

University of Nebraska - Lincoln

DigitalCommons@University of Nebraska - Lincoln

University of Nebraska Press -- Sample Books
and Chapters

University of Nebraska Press

Fall 2013

Recognizing Heritage

Thomas H. Guthrie

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.unl.edu/unpresssamples>

Guthrie, Thomas H., "Recognizing Heritage" (2013). *University of Nebraska Press -- Sample Books and Chapters*. 219.

<https://digitalcommons.unl.edu/unpresssamples/219>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the University of Nebraska Press at DigitalCommons@University of Nebraska - Lincoln. It has been accepted for inclusion in University of Nebraska Press -- Sample Books and Chapters by an authorized administrator of DigitalCommons@University of Nebraska - Lincoln.

RECOGNIZING HERITAGE

RECOGNIZING HERITAGE

The Politics of Multiculturalism in New Mexico

THOMAS H. GUTHRIE

University of Nebraska Press | Lincoln & London

[Buy the Book](#)

© 2013 by the Board of Regents of the University of Nebraska. All illustrations are courtesy of the author unless otherwise noted. All rights reserved.

Manufactured in the United States of America.



Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Guthrie, Thomas H., 1974–

Recognizing heritage: the politics of multiculturalism
in New Mexico / Thomas H. Guthrie.

pages cm

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-8032-4610-2 (cloth: alk. paper) —

ISBN 978-0-8032-4979-0 (pbk.: alk. paper)

1. New Mexico—Ethnic relations. 2. Multicultural-
ism—New Mexico. 3. Cultural pluralism—New
Mexico. 4. New Mexico—Race relations. I. Title.

F805.A1G88 2013

305.8009789—dc23 2013013691

Set in Sabon by Laura Wellington.

For my parents, Vivian Hays Guthrie
and Shirley Caperton Guthrie Jr.

CONTENTS

List of Illustrations	ix
Acknowledgments	xi
A Note on Terminology	xv
Introduction	I
1. Constructing History at the Palace of the Governors	21
2. Authenticity under the Palace Portal	62
3. Heritage and Recognition in the Española Valley	97
4. The Politics of Preservation in Las Trampas	168
5. Anthropology, Heritage, and Multicultural Justice	218
Epilogue: Danza de los Antepasados	239
Appendix: Northern Rio Grande National Heritage Area Act	245
Notes	251
References	285
Index	307

ILLUSTRATIONS

Map of north-central New Mexico	xvii
1. The Sangre de Cristo Mountains north of Santa Fe	2
2. The Palace of the Governors	22
3. Mexican Governor's Office	38
4. Exposed fireplace in the Evolution of the Palace exhibit	40
5. Wall on display in the Evolution of the Palace exhibit	41
6. Exposed section of wall under the Palace portal	45
7. Historic Route 66 sign	54
8. Floor hatch revealing seventeenth-century foundation	59
9. Portal market, Palace of the Governors	63
10. Plaza de Española master plan by Bernabe Romero	115
11. Española plaza	116
12. The Bond House	119
13. The Arches of the Alhambra with waterfall and fountain	122
14. The Española Misión	123
15. Reredos inside the Misión	128
16. Reredo with saints mounted on wall	129
17. <i>The Last Conquistador</i> by Reynaldo Rivera	147
18. Figures in <i>La Jornada</i> viewed from within <i>Numbe Whageh</i>	152
19. "Spanish Settlement of the Southwest 1598" commemorative stamp	156
20. Eagle dancers perform at the stamp dedication ceremony	158
21. American flags on the plaza, Veterans Day 2003	160
22. Dedication of the Veterans' Memorial Wall, 2003	161

23. High desert along the High Road	169
24. San José de Gracia	170
25. San José de Gracia interior	171
26. The church and plaza viewed from across the highway	198
27. Locked doors, San José de Gracia	217
28. The Rio Grande near Taos	242

