhi's *Hind Swaraj* (1938), W. E. B. Du Bois's *Color and Democracy* (1945) and *The World and Africa* (1947), Frantz Fanon's *Black Skin, White Masks* (1952), Aimé Césaire's *Discourse on Colonialism* (1972 [1955]), and Albert Memmi's *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (1965). In spite of the deep history of these writings, it is Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978) that is widely regarded as the foundational text of postcolonialism (Loomba 1998:43). In that work, Said examines the ways in which knowledge about "the Orient" (the Middle East, in modern parlance) was constructed by Europeans as an ideological component of colonialism. Building upon Foucault's notion of discourse, Said focuses not on a description of the cultures and societies of the Orient, but upon the West's representation of these peoples through the fields of philosophy, history, anthropology, philology, and literature. The critical analysis presented in *Orientalism* soon inspired the investigation of colonial discourses in other contexts, and throughout the 1980s a burgeoning movement flourished concentrating on the examination of colonialism from non-Western perspectives. This movement was originally known as colonial discourse theory, and its proponents include Homi K. Bhabha and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, who, along with Said, are sometimes referred to as the "holy trinity" of postcolonial studies (Young 1995:165; see Gosden 2001 for a succinct synopsis of their major theoretical contributions). By the end of the 1980s, the moniker *postcolonialism* had been coined to refer to the critical scholarship and literature of non-Western ("Third World") academics, authors, and artists whose work investigated the complex processes of colonialism and decolonization. In the 1990s postcolonialism gained widespread popularity in academic circles as its theories were embraced, appropriated, and expanded upon by academics working from the traditional centers of theory production (primarily Australia, Britain, and the United States).

A central question in defining postcolonialism is "what exactly is meant by *post*?" or, put another way, "*when* is postcolonialism?" (Shohat 1992). The obvious response would be the period that follows colonialism. However, this too-simple solution presents multiple problems, including the prominent fact that colonialism continues in various guises to the present day (Said 2002:2; Pagán Jiménez 2004; Pagán Jiménez and Rodríguez Ramos Chapter 4), albeit in ever-changing forms. Postcolonialism, then, is not simply a synonym for "after colonialism." Unlike postmodernism, poststructuralism, and postprocessualism, postcolonialism does not imply a direct refutation of

the preceding paradigm. Rather, postcolonialists acknowledge the impacts of colonization—"being worked over by colonialism," as Gyan Prakash (1992:8) puts it—and examine the incorporation of colonial elements in new ways (Appiah 1991:348). Thus, some postcolonial writers use the term to refer to "all the culture affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonization to the present day" (Ashcroft et al. 1989:2), instead of reserving it exclusively for decolonized contexts. Furthermore, postcolonialism subtly differs from straightforward anticolonialism due to its acknowledgement of the primary role of discourse in the social construction of reality. This separates postcolonialism from other forms of anticolonialism, such as Marxist approaches; in other words, while postcolonialists are generally anticolonial, not all anticolonialists are postcolonial. The term *postcolonialism* is thus fundamentally associated with the representations, discourses, and ideologies of colonialism and is not a strict historical marker (McLeod 2000:254). A related issue (which seems at first trivial but is nonetheless central to the definitions used herein) is the inclusion or exclusion of punctuation in conjunction with the term: should *postcolonial* be spelled with a hyphen (*postcolonial*) or written as one word? In this volume, we employ the hyphenated form to indicate temporal specificity; thus, *postcolonial* refers specifically to events occurring after the end of colonial rule (as in "postcolonial India"). Conversely, *postcolonial* is used to refer more broadly to the theoretical stance of investigating and challenging the discourses of colonialism.

The Intersections of Archaeology and Postcolonialism

As previously noted, postcolonial theory has not heretofore played a prominent role in archaeological research (van Dommelen 2002:176; Gosden 2004:176). Nevertheless, there are at least three distinct areas in which postcolonial studies articulate with archaeology: 1) interpretively, in the investigation of past episodes of colonization and colonialism through the archaeological record; 2) historically, in the study of archaeology's role in the construction and deconstruction of colonial discourses; and 3) methodologically, as an aid to the decolonization of the discipline and a guide for the ethical practice of contemporary archaeology. These three areas broadly overlap with three of the major theoretical contributions of postcolonialism: the investigation of hybridity in the constitution of postcolonial cultural formations (Bhabha 1994), the role of essentialism in the construction of colonial discourses (Said 1978; 1993), and the difficulties inherent in at-

tempting to give voice to previously silenced subaltern (i.e., marginalized) peoples (Spivak 1988a).

Interpreting the Material Culture of Colonialism

Some of the earliest applications of postcolonial theory to archaeology occurred in the interpretive realm, in the examination of episodes of colonialism in the past through material culture (van Dommelen 1997; Webster 1997). Over the course of the past decade, archaeologists have applied various concepts developed by postcolonial scholars to the investigation of European colonialism in the Americas (Wilcox 2002; Liebmann 2006), as well as examples of colonialism in the ancient Mediterranean (van Dommelen 1997, 2002, 2005). Central to these analyses has been the work of Bhabha (1994), particularly his concept of hybridity as a fundamental element of colonial encounters. Hybridity commonly refers to the new, transcultural forms produced through colonization that cannot be neatly classified into a single cultural or ethnic category. The concept of hybridity has aided archaeologists dissatisfied with traditional representations of colonialism that reify a binary opposition of colonizer versus colonized, opening up a theoretical third space in which the ambiguous "in-between" (Bhabha 1994:38) of hybrid cultural formations can be examined.

If merely used as another synonym to describe the recombination of signs and forms with different histories in colonial settings, hybridity hardly contributes to an improved understanding of colonialism (van Dommelen 1997:309). But Bhabha's hybridity differs from more commonly utilized anthropological concepts such as acculturation, syncretism, bricolage, and creolization, as it results from the profound *ambivalence* inherent in colonial situations and emphasizes a reworking of previously existing elements rather than any simple combination of two (or more) distinct cultural forms (Bhabha 1994:110). Hybridity breaks down the simple opposition of colonizer and colonized, opening a space to examine the ambiguous, confusing, and often seemingly contradictory patterns in the material culture of colonialism. As used by some postcolonial scholars, hybridity does not connote benign and innocuous combinations of formerly separate entities but can imply disruption and a forcing together of unlike things (Young 1995:26), calling attention to divisions as well as conjunctions (Kapchan and Strong 1999:249). Hybridity thus provides a foreground for the issues of power and inequality inherent in colonial societies, stressing the empowering nature of transcultural forms that often make space for anticolonial resistance through the challenging of binary categories. This emphasis on power can be traced

through Bhabha's writings back to the work of Mikhail Bakhtin (1981:358–61), whose use of the term *hybridity* stressed the unsettling and transfiguring capacity of these new cultural formations.

Judging by recent presentations at professional conferences, hybridity appears to be quickly supplanting many of the anthropological concepts traditionally utilized by archaeologists to describe cultural intermixture. As the interpretation of the material culture of colonialism gains increasing attention (Given 2004; Gosden 2004; Stein 2005), the concept of hybridity promises to aid in the writing of new and innovative archaeologies of colonialism (Liebmann Chapter 5), but only if attention is paid to the subtleties of power and ambivalence that are central to Bhabha's use of the term.

The Colonialist History of Archaeology: Essentialism and Colonial Discourses

The second major area in which postcolonial theory is relevant to archaeology is in the investigation of archaeology's role in the historical production and deconstruction of colonial discourses. From the earliest days of the discipline, archaeology has played a part in creating and controlling the representation of the past in colonized societies. As noted by Said (1978), colonial discourses typically represent colonized peoples through a series of essentialist binary oppositions that favor colonial (Western) cultures, presenting colonized Others as variously inferior, passive, feminine, savage, lazy, marginal, simple, static, and primitive in contrast to the superior, active, masculine, civilized, industrious, central, complex, dynamic, and modern colonial Self. These "truths" about colonized peoples were formulated and shaped through Western literatures and histories, and are not, of course, based in ethnographic realities but, rather, created the "facts" that justified Western colonialism. Colonial discourses based on these binary oppositions constructed an unequal dichotomy that was used to validate and rationalize military and economic violence against the colonized. In so doing, Western cultures defined *themselves* through the representation of colonized Others in negative terms. These colonial discourses rely upon essentialist representations, wherein social groups are presumed to possess universal features exclusive to all members. Essentialist discourses reduce complex heterogeneous structures to a supposed inner truth or essence and function within colonial regimes to reinforce hegemonic control over colonized peoples, inscribing inferiority upon them by controlling the dominant modes of representation (Liebmann Chapter 5; Borgstede and Yaeger Chapter 6).

Archaeology has played a significant role in the construction of essentialist colonial discourses over the course of the past century. Gosden (2004:21) identifies V. Gordon Childe as an early and explicit purveyor of colonialist representations of the West. Childe constructed exactly the type of binary essentialisms identified by Said when he wrote that in the archaeology of Early Bronze Age Europe, "we can recognize already those very qualities of energy, independence, and inventiveness which distinguish the Western world from Egypt, India, and China" (Childe 1925:xiii–xiv). Nowhere has archaeology aided colonial domination more clearly than in Zimbabwe, where Portuguese and British colonists controlled the representation of the past for much of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Archaeologists attributed the construction of the massive *zimbabwe* (Shona for "stone house") sites to Phoenicians or, more generally, white civilizations (Pikirayi 2001). In so doing, they not only denied agency to indigenous Africans but also justified colonization of the region by controlling the representation of the past. Examples of archaeology aiding colonial expansion—sometimes overtly, other times latently—abound (Trigger 1980, 1984; Arnold 1990; Patterson 1995), yet archaeologists often appear remarkably ignorant of the ongoing role the discipline has played in the denigration of colonized or formerly colonized peoples (McGuire 1992).

Archaeology is not inevitably or inherently colonialist, however. Ours is a discipline that can aid in the deconstruction of colonial discourses as well. This was famously the case in the resolution of the Moundbuilder debates of the late nineteenth century, when archaeological evidence was used to determine conclusively that the mounds of the eastern United States were constructed by Native Americans and not Europeans (Thomas 1894; Silverberg 1968; Willey and Sabloff 1993). Unfortunately for the indigenous peoples of the eastern United States, this vindication came too late; colonialist representations of the past had already been used to justify the removal of Native Americans from the east and the taking of Indian lands (McGuire 1992:822). Similarly, archaeological evidence was eventually used to refute the colonialist discourses surrounding the supposed "white" construction of Great Zimbabwe (Given 2004:164–65), but only after decades of colonial rule had exploited local resources and peoples. Postcolonial theory highlights the role played by the creation of historical essentialisms and offers tools archaeologists can use to identify and deconstruct the propagation of colonial discourses. For this reason, archaeology stands to benefit from postcolonial theory. And postcolonial theory stands to benefit from archaeology as well, as the study of material culture can aid

in the deconstruction of the colonial discourses which are used to subjugate subaltern peoples.

Postcolonialism and the Practice of Contemporary Archaeology

The third arena in which archaeology engages with postcolonialism relates to the practice of archaeology in the twenty-first century. Postcolonialism challenges archaeologists not only to examine the colonialist history of the discipline but also to learn from the errors of the past and put into practice an ethical and noncolonialist archaeology today (Rizvi Chapter 7). This means considering the political climates in which archaeologists generate research questions and interpretations and recognizing that archaeological work is not conducted in a social or cultural vacuum. As postcolonialists have demonstrated, representations of the past—particularly the histories of colonized peoples—have real implications for contemporary power relations, often negatively impacting those whose past is the subject of archaeological research. Thus, in formulating any discourse regarding the past, archaeologists need to consider the ways in which their research shapes and is shaped by colonialist representations. This entails consultation and, when possible, collaboration on the local level with descendant communities and indigenous peoples (see Preucel and Cipolla Chapter 8; Scham Chapter 10), but also macrolevel considerations of archaeology's role in globalization and neocolonialist institutions (Lilley Chapter 9; Seneviratne Chapter 11).

This is, of course, not entirely uncharted territory for archaeologists. Various processes of decolonization have impacted the practice of archaeology significantly in the past twenty years (Atalay 2006 a,b; Smith and Wobst 2005). The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), for example, reconfigured the relationships of archaeologists and indigenous peoples in the United States (Swindler et al. 1997; Mihesuah 2000; fforde et al. 2002) by empowering Native Americans with a modicum of legal control over cultural resources and their ancestral human remains. Legislation has likewise stimulated the decolonization of archaeological practices in parts of Oceania and Australia (Lilley 2000). But even with the threat of legal action pulling archaeologists—sometimes kicking and screaming—into this new era, colonialist attitudes remain remarkably prevalent in archaeology (Pagán Jiménez 2004; Seneviratne Chapter 11), although changing legal realities sometimes cause them to be deployed in new ways.

One of the main challenges to archaeology posed by postcolonial theory is a reconsideration of how archaeologists represent the past—to whom we can or cannot give a voice through material culture and for whom we can or cannot speak. Archaeologists have long stressed the ability of our discipline to allow those silenced by time to be heard again in the present. Historical archaeologists in particular have stressed the ability of material culture to "speak" for the marginalized and subordinated peoples often underrepresented in historical texts: enslaved persons, ethnic minorities, disenfranchised peoples, and illiterate members of society, known as *subalterns* in postcolonial jargon (a term coined by Gramsci to refer to "those of inferior position"). Giving voice to the subalterns of history was the primary aim of a cadre of postcolonial historians known as the *Subaltern Studies Group*, who attempted to rectify the tendency of official versions of South Asian historiography to focus on elites (Guha 1982). But the ability of these historians to give voice to the voiceless is questioned in a famous essay by Spivak (1988a) entitled "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in which she investigates the risks and rewards of any academic pursuit that seeks to speak for a disenfranchised group. How, she asks, can authors writing about the past avoid presenting themselves as an authoritative representative of the groups they write about? Should intellectuals abstain from representation of these groups entirely? On the other hand, Spivak points out that ignoring the role of subalterns continues the imperialist project, silencing the oppressed and marginalized of history. Her queries obviously apply to archaeology as well: in what voices do the peoples we study speak? Their own? Their subconscious as manifested through material culture? Accents borrowed from the excavators? Or is archaeology merely an exercise in ventriloquism, throwing our own voices into the mouths of people in the past?

For her part, Spivak is pessimistic about the ability to recover subaltern voices from historical texts written by colonial elites, insisting that "the subaltern cannot speak." However, her point is not to stifle the investigation of subalternity entirely, observing that in some cases it is precisely what *cannot* be said about the past that becomes important. In archaeology the situation is more complex—unlike historical documents, which tend to be written by single authors or members of specific social classes, material culture is left behind by persons at all levels of society. Thus, in most cases, a record does exist attesting to the life of subalterns. However, this record does not speak for itself; it must be given a voice by the archaeologist. While the attempt to uncover previously silenced versions of the past is an admirable goal, archaeologists must remain aware that it is their own voice that is speaking. Claiming to speak for—rather than about—

subaltern groups in the past (or present) runs the risk of perpetuating colonial representations.

Critiques of Postcolonialism

Postcolonialism is not a panacea, however. Serious and compelling critiques of postcolonial studies have been raised in recent years, giving archaeologists reasons to be wary of the uncritical application of these theories. Critics of postcolonialism have accused its proponents of, among other things, homogenizing colonial experiences (Shohat 1992:102; Ahmad 1995); perpetuating academic imperialism (Dirlik 1994; Mukherjee 1996); divorcing theory from political realities (Ahmad 1995; Dirlik 1994); neglecting to account for the material aspects of colonialism (Parry 2004; Gosden 2001:248, 2004:7; Patterson Chapter 2); and, most problematically for archaeologists, failing to adequately acknowledge the role of history in cultural change (Ahmad 1992; Dirlik 1999; Gosden 2001:243). While the validity of these and other critiques has been the subject of intense debates, they do raise substantive questions regarding the assumptions underlying much of postcolonial theorizing. However, these criticisms do not necessitate the outright rejection of all things postcolonial, either; to do so would be tantamount to throwing the theoretical baby out with the bathwater. One of the unintended benefits of the "theory lag" in archaeology is the ability to see (and, it is hoped, avoid) the pitfalls and blind alleys that have plagued other disciplines that have previously worked through postcolonial issues. Moreover, these critiques present an opportunity for archaeology to contribute to current debates in postcolonialism. Rather than occupying the traditional role of mere consumers of theory, archaeologists could actually play an active role in the production of postcolonial theory.

Monolithic Postcolonialism?

One of the most common critiques leveled at postcolonialism is its tendency to homogenize colonial encounters (McLeod 2000:244–45; Gullapalli Chapter 3). By collecting the experiences of colonized and formerly colonized peoples around the world under the single umbrella term of *postcolonial*, critics argue that the label becomes vague, obfuscatory, and ahistorical. What, for example, do Aboriginal Australians, communities of the African diaspora, citizens of the modern state of India, and inhabitants of ancient Roman provinces share beyond myriad experiences with very different forms of colonialism? Postcolonial critic Aijaz Ahmad complains that when postcolonialists extend their analyses back to encompass the Inca

empire and forward to the present day, then colonialism becomes "a trans-historical thing, always present and always in the process of dissolution in one part of the world or another" (Ahmad 1995:9).

Aside from the fact that Inca imperialism overlapped temporally with the European colonization of the Americas and thus doesn't involve pushing colonialism into the past much (if at all) the debate over the applicability of postcolonial theory to differing cultural and temporal contexts is an arena in which archaeology stands uniquely poised to contribute. Indeed, recent archaeological studies of colonialism have begun to identify shared attributes in colonial situations around the world and throughout time (Rowlands 1998; Lyons and Papadopoulos 2002; Given 2004; Gossen 2004; Stein 2005). As of yet, however, postcolonial theory has not figured prominently into these analyses (excepting van Dommelen 1997, 2002, 2005). Within postcolonial studies, scholarship has previously focused almost exclusively upon European colonialism and neocolonialism from the fifteenth century until today, inviting criticisms of Eurocentrism. The unique diachronic and cross-cultural nature of the archaeological record affords archaeologists the opportunity to explore the applicability of postcolonial theory to a wide variety of cultural and temporal contexts, examining both the European expansion of the post-fifteenth century (Orser 1996) and similar processes in the more distant past (Gosden 2004; Stein 2005). Even with the addition of archaeological studies of a variety of differing contexts, there is no inherent reason that postcolonialism must homogenize the diversity of colonial experiences. Rather, the variety of colonial encounters affords great potential for postcolonial studies. Critics who accuse postcolonialism of generalizing colonial experiences sound a valuable warning, and postcolonial scholars have acknowledged that "the homogenization of colonialism does need to be set against its historical and geographical particularities" (Young 1995:165). Archaeological research provides just such valuable comparative studies. For this reason, we have chosen a variety of case studies from different contexts around the world to be represented in this volume, investigating not a monolithic "postcolonial condition" but, rather, a diversity of situations in which postcolonial theory may prove enlightening.

Is Postcolonialism Neocolonialist?

The most scathing critiques of postcolonialism have been leveled by critics who argue that although postcolonialists *appear* to challenge imperialist power structures, this opposition masks their continuing complicity with

neocolonialist modes of oppression (Ahmad 1992, 1995; Dirlik 1994, 1999). According to this view, postcolonialism is principally a Western product, complicit in the continuing neocolonialist subjugation of the Third World. Historian Arif Dirlik accuses the First World academy of appropriating postcolonial/"Third World" intellectuals. His answer to the question "When exactly does the postcolonial begin?" is only half-joking: "When Third World intellectuals have arrived in First World academe" (Dirlik 1994:328–29). Dirlik accuses the luminaries of postcolonialism of having "sold out" by accepting employment in American universities. He and others further point to the European philosophers who underlie much of postcolonial thinking: Foucault's influence on Said, Derrida's on Spivak, and Lacan's and Freud's on Bhabha (Mukherjee 1996:8; Patterson Chapter 2). This intellectual genealogy purportedly demonstrates that postcolonialism does not represent the perspectives of colonized peoples but, rather, that of European colonizers, with objectives and concepts fashioned in American universities. Finally, these critics note the alarming alacrity with which postcolonialism was appropriated by Western scholars (archaeologists being a notable exception), all of which leads them to the conclusion that postcolonialism is nothing more than a neocolonialist tool of the Western academy which functions to maintain Euro-American hegemony.

While the European origins of many of the theories that inspired postcolonial thought are undeniable, this fact only serves to illustrate one of the main points of postcolonialism: that colonized peoples cannot help but be influenced by the legacy of colonialism (McLeod 2000:249). Criticisms such as Dirlik's belie a latent nativist desire for pure, unadulterated "Third World" theory, uncontaminated by the processes of Western colonialism. But as postcolonialists have demonstrated, the existence of such pristine scholarship is a myth, as the capillary actions of colonial power are far too pervasive (Foucault 1980). Furthermore, the fact that postcolonialism has had extensive impacts on Western academics illustrates the corollary that colonization impacts the colonizer as well as the colonized. While it is true that postcolonialism has been quickly embraced by scholars at the traditional centers of theory production (as evidenced by the contributors to this volume), the alternatives of ignorance or apathy by Western academics are hardly preferable. Those who advocate a de-Westernized postcolonialism seem to support a policy of academic apartheid, promoting a binary division between "First" and "Third World" scholars that is not only unsustainable but also undesirable.

A related criticism, leveled by Marxist critics, is that postcolonialism's focus on colonial discourses, language, and representation ignores the ma-

terial realities of subaltern subjugation (Dirlik 1994, 1999; Ahmad 1995; Parry 2004; Patterson Chapter 2). In other words, despite all the jargon-laden academic discussion, postcolonialists neglect to account for the concrete economic and social conditions faced by people living outside the Ivory Tower who deal with the realities of colonial legacies on a daily basis. These critics view the focus on colonialism as a red herring, distracting postcolonialists from the true basis of subaltern subjugation: capitalist modernity (Ahmad 1995:7).

While it would be far too optimistic to suggest that archaeology alone might resolve these debates, the study of material culture can contribute to postcolonial theory by investigating the linkages between colonialist representations on the one hand and the material world on the other. In so doing, archaeological research can not only help to ground some of the more esoteric aspects of postcolonialism but also provide the historical backing that postcolonial studies are accused of lacking (Ahmad 1992; Dirlik 1999). Although postcolonialists have stressed the importance of "putting together . . . the dismembered past to make sense of the trauma of the present" (Bhabha 1994:63), these same studies have been criticized as predominantly synchronic analyses, lacking any real theory of culture change (Gosden 2001:243). Archaeological research can, in some cases, provide a material and historical basis for postcolonial analyses. But in the same way that postcolonial theory is not a panacea for archaeology, archaeology is not a panacea for postcolonialism. Both archaeology and postcolonial studies stand to benefit from increased dialogue. Gosden (2001:243) notes that "postcolonial theory may suggest new directions for archaeological analysis"; we would suggest that archaeology might do the same for postcolonialism.

Contributions of This Volume

The case studies presented in this volume explicitly examine the intersections between archaeology and postcolonialism, concentrating primarily upon the prospective contributions of postcolonial theory to contemporary archaeology, and in some cases, how archaeology might also contribute to postcolonial theory. In an attempt to avoid the problematic homogenization of which postcolonialism has been accused, we have assembled a wide variety of studies from around the world. Although the majority of authors hail from the traditional "centers" of archaeological theory, some do not, and together they address the practice of archaeology in a variety of contexts worldwide: the Caribbean, Mesoamerica, the

United States, the Middle East, India, Turkey, and Sri Lanka. Contributions also range from studies that address the impact of postcolonial theory on the local level (examining histories of archaeological research in specific regions) to the global level, investigating the practice of archaeology in and by modern neoliberal institutions. The assembled chapters are not intended to provide a comprehensive overview of postcolonialism in archaeology; indeed, we consider the relationship between archaeology and postcolonialism in its infancy. Rather, the contributions in this volume represent the first tentative steps of a much longer journey. The studies presented here merely provide points of departure upon which we hope future examinations can be built.

History is a primary theme investigated in the chapters by Thomas Patterson (Chapter 2), Praveena Gullapalli (Chapter 3), and Jaime Pagán Jiménez and Reniel Rodríguez Ramos (Chapter 4)—the history of postcolonialism as well as the history of archaeology in specific regions. Patterson contextualizes the emergence of postcolonial theory within a wider global history of the later twentieth century in his chapter, "A Brief History of Postcolonial Theory and Implications for Archaeology." Through a consideration of the emergence of postcolonialism out of the contradictions of political–economic, social, and intellectual currents that shaped world history after the Second World War, he notes that the roots of postcolonialism can be traced back not only to early decolonization movements, but also to the creation of a world in which "imperialism, socialism, and third-worldism" struggled for control over newly independent nations. By examining the intellectual genealogy of postcolonialism, he further notes the Enlightenment foundations that underlie much of contemporary postcolonial theory. Unconvinced that postcolonial scholars have sufficiently considered Marxist perspectives, Patterson expands upon classic critiques and questions the applicability of models generated by postcolonial scholars (which tend to focus on the specific historical circumstances of the past sixty years) for the interpretation of precapitalist societies—the focus of the majority of archaeological research. Ultimately, Patterson reminds us that any engagement between archaeology and postcolonialism demands critical assessment of the theories being applied, though he welcomes the broadening of intellectual horizons and strengthening of ties between archaeology, cultural anthropology, and history that will result from the judicious application of postcolonial theory.

In Chapter 3, Gullapalli directly addresses the critique of postcolonialism as homogenizing by emphasizing the necessity of local discussions within specific historical and archaeological contexts. She notes that ar-

chaeological research highlights areas in which postcolonialism needs to be developed further—specifically, increased attention to the heterogeneity of experiences within colonialism and among colonized peoples. Through an investigation of the history of archaeological research in South Asia, Gullapalli draws attention to the complex relationship between archaeology and colonialism in India. There, colonial discourses forged by early British archaeologists continue to shape Indian archaeology down to the present day. Even more recently, archaeology has played a role in the development of discourses of decolonization by specifically countering colonial narratives as well. And while the practice of archaeology in contemporary India shares similarities with other postcolonial nations, it does not necessarily proceed in the ways typically envisioned by postcolonial theorists, either. While post-independence archaeology in India has been used to refute colonial discourses, Gullapalli points out that it has not led to the articulation of localized, heterogeneous histories. Thus, she demonstrates the ways in which anticolonial discourses can lead to homogenizing and nationalist narratives regarding the past. Gullapalli concludes by calling for increased attention to the myriad local identities that archaeology has the ability to elucidate, which may in turn demonstrate that archaeology can indeed enable postcolonial peoples in India to create their own histories.

Jaime Pagán Jiménez and Reniel Rodríguez Ramos remind us of the ongoing colonial legacy still experienced today in the "postcolonial colony" of Puerto Rico (Chapter 4). They emphasize the importance of local experiences in the development of archaeological theory and are leery of the neocolonialist aspects of postcolonialism being thrust upon them from the centers of theory production. Through a detailed analysis of the history of archaeological research on the island, they show how the construction of the Puerto Rican past through colonial discourses serves to naturalize the continued colonial and neocolonial occupation of the island. They also take to task archaeologists from the traditional centers of theory production for their ignorance of the theory produced in Latin American and other non-English-speaking parts of the world, warning that "if a concerted effort is not made by central archaeologists to hear what others are saying, they will continue to float in their own colonially-infested swimming pool." Pagán Jiménez and Rodríguez Ramos provide concrete examples of colonialist discourses that persist to the present day, reminding us that colonialism indeed endures, and that although some former colonies have attained a modicum of independence, we most certainly do not live (or practice archaeology) in a world free from colonialism.

The problems of essentialism and identity construction in modern indigenous communities are examined in the contributions of Matthew Liebmann (Chapter 5) and Greg Borgstede and Jason Yaeger (Chapter 6). Chapter Five, "Postcolonial Cultural Affiliation: Essentialism, Hybridity, and NAGPRA," investigates the conflicts that can arise when postcolonial tenets such as anti-essentialism and the hybrid construction of identities are brought to bear upon the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA). Contrary to the assertions of critics who contend that NAGPRA necessitates the propagation of essentialist discourses by contemporary Native Americans, this study uses the history of the legislation to provide an alternative interpretation of the law. It contends that a more nuanced reading of NAGPRA can be used in concert with the works of postcolonial theorists such as Bhabha (1994) to strengthen the claims of cultural affiliation required of Native Americans under the law. The cornerstone of postcolonial cultural affiliation depends on the ability of archaeologists to document the histories behind the hybrid cultural formations of modern tribes. Rather than undermining Native American claims of cultural affiliation, the postcolonial concept of hybridity can be used to establish the ways in which modern tribes retain a cultural affiliation with their ancestors. In this way, postcolonial theory can help to free contemporary Native Americans from the colonialist discourses that locate Native American authenticity only in a static, unchanging precolonial essence.

Borgstede and Yaeger investigate archaeology's role in the construction of essentialist discourses in Mesoamerica in their chapter, "Notions of Cultural Continuity and Disjunction in Maya Social Movements and Maya Archaeology." Archaeology, they contend, is implicated in a complex recursive relationship with the concept of cultural continuity in Maya contexts. While archaeologists are guilty of employing generalized, indiscriminate ethnographic analogies based on modern Maya communities to interpret the archaeological record, these analogies neglect to acknowledge the variation that exists among modern Maya ethnic groups and regions. At the same time, the homogenized characteristics employed by archaeologists are utilized by modern Maya intellectuals in the deployment of "strategic essentialisms" (Spivak 1988b) that emphasize pan-Maya cultural continuities. Thus, they note that the hybridity so often identified by postcolonial scholars as a hallmark of colonial and postcolonial societies is actively deemphasized in Maya contexts in order to bolster the case for cultural continuity. For archaeologists, this minimization is thought to strengthen their interpretations of the precolonial Maya past. For modern

Maya peoples, this discourse of cultural continuity is co-opted and reconfigured for political expediency. Borgstede and Yaeger note that while these essentialisms are used by indigenous groups to contest colonial hegemony, they also contribute to a potential undermining of archaeological science in the future.

The decolonization of archaeology is at the core of the studies by Uzma Rizvi (Chapter 7) and Robert Preucel and Craig Cipolla (Chapter 8). According to Rizvi, although the colonial legacy of archaeology is amply documented, this fact has not yet effected a methodological shift in the discipline. She provides a case study based on archaeological research in Rajasthan, India, that advocates critical reflexivity during fieldwork (paying particular attention to the politics of language); community-based archaeology involving interaction and collaboration with people on the local, provincial, and national levels; and possibly most importantly, a willingness among archaeologists to fundamentally relinquish power in the field. By conceiving of postcolonial critiques not just in the realm of theory but also as methodological tools, Rizvi pulls postcolonialism from its Ivory Tower refuge. In the process, she provides a response to the common Marxist critique that postcolonialism divorces theory from political realities, demonstrating the potential impact of postcolonialism beyond hypothetical debates to affect practical aspects of the practice of archaeology.

Preucel and Cipolla continue the investigation into the decolonization of the discipline through their discussion of indigenous archaeologies. They examine the various meanings of the term *indigenous archaeology* in the twenty-first century through an exploration of the diverse practices associated with this term. Indigenous archaeologies overlap with postcolonial approaches through a shared commitment to decolonize archaeological practices. Preucel and Cipolla investigate the role of language in the production of archaeological discourse and the incorporation of indigenous epistemologies into contemporary archaeology. But they also document areas in which indigenous archaeologies provide a critique of postcolonialism, noting that the attention afforded to local issues by indigenous archaeologies addresses particular concerns of specific communities, a factor often overlooked by the generalizing (Western) academic interests that tend to characterize postcolonial studies. Ultimately, they are optimistic regarding the potential of indigenous archaeologies to transform postcolonial concepts, reshaping them to correspond with the specific disciplinary requirements of archaeology. In the process, the intersection of postcolonial and indigenous approaches hold the potential to transform archaeology into a more democratic—and decolonized—discipline.

Globalization, nationalism, and the impacts of neoliberal organizations upon the practice of contemporary archaeology are themes investigated by the final three chapters in this volume. In Chapter 9, Ian Lilley examines the relationships between archaeology and neoliberal global entities through a consideration of how archaeologists might pose a postcolonial response to recent shifts in the cultural heritage activities of the World Bank. Promoting the value of a broad postcolonial sensibility (rather than applying the work of a specific postcolonial scholar), Lilley exposes the constant tension in international affairs between state sovereignty and external intervention. Through a case study of World Bank heritage policy focusing on the Ilisu Dam project in Turkey, Lilley calls on archaeologists to become more vocal concerning the activities of global entities with impacts on archaeological resources. If we do not, he warns, archaeologists "will have no impact on the way the decolonizing world turns and no say in the way in which the turn of postcolonial events impinge upon us." However, archaeologists need to decolonize the practice of our craft, he notes, if we intend to demand the same from global organizations. Attention to multivocality and willingness to relinquish the authority to speak and act for the past, he believes, are the keys to this decolonization.

Sandra Scham (Chapter 10) examines the conflicts among local, national, and global interests in her analysis of the problematic notions of "heritage" in the Middle East. In an attempt to rid the histories of the Middle East of nationalist baggage, global organizations such as UNESCO have recast them in terms of "World Heritage," a notion that serves to veil neocolonialist interventions in the region. By transforming "their heritage" into "our heritage," archaeological sites in the Middle East have become locales of colonization yet again. In this context, Scham reminds archaeologists of the need to clearly identify "the persons for whom they are retrieving the past." Because archaeology has long been a tool of nationalist discourses in the Middle East, Scham investigates the notions of "good" and "bad" nationalisms, concluding that there is no such thing as "good" nationalism, and advocating the abandonment of that term. Although she also realizes that heritage and archaeology will likely never be value neutral, she calls for continued critical reflection regarding the presentation of the archaeology of the Middle East.

Sudharshan Seneviratne (Chapter 11) continues the examination of UNESCO policies through his investigation of archaeological practice, preservation, and presentation in Sri Lanka. Seneviratne documents the various ways in which the World Heritage site of Anuradhapura has been

appropriated for ideological gains. He notes the ways that these appropriations, beginning with British colonialists and Orientalist historians, were passed on to future postcolonial archaeologists, historians, and interested publics, fomenting Buddhist–Hindu tensions in Sri Lanka. The case of Anuradhapura provides a strong critique of the neocolonialism exhibited by global organizations such as UNESCO, which has raised the ire of local populations who believe that their history has been appropriated by colonialist actions. But Seneviratne also notes the dangers in the denial of history that can result from the outright rejection of all knowledge developed under colonialism, as demonstrated by terrorist attacks at Anuradhapura in recent decades. Rather than advocating either nationalist appropriations of the site or the antiestablishment denial of heritage, he calls for a third approach which emphasizes inclusivity and the shared historical legacy of the island's multiple ethnic, religious, and linguistic groups, as all are legitimate stakeholders in the historical legacy of Sri Lanka.

The concluding chapter (Chapter 12) by coeditor Uzma Rizvi investigates the futures of postcolonialism and archaeology, suggesting possible avenues for further examination. She identifies potential contributions arising from the interaction of archaeology and postcolonialism, including an emphasis on the necessity of interdisciplinary research and the extension of the postcolonial critique to postnational and post-Soviet contexts. Rizvi finishes with a call for archaeology to effect and stimulate social change, building upon recent acknowledgments of the importance of involving interested publics and affiliated communities in the practice of contemporary archaeology.

The chapters in this volume thus establish several emergent themes in the articulation of postcolonialism and archaeology: the investigation of the history of colonial discourses, the problems of essentialism, the importance of decolonizing practices, and the neocolonialism often inherent in the heritage strategies of global and neoliberal institutions. They also present an opportunity for archaeology to address some of the critiques of postcolonialism outlined above. In response to the accusation that postcolonial studies refuse to engage with real-world issues, the chapters in this volume provide a multitude of studies of modern, real-world situations. They document the variation of contemporary postcolonial conditions, providing materiality and locality to the study of postcolonialism—and in the process, answer the critique that postcolonialism homogenizes colonial and postcolonial experiences. More than anything else, these studies

demonstrate the relevance and significance of postcolonial theory for the practice of archaeology in the twenty-first century. They not only document the utility of postcolonialism for archaeological method and theory but also suggest new directions and challenges posed by archaeology for postcolonial studies.

A Brief History of Postcolonial Theory and Implications for Archaeology

2

THOMAS C. PATTERSON

POSTCOLONIALISM EMERGED IN COLONIAL LITERATURE and cultural studies programs in Western universities in the late 1970s and the early 1980s. Since then, the ideas have spread slowly and unevenly to anthropology, history, and other disciplines. Briefly, postcolonialism is an umbrella term rather than a single set of ideas or practices (Young 2003:7). It refers to the cultural effects of colonization as well as to the interactions and representations engendered in societies that were former colonies of European states—themes captured by the title *The Empire Writes Back* (Ashcroft et al. 1989). Some postcolonial scholars use the term with reference to societies that gained political independence in the wake of the Second World War; hence, they write about precolonial, colonial, and postcolonial (post-independence) cultures as well as the historical continuities and ruptures between these societies. Others use the term more inclusively to refer to societies as diverse as the Incas, the United States, or East Timor during the Indonesian occupation; in this view, the term lacks temporal and historic specificity and seems to refer more to a stage in a process (Ashcroft et al. 1998:186). In addition, postcolonial scholars write from diverse theoretical perspectives, ranging from liberalism through poststructuralism and deconstruction to Marxism. The theoretical center of gravity for much of the field is poststructuralism or, as Benita Parry (2004:3) has described it, "the predominance of a textual idealism." While "little direct, serious dialogue *between* Marxists and postcolonial theorists" has occurred, there is a potential for dialogue. This affords an opportunity to examine the interplay of diverse viewpoints, understandings, and explanations of the world in which we live (Bartolovich 2002:1).

Because of their relations with various movements for decolonization, political independence, and national liberation, the core ideas of postcolonial theory and criticism have "a long and complex history" outside the academy (Moore-Gilbert 1997:5). Various authors have described postcolonial theory and its historical development (e.g., Bartolovich and Lazarus 2002; Moore-Gilbert 1997; Young 2001, 2003). Others have assembled readers containing seminal writings (e.g., Afzal-Khan and Seshadri-Crooks 2000; Chambers and Curti 1996; Schwarz and Ray 2000; Williams and Chrisman 1994). Still others have developed critiques (e.g., Ahmad 1992; Dirlik 1997; Parry 2004; San Juan 1998; Spivak 1999). More recently, a few have begun to examine its linkages with other fields of inquiry and to ask what lies beyond postcolonialism (e.g., Goldberg and Quayson 2002; Lewis and Mills 2003; Loomba et al. 2005; Zein-Elabdin and Charusheela 2004). The aims of this chapter are briefly: (1) to examine the historical context in which postcolonialism developed; (2) to provide an overview and analysis of the foundations and development of postcolonial thought; (3) to take account of the critiques of postcolonialism, which in my view are not frequently addressed by its proponents; and (4) to consider its potential implications for archaeological theory and practice.

The Historical Context of the Rise of Postcolonial Thought

Advocates and critics generally agree that postcolonialism appeared in the 1980s; however, they conceptualize it differently. While some advocates locate the origins of postcolonialism in the *discourse* of colonizer and colonized, colony and newly independent nation, critics generally situate its emergence in terms of *world history* after the Second World War (e.g., compare Young 2003 with Dirlik 1997:1–18 and San Juan 1998:1–18).[1] The former focus on the identities and logics of difference forged in discourse that give ontological priority to cultural differences between the colonizer and the colonized; the latter argue that discourse and representation are not the same as the material realities of history and, instead, ground their accounts in the reproduction and/or transformation of socioeconomic and political structures and in the agency of classes rather than individuals. Because postcolonial scholars tend to bracket the politics of history and culture, let us briefly remove the brackets to examine that history, keeping in mind that each of the contradictions and processes described below generated or underpinned an enormous outpouring of cultural commentary and production.

Writing in the early 1990s, Aijaz Ahmad (1992:9) described the "contradictory unity" of the post–World War II era in terms of the "dialectic—between imperialism, decolonization, and the struggles for socialism," all of which already had well-established, diverse but intertwined roots by the beginning of the twentieth century. The dialectic between capitalist imperialism and the struggle for socialism unleashed (1) the Cold War after 1945; (2) the formation of socialist states (e.g., China in 1949 and Cuba a decade later); (3) a number of civil wars, including those in Greece (1946–1949) and Peru (1960–1965); and (4) a series of local wars of containment, or "police actions" as they were called, that were waged mainly in Asia—most notably, Korea (1950–1953) and Vietnam (c. 1955–1975).

Simultaneously, the dynamic of decolonization underwrote, among other things: (1) various political movements for national independence, beginning with the partition of the British Indian Empire in 1947; (2) numerous wars of national liberation waged, for example, against the English in Kenya (1952–1959) and the French in Indochina (1946–1954) and Algeria (1954–1962)[2]; and (3) a pan-Arab nationalist movement that led to the formation of the United Arab Republic, which united briefly the newly independent republics and former colonies of Egypt and Syria from 1958 to 1961. By 1960, nearly 1.3 billion people, a third of the world's population at the time, had gained political independence, and the number of newly independent nation-states in Africa and Asia had increased from a handful to more than fifty.

The dynamic of decolonization also gave rise to the idea of the Third World in 1952 and to a conference three years later in Bandung, Indonesia. The participants in the conference were the newly independent but poor countries of Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Pacific—that is, the new nations of the Third World. They adopted a policy of nonalignment, claiming they wanted economic development that was neither capitalist nor socialist. The movement was led by members of the various national bourgeoisies who attempted to pursue policies of nonaligned economic development at the same time that they accepted loans and assistance from the capitalist countries and the Soviet Union. The anticolonial nationalism they harnessed to achieve their goals would remain a potent force through the mid-1970s.[3]

The ascendancy of the national bourgeoisies in the Third World states was short-lived. Once independence was attained, the dynamic of decolonization waned—except in settler colonies, like Israel and South Africa—from the mid-1970s onward. As Ahmad (1992:41) notes:

> with the colonial relationship broken, the newly independent states were expected to combat imperialism with the nationalist *ideologies*, regardless of

> what classes were now in power and irrespective of the utter inadequacy of the nationalist ideology as such, even at its best, to protect a backward capitalist country against the countless pressures of advanced capitalism, so long as the confrontation takes place within an imperialist structure—which is to say, on capitalist terms.

In confronting the economic crises of capital accumulation and marginalization during the 1970s and 1980s, the national bourgeois leaders of Third World states borrowed heavily and were forced to implement various neoliberal policies—such as deregulation; privatization of state-owned enterprises; and the withdrawal of state support for health, education, and welfare programs. As they did so, their abilities, integrity, and even legitimacy were increasingly called into question both at home and abroad (e.g., Amin 1992).

The economic stagnation of the 1970s and 1980s also affected the dynamic between capitalist and socialist worlds. Economic expansion reappeared in the capitalist world, especially in the Far East, during the mid-1980s but at a much slower pace than earlier. In the USSR and the socialist countries of Eastern Europe, higher oil prices, coupled with inefficiency and increased military expenditures in the capitalist world, underwrote a 20 percent decline in industrial production and the collapse of national currencies. These, in turn, buttressed demands to dismantle and dismember socialist states in the USSR, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia, as well as the institution of capitalist market reforms in China and many of the Eastern Bloc countries. They unleashed the formation of plunder economies in Russia and China, resurgent nationalism and religious fundamentalism in the former Soviet republics, a bloody civil war in Bosnia, and a rising tide of xenophobia in the capitalist countries of Western Europe, directed mainly against immigrants who fled their own countries in search of work and safety.

Some of the final acts of the three-way dynamic between imperialism, socialism, and third-worldism took place in the Middle East. The conservative monarchies overthrown in Ethiopia (1974) and Afghanistan (1978) were replaced by socialist governments; after the Shah of Iran (1979) was exiled, power was seized by a conservative Islamic cleric. Both the Soviet Union and United States intervened in the region. From 1979 to 1989, the former provided military aid and troops to support the socialist government in Afghanistan, while the latter provided military support and weapons to *mujahideen* militias that sought to over-

throw the socialists and to form their own ethnic- or religious-based spheres of influence in the region. In contrast, both the Soviet Union and the United States provided weapons to Iraq as it waged war with Iran from 1980 to 1988, while China and North Korea provided military aid to Iran; in this war, Iraq's goals were geopolitical—to recover the Shatt al Arab waterway ceded earlier and to seize a port and an oil-rich province in western Iran.

The apparent ascendancy of a global capitalism in the 1990s marked not only the end of the Cold War but also the consolidation of a new capitalist dynamic. Samir Amin (1997:3–5) argues that the new features of this dynamic are (1) the erosion of auto-centered nation-states and the linkage between the accumulation and reproduction of capital which was formerly defined in terms of those states, and (2) the erosion of the distinction between industrialized centers and nonindustrialized peripheries. He proceeds to argue that "a country's position in the global hierarchy is defined by its capacity to compete in the global market" (Amin 1997:3), which reflects varying degrees of monopolistic control over technology, world financial markets, natural resources, media and communications, and weapons of mass destruction (cf. Harvey 2003; McNally 2005; Wood 2003). The nation-state is not disappearing, because national and multinational capital is inserted into the global market through state-sponsored legislation such as NAFTA (Weiss 1998).

Recent riots in China over the state appropriation of farmlands, demonstrations in Bolivia over the privatization of water and other national resources, the growing reluctance of China and other countries to continue floating the debt of the United States, and the uncertain future of the European Union—to name only four instances—suggest that this ascendancy may be short-lived and does not necessarily signify the "end of history," as Francis Fukuyama (1992) and others have claimed. World history, of course, has highly politicized cultural dimensions that are not easily reducible to, or a mere reflection of, underlying structures and processes and yet, at the same time, are not divorced from them either. Such writers as Chinua Achebe, José María Arguedas, Amílcar Cabral, Aimé Césaire, W. E. B. Du Bois, C. L. R. James, José Martí, Jawaharlal Nehru, Gamal Abdel Nasser, and Ngugi wa Thiong'o, to name only a few, explored and contributed to our understanding of the cultural and political dimensions of this history from diverse theoretical perspectives, as have such artists as Diego Rivera, Woody Guthrie, and Tracy Chapman.

Foundational Texts: Arguments and Sources of Inspiration

The development of postcolonial studies is often portrayed in terms of a series of foundational authors or of themes that these authors either addressed or failed to consider (e.g., Moore-Gilbert 1997; Young 1995:163–64). Edward Said's (1978) *Orientalism* is widely acknowledged as the founding text of postcolonial studies. Gayatri Spivak and Homi Bhabha, the other names most frequently mentioned, acknowledge the importance of Said's work and engage in different ways with his legacy.

Said's *Orientalism* is concerned with the formation of the discourse of Orientalism in England and France, but not Germany, starting in the late eighteenth century. Orientalism was forged and shaped by a mass of travelers, officials, and others who wrote about the Middle East.[4] They created and refined an array of images, personalities, and experiences that simultaneously acknowledged the linkages between, and distinguished, its peoples and cultures from those of Europe (i.e., the West). In his view, this discourse yielded not only a hegemonic perspective but also an "enormously systematic discipline by means of which European culture was able to manage—and even produce—the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period" (Said 1978:3). At the same time, Said (1978:23) believed that individual writers had a "determining imprint . . . upon the otherwise anonymous collective body of texts constituting a discursive formation like Orientalism." In this regard, Said disagreed with the anonymity and monolithic appearance implied in Michel Foucault's (1966) notion of an episteme or, for that matter, Thomas Kuhn's (1962:10–34) paradigm of normal science or Louis Althusser's (1970) commentary on ideology and ideological state apparatuses.[5]

Orientalist discourse, in Said's mind, was composed by multiple authors and consisted of multiple, intertwined theoretical strands that interrogated one another. Because of this, authors working within the discourse potentially had the capacity to challenge its views and teachings and to overcome their limitations. However, to do so required that they open themselves up reflexively to "critical scrutiny" and that they determine as accurately as possible the intellectual baggage they accumulated historically as they learned to participate in and contribute to the field (Said 1978:10, 25). With regard to the latter, he applauds the critical self-consciousness of Maxime Rodinson and Clifford Geertz, among others (Said 1978:326–27). Thus, Said sees Orientalism as a cultural construction, derived from civil

society rather than the state, and as a field of knowledge that cannot be relegated entirely to the realm of ideology, understood as false consciousness. Moreover, it seems that Orientalism, in his view, potentially has an internal dialectic of change, because not all of the participants in the formation of the discourse are necessarily contributing to its reproduction.

Said's theoretical inspiration came from two sources. One was philosopher and social commentator Michel Foucault's analyses of discourse and of domains or systems of knowledge that only have meaning in the context of power relations. While specifically mentioning Foucault's *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1969) and *Discipline and Punish* (1975), it is clear that Foucault's *The Order of Things* (1966) was important; however, Said would later write that Foucault's notion of power "obliterate[d] the role of classes, the role of economics, the role of insurgency and rebellion" (Said 1983:243). Said's other sources of inspiration were Marxist works—notably Raymond Williams's (1958) *Culture and Society, 1750–1950* and Antonio Gramsci's (1929–37) *Prison Notebooks*, especially his "The Study of Philosophy: Some Preliminary Points of Reference."[6] Said (1978:6–7, 14, 28) appreciates Gramsci's discussions of the distinction between civil and political society, of hegemony, and of culture and Williams's observations about unlearning dominative modes of thought.