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many people have helped me along the way since I began this project in 2001, and it is a pleasure to be able to thank them now. In New Mexico, the interim board of the Northern Rio Grande National Heritage Area welcomed me to their meetings, invited me into their homes, and shared their work with me. I have learned so much from them and am grateful for their support. I am especially indebted to Willie Atencio, Kathy Córdova, Sam Delgado, and José Villa. More recently, Glenna Dean and Tom Romero generously gave me their time. A number of National Park Service (NPS) employees also helped me. Chief among these is Ernest Ortega, whose indefatigability, keen intellect, and commitment to his agency and country always impressed me. Ernesto brought me into the NPS as a volunteer, invited me to attend meetings with him, and engaged with me in thoughtful conversations about heritage preservation in New Mexico. Duane Alire, Brenda Barrett, Kathy Billings, Suzanne Copping, Cecilia Matic, Bob Powers, Dick Sellars, and Bob Spude were among the other NPS staff who contributed significantly to my work.

The staff of the Palace of the Governors patiently put up with my unusual questions and lingering presence, providing all the support I needed. I am grateful to Carlotta Boettcher, John McCarthy, Louise Stiver, and especially Fran Levine. Karl Hoerig shared his knowledge of the Palace portal. Tomas Jaehn and Hazel Romero in the Fray Angélico Chávez History Library provided excellent research support. Reference librarians elsewhere in

Santa Fe also deserve credit, especially those who meticulously clipped newspaper articles for vertical files over the years. A number of people helped make my research in Española productive, including Lou Baker, Susan Hazen-Hammond, Richard Luce-ro, Bernabe Romero, and Clare Villa. I have learned a great deal from Rina Swentzell, one of the wisest people I've ever met. At the University of New Mexico, Chris Wilson and Sylvia Rodríguez shared their deep knowledge of New Mexico, pointed me in the right direction, and provided helpful feedback. Steve Joseph and Beth Preble hired me to house-sit for them in Santa Fe, providing crucial financial support when I was a graduate student, and became good friends. Craig and Trasie Topple, old friends from Georgia, have graciously hosted me during more recent fieldwork. I know that not all these New Mexicans will agree with everything I say, but I hope that my deep respect for each of them will be apparent.

This work began as a dissertation at the University of Chicago, and the Department of Anthropology provided a fine education. I thank the members of my dissertation committee: Ray Fogelson for encouraging me to come to Chicago and supporting me from the beginning, Beth Povinelli for her theoretical insight and interest in the politics of multiculturalism, Joe Masco for his superb advice and careful reading, and Jessica Cattelino for her friendship and professionalism. Michael Silverstein, George Stocking, and Terry Straus also provided crucial support and taught me much. Anne Ch'ien helped me succeed in a long PhD program.

At Guilford College I am grateful to my students, who have allowed me to work out my ideas in class and challenged me to think and write more clearly. Their commitment to social justice has been an inspiration. My colleagues have been supportive and helped me develop my scholarship in a broader, interdisciplinary context. Guilford's commitment to dismantling institutional racism has provided a challenging and rewarding context within which to teach and write.

Matt Bokovoy at the University of Nebraska Press has been an outstanding editor, and I am grateful for his guidance, encour-

agement, and helpful feedback. Four reviewers also provided constructive criticism. Funding for this research came from a Century Fellowship, Department of Anthropology Leiffer Fellowship, and Mellon Foundation/Social Sciences Division Dissertation-Year Fellowship at the University of Chicago and from the Campbell Fund and several Faculty Research Grants at Guilford College. Parts of chapter 3 appeared in *The International Journal of Heritage Studies* (Guthrie 2010a).

Two of my professors at Davidson College, Grant Jones and Rosemary Lévy Zumwalt, taught me how to think critically as an anthropologist, mentored me, and became friends. Finally, I would like to thank my parents, who first introduced me to New Mexico when I was a child. I still remember walking down the portal at the Palace of the Governors in amazement. The love, support, and encouragement of my mom and dad throughout my life have made all of this possible.

A NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY

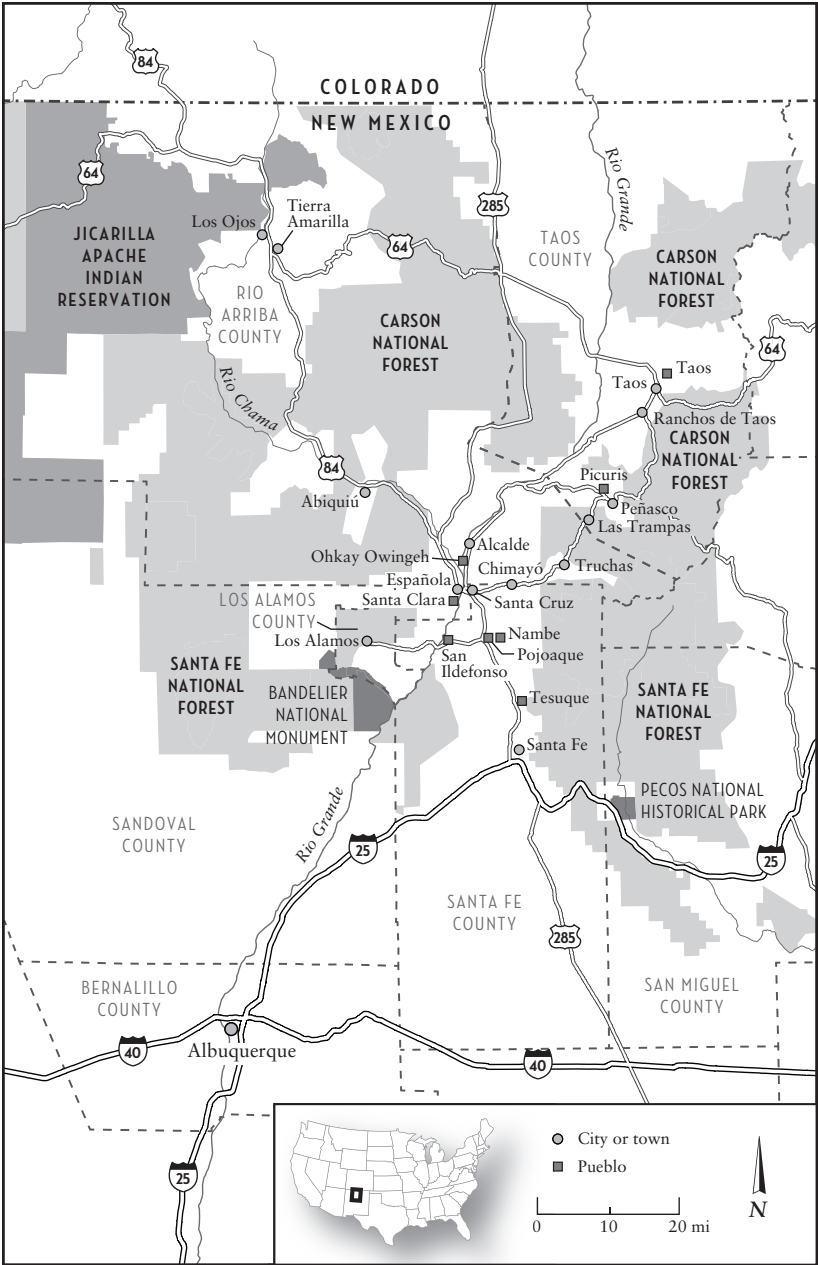
The names for the various groups that have settled in New Mexico are notoriously problematic, since none are universally acceptable and most are homogenizing. The terms “Pueblo,” “Indian,” and “Native American” are all European or Euro-American inventions. Native peoples often prefer to identify themselves more specifically by their particular Pueblo, tribe, nation, language family, or clan. Nevertheless, both indigenous and non-indigenous people in New Mexico today widely use all of these terms. I use all three interchangeably except when a more specific designation is possible. Context should make it clear when I am using “Indian” in the more restricted sense of “Pueblo Indian,” but in no case do I mean to imply that all Indians, all Pueblo Indians, or all members of any given Pueblo have the same ideas or experiences, which they do not.