Gayatri Spivak's writings in the late 1980s are widely cited as foundational works of postcolonial theory, most importantly her essay "Can the Subaltern Speak?" (Spivak 1988a).[7] Here, Spivak (1988a:271) is concerned with (1) critically examining how Third World subjects are represented, particularly in an exchange between Foucault and Gilles Deleuze (Foucault 1977:205–17), (2) showing that Western intellectual production is complicit with Western (capitalist) economic interests, and (3) considering whether alternative analyses of Western discourses might open possibilities of speaking of or for subaltern women. Foucault and Deleuze in a different way argued that the subject comes into existence through the interplay of language and power and is lodged in impersonal disciplinary institutions, like academic fields or prisons. Without identifying transformative moments and individuals in discourses, they further argued that the networks of power and interest were so heterogeneous that it was impossible to reduce them to a coherent narrative, and that the intellectual's role was "to disclose and know the discourse of society's Other" (Spivak 1988a:272). Spivak's critique of their position was that they did not consider either the interrelations of power and subjectivity or the material conditions that facilitated the historical development of such an ideology. She contrasts this with Karl Marx's (1852) discussion of peasant subjectivity, in that part of

The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte where he distinguished between representation as political proxy and portrait (Spivak 1988a:275–79; cf. Larsen 2002). In the closing section of her paper, Spivak returns to the issue of subjectivity—this time that of the subaltern, those proletarians and rural laborers who toiled in the center and on the margins of the British Indian Empire. She is particularly concerned with whether the subaltern or the subaltern as woman could speak, not as a subject but rather from that *standpoint*; she concludes that they could not (Chakrabarti and Cullenberg 2003:317–25).

Spivak adopts Jacques Derrida's (e.g., 1967a,b) method of deconstructing philosophical texts. This involves close conceptual and textual readings in order to identify blind spots, contradictions, or unresolved tensions in the conceptual frameworks employed by their authors; it is based on the belief that "there are gaps between the intelligibility of a rational system and the reality it is trying to capture" (Gutting 2005:830; Norris 1991; Spivak 1999:423–31). Spivak also engages with the arguments of the subaltern studies of historians and social scientists who, from the early 1980s onward, contested the historical frameworks and discourse that dominated studies of Indian history and society (Chakrabarty 2000; Chakrabarti and Cullenberg 2003:90–130). Using the concepts of subaltern and hegemony adopted from Gramsci, these authors sought to rescue the pasts of subordinated groups in India—notably, urban workers and peasants. While adopting to some extent their framework and arguments, Spivak (1985) also chides them for neglecting to consider Indian women.

The essays in Homi Bhabha's (1994) *The Location of Culture* are also viewed as foundational works in postcolonial thought.[8] Bhabha is concerned with (1) the formation of subjectivity and identity in the context of the colonizer–colonized relationship, (2) agency and resistance in colonial settings, and (3) the impact of large-scale movements of people that seems to yield simultaneously hybridity and the rearticulation of cultural difference in new spaces and places. He argues that the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized also involves power and is more complex than earlier writers had claimed. The colonial authority is always filled with anxiety, because his identity depends on that of the colonial subject. This uneasiness is due to the fact that identity, subjectivity, and agency are shaped in no small part by the unconscious, and that both the colonizer and the colonized need the other to constitute themselves. Neither identity was original, but, rather, both were constituted as part of the ongoing "psychological guerrilla warfare" embodied in the signs, symbols, and textual performances of everyday life, such as mimicry, sly civility, or

ambivalence. They occur in the colony, not in the metropole as Said implied (Moore-Gilbert 2000:458). Thus,

> Resistance is not necessarily an oppositional act of political intention, nor is it the simple negation or exclusion of the "content" of another culture, as a difference once perceived. It is the effect of an ambivalence produced within the rules of recognition of dominating discourses as they articulate the signs of cultural difference and reimplicate them within the deferential relations of colonial power—hierarchy, normalization, marginalization and so forth. For colonial domination is achieved through a process of disavowal that denies the chaos of its intervention, as *Entstellung* [distortion, misrepresentation], its dislocatory presence in order to preserve the authority of its identity in the teleological narratives of historical and political evolutionism (Bhabha 1994:110–11).

International migration has underwritten the formation of hybrid cultural identities as "new 'people' [are incorporated] in relation to the body politic" (Bhabha 1990:4). The identities and subjectivities are shaped by the interplay of the unconscious of both the hosts and the immigrants, and cultural difference is rearticulated "from the perspective of the signifying position of the minority that resists totalization . . . producing other spaces of subaltern signification" (Bhabha 1994:162). Thus, the significant factor in the construction of cultural difference is the position of immigrant as immigrant rather than capitalism, class, or gender.

Bhabha's work, as Benita Parry (2004:55) observed, marks "the linguistic turn in cultural studies." It also marks a turn to psychoanalysis and the importance of the unconscious. In his view, language and the unconscious are intimately linked. To establish the connection, he draws on the writings of psychoanalyst-philosopher Jacques Lacan (1973), who argued that Freud's unconscious was structured like language, and on Derrida's views about the tensions and contradictions inherent in language as well as his opposition, more generally, to binary oppositions in philosophical thought. Bhabha also cites Fanon's (1952) early work *Black Skin, White Masks*, on racism and colonialism. Here, Fanon viewed the formation of culture as a product of the unconscious rather than as a historical activity as he did in his later work *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961).

Marxist Critiques of Postcolonial Thought

There are diverse strands of postcolonial theory. Each of the strands sketched above has built on one or another version of poststructuralist thought. Two have either appropriated ideas from the Marxist tradition or

engaged in a dialogue with some conceptualization of Marxism, while the third has used British structuralist Marxism as a foil, a declaration of the demise of Marxist thought, and a notice of the arrival of a new post-Marxism.[9] The commentaries of the critics of postcolonial studies are often grounded in Marxist social thought. Let us examine briefly three of their major criticisms.

First, by focusing mainly on the relationship of the colonizer and the colonized, postcolonial scholars are producing a discourse that deals with only one facet of the historic specificity of the modern period. The critics argue that the colonial relationship needs to be examined seriously in terms of the material realities and the social context of world history during the last sixty years rather than what has been written or said about them. Ahmad called it the dialectic between capitalist territorial and economic expansion, decolonization, and struggle for socialism. This dialectic underpinned not only the formation and reproduction of social-class structures crosscut by the creation of complex sociocultural identities (including those based on gender, ethnicity, and "race") but also the formation of states, transformation, and dissolution of states. Understanding the structures provides a historical grounding for understanding the construction and interrelations of identities and the significance of cultural difference at levels ranging from the local to the global. It also avoids the potential danger inherent in the focus on the colonizer–colonized relationship of homogenizing the everyday experiences of peoples occupying different social positions, residing in different colonial states, or participating in non-class-stratified societies.

Second, the critics also argue that the dialectic of world history they have described for the last sixty years was historically specific and, hence, that it did not shape the social relations within and between groups at all times and places. Examining the material realities and contexts of the modern epoch does not imply that the dynamics shaping earlier epochs were identical. It also does not imply that agency is limited to the colonial powers of the industrialized West; this myth was effectively dispelled by the history of struggles in the New World colonies reaching back to the sixteenth century and by the initial successes of the national liberation struggles themselves in the mid-twentieth century (e.g., Stern 1988). Failing to examine premodern dynamics has the potential to universalize and homogenize human agency and to imply that agency and the construction of identity are limited to the verbal skills of and exchanges between socially disengaged neoliberal subjects—atomized individuals who, while they stand in a knowledge/power relation with one another, are socially powerless. Such a claim is both temporally and socially constrained.

Third, postcolonial scholars are setting out to establish an anti-Eurocentric discourse; however, the theoretical foundations of this discourse are rooted in one or another strand of thought that emerged during the Enlightenment—the liberalism of John Locke or John Stuart Mill, the social critiques of Michel de Montaigne or Jean-Jacques Rousseau, or the historical materialist tradition launched by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. Identifying strands of Enlightenment thought with writers who were born and lived in Europe is not the same as saying that the Enlightenment is Eurocentric or ethnocentric. Of course, there are Eurocentrism and ethnocentrism in the writings of Enlightenment authors; nevertheless, many of the same authors also provided the conceptual frameworks and language for analyzing what was happening in the world. In my view, one of the best examples of the Enlightenment tradition was *Mercurio Peruano*, which was published in Peru during the 1790s; its contents varied from articles on Newtonian science and natural history through commentaries on commerce and political economy to discussions of philosophy, the French Revolution, and the idea of the nation. Writers like Cabral, James, Nehru, and Fanon who are typically seen as ancestors or precursors in the genealogies of postcolonial theorists also made use of one or another strand of Enlightenment thought in contexts that were decidedly Third World. Moreover, the widely acknowledged founders of postcolonial theory and criticism—Said, Spivak, and Bhabha—also variably acknowledge that their perspectives draw on the language of the Enlightenment, on their experiences of marginality and subalternity in particular local or global contexts, and on their knowledge and textured appreciation of appropriate culture and behavior in each of those settings. In the best of cases, the social and the cultural were never reduced to the textual. Attempting to explain in theoretical terms the material realities of an historical epoch is never the same as those material realities.

Postcolonial Thought and Archaeology

Three engagements of postcolonial thought by archaeologists—the essays in Peter Schmidt and Thomas Patterson's (1995) *Making Alternative Histories: The Practice of Archaeology and History in Non-Western Settings*, Chris Gosden's (2001) "Postcolonial Archaeology: Issues of Culture, Identity, and Knowledge," and Jaime Pagán Jiménez's (2004) "Is All Archaeology at Present a Postcolonial One?"—point out that, as with any confrontation between disciplines or different discourses, what is validated in one is often challenged by the other. Several things stand out in these archaeological explorations of postcolonial thought. First, they deconstruct the discourse of

archaeology to examine the analytical categories and conceptual frameworks in the context of different national traditions and from the standpoints of different groups within those national traditions. Second, they emphasize the importance of the local, and occasionally the national, as points of departure for action in the present, such as the creation of educational facilities or arguments about indigenous rights. Third, they argue or imply that it is no longer sufficient to say that archaeologists merely produce the facts; it is also important to consider how others might use them. Fourth, the focus of attention on the sociopolitics of the practice of archaeology in the present as well as on interpretation of the information excavated and recorded by archaeologists requires that they relate their activities to wider social structures and processes and to various discursive and nondiscursive practices in the discipline. In sum, their focus is the practice of archaeology in the present and its articulation with the milieus in which it occurs rather than with the archaeological record per se.

A second engagement of postcolonial theory by archaeologists—e.g., Peter van Dommelen's (1997) "Colonial Constructs" or Jane Webster's (1997) "Necessary Comparisons"—raises issues about the interpretation of archaeological evidence and hence of social history itself. Briefly put, are the models of colonial situations and relations based on historical examples drawn from capitalist expansion during the last five hundred years applicable to the imperialism of the Incas or the Romans? In other words, given the noncapitalist modes of production that shaped those societies, what were the interconnections or correlates among the material archaeological record, the unconscious discursive maps of the subjects of those societies, and the sociocultural and political–economic milieus in which they were forged and reproduced? Were they the same, for instance, as those of England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries? The issue is whether one model of colonial society fits all cases; I am not convinced of the efficacy of such a view. A closely connected issue involves whether there are situational logics that shape social relations and social action of individual subjects under particular sets of circumstances that are broadly similar from one occurrence to another. Here, I am thinking of strikes, wars, or the mobilization of resistance in the wake of some event, for instance, each of which seems to have broadly similar, underlying dynamics that are manifested differently because the historic specificity of the balance of force and the abilities of their participants to change rather than reproduce the course of events.

To engage in a mutually constructive dialogue with postcolonial scholars will require archaeologists to broaden their intellectual horizons and to

strengthen their ties with anthropology and history. It will require not only an awareness of the terrain and presuppositions of various theoretical perspectives and the intellectual milieus that produced them but also the formation of an integrated, integrative, and integrating vision of a discipline or avocation that must be critically and socially engaged.

Acknowledgments

I want to thank Uzma Rizvi and Matt Liebmann for the invitation to participate in the original session on postcolonial thought and archaeology at the annual meeting of the Society for American Archaeology in Salt Lake City in April 2005. I want to thank them, as well, for their helpful comments and thought-provoking questions on an earlier draft. I also want to thank Wendy Ashmore, Joe Childers, Steve Cullenberg, Christine Gailey, Michael Kearney, Bob Paynter, and Bob Preucel for their constructive comments and quick responses to my queries.

Notes

1. Postcolonial theorists borrowed the term "discourse" from Michel Foucault. It refers to

> a strongly bounded area of social knowledge [like medicine], a system of statements within which the world can be known. The key feature of this is that the world is not simply "there" to be talked about, rather, it is through discourse itself that the world is brought into being. It is also in such a discourse that speakers and hearers, writers and readers, come to an understanding of themselves, their relationship with each other and their place in the world (Ashcroft et al. 1998:70–71; cf. McHoul and Grace 1993:26–56).

2. The wars for national liberation in Indochina and Algeria following the end of the Second World War had a particularly profound impact on French intellectuals who came of age in the 1950s and 1960s. These include Louis Althusser and Jacques Derrida, who were born in Algeria, and Michel Foucault, who was a student of Althusser. A similar, but perhaps less profound, impact was felt in the United States from the early 1960s through the mid-1970s, the centerpieces of which were the Civil Rights Movement and the Vietnam War.

3. Nationalism is not widely addressed by contemporary postcolonial scholars. In *The Wretched of the Earth*, published in 1961, the Martinican psychiatrist Frantz Fanon—who is typically included in the genealogy of postcolonial scholars—studied the role national culture played in colonized societies. He argued that, while colonialism distorted and destroyed the cultural traditions of colonized peoples, nationalism rehabilitated the idea of a national consciousness, promoted social unity, and provided hope for the creation of a truly national culture in the future.

While nationalism could trigger anticolonial struggles, there was also a danger that the history of repression and poverty of the colonial era would be repeated if the national middle classes seized power. They would act as a "transmission line between the nation and capitalism, rampant though camouflaged, which today puts on the mask of neocolonialism" (Fanon 1961:122).

4. Said, for example, casts Karl Marx too narrowly, I believe, as an Orientalist. Many of his postcolonial successors either dismiss Marx altogether, caricature his writings, or simplify the diversity of his thought beyond recognition. Pranav Jani (2002), August Nimtz (2002), Harbans Mukhia (1985), Diptendra Banerjee (1985), and Aijaz Ahmad (1992:221–42) address these issues.

5. In *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, Foucault (1969:191) describes an episteme as "the total set of relations that unite, at a given period, the discursive practices that give rise to epistemological figures, sciences, and possibly formalized systems. . . . [They are discovered] when one analyses them at the level of discursive regularities." Pamela Major-Poetzl (1983:85–90) discusses the relationship between Foucault's concept of the episteme and Thomas Kuhn's discussion of paradigms in his *Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. Foucault's unacknowledged intellectual debts to Althusser and Marx remain largely to be explored (Balibar 1989; Foucault 1978).

6. In a later work, *Culture and Imperialism*, Said (1993:48–51) discusses Gramsci's essay on "The Southern Question."

7. Stephen Morton's (2003) *Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak* is a useful introduction to her work.

8. Bart Moore-Gilbert (1997:114–51; 2000) provides a useful introduction to Homi Bhabha's work as well as the contrasts between his perspective and that of Spivak. Alex Callinicos (1995) and Benita Parry (2004:55–74), among others, provide critical commentaries on Bhabha's work (cf. Bhabha and Comaroff 2002).

9. While Said and Spivak acknowledge that Marx has a place in their intellectual journeys, Bhabha, like Foucault, distances himself from the Marxist tradition. Benita Parry (2004:71–74) surveys some of the linkages between psychoanalysis and Althusserian Marxism in Britain that provided a context or target for Bhabha's writing in the 1980s.

Heterogeneous Encounters: Colonial Histories and Archaeological Experiences

3

PraVeenna Gullapalli

The impetus for this chapter was a challenge from the editors of this volume to investigate the place of archaeology within the postcolonial condition, to discuss whether archaeology is a colonial endeavor by definition or if material culture can be used to counter dominant histories. Implicit in this is an evaluation of the potential of archaeology to enable members of postcolonial societies to articulate their identities. Effectively addressing this question involves examining the heterogeneity inherent in the postcolonial condition and in the nature of archaeology to make explicit the varying relationships between archaeologists and colonialism. Historically informed analyses of postcolonial theory highlight areas in which it needs to be developed further.

In this investigation I address three interrelated themes. I first discuss some aspects of postcolonial critiques that emerged out of South Asia and the necessity of localizing discussions within specific historical trajectories and contexts. Underpinning this discussion is an awareness that colonial and postcolonial peoples must engage with the diverse ways in which their identities were and are constructed. The variety within colonial and postcolonial populations makes straightforward colonizer–colonized dichotomies problematic. I then move into a discussion of disciplinary entanglements with the colonial endeavor and whether or not they can be overcome. Postcolonial critiques of narrative, as distinct from critiques of methodology, are relevant here. Not all disciplines are entangled in the same way, and the unique characteristics of archaeology are illustrative and important in determining the ways in which it can support or challenge varied histories.

The second issue that I address embodies one such consequence of heterogeneity for the practice of archaeology; for this discussion the history of Indian archaeology is instructive because the Indian colonial and postcolonial populations are informed by the distinction in postcolonial critique made above. I discuss the ways in which contemporary archaeology in India has been shaped by its inheritance of colonial frameworks and the ways in which those apparatuses have persisted or been modified. The changes that Indian archaeology underwent after independence cannot be divorced from its context within a national framework. This particular historical trajectory means that archaeology in India shares features with yet is distinct from archaeological practice in other post-colonies.

The third and final theme deals with the ways in which archaeology is or is not used to investigate and enable constructions of identity. Although grounded in Indian archaeology, this section aims to use that specificity as a means through which to address the structure and potential of the discipline as a whole. I highlight the fact that although post-independence archaeology in India has indeed been used to counter colonial narratives, it has not necessarily led to the articulation of local identities such as those *usually* envisioned by postcolonial theorists. I argue that this can be understood as a consequence of the specific history of archaeology in India and as a consequence of the fact that the perceived nature of archaeological investigations sets them apart from other types of research. Equally important, however, is the fact that postcolonial theory in archaeology has yet to carve out a space in which Indian archaeology can be situated.

The Multiplicity of Colonial Experiences

The latter part of the twentieth century saw scholars engaging with the implications of the ways in which knowledge about South Asia had been and continues to be constructed (e.g., Chakrabarty 1992; Guha 1982; Guha and Spivak 1988; Inden 1986, 1990; Mathur 2000; Pandey 1995, 1999; Prakash 1990; Said 1978; Spivak 1996). A consistent critique has been that colonial European investigations into the past and present were fundamentally shaped by the exigencies of rationalizing and maintaining power. Consequently, the historical and anthropological narratives created under those circumstances cannot be divorced from issues of power and domination and were, in many cases, in the service of reinforcing those power relations in favor of the colonizers. The frameworks developed during the colonial period did not end with colonialism but continue into

post-independence scholarship as well (see, e.g., Appadurai 1986; Breckenridge and van der Veer 1993; Inden 1990; van der Veer 1993).

Postcolonial critiques have emphasized the existence of, and espoused the investigation of, a multiplicity of experiences, both past and present, within a broader common colonial paradigm. Their response to essentializing and rigid colonial narratives has been to investigate the ways in which those not in power and those overlooked by the dominant colonial narratives lived their lives and constructed their own narratives.

As the critiques have become more nuanced, it has become clear that rather than simply understanding the colonial enterprise as uncontested domination by the colonial powers, a more fruitful approach is to see the encounter as one imbued with contestation and struggle (Pels 1997). Neither the colonizers nor the colonized were homogeneous entities enacting the roles of oppressor and victim; rather, they constituted groups with differing ideologies and perceptions whose actions mirrored the multiplicity of self-interests that they embodied. Consequently, the elucidation of the colonizer–colonized dynamics during the colonial regime and within the independence/nationalist movements in South Asia has become more important. These investigations analyzed the roles of the South Asian elites as they negotiated with the colonial power structures not only to secure and replicate their positions of relative power within the larger populations, but also to fashion the nationalist movement along lines that drew heavily on British and European conceptions of modernity (e.g., Dirks 1997; Prakash 1990). Such interaction of people and ideas also affected the ways in which academic disciplines were formulated and the ways in which characterizations of the Indian past and present were constructed (Dirks 1997:200).

It is increasingly difficult to definitively demarcate or distinguish the intellectual worlds of the colonizers and the colonized as a whole. Just as elite Indians negotiated—accepted, rejected, modified—their positions and narratives of self and country, so, too, did they help create and modify the colonial perceptions of the Indian. Colonial interactions with elite locals—even those chosen and undertaken for whatever myriad reasons of political expediency—informed the ways in which colonial narratives were constructed (e.g., Beteille 1992).

This critique was further elaborated by the Subaltern Studies Group (Guha 1982; Guha and Spivak 1988; Spivak 1996) in its efforts to counter an elite-centered analysis of colonizer–colonized dynamics, arguing that nonelites were capable of acting, and did act, independently of the elites. As Gyan Prakash (1994:1480–81) notes, the object of the subalternist project

has evolved over time. What began as an attempt to recover the voice of the marginalized—that part of the population that was not elite—eventually became a position of critique predicated on the "recalcitrant difference that arises not outside but inside elite discourses to exert pressure on forces and forms that subordinate it" (Prakash 1994:1481).

Fundamental to such a position is the assertion that colonial and elite constructions of the colonized and the non-elite were instrumental in constructions of the colonial and elite identities themselves. This was an important development in the postcolonial critique, because it highlights the heterogeneity of the colonized and colonizer and creates an avenue through which it is possible to imagine active contestation and negotiation of roles within the power dynamic that was the colonial endeavor (Prakash 1994). The challenge is to incorporate diversity into academic analyses:

> [i]t is still unusual for researchers to fully escape the dichotomy of colonial state and oppressed and/or resistant others, and to realize how much colonial empires were fragmented by other tensions . . . Empires were maintained by ethnic soldiers that fought the colonized at the same time that they colonized themselves . . . or by white women subordinating their domestic staff while they were acting out their own subordination (Pels 1997:176).

We are now compelled to delineate the constituent elements of the colonizing and colonized populations, because to simply use one term or the other does not sufficiently situate their members within the economic, social, and political relations that informed their lives.

Just as the content of narratives of the Indian past and present has been critiqued, so have the disciplinary methodologies that produce those narratives. Scholars have assessed the ways in which both the narratives of history (and, by extension, of other disciplines) and the ways in which history is done are fundamentally predicated on European frameworks. For example, as Prakash (1990) points out, European historians can legitimately be ignorant of Indian history, but Indian historians run the risk of being labeled traditional or reactionary if they are not cognizant of European history and historiography. The fact of this fundamental identity between disciplinary tenets of history (and archaeology) and European standards of academic legitimacy has important implications for scholars attempting to rethink, rewrite, and reframe these disciplines.

These methodologies also implicitly and explicitly delineated frameworks of legitimacy, so that certain groups were (and are) effectively denied the space to speak (Spivak 1988a, 1999:269–81). Attempting to recover or

identify the voices of the subaltern means engaging with a colonial archive that by its very nature favors and supports analysis of the colonizer at the expense of the colonized and of the elite at the expense of the subaltern. Indeed, the disciplinary documents of history form an inextricable part of the legitimizing project of the colonial powers, such that a critique of them becomes a critique of the discipline (Prakash 1994).

In other words, to work within the discipline of history means working within frameworks that inherently privilege certain forms of knowing over others; it means working with documents and sources that were created within unequal power dynamics that are replicated in the "doing" of academic history. Although this position seems potentially futile, Prakash (1994:1489) urges continued engagement:

> [t]his rethinking does not entail the rejection of the discipline and its procedures of research. Far from it. . . . Nor is it possible to abandon historical research so long as it is pursued as an academic discipline in universities and functions to universalize capitalism and the nation-state. There is no alternative but to inhabit the discipline, delve into archives, and push at the limits of historical knowledge to turn its contradictions, ambivalences, and gaps into grounds for its rewriting.

Such a reflexive and self-critical approach to disciplinary practices has spread from literature and history to other fields, such as anthropology and archaeology.

Peter Pels (1997) argues the anthropology of colonialism is always an anthropology of anthropology, in that the discipline emerged from, and in opposition to, late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century colonialisms. Like history, anthropology was re-creating the colonial processes that it was critiquing. This led to emphasizing a contextualization "that implies reading ethnographic texts and colonial archives as sites of struggle, and setting them against the practical conditions of the encounter that produced these texts and archives" (Pels 1997:166). These archives were the product of newly emerging projects to catalogue, understand, and ultimately control colonial lands and peoples, and "we can see that the key texts of early anthropology were not simply being produced in the context of colonial projects but were the culmination of what had been a long series of colonial projects to rule and reform India" (Dirks 1997:203).

In order to counter the effect of colonial archives on the analysis of colonialism, increasingly varied and nontextual sources are being used, as Spivak advocates, to probe the edges and margins of the records. The subaltern colonized were not completely mute, although their voices were muted and at

times silenced; rather, their voices emerged in a variety of alternative nonliterary media, including material culture (Pels 1997). This has included stressing "the nonverbal, tactile dimensions of social practice: the exchange of objects, the arrangement and disposition of bodies, clothes, buildings, and tools in agricultural practices, medical and religious performances, regimes of domesticity and kinship, physical discipline, and the construction of landscape" (Pels 1997:169). In this way it has become an increasing possibility that material culture investigations into the past may offer significant advantages in addressing concerns of representation; however, as with history and anthropology, the disciplinary practice of archaeology is also fundamentally enmeshed in colonial power dynamics. Furthermore, as more varied disciplines begin to deal with the ramifications of the postcolonial critique, it becomes apparent that just as no single critical framework is appropriate for all places, so is no single framework appropriate for all fields.

Heterogeneous Pasts

Archaeologists have begun the reflexive task of examining the ways in which the production of archaeological knowledge reinforces unequal power dynamics and privileges the narratives of the archaeologists over those of others (e.g., Coningham and Lewer 2000; Gosden 2001; Pagán Jiménez 2004; Pwiti and Ndoro 1999; Scham 2001; Sen 2002; Shepherd 2002). Significant attempts have been made to incorporate a variety of voices—especially those of the disenfranchised local populations—into the construction of narratives about the past. In many of these cases the critical distinction has been between the colonizers and the colonized—between the dominant discourse of Orientalist, colonial, or Western scholars attempting to create homogenizing and unproblematic histories and the potential narratives of the colonized peoples. In many cases such a distinction may be appropriate; however, there emerges a danger in naturalizing such a distinction through all colonial and postcolonial encounters. Though all postcolonial societies experienced colonialism, they did not experience it in the same way. As Jaime Pagán Jiménez (2004) illustrates, integrating contexts and histories is essential to a better understanding of contemporary archaeological practices and traditions.

The postcolonial, and especially subaltern, investigation of and engagement with the variety of colonized peoples and perceptions are instructive here. If we are to explore the potential for archaeology to articulate postcolonial identities, then the divergent local contexts of postcolonial intel-

lectual and academic traditions must be incorporated into the discussion (e.g., Gosden 2001; Pagán Jiménez 2004). A two-part distinction that simply opposes a homogenized colonizer and colonized does little to highlight either the ways in which various intellectual traditions have developed in the postcolonial period or how such traditions draw on a colonial legacy while being enmeshed in local concerns. The inadequacy of envisioning a homogeneous colonized population becomes clear when investigating the dynamics of Indian archaeology. In India, local elites were actively negotiating with colonial authorities about the understandings and interpretations of Indian society and history, of the Indian present and past based *in part* on an acceptance of the British ideals of modernity, society, and nation.

Attitudes during the colonial period toward the primary anthropological, sociological, archaeological, or historical data, and toward the narratives based on them, varied between and within colonizers and colonized (Dirks 1997). There were varied responses to the colonial archaeological mission in India (e.g., Chakrabarti 2000; Lahiri 2000), emphasizing the fact that writing the history of the colonized means first identifying the appropriate segment of the population.

Nayanjot Lahiri (2000) argues that perceptions of and interactions with the past differed based on the individual's position as either colonizer or colonized, here distinguished as British and Indian, respectively. From the point of view of the British, the objects of the past—sculptures, monuments, and inscriptions—were to be collected, organized, and exhibited in the museums and collections. They were something apart from the present and were identified as a means through which the past and the present of the colony could be understood and could be made to serve colonial aspirations. However, these same objects were in many cases not so divorced from their contexts. They were often a part of the local landscape—spiritual or otherwise—and had meanings that were much more immediate and relevant. In this way, colonial archaeological endeavors, insofar as they consisted of collecting and displacing archaeological artifacts, were understood by those inhabitants who lived with those same objects every day to be appropriating and alienating.

However, as will be seen in the next section, other Indians had a very different experience of and with archaeology. Such multiplicity of experience did not end once India ceased to be a colony; it persisted and fundamentally shaped the ways in which narratives begun under colonial domination would continue. It is the investigation of these varied interests and interactions that highlights the problems inherent in constructing a monolithic other whose narratives are to be opposed to those of the (Western) archaeologist.

Archaeological Experiences and Postcolonial Conditions in India

Archaeology in India is a colonial endeavor in that it emerged through the colonial enterprise and was organized along colonial structures (Chakrabarti 1988, 2003a; Paddayya 1990, 1995); however, archaeology in the subcontinent emerged as a discipline that was neither completely colonial nor completely local because of the often-prominent roles played by Indian archaeologists in the emerging discipline. Their experiences of archaeology would have a lasting impact in the creation of a strong Indian archaeological tradition. This particular form of investigating and understanding the past (for there were other forms of understanding the past, most of which were systematically negated as being "ahistoric" by the European academic tradition, such as various mythical, folkloric, and religious texts [Paddayya 1995]), based on the systematic excavation of material culture, was introduced into India inextricably linked to the power dynamics of colonialism. Pagán Jiménez's (2004) discussion of the historically particular traditions that constitute global archaeology today is relevant here. He argues that postcolonies have "been subject to undetermined and perhaps indecipherable processes of negotiation—contra-negotiation, imposition—resistance between colonized and colonizers, consumers and transnational agencies; this has promoted the creation of divergent forms of valuing and comprehending the world in the many 'Third Worlds' that exist" and, therefore, "many peripheral archaeologies have been framed by dissimilar sociopolitical environments as the product of their own historical particularities" (2004:202).

The cataloging of monuments and material remains in South Asia was begun and exemplified by the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI), under the British colonial government. As the name suggests, it was to be a geographically comprehensive oversight of the colonial holdings. Over time, the charge of the ASI evolved to include, under the leadership of R. E. M. Wheeler, training the next generation of Indian archaeologists (see Chakrabarti 1988; Possehl 1999: 38–154; Trautmann and Sinopoli 2002). The colonial institution of the ASI incorporated Indians within its endeavors and its training, primarily as laborers but also as members of staff and as archaeologists. Consequently, there were a cadre of individuals whose experiences and perceptions of archaeological practices were shaped by this interaction and a group of Indian scholars who were heavily influenced and informed by the British archaeologists in charge. Colonial interests and ideologies were played out both in the ways that archaeological

research was organized and undertaken and in the narratives—such as those that emphasized diffusion of "civilization" into South Asia—that emerged out of that research (Chadha 2002; Chakrabarti 1988, 2003a; Paddayya 1995).

After independence the goals and scope of the ASI changed (Chakrabarty 1949; Vats 1951), but its functioning remained tied to the governing apparatus. The archaeological apparatus underwent modification with independence in 1947 as the regions under its purview were allocated within two nation-states (Chakrabarti 2003a:2; Wheeler 1947–48:1). In the decade following independence, the central role of the national government in overseeing archaeological research was reinforced, shaping the types of questions asked and the scope of archaeological narratives. Indeed, almost immediately after independence, the new Director General of the ASI, N. P. Chakrabarty, made the case for centralized archaeology in the introduction to the ASI publication, *Ancient India*, arguing that:

> in the greater field of archaeological exploration and excavation any large amount of decentralization will be a retrograde step. As my predecessor, Dr. R.E.M. Wheeler, points out . . . archaeological work must be planned to yield the best result and "to ensure a methodical accumulation of knowledge by steady progression from known to half-known to unknown." Once this is agreed to, it follows that the planning should be done on an all-India basis, in which the merged and acceded States are to have their due share, and it must therefore be the responsibility of the Central [national] organization (Chakrabarty 1949:2–3).

These notes seem to lay out some of the crucial issues facing Indian archaeology within the context of a newly formed independent state, issues that are fundamental to any postcolonial analysis that seeks to understand how the colonial legacy shaped the conduct and interpretation of archaeology. Important themes are clearly evident throughout Chakrabarty's introduction and merit greater mention. Already evident in this statement is the tension between the national government and the provincial or state governments, not only in terms of access to and deployment of resources but also with regard to the authority to set the agenda and framework for archaeological research. Also evident is the acceptance of the role of archaeology in knowledge production as well as the fact that there exist standards against which such practices are measured. Furthermore, the newly formed political boundaries of India begin to frame the vision and potential of archaeology.

Chakrabarty's (1949) introduction to *Ancient India* also briefly delves into the implications of operating within a newly defined India and of incorporating within it the remnants of "British India" and "Indian India" (his term for the princely states that were never an official part of the colonial holdings) (see also Chakrabarty 1950; Vats 1951). He notes that the government had to take over the archaeological management of many of these newly integrated areas but stresses that the "peoples of the States had no separate historical or cultural traditions; nor did their geographical positions correspond to any natural, linguistic or ethnic boundaries. Being mere historical accidents, they could not be regarded as separate cultural entities; the archaeological material contained in them was only an integral part of the larger ancient heritage of India" (Chakrabarty 1949:1). He ends by arguing that "[l]ocal patriotism is not [to] be discounted but must be subordinated to the interests of science, and the paltry resources that are available for archaeological pursuits cannot be frittered away on diverse aims and for uncertain results" (Chakrabarty 1949:3). However, Chakrabarty (1949:1) is astute in his observation that a "[g]overnment Department cannot exist in utter divorcement from the political developments in the country" and is perhaps more comfortable with the idea that the ASI, as a governmental agency, must necessarily engage with the issues that are understood to face the nation. This acknowledgment rests uneasily with his assertion above that archaeology, as a science, must rise above local political concerns if it is to be effective. Here emerge the complex and often problematic relationships between national and potential regional or local aspirations and identities and the roles played by national organizations that mediate between the two.

The national context, then, is important for two reasons. First, as seen above, the nation-state provided a framework of legitimacy and one that needed to be legitimized. This has shaped archaeological narratives in various ways, the discussion of which is beyond the scope of this chapter. The second related and equally important consequence, especially when delineating the historical specificity of postcolonial archaeological traditions, is the national framework within which the practice of much of the archaeology in India is embedded. The ASI is the dominant organ of archaeological research in India; however, it is not the only one, with centers of archaeological research at universities that include Deccan College P.R.I., the M.S. University of Baroda, Benares Hindu University, and others (Chakrabarti 2003a) as well as at state and local governments and museums. The archaeologists working in these various contexts are Indians, trained in India and utilizing to various degrees the resources of the Indian state in

their practice of archaeology. Indian archaeology today reflects not only its beginnings under colonialism but also its subsequent development within the context of an independent nation state.

Thomas Patterson's (1999; see also Schmidt and Patterson 1995) discussion of the political economy of archaeology highlights how various factors shape the practice of archaeology and reinforces the fact that such practices should be understood as a product of their contexts. Factors such as finite resources and, in India, an extensive and complex archaeological record influence how decisions are made about the best allocation of funds. These decisions are made by the various bodies that are responsible for the oversight and investigation of archaeological remains throughout the country, bodies that are organized hierarchically internally and with relation to each other and along domestic political boundaries. These boundaries become forces in the funding and doing of archaeology because the ASI is responsible for all of the archaeology done within the political borders of India and the state departments are responsible for the archaeology within their respective areas. An examination of *Indian Archaeology: A Review* (1956–99), the journal of the ASI, reveals that the bureaucratic boundaries also tend to define the boundaries of archaeological research. Investigations are presented according to state, district, and municipal boundaries, with some areas receiving relatively more attention and others relatively less. Consequently, regional and local traditions of archaeological research emerge, delimiting more specific historical trajectories within the larger framework of Indian archaeology.

Archaeologists in India are situated—and situate themselves—within a tradition that began as a colonial undertaking but which then continued after independence in significantly altered circumstances. While such a legacy may share many characteristics with those of other postcolonies, it also reflects the negotiations and accommodations unique to India and to its colonial and postcolonial experience. Of special interest here has been—and will continue to be below—the relationship between the national and the local, between an India constructed in opposition to the British or the non-Indian and an India constructed of its constituent regions. These two different scales of identity necessarily yield differing visions of identity, as will be discussed below.

Archaeological Identities

In India, as in other places, archaeology is often seen as the way through which contestations about the past can be resolved. This is partly because of

the material nature of archaeological evidence—the notion that things, unlike people, do not lie and that the interpretation of archaeological evidence is straightforward—and partly a result of its relationship with history. Historical evidence is privileged, so that in many cases archaeology is used to corroborate historical narratives (Allchin 1998; Ratnagar 2004; Trautmann and Sinopoli 2002). While this overlooks the potential of archaeology in its own right to contribute to understandings of the past, it also reinforces the idea that archaeological evidence is capable of settling the question of "what happened." Furthermore, as textual evidence becomes more available through time, the material record is seen as being of less and less relevance (Allchin 1998). This is exemplified by the fact that the colonial period itself has not been an active focus of archaeological investigation; this is in contrast to history and anthropology, where scrutiny of India as a colony led to an investigation into and an appreciation of the various ways in which individuals and groups constructed their identity in relation to each other and the colonial administration. The focus in archaeology is on the pre- and proto-historic past, where, due to the relative lack of textual evidence, the material record is, of necessity, the avenue of investigation.

Archaeological narratives have been pursued as a way of contesting and creating identity in part because archaeology has been accepted as a valid way of knowing the past (see also Rizvi Chapter 7). Additionally, archaeological evidence in India may be understood to be especially potent because it was through such evidence that many of the colonial narratives that denied antiquity (or civilization, or enlightenment, or any number of other characteristics) to Indian society were countered. It was through archaeology that once-dominant theories of diffusion and decay were effectively challenged, bringing to light the Indus Civilization, the indigenous development of iron, and elaborating the second urbanization along the Ganges River, among other phenomena.

Archaeological research has countered these frameworks through the exposition of various aspects of Indian or South Asian prehistory—for example, the antiquity and local development of the Indus civilization. Independence came to India when archaeological research was fundamentally rewriting the prehistory of South Asia. The region was making a shift from having no prehistory to having had a flourishing civilization contemporary with ancient Mesopotamia. This was both the result of new discoveries and their implications (such as the existence of the Indus sites; and with the partition of India and the location of most of the ancient Indus sites within modern Pakistan, archaeologists pursued a research program designed to locate significant Indus sites within India, and to reclaim it in various ways)

and a result of various reorientations of interpretive frameworks. These reorientations are illustrated in the historiography of the Aryan question—with the Aryans going from invaders to an autochthonous civilization—as the interpretations and implications of linguistic similarities have seen India go from being the passive recipient of Aryan influence (through invasion, migration, or diffusion) to being the incubator and exporter of such influence (e.g., Erdosy 1995; Shaffer 1984; Singh 1995).

Chakrabarti (2000) notes that elite Indians actively engaged with colonial narratives about an Indian past based on themes of invasion, diffusion, and decay. Although he critiques their uncritical acceptance of such frameworks, their acceptance began a process in which contestation about the Indian past could also take place within those very frameworks. In other words, as the political situation changed with the emergence of independence movements and then independence, familiarity with historical and archaeological narratives and methodologies (and to some degree, an acceptance of these forms of knowledge production) served as the foundations for writing very different narratives (Chakrabarty 1949, Chakrabarti 2003a).

These narratives were not the same as those constructed by colonial archaeologists because they were constructed by different archaeologists in very different contexts and for different purposes. Early reconstructions of the remote and recent Indian past under the colonial administration sought to legitimate the colonial enterprise, and ancient archaeological and historical trajectories were couched within terms of diffusion, invasion, and decay. Academic investigations of Indian history and society had often been framed as lacking various crucial characteristics; for example, the Indian past was seen as lacking the crucial indigenous elements of a "legitimate" civilizational history, as gauged by the more established centers of antiquity in the circum-Mediterranean world (Chakrabarty 1992). These frameworks in the service of British domination or European superiority were always intimately linked to political agendas and had a profound impact on the nature of questions and answers about the Indian and South Asian past.

As India's past became more clearly delineated, older narratives were challenged and modified, and an emphasis emerged in identifying local antecedents for archaeological phenomena. An emphasis on cultural historical approaches could be understood to be an attempt to refute the colonial paradigms that saw India as an area of noninterest in prehistory. The focus has been on creating cultural sequences and master narratives for various regions in India in such a way that there exists significant variance between these narratives. However, there has yet to be an engagement with the potential

heterogeneity within these narratives that incorporates not only differential experiences in the past but also differential perceptions of the (archaeological) past in the present.

What Archaeology Is and Is Not

I now turn to the third theme of this chapter, namely the ways in which expectations of archaeology are played out and the implications of these expectations for what archaeology is and is not. The assessment of archaeology as a viable and reliable way of understanding and investigating the past is best exemplified in discussions over contentious sites (e.g., Bacchetta 2000; Bernbeck and Pollock 1996; Chakrabarti 2003b; Ratnagar 2004; Shaw 2000; van der Veer 1992) that may better reflect current political machinations and concerns than past instabilities (see especially Shaw 2000). The archaeological past—the material record—is understood to be resistant to reinterpretation in a way that historical texts and experiences are not. In this way, archaeological evidence acts as a delimiter on the debatability of the past.

Arjun Appadurai (1981) argues that the past is not an infinitely malleable construct and that there exist culturally defined norms with which to establish the credibility of the past, especially when different versions of the past compete for legitimacy in the present. Competing claims about the past that arise (for whatever reasons) in the present must fulfill certain norms to be judged valid, and adjudication of validity (if necessary) rests upon which claim best fulfills the norms. In his case study, Appadurai (1981:204) posits that claims are best supported by texts and then by other types of authority. These other types of authority include credible external authoritative figures in the past and continuous documentation in the past. The deeper into the past these figures and documentation occur, the more credible the claim. Although Appadurai localizes these norms to his specific case study, I suggest that it is possible to use the framework that he constructs in which there exist specified conventions for assessing validity to understand the ways in which archaeology functions in relation to both history and competing claims about the past.

From this point of view, archaeology and archaeological data can seem to be well suited to provide the nontextual authority described above: archaeological data can be understood as an external figure in the past, and archaeology can provide documentation in or of the past. And archaeological methods seem tailored to establish deep and deeper antiquity for specific lines of evidence. In this way, archaeology seems to fit into existing cultural norms about the ways in which the past is known and assessed and into a specific relationship with historical or textual sources. In such a rela-

tionship, claims about the past are understood to exist apart from archaeological data; it is the job of the data to identify which claims are or are not tenable, but the data themselves are not contestable in the same way the claims are. Indeed, the data are understood to be evidence and not claims, which are inherently disputable (but see below). Furthermore, it is possible that in those situations in which the texts themselves are questionable (the result of colonial dynamics, for example) or non-existent, the assessment of validity shifts to other norms such as those embodied by archaeology. In such cases, it seems that archaeological evidence is transformed into archaeological "fact" precisely because archaeological evidence, once established, is understood to tell only one story (see also Shaw 2000).

Although singular descriptions of the past also reflect the ways in which the doing of archaeology is structured in India, it does not mean that Indian archaeology is a monolithic tradition, without discussion and debate. Archaeological narratives themselves are not uncontested—they are sites of dispute and dissent in two specific ways.

The first way is firmly embedded in the present as it revolves around methodological issues that arise when interpreting elusive archaeological phenomena (see Rizvi Chapter 7). In the various departments of archaeology, archaeological research into and exposition of the past is not a contested endeavor in and of itself. It is understood that an archaeological reality exists, which, given the correct methods and orientation, can be uncovered and understood (e.g., Agrawal 2001). Variation, complication, and inconsistency in the archaeological record are seen to point to shortcomings in the ability of archaeologists to understand archaeological phenomena rather than as a product of competing agencies in the past. In this way, the debates do not tend to encompass the possibility of using archaeology to delineate a variety of pasts, of using archaeology to make the past (in the past and in the present) inherently problematic and contested. Instead, the past is constructed as a series of singular narratives that coexist and that succeed each other, and it is these that have been the second site of dispute.

Here I discuss the changing nature of archaeological narratives in India with a view to investigating the initial question that was the impetus for this chapter: has archaeology enabled people in postcolonial India to create their own history? In doing so, it becomes apparent that both earlier themes—the heterogeneity of colonial populations and experiences in India and the nature of archaeological structures—remain central to this discussion. In short, although colonial narratives have been rewritten by (a portion of) the postcolonial population in India, this has not necessarily meant an integration of all previously disenfranchised peoples.

A recent special edition of *Antiquity* (Coningham and Lewer 2000) argues that archaeology has been used to construct identities of various sorts and at various scales in India—regional identities, national identities, and group identities (e.g., Hemphill et al 2000). Identity construction and elucidation in Indian archaeology have been at the group level based on dominant or most apparent characteristics. Most narratives are homogenizing in that they discuss broadly defined cultures. Much effort has been expended in better identifying the characteristic traits of these cultures, and although variation within them is acknowledged, it is not understood as potential active contestation from within by individuals who may have differing perceptions of their worlds. These regional and national narratives implicitly emphasize continuity and group coherence by identifying the ebb and flow of groups or cultures through time and space. When viewed at a regional or national level, heterogeneity is apparent in the variety of groups or peoples who inhabit various parts of India through time.

Archaeologists have been effectively able to challenge the colonial version of prehistory; in this way, archaeology did prove to be quite capable of articulating an identity distinct from that proposed by earlier archaeologists. Indeed, archaeological research has been argued to have "served [India] well, allowing it to take its rightful place as one of the oldest and most interesting regions of human endeavour" (Paddayya 1995:143). While specific colonial narratives have been successfully challenged, the underlying rationale has not: the same standards of legitimacy continued to define what is and is not desirable in the archaeological record—of what kinds of phenomena (i.e., certain types of "civilization") a country can be proud. The fundamental dilemma therefore persists: how does Indian archaeology move beyond simply reacting to shifting European—Eurocentric—frameworks while still retaining its academic and methodological identity as archaeology and avoiding the quagmire of cultural relativism (Prakash 1992)?

Furthermore, these new patterns of the Indian past did not include identifying sites of contestation such as those highlighted by Lahiri (2000). These narratives constructed by Indian archaeologists who were not necessarily members of the local communities in question did not necessarily leave room for the possibility for contestation from the margins. The role of archaeology as an arbiter of fact (of what happened) may make it an appealing and logical avenue through which to delineate issues of identity and heritage (e.g., Hemphill et al. 2000; see also Sen 2002), but this is not always the case. The privileging of text over artifact in the hierarchy of knowledge tends to cast archaeology as a way to resolve conflicts but not necessarily as the primary means through which to construct heritage and identity. Also integral

to this discussion is the awareness, or lack thereof, of archaeology in various (especially nonurban) parts of India. Archaeology as distinct from ancient history is rarely found in college curricula (Chakrabarti 2003a:186–89), which does little to foster an appreciation of its potential.

Conclusion

Archaeologists in India are part of a population that inherited both a conception and version of the nation-state. Familiarity with the standards and practices of archaeology ensured the persistence of archaeology as a viable way of knowing the past, but the narratives were different. They did not persist unchanged. Not surprisingly, many of the changes can be linked to the fact of the nation-state of India.

The narratives constructed within this framework can be nationalist but also tend to naturalize the bureaucratic divisions along which archaeology is organized. Such an institutional framework inevitably leads to institutional traditions, priorities, and practices, including the construction of national and nationalist histories and prehistories that counter colonial ones.

Contemporary archaeologists in India are working within frameworks that were set up during the colonial period, and the need to counter those older paradigms speaks to the ways in which they are still linked to earlier standards and concerns. The narratives, however, are not the same as those of colonial archaeology; they have been constructed in very different contexts and for different purposes. Past colonial narratives have been effectively countered through archaeology, an effectiveness that has done much to privilege archaeological "fact" and singular interpretations of the past.

Archaeology both counters and creates dominant narratives in its investigation of the Indian past. It counters the previous colonial narratives that sought to reinforce the power dynamics of colonizer and colonized—it has reshaped that same archaeology to assert the legitimacy of the Indian nation, culture, and history. In this way, then, archaeology has enabled members of postcolonial India to articulate an Indian identity. However, this national (and, at times, nationalist) archaeology in that same attempt to counter the past narratives tends to negate—even by omission—the multiplicity of past experience and of multiple pasts.

However, perhaps because it is an import into South Asia, archaeology has not been the medium through which local identities have been articulated. Earlier colonial power dynamics (Lahiri 2000) and contemporary national power dynamics (see Chakrabarti 2000) seem to equally distance the narratives based on archaeology from local populations.