More problematic is the nomenclature for Spanish-speaking people in New Mexico, which reveals a complex history of identity politics. Throughout the Americas, Spanish colonization depended upon a distinction between Spaniards and Indians, but intermixing led to the use of an intricate system of classification, known as the *casta* system, that identified various kinds of *mestizaje*, or racial mixing, corresponding to a social hierarchy (Gutiérrez 1991, 194–206; Nieto-Phillips 2004, 23–37; Wilson 1997, 28–31). New Mexico was part of Mexico when the United States acquired the territory in 1848, but American racism toward Mexicans resulted in a reassertion of “Spanish” identity. To this day some Hispanics in New Mexico identify as Spanish or Spanish American, dis-

tinguishing themselves from Mexicans in terms of race, class, national origins, land rights, and citizenship. The rise of Chicano activism in the 1960s further complicated matters by promoting a celebration rather than denial of *mestizaje*, but many Hispanics in New Mexico continue to insist on pure Spanish heritage. More recent immigrants from Latin America further diversify the population. Today various names for Spanish-speaking New Mexicans circulate in print and everyday conversation, including Spanish, Spanish American, Hispanic, Hispano, Mexicano, Nuevomexicano, Chicano, and Latino (see Lovato 2004, 40). Choice of terms varies widely according to social context and whether people are speaking English or Spanish. Even Spanish speakers themselves are not always sure how best to identify their ethnicity (e.g., deBuys 1985, 213). I use the terms “Hispanic,” “Hispano,” and “Nuevomexicano” interchangeably, alternatives common in the scholarly literature on New Mexico (see Trujillo 2009, xiv–xvi, 39–43), but fully acknowledge the inadequacy of these terms.

If names for Indians and Hispanics in New Mexico are problematic, so too are those for the people who arrived after American conquest. The term “Anglo” (or “Anglo-American”) emerged in the early twentieth century as a correlate of “Spanish American.” English speakers who were neither Indian nor Hispanic could no longer simply be called “Americans,” since all New Mexicans were now supposedly American. They therefore became *Anglo-American*, regardless of whether they were of English, Canadian, German, Jewish, or some other Euro-American background. Like other New Mexican ethnonyms, then, the term “Anglo” lumps diverse groups together. I use it throughout this book to refer imprecisely, as New Mexicans still do, to non-Indians and non-Hispanics, recognizing, again, its inaccuracy.

The idea that the Southwest is made up of three distinct groups (Indians, Hispanics, and Anglos) further clouds the picture. The rhetoric of triculturalism fails to acknowledge the diversity *within* each group, the intermixing *between* groups, and the presence of people of Asian and African descent who do not fit within this schema at all (cf. Spicer 1972).



Map of north-central New Mexico. The Northern Rio Grande National Heritage Area comprises Rio Arriba, Santa Fe, and Taos Counties.

Introduction

On a sunny spring day in 2002 in Santa Fe, New Mexico, U.S. senator Jeff Bingaman announced plans to establish the Northern Rio Grande National Heritage Area. Designated by Congress, national heritage areas are both places and administrative frameworks. They cover nationally significant, living cultural landscapes and provide a way for local communities to partner with the federal government to promote historic preservation, cultural conservation, economic development, education, recreation, and environmental protection. North-central New Mexico ranges from high desert to forested mountains and has a long history of multicultural settlement (see fig. 1). The heritage area would commemorate the four-hundred-year “coexistence” of Spanish and Indian peoples in this region and recognize New Mexico’s place within the United States.

Bingaman’s announcement took place in the courtyard of the Palace of the Governors, an adobe building on the north side of the Santa Fe plaza. Constructed around 1610, the Palace served as the administrative center of New Mexico for three hundred years. Spaniards, Mexicans, Americans, and Pueblo Indians all occupied the Palace at different times, asserting their authority over the region and its diverse population. In 1909 the territorial legislature converted the building into a museum of history and anthropology, and since then it has become Santa Fe’s best-developed historic site. The Palace of the Governors therefore embodies the complex relationship among colonialism, multiculturalism, and heritage preservation in New Mexico.



Fig. 1. The Sangre de Cristo Mountains north of Santa Fe.

Given contentious ethnic relations in this region, suspicion toward the federal government, unsettled land and water rights claims, and worries about tourism, Bingaman's announcement raised some concerns. At the senator's side to help explain what the heritage area designation would mean was Ernest Ortega, the New Mexico state director of the National Park Service (the agency that oversees the national heritage area program). Bingaman wore a suit and tie, Ortega his gray-and-green Park Service uniform. Ortega stressed that heritage areas are commemorative designations that bring up to ten million dollars in federal funds over fifteen years for projects and programs. Unlike national parks, they involve no new land regulation, a serious concern in the western United States. The federal government already managed almost 60 percent of the land in Santa Fe, Rio Arriba, and Taos Counties, which make up the heritage area. This included Indian land and former Spanish and Mexican land grants (communal land given to settlers and largely broken up by Americans). Representatives of several Pueblos, including the governor of San

Juan Pueblo, expressed tentative support for the heritage area and asked why they had not been more involved in the planning process (Tollefson 2002). Bingham's legislation did specifically protect private property rights and mandate Native American representation (see the appendix).

According to the legislation, the top two reasons for establishing the heritage area were that "northern New Mexico encompasses a mosaic of cultures and history, including 8 Pueblos and the descendants of Spanish ancestors who settled in the area in 1598" and that "the combination of cultures, languages, folk arts, customs, and architecture make northern New Mexico unique."¹ This multicultural affirmation is a far cry from earlier American attitudes toward New Mexico and its residents. After the United States acquired half of Mexico's territory in 1848, at the end of the Mexican-American War, Americans began to dispossess Hispanics and Indians of their land and forcibly assimilate them. New Mexico did not become a state until 1912, largely due to fears that the region was too different to be integrated into the nation, and only after a concerted effort to Americanize New Mexico's economy, culture, and architecture. In 2002 the federal government's recognition of New Mexico not *despite of* but *because of* its cultural distinctiveness illustrated how much attitudes toward cultural difference had changed in the United States. Bingham's proposal quickly received bipartisan support from New Mexico's entire congressional delegation. In 2006 President Bush signed into law a bill establishing the Northern Rio Grande National Heritage Area and nine other heritage areas in other parts of the country.²

Colonialism and Multiculturalism

This book explores the relationship between colonialism and multiculturalism, two seemingly opposite political projects that have long coexisted in New Mexico. Colonizers are usually ethnocentric. When Spaniards began colonizing New Mexico in 1598 they assumed that their religion and way of life were superior to those of the indigenous peoples they encountered. Americans looked

down on both Indians and Mexicans. However, colonialism can also involve admiration for cultural difference.

Celebrations of New Mexico's diverse cultures go back almost as far as attempts to wipe them out. At the same time some Anglos were Americanizing New Mexico in hopes of achieving statehood, others worked to preserve its cultural uniqueness. By the early twentieth century an influential group of artists and writers had migrated from the Northeast and Midwest to New Mexico seeking to escape the materialism and alienation of industrial capitalism. These antimodernists idealized Native American and Nuevomexicano communities and worked hard to revive, promote, and shape their artistic traditions. In Santa Fe, civic boosters believed that New Mexico's cultural and architectural heritage could attract tourists and cultivated an exotic image of "the City Different." Yet even the most fervent antimodernists did not oppose the American occupation of New Mexico. Sure of their expertise and good taste, they considered themselves better suited to save the region's cultural heritage than Indians and Hispanos themselves. They also celebrated some aspects of Native American and Hispanic cultures while criticizing others.

As the twentieth century unfolded, the idea that cultural diversity was an asset rather than a problem became dominant in New Mexico.³ Old-fashioned discrimination has by no means gone away, but it is now less publically acceptable than it once was.⁴ Since the 1960s, the national rise of liberal multiculturalism has provided a broader context for the celebration of cultural difference in the Southwest. Multiculturalists value diversity and seek to balance equality and difference. The confluence of regional romanticism and national multiculturalism enabled the establishment of the Northern Rio Grande National Heritage Area. It also makes New Mexico an ideal place to study the politics of multiculturalism.