Implicit within this assertion, however, is the acceptance of certain standards of legitimacy and about the nature of the past—certain types of sites and systems are seen as validating the past (and present) of India. Archaeological research has focused, to a great extent, on large sites and questions of the earliest development of certain phenomena, such as urbanism and social complexity. And, of course, all of this is now conducted within the framework of the modern state, within which archaeologists are trying to find their appropriate role and which is constantly concerned with its own legitimacy.

While we can assert that the dominant narratives of colonial archaeology have been successfully countered, that does not mean that archaeological investigation has become the avenue through which a multiplicity of identities can be, or have been, articulated. This is especially true because, unlike history or anthropology, there has been little engagement with postcolonial theory by archaeologists in India, who have participated in the discussion to a lesser extent despite the fact that many of these issues are relevant to the way archaeology is done. On the contrary, there can be a self-conscious negation of too much imported or Western theory into Indian archaeology (Paddayya 1995), a negation that can be seen as an attempt to break free of Western or colonial standards of archaeological practice but that also effectively distances participants from discussions such as the one in which we are engaged today.

This has ramifications for any archaeology that aims to elicit multiple stories about the past and that sets such an endeavor against dominating colonial narratives. Simply countering these past narratives has not engendered the ability to articulate the myriad local identities that may exist. Rather, contemporary concerns, which are very much situated within a national discourse, tend toward a homogenization of the past and present while articulating specific anticolonial identities. Any postcolonial archaeology must therefore negotiate the various, and at times uniquely Indian, tensions that have shaped this people, society, and state.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank Matt Liebmann and Uzma Rizvi for inviting me to be a part of their SAA session and this volume and for their valuable feedback on this chapter. I must also note the many, many conversations with the latter that helped to shape my ideas and my thinking, and for which I am indebted. The detailed reviewer comments were—and are—very much appreciated, and even though I could not address many of them here, I do look forward to building on them in the future. The final responsibility for this chapter, of course, is mine alone.

Toward the Liberation of Archaeological Praxis in a "Postcolonial Colony": The Case of Puerto Rico

4

JAIME R. PAGÁN JIMÉNEZ AND RENIEL RODRÍGUEZ RAMOS

The Puerto Rican paradox reflects the contradictions of maintaining a colony in postcolonial times. In the age of colonialism, the contradictions of cultural ethnocentrism, racial discrimination and segregation, second-class citizenship, economic inequality, and military occupation, would have been rationalized by oxymoronic logic such as that encapsulated in the doctrine of "foreign in a domestic sense."

—EMILIO PANTOJAS GARCÍA, 2005:175

Setting the Place and Sense of Our Inquiry

IN THIS CHAPTER WE FOCUS ON the pragmatic and theoretical problems of archaeological praxis within one of the Caribbean islands, Puerto Rico. The inhabitants of the Caribbean islands were the first "New World" peoples to suffer from the irruption of Europeans and their colonial projects in the late fifteenth century. As a result, contemporary Puerto Rican society emerged out of, and currently lives in, a colonial situation. This analysis will emphasize the differences in the ways archaeology is carried out and is conceptualized in "eccentric" (i.e., marginalized) contexts, in contrast to the skewed perspective that is usually presented in the centers of theory production, which are also typically located in some of those countries that created and contributed to the current socioeconomic conditions and cultural realities of Puerto Rico and other Caribbean islands.

We will first examine some of the basic assumptions of postcolonial theories in an attempt to recontextualize them in response to criticisms

postulated from different areas, particularly Latin America. This sets the stage for presenting the atypical sociopolitical situation of Puerto Rico—a "postcolonial colony," as some scholars have suggested (Duany 2005; Flores 2000). This condition contrasts starkly with discourses postulated from contemporary centers of theory production (e.g., that "all archaeology today is postcolonial" and we live in a postcolonial world) that portray themselves as global and thus as a natural discourse within the discipline (Gosden 2001). In fact, not everyone today lives in a postcolonial world and all archaeology at present is not postcolonial (Pagán Jiménez 2004). Current postcolonial projects are increasingly less concerned with analyses of the power relations between the binary oppositions of center–periphery or colonizer–colonized (Nagy-Zekmi 2003) and more concerned with the assessment of the new phenomena that resulted from postcoloniality (e.g., the recognition of heterogeneity and hybrid conditions). In contrast, we think that it is not possible to conceive of new approaches, theories, or postcolonial expressions in places where power relations continue to be subsumed inside the antinomies that are still lived, produced, and reproduced within typical environments of political and intellectual colonialism.[1]

Postcolonial theories were developed in (and by) different processes and phases of decolonization during and after the end of political colonialism mainly in India but also in Africa and the Middle East. However, in the case of the archaeologies practiced in Puerto Rico, in order to rise out of colonialism, we must follow our own historical and cultural rhythms, although this obviously does not imply isolation from the world's sociocultural and academic dynamics. This is one of the ways we propose to build our own postcoloniality, if it is possible to continue using this concept. Therefore, an epistemological leap to a "postcolonial present" based on the archaeologies of other colonized countries (in political, economic, and/or intellectual terms) that has not been configured with our quotidian and intellectual experiences should not be expected. For us as Puerto Rican archaeologists, it is one thing to know and understand the conditions of the emergence of postcolonial theories but it is a very different thing to simply adopt those theories that are recommended to us as a new paradigmatic condition. This runs the danger of disregarding our particular political and intellectual experiences in favor of the acceptance of a product that was generated externally and under different conditions.

In contrast to traditional Latin American social archaeology (Lumbreras 1974; see Pagán Jiménez 2004:207), the archaeologies of liberation that we endorse here are a collection of tools that can be utilized as instruments of

consciousness, easily accessible to the *pueblos* (i.e., peoples plus places) we work with in Puerto Rico and in other colonized places, not only for the archaeological community. Our aspiration is that these archaeologies can be an effective revolutionary media to confront long-lived colonial problems in order to begin the decolonization of not only the archaeology of Puerto Rico but also the archaeology produced in "the center," which continues asymmetrical relations of power with its nonacademic surroundings. We focus on the pragmatic aspects of the unidirectional power relations that exist between the centers of theory production and the peripheries, using Puerto Rico as a case study. Our purpose is to expose the ways in which the discipline reproduces attitudes that promote the continued subordination of archaeological traditions from eccentric contexts.

Despite the fact that new (and not so new) postcolonial discourses have had some positive outcomes (e.g., multivocality, coauthored construction of cultural representations), they also are currently dictated from the centers of theoretical production. In many cases they have been offered as commodities in the manner of a catalog sale through the big universities and other editorial apparatuses for the resolution of historical conflicts between the researcher and the researched, the colonizer and the colonized. Although we think that the procedures and negotiations suggested from the centers are not all negative, we also think that such postcolonial discourses should not become another intellectual fashion applied homogeneously, as the histories with which they deal are varied and concern social groups that currently live in disadvantaged conditions. As a result, we are engaged with the development of a contingent project concerned with the accessibility and exposition of all of those elements that constitute the empirical, philosophical, and interpretive foundations of our archaeological work. This proposed action can be used by Puerto Ricans and peoples from other neocolonial contexts in order to decide how to understand and integrate their (our) particular ancestral histories according to their (our) own needs.

Puerto Rico is an interesting case because the colonial history of the island (it was colonized first by Spanish and then by United States forces) allows us to see how archaeology—and its produced knowledge—has influenced the sociopolitical realities experienced by Puerto Ricans. Archaeology as practiced in Puerto Rico makes evident the long ways that we still need to go to rise out of colonialism and make the desired postcolonial, multivocal, multitangential, and/or polycentric conditions possible in eccentric contexts with respect to the centers of theoretical production (Gnecco 1999; Gnecco and Zambrano 2000; Restrepo and Escobar 2005).

Postcolonial Theories in Archaeology: A Latin American Perspective

Postcolonial has been used as a chronological marker of the colonization–decolonization process. The consensus among scholars is that the trigger for postcolonial praxis was the construction of colonialist historical narratives of the Other by the Western world (Chakrabarty 1999). Thus, the intention of many postcolonialists has been to unveil the asymmetrical relations between colonizer and colonized and to reveal the colonizing subtexts that exist in written histories from eccentric countries such as those in Asia and Africa (Guha 1982; Spivak 1985). Postcolonial theory as we know it today draws on perspectives derived mainly from Marxism, postmodernism, and poststructuralism (e.g., Toro 1997; Dube 1999; Nagy-Zekmi 2003; Mignolo 1997).

But what do we, as Latin Americans, understand postcolonialism or postcoloniality to mean when the uses of such terms have been adopted so arbitrarily in recent archaeological literature? Some critics, such as the Argentinean Alfonso de Toro (1997:28), understand postcolonialism as the "reanimation of the actual state between the peripheral and the center . . . [as] the beginning of a dialogue between the peripheral and the central." Toro also prefers to use the term postcoloniality because of the difficulties imposed by the concept of postcolonialism and its many definitions. Postcoloniality is, then, "an intellectual, social and cultural attitude [which is] plural and internationalist; it is a dialogic link between the peripheral and the center" (Toro 1995, 1997).

However, Argentinean scholar Walter Mignolo (1997:51, emphasis original) shows the complexity of the term:

> The postcolonial or postcoloniality . . . is an ambiguous, sometimes dangerous, other times confusing expression that is generally limited and unconsciously applied . . . It is ambiguous when it is used to make reference to socio-historical situations that are connected to colonial expansion and decolonization through time and space . . . The danger of this term is when it is used as yet another "post" theoretical direction in academic practice and it becomes the principal tool against practices of opposition for the "people of color," "third world intellectuals," or "ethnic groups" within the academy . . . It is confusing when expressions such as "hybridity," "mestizaje," or "inner space" and other equivalent expressions are turned into the object of reflection and critique of postcolonial theories, because they suggest a discontinuity between the *colonial configuration* of the subject and the *postcolonial position* of the place of the theory . . . It is inconsistently employed when it is emancipated from the conditions of its manifestation

> (e.g., in certain cases as a substitute for the "literature of the Commonwealth" and as power in the "third world literature," among others) . . . [Therefore] it is not the historical postcolonial condition that should attract our attention, but rather the enunciation loci of the postcolonial.

The ambiguity to which Mignolo refers in his work, the same that we reaffirm here, is exemplified in various forms in the growing archaeological literature on postcolonialism (see also Liebmann, Chapter 1). In some cases, the use of the word postcolonial is inconsistent when it is used to propose delimitations of the universal and generalizing geopolicies after the colonial period (Falck 2003; Gosden 2001; Lilley 2000), or when the idea of globalization of postcolonial discourse is proposed (in a mimetic sense) (Shepherd 2002).[2]

From another perspective, the desired dynamics of postcoloniality have not been met by mainstream theoretical currents, from the so-called critical archaeology to post-processual perspectives, whose roots diffused from the center to the not-so-central (e.g., Earle and Preucel 1987; Gosden 2001; Hodder 1985, 1986, 1989, 1991, 1992, 1999; Leone et al. 1987; Patterson 1990, 1995; Shanks 1992; Shanks and Tilley 1987; Tilley 1993; Trigger 1980, 1984, 1995). Other critical and reflexive approaches that were produced simultaneously, or even earlier, from marginalized places like Ibero America (e.g., Bate, 1977; Fonseca 1988; Gándara 1980, 1982; Gnecco 1999; Gnecco and Zambrano 2000; López 1980; Lorenzo 1976; Lumbreras 1974; Moscoso 1991; Politis 1992; Vargas Arenas 1990; Vasco Uribe 1992; Vázquez, 1996) have been overlooked by theoreticians writing from "the center." Thus, it could be said that, to some extent, the adoption and use of postcolonial theories in central archaeologies have reproduced a colonial trope by disregarding the voices of the Other, especially when those voices are written in languages that are not English.

Among the recent topics addressed in archaeology from a postcolonial perspective, Gosden (2001) assesses the manner in which complex identity processes are reconfigured, examining disputed topics such as the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) in the United States and Australian Aborigines' complaints (see also Murray 1993 and Fine-Dare 2005). In these contexts, the new voices arising around corresponding new forms of archaeology reflect the conditions of subordination under which contemporary societies of indigenous peoples exist. As noted by Gnecco (1999) and Zimmerman (1989), among others, this situation unveils the power relations existing in the past when archaeology was the only legitimate tool used to construct ancient histories, as evidenced by

its portrayal in museums of both countries. From this perspective, we can infer that decolonization first arose in the archaeology of the United States and Australia for the resolution of a complex conflict arising out of asymmetric power relations (see also Rizvi Chapter 7).

Today it seems that the discipline of archaeology, as well as the State, has recognized, not at first without certain discomfort (Tsosie 1997), that close collaboration between the academy and native peoples is important when the task is to "reconstruct" the ancient histories of those peoples or manage their ancestral cultural resources (see also Borgstede and Yaeger Chapter 6; Seneviratne Chapter 11). Ironically, although archaeology has lived up to some of its responsibilities, it maintains a hegemonic role when dealing with the aforementioned resources by maintaining control over the manufacture, spread, and consumption of goods (textual, discursive) that are generated in such contexts. Therefore, the desired dialogic relationship between archaeologists and other interested parties has been subsumed when it comes to the production of knowledge about the ancient histories of the Other, which is still monopolized by archaeologists.

Mignolo interprets the origins of postmodern and postcolonial traditions based on the work of West (1989):

> it could be said that postmodernity is the discourse of counter-modernity that emerged from the *settler colonies* (e.g., USA, Australia, New Zealand, etc.), while postcoloniality is the discourse of counter-modernity manifested by *deep settlement colonies* (e.g., Algeria, India, Kenya, Jamaica, Indonesia, etc.), where colonial power was maintained with particular brutality. (Mignolo 1997:54, emphasis original)

For Mignolo, postcoloniality and postmodernity are discourses that derive from different types of colonial heritages. Thus, it is not surprising that postmodern archaeology deriving from the centers of theory production, such as those from the United States (with its condition of disciplinary supremacy), were in dialogue with those from other settler societies but not with the archaeologies written in languages other than English.

Postcolonial dialogues in contemporary Puerto Rico and other eccentric contexts have recently focused on discussions of heterogeneity (in identity, culture, society, sexuality, gender) and hybridization (cultural, national, transnational, etc.) (San Miguel 2004). While this examination of the "new rough edges" of Puertoricanness (Duany 2005) is undoubtedly a fascinating task, our aim here is to explore the role that archaeology has played in the construction of national identities in Puerto Rico. We will also examine how the sociopolitical contexts of the island have permeated

the development of archaeological practice. Relevant to our analysis is the fact that Puerto Rico is a classic "deep settlement" colony or, as some scholars suggest, a "postcolonial colony" (see Flores 2000; Duany 2005).

On the Structure of Archaeological Praxis in Puerto Rico: The Institutionalization of Colonial Tropes

In the application of postcolonial theories to archaeology, primary importance has been placed on the need to deflate the impact of those discourses that reproduce colonialism and subjugate the Other. Conversely, the way in which the structures that regulate archaeology serve to maintain the status quo by promoting the reproduction of such discourses has not received enough attention. The case of Puerto Rico is particularly interesting, because most of the structures that regulate archaeology were modeled after those of our colonizing entity (the United States), resulting in the entanglement of colonialism in the daily practice of the discipline and in the production and consumption of the historical narratives produced. The many vectors of colonialism that emanate from these structures have thus restricted the rise of alternative archaeologies from within the island and, as a result, have also arrested the development of our own perspectives of our precolonial pasts.

The practice of professional archaeology in Puerto Rico has been tied to the colonial relationship of the island to the United States, which started with the Spanish-American War of 1898. Following the defeat of Spain (our former colonist), Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the Philippines were ceded to the United States as spoils of war. From that moment on, Puerto Rican interaction with the United States brought with it changes on practically every sociocultural level, and these changes were often political strategies for easing the colonization of the island. In the first decades of the twentieth century, the civic-military government of the United States in Puerto Rico, in conjunction with research programs from several U.S. universities and institutions (e.g., the Bureau of American Ethnology and New York Academy of Sciences), started to conduct extensive multidisciplinary studies that included, among other things, anthropological investigations of the population of Puerto Rico and its traditions, as well as intensive archaeological studies (Aitken 1918; Fewkes 1907; Haeberline 1917; Mason 1917). Those studies were intended to inform the colonial government about structural aspects of Puerto Rican society in order to facilitate the administration of their new colony (López 1980).

Upon the arrival of this wave of North American archaeologists to the island, the archaeological and ethnohistoric work that was being done locally (Brau 1894; Coll y Toste 1907; Stahl 1889) was almost totally arrested, thus putting an end to the rise of an autonomous archaeological perspective of the indigenous inhabitants of the island. The studies that were conducted by U.S. anthropologists were based on the particularist culture-historical models that were in vogue at the time, which resulted in the creation of a cultural chronology of the pre-Columbian societies of the island (Rainey 1940). Puerto Rico, as well as the rest of the Caribbean, became a laboratory on which models of migration and cultural evolution were developed and tested. For example, this is clearly noted in Osgood's (1942:6–7) statement that such archaeological works were to be done in an "attempt to improve the methodology of archaeology through intensive research in a particular area, as well as to resolve the Historic problems of the aboriginal populations of the West Indies." Thus, not only was the North American archaeologists' aim to use the islands for testing archaeological methods but also to write our precolonial history. One of the methods developed in the Caribbean was the modal analysis of lithics and pottery fashioned by Rouse (1952), which led to the development of the culture-historical framework that still remains as the primary guideline for understanding the rise and spread of cultures (i.e., pottery styles) in Puerto Rico as well as in the rest of the West Indies. The ordering of our precolonial past using a taxonomic framework (derived primarily from botany) not only resulted in the treatment of our history as an object but also divorced those cultures that were supposedly being uncovered and ordered from the construction of a national identity in Puerto Rico (see also Rizvi Chapter 12).

Almost all archaeological work from the time of the U.S. invasion until the 1940s was done by archaeologists from the United States, until Ricardo Alegría became the first Puerto Rican to obtain a formal degree in anthropology (from a United States university). The studies conducted by Alegría generally followed the same theoretical and methodological approaches established by his U.S. predecessors, with whom he maintained a tight investigative relationship. There was one major difference in his approach, however; he was a professional Puerto Rican archaeologist who viewed his object of study through a different lens than that of the Americans. He did not study the precolonial history of "those" Indians from the island but, rather, that of "our" Indians, "our" ancestors (Alegría 1984 [1969]).

During the 1950s, the political panorama of Puerto Rico changed dramatically, resulting in a series of transformations that had repercussions on

the practice of archaeology on the island and on the treatment of our precolonial remains. In 1952, as a result of pressure from the United States, the constitution of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico was created, resulting in the Estado Libre Asociado de Puerto Rico (ELA). This new political formulation allowed the United States to mitigate the international criticisms that were being raised against them because of their colonial relationship to Puerto Rico. With this *contract* between the Puerto Rican elite and the U.S. government, Puerto Rico was excluded from the United Nations list of colonies, although it was quite evident that in pragmatic terms the island continued (and still continues) to be a colony.

Within this political context, Alegría, together with other members of the island cultural and political elite, founded the Institute of Puerto Rican Culture (ICP) to lead the cultural programs of the newly instated government in 1955. It was in the hands of the ICP to articulate the *official* history of the island, using folklore that extolled and validated the cultural past of Puerto Ricans. However, a further analysis reveals that the ICP served to facilitate the Commonwealth status to an extent as well; it allowed the perpetuation of a cultural nationalism that appeased the political nationalism that jeopardized the colonial political status (Duany 2000). The ICP promoted several cultural and research activities directed at molding the historic consciousness of the island's inhabitants through the prism of the foundational myth of the mixture between three "races"—the Taíno, Spaniard, and African—although subtly excluding certain historical processes that were not necessarily adequate for the construction of the new national consciousness (see Dávila 1997 for a critical analysis of this issue). The ICP put into practice the ideals of the past by printing them in the history books that were used in our schools, by reconstructing some sites that reflected our indigenous past (such as the Caguana site), and through the restoration of the Spanish component of Old San Juan. Unfortunately, our African past was often left on the margins of Puerto Rican history, and it has remained so until this day. It was during this time that the Taíno were institutionalized as a symbol of our precolonial past, based primarily on the ethnohistoric information provided in the Spanish chronicles and on the work that had previously been conducted by Alegría and the aforementioned North American archaeologists.

Although the importance of studying the Taíno was promoted from that time on, there was no infrastructure on the island to educate a new generation of Puerto Rican archaeologists; thus, most work continued to be conducted by archaeologists from the United States. It was not until 1971 that a baccalaureate program in anthropology was created at the University of

Puerto Rico. Unfortunately, this program was modeled upon most programs in anthropology in the United States, in which students are simply introduced to the discipline and it is expected that they develop their specialization through graduate education. Due to this fact, those Puerto Ricans who wish to engage in graduate studies in archaeology still have to emigrate to other areas, mostly to those located in the countries that have shared the treat of colonizing the Caribbean: the United States and Spain. Although graduate courses in archaeology are offered at the Centro de Estudios Avanzados de Puerto Rico y el Caribe (CEAPRC) (created in 1976 by Alegría), the lack of an anthropology program in this institution has limited the integral development of those interested in furthering their understanding of the discipline. The absence of a graduate program in archaeology on the island has thus limited the potential development of an autochthonous professional archaeology, in contrast to what has been observed in other Antilles such as Cuba and the Dominican Republic (see also Rizvi Chapter 12).

Concomitant with the development of the academic structures related to archaeology in the 1970s, laws adopted from the metropole were directly related to the treatment of historical remains on the island. The most significant regulation regarding archaeological resources was Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, which required an archaeological assessment of any federally funded project conducted on the island that might have an adverse effect over a potentially "significant" historical property. (Interestingly enough, the State Historic Preservation Office was originally ascribed to the Institute of Puerto Rican Culture, making Ricardo Alegría the first SHPO of the island.) This law not only defined the ways in which archaeology should be conducted (e.g., sampling methods, analytical practices) but also established certain criteria for determining the "significance" of historical properties that are based on elements that were (and are) not necessarily sensitive to our value system for determining the value of a resource.

In addition to this federal regulation, archaeological practices on the island were regulated through the creation of State Law 112 of 1988, which gave rise to the *Consejo para la Protección del Patrimonio Arqueológico Terrestre de Puerto Rico*. Interestingly, the protocols and requirements for conducting archaeology under this law were modeled after the laws of New York State. The implementation of these two legislative tools (Section 106 and Law 112) led to a new era in the practice of archaeological investigations in Puerto Rico. Since their onset, 99 percent of the archaeological work on the island is conducted in order to comply with these regulations. There-

fore, the modern practice of archaeology developed out of structures imported from the United States by local governmental agencies and began to be adopted by Puerto Rican practitioners as *the* professional research model.

As a result of the aforementioned legislation, archaeological investigations on the island began to change from the utilization of basically descriptive, normative, culture-historical models toward perspectives more aligned with functional–processual archaeology from the United States. Although there were some important discoveries (Ayes 1989; Rodríguez López 1989, 1997) and new theoretical–methodological proposals (Curet 1992; Oliver 1992) within this context, public input was basically nonexistent and did not result in significant changes from the models that were (and are) still dominant on the island since the 1950s (Rouse 1992). The perception of the precolonial history that was prevalent in Puerto Rico prior to such laws—that the Taínos were the only representatives of the ancient history of the island—did not change either.

Although minimal in quantity, the archaeological investigations generated by scholars working in academic institutions on the island have been highly valuable. The primary example is the research program carried out by the Centro de Investigaciones Arqueológicas from the Universidad de Puerto Rico that began in the 1970s. This research resulted in the documentation of the existence of a new archaeological culture on the island (the Huecoid culture), which led these scholars to propose a new model of cultural interaction and population dynamics within the island that contrasted with those previously proposed (see Chanlatte Baik and Narganes Storde 1983). Unfortunately, their findings have not been employed by those who regulate the official historical narrative of the island and thus have remained at the margins of the construction of our ancient history.

At this point, it is reasonable to suggest that there are at least four institutional vectors of colonialism that have limited the potential development of an autochthonous archaeological practice on the island: 1) the creation of a cultural agency (the ICP) that originally eased the way for the institutionalization of colonial narratives in the construction of our precolonial history, 2) the lack of academic spaces that allow the preparation of archaeological researchers beyond the undergraduate level, 3) the almost total absence of academic or governmental spaces for conducting research and the lack of adequate and sufficient resources to generate investigative programs, and 4) the current regulations for cultural resource management to which practitioners are required to adhere (Section 106) or that were originally based on a U.S. template (Law 112). In this sense, we understand

that the situation of "hybridity" in the discipline of archaeology in Puerto Rico (Pagán Jiménez 2000) continues to deepen because of the colonial situation in which the island exists. Therefore, the colonial condition continues to make the imposition of academic models and legal structures generated in the metropole viable while, simultaneously, the colonial mentality continues to be produced and reproduced and its derivative effects (economic and psychological dependency) continue to be felt in practically every level of social and political action.

By positioning the Puerto Rican case within the larger context of Latin America, we note that, on one side, the island shares with the rest of Latin America an assemblage of cultural traits that are the product of the colonialist politics of Spain and Portugal that were implemented during the period between the end of the fifteenth century until the nineteenth century. In this context, Puerto Rico should be a country of deeply eccentric roots, because it was first a Spanish colony (for four centuries) and is now a United States colony (for more than one century). On the other hand, the Puerto Rico of today is markedly different from other Latin American countries because it continues to be a deep settlement colony of the United States. Based on this fact, we might expect that archaeological praxis in Puerto Rico would be eccentric if we consider that practices are generated both from the periphery as well as the centers of academic production. On the contrary, as we will show below, the theoretical and pragmatic component of archaeology in Puerto Rico is mostly exogenous ("centric") and the archaeological advances on the island continue to be subordinate (by both local and nonlocal archaeologists) to the theoretical and methodological models generated by archaeologists from the United States more than half a century ago. One effect of this situation is that the archaeological practices in Puerto Rico continue to be conducted in an environment characterized by a mosaic of discourses charged with colonial narratives.

Indian Narratives: The Naturalization of Coloniality in Puerto Rico

The institutionalized domestication of the production of knowledge regarding the precolonial past(s) of Puerto Ricans is nowhere more patent than in its translation to the public. The structures that gave rise to and currently regulate archaeological praxis in Puerto Rico have produced a version depicting our indigenous history as extinct, which fits perfectly with an agenda of naturalizing a colonial condition as part of our identity.

The primary notion about the precolonial past that has been sold to Puerto Ricans concerns the Taíno, the first people(s) to suffer the effects of the European expansion to the Western Hemisphere. In fact, most people in Puerto Rico think that the only indigenous culture that inhabited the island prior to the invasion of Europeans was the Taíno, whose ethnogenesis was registered only a couple of centuries before Columbus's arrival. The supposed short time span in which the Taíno existed is one of the reasons why it is said that Puerto Ricans have 500 years of history, thus erasing from the construction of our historical legacy the more than 5,000 years of indigenous occupation of our island that led to the development of those people who encountered Columbus. Also due to the strong influence of Spanish chronicles from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries (Pané 1990; Las Casas 1909; Fernández de Oviedo 1851) in the archaeological and ethnohistorical literature, official versions of Puerto Rico's precolonial past have been highly Eurocentric. Furthermore, this creation of the Taíno has also served to homogenize the distinct cultural manifestations that were in operation in the islands at the time of the conquest, thus suggesting a monocultural indigenous landscape for which no clear evidence is available at present (in fact, a culturally plural context seems to characterize the Caribbean since its initial occupation; Rodríguez Ramos 2005a; Wilson 1993). Current notions about the Taíno are primarily based on interpretations of the early Spanish chronicles by scholars who represented the imperial academy (e.g., Rainey 1940; Rouse 1952), and by those of the ICP, which was created in conjunction with the Commonwealth.

The Taíno people were depicted in both American and Puerto Rican narratives of the middle of the last century as a peaceful, submissive people who were at the mercy of the Caribs, a group of "cannibals" from the Lesser Antilles who constantly raided their villages, killed their men, and sequestered their women. The Taíno, on the one hand, and the Caribs, on the other, were the two dichotomous entities created by early Spanish colonizers (in the fifteenth century) to classify the "behavior" of those Indian cultures in the Caribbean. Thus, as San Miguel (2004) suggested, the dichotomy between the Taíno and the Carib peoples was the earliest expression in the American lands of the opposition between the "Noble Savage" and the "Barbarian Savage." In this narrative, the passive nature of the Taíno drove them later to "greet" (Rouse 1992) the European colonizers, until their quick demise (without a fight) shortly after the onset of the conquest. This narrative about the inhabitants of the island embracing the arrival of colonizers does not differ much in its structure from that which tells the story of Americans

invading Puerto Rico in 1898; we were a submissive, "noble" people who were eagerly awaiting another colonial power to rescue us from the socioeconomic backwardness inflicted upon us by the Spaniards. And it does not stop there, as the case for the Spaniards was not much different from the previous two; they *lost* their battle to the United States in the Spanish-American War and thus also fell prey to a more powerful entity. Therefore, two of the main constituents of Puerto Rican identity—the Taíno and the Spaniards—succumbed to more powerful colonizers, while the third ingredient of Puertorricanness—the Africans—is commonly simply described as analphabet slaves, who only contributed some of their culinary flavors and *boom boom* music to our identity.

Going even deeper into our past, the archaeological narratives produced by North American archaeologists about the early precolonial history of the island have imposed and translated this unidirectional relationship (between the colonizer and the colonized) onto those who were actual discoverers of Puerto Rico: the "Archaic" people. In Rouse's (1992) model, these Archaic people were "simple" cave-dwelling people who moved from place to place as food intake required them. The mention in the Spanish chronicles of groups that fit such description inhabiting western Cuba and southwest Haiti (known as the Guanahatabey or Ciboney), as well as the import of Phillips and Willey's (1953) model of sociocultural evolution, were used in order to legitimize such an imagery about the first inhabitants of the island (Rodríguez Ramos, 2008). As the story goes, these "Archaic" folks, described sometimes as "sitting ducks" (Rouse, 1992:70), were either eliminated or displaced by the later Arawak (archaeologically known as the Cedrosan Saladoid) conquerors from South America, resulting in the first documented colonization of one people over another in the islands. Since the establishment of this model, it is almost invariably assumed that those "Archaic" people "contributed little to the subsequent peoples and cultures of the Greater Antilles" (Rouse and Alegría, 1990:80) and that the Cedrosan Saladoid peoples represent the "ancestors of the Taínos" (Rouse 1992:37). As was the case with the Taíno and with the Puerto Rican people who lived through the invasion of the United States, the "Archaic" were at the mercy of an external, more powerful colonizing entity, which brought the necessary tools (agriculture and pottery production) for the evolution of the Taíno, again showing another instance in which our colonial condition is naturalized though our indigenous past.

Even though an alternative model that provides a more active role to the Archaic peoples in the development of the Taíno has been proposed by local archaeologists (Chanlatte Baik and Narganes Storde 1990), it has not

been widely accepted either in Puerto Rico or by scholars from outside the island. Although both technological (Rodríguez Ramos 2005a,b) and microbotanical (Pagán Jiménez et al. 2005) data have conclusively shown that those "Archaic" people were much more diverse than originally thought and that there were marked similarities between some of their traditions and those of the Taíno (suggesting perhaps some level of historical continuity), the Taíno narrative that is consumed by the public is still based on the primitive axiom that we need people from the outside in order for us to evolve. In that sense, the many millennia that the earliest cultures of Puerto Rico inhabited the area are basically erased from our historical legacy, and the books that are still being given to our children in school recreate the original Taíno imagery that was formed in the middle of the past century (Pagán Jiménez 2001). This arrest in the development of a new perspective of our indigenous past is driven not only by trying to fit our data to the archaeological models that have been created from outside the island, mirroring those of the United States, but also by the imposition of laws forcing us to "comply" with the way in which archaeology is supposed to be done.

Both the image of the Taíno as synonym for our indigenous past and the lack of emphasis on the long history of occupation of the island have been reproduced in the Puerto Rican diaspora, particularly in New York, Connecticut, and Florida. Interestingly enough, even though there is a constant "fluid" evolution in the construction and performance of Puertoricanness between the inhabitants of Puerto Rico and those from diasporic communities (Duany 2000), the notion about our indigenous past adopted by diasporic communities was the monolithic one created by the ICP during the middle of the past century: that our precolonial history can be summarized in the features defined for the Taíno. In contrast to the way in which the Taíno are commonly perceived in Puerto Rico, diasporic neo-indigenous groups in the United States were organized with an administrative structure that mirrors that of Native North American tribes, but with a Caribbean taste. Thus, there are different "tribal councils" such as the Jatibonicu Taíno Tribal Nation of New Jersey, the Tekesta Taíno Tribe of Florida, and the Taíno Timikua Tribe of Tampa, among others, which are organized "officially" under the United Confederation of Taíno People (similar to other Native American tribes such as the Blackfoot Nation of Montana, organized into the Blackfoot Confederacy). They gained legitimacy by seeking (and receiving) approval from the United States Census Bureau to be recognized as a discrete ethnic group for purposes of the U.S. census. On the other hand, each of these has its own *nyTaíno* (an

Arawak term for a king or sub-chief) leader, who is in charge of each tribal council, and a *cacique*, who is the chief of the Nation of Taínos (who actually lives in New Jersey). In this sense, such hybrid organizations on one side replicate a colonial trope by being based on models that are exogenous to what is traditionally considered to be our indigenous reality on the island, but they try to adhere internally to the supposed social organization described for the Taíno in order to legitimize their "Taínoness."

Even though we acknowledge that the voices of such diasporic indigenous communities need to be heard, their recent aim to impose their agenda on the island has been a problem, based as it is on the aforementioned colonial tropes. This was particularly evident in the recent invasion of the Caguana ceremonial center in Puerto Rico, where a group of neo-Taíno Indians, grouped under the umbrella the United Confederation of Taíno People, called for the enforcement of the NAGPRA in the protection of "their" ancestral burial and ceremonial grounds (Barreiro 2005). The call for the enactment of this law in Puerto Rico is primarily based on the fact that "Since the Taíno—like Native Nation's citizens, Native Hawaiians, and Alaskan Natives—are indigenous people under the colonial control of the U.S. plenary authority, Taíno have a right to the same protective provisions created for these people" (Rivera 2003:445). Therefore, these people took advantage of the colonial situation of Puerto Rico to argue for the "repatriation" of the bones of native Puerto Ricans and that no more work should be done over any other "Taíno" interment without their consent, thus reproducing a colonial structure on the island by imposing another federal regulation over the treatment of our indigenous past. Their stance had little resonance, if any, on the island, however, perhaps due to the general perception that these people were trying to be more Taíno than the rest of us without recognizing that, in Puerto Rico, most of us consider the Taíno to be part of our cultural stratigraphy (and now we have the mtDNA evidence to prove it!) (Martínez Cruzado et al. 2005). The support of the actions of those people on the basis of a law devised for the protection of Native American heritage in the United States could be viewed as an instance that also reproduces colonialism and, thus, is an interesting form of diasporic colonization.

Moving Forward: Toward Archaeologies of Liberation

The situation of Puerto Rico is unique, and perhaps it cannot be used to model other colonial situations in the world. However, it can serve to

demonstrate the fact that in what has been termed a "postcolonial" condition, there are still multiple vectors of colonialism in operation that serve to reproduce the colonial tropes that continue to subjugate archaeological praxis in eccentric contexts. If we fall into the postcolonial fallacy of thinking that we are past coloniality and such vectors are not unmasked, the reproduction of colonial structures will continue to be embedded in the ways various archaeologies are constructed, performed, and reproduced in different contexts. As our proposed archaeologies of liberation contend, the diverse themes discussed here are at least the initial steps toward overcoming intellectual and political colonialism.

Our intention with this chapter is to step ahead highlighting those aspects of tension that we believe exist in the archaeology of a colonized country like Puerto Rico. Among them, one of the most relevant and critical elements is the practice of archaeology in Puerto Rico, which is constrained by the American metropole's rules related to historical preservation. But there is neither a governmental program nor academic projects beyond this that can be effective and consistent in the preservation and promulgation of our archaeological resources.

Another relevant aspect of tension is the lack of consolidation of a truly autochthonous Puerto Rican archaeology, resulting from the absence of an academic structure that facilitates such development. This is exacerbated by the fact that the pragmatic and theoretical structures of Puerto Rican archaeology continue to exhibit high doses of imported traits that, in most cases, are used uncritically by local and metropolitan archaeologists to conduct their research. Although the archaeology produced by Puerto Ricans has certainly resulted in the generation of valuable information that has influenced the rethinking of the traditional models of our precolonial past, unfortunately we have not been able to organize a disciplinary body that makes feasible the gestation of a true Puerto Rican archaeology emanating from within the island using such information. Although we believe that simply nationalizing our archaeology through a perspective based on the confrontation or negation of the knowledge generated by metropolitan archaeologists would be highly unproductive and damaging, the existing national archaeologies are highly varied, to say the least.

We understand that the flux of information and knowledge generated by "world archaeologies" must coincide dialogically, not only on the international academic scene but also in other spheres of action within our respective countries. Therefore, we subscribe to the proposal formulated by Restrepo and Escobar (2005) regarding "world anthropologies." We understand that our archaeologies of liberation should be understood not only

in the context of our own colonial problem, but also within the context of the "terms, conditions, and places of worldwide anthropological [archaeological] conversations and exchanges" (Restrepo and Escobar 2005:118). Within this perspective, we want to emphasize the colonial nature of most treatments of postcolonialism by "central" archaeologists, which have reproduced a colonial relationship with noncentral archaeologies by focusing almost exclusively on what has been said in their own language and within their own academic and editorial apparatuses, thus alienating the voices of others who are contributing to the understanding of postcoloniality, most of whom write their dialogues from eccentric contexts. If a concerted effort is not made by central archaeologists to hear what others are saying, they will continue to float in their own colonially infested swimming pools.

With this said, our interest has been to analyze, as a first step, archaeological praxis in Puerto Rico in order to demonstrate some of the qualities of the power relations that are still embedded in the different contexts of archaeological production, particularly those of the eccentric. We did not want to delve into other relevant issues of epistemological character without first establishing a scenario with which we can start this undertaking. We suggest that the themes touched upon in this chapter need to be further scrutinized and demonstrate the positive elements as well as the points of stagnation that result from considering postcolonialism to be an all-encompassing condition. We believe that the assumption of a global postcolonial context in which archaeological practices have recently been situated will remain problematic until we are able to adequately acknowledge the colonial situation in which diverse archaeological practices are embedded, not only in countries such as Puerto Rico but elsewhere as well. During this deep analysis of archaeological practices, centric and eccentric, there will be coincidences with the different postcolonial projects that have been developed. But, as we know, even with such coincidences, the final aim of such distinct projects will be divergent in the sense that archaeology, as well as other sociocultural and political entities, is embedded in the porous context of identity building and reproduction.

The space remains open to deepen our discussions of many of the lines of thought that we have brought to bear in this chapter. Our main point has been to show that archaeology has been articulated in certain instances as a tool for the reproduction of colonialism and that, in some cases, it has served to maintain asymmetrical power relations between the center and the periphery. It is our hope that the vortex of archaeological work that is being conducted in Puerto Rico serves to shake the governmental struc-

tures that regulate, maintain, and circulate the same narrative products produced decades ago primarily from outside the island. In that same light, it is hoped that it also shakes those of us who practice archaeology in Puerto Rico—both Puerto Ricans and non-Puerto Ricans—because at the end it is us who give continuity or change to our professional and social world through our deliberate actions.

Acknowledgments

We appreciate the generous help of Carlos Melo Díaz (El Colegio de México) for the translation of various sections of this chapter. The second author of the chapter conducted this research thanks in part to a National Science Foundation Graduate Research Fellowship.

Notes

1. It is clear to us that archaeology was initially a discipline created out of Euro-American modernity, but its current expressions should vary as they are performed in different regional, national, and societal settings (e.g., inside and outside academic contexts). The eccentric, peripheral, and hybrid archaeologies in our region (Pagán Jiménez 2000) have been the target of persistent practices of subordination (in different degrees). Even though the analysis of this fact is not the main focus of this chapter, it is important to establish that the archaeology practiced in Puerto Rico has historically alienated and estranged the individual as an active agent either in the "reconstruction" or interpretation of the past (see Pagán Jiménez 2001).

2. For an important statement relative to this problem, see the objectives of the journal *Archaeologies* from the World Archaeological Congress.

Postcolonial Cultural Affiliation: Essentialism, Hybridity, and NAGPRA

5

MATTHEW LIEBMANN

ONE OF THE FUNDAMENTAL CONTRIBUTIONS of postcolonial studies to the humanities and social sciences over the past quarter-century has been the critique of essentialism in discussions of cultural difference. The identification and rejection of essentialist discourses—wherein social groups or categories are presumed to possess universal features exclusive to all members—have become central to postcolonial notions of identity and cultural difference. Essentialist discourses reduce complex heterogeneous structures to a supposed inner truth or essence and function within colonial regimes to reinforce hegemonic control over colonized peoples, inscribing inferiority upon them by controlling the dominant modes of representation. The postcolonial denunciation of essentialism hinges on a rejection of the simplistic binary oppositions upon which much of colonialist and neocolonialist discourse is predicated, such as civilized/savage, center/margin, First World/Third World, and the colonial Self/the colonized Other. The anti-essentialist position espoused by many postcolonial theorists has informed contemporary anthropological studies of identity, which stress its contingent, flexible, and discursively constructed nature. These fluid notions of identity, termed "constructivist," emphasize the central role of social interaction in the negotiation of identity (Barth 1969; Hall 1996:3–4; Borgstede 2004:38) and challenge essentialist conceptions of static, unitary, and homogenous essences in the construction of cultural difference. Constructivist notions of identity have had a particularly significant impact on the field of archaeology in recent years, both in the interpretation of past societies and in an increasing recognition of the political implications of the archaeological past in the construction of modern identities (Meskell 2002:279).

Roughly coinciding with this shift away from essentialist notions of identity, American archaeology was forced to take some of the first tentative steps toward the decolonization of the discipline in the late 1980s and early 1990s with the adoption of state and federal repatriation legislation in the United States, embodied most prominently in the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA)[1] (Trope and Echo-Hawk 2000). NAGPRA provides the federal legal means for Native Americans to exercise a modicum of control over human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony held by federally funded institutions throughout the United States, as well as control over objects excavated from or discovered on federal or tribal lands after 1990. In recent years, however, NAGPRA has been criticized for promoting an essentialist model of identity (Bray and Grant 1994; Bray 1996:443; Nafziger and Dobkins 1999:86–87; Clark 2001:3; Gosden 2001) inconsistent and incompatible with the growing body of contemporary scholarship supporting constructivist notions of cultural difference. In short, these critiques maintain that NAGPRA utilizes an untenable concept of identity that contradicts contemporary social theory and, as a result, is difficult, if not impossible, to implement in an intellectually honest manner.

While I, too, endorse a discursive approach to the investigation of identity, I do not think that postcolonial theory is unavoidably in conflict with NAGPRA. In fact, constructivist notions of identity need not undermine Native American attempts to assert control over their cultural heritage. Rather, a critical application of postcolonial theory in concert with a close reading of NAGPRA can be used to support repatriation and advance the crucial decolonization of archaeology in the United States. In the process, archaeologists stand uniquely positioned to make significant contributions to the development of postcolonial theory as well (Gosden 2001:248–49), emphasizing the importance of history and material culture in the constitution of postcolonial identities.

Before discussing these issues in detail, I first offer a caveat. In *Orientalism,* one of the foundational texts of postcolonial studies, Edward Said writes of the importance of "*strategic location*, which is a way of describing the author's position in a text with regard to the . . . material he writes about" (Said 1978:20, emphasis original). My strategic location relative to the archaeology of Native Americans is that of a non-Native archaeologist who has worked as NAGPRA coordinator for a federally recognized Native American tribe (the Pueblo of Jemez). I support repatriation and see it as a small but important step in redressing the inequities that have heretofore characterized the relationships among settler societies and indigenous

peoples, particularly that of archaeologists in relation to Native Americans. I also find aspects of postcolonial theories to be compelling, including the general critique of essentialism (Said 1978, 1993) and the emphasis on the role of hybridity in the constitution of cultural difference (Bhabha 1994:34). Thus, I have a vested interest in the convergence and integration of postcolonial theory with NAGPRA—not as a means to undermine repatriation, but in support of it. In my work as NAGPRA coordinator, I heard repeated criticisms of U.S. cultural resource legislation (most commonly NAGPRA) by tribal members who suggested that these laws do not go far enough in affording Native Americans a degree of control over their ancestral human remains and objects of cultural heritage. (Alternatively, others have made the argument that these laws go too far in granting control to Native Americans, e.g., Meighan 2000). However flawed this legislation may be, NAGPRA currently provides the best opportunity to continue the decolonization of archaeology in the United States, a process I believe to be constructive and vital to the future of archaeological research (see also Ferguson 2004:36). For this reason, I present the following analysis as a scholarly rejoinder to the argument that the application of NAGPRA is not intellectually viable in a postcolonial world. While NAGPRA is certainly not perfect (recall the old analogy regarding laws and sausages: it is better not to see them being made), it does not necessitate the propagation of essentialist discourses, either.

The Essentialist Critique of NAGPRA

At the center of many repatriation debates is the determination of cultural affiliation, a process that has been called "the cornerstone of NAGPRA" (Lovis et al. 2004:177). *Cultural affiliation* is the term coined to describe the connections that must be made between federally recognized tribes and the artifacts and/or human remains they wish to repatriate. NAGPRA states:

> "Cultural affiliation" means that there is a relationship of shared group identity which can be reasonably traced historically or prehistorically between a present-day Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization and an identifiable earlier group. Cultural affiliation is established when the preponderance of the evidence—based on geographical, kinship, biological, archaeological, linguistic, folklore, oral tradition, historical evidence, or other information or expert opinion—reasonably leads to such a conclusion. (25 U.S.C. §§ 3001, Section 2[2]; 43 C.F.R. 10.2[E])

This definition thus entails three clearly discernable components: 1) a present-day tribe, 2) an identifiable earlier group, and 3) a relationship of shared

group identity. The first of these categories is relatively straightforward, in that the law applies to federally recognized tribes (25 U.S.C. §§ 3001, Section 2[7, 11]; Lovis et al. 2004:177). NAGPRA is unambiguous on this point (but see Gosden 2001:252). While I do not deny that contemporary Native American identity (that is, who is and is not Native American) is a complex, often contested, and highly negotiated issue, for the purposes of this discussion the point is moot. Only members of federally recognized Native groups (and lineal descendants) can claim human remains and funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony under NAGPRA.

Problems arise when attempting to apply the latter two components of the definition of cultural affiliation, however. The recognition of "identifiable earlier groups" has been a point of contention. While museums often rely upon the culture-historical tradition of "archaeological cultures" defined by complexes of material traits in an attempt to establish an identifiable earlier group (Lovis et al. 2004:177), this practice has been increasingly questioned in recent years (Dongoske et al. 1997; Ferguson 2003:140, 2004:28). The problem stems in part from the fact that museums typically establish cultural affiliation working from the past (as represented by their collections) to the present, while tribes tend to work from their present to their past (Anyon and Thornton 2002:192; Ferguson 2003:140). In any case, the establishment of an identifiable earlier group must be carried out on a case-by-case basis and is extremely context dependent.

It is the third component of the definition of cultural affiliation, "a relationship of shared group identity," upon which the most vociferous debate has focused. Critics of NAGPRA assert that the notion of cultural affiliation is fundamentally flawed because it employs an essentialist model of identity, forcing tribes (and museums) to adopt the untenable position that Native American identities have not changed through time (Bray and Grant 1994:154; Bray 1996:443; Nafziger and Dobkins 1999:86–87; Gosden 2001:241), at least in certain fundamental categories that are assumed to define them as authentic Indians. There is a long history behind this type of essentialist discourse; non-Indians have often portrayed Native Americans in opposition to Euro-American society as simple, primitive, technologically immature, and (maybe most damaging of all) static in contrast to the complex, modern, technologically advanced, and dynamic West. According to this view, Native American authenticity is rooted in an unchanging pre-Columbian essence, presuming that the only "real Indians" alive today are those who look, speak, and act like the indigenous populations first encountered by Europeans in the New World. Popular portray-

als of these fictionalized Native Americans in the mass media have lent credence to the romantic fantasy that these so-called "real Indians" still exist somewhere, unaffected by colonization. These imaginary Indians ultimately prove more desirable to mainstream society than modern Native Americans, who suffer by comparison and are often ignored or marginalized when they attempt to explain their differences through complex histories of dynamic adaptation (McMullen 2004:270). This situation is typical of colonial conditions the world over: as a measure of control, colonizers often attempt to fix the identity of the colonized, employing essentialism in order to assert a perceived superiority.

Critics of NAGPRA contend that the law continues this legacy of essentializing Native Americans by ignoring postcolonial theories of identity. Chris Gosden (2001:241–42) asserts that:

> the legal basis for claims [under NAGPRA] is some form of cultural integrity and continuity with the prehistoric cultures which produced the remains. In order to claim ancestral bones and objects, indigenous peoples around the world have to prove that they are not creolized or hybrid cultures, but have maintained some essential identity through time and into the present. Postcolonial theory, which is in tune with broader trends of western academic thought moving away from any essentialized notion of culture, runs in direct contradiction to ideas of culture which need to be developed by indigenous people as the basis for their political strategies in the present.