Nevertheless, the American Southwest remains a colonial region. Native Americans and Nuevomexicanos know this, but many Americans prefer not to think of the United States as a colonial power at all. We mark 1776 as the *end* of our colonial peri-

od and the beginning of our independence. But the United States is and always has been a settler colony, where Europeans came, dominated, and never left. This is to say nothing of our overseas colonial exploits (Gómez 2007, 7). If the idea of “postcolonialism” is problematic in countries like India and Jamaica, which formally won their independence in the twentieth century, it is even more so in settler colonies like the United States and Australia, where colonization never ended, regardless of their commitment to multiculturalism (Povinelli 2002).⁵ New Mexico is still part of the United States, and Anglo-American political, economic, and cultural systems remain dominant. Indians still have to negotiate their sovereignty with the federal government as “domestic dependent nations,” while Nuevomexicanos continue to fight for land rights guaranteed under the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Water rights remain contentious in the Southwest, and their adjudication requires courts to plumb the region’s double colonial history to determine prior appropriation. Throughout the Southwest today the myth of “tricultural” harmony belies social, political, and economic hierarchies that remain characteristically (though complexly) colonial.

In this book I argue that dominant forms of multiculturalism challenge colonial hierarchies on the surface but reinforce them at a deeper level. The colonial effects of multiculturalism are more subtle than those of conquest and assimilation but are no less significant. Most of the time they are unintentional. They are not the product of a conspiracy or conscious political strategy but operate “behind the backs” of people who really do value diversity and inclusivity (cf. Ferguson 1994, 17–21, 256). This helps to explain why Native Americans and Hispanics, as well as Anglo-Americans, have invested in multiculturalism. It has become hegemonic in New Mexico, since its ideological premises are now mostly taken for granted and both dominant and subordinate groups reproduce its colonial functions. Multiculturalism has become a *consensual* and often counter-intentional form of domination. It is precisely the subtle and unintentional nature of colonial multiculturalism that makes it powerful and worth studying.

As a social and political ideal, multiculturalism comes up in various contexts and underlies a range of political projects. I focus on one form of multiculturalism—the politics of recognition—and one area where multiculturalism finds expression—heritage interpretation and preservation—that are particularly significant in New Mexico.

Heritage Development in Northern New Mexico

Many New Mexicans, especially the community activists, National Park Service employees, museum professionals, historic preservationists, and civic leaders I worked with, are interested in cultural heritage. Most conceive of heritage as a set of traditions inherited from previous generations. They highlight language, religion, adobe architecture, art, dance and ritual, agricultural practices, and food. Heritage brings together culture, identity, and the past.

People often pay attention to heritage only when they think it is threatened. “I have always had this very strong concern about people in northern New Mexico losing some of their cultural traits,” Ernest Ortega (2003) told me, “because some of those . . . traditions are core to a people’s being.” Concerns about culture and language loss in New Mexico point to the social and economic effects of American colonization. Americans settled the Southwest in increasing numbers after the 1880s. They brought with them unprecedented wealth and a novel set of values, technologies, and laws. Over the course of the twentieth century, assimilation campaigns, land loss, and a shift from subsistence agriculture to an economy based on wage labor, government, and tourism destabilized Native American and Hispanic communities. Today both struggle to overcome poverty and all the social problems associated with it.