Scholars of a more positivist bent have offered a similar critique. G. A. Clark (2001:3) argues against NAGPRA on the basis that:

> Ethnicity, or identity-consciousness, is a fleeting, transient thing—constantly changing, constantly being renegotiated, written on the wind. Anthropologists have known for decades that discrete ethnic groups, rigidly bounded in space and time, have no existence beyond a few centuries (and even that is arguable). Too bad this little nugget eluded most American archaeologists! . . . In various publications, and in other public fora, I've tried to make the case that, because it is anti-materialist, NAGPRA is also fundamentally anti-science; that it is grounded in . . . simplistic, essentialist, typological notions of human variation. . . . by arguing that repatriation be restricted to "federally recognized tribes" [NAGPRA] assumes "tribes" are "forever," that they are bounded and discrete, that they persist as recognizable entities over space and time.

Both Gosden and Clark focus on what they see as a central flaw of NAGPRA: the promotion of an essentialist concept of identity. However,

although they share a common criticism of the law, these critiques arise from two very different intellectual perspectives. Gosden's argument is made in the context of a discussion of postcolonialism in archaeology in which he expresses his support for constructivist models of identity; his criticism of NAGPRA is not an attempt to undermine Native American access to control over human remains and artifacts, but is better seen as a disinterested assessment of the law from an outsider's perspective (that of British academe). Clark, on the other hand, is an American scientist utilizing constructivist theories of identity for reasons of intellectual politics, seeking unrestricted access to human remains for academic study (Meskell 2002:290). In so doing, he seeks to delegitimize the marginalized persons who currently access power through NAGPRA. The appropriation of constructivist notions of identity by historically dominant colonial elites for the continued subjugation of subalterns has unfortunately become increasingly common in recent years (Hale 1997, 1999; Fischer 1999). This is an ironic and unintended consequence for postcolonialists, whose explicitly stated political aspirations frequently seek to promote indigenous access to power.

Caught between Scylla and Charybdis: Strategic Essentialism versus Radical Constructivism

In practice, most tribes and museums have avoided the thorny theoretical thicket of modern identity studies altogether in the implementation of NAGPRA. In my experience, repatriation frequently proceeds through the application of an implicitly essentialist notion of cultural affiliation. Whether conscious of the logical inconsistencies that inhere in concepts of unchanging cultural essences or not, many museums and tribes have chosen to simply maintain the status quo and assume a relatively straightforward link between modern tribes and the "identifiable earlier groups" in question.

This approach parallels a tactic for enabling subaltern access to power that has previously been endorsed by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, one of the luminaries of postcolonial studies. Spivak has advocated the accession of power by marginalized groups through what she terms *strategic essentialism* (Spivak 1987:205), the utilization of (knowingly flawed) categories rooted in natural and collective homogeneity for political gains. The use of the concept of unchanging Native American identities to establish cultural affiliation is an example of strategic essentialism, and, indeed, this tactic has

been frequently employed by tribes and museums in the implementation of NAGPRA over the past two decades.

While the use of strategic essentialism by Native Americans may be effective in attaining short-term goals such as the repatriation of particular individuals or objects, this tactic is ultimately problematic because of the dangerous legal precedent it establishes. If tribes assert that their modern cultural formations do not differ from those of their ancestors, they risk perpetuating Western notions of Native American culture as unchanging and fixed in the past. That is, by maintaining the static nature of their identity when establishing cultural affiliation, Native Americans risk reinforcing the expectation that Indian-ness (and all attendant rights and privileges) inheres in the past in other realms as well. This could cause real legal problems if applied in other areas of tribal politics, for example, in attaining federal recognition or enacting previously established treaty rights. If Native Americans are required to maintain an unchanging, static identity, then any innovations or transformations that have occurred since 1492 make them somehow less Indian. Essentialisms promoted strategically in the implementation of NAGPRA carry the danger of backfiring in other contexts and proving detrimental to future legal causes.

The case of Anishinaabe spearfishing in northern Wisconsin provides a useful example (Nesper 2002, 2004). Treaties signed in 1837 and 1842 granted Anishinaabe people (also known as Chippewa or Ojibwe) the right to fish at night using torches and spears (local species of fish have highly reflective eyes, and the use of an external source of light aids in locating and spearing them). Throughout the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, flaming torches were replaced first by lanterns, then by flashlights, and finally by automobile headlights taped to construction helmets. Similarly, birch bark canoes were superseded by rowboats, which were then supplanted by crafts with motorized outboard engines, all of which aided in increasing the yield of fish harvested annually (Nesper 2004:230). Local non-Indians protested that the use of these technological advances granted an unfair advantage and that Anishinaabe fishing under the protection of treaty rights should utilize only the technologies available to the nineteenth-century signatories of the treaties. Of course, Anishinaabe supporters correctly pointed out the inconsistency inherent in these arguments: why should Native Americans be bound to static, unchanging forms of material culture while non-Indians are not? Anishinaabe writer Jim Northrup sums up the paradox succinctly: "Some people opposed to spearing say we should do it like it was done in treaty signing times. Go back to the birch bark canoe and flaming torch. Why should we be stuck in the last

century? . . . I'll go back to a birch bark canoe when you go back to a horse and buggy" (Northrup 1997:141).

Anishinaabe treaty rights could thus be undermined by essentialist conceptions of "traditional" (i.e., unchanging) culture. This case illustrates the importance of taking constructivist critiques of identity seriously. As Said (1993) notes, any use of static essentialism—strategic or otherwise—eventually condemns subjugated peoples to continued marginality and oppression. Were the Anishinaabe to maintain that they had not changed in essence over the past two centuries for the purposes of NAGPRA, this could be turned against them in their battle over treaty rights. Hence, the continued use of essentialist models of Native American identity by museums and tribes in the implementation of NAGPRA is not only intellectually impractical but also legally precarious.

The alternative to these essentialist conceptions that is typically put forth by anthropologists today is the embracing of postmodern/postcolonial models of identity, emphasizing its fluid, flexible, and situationally contingent nature. However, recent assessments of postcolonial theory, both pro- (Gosden 2001:258) and con- (Dirlik 1999), have noted that this emphasis on the socially constructed nature of identity could ultimately prove detrimental to Native American interests. Clearly, the adoption of a radical constructivist stance wherein "traditions are 'invented,' subjectivities are slippery (if they exist at all), and cultural identities are myths" (Dirlik 1999:73) would prove detrimental to tribes claiming rights based on cultural affiliation. Rather than strengthening native claims to control over cultural heritage, postcolonial concepts of identity appear to provide the means by which hegemonic powers are able to continue to repress subaltern peoples. By stressing the problems of essentialism and the fluid and flexible aspects of identity, postcolonialism has been (mis)used to assert the impossibility of establishing shared group identity between modern tribes and social groups in the past, turning NAGPRA into a cruel intellectualist trick that pulls the rug out from under the feet of the Native Americans. From the perspective of modern tribes, this appears to be one more instance in a long line of broken treaties by the U.S. government. Once again Indians were promised a modicum of control, only to have that right snatched away a few years later, this time through an academic sleight-of-hand that claims that it is impossible to prove that they share a common identity with their ancestors. Of course, this is in direct opposition to the explicitly stated political goals of many postcolonialists who endorse subaltern access to power.

Thus, the combination of postcolonial theory and NAGPRA would seem to place Native Americans in a no-win situation. On the one hand,

the use of essentialist categories (no matter how strategic) condemns Native Americans to roles of static otherness in which legal claims are undermined by any variation from the cultural formations of the their pre-1492 ancestors. On the other hand, the adoption of radical constructivism weakens any notion of cultural integrity. Thus, Indians are caught between the Scylla and Charybdis of identity studies: charting a course that errs on the side of strategic essentialism results in accusations that cultural affiliation is intellectually untenable, while steering too close to radical constructivism condemns even the mere existence of tribal entities to nothing more than contemporary political fabrications.

Routes Rather than *Roots*: Closer Readings

The reduction of cultural affiliation to either essentialism or radical constructivism is a false dichotomy, however. In my reading of the law, NAGPRA does not, in fact, obligate tribes or museums to adopt essentialist models of identity. Furthermore, equating postcolonial notions of identity with radical constructivism misconstrues the arguments of many postcolonial theorists; by "flattening" postcolonial notions of identity into a one-size-fits-all model of extreme constructivism, critics (e.g., Dirlik 1994) gloss over critical elements of postcolonialism and the process of identity construction. Tribes should neither be forced to maintain that they have remained exactly the same over the course of the past 500 years nor be required to promote a notion of identity as "a fleeting, transient thing—constantly changing, constantly being renegotiated, written on the wind" (Clark 2001:3).

Much of the intellectual hand-wringing surrounding the difficulties inherent in the application of NAGPRA neglects to pay sufficient attention to the actual text of the law. A close examination of the regulation and its legislative history reveals that the legal definition of cultural affiliation utilized by NAGPRA does not necessitate a static notion of straightforward cultural continuity (contra Gosden 2001:241). Rather, NAGPRA defines cultural affiliation as "a *relationship* of shared group identity" (25 U.S.C. §§ 3001, [2]; emphasis mine). As with many legal discourses, the inclusion of a single word—in this case, "relationship"—makes all the difference.

In an early draft of NAGPRA legislation, a stricter definition of cultural affiliation was proposed, one that would have required that "a *continuity* of group identity from the earlier to the present day group" be reasonably established (Trope and Echo-Hawk 2000:162 n. 50; emphasis added). However, the authors of this legislation ultimately recognized that the continuity definition would prove problematic. The requirement of unchanging and

unbroken cultural identity has repeatedly proven detrimental to Native American groups attempting to attain federal recognition (Clifford 1988:336–44), a fact of which the drafters of this legislation were well aware. In an attempt to avoid the pitfalls that have plagued tribal groups in the past, the necessity of "continuity" was changed to the less stringent "relationship" requirement. As Gerstenblith (2002:176) notes, "both the wording of NAGPRA and much of its legislative history seem intended to change the way cultural continuity was defined." Introducing the concept of a *relationship* of shared group identity thus makes space for a slightly more fluid, flexible, and socially constructed notion of identity to be employed in the implementation of NAGPRA, one closer to that endorsed by contemporary anthropologists and postcolonial theorists.

Furthermore, a closer reading of postcolonial scholarship reveals that some of its most prominent proponents do not, in fact, endorse a notion of cultural identity cut from whole cloth. Stuart Hall (1989:29), for example, explicitly acknowledges "the place of history, language, and culture in the construction of subjectivity and identity." Likewise, Bhabha notes that cultural identity "is resourced by the power of tradition to be reinscribed" (Bhabha 1994:2). Modern identities are neither simple continuations of past identities nor created out of thin air; rather, identities draw on history for their legitimacy, restaging the past in the creation of the present. Identity construction is always in process and never complete (Hall 1990:222; Bhabha 1994:1–2); this does not mean that traditional practices are forgotten or dismissed, but are reinscribed and given new meanings. In other words, modern identities may not represent a straightforward, one-to-one correlation with the past, but there is a *relationship* between the past and modern groups. Furthermore, the acknowledgment of the social construction of identity should not be taken as a negation of its importance. It is true that cultural identity, like race, does not exist as an independent entity in the world. Identity is discursively constructed. But this does not make identity any less socially significant. Cultural identities create salient social distinctions and, thus, must not be discounted as mere epiphenomena or, worse, inconsequential.

Clearly, then, the concept of cultural affiliation is not quite as rigidly essentialist as critics have made it out to be. In addition, not all postcolonialists endorse an extreme constructivist position on identity, qualifying the fluidity of ethnic consciousness as mediated and constructed out of historical realities. In both cultural affiliation and postcolonial theory, it seems more useful to conceive of identity in terms of *routes* rather than *roots* (Clifford 1997; Friedman 2002). With this established, it becomes possible to

chart a "third way" for the implementation of NAGPRA in the postcolonial era, one that is neither rigidly essentialist nor radically constructivist. One postcolonial concept that may prove useful in establishing strategies that are both effective for tribes and academically viable in the contemporary intellectual climate is that of cultural hybridity (Hall 1990; Bhabha 1994; Young 1995).

Between Either/Or: Postcolonial Hybridity

The corollary to postcolonialism's rejection of essentialism is recognition of the central role of hybridity in the constitution of culture (Bhabha 1994:38). *The Oxford English Dictionary* defines *hybrid* as "anything derived from heterogeneous sources, or composed of different or incongruous elements." In postcolonial theory, hybridity commonly refers to the complex transcultural forms produced through colonization that cannot be neatly classified into a single cultural or ethnic category. It challenges the traditional view of colonialism as a meeting between discrete entities, colonizer and colonized, who maintain separate cultural formations through time. Instead, the concept of hybridity posits that the interaction of social groups produces new cultural forms that are neither wholly immigrant nor wholly indigenous but are instead interdependent and mutually constituting. This term does not connote benign and innocuous combinations, however; as used by many postcolonialists, hybridity can imply disruption and a forcing together of unlike things (Young 1995:26), calling attention to disjunctions as well as conjunctions (Kapchan and Strong 1999:249). Hybridity foregrounds the issues of power and inequality inherent in colonial societies, highlighting the empowering nature of hybrid forms that often make space for anticolonial resistance through the challenging of binary categories. This emphasis on power can be traced through Bhabha's writings back to the work of Mikhail Bakhtin (1981:358–61), whose foundational use of the term *hybridity* in linguistics stressed the unsettling and transfiguring capacity of these new cultural formations.

A clear example of hybridity can be found in the tradition of quilting among the contemporary Lakota (Sioux) of the northern U.S. Plains. Beginning in the late nineteenth century, Lakota women adapted the techniques and styles of quilt production that were forced upon them through contact with Euro-American missionaries and educators to produce a new, hybrid class of material culture (Albers and Medicine 1983:127–28). They quickly established innovative designs, with the majority of quilts incorporating variations on a single central star pattern, known logically enough

as "star quilts" (Fig. 5.1). Today their production and exchange are an important sign of contemporary Lakota identity. They are frequently used to mark significant occasions and important rituals, including graduations, funerals, weddings, traditional redistributive ceremonies, and Native basketball tournaments, among many other occasions (Albers and Medicine 1983:129–34). As one contemporary Lakota author notes, "In the twentieth century, quilts—especially those in the *star* pattern—have become one of the definitive cultural symbols of the Sioux people" (Anderson 1997:101). The star quilt, then, has become a new sign of identity for

Figure 5.1. Modern Star quilt by Rosa White Magpie (Oglala Lakota), 1998. *Photo by Matthew Liebmann*

Lakota people, created out of the "in-between spaces" created by colonialism (Bhabha 1994:1–2)—in this case, out of the boarding schools and missions that mediated the Indian and Euro-American worlds.

Conventional anthropological interpretations of this Lakota appropriation of quilting might view this phenomenon as a relatively straightforward example of acculturation (Redfield et al. 1935), syncretism (Herskovits 1966; Stewart 1999), or bricolage (Levi-Strauss 1971), in which a class of foreign material culture is appropriated by colonized peoples. A postcolonial interpretation emphasizes the fact that these quilts are not simply replicas or imitations of a Euro-American craft; rather, they are a new, hybrid class of material culture resulting from a fusion of Western technology with Lakota aesthetics. Hybridity differs from acculturation, syncretism, and bricolage not only in the centrality it places on power relations but also in that it resists representing cultures as bounded wholes (Stewart 1999:40–41). The postcolonial concept of hybridity reemphasizes the fact that *all* cultural forms participating in colonization are hybrids and rejects the idea that any "pure" or essential cultures have ever existed (Said 1993:xxv). Furthermore, hybridity stresses the interdependence and mutual construction of colonizer and colonized, acknowledging the multidirectional ebb and flow of cultural influences in colonial contexts and encouraging a focus not on synchronic structures but on diachronic practices (Kapchan and Strong 1999:250).

Hybridity is thus an appealing concept for the realm of contemporary Native American legal concerns, as it offers a "Third Space" (Bhabha 1994:37) in the articulation of identity that does not force modern Indians to choose between either essentialism or radical constructivism (Young 1995:26). However, anthropologists utilizing this term must be careful not to confuse this interpretive framework with an external reality. Hybridity is not an ethnographic object in and of itself but, rather, a theoretical lens that can prove useful for viewing familiar ethnographic objects in a new light. As Gregory Bateson (1972:454–55) notes, we have to be careful here not to confuse the anthropological map with the territory.

Hybridity is not a panacea, however, and it is not without its critics (see Ahmad 1995; Friedman 1997). Some of this criticism stems from its checkered political history; in the nineteenth century, hybrid forms were thought to be weak and sterile, providing evidence that pure racial types were superior and should not be mixed (Young 1995:6–19). Over the course of the past century, however, genetic studies demonstrated hybrid species to be particularly fruitful and resilient, imbuing the term with more positive connotations (Stewart 1999:45). However, to many, the concept of hybridity

presumes a preexisting purity in the social formations that are later combined (as does acculturation, syncretism, and bricolage). While postcolonialists typically answer these critics by rejecting any notion that "pure" or essential cultures have ever existed, conceptualizing hybridity as the historical result of two previously separate cultures colliding seems somewhat less troubling when focusing on the cultural formations that resulted from the encounter of Native Americans and the peoples of the Old World.

Others object to the ambiguity of the term, perceiving a threat that will dissolve cultural differences into a pool of indistinguishable homogeneity, decentering culture to the point of uselessness (Kapchan and Strong 1999:240). According to this line of thinking, hybridity undermines the rights of subaltern groups in the same ways that critiques of the biological concept of race have been used against traditionally marginalized ethnic groups. (If race doesn't exist, the argument goes, then no group should receive distinctive treatment.) In other words, because hybridity dissolves the rigid boundaries between groups, critics of this concept believe it makes everyone the same—we are all hybrid citizens of one transnational world. Again, this critique seems unfounded; postcolonialists such as Bhabha stress the need for "forms of dialectical thinking that do not disavow or sublate the otherness (alterity) that constitutes the symbolic domain of psychic and social identifications" (Bhabha 1994:173). We need not conceive of cultural identity as either bounded and essential "cultures" or an undifferentiated hybrid mass; rather, a more useful notion might be to conceive of hybridity as a suite of distinctive cultural formations somewhere between the two. To paraphrase the words of Bhabha, we should focus not on the exoticism or the diversity of cultures but on the inscription and articulation of cultural hybridity (Bhabha 1994:38).

The rising popularity of hybridity in anthropological theory has resulted in claims that NAGPRA requires tribes "to prove that they are not creolized or hybrid cultures" (Gosden 2001:242) in order to establish cultural affiliation. I disagree with this assertion, arguing that, in fact, tribes do not have to prove that they maintain "pure" cultures; on the contrary, with a more nuanced understanding of hybridity (and a recognition of the importance of the word *relationship*) it becomes possible for tribes to demonstrate that their contemporary cultural formations are, in fact, hybrids, forged out of past cultural practices melding with those of succeeding time periods and other social groups.

Hybridity and History

Hybridity is not predicated on the idea of the disappearance of previous cultural formations but, rather, on their continual and mutual develop-

ment; it does not deny the traditions from which it springs but acknowledges them in new ways (Ashcroft et al. 1995:184). However, as Gosden (2001:243) notes, a significant problem of postcolonial theory for archaeologists is its lack of any "real theory of history" or attention to the importance of material culture in the production of hybrid cultural formations. Thus, one of the challenges for archaeology is to elucidate the roles of history and material culture in the development of hybridity, tracking cultural formations as they change through time. Vital to this process is recognition of the subtle variations that exist among different hybrid forms. Bahktin's linguistic studies identified two primary varieties: unconscious (organic) hybrids versus those that are intentional and conscious (Bahktin 1981:358). The distinction is crucial for examining cultural affiliation, as organic hybridization functions as a stabilizing force, without disrupting senses of cultural order and continuity. Unconscious hybrids are present in all cultures, which evolve historically through mimetic appropriations and adaptations (Werbner 1997:4–5; Ahmad 1995:18), maintaining a *relationship* with the past in times of radical change. (Alternatively, intentional hybrids function to jarringly set elements of different cultures against each other in a conflictual structure, creating a dialectic space of contestation.) Organic hybridity is thus a necessary component of identity, allowing cultural formations to change through time, even while maintaining a sense of continuity.

The illusion of incompatibility between the concepts of hybridity and cultural affiliation is largely an artifact of the lack of attention to the role of history paid by many contemporary postcolonial theorists. By disregarding the crucial temporal aspect of hybridization, postcolonialists have produced largely synchronic studies that disproportionately emphasize newly adopted characteristics while simultaneously underestimating and diminishing the significance of previous cultural traits in the constitution of hybrid forms. In other words, the concept of hybridity has been widely misinterpreted to suggest that entirely *unique* cultural formations result from colonization, with little to no recognition of the central role of the past in the constitution of new cultural forms. In fact, hybridity should not be taken to suggest that postcolonial identities are wholly novel innovations; rather, they are amalgamated constructs that renegotiate, retranslate, and remember the past but, at the same time, are unavoidably influenced by the previous cultural formations from which they develop.

To return to the example of Lakota star quilts, the appropriation of quilting among Lakota women illustrates the critical role of power and history in the process of hybridization. The adaptation of the star quilt did not occur in a historical vacuum; there are specific historical reasons that

quilting flourished among northern Plains tribes in the late nineteenth century over other Euro-American crafts. A major factor in the adoption of this new, hybrid class of material culture in Lakota life was that its introduction roughly coincided with the elimination of wild bison herds (Medicine 1997:111). Bison hide robes had played an integral role in the initiation rites, honoring ceremonies, funerary rituals, and ceremonial gifting characteristic of indigenous Plains groups prior to the hunting of the bison to near extinction. These robes were known as *wichapi shina*, or star robes (Fig. 5.2), after the star or sunburst designs with which they were frequently adorned (Medicine 1997:113). As bison hides became increasingly difficult to attain through the course of the nineteenth century, Lakota women began to produce quilts to take the place of the star robes in ritual activities, a practice that continues to the present day. Thus, the adoption of the star or sunburst pattern among Lakota quilters is not a random accident, but the direct result of historical circumstances, and their importance in Lakota identity formation continues today because of the relationship it maintains with previous design traditions (Feest 1992:152). It is a remembering of the past and a continuation of the practice of buffalo hide painting through modern hybrid forms. However, it is also important to note the crucial role of power relations in this change in technology as well. Quilting was not a benign adoption of the tools of the colonizer by the Lakota, but was forced upon them through the multipronged attack of confining tribes to reservations, "civilizing" the Indian (by teaching them Euro-American crafts in boarding schools and missions), and the elimination of wild buffalo herds.

Thus, through the production of hybridized star quilts, the modern Lakota maintain a cultural affiliation with their ancestors. This example demonstrates the importance of the historical contextualization of hybridity, an essential step in the application of postcolonial theory to material culture. It also illustrates that an acknowledgment of hybridity does not necessarily undermine indigenous claims to an affiliation with the past. In fact, when critically applied, postcolonial theories of hybridity can strengthen Native American claims to cultural affiliation.

Conclusion

Critics of NAGPRA have drawn upon postcolonial theory to suggest that this law requires an impractical and unviable concept of Native American identity to implement the repatriation of human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony. These critiques are not

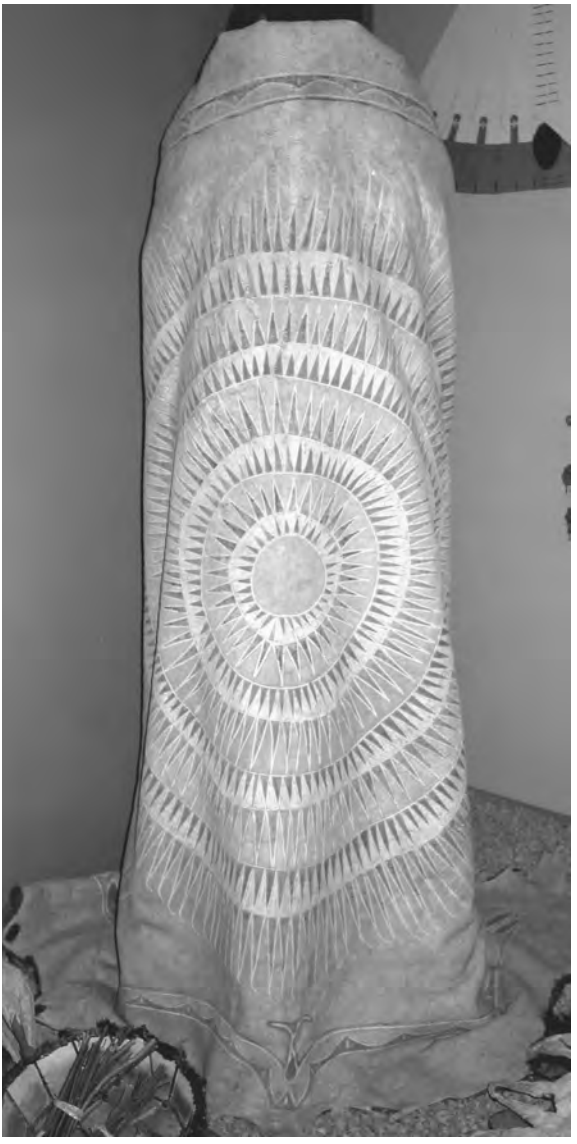

Figure 5.2. *Wicapi Shina* (Star robe), on display at the American Museum of Natural History. *Photo by Matthew Liebmann*

entirely without merit. However, they stem largely from two peripheral issues that have previously been underexamined: 1) the importance of the term *relationship* in the definition of cultural affiliation, which allows contemporary Native Americans and museums to acknowledge the fluid and flexible nature of identity formation, particularly the hybrid cultural forms

of postcolonial societies; and 2) the crucial roles of history and power in the formation of hybrid cultural forms.

Bhabha notes that hybridity often subverts the narratives of colonial power. It can be used to critique the series of inclusions and exclusions on which dominant cultural formations are premised (Bhabha 1994:112–20). Thus, rather than seeing hybridity as antithetical to the establishment of cultural affiliation, we should view NAGPRA as an opportunity to continue dismantling the essentialist notions of indigenous culture that have contributed to the subjugation of Native Americans for so long. Too often, indigenous peoples have been characterized as static and unchanging, with cultures fixed "from time immemorial," contributing to their continued exoticism and marginalization. By embracing hybridity—albeit hybridity grounded in historical specificities—the dynamic nature of Indian identities can be emphasized. Also, as I've attempted to demonstrate here, this concept of historicized hybridity can be used to establish the relationships of shared group identity necessitated by NAGPRA to implement repatriation. Archaeologists stand poised to play a crucial role in this process, documenting hybridity not only in recent cultural formations but also in the distant past. By emphasizing the ubiquity of hybridity in all phases of Native American history—precontact, colonial, and contemporary contexts—archaeology can help to deconstruct the concept of a pure, unchanging Native essence. In the process, we have the opportunity to forge a new understanding of cultural hybridity—a contribution that will benefit not only postcolonial theory but also the subjugated Others who have long suffered under the assumption that the real Indians disappeared when the white people arrived.

Acknowledgments

Thanks to T. J. Ferguson, Martin Gallivan, Alfredo Gonzalez-Ruibal, Chris Gosden, and Bob Preucel for their thoughtful comments on this chapter. I am also grateful to the staff of the Pueblo of Jemez Department of Resource Protection, Cultural Resource Advisory Committee, and Tribal Administration for allowing me to learn the intricacies of NAGPRA through my work with them.

Note

1. Repatriation legislation preceding NAGPRA includes the National Museum of the American Indian Act and state repatriation statutes passed in California, Hawaii, Kansas, Nebraska, and Arizona (Trope and Echo-Hawk 2000:135–37).

Notions of Cultural Continuity and Disjunction in Maya Social Movements and Maya Archaeology

6

Greg Borgstede and Jason Yaeger

The year 1492 was a pivotal date in the world's history, setting in motion events and processes that would radically reconfigure societies in the Americas, Europe, Africa, and Asia. Western historians often have treated the expansion of European rule over America's native societies as a cause of historical and cultural disjunctions. In many areas, like the Caribbean islands, pre-Columbian societies were largely eradicated or dissolved, replaced by new social and cultural forms that were uniquely colonial in nature. In other areas, like Mesoamerica, the survival of significant indigenous populations led to continuities in cultural traditions and practices, often in the form of syncretism.

The post-Columbian transformations of Native American societies are undeniable, but we must be careful not to adopt simplistic causal explanations. Looking back from the perspective of the twenty-first century, it is too easy to mistake these transformations as the inevitable outcome of the so-called European Conquest. Capitalized to index its importance as a moment of extreme disjunction and often cast as a clash of cultures (e.g., Diamond 1997; Todorov 1984), the Conquest has become the iconic cosmogonic event of Latin American history, initiating the birth of "Latin" America. History of the Americas often is divided neatly into "pre-" and "post-" Conquest, with concomitant assumptions regarding the unified and continuous nature of culture and society in each of these periods. In point of fact, in many regions of Spanish colonial America, the most significant transformations of indigenous society and culture occurred several centuries after their incorporation into the Spanish Empire, as a result of the Bourbon reforms of the late eighteenth century (e.g., Farriss 1984).

The fact that the Conquest occupies such a salient place in Western histories has far-reaching ramifications, and they are not politically neutral. The production of history and the construction of historical categories and constructs have been critiqued by postcolonial theorists for their role in reinforcing colonial power structures (e.g., Fanon 1965; Prakash 1990, 1994, 1995). In many cases, history and its categories have been shown to be colonial constructions that can obscure indigenous, subaltern histories (Mignolo 2000:110; Schmidt and Patterson 1995), particularly when history is presented as "grand narrative" (Appiah 1991; Schwarz 2000; Shohat 1992; Spivak 1987, 1988b). This is further complicated by the tendency in Western scholarship, and the social sciences particularly, to generalize from particularly historical cases in identifying cross-cultural regularities. Such comparisons necessarily focus on characteristics shared by different social-historical contexts, while downplaying differences. Postcolonial theorists argue for "renewed awareness of the violence of abstraction inflicted each time concepts and theories extracted from specific social contexts are deployed as ahistorical lenses for interpreting quite diverse societies and cultures" (Baber 2002:747).

As one pertinent example, framing the Conquest of the Americas as a watershed disjunction that led to the replacement of indigenous pre-Conquest societies with post-Conquest and European-dominated colonial societies overlooks myriad local histories that entail important currents of cultural continuity. This categorization dovetails neatly with a suite of related overly simple dichotomies such as prehistoric–historic, colonized–colonizer, and indigenous–European. Although these dichotomies have often been marshaled together to form a tidy metanarrative often tied with notions of progress and civilization, upon examining particular social-historical contexts, these categories often become quite blurry (Gruzinski 2002; Restall 2004; see also Liebmann Chapter 5).

In fact, the very term *Latin America* implies this master narrative, in which the countries south of the Rio Grande can be meaningfully grouped together due to their common history of Spanish and Portuguese colonialism with its roots in the Conquest.[1] While Latin America's colonial and postcolonial history has been well-studied, broadly and locally (e.g., Karem 2001; Lange-Churion and Mendieta 2001; Mignolo 1995, 2000; Rodriguez 2001; Smith 2006), Walter Mignolo (2000) argues that the construct of Latin America is of limited utility, albeit useful and valid in some contexts and for some analyses (see also Eakin 2004; Pagán Jiménez 2004; Smith 2006: 69). In most cases, however, more limited spatio-historical frames provide the finer focus needed for fuller understanding of the histories of a particular area.

In this chapter, we explore the complex issue of cultural continuity in one particular region, often called the Maya area by archaeologists or the Mundo Maya in the tourism industry (Magnoni et al. 2007). We do not argue for or against continuity, either general or in specific aspects of Maya society. Instead, we examine the ways in which many of the arguments made by professional archaeologists rely on assumptions of cultural continuity and produce knowledge claims supporting continuity. We also examine the importance of constructs of cultural continuity by Maya intellectuals and political activists and assess the ways in which such claims are often mutually reinforcing in the emerging, dialogic arena that brings together indigenous activism, public intellectualism, and contextually responsive archaeological practice.

We offer our arguments not to present a definitive statement about how notions of continuity or disjunction are deployed or with the goal of deconstructing those ideas. Rather, we hope to show some interesting connections between some of the underpinnings of the intellectual projects of some Western archaeologists studying the Maya past and of some Maya intellectuals who deploy that past, both of whom do so for a combination of intellectual and political motives. As with any analysis that seeks to respect the complexity of the postcolonial world, caveats and semantic clarifications can lead to intellectual immobility, but we will seek to keep them to a minimum. We acknowledge the inherent limitations of terminology, including the term *Maya* itself (Hervik 2003), but believe in the necessity of developing a working framework for analysis.

The Development of the Term *Maya*

The region that archaeologists call the Maya area provides a limited spatiohistorical frame, one that permits the identification of the power relations inherent in specific epistemologies and knowledge construction, as well as the foregrounding of the subaltern without extensive overgeneralization (Mignolo 2000). The Maya area is generally defined as the region in which Mayan languages are spoken today (see Fig. 6.1) or were spoken in historic times,[2] an area that encompasses parts of Mexico, Guatemala, Belize, Honduras, and El Salvador.

The term *Maya* has a complex history. It derives from the name for the indigenous language of the Yucatán Peninsula, called *Maya t'aan* by its speakers (Gabbert 2001). Over the course of the late nineteenth century, however, the term was generalized both in a linguistic sense to refer to all of the related languages in what is today called the Mayan

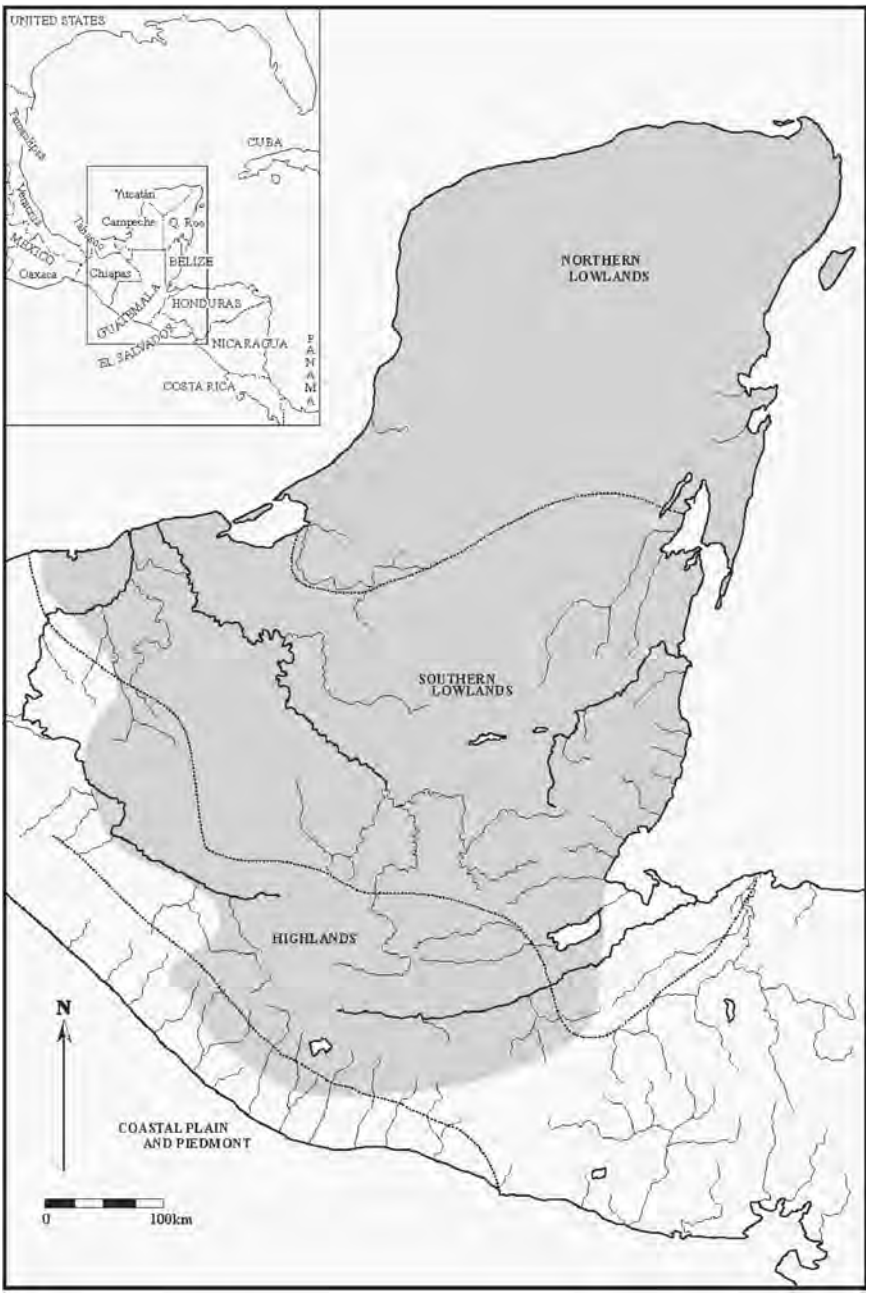

Figure 6.1. Areas where Mayan languages have been spoken since ca. 1500 AD (excludes Wastek; based on Hammond 1982 and Sharer and Traxler 2006, with additions from Dumond 1997; Jones 1989; Toledo Maya Cultural Council and Toledo Alcaldes Association 1997).

language family and in a cultural sense to refer to the people who speak those languages (Schackt 2001). As was the case across most of the Americas, most nineteenth-century Western scholars did not associate the ancient sites of the Yucatán with the indigenous people who lived there (Yaeger and Borgstede 2004), but this changed over the course of the nineteenth century as Western scholars began to argue that strong historical connections linked contemporary indigenous cultures and pre-Columbian sites in the Maya area (e.g., Stephens 1969 [1841]), in North America (e.g., Thomas 1894), and across the Americas. With this recognition, the term *Maya* came to be applied to the archaeological sites and associated artifacts found in the region, except in cases where some characteristics of those remains suggested a non-Maya cultural affiliation.

More recently, the linguistic, cultural, and historical senses of the term *Maya* have come to be linked in the broader concept of Maya *civilization*, a term used especially by archaeologists (e.g., Demarest 2004; Sabloff and Henderson 1993). *Civilization* has many different and intertwined meanings. Archaeologists, anthropologists, and historians traditionally employed the term to refer to societies that exhibit a certain degree of complexity, perhaps best developed in V. Gordon Childe's ten criteria for identifying a civilization (Childe 1950; also Adams 1966; Morgan 1907 [1877]).With the adoption of Service's (1975) social typology by archaeologists, the construct of *state* has come to largely supplant *civilization* in archaeological studies of social evolution. The term still bears this connotation of progress and the achievement of a particular level of social complexity, however, both among scholars and the general public.

The scholarly consensus is that Maya society during the Classic period, if not also earlier and later periods, can be characterized as a civilization, that is, having a state-level organization (e.g., Fash 1983a; Iannone 2002; Sharer and Golden 2004), but the use of the term among archaeologists studying the Maya has shifted, following broader trends in archaeological theory. Today, some archaeologists use the term *civilization* in a culture-historical sense, like that used by Robert Carmack and colleagues (1996) to define Mesoamerican civilization as a cultural tradition that is broadly distributed geographically and exhibits significant historical time depth. Maya civilization thus defined necessarily includes many individual communities and societies and consequently is very heterogeneous, but these communities and societies can be grouped together because they share a core set of ideas and institutions.

Samuel Huntington's *The Clash of Civilizations* (1996) stimulated discussions of the utility of culture-historical constructs of civilization in the

social sciences and humanities. We agree with critiques (e.g., Matlock 1999) that a culture-historical notion of civilization holds limited value as an analytical construct, because by foregrounding commonalities, it necessarily minimizes the diverse histories and societies that occupy the distinct spatio-historical frames within that civilization. These smaller spatio-historical frames are more appropriate loci for the kind of fine-grained social and historical analyses that are prevalent today, and they serve as more appropriate sites for understanding social change as arising from the actions of individual agents, as is the norm in contemporary social theory (Bourdieu 1977; Giddens 1984).

In Maya archaeology, civilization is generally used to set broad temporal and spatial parameters for more detailed analyses, not as an analytical construct. In fact, archaeologists are generally careful to delimit the times and regions they are studying within the broader sweep of Maya civilization. For example, in most analyses of the Classic Maya Collapse, archaeologists take care to refer specifically to Classic Maya society and differentiate that from some broader Maya civilization (e.g., Webster 2002). For scholars who recognize significant continuities across the disjunction of the Classic Collapse (e.g., Sabloff 1990), the notion of a collapse of Maya civilization runs counter to the facts. Other scholars are not as careful (e.g., Peterson and Haug 2005), and the general public often links the collapse with the disappearance of Maya civilization, as demonstrated by the questions on this topic that we frequently field from students and lay persons.

This brings us to yet another perspective on the term *civilization*, one that arises out of critical theory. Thomas Patterson (1997) convincingly argues that *civilization* is not a natural category but, rather, a social construct. Because the term has been associated with cultural development, political complexity, and notions of progress, the term is often deployed in politically charged discourses as one group defines itself as superior to others, sometimes justifying the subjugation or domination of those judged not to be civilized. We believe that many scholars refer to Maya civilization not just out of recognition of a long-lasting cultural tradition, but also to rhetorically put Maya civilization in the same category as Western or European civilization, for a variety of academic, political, and economic reasons.

It is important to point out that the multiple uses of the terms *Maya* and civilization as described above are constructs produced by Western scholars. Indeed, many contemporary indigenous people in the Maya area, even those who speak *Maya t'aan*, do not use the term self-referentially (Gabbert 2001; Schackt 2001). Instead, the community most often forms the basis of self-identification, with more extensive and inclusive identities built around community (e.g., Fischer 2001; Hervik 2003). As with many

concepts, the importance of community identification has been variously interpreted as pre-Conquest (Hill and Monaghan 1987), a consequence of the Conquest (Wolf 1957), or a syncretic combination of the two (Farriss 1984). Increasingly, however, those labeled Maya by Western scholars are borrowing, adapting, and redeploying the term to various intellectual and political ends, a condition made possible by the postcolonial condition itself and shifting power relations and a relaxation of Western intellectual hegemony at local and global scales.

Complicating an analysis is the fact that each of the countries that constitute the Maya area has its own political and economic history, particularly in relation to indigenous peoples. In Guatemala, for example, the highlands are a heavily indigenous region that recently emerged from a 30-year civil war in which many indigenous people were killed or displaced (Schirmer 1998). In Mexico, many Maya speakers live in the Yucatán Peninsula, an area they share with many mestizos and people of non-indigenous heritage that today is heavily reliant on tourism (Ardren 2002; Castañeda 1996; Evans 2005; Magnoni et al. 2007). Many others live in the Chiapas highlands, an area that is more indigenous in population, but globally connected politically and economically (Gossen 1996; Nash 2001). Belize presents yet another context, one in which indigenous Maya communities have developed under both Spanish and British colonial systems (Shoman 1994). These diverse colonial and postcolonial histories have created a heterogeneous contemporary situation that resists straightforward generalization.

Contemporary Maya Social Movements

As noted above, the production of constructs of the Maya as linguistic, cultural, and historical entities has largely occurred within the realm of Western scholarship. This is changing dramatically, however, with the development and expression of a pan-Maya movement, in ways that have direct relevance to the practice of archaeology in the region. The pan-Maya movement, or *movimiento maya*, is less a monolithic social movement than a fluctuating conglomeration of goals espoused by public intellectuals in Guatemala (Bastos and Camus 2003, 2004; Cojtí Cuxil 1991, 1997, 2006; Montejo 2005; Sam Colop and Otzoy 1996; see also Warren 1996, 1998). With the cessation of the Cold War and the opening up of civil society throughout Latin America, Maya communities found themselves with a more active voice in their own affairs. These developments played out very differently in the various countries that constitute the Maya area.

In Guatemala, highland Maya communities increased their power to influence the political, economic, and cultural decisions that affect indigenous rights, human rights, educational access, tourism, and the production of history. This was formally recognized in the 1996 Peace Accords that ended the Guatemalan civil war. The Accords generated a new openness within civil society, a space into which Maya public intellectuals inserted themselves in order to further an indigenous agenda. For them, the increasing international attention to indigenous rights, and to Maya cultural "revindication" (Cojtí Cuxil 1996) in particular, created unprecedented possibilities for the long-term institutionalization of indigenous rights and consequent valorization of indigenous peoples and their cultures, in a society with a history of attempts at eradication and assimilation of cultural differences. In political terms, many public intellectuals proposed a multicultural state, with largely independent ethnic communities united in a loose confederation, modeled on Switzerland. While a national referendum to implement many aspects of the Accords failed in 1999 (Warren 2002), the opening of Guatemala's civil society and the incorporation of diverse voices into that society were irreversible.

The proposed multicultural state with semiautonomous ethnic communities has not come to fruition, for a variety of reasons (see Hale 2002), but these recent developments have had a profound impact on indigenous conceptions of identity. With public intellectual leaders providing a voice on the national and international stages, identity and self-representation began to include pan-, multi-ethnic affiliations that crossed the many ethno-linguistic communities. This substantially changed the discourse of indigenous identity in Guatemala. Although small-scale "closed corporate communities" (Wolf 1957) had previously formed the heart of self-identity for most indigenous Guatemalans (see Warren 1998), extracommunity affiliations—language group, pan-Maya—began to be valued within the palimpsest of multiple identity categories.

In Belize, the later twentieth century saw the development of a particularly Belizean nationalist project that sought to integrate multiple ethnic groups into a single plural nation, which achieved independence from the United Kingdom after 1981 (Bolland 1986; Medina 1997). The twentieth century also witnessed the disappearance of Yucatec Mayan language over much of northern and central Belize, accompanied by a shift in self-identification to ethnic categories of *mestizo* (combined indigenous and Spanish heritage) and Spanish (Birdwell-Pheasant 1985; Medina 1997, 2003a). In reaction to the declining Yucatec language community, some individuals and groups launched cultural and linguistic revitalization ef-

forts.[3] It may be due in part to such efforts that self-identification as Maya seems to be becoming more common in Belize again. In southern Belize, Mopan and Kekchi communities began to identify themselves using the broader category of Maya in the 1960s and 1970s in the context of growing interaction with nonindigenous groups and conflict over land rights (Medina 2003b; Wilk 1991).

This phenomenon of expanding Maya self-identification in Belize is complex, and the factors that are driving it vary from community to community and person to person. They include the high profile court battle over access to lands given by the British colonial government to the Kekchi and Mopan Maya communities in southern Belize; the success of supracommunity organizations like the Toledo Maya Cultural Council and the Toledo Alcaldes Association to organize and promote projects that crosscut Kekchi and Mopan communities, including the aforementioned land battle (Medina 2003b; Toledo Maya Cultural Council and Toledo Alcaldes Association 1997); and an increase in tourism articulated around the Mundo Maya brand concept, which has increased Belizean awareness of pre-Columbian Maya sites and has become a major source of income in many parts of the country (Medina 2003a; also Magnoni et al. 2007). The University of Belize's African and Mayan History Project has a government mandate to develop new curricular materials for the country's schools that showcase Maya history from pre-Columbian times to the present, the use of which will surely influence how Belizeans understand the term *Maya* and whether they identify themselves with that label.

The examples of Belize and Guatemala demonstrate the complexity of historical trajectories within the Maya area. They demonstrate the ambiguity and constructed nature of the term *Maya* in the recent past and how it can be strategically deployed within different contexts. The other countries of the Maya area likewise have their own histories. In Mexico, for example, a finer-grained analysis distinguishing between communities in Chiapas and those in Yucatán is needed because, as Magnoni et al. (2007) point out, "Yucatec Maya speakers. . .do not identify with the demands for indigenous rights of the Zapatista movement [in Chiapas]." And in Honduras, some scholars have criticized the "Mayanization" of Honduran indigenous culture and history, suggesting that historical economic forces have played an important role in overvaluing Maya at the expense of other indigenous groups (Euraque 2004).

Clearly, understandings of Maya identity have changed over time and continue to change, and references to a nonlocal form of identity must address this state of contestation, negotiation, and construction as well as

claims to stability and continuity. Reflecting and building upon international and Latin American social movements (e.g., Warren and Jackson 2002), a pan-Maya social movement is the product of the recent development of stronger Maya voices in the different regions of the Maya world, like those just described. It provides national and international platforms for agendas that crosscut diverse Maya communities and NGOs. Despite being nonmonolithic, the social movement has a number of shared characteristics as espoused by its leaders. Overall, the leaders call for increased attention to indigenous rights and access to the political process, resulting in an increased Maya presence in the political, economic, and cultural reform processes, intellectually, theoretically, and pragmatically (Cojtí Cuxil 1997; Bastos and Camus 2003). They include in this process "a celebration of human rights, increased tolerance of ethnic claims, and the challenge of guaranteeing minority rights within a neoliberal framework" (Smith 2006:62), goals with which many Western academicians are sympathetic. As Arias (2006:251) states, the Maya movement is based on "cultural agency," which "has often been used to denote concrete processes dealing with the reconfiguration of cultural spaces that enable subjects, often peripheral or subaltern, to empower themselves." In part because of this, in many areas, Maya intellectuals and their supporters place an importance on language revitalization as a way to preserve traditional culture (Bastos and Camus 2003; England 1998; Maxwell 1996).

As suggested above, the Maya population remains a nonunified or pluricultural unit (*sensu* Mignolo 2000), even as attempts are being made to unify it. Cultivating a broad, pan-Maya identity in order to coalesce diverse communities has meant highlighting cultural commonalities and their great time depth. A fundamental basis of a pan-Maya identity is a shared worldview, or *cosmovisión*, which provides the organizing principles for Maya people's perception of their world and the basis for many of their activities and practices, serves as a principal foundation for their personal identity, and is so fundamental that it demonstrates great continuity over time and conservatism in the face of social and political changes (e.g., Bastos and Camus 2003; Cojtí Cuxil 1991, 1997; Macleod 2000).

Essentialism thus forms the foundation for a pan-Maya identity (Fischer 2001; Warren 1998). Maya intellectuals argue that being Maya means inherently embodying an innate "Maya-ness" that manifests itself in culture and language, but they do not ignore the cultural diversity that exists within the Maya world. As Arias (2006:251) points out, "scholars dealing with [pan-Maya agency] often focus on the ways in which ethnic and linguistic diversity . . . present opportunities, as well as challenges, for the

construction of a democratic citizenship. This process has become especially challenging with the more rapid flow of capital, information and populations across national borders." Maya political activists and intellectuals recognize that notions of a pan-Maya essence cannot satisfactorily account for the disparate histories that Maya communities have undergone, or their contemporary differences, and they deployed the construct in a complex, nuanced manner that can be characterized as "strategic essentialism" (Spivak 1988b; see also Baber 2002:748; Warren 1998). The ways in which these projects rely on cultural continuity are common to the strategies of subaltern groups elsewhere (Spivak 1987, 1988b).

It is interesting to note that this essentialism is at odds with the contemporary move toward constructivism in the social sciences. By defining culture and identity as socially constructed and historically contingent, Western academia emphasizes discontinuity and change at the expense of continuity. In much postcolonial writing, for example, the colonial encounter is cast as a series of negotiations of identity and social boundaries, resulting in new forms that are "hybrid" or "cosmopolitan" (Bhabha 1994; Garcia Canclini 1995). These relatively ephemeral phenomena emerge from the relationships themselves and do not have a deeper, enduring existence. Among Maya intellectuals, in contrast, cultures and communities are seen as longer-lasting phenomena that operate as agents on the historical stage—meeting, interacting, trading—that are the vehicles for enduring structures and the basis of cultural continuity (see Fischer 2001; Warren 1998).

Maya intellectuals often explicitly frame these enduring structures with reference to colonialism—Maya culture exists despite colonial pressures to eradicate it (Esquit Choy and Galvez Borrell 1997). This perspective highlights the political dimensions of indigenous essentialism, which Sanjínes (2004:5) describes as "viscerality" that explains "how indigenous subalternity has resisted giving up its identity to rationalist Western discourse." Maya *cosmovisión* simultaneously borrows Western constructs of Maya culture and civilization, reconstitutes and reconfigures contemporary Maya identity, and indexes cultural continuity.

Maya Archaeology

The diversity of geohistorical traditions within Latin America archaeology precludes defining a dominant theoretical paradigm for the region. Some of the most influential traditions have been the Anglo-North American schools of culture history, processualism, and post-processualism (Politis 2003; Politis and Pérez Gollán 2004), as well as a distinctive Latin Ameri-

can reconfiguration of Marxism called *arqueología social* ("social archaeology"; see Benavides 2001; Patterson 1994;). Although Latin American archaeology is the scene of vibrant and productive theoretical debates, those debates are informed by U.S. academic archaeology (see also Pagán Jiménez and Rodríguez Ramos Chapter 4).

An important tool of Western archaeological interpretation is analogical reasoning (Ascher 1961; Binford 1967; Stahl 1993). Archaeologists examine modern and well-documented past sociocultural groups to identify material patterns that are produced by specific behaviors. Similar material patterns in the archaeological record can then be inferred by analogy to have been produced by behaviors like those documented in the ethnographic case studies. Archaeologists use both specific historical analogy, in which the source of the analogy is the culture-historical descendent of the subject of the analogy, and general comparative analogy, in which the source and subject of the analogical argument are not culturally related but share other characteristics, such as their environmental context (Willey 1953a).

General comparative analogy was widely adopted with the rise of processual archaeology in the 1960s, but specific historical analogies remain the most common in the Maya area, where detailed ethnographies, a substantial corpus of colonial documents, and rich pre-Columbian texts and art provide ample material for constructing specific historical analogies.[4] Archaeologists working in the Maya area rarely use analogy in the systematic manner advocated by Lewis Binford (1967). It is common to peruse disparate sources—not necessarily created for use in archaeological inference—seeking observations relevant to the patterns or behaviors we are seeking to understand. In a study of ancient agriculture, for example, we might scour ethnographies and colonial chronicles for crop lists, field layout and organization, seasonal rhythms, organization of production, tools, and planting strategies, and then comb contemporary and colonial dictionaries for lexical items related to agriculture. This effort would yield some information that could be extracted from those ethnographies, reframed in archaeological terms, and used to interpret patterns in the archaeological record, sometimes through the creation of formal specific analogies and sometimes in a more ad hoc fashion.

The interpretive reliance on specific historical analogy assumes certain boundary conditions, usually without critical problematization. As Gordon Willey (1953b; also Lyman and O'Brien 2001) noted, specific historical analogy relies on the assumption of cultural continuity between the source and subject of the analogy, at least for the particular phenomenon under

study. In Maya archaeology, however, it is not unusual to use the ethnography of a contemporary highland Maya community as the source of analogies to understand a Classic-period lowland site, one whose ancient inhabitants were not the direct historical ancestors of the contemporary community and who spoke a language from a distinct branch of the Mayan language family tree. Unconnected by direct descent or language, what shared qualities lead one to draw on the contemporary Tzotzil Maya community of Zinacantán in the Chiapas highlands for a model of the social organization of an eighth-century rural village in the lowlands of Belize (e.g., Yaeger 2000:286)? Although we rarely make this argument explicitly, we link these two communities because we believe that, as Maya communities, they share social and cultural traditions because they both belong to the broader Maya cultural tradition. From this perspective, modern Maya groups are more likely to be similar because of their shared culture, which is assumed to extend back in time to the Classic period or earlier. Consequently, ethnographies, colonial documents, dictionaries, and other sources for groups labeled Maya are used interchangeably to create analogies, regardless of a group's more specific cultural affiliation or particular historical trajectory. Although no Maya archaeologist ignores the many social and cultural changes that Maya civilization and its constituent social groups have undergone, the use of analogies necessarily minimizes those. William Isbell (1995) has pointed out a very similar phenomenon in Andean archaeology.

Several of the postcolonial critiques discussed above can be extended to the use of ethnographies and historic sources in archaeological interpretation. First, it is generalizing: treating distinct contemporary and colonial groups as equally valid sources of analogies necessarily glosses over the unique cultural, economic, and social characteristics of these different communities grouped together under the rubric of "Maya." Second, it downplays local histories: rather than focusing on the specific and unique historical conditions that form the generative context for a specific behavior, lexical item, or belief that one observes, these objects of observation are reified as facts and usually dissociated from their particular cultural and historical context. As Cynthia Robin (2006:420) has succinctly stated, "When archaeologists look to a moment in the ethnographic present to fill in assumed gaps in archaeological evidence, the result is the erasure of the contextuality and variability of history." Finally, it is objectifying: an analogical interpretation generally carries more weight if it can be tied to more than one Maya group, but this opens the door to greater critique: by drawing an analogy from multiple Maya groups, archaeologists are both setting up the

modern Maya as objects—sources of analogy rather than participants in the interpretive process—and minimizing Maya cultural differences and the historical processes that led to those differences.

We should point out that we find analogy an indispensable tool of archaeological interpretation, which we have both employed, and we do not believe that postcolonial critiques of analogy justify the elimination of either general comparative or specific historical analogies. They do sound a strong cautionary note, however, exhorting us to be explicit and careful in justifying the use of a particular contemporary or colonial community as a source of analogy. The shared label of Maya and the assumptions of shared cultural traits that it entails are not particularly robust criteria of relevance for an analogy. Instead, we should prioritize groups that can be documented to be historically descended from the group under study (e.g., Carmack 1981; Fash 1983b). This kind of more detailed tracing of the historical connections between contemporary and past groups is the direct historical approach (Marcus and Flannery 1994; Steward 1942; Wedel 1938). As Lyman and O'Brien (2001) have noted, the direct historical approach also relies on notions of cultural continuity, but it concerns itself more explicitly with demonstrating historical connections between groups. Furthermore, we would argue that the construction of an analogy must involve critical consideration of the historical changes that have affected a particular group and that might have altered a particular practice, behavior, or belief so much that it does not provide a good analog for the past. Robin (2006), for example, has used a close analysis of ethnographic and ethnohistoric data from colonial and contemporary Maya groups to better understand Classic Maya agriculture in the upper Belize River valley.

Conclusion

By emphasizing the similarities among Maya groups and treating them as equally viable sources of analogy for interpreting archaeological remains, Maya archaeology assumes a degree of cultural continuity and conservatism that borders on essentialism. Whether explicitly stated or not, most Maya archaeologists consider all contemporary Maya groups to be culturally affiliated with the ancient Maya, bearers of an enduring Maya civilization. From a certain level of generalization, this is not inaccurate, given the deep histories of Mayan languages in the region (e.g., Campbell 1977; Kaufman 1976), the existence of many shared practices and beliefs that crosscut contemporary Maya communities, and compelling evidence that some of those

practices and beliefs have deep roots in the region (e.g., Hill and Monaghan 1987). These empirical observations justify the delimitation of a Maya civilization, a construct that highlights those shared traditions and deep history.

At the same time, we must be careful not to ignore centuries of historical development and potential divergence and change among the many communities that constitute Maya civilization. Our concern is that cultural continuity is usually the expected condition in archaeology around the globe; we rarely problematize it as a condition that has to be empirically demonstrated. Questioning assumptions of cultural continuity and their material indicators—such as stability in ceramic and architectural styles, or the presence of certain iconographic motifs—is a critically important step in moving away from archaeological essentialism to more nuanced evaluations of cultural change and continuity in the Maya world.

The widespread use of the terms *Maya* and *Maya civilization* to draw attention to the cultural and historical links that connect contemporary Maya groups with the pre-Columbian past has several ramifications. As discussed above, it justifies the privileged use by archaeologists of contemporary Maya groups to understand pre-Columbian material remains. It also is a powerful marketing tool, as the Maya brand attracts millions of tourists each year to the countries that constitute the Ruta Maya (e.g, Magnoni et al. 2007). It asserts a certain comparability between Maya civilization and Western civilization, especially important in countries where contemporary Maya culture has not been as valorized as Western culture.

More important for our purposes here, the assumptions of long-term cultural continuity that underlie most archaeological understandings of the relationship between the ancient and modern Maya implicitly support assertions of pan-Maya essentialism. Like archaeologists, pan-Maya activists also intimately connect the pre-Columbian past with the present, but through a more explicit strategic essentialism. Often this entails attempts to distance the movement from scientific discourse, an attempt to reconfigure power relations from a dependency on Western science to a valorization of Maya worldview and epistemology. Pan-Maya theorists utilize knowledge developed through scientific archaeological practice—evidence of the greatness of Classic Maya society, writing, longevity, land tenure, etc.—not to validate archaeology, but to demonstrate Maya cultural continuity in order to recapture and control this knowledge (see Bastos and Camus 2003).

Our analysis illuminates the roles played by Western science in general, and archaeology in particular, in identity discourse, especially as it is grounded in particular places and histories and, in a broader sense, to nationalism and identity politics (Kohl and Fawcett 1995; Meskell 2002;

Schmidt and Patterson 1995). The Maya case demonstrates the complexity of identity formation in a globalized world, marked simultaneously by extreme social heterogeneity and hyperconnectedness. Different groups—from the subaltern to the powerful—have distinct understandings of Maya identity and the process of identity formation, views that sometimes converge in unexpected ways. Pan-Maya activists and archaeologists alike deemphasize constructivism and the hybridity of identity, instead emphasizing essentialism and cultural continuity. This stands in clear contrast to many *mestizos* and *ladinos* within the Maya world (e.g., Hale 1997).

It is within this dynamic and complex social context that Maya archaeology is practiced, predominantly by Western-trained and -funded archaeologists (Ardren 2002; Yaeger and Borgstede 2004). The efforts of pan-Maya public intellectuals to frame discourse in terms of cultural identity—its definition, deep roots, and contemporary manifestation—have forced identity issues to the foreground, as elsewhere within Latin America (Maybury-Lewis 2002; Van Cott 2000; Warren and Jackson 2002). Identity takes on particular relevance in contexts emerging from colonial and neocolonial situations, where indigenous groups attempt to "contest colonial hegemonies and universal essentialisms" (Smith 2006:71; see also Schutte 2001). Challenging colonial hegemonies, particularly when framed in historical and material terms as studied by archaeologists, has become a viable and visible research avenue within the discipline (Meskell 2002). These efforts manifest themselves in many ways, such as the indigenous control over sacred sites in Guatemala (Ivic de Monterroso 2004).

The emergence of postcolonial sociopolitical conditions in the countries of the Mundo Maya, uniquely Maya but tied to the global community, may force a reconsideration and reformulation of how knowledge is produced and consumed, particularly knowledge regarding culture and history. Archaeology as a field will surely be impacted, as our interests lie at the intersection of culture and history. Paradoxically, as practices of archaeological knowledge production reinforce essentialist constructs of Maya cultural continuity, they help empower a pan-Maya movement that has the potential to undermine archaeological science, at least as currently practiced. Until recently, archaeologists have displayed a reticence to engage in dialogues with Maya scholars and pan-Maya activists concerning the social context and practice of archaeological research, particularly when this discourse may affect the power relations that facilitate archaeological research (Cojtí R. 2006; see also Montejo 2005; but see Ardren 2002; Borgstede 2004; Del Cid and Demarest 2004; Pyburn 1998, 2004). When and how these two groups engage each other remains a crucial and

uncertain question for the future, but the history of archaeology in North America suggests that these developments are inevitable. At the same time, examples from North America (e.g., Swindler et al. 1997) and other regions (e.g., McNiven and Russell 2005) demonstrate that such engagements can be productive and mutually beneficial. We believe that it is critical that such engagements be explicitly undertaken. At stake is the future practice of Maya archaeology.

Acknowledgments

The authors would like to thank Matthew Liebmann, Uzma Rizvi, and anonymous reviewers for helpful comments and discussions on the topic. The interpretations, conclusions, and opinions expressed in the paper are the responsibility of the authors.

Notes

1. In point of fact, the term *Latin America* was not coined until the mid-nineteenth century, and it became widespread in part because of its use in France to justify Napoleon III's attempts to expand French imperial control over countries that had recently achieved independence from Spain. Despite their history of Spanish colonialism, the adjective *Latin* suggested a broader heritage and history that these new republics shared with France and its American colonies as well (Eakin 2004).

2. Today, approximately 6.27 million people speak one of the 31 Mayan languages (Magnoni et al. 2007).

3. Founded in 1980, the Xunantunich Organization seeks to preserve Maya culture in the village of Succotz, teaching traditional dances, reviving pottery production, and teaching Yucatec Mayan (Maurer 1997; Medina 2003a). The U Kuxtal Masewal Maya Institute of Belize, established in 1985, has sponsored programs to teach Yucatec Mayan to children and adults and has published research on local history and traditions (e.g., Tzul 1993). Some of its members were among the founders of the Tumul K'in Centre of Learning, a school with a multicultural curriculum grounded in traditional Maya knowledge.

4. Examples of commonly used ethnographies are Redfield 1941; Tedlock 1992; Vogt 1969; and Wisdom 1940, while the most commonly cited historical manuscript is Landa (1978 [1566]).

7

Decolonizing Methodologies as Strategies of Practice: Operationalizing the Postcolonial Critique in the Archaeology of Rajasthan

UZMA Z. RIZVI

IN THIS CHAPTER, I PROVIDE A CASE STUDY for decolonizing the methods practitioners implement while collecting information from archaeological contexts based on work conducted in northeastern Rajasthan, India. I conceive of the process of decolonization as deconstructing systems of power, that is to say, it can be the process by which the internal and systemic contradictions within archaeological methodology, stemming from a colonial history, are made transparent. I propose that the future of archaeology in a contemporary global moment, especially in Old World contexts, depends on reassessing archaeological practice and reforming methodology through an active decolonization and democratization of our practice. This process does not overshadow the scientific merit of the research; rather, incorporating such a critique within the framework of any archaeological research project suggests a rigorous methodology that is socially and politically engaged, making the connection and relevance of the past clear in the present. By applying the postcolonial critique to an archaeological context of practice, new strategies emerge, including, but not limited to, collaborative community-based archaeology and public archaeology.[1]

The postcolonial critique necessitates a reinterpretation of the prehistoric past, beginning with an examination of the most basic of all archaeological practices, the collection of archaeological data.[2] Providing archaeological methodology and interpretations with nuance, the postcolonial critique mediates between the history of archaeology as a colonial product and contemporary iterations of archaeological research. This critique emerged as a particular response to the production of knowledge

about people, specifically how colonized peoples were written about, historicized, imagined, and treated as existing on the margins in all aspects of the Occidental and civilized (Fanon 1961 [1968]; Said 1978; Spivak 1988a; Bhabha 1994). Recent work conducted on archaeology and postcolonialism have ranged from investigations of colonialism and colonies in archaeological contexts (van Dommelen 1997, 2002, 2005) to working with/in post-settler societies, for example, in Australia (Lilley 2000). Additionally, the use of theories that have emerged from the postcolonial critique such as "hybridity" and "writing back to the center" have been adopted in the archaeological literature (Schmidt and Patterson 1995; Gosden 2001; Wilcox 2002; Meskell 2005; see Liebmann Chapter 5).

This shift within archaeological theory following postprocessualism allowed for a new reflexivity and critique, responding to challenges of working within a global and plural environment (Hodder 2003). Although postprocessualism provided a legitimizing space within which to investigate issues of postcolonialism, the two "posts" are not interchangeable. Extrapolating from some of Kwame Anthony Appiah's earlier work (1991), the difference between the "post" of *postprocessualism* and the "post" in *postcolonial* is the political subtext linked to the latter.

Prior to the establishment of postprocessualism as a theoretical paradigm, Thomas Patterson and Christine Gailey (1987) argued for anthropology and archaeology to take into account the reality of post–World War II decolonization. Their work questioned how the processes of state formation (and linked to that, class structure) related social theory to actual instances of social transformation while acknowledging the contextual nature of knowledge production on the international stage. Significantly, their argument recognized how the creation of new states produced institutions of control that placed restrictions upon previously independent, autonomous kin-based communities. Despite this early intervention, archaeological interpretation and practice continued to operate with the general misconception that research remained untouched by the effects of colonialism and the construction of new states in various contexts, overlooking how such events determined the descriptive language developed, questions asked, and methods employed to investigate the past.

Assuming that all knowledge gathered at the archaeological field site has a specific methodology associated with it, the desire to decolonize a practice creates a discourse in which variables include visibility and artifact density to personal bias based on privilege, scientific and cultural imperialism, and, in some cases, racism (Wobst 2005; Dibble et al. 2005). Decolonization integrates methodology with social activism and makes relevant the

performed identity of those practicing archaeology and those within whose spaces and locales the practice unfolds. An active acknowledgment of identity allows for an investigation of politics and power, based on new models of interaction, social systems, and codes of conduct, rather than a reliance on imperial and colonial models of interaction based on histories of oppression. Relying on older systems of power reflects the scarcity of time and energy required to negotiate and renegotiate our positions of power and privilege when we enter into the field as researchers, and such economies are symptomatic of complacency. Most decisions to maintain and reify power structures are not maliciously intended, but are the by-products of prioritizing research over inequality, disenfranchisement and, in a callous sense, of prioritizing our research over the present, past, or future of others.

Does the Colonial Still Exist? Positioning Self and Performing Archaeology

During the summer of 2000, while working at Tell es-Sweyhat, a third-millennium BC site on the east bank of the Euphrates in Syria, I would often stand on the top of the Tell to understand wall alignments in the trenches. On one such day, I caught sight of my shadow cast on the side. The form of a loosely clothed individual leaning on a shovel caught me off guard. It was an image of myself I had never imagined. Albert Memmi, in his influential text *The Colonizer and The Colonized*, opens the section "Does the Colonial Exist" with the following:

> We sometimes enjoy picturing the colonizer as a tall man, bronzed by the sun, wearing Wellington boots, proudly leaning on a shovel—as he rivets his gaze far away on the horizon of his land. When not engaged in battles against nature, we think of him laboring selflessly for mankind, attending the sick, and spreading culture to the nonliterate. In other words, his pose is one of a noble adventurer, a righteous pioneer. (1965 [1957]:3)

I had always considered this description an apt portrait of most British colonial archaeologists. On that day, my elation that I might have reappropriated a colonial image, that there might have been some reclamation of power, was literally overshadowed by the outline of my own form in the sand becoming a metaphor for the colonial structures maintained in a neocolonial framework. I implicated myself and my unchallenging stance toward field methodology, recognizing that conducting archaeology as an apolitical science was a luxury I could not afford, reaffirming Bhabha's assertion that

"postcoloniality, for its part, is a salutary reminder of the persistent 'neocolonial' relations within the 'new' world order and the multinational division of labour" (1994:6).

This realization altered my subsequent archaeological field research in India. I required a new set of standards that took into account neocolonial frameworks while critically engaging with the context. This included situating my practice at multiple scales from global to local, simultaneously understanding interactions on individual levels based on class/caste, race, gender, and religious affiliation, and each of these variables within a larger understanding of how colonial history and the present simultaneously operate to influence decision-making, interpretation, and relevance for archaeological stakeholders. The location at which the presence or absence of ancient artifacts was documented became a "site" of negotiation and interpretation of self and other.

All archaeologists construct and enact their own identities in the field, negotiated repeatedly in relation to whatever "home" culture and society they originate from and choose to identify with and how they choose to perform those identity formations. The politics of performance are active on all scales of interaction and, although often mundane, inextricably alter the ways in which we conduct, imagine, and reimagine ourselves in the field.[3] These locations of practice are often nodes of activity that mark the articulation of what is considered obvious archaeology, for example, picking up material from the ground during a ground survey. The "obvious" is constructed through a negotiation of identity; that is to say, based on one's identity, multiple possibilities for what is or is not considered "obvious" exist. For example, while working in India, it may be obvious for some to ask permission from the landowner or farmer to conduct a survey on that land, and for others it may be just as obvious to assume that with government permission, no other permission is required unless direct interaction should take place.

Henri Lefebvre's argument (1991) for the creation of spatial practice draws specific arguments from Noam Chomsky's transformational-generative grammar (1957). This application frames "competence" as an individual's tacit and often unconscious understanding of what is and is not possible, thus constructing a sense of the "obvious." "Performance," then, is an empirical realization of "competence," a sense of enacting constructed "obvious"-ness. Extrapolating from this, teasing apart the categories of the "obvious" through a simple investigation of identity may be a way in which archaeological practice can be deconstructed to understand spatial practices.

In my particular case, I may choose to identify myself in multiple ways, but during the 2003 field season in Rajasthan, others introduced me with

certain qualifiers in a sequence that I could not always control: female, Muslim, American, South Asian, archaeologist. Albeit formulaic, once created without active intervention on my part, the repetition of that statement continued to establish my identity, ascribing me to a very specific position within the village social structure. I renegotiated that identity by focusing on the performance of archaeological research, including, but not limited to, my use of technological instruments and my attire that, in addition to a generic *shalwar, kameez*, and *duppatta* (traditional Indian/Pakistani pants, shirt, and long scarf), consisted of a large backpack and hiking boots. These interactions suggested two things: first, enacting archaeological "competence" did not alter the social hierarchies in place, and second, that performing archaeology fit seamlessly with the combination of identities presented in a manner that was acceptable and believable. My practice and performance were affected by both the rigid nature of the sociocultural hierarchies prescribed by my cultural heritage and a simultaneous flexibility that allowed for multiple combinations and renegotiations of my identity.

The case study presented in this chapter employs methodological tools that account for and critically engage with the complex set of relationships that situate archaeologists in very specific locales of interaction, negotiation, and subsequent interpretation. I developed these while working in northeastern Rajasthan in 2003 and have consequently considered them to be alternating between community-based archaeology and public archaeology (such as those conducted by Greer et al. 2002; Moser et al., 2002; and McDavid 2004, to name a few).

Methodological Conundrums: Conducting the Ganeshwar-Jodhpura Cultural Complex Survey

I began preliminary survey work in Rajasthan, India, during the summer of 2000 and in 2003 returned to direct a survey project. It was the first step in a larger project that problematizes and reconceptualizes the Ganeshwar-Jodhpura Cultural Complex (GJCC), located in northeastern Rajasthan, as a collection of third-millennium BC settlements bound together by a shared cultural language that includes similarities in material culture, production of copper tools, and geographic proximity to copper mines. Located within the regions of the Aravalli Hill Range, primarily along the Kantli, Sabi, and Sota rivers, the GJCC was the largest copper-producing community in third-millennium BC South Asia. The GJCC is primarily located in present-day Jaipur, Jhunjhunu, and Sikar districts of Rajashtan, India. In geographic and chronological proximity to GJCC is the Harappan culture to the west, the

Ahar-Banas Complex to the southwest, the Kayatha Culture to the southeast, and, at a later date, the OCP-Copper Hoard sites mainly to the east. This part of India is known for its farming and pastoral resources, as well as for minerals, the most important of which is copper. Khetri, the largest copper source in Rajasthan, has been exploited since antiquity and continues today as one of the major resources for copper production in India.[4]

Based on collaborative interpretations of field research conducted during this study, the GJCC illustrates an indigenous development that sustains a larger regional economic need for copper products. The underpinnings for such a regional economic organization are resource-specialized complexes, which may have come together through certain variables, such as population increase, technological know-how, or a simple adaptation to a landscape, which most significantly pivot within highly circumscribed natural resource locales. As key resource centers for the region, the GJCC defines and is defined by its economic interactions and proximity to the Harappan Civilization and the Ahar-Banas Complex (Fig. 7.1).[5]

The survey team consisted of ten members, including doctoral students from the University of Rajasthan, Jaipur, and the New School University, New York. Smaller collaborative projects were formed with participating villages and communities in order to conduct the archaeological survey. These collaborative spaces emerged through discussions about interpretation with individuals who joined us on our surveys, communities who chose to engage in discussions about copper mining, and publics that formed around the discourse of tourism, heritage management, and the use of archaeology in their contemporary world. Our work involved a range of persons including: officers of the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI); the State Government of Rajasthan; Secretary of Tourism, Art and Culture; the Directorate of Archaeology and Museums; the District Magistrate; the Assistant District Magistrate; *tehsildars*; *patwaris*;[6] police officers at the stations where artifacts were stored after a chance find; the *panchayat*; individual *sarpanj*;[7] schoolteachers (particularly history teachers); community leaders; elders; head of households and farmsteads; interested individuals passing by; and, most of all, children. The methods developed through our interactions with these individuals and groups.

Each new survey began with a visit to the village *sarpanj* to discuss the overall project. This would often result in a discussion with other *panchayat* members and interested community leaders, including farmers. Such discussions made each of these individual stakeholders in the overall project, each with a particular point of view and specific interests in collaboration with the survey project. In most cases, local history teachers would also

Figure 7.1. Location of the Ganeshwar Jodhpura Cultural Complex (GJCC), the Harappan Civilization, and the Ahar Banas complex, 3rd Millennium BC. *Drawn by Uzma Z. Rizvi*

join in the efforts and discussion and their classes would join our surveys. In some instances, these students would actually become part of after-school programs in which the GJCC survey team would teach the students survey techniques and lessons in the general archaeology of South Asia.

These discussions and interactive spaces were crucial for the types of methodological interventions I had in mind. I felt it was important for the village and community to enable and empower us to conduct the survey, rather than our team's demanding their services. Already, the fact that we had come to their village to understand the past shifted privilege to the archaeological team. The only way, in my mind, to reverse that power situation was to draw upon lessons from my own cultural heritage about the student coming to master, thus presenting the village *panchayat* with the analogy that likened the team to eager students, which we were, coming to

learn from the land and its inhabitants the history of that place. This was an easily translatable concept for most of the individuals and groups with whom we interacted. However, this constant dialogue complicated each process—and invariably, our workday did not always reflect the "plan" that was established at the start of the day. This was difficult, as it took control out of my hands (as director of a project) and placed decision-making abilities into multiple hands, shaped by others' schedules, moods, and ideas, which *theoretically* is the point of collaborative, interactive (as opposed to reactive) work but is difficult to operationalize *practically*.[8] I realized however, that by giving up control, the survey was open to experiencing and documenting the past in a manner that would not have been possible otherwise (see also Green et al. 2003). One way to dismantle the colonial control of knowledge production was to give up that very control that continued to reiterate itself in my mind based on my own Western pedagogy.

This survey consisted of collaborations among the many levels and scales of "local" and the survey team. The team, cognizant of local involvement, was simultaneously critical of the concept as well. Lynn Meskell has warned of the patronizing tendency archaeologists adopt in using "local" as a trope, which designates the concept of local interaction as a "catchall for the complex and ethically necessary encounters we have with various constituencies in and around archaeological locales" (2005:82). These locals are not passive receptors existing for our intellectual mining or to hear our grand theories about their histories. Rather, she argues that they are "directly enmeshed in their own critical reformulations, political negotiations, and constitutions of theory and interpretation" (Meskell 2005:82). Based on the experience of this survey project, I would argue that all archaeologists interacting with locals necessarily change the stakes for those reformulations and political negotiations for both the locals and the archaeologists (for example, see Dural 2007).

The methodology developed for the GJCC survey work was inspired by a desire to decolonize and deconstruct field techniques while keeping in mind the negotiations of a relatively new state (established in 1947) and extant social systems, such as caste. For example, as a Muslim, I operated outside the Hindu caste system but was placed very specifically within the corollary Muslim caste system, expressed most prominently as limits on access to certain spaces and demands to occupy others—although I occasionally chose to subvert such systems, depending on the context. This awareness of religious affiliation was heightened due to the sociopolitical climate causing tension between various religious groups (Brass 2003).

Also during this time, there was increased suspicion of those collecting artifacts due to the arrest and raid on the warehouse of V. N. Ghiya by the Jaipur police, who recovered more than 300 Rajasthan antiques (*Hindustan Times*, Jaipur edition; June 27, 2003). Village residents near the site of Tyonda refused to allow the survey team to conduct work on their land and near their village due to the large-scale looting that had taken place in and around there, which they blamed on Ghiya. The looting was very obvious from a cursory visual inspection. The *panchayat* refused to meet with us and all doors shut upon arrival. Respecting their wishes, we moved our survey elsewhere. In some measure, this shift of focus had no quantifiable effects, as there was more land to cover and the team had already surveyed the surrounding regions. Qualitatively, however, it reassured the various community collaborators from other villages that we, as a team, respected the wishes of the village *panchayat*. The ramifications of looting on the local level escalated the stakes, particularly in issues of global significance such as the U.S. invasion of Iraq, which was a constant question for me at these meetings. Each of these conversations was used to ascertain levels of trust and establish a working relationship and sense of camaraderie, providing the framework for collaborative, community-based work.

These complicated interpersonal negotiations were the most basic of all interactions. At every stage, each member of the team entered into relationships that could potentially have personal, professional, and legal ramifications. Moreover, we began to realize that there was one question that kept resurfacing: everyone wanted to know why we were there.[9] In essence, that query for justification is the basis for the methodological shift that I argue informs, colors, and contextualizes archaeological practice. When they asked *why*, was it curiosity or suspicion?

Decolonizing Methodologies

In 1987, Angela Gilliam and Faye V. Harrison co-organized an invited session for the American Anthropological Association (AAA) entitled "Decolonizing Anthropology" under the auspices of the Association of Black Anthropologists (ABA). In the publication of that session, Harrison points out that even though anthropology as a discipline has been contending with issues of its colonial past since the late 1960s, citing examples of Kathleen Gough (1968), Dell Hymes (1969), and Talal Asad (1975), to name a few, she goes on to quote Bernard Magubane and James Faris (1985:92) to suggest that radical anthropology "remains part of what people in the Third

World consider suspect—as an invention of their enemy" (1997:1). Linking scholarship from marginalized minorities within the United States to the global south, she proposes a move toward decolonization of practice that emerges from an intersection of multiple theoretical discourses including neo-Marxist political economy and an anthropological analysis of interpretive and reflexive ethnographies, "which acknowledge the interplay between race and other forms of invidious difference, notably class and gender" (1997:2). Underlying this discourse is a feeling of distrust and suspicion of any scholarship produced without consideration of these various axes.

Linda Tuhiai Smith echoes this suspicion in the introduction to *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*:

> The word itself, "research," is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous contexts, it stirs up silence, it conjures up bad memories, it raises a smile that is knowing and distrustful. It is so powerful that indigenous people even write poetry about it. . . . It galls us that Western researchers and intellectuals can assume to know all that it is possible to know about us, on the basis of their brief encounter with some of us. It appalls us that the West can desire, extract and claim ownership of our ways of knowing, our imagery, the things we create and produce. (1999:1)

Smith's words are discomforting and reiterate the potential of research to become a contested act. She focuses on the knowing and learning of human beings, in comparison to the resolutely object-centric discipline of archaeology. This social imaginary of an object-based research agenda endures, despite numerous arguments about how the construction of archaeological knowledge may severely affect the life, land rights, and economic realities of individuals with whom we work in the field, and whose fields we work in and around (Lilley 2000; Given 2004; Smith and Wobst 2005).

Within archaeological scholarship, the most robust advocacy for decolonization has emerged within discourses of indigenous and aboriginal populations, focusing on North America, Australia, and New Zealand (Lilley 2000; Smith and Wobst 2005; Wilson and Yellow Bird 2005; Atalay 2006a). These discussions borrow much from the postcolonial critique in building arguments that inform, strengthen, and define the processes of decolonization. For example, *For Indigenous Eyes Only: A Decolonization Handbook* defines decolonization as:

> the intelligent, calculated, and active resistance to the forces of colonialism that perpetuate the subjugation and/or exploitation of our minds, bodies, and lands, and it is engaged for the ultimate purpose of overturning the colonial structure and realizing Indigenous liberation. (Wilson and Yellow Bird 2005:5)

Not surprisingly, there are, within the promoters of decolonizing methodologies, varied approaches for how to conceptualize and operationalize the process (Fanon 1961 [1968]; see Pagán Jiménez and Rodríguez Ramos Chapter 4). Most would agree that decolonization is a form of ethical and socially conscious practice (Atalay 2006b). Moreover, I posit that these scales of intervention must occur with multiple partners, positioned within a range of possible locales of social engagement.

The experience of the GJCC survey confirms that at each level of interaction, the coexistence of suspicion and curiosity is a traumatic remnant of a colonial past and a reiteration of an unequal present, in which information, power, and prestige continue to be stolen from the caretakers of the land (Nandy 2001). It was only at the highest levels of the Indian bureaucracy, and within the company of internationally recognized senior scholars, usually with some Western training, that such a suspicion was not blatant and there was an expressed interest in my academic qualifications. At this privileged level, the individuals are recognized, legitimized, and authorized as some part of the elite on the national or international stage. In contrast, the vast majority of the middle-class Indian bureaucracy showed less interest in my academic prowess; rather, in order to gain access to locked cabinets, museum records, and information about previous excavations, I had to prove my trustworthiness by locating my spatial practice and performance within their social systems and cultural norms.

Is the suspicion of Western archaeologists working in a contemporary moment in India due to a larger, perhaps, metadistrust of colonial attitudes of knowledge production? Or is it more about the signs of *that* type of colonial privilege apparent in our performative moments, based on our pedagogical training, that might unwittingly link us to a neocolonial attitude that simultaneously controls all centers of knowledge production and, for the betterment of science, forces a conceptual separation between the overlapping realities of the object excavated from the ground and the object taken from the people?

The shifting nuances between suspicion and curiosity are significant in understanding the ways in which people recognize power and privilege. During our 2003 survey, it became very clear that the power we carried was somewhat transferable. When we were invited to tea in a village household, the cultural capital of that household was enhanced. A connection was made that often seemed to be very intimate on the part of the host and cautious on our part. Indeed, this may link to rules of hospitality, but perhaps more realistically, these levels of intimacy have to do with the ways in which power and privilege operate. Often our caution articulated a fear of not understanding complex village politics and the tacit knowledge that

we, as privileged archaeologists, could not give them everything our power might have suggested.

Through our training, we are transformed into vessels of power that signify promise, yet often we cannot live up to that potential. It is a performance of power that we reenact by occupying a specific space that is not local to us, which recalls in collective memory the colonial archaeologists and the power vested in their positions as embodiments of empire. I believe that a shift in methodology—one that accounts for privileged practice, the collective memory of the colonial archaeologist, and the context for any curiosity and suspicion—enables the archaeologist to dismantle the colonial structures upon which she or he stands.

Strategies for Decolonizing Methodologies

Based on the GJCC survey I propose several strategies that may be implemented, with some alterations based on the specific locale of practice. These strategies are fairly simple to accommodate in any project. Vital aspects of the suggested practice include a change in the value placed on specific uses of time and the type of information collected, key aspects of any collaborative work. Also inherent in the setting up of collaboration is the possibility of renegotiating research design; with so many stakeholders, politics, and personalities interacting, if there is no flexibility built in, projects have a significant chance of falling apart or stalling. I point this out not to dissuade the practice of collaborative work but to be realistic about such endeavors, which might require extra time to ensure that a partnership extends beyond the usual government representative to incorporate communities upon whose land the project will unfold. Methodological strategies included in the following discussion that aid in an active decolonization incorporate community-based archaeology, public archaeology, and a change in the education and training of archaeologists (Little 2002; Marshall 2002; Merriman 2004a,b; Atalay 2006a).

Notes on Community-Based Archaeology

Working on archaeological projects with communities has proven to be an effective dismantling of research-based power structures (Greer et al. 2002; Marshall 2002; Moser et al. 2002). Illustrated by the GJCC survey, a useful point of entry for a decolonizing methodology is community-based archaeology (Rizvi 2006). Such a methodology necessitates the active engagement with community concerns; in other words, simultaneous to the archaeological project is a development of heritage, identity, and, in

most cases, tourism. In a fiscal sense, the main impact of the project is on tourism and the ways in which communities may choose to "brand" themselves. During the GJCC survey, the team attended community meetings at which members of the community brought up the issue of tourism development in relation to archaeology. The discussions focused on what the influx of travelers might mean to their community. The two primary concerns that repeatedly surfaced were about access to the Internet and tourist-related drug trade. The community imagined the impact of these two items as causing dramatic cultural change. In one instance, at the site of Ganeshwar, one of the suggestions to alleviate this conundrum was to establish a museum in which they could provide Internet access and computers for research, which would help the community connect with the outside world, and maintain a safe distance from drugs,[10] the underlying assumption here being that the types of tourists who would come to see a museum would not be in the same market niche as those buying drugs. The community meeting turned from a discussion about survey material into an audience development workshop, and the past became a revenue-generating idea that had to be controlled. The management and public presentation of archaeological and other heritage resources created a situation in which heritage tourism might have been able to put money into the pockets of local communities rather than multinational corporations and develop local heritage resources in ways that are sensitive to the needs and interests of the people (Marshall 2002; Moser et al. 2002).

Other archaeological projects that work with communities and conduct community-based archaeology encourage local rewritings of history as "writing back to the center" or the making of alternative histories (Moser et al. 2002; Schmidt and Patterson 1995). The ability to promote alternative histories has significant repercussions for those communities who have been omitted from the process of knowledge production. In India, absent histories primarily come from the lower castes and classes, most notably as autobiographical accounts (Valmiki 2003). By providing the space for disenfranchised communities to account for their own histories, a legitimizing force allows for these voices to be heard and incorporated into the larger historical discourse. During the GJCC survey, the larger community regularly contested the integration of voices from the lower castes, citing that "they" did not know history. The single uncontested case was when a history teacher, from a lower caste, offered his interpretation. Although we were chided for having tea with him, the larger community did not question his interpretation, possibly because as a history teacher, he *knew*.

Notes on Public Archaeology

Public archaeology exists at varied scales of intervention that articulate the involvement and interaction between archaeology and individuals, communities, and the State. As Nick Merriman illustrates, an inherent tension exists when operating in the public in whether the word *public* connotes people or the State (2004a:2). At the level of the State, intervention occurs at specific points within civil or political society (Chatterjee 1998). It is within those spaces, where an allowance for the State to regulate archaeology exists and discourses of public meanings of the past can be found, that a public-interest archaeology or public archaeology is practiced (Merriman 2004a; Rizvi 2006). Promoted by Fekri Hassan at the World Archaeological Congress-4 meetings in Cape Town in 1999, a public archaeology is composed of strategies that include:

> public education; professional education and training and action research with the intention of exploring issues relating to conservation and preservation; the management of archaeological resources to ameliorate poverty; and debating the ethical and epistemological frameworks as well as philosophies and principles of archaeological practices. (Green et al. 2003:367)

Although similar to community-based archaeology, public archaeology is differentiated based on the arena of operationalizing policy change. The changes referred to by Hassan seem aimed at restructuring civil society. Significant methodological overlap between community-based work and public archaeology relates to questions of power, community development, consultation, and debate with local groups. These aims are very much in tune with postcolonial research methodologies that simultaneously question the motivation of the archaeologist and the State's support of certain types of work. For example, Lesley F. Green, David R. Green, and Eduardo G. Neves set out to explore postcolonial research methodologies by proceeding with a particular type of public participation. This consisted of an archaeological and ethnographic component for an indigenous historiography of the Palikur area in northern Brazil (2003). Employing participatory action research methods, they engaged with the local descendant communities through archaeological training, documenting conversations, changing the vocabulary used, and pursuing dialogical relationships focused on heritage and ownership of material remains. Their joint work is a key reference for the politics of essentialism in the discourses of identity of indigenous communities.

V. Selvakumar's work in Kerala, South India, provides another case for public participation in archaeological excavations and interpretations (2006). In the case of the excavation of a Kadakkarappally boat that dates to the

twelfth to fifteenth centuries AD, the public was involved right from the moment of discovery. The State Department of Archaeology and the Centre for Heritage Studies, Tripunithura, conducted the excavations in 2002 and later, in 2003, in collaboration with teams from the University of Southampton, United Kingdom, and the Institute of Nautical Archaeology, United States. The public response, in this case, was very distinct from what is usually found in India due to the very high literacy rates and histories of political action along socialist and Marxist lines in Kerala. In order to gauge public opinion about the archaeological find and excavations and conservation techniques, surveys were conducted in late 2005 through 2006 in central and southern Kerala using newspaper reports, public interactions, and informal conversations with the excavators.

Malayalam is the most widespread language spoken in Kerala, and Malayalam newspapers reach about 64% of the state population. This is, as Selvakumar notes, thrice the all-India average, with a significant number of those people reading more than one newspaper, thus increasing the scale of the public immensely (2006:422). The increased number of participants capable of and accustomed to participating in civil society created a situation in which public archeology was enormously effective.

In contrast, public participation during the GJCC survey was of a different nature. The GJCC survey was conducted at a much smaller scale and without the large group affiliates of the Kadakkarappally boat project. There was a move to create a public interest project in Neem Ka Thana, Rajasthan, as a result of the GJCC survey, but within a year of our departure, it became defunct (Rizvi 2006). Many of the individuals who were invited to public events, particularly in the village context, did not voice their opinions in public forums, especially if there was a member of a higher status within the room. Moreover, the attempt to introduce the writing of the archaeological findings in Hindi or Rajasthani was welcomed, but not without the quirky aside that "We might all write it, but who would read it?" This doubt about relevance and access to the public sphere lucidly illustrates that effective public archaeology depends upon an accessible and democratically functioning public sphere.

The GJCC 2003 survey was performed in consultation with multiple groups who wanted to move archaeological discussions from the level of the community to the level of the local legislature and State in order to obtain more funding for museums and heritage tours. These discussions had various results, from setting up public interest organizations to having local communities organize and take up issues of archaeology and heritage (Rizvi 2006). This aspect of the survey was the most difficult because it involved

interaction that could be mistaken for interference with State matters by those in office. Thus, the team chose to maintain as much distance as possible from larger policy issues involving heritage management. The cases in which our expertise was requested were issues of conservation and preservation. Officers from various state agencies requested that we talk to local communities at length about the preservation of monuments. In a majority of cases, after the initial discussion highlighting the concern, the conversation would inevitably shift to the drought affecting the crops that year in Rajasthan. Recognizing that infrastructure for preservation might provide drought relief, we struggled when asked by the state officials which villages might be best suited to run preservation programs. It was in such moments that most of the interesting discussions about ethics occurred within the survey team. Only later did I realize that those moments of ethical crisis were the most effective teaching tools for decolonization.

Notes on the Role of Education in Decolonization

Teaching decolonization as an active part of field training and theoretical instruction is a key aspect of the project of deconstructing the colonial power structures inherent in archaeological knowledge production (for more on decolonization and education, see Atalay 2007). Within archaeological instruction, there are (at least) two levels of educational interaction within which strategies for decolonization may be exercised. The first area of action is in the classroom and laboratory spaces, and the second lies outside the classroom, in the "field" and in interactions with other stakeholders. Developing curricula that reflect the needs of the market today, including cultural resource management (CRM) and historic preservation, is helpful for both graduates working in the Americas and those working in Old World contexts. With specific reference to the latter, such training can prove to be practical and valuable—archaeologists working in the Old World should be conversant with issues of heritage politics, stewardship, state and local bureaucracies, and public education, especially given the high percentages that often find themselves in positions of having to negotiate land rights for excavation purposes. The call for decolonization includes the repackaging of "basic archaeological skills" to include training of how to create lots or triangulating spatial locations, as well as learning how to work with communities and facilitating dialogue between stakeholders.

The reality of much of field training, however, tends to be conducted in the field itself. Within that framework, the project director and other

senior field professionals become direct role models for the new students. This places additional responsibility on the project director to set and establish the culture of the field experience. This includes both the manner in which the director will *act* in the field and the tone, words, and language with which she or he will *speak* about or with the community, collaborators, or any local or state representative. Decolonizing this process does not necessitate the archaeologist to become involved in local politics but, through such communicative action, allows the archaeologist to acknowledge and respect the existence of systems external to our single-minded pursuits of knowledge. For example, during the GJCC survey, every evening my survey team and I would discuss our position as a team vis-à-vis the larger community-based organizations, or the *panchayat*, or any other group that engaged in a dialog with us. The respect with which we spoke of the interactions directly influenced the ways in which we interacted with these same groups in the following days. As project director, I facilitated discussions within the survey team insisting on certain vocabulary and tone and thus restructured traditional lexical pathways that automatically understand individuals from rural communities as illiterate and inconsequential to the success of archaeological projects.

Conclusion

Archaeologists around the world have been decolonizing methodology for nearly a decade. As mentioned previously, most of these projects have focused on indigenous, first nation, and aboriginal communities. The "Old World" continues to reiterate its colonial frameworks as mimicries of colonial power that both capture the ambivalence inherent in colonialism and operate as a conscious strategy of survival for the colonized (Bhabha 1994; Magubane 1969, 1971). This is not to say that interpretations of the past are not contested in the "Old World," for they certainly are (see Scham Chapter 10; Seneviratne Chapter 11). Scholarship about postcolonialism has, since its inception, more than adequately demonstrated that much of the violence of colonialism is not overt but, rather, is insidious and psychological (Fanon 1961 [1968]). In India, this covert violence is still perceptible in the uncritical maintenance of colonial institutions of archaeological knowledge by the new State, in surveys that routinely continue without permission of the farmer from whose land ceramics are collected, and in excavations where we continue to call our field staff *laborers*. It is only when the practitioner implements the reformulation of such tacit assumptions of privilege that change will occur. The Western scholar cannot determine structural

transformations at the level of the State, but our behavior can necessitate a readjustment that may potentially impact policy and governance. A decolonization of methodology is possible and effective if the onus of fair practices of our discipline is a responsibility we are willing to shoulder.

The strategies offered in this chapter are continuously reimagined and reworked. However, I believe these methods are significant in reshaping the discipline and creating an awareness of how the history of global politics has affected and continues to affect the places in which we practice. The desire to decolonize does not only index a choice to change the discipline but also, in a very real way, is a desire to safeguard ourselves from recreating forms of imperial knowledge production. Is the work of the GJCC survey a decolonized methodology? I cannot say; that assessment, in some form, will come with time. What I can say is that the postcolonial critique opened up new venues of research and ways of looking at the world that were previously inaccessible. My practice led me down a very narrow line in an increasingly open field, with numerous stakeholders and multiple forms of discourse. I trained myself not to think about Hindu/Muslim strife while working in remote villages and towns, constantly hoping that nothing violent would erupt while in the field. It was difficult to direct a survey in which I was constantly deconstructing my own power as survey director. I maintained the decision to give up power, except for when I or any member of my team were placed into situations of potential physical harm or sexual harassment or abuse, at which point, every single card of privilege from language, status, education, stature, and connections came flooding out. To me, such moments threw into high relief how temporary and fleeting the vulnerability of knowledge production can be; the entire collaborative endeavor often appeared to be a utopia we aspired to achieve. Decolonization should not be something we only do for "locals" but, rather, also for ourselves: to activate, provide agency, and make meaningful our own work and our own words.

Acknowledgments

This chapter has had many lives: first as a talk at the Southern Asian Institute, Columbia University (2004), and then as the subject of an SAA session (2005) that I co-organized with Matthew Liebmann, of which this volume is a result. In each form, the subject matter has benefited from discussion with many, including Gayatri Spivak, Ania Loomba, Homi Bhabha, Sandra Scham, Jane Lydon, and Jacqueline Fewkes. For reading and commenting on earlier drafts, I thank Praveena Gullapalli and Teresa Raczek.

Further refinement of this chapter is due to the generous comments of Chris Gosden and Alfredo Gonzalez-Ruibal. Special thanks to Murtaza Vali for his invaluable comments, feedback, and editing.

Notes

1. Collaborative archaeological practice is now common in most of the world. Unfortunately, archaeology in South Asia continues to demonstrate a lack of this methodology and instead continues to replicate colonial models of interaction with local communities. This is changing with a new generation of archaeologists working in these regions but at a much slower pace, meeting with resistance from within the (international and domestic) archaeological community, as such actions read as political interference. This response reflects a history of denied research permits by various states in South Asia. This issue should not be taken lightly and the ramifications of such research methods must be carefully considered before application.

2. Other significant projects that implement the postcolonial critique in archaeology include a reevaluation of traditional colonial nomenclature, such as the continued use of categories like *Chalcolithic*.

3. This sort of identity shifting leads to often-heard comments such as "I'm just different in the field" or "What happens in the field, stays in the field."

4. For colonial accounts of copper exploitation in this region, see *Imperial Gazetteer of India: Rajputana* 1908, pp. 52, 71.

5. For archaeological data from this survey, please see Rizvi 2007.

6. A *tehsildar* is a revenue administrative officer or a district collector. The *patwari* is an officer in the same office as the *tehsildar*, except the function of the *patwari* is recording the crop harvest and number of crop mutations. Both work under the district magistrate.

7. The *sarpanj* is the elected head of the *panchayat*. A *panchayat* (political institution specific to India) is a council of elected members who act as liaisons between the local government and the people. Generally composed of members from five villages under one political council, these individuals are responsible for the social, cultural, and economic well-being of the villages that they represent.

8. For more on interactive versus reactive work, see Greer 1996; Ross and Coghill 2000; and Marshall 2002.

9. V. Selvakumar notes a similar interaction during his work in Tamil Nadu, India. His article on public archaeology in Kerala begins with this quote: "What will you get out of it? What will the country get out of it? What will I get out of it?" (2006:417)

10. I think the word *drugs* was used very loosely, with a larger sociocultural connotation of certain types of practices. These concerns express the community's experience of other tourist-friendly towns and cities in Rajasthan.

Indigenous and Postcolonial Archaeologies

8

ROBERT W. PREUCEL AND CRAIG N. CIPOLLA

The postindian is an ironist who worries about names, manners, and stories.

—GERALD VIZENOR (1994:68)

IN THE PAST TWENTY YEARS, INDIGENOUS ISSUES have emerged as a forceful critique of Western thought in general and Western archaeology more specifically. Indigenous issues received broad international exposure at the World Archaeological Congress (WAC) in Southampton, England, in 1986 (Layton 1989a, 1989b). Since then, they have been the subject of numerous academic sessions, particularly in the context of repatriation and sacred sites (fforde et al. 2002; Carmichael et al. 1994). In 1989, WAC passed the Vermillion Accord, named after the meeting site in Vermillion, South Dakota, which advocated respect for human remains and the recognition that indigenous heritage belongs to its descendants. The 1999 Chacmool Conference was devoted to the relationships of indigenous peoples and archaeology. A year later, Joe Watkins (2000) published a revised version of his doctoral dissertation entitled *Indigenous Archaeology: American Indian Values and Scientific Practice*. In 2005, AltaMira Press launched a book series on indigenous archaeology edited by Claire Smith and Martin Wobst, and the first publication is now out (Smith and Wobst 2005). There is clearly a burgeoning interest in indigenous archaeologies.

Postcolonialism is the term used to describe the critique of the Western canon by such preeminent scholars as Edward Said (1978), Gayatri Spivak (1988a), and Homi Bhabha (1994). This critique has highlighted issues of representation in the fields of history and literary criticism and emphasized power differentials between colonists and the colonized, particularly in the

context of Africa, Palestine, and India. In archaeology, this critique is associated with the rise of postprocessual archaeologies, which singled out the colonial origins of archaeology and the unacknowledged biases underlying its practice in non-Western contexts. As Ian Hodder (1986:157) puts it, "Western archaeologists working in non-industrialized societies, particularly in the postcolonial era, became increasingly confronted with the idea that the pasts they were reconstructing were 'Western' and with an articulate rejection of those pasts as being politically and ideologically motivated."

Recently, advocates of indigenous archaeologies have begun to engage selectively with postcolonial theory. Significantly, this encounter is itself critical. This is perhaps best evidenced by the calls for decolonizing archaeology (see Atalay 2006a; Smith and Wobst 2005). While not all individuals and communities involved in indigenous archaeologies take direct influence from postcolonial thinkers, many adopt similar strategies to achieve their political goals of historical self-determination. We argue for increased cross-disciplinary awareness, as both postcolonial theory and indigenous archaeologies have developed on parallel trajectories. By interweaving concepts from both postcolonial theory and indigenous archaeologies, both disciplines can enrich their practices and achieve their goals of representational or semiotic sovereignty (Crawford 2000).

In this chapter, we examine what indigenous archaeologies are for their various practitioners by exploring the historical genesis of the term and the practices associated with it. Next, we review how indigenous archaeologies are selectively borrowing postcolonial themes to decolonize Western archaeology; this includes exposing the politics of language and incorporating indigenous epistemologies into the archaeological process. We subsequently demonstrate how indigenous archaeologies offer a local critique of postcolonial studies as they seek to address the concerns of specific indigenous communities rather than solely contribute to Western academic circles. Indigenous archaeologies thus offer new and distinctive approaches in their own right; they are transforming postcolonial concepts to fit the specific disciplinary needs of archaeology. The inclusion of Native voices offers not only the potential to transform the discipline into a more democratic practice but also the opportunity to reconceptualize notions of time, space, and material culture.

What Are Indigenous Archaeologies?

The first point to make is that there is not just one indigenous archaeology. Rather, there are multiple indigenous archaeologies that represent the in-

terests of different indigenous communities and their multiple articulations with archaeology. These archaeologies are now beginning to be expressed in New Zealand, Australia, Africa, Bolivia, Canada, and the United States. Indigenous archaeologies are thus relatively new developments on the archaeological landscape and parallel the growing national and international acknowledgment of indigenous rights. Because of this, they are still in the process of establishing their agendas and priorities. There are some important national differences emerging. For example, in Australia, the term *indigenous archaeology* is used to refer to the dominant form of archaeology, namely the archaeology of Indigenous peoples by settler societies (McNiven and Russell 2005:10n1). In the United States and Canada, however, the term is being used to describe an alternative form of archaeology that challenges the dominant Western paradigm.

Perhaps the most widely cited definition is that of George Nicholas and Thomas Andrews (1997b:3), who state that indigenous archaeology is archaeology conducted "with, for, and by Indigenous peoples." Similarly, Martin Wobst (2005:17) has proposed that indigenous archaeology "moves beyond research 'about' indigenous peoples to focus on research that is conducted with, and for, indigenous peoples." The key point is that indigenous archaeologies involve Native peoples not as subjects but as collaborators. This definition, however, is quite broad and immediately raises questions about who can conduct indigenous archaeology and the degree of control over the archaeological process. For example, is indigenous archaeology exclusively performed by indigenous people, or can nonindigenous people do indigenous archaeology? Do indigenous or archaeological questions drive research, and how are the research results to be used?

Some scholars have argued that indigenous archaeology is properly conceived as archaeology controlled by indigenous peoples. Watkins (2000:177), for example, writes that "a truly Indigenous archaeology will never happen until Indigenous populations control the quality and quantity of archaeology performed on their homelands." This position is an acknowledgment of the right of indigenous self-representation, which is itself an essential component of tribal sovereignty. It justifies the existence of tribal archaeology programs, tribal historic preservation offices, and tribal museums. There is a danger, however, that an indigenous archaeology so conceived is isolated from the dominant form of archaeology and thus has limited potential to effect change in the profession.

Others take a broader view. Sonya Atalay (2006b:293), for example, writes that "(w)hile I agree that indigenous archaeology is something that must involve indigenous people, scholars as well as elders, tribal historians,

community members, spiritual leaders, and other stakeholders, I argue that indigenous archaeology is not simply archaeology done by or involving Indigenous people." For her, to restrict it to indigenous people devolves archaeology into a form of essentialism.

A number of archaeologists have addressed the implications of indigenous archaeology for the profession. In a provocative essay, Nicholas (2003) has recently called for the "end of Indigenous archaeology." His purpose is not to call for the demise of indigenous archaeology but, rather, to argue for its wholesale incorporation into the discipline. Indigenous archaeology would thus disappear because its agenda would perforce become the agenda of the profession. Similarly, Atalay argues that indigenous archaeology has the potential to transform the profession. She argues that indigenous archaeology is "not only for and by Indigenous people but has wider implications and relevance outside of Indigenous communities" and that "Indigenous archaeology provides a model for archaeological practice that can be applied globally as it calls for and provides a methodology for collaboration of descendant communities and stakeholders around the world" (Atalay 2006b:292). This, then, is a call for the transformative potential of collaborative archaeology (see below).

Roger Echo-Hawk and Larry Zimmerman (2006) have offered perhaps one of the strongest critiques of indigenous archaeology. They are skeptical of the concept of indigenous archaeology on the grounds that it perpetuates racial thinking. Their argument is that the deliberate segregation of knowledge according to racial categories, by either museums or indigenous peoples themselves, fosters a system of inequality based upon a flawed concept. They, therefore, advocate the deracination of the standard opposition of colonizer versus indigenous (Echo-Hawk and Zimmerman 2006:480–81). They favor alternatives such as "stakeholder archaeology" or "integrative archaeology" in its stead. This critique constitutes a sharp challenge not only to indigenous archaeology but also to the profession and, indeed, to society as a whole.

Varieties of Indigenous Archaeologies

In the United States, indigenous archaeologies need to be understood within the context of federal Indian policy and the Native American civil rights movements (Fine-Dare 2002; McGuire 1992, 2004). In the late 1960s and 1970s, the American Indian Movement confronted archaeologists concerning the excavation of burials (McGuire 1992:827). This was a wake-up call for the archaeological establishment and should have caused

the field to reconsider questions such as why and for whom we conduct our research. However, the profession continued about its business on the assumption that science is a neutral practice and of benefit to all of humanity. The development of CRM in the 1970s required consultation with tribes because of the need to build roads and run water and gas lines through tribal lands. This also led to the creation of tribal archaeology programs to oversee this work. In 1990, NAGPRA was passed into law, mandating consultation with tribes regarding archaeological work undertaken on federal and tribal lands.

Within this context, a range of models has emerged for engaging with the concerns and needs of indigenous peoples. These include, among others, tribal archaeology, collaborative archaeology, and covenantal archaeology. Although there is variation in the degree of control indigenous peoples have in each of these approaches, all models embrace the importance of Native peoples as legitimate stakeholders in the past. As we describe below, each of these approaches conforms to the general model of indigenous archaeology, defined as archaeology "with, for, and by Indigenous peoples" (Nicholas and Andrews 1997b:3). However, the distinctions between "with," "for," and "by" in this basic definition are malleable as opposed to being absolute. For instance, if a nonindigenous individual is doing archaeological research "for" a tribal community, then the archaeology is also partially "with" that community, even though its members are not physically doing the work. Likewise, if the tribal community has complete control of the archaeological project and treats the nonindigenous archaeologist as an employee then the project might be perceived of as "by" the community as opposed to "for" it. In this sense each of these relations (with, for, by) can shift depending on the contexts of the particular indigenous community and archaeological project in question. It is best to look at the distinctions between the different types of indigenous archaeology as differences of degree rather than kind.

Tribal Archaeology

As the name implies, tribal archaeology is archaeology authorized and carried out "by" tribal communities (Klesert and Downer 1990; Stapp and Burney 2002). This does not necessarily mean that it is limited to indigenous people doing archaeology on their ancestral sites. Tribal communities often hire nonindigenous individuals as their employees to carry out the research they are interested in. This way, the archaeological research is sure to remain respectful of tribal sensitivities and focus on tribal goals and interests. One

type of tribal archaeology is tribal cultural resource management, which is defined as "tribes formally managing cultural resources that are important to them" and "conducted by, or heavily influenced by, American Indians" (Stapp and Burney 2002:8). As mentioned earlier, there is a fine line between this type of indigenous archaeology and those that take a more collaborative approach.

Today there are more than 55 tribes operating some form of tribal archaeology or culture resource management program (Ferguson, cited in Stapp and Burney 2002:52). One of the oldest is that of the Pueblo of Zuni. In 1974, Zuni established the Zuni Archaeological Enterprise (ZAE) with assistance from the National Park Service (Ferguson 1996). The program was charged with the mandate of "preservation, protection, and scientific study of the cultural resources of the Zuni people" and involved five major program activities, including planning and consultation, archaeological and scientific research, inventory and curation, public interpretation, and training and development of tribal members. Four years later, the Zuni Archaeology Program (ZAP) was formally established by the Pueblo of Zuni to research and protect cultural resources of the Zuni Tribe. The Zuni Tribe defined cultural resources as places and objects of historical, cultural, or scientific value, including archaeological sites, historic architecture, sacred places, and religious objects. The Zuni Cultural Resource Enterprise was formed in 1982 as a minority-owned small business to provide professional archaeological services under contract to governmental agencies and private developers. In 1994, the Zuni Tribe established the Zuni Heritage and Historic Preservation Office to replace the Zuni Archaeology Program. This Office is charged with the development and implementation of tribal policies to preserve the cultural and historic heritage of the Zuni people.

Collaborative Archaeology

In relation to the definition provided earlier, collaborative or community-based archaeology is one specific type of indigenous archaeology that hinges on archaeological research "with" indigenous communities (Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2007; Ferguson and Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2006; Silliman 2008 a). Collaborative approaches emphasize archaeology as a dialogic process between two or more groups; the dialogic or reflexive methodology it endorses leads in new directions for archaeology and for indigenous communities. "Collaborative Indigenous archaeology is fundamentally about making better histories and better

communities" (Silliman 2008 b:31). Thus, collaborative archaeology is largely about communities, usually anthropological and indigenous, listening to and respecting one another as they craft interpretations of the past together, producing results for both communities. The constraints that the respective communities place on one another and on the interpretation of the past often lead to more solid interpretations that meet both academic and indigenous criteria.

One example of collaborative archaeology is the research of Robert Preucel and the Pueblo of Cochiti. In 1995, Preucel (Preucel et al. 2002) established a collaborative research project focusing on Kotyiti, an ancestral Cochiti community located in north central New Mexico and occupied immediately after the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. The central focus of the project is to identify and understand the social processes surrounding the founding and occupation of the village of Kotyiti. This research has provided information crucial in understanding the Pueblo Revolt (1680) and the subsequent Reconquest Period (1694–1700). The main results of the research have been the production of a map of the two main villages constituting the Kotyiti community, the archaeological survey of adjacent areas, an oral history project with Cochiti elders, and an internship program for Cochiti youth. Recently, this research was used by the Pueblo to support the return of land by the state of New Mexico.

The research of Craig Cipolla and the Brothertown Indian Nation of Wisconsin serves as an additional example of indigenous and anthropological communities working together to produce new understandings of the past and better relations in the present. The project centers on surveying and excavating portions of the Brothertown Indians' Wisconsin settlement, which they settled in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. The research involves both Brothertown and non-Brothertown individuals (including landowners, community members, and anthropology students) and is designed to meet the needs of tribal and nontribal community members in a respectful manner. The project was initiated through dialogue between Craig Cipolla and the Brothertown Tribal Council. One important aspect of the Brothertown Project is a website (web.mac.com/craigcipolla) that has been created to disseminate information on the project to the entire Brothertown community. The site now has a forum section where visitors can leave comments, questions, opinions, and memories about Brothertown material culture and history. This is one example of using new types of media to ensure that archaeological research is not alienating the past from those communities that are connected to it.

Covenantal Archaeology

Covenantal archaeology is broadly defined as collaboration between archaeological and indigenous communities (Powell et al. 1993; Ferguson 2003; Zimmerman 1997). The work centers on an agreement between archaeologists and indigenous people working together to produce results of interest to *both* archaeological and indigenous communities. As Powell, Garza, and Hendricks (1993:29) explain, "Archaeology has traditionally been done by and for archaeologists, with their primary justification for their activities being contributions to knowledge." As discussed below, archaeology has a history of privileging Western knowledge over the needs of the indigenous communities that are crucially invested in the archaeological remains being studied.

T. J. Ferguson (2003) uses the term *reciprocal archaeology* to refer to collaborations between archaeologists and the Hopi and Zuni tribes in the American Southwest. Similar to the framework of covenantal archaeology, Ferguson explains the importance of doing work *with* and *for* as opposed to *on* a community, allowing archaeology to benefit archaeologists and indigenous peoples alike. Tribal groups use archaeology for a variety of purposes beyond historic preservation. Archaeology can benefit education, land claims, repatriation, ecotourism, social life, resource management, and employment for indigenous communities (Ferguson 2003:138).

Perhaps what differentiates covenantal archaeology from the other types listed in this section is its emphasis on training indigenous peoples in archaeology in addition to basic research (Zimmerman 1997:52). This is not meant to imply that covenantal archaeology represents an effort to simply convince indigenous peoples that archaeology is useful; the point "is to train Indian people in archaeology theory and method to apply these tools to their own research questions and *not* necessarily to get them to buy into archaeological interpretation" (Zimmerman 1997:53).

Decolonizing Methodologies

One of the hallmarks of postcolonial theory is its emphasis on decolonizing methodologies. Basically, these methodologies refer to political and cultural practices associated with redressing historical power imbalances established in the colonial process. Decolonization not only implies the formal handing over of the instruments of government but also describes the long-term process involving the cultural, linguistic, and psychological divesting of colonial parameters. Decolonization thus has simultaneously political and cognitive dimensions (see also Rizvi Chapter 7).

The key text in decolonization studies is Linda Tuhiwai Smith's (1999) book *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. Her central argument is that "research" is not a neutral practice; rather, it is inextricably linked with European colonialism because it is always conducted "through imperial eyes" (Smith 1999:56). According to Smith, research "brings to bear, on any study of Indigenous peoples, a set of values, a different conceptualization of such things as time, space and subjectivity, different and competing theories of knowledge, highly specialized forms of language and structures of power" (Smith 1999:42).

Smith (1999:183) then introduces the concept of Kaupapa Maori as an example of a decolonizing methodology for research in Maori communities. She cites Graham Smith, who summarizes these initiatives in four points: as related to "being Maori," as connected to Maori philosophy and principles, as acknowledging the validity of Maori culture and language, and as concerned with the struggle for autonomy over Maori cultural well-being. She also relates Kaupapa Maori to critical theory and notions of critique, resistance, struggle, and emancipation (Smith 1999:185). It is thus research with a strong antipositivist stance, foremost concerned with the issues of social justice and of relevance to the Maori community. Research should set out to make a positive difference for those researched. Smith shows how such programs are part of the wider project of reclaiming control over indigenous ways of knowing and being. Indigenous archaeology represents the beginning of the decolonization process in archaeology.

Several indigenous archaeologists have now engaged with Smith's work. Atalay (2006b:294), for example, has suggested that as part of decolonizing archaeology, Indigenous scholars need to "challenge the master narrative and attempt to de-center standard archaeological practice, to bring back to indigenous people the power to set the agenda for their own heritage, to ask the questions, to determine what is excavated, and to remain involved in interpretations and dissemination of knowledge that reflect their own traditional methods of cultural resource management."

In her own work, Atalay (2006b:296) has attempted to decenter Western concepts of linear time by introducing the Anishinaabe concept of *gikinawaabi*. *Gikinawaabi* is an Anishinaabe term that refers to the passing of knowledge gained through experience from one generation to another. She suggests that this concept is not only significant in Ojibwe context but also relevant for the larger global community in which the Ojibwe context exists. The centering of concepts like *gikinawaabi* thus has the potential to transform academia by legitimizing traditional knowledge, epistemology, and practices. It offers alternative ways of seeing.

Claire Smith and Gary Jackson (2006) have recently focused on the politics of language as a means of decolonizing archaeology. In some cases, indigenous communities appropriate aspects of Western portrayals of indigenous pasts and reshape them for their own ends. For instance, in Australia, Aboriginal Australians have renamed Australia Day, which commemorates the landing of Captain Cook in Australia, as Invasion Day or Survival Day (Smith and Jackson 2006:319). In archaeology, researchers can acknowledge indigenous rights to archaeological remains by including indigenous permissions in scholarly and popular publications. This is only a small part of respecting indigenous peoples and ceasing the alienation of indigenous pasts from contemporary peoples.

In some cases, the language of archeology can be outright offensive to indigenous peoples. The manner in which archaeological terminology represents events, ancestors, and ancestral materials should be interrogated in the spirit of the postcolonial critique. For instance, the use of the term *contact* by archaeologists to describe colonialism (for critique, see Silliman 2005) adds a light and ephemeral air to what many indigenous peoples view as grave and everlasting colonial conditions and consequences. The term glosses over the colonial legacies that followed "contacts" and persevere to this day in many areas of the globe.

McNiven and Russell (2005) are generally concerned with the ways in which the scientific terminology of archaeology divorces contemporary indigenous people from their pasts, specifically those that are embedded in the archaeological records their ancestors left behind. To describe this phenomenon, McNiven and Russell use the term *subjectation*, which they define as "the simultaneous and mutually reinforcing actions of subordination and objectification (the production of indigenous peoples and their cultures as objects of study) that emerged from the colonial process" (2005:181). For some indigenous individuals and communities, the language of archaeology is completely esoteric. It also privileges Western perspectives and goals. These characteristics dissuade nonspecialists and non-Westerners from engaging and participating in archaeological discourse, thus divorcing the past from the living, breathing communities that actually link to it (McNiven and Russell 2005). The indigenous past is often treated as a petri dish containing only scientific facts that are detached from contemporary indigenous peoples. Peoples' ancestral pasts are thus transformed into academic commodities and alienated from them via the "standard" archaeological process. This is exemplified in the use of the term *Cultural Resource Management*, which many indigenous peoples in Australia reacted against, calling for its replacement with *Cultural Heritage*

Management (McNiven and Russell 2005:187). Also, archaeology's emphasis on artifacts and sites often represents the archaeological past as devoid of actual humans, further separating logical links between people today and their ancestors in the past. For example, in Australia, bark coffins used by Aboriginal peoples are sometimes referred to as *bark cylinders* in archaeological circles (McNiven and Russell 2005:204–05). The use of *cylinder* as opposed to *coffin* or *burial* dehumanizes the site and justifies its desecration in the name of science, alienating the past from living indigenous people. Archaeologists must strive to transcend these alienating practices and link living indigenous communities to the archaeological research of their ancestors.

Conclusion

It should be clear that indigenous and postcolonial archaeologies share an uneasy alliance. Some scholars view postcolonial theory as a form of "othering" the other, thus further alienating the subaltern because of its association with Western academic pursuits (Parry 2004; Loomba 1998). Postcolonial authors are often trained in Western institutions (often Cambridge University) and produce knowledge solely for the consumption of other individuals in or from similar institutions. In this light, postcolonial theory is a neocolonist enterprise, extracting information from colonized and/or formerly colonized peoples and exporting it to academia for the good of the West, thus alienating the majority of the indigenous communities they write about from the literary product.

Indigenous archaeologies are forms of archaeological practice that are specific to individual indigenous communities. They run the gamut from archaeologies that are performed solely by tribal members for the benefit of the tribe, to those that are contracted out to archaeological firms, to those that are established with academic scholars. Indigenous archaeologies offer a potential venue where all members of indigenous communities can participate in the crafting of their past through archaeological inquiry. Compared with the esoteric writing of postcolonial authors, these new archaeologies are much more accessible to entire indigenous communities, and this facilitates the creation of a place for indigenous peoples to participate as producers (i.e., as excavators and interpreters) and not simply consumers (i.e., as audiences and interlocutors) of indigenous histories and narratives. Specific indigenous archaeologies can be seen as a local corrective to the elite academic discourse on postcolonialism because they privilege the lived experiences of indigenous peoples over those of scholars.

Nonetheless, we suggest that the insights of postcolonial literature offer considerable potential to indigenous archaeologies. The postcolonial critique adds new light to some of the unquestioned assumptions of archaeology. For instance, decolonizing methodologies offer archaeologists methods and examples for critiquing the politics of language and fleshing out colonial undertones in the ways in which archaeologists engage in discourse and conduct their research. As highlighted above, the standards of discourse and research in the discipline of archaeology are often taken for granted, allowing the Western biases of the discipline to go undetected. Similarly, postcolonial theory can benefit from considering the variety of ways in which indigenous issues are being expressed. More specifically, it needs to address the degree to which it perpetuates colonial thinking as a legacy of Western hegemony.

In the end, indigenous archaeologies are about political and semiotic sovereignty, the rights of indigenous peoples everywhere to control their lives, identities, and historical (and archaeological) representations. This is why the Anishinaabe author Gerald Vizenor insists that the post-Indian must be concerned with manners, names, and stories. Indigenous archaeologies and perspectives reveal that these manners, names, and stories must be constructed locally from within communities, rather than imposed from without.

Archaeology, The World Bank, and Postcolonial Politics

9

IAN LILLEY

THE WORLD BANK ("THE BANK") is the international community's most powerful development agency. It has an enormous impact on archaeology and cultural heritage through its funding of a wide array of projects in many different parts of the world. This impact and those on other critical social and environmental issues are managed through a number of "safeguard" policies. Possible changes to these policies are of central concern here. The Bank is routinely criticized by civil society groups owing to the observed or anticipated effects of its actions on vulnerable communities. These effects include such things as the loss of traditional indigenous resources or the involuntary relocation of people caused by Bank-sponsored projects (see, for instance, Goldman 2001 and the Bretton Woods Project at www.brettonwoodsproject.org). Borrower and other governments and the private sector also regularly take the Bank to task for real or confected slights to national sovereignty and undue interference in the affairs of private business (e.g., Wood 1999 for a case that continues in Papua New Guinea). Paradoxically, though, the Bank's safeguards are frequently held up as "world's best practice," not only by people such as the archaeologists involved in their drafting, some of whom have painted the safeguards as "potentially revolutionary" for the discipline (e.g., Dalton 2002). Interestingly, and more importantly for my discussion, such positive assessments are also advanced by civil society activists—some of them archaeologists—who may not be instinctively sympathetic to international financial institutions but who are struggling to advance social justice and protect human rights, including those that encompass archaeological heritage.

The Ilisu Dam in Turkey is one high-profile case in which archaeologists have been heavily involved in this latter respect (Ronayne 2005). Up

to the time of writing, the Bank had not funded work at Ilisu because the project violates a number of the aforementioned safeguards the Bank insists upon as a condition of funding. However, archaeologists protesting against the project have argued that the application of these safeguards or standards based closely upon them would protect significant cultural heritage resources that will otherwise be lost to construction or inundation. Ironically, the Bank has, at the same time, been reviewing its safeguards, arguing that it wants to enhance culturally appropriate content and local ownership but also because it wants to reduce the costs that the safeguards are said to impose on borrowers and the Bank. Critics, including global archaeological bodies, have decried this move, which they contend will debase international professional standards and put highly significant heritage resources at great risk. The Bank counters that the changes should make developing countries more inclined to borrow from the Bank. It concedes this would be good for the Bank financially but should also make such countries more likely to apply internationally benchmarked standards of social and environmental (including cultural heritage) protection. This is because the proposed changes to the safeguards are intended to see the Bank working with borrowers to develop procedures that respect local autonomy rather than dictate supposedly global standards. It is a simple fact, recognized by the Bank, that the latter are largely developed in the West (and especially the Anglo-American world) to suit Western (and especially Anglo-American) conditions (e.g., Byrne 2004). They are thus arguably just another element of a pervasive hegemonic discourse aimed at maintaining the neocolonial status quo.

It would seem that the Bank just wants to let "the subaltern speak." This is a laudable objective that should be supported by all archaeologists interested in supporting human rights through ethical practice. As detailed below, however, there are good reasons not to accept the Bank's assurances at face value. Mindful of the institution's great potential to affect archaeological interests around the globe, I suggest practitioners take action to ensure that the Bank lives up to the postcolonial promise of its word. Not only should the subaltern be encouraged to speak, but also, if archaeologists value human equality—which they must, as no discipline underscores human commonality more completely—they should work to ensure that varied local perspectives on archaeology and heritage are, in fact, acted upon by powerful global agencies such as the Bank, and acted upon in culturally appropriate ways. Couched in postcolonial terms, it is a matter of moving the interests of the periphery to the center, rather than trying to ensure some supposedly universal notion of archaeological propriety is enforced

from the top down. As Darby (1998:218) puts it, postcolonial discourse "is directed to challenging the subordination of the Third World to external designs. Thus postcolonialism is not simply a mode of intellectual inquiry; it represents an attempt to generate strategies of political change." The crucial point is that this observation applies as much to the discipline of archaeology as it does to organizations like the World Bank. We need to decolonize our own theory and practice if we intend to hold organizations such as the Bank to their promises to do the same.

The World Bank, Archaeology, and Cultural Heritage

The World Bank has two parts. One is the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), which lends to the governments of middle-income countries (MICs) such as India and Brazil as well as "creditworthy" poor countries. The other is the International Development Association (IDA), which assists the very poorest nations, largely through grants rather than loans. The Bank funds these loans and grants from allocations from the governments that are its "shareholders," from investments, and from the interest it charges on its MIC loans. The IBRD and IDA are affiliated in a larger "World Bank Group," along with a number of other organizations. One is the International Finance Corporation (IFC), mentioned again later in the chapter, which lends to the private sector in developing countries. The World Bank Group and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) are often called the Bretton Woods Institutions, after the locality in New Hampshire (United States) where they were originally devised to fund the reconstruction of Europe after World War II. Though they are separate organizations, the World Bank Group and the IMF have close ties and meet jointly once a year to "harmonize" their policies and procedures.

The Bank has explicitly embraced archaeological interests for some time. It does this through measures to protect physical cultural resources to be affected by the developments it underwrites as well as its focus on cultural heritage as a tool of development through cultural tourism and the like (Morella 2004; World Bank 2003a). The latter cultural heritage development is managed by the Urban Development section, while the former are protected by the Bank's environmental assessment protocols as spelled out in its social and environmental safeguard policies. It is these last that are of primary interest here.

There are ten safeguards governed by an overarching environmental assessment policy. In addition to "physical cultural resources," these safeguards

cover issues such as forests, dams, indigenous people, and involuntary resettlement. The Bank's approach to cultural resources flows from policy initiatives of the mid-1980s, when it first started to take a systematic interest in the social and environmental sustainability of development. The first heritage policy document, Operational Policy Note (OPN) 11.03, was promulgated in 1986. Its accompanying procedural guide, Goodland and Webb's *The Management of Cultural Property in World Bank–Assisted Projects*, appeared as a Bank technical paper in 1987. The substantive part of Goodland and Webb's paper built on foundations established by UNESCO, including the 1970 convention on cultural property[1] and the 1972 World Heritage Convention, and occupies only 25 of 102 pages. The bulk of the report is a catalog of "bank-assisted projects with cultural heritage components" augmented by annexes describing technical terms, international heritage conventions and legislative regimes, and the like. Despite its brevity, the analytical part of the paper made some telling points regarding the failings of the Bank's heritage-related activity up to that time (including the "failure of archaeologists to complete their work on time or to comply with terms of contract"!; Goodland and Webb 1987:16). To foreshadow the discussion below, it also noted "positive trends," including the effectiveness of using "local (in-country) experts working with international specialists," a practice which promoted "local people's involvement and expedited the overall project." The paper went on to detail OPN11.03, the initial section of which sets the note's overall tone by stating that "The Bank normally declines to finance projects that will significantly damage nonreplicable cultural property, and will assist only those projects that are sited or designed so as to prevent such damage" (Goodland and Webb 1987:17). The section on "procedural guidance" reinforces this assertive message by requiring Bank operations staff to raise "cultural heritage issues with borrowing governments at the earliest stages of project identification as well as informing them of World Bank policy" (Goodland and Webb 1987:22).

The early 1990s saw developments in heritage management in certain of the Bank's regions (e.g., Taboroff and Cook 1993) as well as an expansion of operational guidelines to augment OPN11.03 (World Bank 1996). The latter provided background information drawing on established heritage instruments such as Australia's leading-edge Burra Charter (see www.icomos.org/australia/burra.html), as well as more substantial discussion about Bank procedure. The next significant policy development followed the appointment of Australian reformist James Wolfensohn as president of the Bank in 1995. Wolfensohn greatly expanded the Bank's social, cultural, and

environmental agendas through his "Comprehensive Development Framework." By 1998, the year UNESCO convened a major conference on culture and development, the Bank had "assumed a more active stance . . . announcing a commitment to acknowledge the cultural dimensions of development" (World Bank 2003a:2). While this initiative focused on "assisting client countries in utilizing their cultural assets for economic or social gain," it also proposed that "the Bank's policy and role in conservation of physical cultural heritage should be examined and clarified" (World Bank 2003a:2). This "active stance" resulted in the initial drafting of the cultural heritage safeguard OP4.11 as well as "the mainstreaming of culture into Bank's operations [sic] . . . through numerous conferences and several publications" (Morella 2004:3). The conferences included a second 1998 conference on culture and development, this time convened jointly by UNESCO and the Bank. Notable among the publications of the time was *Culture and Sustainable Development. A Framework for Action* (World Bank 1998), which saw the Bank "moving beyond" its cultural heritage safeguard "of doing no harm . . . to assist countries and communities to conserve the most important parts of their past heritage and to embrace and celebrate their current diversity" (World Bank 1998:37, also Box 1, p.14).

The steady advance of social and environmental issues at the Bank stumbled with the coming of the new millennium, at least in connection with cultural heritage. Significant figures in the Bank such as Michael Cernea published influential works on Bank heritage policy and procedure as recently as 2001, but OP4.11 languished "in preparation" from 1999 to 2006. Various Bank documents issued during this interregnum (e.g., Morella 2004:3; World Bank 2003a:3) indicated that the policy was in force some years before 2006, but that was not the case. Much to the dismay of international archaeological bodies such as the World Archaeological Congress (WAC) and the UNESCO affiliated International Committee on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS; e.g., ICAHM[2] 2003), the final draft of OP4.11 was not endorsed by the Bank's Board of Directors until April of that year. In other words, the opening years of the twenty-first century saw the cultural heritage procedure at the World Bank governed through a policy note that was by then two decades old and the ten-year-old procedural guide that accompanied it (World Bank 1996). In what seemed like a very positive development in these circumstances, in early 2003 the Bank sought an archaeological heritage specialist to manage internal as well as borrower compliance with its cultural resources policy, following a review which identified "a need to promote coordination and cross-fertilization . . . throughout the Bank by establishment of a focal point" (World Bank 2003a:6). However, by late 2005

an appointment had not been made, and the Bank indicated to applicants that the position would not be filled for the foreseeable future, owing to budgetary and other managerial constraints. This means that while the Bank has enacted its cultural heritage safeguard policy—unquestionably a great step forward—it has no heritage specialist to manage that policy and seems unlikely to appoint one. The mixed messages being broadcast by this situation can only leave us wondering about the future of cultural heritage protection at the Bank.

Bank Actions in a Wider Context

Viewed against the wider ebb and flow of international affairs, it is not surprising that the Bank's interest in cultural matters came so strongly to the fore during the 1990s but then began to subside. The 1990s were a remarkable decade on the global stage. The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 saw the last hard-edged verities of the Cold War finally melt away, and rivalry between the West and the "Eastern Bloc" began to be supplanted by questions concerning equity between North and South. The world that emerged as a result over the next ten years was one that was more ready (though, as the unchecked Rwandan genocide showed, not *always* ready) to intervene in the internal affairs of sovereign states on humanitarian grounds. At the same time, the world became more prepared to admit that the one-size-fits-all socioeconomic model of the "Washington consensus"—neoliberal market economics—was not the only route to sustainable economic growth. The first development sits in some tension with the second. The predilection for humanitarian intervention derives from a universalizing cosmopolitan or, in the language of foreign policy analysis, "solidarist" position. It contends that sovereignty implies the state has a responsibility to protect its citizens and advance their human rights, and that the international community has a right—indeed, a responsibility—to intervene if the state fails in this duty (Evans and Sahnoun 2002). While most dramatically connected with the use of armed force to prevent genocidal violence, the right to intervene at its broadest also encompasses such measures as punitive economic sanctions, financial and social/environmental conditions attached to humanitarian aid and development loans, and the use of diplomatic pressure to encourage the preservation of cultural heritage.

In contrast, the second development, the awkwardly named "post-Washington consensus," took most of the decade to materialize and entails a pluralistic perspective more supportive of state sovereignty. It is much like the one proposed in decades past by substantivist economic anthropologists

and heterodox economists, namely that successful socioeconomic systems can take a variety of forms. During the 1990s, events and processes such as the rise of the market economy in China despite the aversion of its political leadership to liberal democracy, the success of Malaysia's "anti-market" financial controls during the Asian economic crisis, and the failure of hard-line international monetary policy in Latin America all helped undermine the notion that satisfactory socioeconomic outcomes can only be produced by one system, the liberal-democratic market economy, as well as its corollary that the latter will inevitably produce desirable socioeconomic results (Öniş and Şenses 2005; Quiggin 2005). In short, it became clear by the end of the 1990s that there remains considerable scope for independent action by sovereign states despite the seemingly inexorable progress of globalization as represented, inter alia, by the right of the international community to intervene on humanitarian grounds. In the area of cultural heritage management, this proposition means that while diplomatic pressure can be brought to bear to protect sites of significance, as noted above, it is not yet possible to legally enforce such instruments as the World Heritage Convention even in the face of events such as the destruction of the Bamiyan Buddhas in Afghanistan (O'Keefe 2004; cf. Mapulanga-Hulston 2002; Vernon 1994).

Debate in the wider policy environment concerning sovereignty and intervention has long see-sawed in this way, and its effect on approaches to cultural heritage issues is felt well beyond the confines of the World Bank. All global agencies with an interest in heritage have faced a similar task in discerning a clear path forward over the last three decades or so. This is particularly clear, for example, in the shifting language surrounding international conventions dealing with the repatriation of cultural property, a central aspect of heritage management around the world. In 1973, proposals to the United Nations General Assembly to augment the 1970 UNESCO convention on cultural property[3] vehemently decried "imperialist colonialist plunder" of the national cultural patrimony of poor countries and very strongly asserted respect for national sovereignty as a guiding principle for action (Thomason 1990:51). By 1975 the notion of national cultural property had come to be balanced to a considerable extent by the concept of the common heritage of mankind, the restitution of which would help buttress international understanding and cooperation (Thomason 1990:57). As Goodland and Webb's (1987) chronology shows, this shift occurred just as the Bank was taking its first very tentative steps in heritage management (see also Morella 2004). By the 1980s these two doctrines had effectively merged so that demands for repatriation of national cultural patrimony were

matched by demands for assistance to develop museum facilities that would house the material for the good of all humanity as well as the nation in question (Thomason 1990:81–82). In the mid 1990s, when the Bank was launching into heritage matters in a substantial way, legal scholars were making the case for actual physical "protective intervention" by the international community in sovereign states that failed to protect significant cultural assets (Vernon 1994; also Mapulanga-Hulston 2002). These developments in the critical area of repatriation clearly show that global heritage policy settings adopted an increasingly interventionist tone during the period when the Bank's interest in cultural heritage was intensifying. The position has now been wound back substantially in the direction of sovereignty, as shown by the opinion referred to earlier in connection with the Bamiyan Buddhas: while the international community "is permitted by general international law to subject a State's peacetime treatment of . . . heritage to scrutiny, comment and, where appropriate, criticism," it cannot "compel preservation through judicial proceedings or countermeasures" (O'Keefe 2004). It is against the background of this last position that the following discussion should be considered.

The Ilisu Dam

The Ilisu Dam is a hydroelectric project proposed for the Tigris River in eastern Turkey, not far from the border with Iraq and Syria (Fig. 9.1). The dam is being constructed as part of the far-reaching Southeast Anatolia Development Project (GAP—*Güneydoğu Anadolu Projesi*). GAP will see the construction of 22 large dams in the Euphrates and Tigris basin to produce electricity and store water for irrigation. A dozen large dams have been finished. They have displaced about 350,000 people, the majority of Kurdish descent (Morvaridi 2004:722–23), and have had an enormous impact on the archaeology and other cultural heritage of the region (Ronayne 2005).

The project at Ilisu entails a 130-meter-tall wall that will create a reservoir of some 300 km^2. The development will force the resettlement of tens of thousands of mostly Kurdish people from nearly 200 villages as well as the historic town of Hasankeyf, which will be entirely submerged (Ronayne 2005:67). Hasankeyf was the capital of a number of medieval societies, including the Artukids, and has links to the Roman, Byzantine, and Ottoman empires. The town was listed by the Turkish Government as a highly significant protected site in 1981, and ICOMOS Turkey proposed nominating it as a World Heritage site. There are also some 500 culturally significant caves carved into the limestone cliffs in the surrounding area

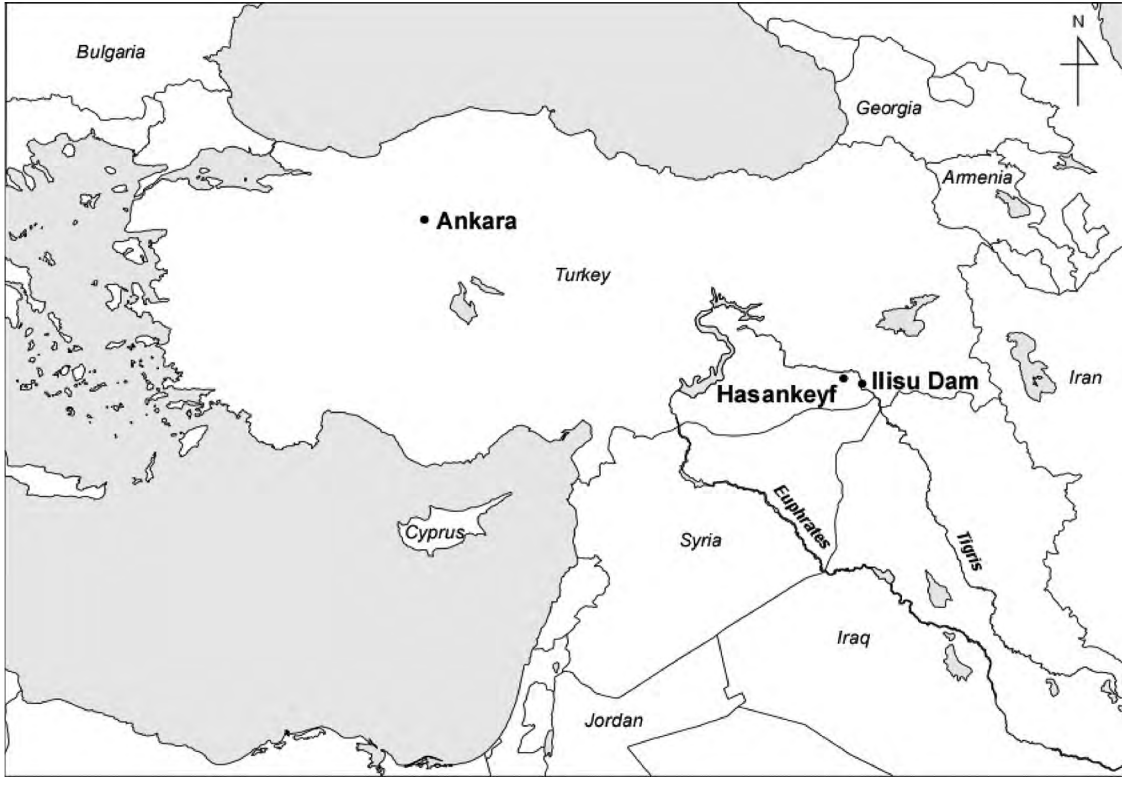

Figure 9.1. Location of ILisu Dam and Husan Keyf. *Drawn by Michelle Langley*

(Morvaridi 2004:723 fn 4; also Kitchen and Ronayne 2002 and Ronayne 2005:81–86). In addition, according to Ronayne (2005:80; see also Kitchen and Ronayne 2001):

> the Ilisu dam reservoir would destroy hundreds of cultural and historical sites in the valley of the Upper Tigris. These could not possibly all be excavated and recorded in the time it would take to build the dam. . . . There has been no adequate survey of the whole area to be flooded by Ilisu's reservoir and there is no evidence of adequate consultation with affected communities, even about the partial surveys already done. Up to recently, a small US team had surveyed only one fifth of the area to be inundated (there has now been further work by TAÇDAM[4] but there is still no complete coverage).

The Ilisu project was first mooted in the 1950s, and the design was finalized in 1982, but it was not until 1997 that the Turkish government invited the Swiss company Sulzer Hydro to form a private construction consortium. This group comprised various European and Turkish companies, all of which were underwritten by their respective government's Export Credit Agency. Under international pressure, including representations by the World Archaeological Congress to the British Government (Ascherson 2001; also Kitchen and Ronayne 2002), this consortium was disbanded in 2001 and work on the Ilisu dam postponed. Prominent among the grounds for the archaeological protest was the fact that procedures for the protection of cultural heritage benchmarked to World Bank standards had not been applied in the assessment of the project's social and environmental impact. The Bank's safeguards were singled out in this fashion because its "guidelines are often used by governments and developers as an international measure in these situations" (Ronayne 2005:30; also Kitchen and Ronayne 2002).

The Turkish government remains adamant that the dam will be built to sustain economic development in what is the poorest part of the nation, despite the project's significant social and environmental toll (Morvaridi 2004:723–24). Planners argue that the dam as currently proposed remains the most efficient and "environmentally friendly" response to a growing demand for electricity. Local and international activists have sought alternatives, asking, for instance, that the height of the dam wall be lowered by 30 meters to save part of Hasankeyf. Government engineers state that this would reduce electricity generation by half, making the entire project untenable. Besides, they said:

> We would still have a cold winter. We have to think in terms of not a village or a district or a region but the whole nation. It is the whole country

> that is going to benefit from this project. . . . To change the size of the Ilisu dam means that we would have to change the plan—this will be expensive and time consuming. It took 20 to 30 years to plan this dam. It will take another 20 years to plan another. The country will benefit and there are too many villages in Turkey anyway without good access to health and a good education system. We can help people and their children to have a better lifestyle. We have to think about our country, not three minarets and a few caves (cited by Morvaridi 2004:724).

In the context of the largely ideological standoff between those for and against the dam, it is instructive to examine TAÇDAM's position. (www.tacdam.metu.edu/index.php@option=com_content&task=view&id=23). Not unexpectedly, the organization takes a middle path, noting that:

> until recently, preserving cultural heritage and the necessity of investing in contemporary progress were seen as unreconcilable [sic] contradictions. However, through the development of contemporary understanding, cultural heritage and modern development are no longer seen as such, and with integrated planning they can enrich each other.

Reports concerning ongoing work connected with TAÇDAM are available (e.g., Parker 2005 and references) but, generally speaking, there is not a great deal of accessible information about TAÇDAM's work at Ilisu. Kitchen and Ronayne (2002:112–13) are severe in their assessment of the material they have examined. Their concerns elaborate on scathing criticism from ICOMOS Turkey, UNESCO's national heritage advisor. In addition to detailing the heritage placed at risk by the Ilisu project, ICOMOS points out that the dam violates international heritage protection treaties and (in 2000) had not been granted permission to proceed by the "Monuments Council of the region." The final view of ICOMOS Turkey is that "the dam will be a social, cultural and environmental disaster" (ICOMOS 2000:6). These appraisals bear directly on current World Bank proposals regarding the increased use of "country systems" in environmental and social impact assessment.

Winding Back the Safeguards

For the whole time that Ronayne, Kitchen, and others have been appealing to World Bank standards in relation to the Ilisu Project, the Bank's cultural resources policy and other social and environmental safeguards have been under scrutiny as part of a wider consideration of the conditions placed on development funding (known as "conditionality"; World Bank

2005a). The safeguards review has been couched in terms of "expanding the use of country systems in bank-supported operations" (World Bank 2005b). As noted at the beginning of the chapter, this means the Bank wants to use borrower countries' social and environmental protection protocols in conjunction with or in place of its own safeguards, where the former are or can be built up to be "equivalent" to the latter. Such a positive view of local solutions has a long history in the Bank's approach to cultural heritage. Moreover, to tie this shift back to earlier discussion of the global policy environment, the emphasis on locally appropriate solutions is just what one would expect in these days of the "post-Washington consensus" and of an emphasis on diplomatic intervention rather than legal compulsion. Be all that as it may, the change may come as something of a surprise to those accustomed to and approving of the Bank's earlier top-down, universalist tendencies.

These days the Bank traces its interest in this latest approach only back to the 1990s, though, as Goodland and Webb reported in 1987, it in fact dates to at least two decades earlier. At that time, work by the Bank and various U.N. and other development agencies "led each to conclude that development can be successful only if the country itself owns the process and the government leads development efforts" (World Bank 2005b:2). It was on this basis that the Bank produced a note on *Country Focus and Safeguard Policies: Institutional Issues* in 2000. It outlined ways to advance the implementation of safeguard policies and "began to raise issues about how the safeguard framework should evolve" (World Bank 2002:1 fn 2). This question rose to even greater prominence in Bank thinking in the light of a pivotal report, *Cost of Doing Business: Fiduciary and Safeguard Policies and Compliance*, in 2001 (World Bank 2002:1 fn 2). The report found that compliance with safeguards added to the costs of development in certain circumstances. As discussed further below, this observation remains central to the Bank's efforts to "evolve" its safeguard policies (International Rivers Network 2004:3). In 2002, the Bank's Committee on Development Effectiveness (CODE) proposed that environmental and social safeguards should be integrated into country systems in a way that did not undermine the strength and integrity of the policies. The plan was for the Bank to devise a widely applicable safeguard system over the medium-to-long term and to assess its feasibility through a series of short-term pilot projects (World Bank 2005b:5).

This scheme moved closer to realization in 2005. A definitive Bank paper on "expanding the use of country systems" saw 14 two-year pilot projects initiated in a selection of countries. The position of cultural heritage in

these pilots is unclear. The country systems report indicates that the projects will focus on health and local services (World Bank 2005b:iii) and that any countries and projects not in the pilot scheme—and any country systems implicated in the pilot projects that do not come up to Bank standards—will follow normal safeguard procedures. This suggests that cultural heritage matters will continue to be governed by the Bank through OP4.11 rather than through country systems at this stage.

The fluidity of the policy environment makes it difficult to predict what might happen when the pilot scheme comes to an end. Some educated guesses are possible, and they involve significant change. As intimated earlier, there is enormous pressure on the Bank from certain quarters within as well as without to "simplify," if not entirely do away with, the safeguard regime. The safeguard review and broader examination of conditionality were conducted in the context of widespread demands that diverge in their motivation but converge in calling for less intrusion by the Bank in the affairs of borrower countries. The pressure came (and is still coming) from donor and borrower nations as well as civil society groups. Those on the left are concerned about the burden of compliance on the poor. Those on the right are exercised by the costs to clients and the Bank's "mission creep" beyond its core business as a financial institution (e.g., Einhorn 2001; Fidler 2001; Mallaby 2005; Thomas 2004; U.K. Government 2004). Some of the conservative commentary reveals only thinly veiled contempt for cultural heritage. Fidler (2001:47–48), for instance, reports that in 2001 the then-Secretary of the United States Federal Treasury, Paul O'Neill, was "skeptical about the bank's concentration on unrelated areas such as 'cultural heritage projects that have peripheral development impact'" (see also Hackenberg 2002:292–93).

Documents such as the 2001 *Cost of Doing Business* report indicate that those who currently dominate policy-making in the Bank concur with the gist of this critique. The premise for the entire review of conditionality is that borrowing is deterred by overly prescriptive conditions concerning governance, financial management, and social and environmental sustainability. This, it is argued, impedes development and, in doing so, undermines the Bank's central goal, the alleviation of poverty. This is a contentious assertion. For example, a significant number of the world's most prominent private-sector lenders signed up to the "Equator Principles" of social and environmental responsibility (www.equator-principles.com). These principles are based on the International Finance Corporation's performance standards for such matters, which originally mirrored the Bank's safeguard policies. The situation differs now, an issue

to which I will return shortly. The point here is that the major lenders in question presumably each made a satisfactory business case for performance standards that replicated the World Bank's safeguards. Surely they would have been unable to do so if such policies deterred borrowing. Moreover, the World Bank Group's (2003:25) own Extractive Industries Review concerning the mining, oil, and gas sectors found that industry associations

> are often progressively and proactively improving their environmental and social standards to meet the demands of civil society. On many issues . . . industry associations like the International Petroleum Industry Environmental Conservation Association and ICMM are more progressive and forward-thinking than the WBG in its Safeguard Policies.

Major corporations with fiduciary duties to their shareholders are unlikely to adopt environmental and social standards that have negative impacts on their business performance, yet the foregoing review, initiated by the Bank, found that the policies such organizations have adopted are more stringent than the Bank's own (cf. Halifax Initiative 2006:24). It is difficult to understand how the policy-makers in the ascendant in the Bank can overlook such evidence. They maintain, however, that fewer borrowers would use other, less-demanding financiers who give little or no thought to sound governance, financial propriety, or social and environmental niceties if the Bank used local approaches and capabilities where these are equivalent or can be raised to Bank standards. They say this would recognize the "voice" of clients and give them "ownership" of the safeguard process (World Bank 2005a, 2005c). Doing so, they argue, produces better social and environmental results on the ground in addition to reducing borrower risk aversion heightened by excessive conditionality.

It would be wonderful if the Bank significantly ramped up its long-term interest in recognizing local professional expertise and collaboratively enhancing archaeological and heritage management capabilities in less developed nations. Such action would give a dramatic fillip to the decolonization of archaeology and greatly expand the discipline's capacity to help advance social justice in the postcolonial world. This would only occur, though, if it were handled in a manner that truly recognized multiple perspectives and supported concrete outcomes based on local solutions. Unfortunately, critics argue that it is, in fact, borrower risk aversion that commands the attention of influential policy-makers in the Bank, not the spirit of the "post-Washington consensus" or some altruistic postcolonial urge to give "voice" to clients in low-income countries. These critics contend that issues of participation and voice run a distant second to an urgent

need to diminish the strength of ground-breaking global standards that stand in the way of making money.

There is no question that the Bank is vitally concerned about the financial repercussions of borrower risk aversion. This interest is entirely legitimate—the institution *is* a bank, after all, and its income must bear some resemblance to its expenditure. The central problem is recent significant reductions in borrowing by rapidly developing middle-income countries (MICs) such as China, India, and Brazil, interest payments from which are critical to the Bank's viability (Center for Global Development 2005; Linn 2004; World Bank 2001). This need has become particularly urgent because the Group of Eight (G8) decided in mid-2005 that the Bank and the IMF must forgive the debt of a large number of very poor countries. Without the interest paid by the MICs, the Bank as currently structured will find it hard to finance the cancelled debt as well as underwrite its core commitments, such as lending to MICs in need of assistance. This last fact is no small problem. As Linn (2004:2) reminds us, "About 80% of the population of developing countries lives in MICs and 70% of the poor people in developing countries live in MICs." He (2004:3) goes on to point out that

> If the Bank is no longer seriously engaged with supporting MICs, its role as a global development organization that helps address global economic, social and environmental challenges in a world-wide basis will be at risk. There is currently no other organization that can perform this function credibly.

It is for this reason that the Bank is rekindling its interest in the development of large-scale (and, as a rule, archaeologically high-impact) infrastructure (World Bank 2003b) at the same time that it is seeking to wind back social and environmental safeguards and other aspects of conditionality: the Bank needs to make money to continue its operations, and it sees large projects subject to more "streamlined" social and environmental impact as the way to do it quickly and relatively painlessly. The Bank turned away from infrastructure lending during the 1990s when it wanted to be a "knowledge bank" rather than just an international financial institution (Mehta 2001). It decided that "the private sector can be relied on to finance infrastructure and financial services, and that social sector spending contributes more directly to poverty reduction" (Linn 2004:4). It discovered, however, that the private sector still has difficulties funding infrastructure in even rapidly developing middle-income countries and that such projects provide the Bank with income that it cannot do without if it is to remain solvent.

Civil Society and Changes to Bank Safeguards

Progressive civil society groups that monitor the Bank and in some cases are invited by the Bank to respond to policy proposals have reacted negatively to suggestions regarding the simplification of the safeguard policies. They acknowledge that Bank lending to MICs has slumped in the new millennium, mainly because the Bank has not been funding major infrastructure projects for some time. They point out, though, that rather than reflecting borrower aversion to the costs imposed by safeguards, as some Bank documents now assert, this move was a deliberate one on the part of the Bank, based on the idea that direct investment by the private sector was more appropriate for such projects (e.g., International Rivers Network 2004).

Politically conservative commentators have a different perspective. Johannes Linn, a past World Bank vice president of financial policy who explicitly positions himself in opposition to progressive civil society groups, seems to want to have it both ways in his comments on the crisis in lending to middle-income countries. He (2004:4) contends that "excessively rigorous and demanding fiduciary and social/environmental safeguards . . . help explain in particular the reduction in investment lending." However, in his preceding paragraph, he makes the observation quoted just above concerning the Bank's "deliberate shift away from physical infrastructure" to make way for the private sector. He also notes that the decline in Bank lending "occurred at a time when private capital flows to MICs collapsed and while the lending by regional development banks (such as the Asian Development Bank, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the Inter-American Development Bank) expanded" (Linn 2004:1). All of these smaller multilateral development banks impose their own conditions on lending, often modeled on World Bank safeguards, while the private-sector sources whose lending "collapsed" are less likely to require stringent safeguards. This suggests there is something seriously awry with politically conservative reasoning concerning the negative impact of safeguards on the Bank's business. Moreover, while conditions placed by the Bank on its loans undoubtedly burden the Bank as well as client governments with increased costs, "the cost of the Bank's fiduciary and procurement policies (at $101–153 million) are roughly three times higher than the cost of the safeguard policies (at 36–56 million)" (International Rivers Network 2004:3). No one has suggested the fiduciary policies should be relaxed to save money.

One has to wonder why the safeguards are being singled out in this seemingly misleading way, or at least why the Bank appears to be project-

ing two very different messages about the rationale for modifying the policies. To some it might look like duplicity plain and simple, with the Bank actually seeing environmental and social protections as less important than finance and procurement and thus eager to ditch them while disguising their demise as a postcolonial virtue. From my observation, though, it is more likely that the mixed messages stem from genuine disagreements within the Bank about policy and procedure. One party to this debate sees the safeguards as a significant hindrance to the Bank's mission, while the other supports views long held in at least parts of the Bank regarding the value of engaging with social and environmental issues (Mehta 2001, esp. 194–95). The first constituency has the upper hand at the moment (and perhaps generally) but, even so, sees a need for Bank policy statements to acknowledge the views of those within as well as beyond the institution who uphold the need for safeguards. This approach has quite obviously not mollified civil society critics; it has just given them more ammunition. In addition to the matters raised above, for instance, the Bank argues that the proposed simplification of the safeguard system will reduce or eliminate costly duplication of effort because countries that are up to par with the Bank's standards will be allowed to use their own systems to manage social and environmental matters. However, according to the International Rivers Network (IRN) (2004:3), "the Bank has never documented cases of projects in which complying with Bank policies reduplicated efforts of borrowing governments in complying with their own standards."

The issue of "equivalence" is also a vexing one. The Bank Information Center (BIC) and the Center for International Environmental Law (CIEL) are civil society groups that were invited by the Bank to comment on the proposed country systems approach in the context of the need to increase lending to middle-income countries. Among the numerous serious shortcomings they identify, both indicate that equivalence can be granted to country systems *yet to be developed* as well as those already in place, that a country's track record is not taken into account, and that countries can assess equivalence themselves rather than through independent experts (BIC 2005:2; CIEL 2005)! Other multilateral development banks recognize the weakness of this hands-off approach. Willem Buiter, chief economist of the European Bank of Reconstruction and Development, is quite blunt in pointing out that unambiguous "international standards and codes" are imperative "to benchmark acceptable practice" (Buiter 2004:3). CIEL (2005:1, original emphasis) argues in this connection that the Bank's safeguard "objectives and principles" against which country systems are to be

compared are not up to the task. This is because they "are essentially the safeguard policies and procedures stripped of most of the procedural *and* substantive requirements to which borrowers and the Bank are subject." In sum, it seems from this perspective that those currently dominating the development of policy and procedure at the Bank are using a demonstrably dubious postcolonial rationale concerning voice and participation to distract attention from concerns about the way in which they want Bank safeguards to "evolve." What is more, their assurances that standards will not be greatly diminished by this process do not stand up to scrutiny from other multilateral development bankers and the extractive industries sector, let alone progressive civil society critics.

Radar Screen? What Radar Screen?

So where does this leave us? There were few grounds for optimism when this chapter was first drafted in 2005, but things appeared to be more positive by late 2007. In 2005, developments elsewhere in the World Bank Group suggested that the changes to safeguard policies that would be deemed necessary to help increase lending to middle-income countries would be almost entirely deleterious to archaeological heritage interests. During the period that the Bank proper has been moving toward the "expanded use of country systems," the IFC—the Group's "private-sector" arm—undertook its own reappraisal of Bank safeguards. Hitherto committed to the same standards as the Bank, the IFC introduced a set of draft "performance standards" (IFC 2005). These standards were hotly contested by civil society critics (e.g., Bretton Woods Project 2005), resulting in revisions to the standards (IFC 2006a) and the production of operational guidelines (IFC 2006b). The revised standards and the guidelines clarify a number of contentious issues and address the major concerns of civil society watchdogs. Importantly, this includes international benchmarking of the sort Buiter (2004) calls for. When the much-criticized draft standards were released, it seemed because of the requirement that IFC and Bank procedures on safeguards are harmonized that the Bank might head in the same direction as the IFC and pare back its safeguards after the pilot projects for country systems were completed (World Bank 2005b:33). Even allowing for the fact that it deals with the private sector rather than with governments in the way the Bank does, the IFC seemed in 2005 to be scouting out the terrain ahead, seeking ways to diminish conditionality across the entire World Bank Group. Though by no means perfect, the revised performance standards and guidelines make this scenario much less

likely (e.g., Halifax Initiative 2006; Warner 2006). The revised performance standards introduced various small but important modifications to the draft standards concerning cultural heritage, and the guidance notes include fourteen pages on the issue that provide much professionally oriented detail that is missing from the standards themselves.

That the approach to cultural heritage was improved in this way seems quite remarkable on the basis of the documentation I have examined. The Bretton Woods Project's (2005) summary of concerns raised in a two-day meeting between the IFC and civil society groups devotes a paltry six lines to cultural heritage. That is all. Cultural heritage did not rate a mention from any other party at this crucial meeting. I have not asked who modified the performance standards or worked up the detailed guidance notes, though I presume it was one or another of the World Bank's long-time heritage consultants. Be that as it may, the lack of interest on the part of otherwise quite vociferous civil society critics makes me wonder about the international standing of archaeology and cultural heritage. What would happen with projects such as Ilisu if the Bank's favored country systems approach or, more worryingly, a policy akin to the IFC's unamended draft performance standards without the detailed guidance notes were to become the norm after the Bank's trial of country systems is completed? The various loopholes and other deficiencies activists identified in the proposals concerning the country systems pilot projects, as well as in the draft IFC standards, suggest only one thing: the Bank would, in all probability, accept that policies and procedures like those against which ICOMOS Turkey, Ronayne, and others have railed so passionately are "internationally-recognized practices" that are "equivalent" to Bank safeguards. This means that more sites of the recognized global importance of Hasankeyf would be lost, as would many others, undoubtedly including some that also have great international significance but which remain unknown because of inadequate assessment ahead of development projects.

How is it that the protection of archaeological interests in this vital sector of global activity hinges on the good offices of those behind the scene who came to the rescue? It is simple. As far as I can tell, no archaeologists or archaeological or cultural heritage organizations offered or were invited to comment on the Bank's country systems proposals or the IFC performance standards, much less the MIC strategy discussed earlier. To make matters worse, none of the varied public responses listed on the Bank's country systems website mentions archaeology or heritage, even in passing. This includes the comment from the U.S. Treasury, despite the fact that a Treasury secretary singled our fields out for "special mention" not so many years

ago. It seems that the dispiriting observation Patrick O'Keefe made in 1999 still holds true: archaeology and cultural heritage are simply not on the international radar screen, at least in any way that counts when major shifts are occurring in global policy and procedure, even if those shifts directly affect archaeological interests around the world. A management memorandum to the Bank's board (World Bank 2005d) states that the country systems issues paper (i.e., World Bank 2005b) was reworked to take civil society feedback into account. The reworking may have been only minimal, given the Bank's determination to wind back its safeguards. However, to the extent that their commentary would have augmented that from bodies concerned primarily with the natural environment or indigenous and other vulnerable peoples, archaeologists and heritage professionals had a duty to offer advice at a time when it might have had some effect. This they failed to do in any organized way that registered publicly with the central players.

Catachresis

So how might we pursue effective intervention in these days of decolonization and the post-Washington consensus? Plainly, we need to respect postcolonial sensitivities about external interference while holding to a vision that certain fundamental principles are not negotiable if people's basic human rights to culture and heritage are to remain meaningful. The trick is to refuse to allow central principles of archaeological heritage research and management to be appropriated as part of an oppressive global "heritage" discourse while at the same time refusing to pander to indefensible cultural exceptionalism or vexatious claims about sovereignty. There is only one practical way to deal with such a politically loaded task. A wide array of people from around the globe needs to be involved in a process that allows participants to voice their opinions and identify points of general agreement. Crucially, the process must also then provide the organizational and financial wherewithal to put different perspectives into action and demonstrate that they can and do work on the ground.

There is a variety of world bodies trying to achieve these sorts of outcomes. There is, of course, UNESCO and its agencies such as the World Heritage Center, to which the World Bank has long appealed for authority in policy development and which might provide further advice on workable culturally appropriate approaches. International professional organizations such as WAC and ICOMOS, through its national committees as well as its International Scientific Committees such as ICAHM, are also

well placed to provide appropriate assistance. WAC, for example, is explicitly dedicated to enhancing the "voice" of archaeologists and cultural heritage professionals in non-Western and especially low-income nations. UNESCO, WAC, and ICOMOS all sponsor meetings; coordinate and fund global professional development programs; and, especially in WAC's case, assist with local and regional professional publication initiatives. Clearly, there is a need for a concerted effort to engage with the Bank. This will take some doing. In 2003 the Bank hosted a cultural heritage workshop for WAC delegates from low-income countries during the WAC Congress in Washington, D.C. By all accounts, it was a valuable exercise. As the then–newly elected WAC Secretary, I explicitly conveyed WAC's interest in continuing to work with the Bank in this way. WAC has never received a response, formal or informal, and the Bank never sent anything other than a brief pro forma acknowledgment to a letter from WAC, originally sponsored by the U.S. member of ICAHM, among others, regarding the delay in ratifying OP4.11. I am nonetheless still pursuing possibilities of WAC linkages with the Bank, in particular with regard to in-country capacity building projects. One has to be persistent!

It is time the profession in general became much more persistent and, indeed, insistent. To remedy its lack of involvement to date, the discipline should move independently as well as in concert with established civil society groups to make its concerns clear to the Bank and similar organizations that affect our work. Otherwise, we will continue to just react to, rather than enact, change. We will have no impact on the way the decolonizing world turns and no say in the way in which the turn of postcolonial events impinges upon us. We need to be seen to be decolonizing our own activities, however, if we are going to demand that the Bank or similar organizations do so, too. Despite best intentions, taking a stand in matters such as these can end up imposing solutions in a top-down, North-to-South manner that profoundly undercuts the discipline's credibility in this postcolonial era. As Prakash (1996:195) reminds us, such unintended impositions have long been the fatal weakness of internationalist projects of decolonization, which have been "unable to radically reconfigure the relationship between empire and [new] nation." Western archaeologists should most definitely *not* dictate answers, or they will be seen to be just that: dictatorial. Hence, there is a need to pay more than lip service to multivocality. Some local solutions may very well be based largely on "universal" Anglo-American standards such as the current World Bank safeguards, as called for in Mandui's (2006) impassioned plea from Papua New Guinea. Others, perhaps including cases such as Ilisu, might involve more

negotiation between global and local approaches. In Turkey's case, this might allow organizations like TAÇDAM to negotiate an effective middle path that recognizes the nation's sovereign right to sustainable development while appropriately protecting cultural heritage of great local as well as world importance. Still other solutions, however, may need a radical rethink on the part of archaeologists keen to promote "universal" professional standards if local perspectives on archaeology and heritage that differ profoundly from accepted Western practice are to accommodate the discipline's concerns. Byrne's (2004, 1995) elegant work on Asian and particularly Thai attitudes to heritage provides a fascinating case in point.

Far-reaching adjustment of this last sort is, in many respects, the most important because it concerns people and places hitherto largely excluded from the global archaeological conversation. It is also the most difficult to achieve because it requires Western and Western-trained archaeologists to relinquish authority to speak and act for the past. High emotion continues to be displayed in professional reactions to issues such as NAGPRA in the United States (U.S. National Parks Service 2007) and recent changes to laws governing repatriation from British museums (U.K. Government 2005). Such reactions make it clear that many practitioners are still coming to grips with the wrenching transformation that is being forced upon the discipline as it maneuvers to find its feet in a decolonizing world. The biggest hurdle for such people seems to be the fact that "the marginal is now posited as the primary source of systemic change and the repository of the most creative ways of thinking about social futures. Whether it is the Third World intellectual in Western academic circles, the subaltern in colonial society, or the diaspora, the impetus for radical and subversive change is seen as coming from those at the margin" (Darby 1998:220). Spivak adapted the grammatical term *catachresis* to describe this process, which she defines as "reversing, displacing, and seizing the apparatus of value-coding" (Spivak 1990b:228, also 225).

Those wedded to a narrow model of archaeological theory and practice may find it hard to imagine that any theoretical or methodological benefit could flow to the discipline from people whose "value-coding" might be profoundly unscientific or at least completely nonarchaeological. However, conceptually and technically fruitful accommodations are being made around the world every day by archaeologists working with nonarchaeological audiences as diverse as descendent and other local communities on the one hand to engineers and planners on the other. Such adjustments make it clear that the conventional distinction between professional archaeological values and wider community values is theoretically

and empirically unsustainable. The split serves only to obscure important processes of cultural continuity and change. These processes are the discipline's central focus. A burgeoning global literature shows that their elucidation is resulting in significant theoretical and methodological gains that advance our understanding of the whole of human history (e.g., Byrne et al. 2006; Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2004; Dowdall and Parrish 2003; Faulkner 2000; Green et al. 2003; Hodder 2003; Lane and Herrera 2005; Lightfoot 1995; Lightfoot et al. 1998; Lilley 2000, 2005, 2006; Lilley and Williams 2005; McManamon 2000; Nicholas and Andrews 1997a; Sand et al. 2006; Shepherd 2002; Smith and Jackson 2006; Sorovi-Vunidilo 2003; Watkins 2000, 2005).

While advances are unquestionably being made, it remains the case that working through the issues provoked by processes of catachresis entails sometimes-difficult debate and even conflict. These tensions arise among the state and sub-state communities and interest groups that are involved, as well as between them as a group and global bodies such as the World Bank, WAC, or UNESCO that wish to intervene in cultural heritage matters. There will be argument, for instance, between Western-trained local professionals with cosmopolitan perspectives and others in their nations with different interests in the places and objects of concern to archaeologists and heritage workers. This sort of complexity is par for the course, as archaeologists engaging with indigenous people in settler societies such as Australia and the United States know well (Lilley 2006). It should be dealt with transparently, so everyone understands where everyone else stands. It is a mistake to avoid or discourage even very robust debate in the interests of presenting a supposedly united front for tactical purposes in larger battles. These are arguments the discipline has to have if it is to decolonize its practice. This it must do if it wants to be able to back its convictions when it takes the fight to agencies such as the World Bank. Without the insight born of hard experience, archaeology will be in no position to determine whether the Bank and organizations like it are genuine in their desire to recognize local voice or are merely deploying a fog of postcolonial rhetoric to hide changes in policy and procedure that, in fact, diminish local people's capacities to arrive at solutions of their creation.

Acknowledgments

Sincere thanks to Uzma and Matt for their kind invitation to publish this chapter and for their patience with my various chops and changes to the text. Many thanks, too, to Maggie Ronayne for introducing me to the

Ilisu problem and to Stephen Lintner for the great generosity he continues to show me as I learn about the World Bank. Michelle Langley drew the figure.

Notes

1. Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property.

2. The International Committee on Archaeological Heritage Management, one of ICOMOS's International Scientific Committees.

3. Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property.

4. Middle East Technical University Center for Research and Assessment of Historic Environment, the group charged with salvaging the archaeology of the area to be impacted by the Ilisu project.

Disinheriting Heritage: Explorations in the Contentious History of Archaeology in the Middle East

10

SANDRA SCHAM

ONE MIGHT CONVINCINGLY ARGUE that the modern discipline of heritage studies in the United States attained some of its primary influences from the movement for critical thinking in archaeology. In contradistinction to the institutional appropriation of the past represented by antiquarian practices of past generations, heritage studies today ideally focus upon the diversity of the human-created environment and its relevance to the modern world. The movement away from grandiose heritage, as constituted by museums and monumental architecture, toward common heritage, as understood by ordinary citizens, is clearly evidence of the influence of critical theorists (Leone et al. 1987; Cleere 1984; Davis 1986; Killebrew and Lehmann 1999; Chippindale 1993). In practice, however, this shift has had some rather demoralizing results. A large part of the problem is due to the fact that most modern heritage theorists have not sought to identify the intersections between common heritage and grandiose heritage.

Harvey (2001) has suggested that heritage is, in fact, not specific to the modern world but has always been with us. He argues that heritage is not a movement or project that began sometime during the nineteenth century but, rather, a process. As he states it, "every society has had a relationship with its past, even those which have chosen to ignore it" (2001:320, 337). He does not posit that heritage is immutable—quite the opposite. Chameleonlike, heritage adapts to the needs of the larger society. The need for grandiose heritage in an expanding world (at least in terms of communications) should have been apparent to everyone. Critical theorists, operating in a postcolonial environment (which they conceive of as a contracting world), could be excused for believing that common heritage would resonate with a new and culturally dispersed hybrid population.

Common heritage, however, as translated into popular parlance, has become the province of elite preoccupations with preserving buildings of dubious architectural merit, quaint museums displaying depression-era glass and old bottle openers, and ill-conceived celebrations of multiculturalism. Now the "target" population for common heritage has been effectively lobbied by national and international institutions to place their faith in "world heritage"—yet another permutation of grandiose heritage that has tenaciously maintained its hold on what the world at large deems heritage to be.

In its international legal sense—that is, as UNESCO defines it—world heritage thinks globally but, unfortunately, acts locally—or, rather, nationally (see Lilley Chapter 9, and Seneviratne Chapter 11). Depending upon the participation of nation-states in the identification, management, and presentation of sites, the World Heritage Program is nothing so much as a compendium of sites that governments believe best represent their national character (Meskell 2002, 2005). Consequently, even though many sites on the World Heritage list have no clear nationalist associations, there are a large number that must have greatly taxed the imaginations of their nominators to come up with a global significance for them. Omissions of sites also tell an interesting story, although it is a considerable challenge to ascertain what that story might have been. Why, for example, is Vergina on the list for Greece but there are no sites listed for the island of Crete? Why Masada and Tel Aviv in Israel and not the caves of Mount Carmel, where remains of the earliest modern humans were found? Why Um er-Rasas in Jordan, which is seldom visited by tourists, and not Jerash or Umm Qais?

It seems pointless to quibble with all of this, however, at a time when the concept of World Heritage, ostensibly up for grabs due to the failure of globalists to expunge its nationalist implications, has now been appropriated by imperialism. Consider, for example, the following eloquent words spoken by the First Lady of the United States, Laura Bush, to the UNESCO plenary session in 2003:

> The respect we desire as individuals and nations extends to a respect for our past—the rich heritage that has made the nations and the people of the world what we are today. . . . And as we respect and cherish our shared past, we teach our children important lessons about our future. . . . We must preserve the cultural heritage of our past and illuminate a future of scientific advance and discovery with careful ethics and a reverence for the dignity of life. (Bush 2003)

Apparently, few people have found it curious that these protective platitudes were uttered by an American with specific reference to the heritage

of Afghanistan and Iraq. The appropriation of the two Middle Eastern nations by the United States has happened so quickly and completely that we have barely had time to consider its repercussions. A fundamental shift in the concept of "world heritage," which was originally based upon the noble proposition of mutual respect for other cultural traditions, has taken place without much fanfare or discussion. In the hands of politicians, the end users of much of the work of historians and archaeologists, *world* has become a possessive pronoun. We, as Americans, need not apologize for the evils that have befallen the cultural sites of Afghanistan and Iraq, even though most of the damage inflicted on them is the result of economic strangulation and war perpetrated by Western nations, because what is theirs is actually ours. More importantly, in making these sites our own, we can lay blame squarely at the feet of everyone—and accountability at the feet of no one. Through such reasoning processes, the Bamiyan Valley and the Baghdad Museum have become corners of a foreign field that are forever America.

The Transformation of Heritage

When did heritage transform itself from a failed exercise in cultural relativism to this confrontational colonialist guise? Surely, UNESCO, preservation, and conservation are all benign concepts and institutions. It is tempting to look to capitalism as the likely culprit—just as we do when coming to grips with the insidiousness of globalization in general (Jameson 1986, 1992). Without an ownership society, in a culture that values labor and production rather than property and products, it has been argued, our bright new global future would be one that mitigated in favor of accord over dissonance. Embedded in this nonthreatening context, the business of living, always cited as the uppermost concern in the minds of "most people" in any conflict situation, would become stable, secure, and egalitarian. That it would also become dull is the unspoken corollary of this envisioned world, and this is precisely why emotion and intellect, as opposed to merely economics, are prime motivators in introducing conflict into the notion of heritage (Meskell 2000). As social scientists, we have our own minor confrontations that are inherent in the business of interpreting the other. As archaeologists, however, we must do so in the realm of the material rather than the communal (Hodder 1992, 1999). The fact that many people envision us as explorers of the dead and the lost makes it all the more imperative that we attempt on some level to re-create the pasts that we study as vital and action filled.

Engaged in the business of retrieval, archaeologists need to identify the persons for whom they are retrieving the past (Scham 1998, 2001). Once the recipient was empires and governments. Now it is that rather nebulous "public" that is the target of heritage studies and public archaeology. In some ways, the past has become more tendentious than ever as we think of various schemes to liven up our sites and cultures in the popular imagination (Scham 2003a,b; Scham and Yahya 2003). The trend toward discovering ever more political "complexity" in distant prehistory is surely an example of this. Another example is the rather peculiar notion of prehistoric social hierarchy. In the business of selling the past, class and conflict will always attract buyers. Therefore, it should be no surprise that a discipline that incorporates the goal of interesting the public in their past, that is, heritage, should absorb some of this contentiousness. That the public understanding of the contentiousness is rooted in nationalism, ethnicity, religion, class, and race lends further impetus to the appropriation of heritage. In fact, one might say in a postcolonial and increasingly transnational society, we have not eliminated essentialist categories but, rather, expanded their numbers (Meskell 1998, 2003, 2005).

Archaeology as anthropology has a lot to answer for in terms of this perseverance of classifications. Traditional archaeology rests on the rather simplistic concept that people, in all of their infinite complexity, can be understood by an analysis of the things that they produce (Hodder 1999). Traditional anthropology has often succeeded in reducing culture to dialogue (theirs) and observation (ours) (Geertz 1973). It is therefore no surprise that processual archaeology is premised on the idea that by their acts (and presumably also their material goods) we shall know them. This is perhaps why many anthropologists found Spivak's notion of "strategic essentialism" so satisfying (Spivak 1996; see also Borgstede and Yaeger Chapter 6). Although she did not effectively define this term herself, and no one else has done so to her satisfaction, a number of social scientists have come to the conclusion that it constitutes a "you defined me so I will accept that and raise you" kind of cultural card game. It fit neatly into resistance studies and the sorts of ideas that Western anthropologists thought the people they were studying should be having about themselves.

It is highly significant, in this regard, for us to remember that postcolonial critique developed first as a literary genre (Alter 1998; Bhabha 1992, 1994). The language of the colonized "speaking back" to the language of the colonizer may lend itself to a nuanced examination of cultural categories in literature (Spivak 1990a; Bakhtin 1981). Material culture, however, will not "speak back" to our categorization of it. Therefore, as important as

it is to listen to the voices of modern populations who have an interest in our interpretations of the past, we must remember that they do not speak for the people we are studying. Unfortunately, it is only their records and material possessions that can do so. To listen to material culture speaking back to us, we will have to alter our entire approach, and this is hardly an easy proposition. Typology, taxonomy, classification, and ethnicity are all holdovers from processualism that persist today—and for good reason. Few people trudging their way through graduate studies are gratified by the knowledge that their final objective is to realize how much they do not and cannot know. They wish to explore Geertz's "Continent of Meaning" (1973:5) and thoroughly map it, despite his warning that it cannot be done.

Consequently, the idea that a whole theoretical framework—an entire approach to data—is initially defined by terms even before a trowel is placed in the earth is a commonplace notion, but it is one that is seldom embraced in an applied context (for applied context, see Rizvi Chapter 7). When we go out into the field, we wish to do so secure in the knowledge that we can identify archaeological materials with ease and barely question whether it makes sense to do so at first rather than at last. At Catal Hoyuk, Hodder has gone to great lengths to grapple with facile identification, among other things, and as a result has instituted one of the more elaborate archaeological projects in the history of the discipline (Hodder 1998, 2000). Few of us have the time and the resources for this kind of work.

We also fall back on categories because it is a joy to identify archaeological materials, and to do so in the presence of others has a special cachet. The traditional "pottery reading" that takes place at most sites in the Near East, ostensibly done in order to educate students, is really a performance intended to gratify archaeologists. This is perhaps where the expression "non-diagnostic" entered our vocabulary as a substitute for "I don't know." The latter is, understandably, anathema to most scholars, but it can be something of a revelation to try it out every once in a while. A local man once asked me, as I was conducting a survey near a Chalcolithic (ca. 6500 BP) site in Jordan, "What Arab peoples are you studying here?" He was with his young son and had asked the question presumably for the child's benefit. In response to his ready classification, which I didn't like, I was on the verge of countering with my own. I stopped myself from saying, "They weren't Arabs," accompanied by some long-winded explanation, however, when it occurred to me that any answer I would give would have been untrue. I knew nothing of the language of the people of this

period—and I did not even understand what this man's concept of an Arab was. I could only answer, "I don't know," and I got a rather quizzical look in return. From his point of view, I was an ignoramus.

My own work was initially from a very early period so I assumed that my classifications, though somewhat unsatisfactory, were at least harmless. I was, I thought, willing to reject essentialist categories and never referred to my subjects of study as "Fan Scraper People." A year or so before the beginning of the current Intifada, I was hammered with a forceful reminder that any classificatory habit has the potential for insidious results. At a workshop I attended in Bethlehem, Palestinian and Israeli archaeologists were engaged in a discussion of ideology (see Scham 2001). One of the Israelis had declared that ideology had no bearing on his work and that he "objectively dealt with his evidence as it emerged from the ground." In response to this statement, a Palestinian replied, "What are you talking about? How about all of the terms you use—Temple Mount, Second Temple Period, Israelite? Even if you, yourself, claim to be objective, how can you say that your interpretations are when you use those kinds of words?" Like my Israeli colleague, I still had some residual belief that the data had some power to speak to me even though my categorizations never gave it a chance to do so. My Palestinian colleague justifiably questioned this—not from his training, which was in traditional Near Eastern archaeology, but from his experience.

Abdul JanMohamed argues that the concept of the Oriental is based upon Manichean precepts under which East and West are eternally divided by mutually exclusive characteristics. The West is seen as ordered, rational, masculine—and *good*—while the East is seen as chaotic, irrational, feminine—and *evil*. It might be further argued that polarization itself is a Western concept, stemming from Hegelian and pre-Hegelian notions of opposites (JanMohamed 1985). That mutually exclusive categories in particular are less attractive to the colonized and formerly colonized should surprise no one. This population, in fact, has been forced to embrace "the other" long before the other took any notice of it (Chakrabarty 1992). As Memmi posited so very long ago, it was precisely the ability of colonized peoples to comprehend the culture of the colonizer while the latter is blithely engaged in the reification of the colonized that was the first line of attack on colonialism (Memmi 1965).

The postmodern dilemma is how much of a dichotomy between cultures one can embrace fully while, at the same time, attempting to comprehend the blurred boundaries of a globalized economy and society. As Bhabha notes:

> Culture as a strategy of survival is both transnational and translational. It is transnational because contemporary postcolonial discourses are rooted in specific histories of cultural displacement. . . . Culture is translational because such spatial histories of displacement—now accompanied by the territorial ambitions of global media technologies—make the question of how culture signifies, or what is signified by culture, a rather complex issue. . . . The transnational dimension of cultural transformation—migration, diaspora, displacement, relocation—makes the process of cultural translation a complex form of signification. The natural(ized), unifying discourse of nation, peoples, or authentic folk tradition, those embedded myths of culture's particularity, cannot be readily referenced. (Bhabha 1992:439)

Colonialism depends upon class, race, and culture as determinants of character. Nationalism posits that ethnicity—which remains an attractive mainstay in Middle Eastern archaeology—is the most relevant concept. Now we have a kaleidoscope of reductionist classifications from which to choose. Globalization itself is often defined in terms of those categories. Some prefer the old nationalist mode of defining the term as in the famous car crash metaphor circulating on the Internet:

> What is the truest definition of Globalization? . . . An English princess with an Egyptian boyfriend crashes in a French tunnel, driving a German car with a Dutch engine, driven by a Belgian who was drunk on Scottish whiskey, followed closely by Italian Paparazzi, on Japanese motorcycles, treated by an American doctor, using Brazilian medicines!

Added to this amusing and simplistic view of globalization, we have the Clash of Civilizations model, which is dependent upon the determinative qualities of religion and the economic and technological views that personify international capitalists and information technologists as, alternatively, agents of superior or insidious ideologies. The universally acknowledged upshot of all of this is that globalization, the erstwhile road to peace touted by many politicians, has become a collision course—and nowhere are the effects of this more apparent than in study of heritage in the Middle East.

The Middle Eastern Heritage Factory

During the Gulf War of 1991, several editorials appeared in prominent newspapers in the United States that made an attempt to explain the Iraqi regime's motives for invading Kuwait. One justification put forth, albeit unsuccessfully, by Saddam Hussein was Kuwait's historical status as part of the

Ottoman province of Basra. The succeeding imperial power in the region, the British, who were responsible for drawing the borders of much of the present-day Middle East, had made Kuwait a national entity separate from Iraq and, in so doing, also limited Iraq's access to the Persian Gulf. Western editors in repeating these claims, however specious they might have deemed them to be, were, I believe, establishing something of a precedent for postcolonialist analysis in American journalism (Bennett and Paletz 1994).

Academic understanding of the colonialist shaping of the modern Middle East is some decades older than these newspaper articles, but they nonetheless offered convincing evidence, if indeed any were needed, that colonialist, imperialist, and nationalist constructions of the past are so intertwined in this region that it is virtually impossible to explain one without reference to the other. European cultural imperialism created the ancient Near East, while British colonialism shaped the modern Middle East. Most of us working in this part of the world have long recognized that the nationalist past is the "post" in the postcolonialist one because we have seen the "construction of modern identities" in this region as a reaction to colonialism. What we often fail to perceive is the extent to which Middle East nationalisms rest upon the foundations of Near East colonialisms. As Edward Said, our most prescient observer of rising nationalisms in the Middle East, has written:

> For all its success in ridding many countries and territories of colonial overlords, nationalism has remained, in my opinion, a deeply problematic ideological, as well as sociopolitical, enterprise. At some stage in the anti-resistance phase of nationalism there is a sort of dependence between the two sides of the contest, since after all many of the nationalist struggles were led by bourgeoisies that were partly formed and to some degree produced by the colonial power. (Said 1988:12)

The unspoken assumption in the widespread use of the term *heritage* by those working in the Middle East is that there is a "bad" nationalism that has incited nations to seize power and a "good" nationalism that empowers formerly colonized people to control their own past and future. Curiously, this construction of good and bad nationalisms is a reverse of the concept put forth by Ignatieff, who believes that civic nationalism is good while ethnic nationalism is bad. Ignatieff's theories are based upon an analysis of an entirely different part of the world, however (Ignatieff 1993). The explosion of warring ethnic, and religious nationalisms that we have seen only intermittently in the Middle East erupted far more suddenly and forcefully in Eastern Europe.

At one time historians distinguished between "good" and "bad" colonialisms in what was then called the "Third World"; the distinction was based upon whether the colonial power in any way attempted to ameliorate its blatant exploitation with some minimal form of economic development (Cole and Cole 1992). I would posit that, as we have now reached the conclusion that there is no such thing as a "good" colonialism, we can also similarly jettison the concept of a "good" nationalism. At one time we archaeologists were more wary of nationalism than we are today (Arnold 1990; Scham 1998). Many of us saw it as manifest in the Western cultural homogenization of a past that reflected the power relationships of the present. We suspected nationalism as the primary malefactor engaged in stealing the cultural heritage of the powerless. Indeed, in the twenty-some years that have passed since Bruce Trigger's elegant exposition of nationalism as an alternative archaeology (Trigger 1984), we have had a great deal of time to reflect upon, to acknowledge and abandon this presumably unnecessary and injurious baggage.

Did we scholars who work in the Middle East recognize this as we drafted our grant proposals for funds that were suddenly available to save the "heritage" of Iraq? I would submit that we did—or at least I did, and this concerned me far less at the time than I thought it should. Financial considerations aside, for surely that is the first thing that attracts our attention, I had some vague notion that in this respect the ends, the preservation of sites, justified the means. In the case of Iraq, I also felt, as do many of us, that the United States government had much to answer for, and providing grant money, while inadequate to the task and disproportionate to the breach, was a step toward restitution. Such thought processes, I would imagine, would be familiar ones to UNESCO's World Heritage Committee.

Considering my lack of remorse on this subject, I am rather struck, upon rereading Trigger's article, how little this kind of thing concerned him as well. "Most archaeological traditions are probably nationalistic in orientation," he declares soberly and without rancor. In concluding his article, he further states that "It does not appear likely that . . . in the future an object and value-free archaeology is likely to develop. Instead the past will continue to be studied because it is seen to have value for the present; the nature of that value being highly variable" (Trigger 1984, reprinted in 1999:628). Trigger seems almost sanguine in his prediction. Though his statements largely predate the heritage phenomenon, in a very real sense they prefigure it. His seeming lack of critique of the practice of adding present value to archaeological places no doubt stems from a difficulty in envisioning how to otherwise establish a relationship between communities and archaeological sites.

There is no real prescription for making either heritage or archaeology value neutral, and I am not certain that such an objective is even worth pursuing. I do have a sincere desire that is shared by many others in our profession to see a time when we can dis-embed archaeological sites in the Middle East from history and its confrontational constructs (Chakrabarty 1992; Said 1978, 1993). The situation of sites within historical narratives creates an indelible record that becomes increasingly more difficult to erase. Thus, it might be a step forward if sites that have no history in situ (that is, no written records relating to them) were treated like prehistoric sites. There was a time when archaeological reports on Middle Eastern prehistoric sites consisted of nothing more than artifact catalogs. While this makes for dull reading, one is, at least, not forced by such literature to contend in perpetuity with the branding of the sites' inhabitants as "proto-Canaanites" or "pre-Israelites."

Today's archaeologists in the Middle East do appear to have swung the pendulum back toward a less contentious approach to the past. Even as the tendency to identify Jewish or "Old Testament" biblical finds began to decline, however, the full impact of the Christian millennium was making itself felt. There is still a rather embarrassing scramble among otherwise competent archaeologists in Israel, Jordan, and Palestine to locate sites where Jesus purportedly walked (Scham 2004). The reason for this is simple to understand. Christians continue to come, regardless of the security situation, either because of religious zeal or perhaps due to a certain obliviousness to the current bad news emanating from the region.

Thus, in the face of these economic realities, a sweeping program to rid this region of historical consciousness, nationalism, heritage conflicts, and all of their attendant ills, even if such a program were practical, would be doomed to failure. The constructive side of Christian archaeology is that it doesn't represent the heritage of the majority on either side of the current conflict in the region. The destructive side is that it represents something of a return to the kind of colonialist preoccupation with the biblical past that stimulated foreign expeditions in this part of the world in the nineteenth century. An interesting permutation is that these sites are being discovered not by Europeans and Americans but by Muslims and Jews who were born in the Middle East. I remember being particularly impressed by the mastery of the Christian Bible demonstrated by Jordanian archaeologist Mohammed Waheeb. Having discovered what he hoped was "Jesus' Baptismal Site" on the East Bank of the Jordan River, he became something of a New Testament scholar in his search for texts to support that identification. Coming, as they do, so long after the end of colonialism and revived, as it were, by

the formerly colonized, these kinds of projects are without doubt a belated consequence of cultural imperialism. They are also a consequence of globalization which, depending upon your point of view, either transcends nationalism, colonialism, and imperialism or incorporates the worst aspects of all of them into one large horrific and irrepressible dogma.

We generally recognize that some form of vigilance in handling matters of ethnicity and appropriation related to the past is always warranted because we cannot hope to survive intact a prolonged use and abuse of our discipline at cross purposes with our intentions. We can only fully control the process, however, by downplaying the significance of our findings, thus ensuring that no one will be interested in misconstruing the knowledge we produce. That, I am quite certain, is something that few of us will ever do voluntarily. As someone who has spent a career only orbiting academic institutions, I have had considerably more freedom to do this than most. Nevertheless, I have always found the prevailing notion that scholars participate in the construction of identities, nationalities, and global communities as irresistible as my colleagues (Scham 2002). If knowledge is power, and we control knowledge, then we must be omnipotent—the charm of this syllogism for intellectual elites is eternal.

Down on earth, most of us operate within a capitalist world system and we realize that knowledge is not power—knowledge is a commodity. In this context, the acceptance that in the process of identity formation we can only be accessories-after-the-fact can have a curiously liberating effect. After all, we don't really need this guilt—it is enough that we must contend with the allegation that, in practice, archaeology is little more than organized destruction. We didn't create the nefarious business of buying and selling heritage and nationalism, and it will chug along quite nicely without our help or hindrance.

This view came to me quite forcefully at one of the ubiquitous conferences I have attended on politics and archaeology in the Middle East. Inexplicably, an economist was selected as the respondent to some of the papers at this conference—no doubt because he had some involvement with obtaining funding for it. He had sat through a day and a half of our dire predictions about where certain trends in archaeology might lead and what we could and must do to stop them. When his turn to comment came, he stood and delivered a very common-sense critique of the papers he had heard—with, I might add, some useful suggestions. Ending his critique, he uttered an admonishment I will not soon forget. "You're archaeologists," he said. "I thought that your work involved going out and digging up things from the past—why this concern with world politics? Why this need to take yourselves so seriously?"

11

Situating World Heritage Sites in a Multicultural Society: The Ideology of Presentation at the Sacred City of Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka

SUDHARSHAN SENEVIRATNE

ONE COMPONENT OF THE STATED MISSION of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) is to encourage "the conservation of our world's cultural and natural heritage." This is accomplished in part through the identification, declaration, and inscription of World Heritage sites, which are defined as "archaeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view" (see whc.unesco.org/en/conventiontext). Recognition of a locale as a World Heritage site inevitably bestows value and legitimacy to the site, and this newfound global appreciation is sometimes resourced by particular social groups to establish and legitimize their identities. In the process, the recognition of a place as a World Heritage site can, intentionally or unintentionally, marginalize the histories of unrecognized "Others." This chapter questions the values assigned to historical sites and the manner in which countries recommend particular places to be recognized as World Heritage sites. Underlying these nominations are the ideological and functional needs of the State, often serving nationalist or neocolonialist agendas. The acceptance of nominations by UNESCO needs to take the long-term implications and contemporary multicultural realities of specific geopolitical regions into consideration (see also Lilley Chapter 9; Scham Chapter 10). But we also need to consider the antithesis to World Heritage site recognition in the volatile modern world—the rejection of cultural value through globalization imposed from above or, in extreme circumstances, acts of terrorism. What, then, are the alternatives? Through an examination of the World Heritage site of Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka, I advocate a

paradigmatic shift in the way we recognize significant historical sites, navigating a third way between those who either blindly accept or reject the narrow cultural contexts too often involved in the establishment of World Heritage status.

Constructing Ideologies and Authorizing the Past

South Asia has a history of drawing its "identity consciousness" from the rich cultural heritage found in classical literary texts and inscriptions, sculptural art, architecture, and from its extensive oral traditions. The modern study of this cultural material was set in motion in the nineteenth century, according to the visions of colonial administrators, antiquarians, Orientalists, and Indologists. The study of the past based on material culture aimed at "reviving the glory that was," a concept central to Orientalism, colonial historiography, and postcolonial ideological adaptations in South Asia. Ideology is defined here as a comprehensive system of concepts and beliefs, often political in nature, held by a group or an individual. Ideologies are often imposed from above by a particular group to legitimize its existence and perpetuate its control over resources, territory, and decision-making authority. The past envisioned by antiquarians and Orientalists was perpetuated by various groups of Nationalists, who read history from their own ideological position as an antithesis to colonialism. In the postcolonial period, an inward-looking ideology of identities based on parochial views of the past was fostered, due to political expediency that sought to legitimize control over land, capital, and political authority.

Such treatments of the past were complicated by political uses of material culture from historical and archaeological sources. Confrontations based on differences in religion, language, and other forms of cultural affiliation are based on the functional value of symbols drawn from the past, especially in the construction of "national" identities, ultimately leading to the invention of "imagined" political communities (Anderson 1991). As Kohl and Fawcett note: "[s]ince its inception archaeology has been deeply involved in nationalist enterprises, above all in the construction of national identities" (1995:9, see also Cleere 1989). In postcolonial Sri Lanka, and South Asia generally, archaeology and heritage management continue to have an unmistakable sociopolitical content in their practice and presentation in governmental, professional, and public domains.

Historiographies of the Colonial and Nationalist periods in Sri Lanka clearly reflect sharp biases toward the histories of particular religions, lan-

guages, or communities within specific geopolitical regions (R. Thapar 1975, 2000:1–173, 963–1142; R. Thapar et al. 1977). Most archaeologists and historians in Sri Lanka (as, for that matter, in other parts of South Asia as well) are incapable of breaking the shackles of Orientalism, unable to resolve the problem of reading the past in a noncolonialist manner. This is conditioned largely by ideological and methodological constraints. They are consciously involved in the process of subverting the study of the past for both parochial ends and political patronage (Durrans 1989; Kohl and Fawcett 1995:3–18). Problem-oriented archaeological studies in South Asia commenced in the 1960s but since that time have largely stagnated, focusing primarily upon the methodological procedures of field reconnaissance, artifact retrieval, and analytical studies. Interpretative studies are far less prevalent, and most such studies are carried out within the rubric of classical studies and nationalist historiography. These interpretive studies focus primarily on ethno-linguistic and ethno-religious identities (especially in Sri Lanka and India) and tend to have strong undertones of political legitimization. As a consequence, this has had a crucial impact upon the agenda and ethics of the practice of archaeology and heritage management in this region, affecting decision-making processes, priorities, and funding, especially during the postcolonial period. This situation necessarily raises the critical problem of understanding the ideology of presenting the past and the functional uses and consequences of the past for a multicultural island society.

Situating Anuradhapura

Anuradhapura was inscribed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1981 and today is a popular tourist destination as well as an important pilgrimage site. Situated on the banks of the perennial stream Malwatu oya, premodern Anuradhapura conveniently linked hinterland raw material resource areas with seaports located to the northwest and northeast. The site was continuously occupied for thousands of years from prehistoric times to the Late Historic period. The Citadel of Anuradhapura covers an area of about 400 square acres, with layers of occupation reaching a depth of 40 feet below surface level. Recent investigations at the Citadel reveal a sequence of occupation that begins with Mesolithic hunter-gatherers about 5000 BCE. The Mesolithic period was succeeded by the Early Iron Age culture about 1000 BCE, which introduced the earliest village culture thriving on a subsistence economy based on pastoralism and limited agriculture. This village community carried out family-based crafts including

metallurgy, ceramics, and bead production. Their primary ritual was associated with megalithic memorials. Further technological advances occurred about 400 BCE, when commercial and cultural interactions with central and north India intensified, ultimately ushering in new commercial interactions, social ideologies, and incipient political formations.

Following the introduction of these new ideologies—including Buddhism and Jainism—Anuradhapura gradually acquired the position of the primary ritual and political center in northern Sri Lanka. By the early Common Era, an expansion in long-distance trade networks with West Asia, the Mediterranean, and the Far East solidified Anuradhapura's place as a great market city and the prime religio-political center in Sri Lanka. The Classical period of Anuradhapura (the third century CE and after) witnessed the establishment of a developed state, the construction of large reservoirs and advanced hydraulic systems, massive Buddhist stupas as ritual centers, and the organization of vast monasteries as places of residence and learning for local and foreign monks. The Classical period urban-religious landscape at Anuradhapura is characterized by a series of concentric circles made of reservoirs, ritual centers, and monasteries encircling the Citadel. The larger monasteries housed about 2000 resident monks at any given time in each complex and functioned as independent economic units involved in agricultural production and commercial activities, making them some of the largest stupas and monastic sites in the world. The cultural landscape of the Classical period is characterized by a wide range of sculptured art, monumental structures, ponds, and parks.

The city of Anuradhapura gradually declined after the tenth century CE. Political unrest and invasions, compounded by changes in trading patterns and environmental instability, at least in some areas, ultimately resulted in the gradual shift of the political center away from this region. This deprived the city of patrons (its demographic and economic base), consequently leading to the disintegration of its urban ethos—until a more recent cultural resurgence occurred during the Colonial and postcolonial periods.

Ideological Phases of Reading the Past

The cultural resurgence of Anuradhapura under British rule was not in any manner associated with philanthropic notions of the colonial regime. Rather, within the context of ideological formations during the Colonial and postcolonial periods, it is evident that colonial administrators, antiquarians, Orientalists, Indologists, and Nationalists drew interpretive inspiration from classical texts and the ancient material culture of the island.

These classical texts, written since the fourth century CE by scholar monks, contain narratives based on historical facts and myths of origin associated with North India and stories of invasions and confrontations associated with South India. The classical texts were codified in order to legitimize particular faiths, lineages, and ritual centers within a pan-island context. In addition, they provided an internal hierarchy to the cultural ecology of the island, demarcating its center and periphery. Scholar monks perhaps thought it necessary to document this legitimating charter during a period of important socioeconomic change and constant political and economic challenges directed from South India, a region that, in their eyes, was mainly inhabited by those who spoke the Tamil language and professed non-Buddhist faiths. In addition, the documentation of these legitimating charters by the Theravada monks became imperative due to the upward mobility of new social groups who replaced the old nobility as well as challenges posed to the orthodox sect by "heterodox" Mahayana sects.

It is a historical tragedy of colonialism that these fourth-century-CE classical texts, which were written with a specific and limited political agenda, have been projected onto the history of the island of Sri Lanka as a whole. Colonial administrators, historians, Orientalist-Indologists, antiquarians, and somewhat later, nationalists, uncritically adopted these texts in a second, modern segment of the process of ideological formation. The histories codified and documented in the classical texts were taken out of context to form the basis of colonial historiography as well as the agendas of the Archaeological Survey departments and the National Museums Department during the nineteenth century. Colonial administrators and Orientalists, who were themselves nurtured within an imperial ethos and the classical traditions of the Mediterranean, added lasting contributions to the ideological matrix. They derived their information about the past from a common group of sources, namely the classical texts, oral traditions, inscriptions, architectural monuments, sculpture and paintings, and coins, as well as vestiges of massive hydraulic works of the historical period.

The study of history in Sri Lanka (as, for that matter, elsewhere in South Asia) in the first half of the twentieth century was tutored in the arena of colonial historiography and nurtured in the best of classical and Orientalist/Indologist traditions (see Gullapalli Chapter 3; Rizvi Chapter 7). In this grand scheme of things, past Asian societies were viewed as unchanging entities in the clutches of Oriental despots who manipulated their subjects through hydraulic systems. Colonial historiography had its own rubric. History was quite obviously linear and symmetric, while continuity dominated over change. Historical dynamics were attributed to the

role of the individual and "Great Men." The movement of historical processes was associated with diffusion and cultural implantation and certainly not with uneven and parallel developments in society. Chronologies were based either upon great individuals, dynasties, royal capitals, and religions or within the vulgar Stalinist notion of stages in history. Historiography within the British Empire was yet enmeshed in positivist trappings and stunted by the poverty of empiricism (Seneviratne 2001). Oriental despotism was indeed a convenient explanation legitimizing the very existence of the Colonial Empire.

The introduction of racial categories such as *arya* and *dravida* and the perpetuation of mythical heroic races were major contributions to the formation of a new ideological matrix. The belief in an imagined "fair-skinned" pan-*arya* race provided a notion of both racial and linguistic affinity in a wider demographic and regional context. This was set against the "dark skinned" tribal and/or caste groups and *dravida*, thereby introducing an imagined vertical division. The antecedents of modern ethnonationalism, in fact, may be traced to these notions of the Colonial period.

To the colonial historian, Orientalist, and antiquarian, discovering the Sri Lankan past and its "Golden Age" was a simple exercise wherein they linked hero kings and elite patrons in the texts to (mainly Buddhist) ancient monuments, large reservoirs, and courtly art. The massive number of books on the languages, religion, and philosophy of the Orient and catalogues of coins, seals, and inscriptions found in the region clearly reflect the agenda and priorities of the Colonial era. But the damaging impact of these myths and ideological elements became apparent only in the subsequent period.

The third segment of ideological development occurred when both Sinhala- and Tamil-speaking nationalists used the same sources of information, including the writings on antiquity and history in search of the "Golden Age." This period was to be the antithesis of colonialism. Even to this day, a majority of archaeologists in South Asia serving within the government departments and within the university system are products of the Late Colonial period and are influenced by this nationalist ideology drawing its inspiration from the past.

The earliest phase of this process may be seen when twentieth-century nationalists within the Sinhala- and Tamil-speaking groups formalized their identities utilizing a range of symbols drawn from classical texts and archaeological remains. Such symbols were used to "authenticate" the antiquity of the community, its region of origin, or territoriality as well as "imagined" biological, cultural, linguistic, and ideological homogeneity as

a basis for legitimizing and sanctioning access to resources and the decision-making process within a particular geopolitical context. A common language and a "racial" selection as *dravida* or *arya* became a basis for providing this group affinity. This was also extended into a cross-regional affiliation, with either "*arya*" north India or "*dravida*" south India. In the process, the "we–they" distinction originally maintained against the colonialists gradually came to represent a Sinhala Buddhist–Tamil Hindu dichotomy. Ironically enough, this group distinction is used as a mechanism of internal alienation and marginalization by both Tamil- and Sinhala-speaking communities against the Vedda aboriginal groups, the gypsies, and even on particular caste groups. At the end of the Colonial period, anticolonial nationalist perspectives had already interlocked with communal perspectives as well as racist ideology. The concept of an original homeland and a common mother language conclusively located this ideological expression within the narrow confines of ethnocentrism, compartmentalized on the basis of language–culture zones along an imagined racial line. It is the legacy of colonial and nationalist writings that sectarian historical information was taught to the generations born after 1948 in Sri Lanka. The historiography of the post-independence liberal–empiricist, socialist, and Marxist schools had little impact in neutralizing this sectarian Tamil and Sinhala historiography, which conditioned parochial images of the past in the minds of the present generation.

Postcolonial ideological formations emerged out of the above situation and are reflected in the postcolonial sociopolitical sphere. Clearly, the dominating features of this period are economic alienation and the possibility of geopolitical units being carved out on ethno-cultural or, more specifically, "racial" lines. One of the logical outcomes of socioeconomic injustice and the need for alternative political systems was the emergence of social ideologies of the JVP (Peoples Liberation Front) and the LTTE (Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam). While the former has a dominant membership in the Sinhala-speaking areas, the latter is exclusively associated with Tamil-speaking people in the north and east. Both groups share a romanticized version of socialism, common ideals of the motherland, and national consciousness associated with the majority ethno-cultural group in a particular geopolitical zone.

Since the 1970s, the Sri Lankan state has been waging a protracted war against dissent and centrifugal tendencies. While it speaks of an overarching "national culture," the State has increasingly projected itself as the defender of Buddhism and chief patron of Sinhala culture. Conversely, the LTTE has unleashed a similar process of hegemonic control over primarily

Tamil-speaking areas and has imposed its ideological control from above. One of the most unfortunate features of the war is the conscious and unconscious impact it has had on cultural resource management and the archaeological agenda of this country. It has also resulted in the destruction of cultural property by all participating groups.

Ordering the Past in a Sacred City: The Colonial Experience

Anuradhapura has been assigned a supreme position over all other ancient cultural sites. The process through which this situation evolved from the Colonial period through the postcolonial period has engulfed both communities and space, juxtaposing the Sinhala-speaking Buddhists with the "Other" and the North Central province (or Rajarata) with "Other" regions of the island. Jeganathan (1995) has pointed out four facets of rediscovering Anuradhapura: historiographic formation, spatial formation, archaeological formation, and aesthetic formation. The first is the reading of this city and its history in the newly translated Pali texts (such as the circa-fifth-century CE *Mahavamsa*). Nurtured in the Classical traditions, colonial administrators and intelligentsia found no problems locating the "Golden Age" of Sri Lankan history at Anuradhapura through an association of its monuments with Great Men and parallels found in the British Empire (Jeganathan 1995; Nissan 1988). Spatial formation, as Jeganathan argues, emerged out of economic and political needs. The primary needs were to colonize dry plains (as opposed to the mountainous zone where rebellions occurred) and to establish a rapid route network for the transportation of Indian workers to coffee plantations in the central hills from South India through the North Central province. The fusion between these two needs is evident in the writings, maps, narrations, and expeditions carried out at Anuradhapura and the North Central Province, or Rajarata (Land of Kings).

The restoration of irrigation works, stupas, monasteries, art, and architecture uncovered more definitive links with historical narrations, major players in the chronicles, and material remains. The nineteenth century also witnessed the limitation of archaeological and restoration work to monuments constructed by Great Men such as Dutthagamani (the "National Hero" of the Mahavamsa who expelled the invading Tamil); Kashyapa, the builder of Sigiri; and other "great kings" who constructed large reservoirs, stupas, and monasteries, as well as those who fought off Tamil invaders from South India or who carried out Buddhist activities. The colonial adminis-

trators and Orientalists had already constructed the rubric for archaeological expeditions and restorations, marketing Anuradhapura as an exciting ruined city. The aesthetic formation of the city directly affected the progress made in archaeological and restoration work. Anuradhapura gradually transformed from a ruined city into an ancient city.

Restoration of Anuradhapura during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries coincided with the early phase of the nationalist movement, led primarily by Sinhala-Buddhist organizations. They, too, were products of colonial schools and highly influenced by the views of Orientalists and Indologists. For instance, early nationalist writers and activists such as Walisinghe Harischandra strongly advocated further excavations and restoration of Buddhist religious monuments at Anuradhapura and often cited colonial writings justifying this cause (Jeganathan 1995:129–30; Harischandra 1904, 1908). Neither Harischandra nor the colonial masters were interested in probing the large habitation site at the Citadel of Anuradhapura. Elitism is quite obviously implicit in this situation. The focus was purely on grand monuments, royal parks, and sculptured art. Slag heaps, potsherds, and faunal remains from excavations did not merit any interest.

In the early twentieth century, with the growth of the anticolonial movement on the one hand and the development of a stronger Sinhala-Buddhist identity on the other, Anuradhapura gradually emerged as a central sacred space legitimizing religious and ethnic identity over other historical capitals in Sri Lanka. This period also witnessed the further selection of monuments to be excavated and restored (rather than conserved). Buddhist Theravada sites were given top priority, as these sites had a direct or indirect bearing on kings, recorded in the chronicles, who fought the invading South Indian rulers. Monuments belonging to "heterodox" Buddhist sects such as the Mahayanist and Tantrayanist, as well as Hindu monuments, were not given the same degree of importance assigned to Orthodox Theravada Buddhist monuments. The discovery of a Nestorian cross (dated to the circa sixth century CE) within the Citadel of Anuradhapura was not afforded further research, either. To the Buddhists, Anuradhapura represented an organic link with sacred Buddhist sites and with the "*Arya*"-Buddhist North India, as against the Hindu "Tamil" South India.

A study by Aruna Rajapaksa (2002) points out that the pressure created by independent Buddhist restoration societies pushed the colonial regime to initiate more restoration programs, mainly after 1910. He also argues that macrolevel planning at Anuradhapura commenced in 1942 with the establishment of the Anuradhapura Preservation Board. According to this

research, money was granted by Parliament to invite a town planner from England to lay out the Sacred City. In 1949 construction work on the new town of Anuradhapura commenced, and the population was relocated from the Sacred City. Rajapaksa also argues that this development conclusively established "the conglomeration of ruins and monuments and the lands in between as an entity rather than separate monuments . . . and the removal of encroachments and incongruous buildings and provision of opportunities to pilgrims" (Rajapaksa 2002:1–3). Thus, before the end of colonial rule in 1948, Anuradhapura had been physically integrated into an officially recognized sacred entity, consequently endowing this site to Buddhist pilgrims and thus marginalizing non-Buddhist Others.

The Postcolonial Incorporation of Anuradhapura

The symbolic presentation of the site to Buddhist pilgrims occurred in the restoration of the Great Stupa or Suwarnamali chetiya (constructed by Dutthagamani, the "National Hero" of the Mahavamsa) and its consecration ceremony soon after national independence. The "real value" of Anuradhapura was enhanced beyond the sacred associated with religion through the post-1950 development of radical nationalism based on racial ideologies that mobilized nonurban, primarily Sinhala-speaking non-Westernized social groups, as well as the official declaration of Sinhala as the national language and periodic confrontations between Tamil and Sinhala ethnic groups. As Anuradhapura was directly located in the border area facing "Tamil country," the site was transformed into a powerful territorial benchmark and, as such, had to be safeguarded and protected. Not coincidentally, Anuradhapura has since been transformed into the largest military base in Sri Lanka. In addition, following independence, all prime ministers, governor generals, and, later, presidents carried out an essential pilgrimage to the Sacred Bo Tree and the Maha chetiya (Suwarnamali chetiya) following their appointments. Politicians of the lower rungs followed this practice and set off a rhythm of imitation absorbing the local and regional politicians to the sacred vortex. The period from 1950 to late 1970 witnessed an intensification of the sanctification of Anuradhapura through multiple avenues. This included, for instance, the introduction or revival of various cult ceremonial offerings (e.g., jasmine flowers), mobilizing city and rural folk at this sacred space; an increased tempo of pilgrimages; new Buddhist restoration organizations; and the publication of new school textbooks (published after the nationalization of schools in

1956) disseminating parochial history associated with Anuradhapura as the central place. All this set the basis for the next phase of ideological adaptation of Anuradhapura, which strangely enough happened through its recognition as a UNESCO World Heritage site.

The UNESCO-Sri Lanka Cultural Triangle

The constitution of the Cultural Triangle (CT) in the early 1980s inducted a more sophisticated incorporation of Anuradhapura into the Sinhala-Buddhist ethos. The decade following 1980 was indeed a watershed period in the political economy and cultural history of Sri Lanka. With the establishment of the Open Market policy and opening up the country for foreign investment and tourism, a new premium was added to cultural sites as marketable commodities. Direct confrontations between Tamil militants and the State accelerated as the State began to project its position as the chief patron of Buddhism and the protector of the Sinhala community. The idea of promoting cultural tourism was taken to new heights with the establishment of the UNESCO-Sri Lanka Cultural Triangle Project. The Cultural Triangle connected the ancient sites of Anuradhapura, Polonnaruwa, and Kandy. Within the triangle were the World Heritage sites of Rangiri, Dambulla, and Sigiriya. With the exception of Sigiriya, all sites are religious sites, mainly associated with Buddhism. All sites without exception are connected to historical kings and personages recorded in historical chronicles. The incorporation of ancient cultural sites into a single unit depicting the history of the majority population conversely marginalized and culturally disfranchised other ethnic, linguistic, and religious groups. Rajarata was made an extended sacred space of Anuradhapura. Of these six UNESCO World Heritage sites, four sites are located in Rajarata.

The motto of the CT is "to revive the Glory that was Sri Lanka"—quite obviously harking back to the "Golden Age"! This bias is clearly articulated in the original resolution adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO in 1978. The opening of the statement of the secretary general of UNESCO proclaims, "Anuradhapura, the holy city that was the first capital of *Sinhalese-Buddhism*" (Silva and Guruge 1978:1; my emphasis). He continues to thank the Sri Lankan government for taking "steps to preserve and restore most of the age-old monuments in the ancient cities," making direct references to legitimizing history and identities: "The first *Aryan colonization* took place from northern India about the sixth century BC . . . In the two thousand years of the country's greatness the *Sinhalese* constructed massive domed shrines . . . the ancient *Sinhalese* were able to build

huge reservoirs as long ago as the fourth century BC" (Silva and Guruge 1978:5, my emphasis). The secretary general's closing paragraph is also noteworthy: "if not for UNESCO's interest in cooperating with and stimulating further efforts of the national authorities, we would not have seen the birth of this important project" (Silva and Guruge 1978:7). This is indeed a legitimizing charter sanctioned by UNESCO and raises critical issues and implications regarding the ownership of the past, the ordering of the past, and the legitimizing of the past.

The role of this international body in legitimizing the ideological claims of the majority ethnic, linguistic, and religious groups is questionable. The CT was never extended further north to incorporate the dominantly Hindu- and Tamil-speaking zone. While all the major universities of the Buddhist south were affiliated with the CT project, the northern University of Jaffna was not. On the other hand, the original projects at Anuradhapura were headed by two academics (Jetavana and Abhayagiri) who specialized in history and Buddhist studies, respectively. In terms of scientific investigations, the multicultural character and the existence of several religious groupings in the city were never highlighted. For instance, the Nestorian cross, several Hindu statues retrieved from the (1980s) excavations of Jetavana, and a Mahayana statue bearing an eleventh-century Tamil inscription by the South India mercantile guild (the Nanadesin) are yet to be incorporated into a serious dialogue. In addition, the powerful presence of Mahayana and Tantrayana sects as dominant groups in Anuradhapura is not discussed.

In terms of non-Sinhala-Buddhist material evidence, large quantities of Sassanian pottery (that has a bearing on the Nestorian cross) and other imported ceramics from India, China, and the Mediterranean have been unearthed at Anuradhapura, as well as large amounts of imported raw material for bead making (e.g., onyx, agate, lapis) and imported raw materials such as cuddapah stone from southern Deccan. Coins belonging to the Classical civilizations of India, the Mediterranean, and China have been found at the sites of Abhayagiri, Jetavana, and Mahavihara. Furthermore, evidence from the Citadel excavations highlights a complex commercial trade network and the presence of a considerable multicultural residential group in Anuradhapura. The *Mahavamsa,* in its description of the city of Anuradhapura, categorically records the living quarters of Yavana, or those who arrived from the west. Although the text mentions this as a fourth-century BCE situation, the *Mahavamsa* was recorded in the fourth to fifth century CE, which was the peak period for commercial relations between West Asia and Sri Lanka (substantiated by the excavations at Mantai or ancient Mahatittha, the great port city in northwest Sri Lanka).

As a result of excavation and conservation work at the two great monasteries in Anuradhapura, these CT sites became the "spring revitalizing the lost glory of the Sinhalese," particularly after the July 1983 episodes of ethnic violence. The focus was the revival of Buddhist sites and the conservation of large stupa monuments associated with monastic sites. Local and central government politicians made regular trips to Anuradhapura for press briefings with each "glorious" discovery. The antiquarian mindset was in motion again as finds at Jetavana were termed "Treasures of Jetavana." Beautiful beads, sculpture, statues, and ceramics were elegantly displayed at site museums, along with historical narratives of Middle Historic texts. Social archaeology (i.e., the functioning of the monastery, production, trade, and metal technologies) were alien concepts to this nationalist mindset. Hoards of iron slag and other remains of nondeluxe wares were hardly inventoried and studied. Research agendas were almost nonexistent in the excavation and field reconnaissance program at Anuradhapura. Serious analytical studies were sporadic, and interpretative studies were mainly commissioned to strengthen the Buddhist history of Anuradhapura and to authenticate the *Mahavamsa* narration.

The CT work also triggered more conservation and presentation work at other Buddhist sites in the ancient city. Several powerful ministers (the late Gamini Dissanayake and Cyril Mathew) in the 1980s founded their own Buddhist Restoration societies and undertook restoration and conservation work at Anuradhapura. They disregarded the authority and purview of the Government Department of Archaeology and subverted and contravened all laws of conservation and those of the Antiquities Ordinance. The Mirisawetiya stupa at Anuradhapura is a case in point. The late minister Gamini Dissanayake selected this stupa, founded by Dutthagamini, because of its emotional appeal to the Buddhists. A series of other smaller stupa conservations, carried out simultaneously, adhered to the stereotypical bubble shape of the Suwarnamali *cetiya*, disregarding the original shapes of these monuments. This perhaps was the main disservice done to conservation and presentation by contemporary politicians. Anuradhapura began to set the archaeological and conservation agenda in Sri Lanka.

Intangible Heritage, National Heritage, and the Antithesis to World Heritage

Questions about the management of heritage sites and strictures imposed by UNESCO are raised by the economic and political realities of contemporary Sri Lanka, including economic and cultural globalization expressed through

new market relationships and investment ventures inducted by the open economy, aggressive evangelical activities carried out by fundamentalist Christian organizations, the growing fear of a vertical geopolitical division of the island, and acts of terrorism carried out by the LTTE at sacred spaces. These questions reflect the sentiments expressed by local communities, which may be seen as an antithesis to the inscription of Anuradhapura (and other sites) as World Heritage sites. These sentiments are associated on the one hand with the right to be connected psychologically and physically with sacred and cultural spaces, and on the other with the right to protect and safeguard such symbols as nurturing and perpetuating local identities.

In my experience, the site management decorum applied at living World Heritage sites becomes an impediment to the free flow of intangible heritage. Neatly demarcated pathways forcefully guiding the movement of the pilgrims and visitors, restrictions imposed on certain types of rituals and expressions that were practiced for thousands of years at these very sites, and the restriction of entry after visiting hours (when such sites are aesthetically most appealing) tend to dilute the "living" heritage at heritage sites. Some of these sites were market centers where exchange took place between pilgrims and vendors during the Classical period. At present, sites within the Anuradhapura Sacred City are docile and are devoid of "life." Neatly manicured turf, planted trees, planned pathways, and conserved monuments display the contemporary psyche of the corporate architect rather than the aspirations of the rightful stakeholders of the heritage—the devotees and the visitors. The critical questions are how one manages the intangible, who owns the past, and who may impose certain borrowed ideas and concepts from above or the West. This situation calls for a reassessment of the modalities of site administration, where a greater partnership between the State and all stakeholders is called for.

Debate over the right to protect Anuradhapura emerged during the 1980s as a result of foreign investments, Christian evangelical movements in the North Central province, and the intensification of the war on terrorism in the north. Efforts by United States– and Japan-based multinationals, in collaboration with the State to exploit one of the largest phosphate deposits in South Asia at Eppawala (located in the vicinity of Anuradhapura), drew protests from environmentalists and resident village communities. Their slogans denounced world capitalism, the West, and "white" imperialists, focusing on the dangers this extraction would ultimately unleash upon Anuradhapura, its culture, and its environs. In addition to various civil activities, regular religious ceremonies were held at the sacred Bodhi tree and Ruwanveli cetiya. Posters and slogans called for the resurrection of the hero

kings of Anuradhapura to save it again from the foreign devils. Anuradhapura once again became a place of convergence for national sentiments and an inverted cultural expression, centering on the uniting of life-giving natural resources and sacred religio-cultural spaces.

The growth of Buddhist militancy and its direct culmination in Buddhist monks' occupying parliamentary seats resulted in the development of a new awareness of control over cultural sites and their resources. In some cases the income from tourism has given vent to challenges leveled at the writ of the State and UNESCO over World Heritage sites. At the ground level, too, there is a small but growing public sentiment questioning the right of an external agency to interfere. For instance, in the World Heritage city of Kandy, some members of the mercantile sector openly flout these strictures for economic expediency and advocate the city's taking care of itself. There is, however, a stronger sentiment expressed by certain Buddhist monks that may require a closer understanding on-the-ground realities. In a statement given to a national newspaper (*Sunday Times*, June 12, 2005), the chief incumbent priest at the World Heritage site of Rangiri Dambulla categorically stated that the site "which has existed for more than 2000 years, is in reality a *Buddhist heritage and not a World Heritage site*. The inclusion of the Rangiri Dambulla Vihara in the World Heritage List was a tactic of the modern colonialists" (my emphasis). The priest recounted the significance of the Rangiri Danbulla in the 1848 rebellion against the British rule, which was carried out from this site by the local leadership. Furthermore, he stated that while the World Bank and International Monetary Fund control Third World countries, UNESCO is attempting to control the world's cultural and heritage sites. He went on to question the relevance of being on the World Heritage site list when UNESCO stood by, helpless, as the Taliban demolished the Bamiyan statues!

These statements cannot simply be considered examples of Buddhist chauvinism and brushed aside. They are responses to real and, at times, hopeless situations. Impoverished village communities—threatened by terrorism, multinationals, fluctuating prices due to global integration, and new evangelical movements—have been compelled to embrace their memories and seek solace in the past. It is a reality that they have been unable to deal with situations often beyond their control or miseries imposed on them through external agencies. The nascent development of social fascism occurs precisely within such situations, and history has its case studies (the rise and growth of Nazism) when folk culture was romanticized and communities looked back to the lost "Golden Age" under seemingly hopeless situations.

The internal war situation in Sri Lanka is yet another dimension of this antithesis challenging the status quo of UNESCO World Heritage sites. The tragic rejection of the official ordering of the past, expressed through violence, is a case in point. In 1984 the LTTE carried out a bloody massacre of the peaceful pilgrims at the sacred Bodhi tree at Anuradhapura and in 1998 were responsible for a second attack on another World Heritage site, the Temple of the Sacred Tooth Relic in Kandy. Following these attacks, heritage management had to contend with a new and violent political dimension. The terror unleashed at the sacred Bodhi tree and the Temple of the Sacred Tooth Relic is a calculated attack striking at the heart of the legitimizing symbols of the Sinhala-Buddhist community. Both sites linked the Sinhala-Buddhist community to "Aryan" North India (the accepted region of origin of the Sinhala "race"), to the ideology of Buddhism, to sacred spaces nurturing their tangible and intangible heritage, and, finally, to the protector-patron of the community (the Sri Lankan State). These attacks were also an indirect challenge posed to world bodies that recognized heritage sites of only one community. Furthermore, following these attacks, real changes had to be introduced to site management strategies, especially streamlining visitor access controlled by security systems and site infrastructure. This had a significant impact on the landscape and even the authenticity of the site.

Archaeology and Conflict Resolution: Remedial Strategies at Anuradhapura

Many scholars in the social sciences and the humanities have yet to realize the significance of the ethno-cultural history of South Asia as a powerful undercurrent within contemporary political structures. The lacuna in synthesizing contemporary studies with cultural sources such as historical texts, oral tradition, and ancient material cultural evidence (including biological studies) has deprived these scholars from making a complete evaluation of contemporary sociopolitical ideologies drawing inspiration from the past.

Certain academics and study circles sponsored by nongovernmental organizations have made efforts to cater to a Western audience suffering from "Post-World War II Guilt Syndrome." They are guilty of adhering to a linear view of history wherein contemporary ethno-nationalism is rooted in the ideology of the Classical Middle Historic texts of Sri Lanka. I have identified this situation as post-postmodern Orientalism and *Mahavamsa*-bashing (Seneviratne 1996:275; 1999). It is often thought to be fashionable

to be critical of the "oppressor"—in this case, the Sinhala-Buddhist! In fact, though, there are good critical studies analyzing Sinhala-Buddhist parochialism, Tamil parochialism, or other ethno-parochialisms that have yet to receive critical evaluation in the hands of liberal scholars (Jeganathan and Ismail 1995).

In other publications, I have questioned some of the accepted views on the peopling of Sri Lanka, the "Aryan" identity, center-periphery interaction, the agrarian character of the Early Iron Age economy during the Formative period, the myth of a Dravidian race, and the perpetuation of myths and the subversion of history and archaeology by the decision-makers of both communities (Seneviratne 1984, 1996, 2005). Demythification of these basic premises, which were invented through colonial and nationalist historiography, becomes a virtual necessity in order to develop an objective view of historical processes (see Scham Chapter 10). Grounded realities of the subcontinental situation also demand that scholarly studies in reading the past must be devoid of parochialism, especially in educating the next generation (Stone and MacKenzie 1994; Seneviratne 2001; see also Rizvi Chapter 7).

Rather than carrying out a monologue with the past, we now carry out a dialogue with the past. We now utilize archaeology and heritage studies as a major instrument of conflict resolution. The state, UNESCO, and the public at large must come to terms with a partnership in relation to heritage sites. Unless and until we learn to present the past by incorporating all communities as its stakeholders and develop an unbiased historical explanation of the past, it will only alienate different groups for different reasons. The same data and evidence that was used to divide communities are used now to provide an alternative history of the reality of cultural pluralism and diversity of the Sri Lankan cultural mosaic.

We have been able to carry this out at one level through the concept of shared cultures. The primary target groups in our effort are the next generations, who are the primary stakeholders of the heritage. While they belong to different religious, linguistic, and ethnic denominations, they form the future leadership of heritage managers. Our activities are carried out from the base at Jetavana, which is one of the segments within the Sacred City of Anuradhapura World Heritage site. Following two decades of excavations and conservation, Jetavana is now ready for public presentation based on a new concept and state-of-the-art techniques. It unveils a totally novel concept in the presentation of heritage sites in Sri Lanka, the *Public Participatory Interactive Museum and Site Presentation*. This idea signals a definitive paradigm shift in site presentation away from Orientalist-antiquarianism and

it introduces an alternate concept of shared cultures representing the actual but somewhat less-known history of World Heritage sites situated in multicultural societies.

Looking to the Future: The Social Archaeology of Museum and Site Presentation

Michael Blakey has argued that "since a major function of museums and reconstructions is to socialize the public, the ideological content of their archaeological messages has an especially pronounced impact" (Blakey 1990:38). Quite evidently, along with censuses and maps, museums form a key institutional concept in the grammar of colonial power (Meskell 1998:3).

Since the Colonial period, site and museum presentations in Sri Lanka have established a skewed perspective from the offset. They often present the site in isolation in time and space, ultimately conditioning a parochial vision. Museum presentations are essentially constructed within an antiquarian "gallery" mindset, i.e., pottery gallery, bead gallery, sculpture gallery, and so forth. The social archaeology of production, technology, labor, resource movement, and cognitive value of sculptured art is never featured in displays. Museums also focus on elites at the expense of the history of common people. Furthermore, they present a one-dimensional history, exclusively of the Sinhala-speaking people and Buddhism. Other cultures, ethno-religious groups, linguistic groups, and women are hidden in history. This represents not only a history of half truths but also imposes from above an exclusive history on an inclusive society.

An alternative perspective will be applied at the Anuradhapura Jetavana site. This magnificent heritage site has for too long been presented in the main as a religious site and identified with the dubious term "Monastic City," robbing Anuradhapura of its legacy as a multicultural city and a thriving commercial hub. Target audiences include local and foreign cultural tourists, pilgrims, and young students (the next generation). The concept utilized at Jetavana views the public as stakeholders of its presentation and heritage. Understanding the social archaeology of the site is a vital factor in the rationale for a shift in the paradigm of site presentation. It is identified as a place of religious observances that is entwined with sentiments of piety and dedicated expressions and emotions. Although this is primarily a religious site, the rationale of the site presentation is to situate Jetavana within a sociocultural context representing its international dimension to the visitor as well.

Jetavana will be presented as a segment of the larger site in relation to the composite whole. Visitors will first experience a museum tour emphasizing the following four main points:

- Synthesis between the site and the World Heritage city and beyond
- Synthesis between the museum and the site
- Synthesis between the visitor and the site
- Synthesis between time and space

In addition to foreign tourists, Jetavana draws a large number of schoolchildren from Tamil- speaking Hindu and Muslim groups in north and east Sri Lanka. Presentations in the museum and on site will be carried out in a strictly nonparochial manner, in all three national languages to account for the multicultural character of this island society. In an effort to advocate increased inclusiveness (as against the exclusive society projected by chauvinists of both southern and northern Sri Lanka), the history of Jetavana will be presented as a shared culture with all ethnic, religious, and linguistic groups as stakeholders of the historical legacy.

In the final analysis, the ideological basis of site presentation will not end with our generation. New formations will most certainly emerge and leave their marks. I am, however, confident that the next generation will celebrate the World Heritage based on shared culture as the most valuable gift endowed to humanity from the past.

Conclusion: Archaeological Futures and the Postcolonial Critique

12

UZMA Z. RIZVI

The trouble is that once you see it, you can't unsee it.

—ARUNDHATI ROY (THE LADIES HAVE FEELINGS . . . [2001:9])

THE CONTRIBUTIONS IN THIS VOLUME attest to the applicability of the postcolonial critique in archaeology. This scholarship reconstitutes archaeology, challenging the discipline to deconstruct itself, revealing its roots in the colonial imagination and implicating its role in the construction of neocolonial capitalist knowledge structures. Recognizing the inadequacy of the simple binary of colonizer and colonized, these case studies confront older assumptions about the world, and place archaeological praxis in an age of transnational cultural and organizational flows. To limit the postcolonial critique to citation or application of specific theories in interpretation is to underestimate the profound nature of this scholarship. Postcolonial research is a confession of enduring political inequality; it is a condition that continues until the disparities created by colonialism, often recast into neocolonial frameworks, are deconstructed. Additional theoretical implements may layer over this basic premise, adding more texture and depth to an argument, but the baseline is a desire to deconstruct the power formations that cause large-scale political and economic disparities with human populations today.

This recognition engenders a new form of archaeology: an archaeology that lays bare and vulnerable the founding principles of the discipline to a critical engagement that accounts for histories of oppression, whether based on colonialism, race, class, gender, or sexuality. This disciplinary stance openly questions the validity of continued practice without these engagements. It

looks toward new ways of understanding the past both theoretically and practically, ways that promote responsible research and its applicability in the present, as both formulating policy and provoking criticality from the margins.

Just as it is important to look to the past of our discipline to understand how we operate today, it is also significant to consider the future of our practice. This conclusion contextualizes forms of research that emerge from the postcolonial critique and posits innovative ways of imagining and practicing archaeology in a globalized world. The first section discusses academic disciplines and how the postcolonial critique necessitates interdisciplinarity providing an expanded repertoire of theoretical tools. The second section relates to postnational and post-Soviet scholarship, extending the critique beyond a history of colonialism to other ideological narratives. The final section highlights the ways in which archaeology might aspire to effect social change, ranging from empowering communities through dialogs on heritage and identity to instituting educational incentives that might realign academic power structures.

The Postcolonial Critique and Interdisciplinarity

The postcolonial critique has influenced various disciplines, each renegotiating and realigning the modes of inquiry that define its methodologies. The basis for these series of reactions has been the foundational critique of power and discourse (Foucault 1980; Said 1978). Perhaps one of the most significant accomplishments of the postcolonial critique has been the ability to cross disciplinary lines and affect modes of thinking and producing knowledge.

Historians, cultural anthropologists, and art historians dealing with the postcolonial critique have often pointed to archaeology as a significant marker of the colonial machine, which established centers of knowledge production through which bureaucratic control and command of the past was executed (Cohn 1996; Abu El-Hajj 2001; Guha-Thakurta 2004). For example, in colonial India, it was the Orientalist imagination that inspired the antiquarian collections, archaeological finds, and photographic forays that constructed and packaged an "India" that in return justified the exercise of colonial power (Cohn 1996; Chadha 2002).

Certainly, the categorization of the past emerges from colonial typologies and epistemologies such as the "Stone Age," which acted as a simultaneous marker of culture and time. Although their use in contemporary scholarship has been questioned, it is necessary to properly deconstruct such categorizations rather than discard them summarily. The deconstruc-

tion of traditional value-laden nomenclature ensures the discontinuation of its unmediated use. This shift has significant repercussions for the politics of representation and materiality of social life in the reconstructed past. Moreover, the language of control created by such categorizations has residual effects on contemporary postcolonial populations as well. The epistemologies of terms like *village*, *tribe*, and *caste* relate back to a methodology of colonial control (Cohn 1996). For example, in India, the colonial categorization of people led to a reification of difference, resulting in the differential allocation of power and access to constructions of historical narratives (for more, see Chakrabarty 1992; Gullapalli Chapter 3; and for other examples see Pagán Jiménez and Rodríguez Ramos Chapter 4; Preucel and Cipolla Chapter 8).

Colonial grand narratives created through discursive elements neatly packaged the "other" for consumption in various formats. A key colonial format was the exhibition, which quickly developed into "a densely imbricated arrangement of imagery and expertise that organizes and produces the Orient as a political reality" (Mitchell 1992:289). Establishing Western experiences of order and truth, these exhibitions explicitly linked the colonial project to the development of modernity and, by extension, the nation-state. This link between exhibitions, modernity, and the construction of the nation is critical, as it powerfully shaped the formation of national museums and exhibitions in newly postcolonial states, which reiterated reductive colonial constructions of identity, culture, and history as they created their own grand narratives of nationalism. The display of essentialized identities in museums and collections continues even today in both Eastern and Western contexts (see Gullapallli, Chapter 3; Liebmann, Chapter 5).

Future interdisciplinary research includes ongoing investigations and insistence on deconstructing colonial cultural categories and terminology that remains in the archaeological literature, particularly in "Old World" archaeology (see Scham Chapter 10). Moreover, the politics of representation, particularly of essentialized identities within museum displays, continues to be an issue, begging the question: can archaeology create a change by shifting interpretations of the past to allow for a more inclusive, nonhomogenous identity? If possible, will such an opening of identity formation in the past allow for new iterations of the nation and national identity in the present? Can an application of postcolonial theory allow the archaeologist to move past questions of the nation? These questions become critical when dealing with contested pasts and nationalist agendas dictating archaeological work.

Postnationalism and the Post-Soviet Critique

Just as the postcolonial critique contextualizes the effects of colonialism on the world, postnationalism affords an analysis and critique of the modern nation, highlighting the ways in which globalization has profoundly altered the processes through which a nation interacts with its citizens and, by extension, the very conditions of citizenship itself. Postnationalism, for many American historians, initially developed in response to three key post-1989 developments, outlined by Stephan Shapiro (2001:1) as:

> the impact of new information technologies, like the internet, as devices that further erode time–space distinctions; the end of the first Cold War, which problematizes organic notions of the West, as the Soviet Union's break-up unleashed a wave of "white nation" decolonization; and the increased awareness about corporate techniques of globalization and their use of meta-state institutions, like the IMF or WTO, to privatize national social welfare schemes, while relying on local police to safeguard private property and suppress democratic protest.

In this early context, anthropology dealing with identity politics, globalization, and multiculturalism gained strength, exploring the changing nature of selfhood with respect to issues of belonging and citizenship (Appadurai 1996). Various case studies have questioned the ways in which citizenship is constructed and have elucidated how the cultural hybridizations that result from migration, displacement, and ethnic cleansing affect populations (Koopmans and Statham 1999). Others have asserted the emergence of new forms of national belonging in a fluid world aided by transnational flows of capital, information, people, and ideas (Ong 1999; Hedetoft and Hjort 2002).

Archaeological reconstructions of the past inherently reflect these contemporary transformations insofar as the interpretive act is an extension of and constructs subjectivities. In lieu of the various articulations of transnational selves that emerge out of postcolonial studies, how might we integrate such knowledge into our theories about the past? Do these theoretical insights point to new material indicators that archaeologists might look to in their reinterpretations and reconstructions of movement of populations in the past? If global, diasporic, or displaced communities begin to claim heritage to certain locales from a transnational third space, how will this affect questions relating to ownership of the past?

In addition to a shift toward understanding the postnational, the end of the Cold War and the subsequent dismantling of the Soviet Union have led to an important new direction in scholarship that articulates itself as being

post-Soviet. Emerging from decades of oppressive laws and governance, people from regions like Chechnya, Uzbekistan, and Kazakhstan are now explicitly investigating the legacies of the Soviet experiment and articulating new ways of reconstructing self in a post-Soviet moment. Although this theoretical condition has not fully entered into archaeological literature, it is a significant consideration in relation to practice, methodology, and the interpretations of past and present in the post-Soviet nations (Tupitsyn 2003). For example, Helen Petrovsky looks to photographs of war, specifically from the first Chechen war (1994–1996) that led to de facto independence from Russia, to understand how the past might be appropriated to form new historical narratives (2003). Her analysis is emblematic of a certain self-reflexivity within post-Soviet scholarship, acutely aware of the stakes surrounding a growing historical self-awareness. Such a stance will profoundly affect interpretations and practices related to archaeological pasts that emerge within these new national frameworks.

Archaeology conducted in the Soviet Republic was inherently political and expressed a specific relationship to Western archaeological method and theory (Trigger 1989:206). The Cold War strongly affected the nature of relationships and excavation practice between the Soviet Republic and the United States, as illustrated by the insistence on horizontal versus vertical excavations. Each of these methodologies maintained ideological distinctions between Soviet communism and capitalism (Kohl and Tsetskhladze 1995). With the collapse of this ideological opposition, it remains to be seen how the discipline will adapt to a temporally and theoretically post-Soviet moment (Chernykh 1995; Dolukhanov 2008).

Global Politics, Local Ramifications, and Archaeology's Role in Social Change

Another new direction archaeological practice might take in the wake of the postcolonial critique is an active engagement with communities expressing contemporary concerns for social change. In this context, social change can be understood as an attempt to modify social relationships within communities and engage in practices that advocate equitable representation and relationships to the past. These can range from fostering dialogic and interactive constructs that allow for new practices to emerge from within communities to updating the educational practices through which the discipline of archaeology is constructed.

Contemporary archaeologists have already begun to incorporate working with communities and publics as an integral aspect of their research designs.

Most clearly illustrated by new forms of community archaeology and public archaeology, these practices have emerged from discussions about the intersections of ethics and methodology and impact practice explicitly (Greer et al. 2002; Moser et al. 2002; Smith and Wobst 2005). More directly, the push for a decolonized archaeology and community collaborations (see Rizvi Chapter 7; Scham Chapter 10) has provided implements for affecting change within these communities. Linking social change to archaeological practice has its own important, if short, history, recalling earlier calls for a critical archaeology (Leone et al. 1987) and a radical archaeology (Saitta 1992), which applied Marxist frameworks to allow for changing practices that took into account race and class politics.

There is no denying that global politics, both present and past, affect access to archaeological sites, research, and communities; the 2001 destruction of the Bamiyan Buddhas in Afghanistan might be the most recent and spectacular example of this (Meskell 2002). Archaeology does not exist in a political, economic, or sociocultural vacuum, and it behooves archaeologists to develop and maintain the ability to assess the local ramifications of global politics, particularly within their regions of practice (for an earlier call to action, see Meskell 1998). Postcolonial theory is uniquely suited to provide archaeologists with the rich theoretical repertoire needed to update archaeological practice, especially in relation to its ethical responsibility, both locally and globally. For example, Lynn Meskell, in her recent research in South Africa, has implemented a "hybrid" practice of archaeological ethnography (2005). In a multifaceted, multiyear project at the Kruger National Park (KNP), this hybrid methodology allowed Meskell to examine a particular production of the past through a vast range of encounters, which included members of the Malatiji community at Mukushane, social ecologists, field rangers, interpretive officers, and heritage officers employed at the park. Practicing in the post-Apartheid state, Meskell's hybrid archaeological practice serves as a therapeutic service in the reconstruction of heritage.

In recent years, there has been a more focused move toward global understandings of archaeology at academic institutions both within the United States and around the world, as evidenced by the rise in sessions on collaboration and education in archaeology at the annual meetings of the Society for American Archaeology (SAA). Sonya Atalay's recent work (first presented as a paper at the SAA in 2005), which establishes a direct link between decolonization, education, and the advancement of archaeological practice, suggests ways in which new curricula can be formulated and implemented to account for postcolonial and indigenous critiques (see also Preucel and Cipolla Chapter 8).

Providing differential access to educational facilities and resources can be an important strategy for realigning current systems of control operating in the realms of knowledge production (Pagán Jiménez and Rodríguez Ramos Chapter 4; Rizvi Chapter 7). Often the specific allocation of research funds challenges and alters the fundamental structures of understanding within archaeology. For example, in an article on the intersections of feminist and indigenous archaeologies, Meg Conkey draws attention to a Ph.D. scholarship offered at the Australian National University designated for research work on indigenous collectors and collections, thus catalyzing a move away from a focus on Eurocentric collecting as the only valid form of ownership of past material objects (2005:18). The research conducted investigates indigenous peoples' roles in shaping private and public collections, dismantling the stereotype of indigenous people as only "museum victims."

There are clearly many new directions and questions that the postcolonial critique opens for archaeology. This volume is one step toward a more politically perceptive and contextualized archaeological practice that strives not only to answer questions of the past but also to shed important light on the present. The deconstruction of colonialism that follows in the wake of postcolonial studies allows archaeologists to understand the epistemological impact of their work, transforming policies and practices within both the academic sphere and the highly contested realm of representation in general. It necessitates questioning the source of authoritative voices, regardless of whether they originate from former colonizers or those colonized. It questions whether or not archaeologists are implicated in these discourses and which specific discourses are privileged, whether they adopt a rhetoric of atonement or one of resentment, and whether they promote strategies of true empowerment or opportunistic strategies of protracted control. These considerations explicitly position archaeologists within the spaces and discourses of power.

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