Heritage areas provide a framework for addressing these social and economic woes together. They rely on the principle of heritage development: cultivating heritage in order to strengthen community identity and promote economic development. With their inclusion of living communities, focus on both people and

nature, integration of conservation and community development, reliance on partnerships, and regional scale, heritage areas exemplify new approaches to conservation (Barrett 2003; Phillips 2003). Heritage tourism is one of the most common ways to integrate conservation and development, but many New Mexicans cringe at the idea of attracting *more* tourists. Although the tourism industry provides a desperately needed source of income, it has resulted in environmental stress and urban gentrification. The Northern Rio Grande National Heritage Area (NRGNHA, or “nor-gan-ha”) promises to help New Mexicans manage tourism, foster cultural understanding, and “tell their own story.” It builds upon but attempts to control a long history of cultural representation and commodification in the Southwest—indeed, the *invention* of the Southwest as an American region (Guthrie 2005, 83–103).

The National Park Service (NPS) helped to organize a series of public meetings in 1999 and 2000 to introduce the heritage area concept. The response was positive, and a group of citizens formed the interim board of the Northern Rio Grande National Heritage Area, Inc., a nonprofit organization that became the heritage area’s official management entity. Board members represent municipalities and organizations within the heritage area as well as state agencies. Designating legislation requires the management entity to develop a plan outlining short- and long-term goals. The NPS assists the management entity, but the authority to implement the management plan remains local. Congress appropriates funds for heritage areas that must be matched with non-federal funds. The NRGNHA board has drawn up bylaws, encouraged public involvement, hired an executive director, produced a film, and drafted a management plan. A grant program supports a range of preservation, education, cultural revitalization, arts, and economic development projects through public and private partnerships.⁶ The following chapters and “notes from the field” explore the social and political conditions in which this new initiative is emerging.

Recognizing Heritage

Recognition is an important political process in multicultural societies. It can be formal or informal, ranging from the government's acknowledgment of a group's existence and rights to the inclusion of a group's culture and history in school curricula, museum exhibits, or public celebrations. Recognition can affect marginalized groups' economic and political situation as well as their psychological well-being (Taylor 1994). It usually involves negotiating the political status of cultural groups and how much cultural diversity states can accommodate.⁷

National heritage areas have become a vehicle for cultural recognition. According to the National Park Service, heritage areas are “places where natural, cultural, and historic resources combine to form a cohesive, nationally important landscape” (NPS 2012). They “represent distinctive aspects of American heritage worthy of recognition, conservation, interpretation, and continuing use” and reflect “traditions, customs, beliefs, and folk life that are a valuable part of the national story” (NPS 2005). A heritage area designation thus enables the government to affirm that a region is both *culturally distinctive* and *nationally significant*, that it is different and that it belongs. This kind of affirmation exemplifies multicultural nationalism.⁸

A brochure introducing the Northern Rio Grande National Heritage Area called for “a time of recognition.” America's strength supposedly lies in its cultural diversity, the brochure stated, but New Mexico's Hispanic and Native American heritage has been underestimated and ignored. As a result it is now endangered. “Our nation's educational system has been conspicuously remiss in teaching, with accuracy and completeness, about New Mexico's influences on countless aspects of our national heritage, in areas such as law, water and land-tenure practices, trade, folklore, ranching, music, food, language, and religion.” According to the brochure, academics have contributed to the problem: for 150 years anthropological and historical research has been romanticized or biased. Concerns about inadequate scholarship, misinter-

pretation, and misrepresentation came up often in conversations I had. The brochure concluded that the “Northern Rio Grande National Heritage Area recognizes and celebrates the rich heritage of the Rio Grande region of northern New Mexico—its culture and traditions, and its countless influences on the development of the United States and the American way of life” (NRGNHA 2007).

The politics of recognition emphasizes accuracy: recognize us for who we really are. This presumes that groups have an *essential* cultural identity that exists independently of their relationship to other groups and the process of recognition itself. But in order for a group to be recognized, it must first make itself visible, differentiate itself from other groups, present itself as more or less cohesive, and, oftentimes, demonstrate “authenticity” and cultural continuity through time. In other words, it must produce—in the sense of both manufacture and offer up for viewing—an identity. As Richard Handler (1988) has shown, national claims are often premised upon a group’s “having a culture.” The same applies to multicultural regions seeking recognition. Understanding the politics of recognition therefore requires analyzing the social and institutional contexts within which people negotiate identities and produce difference. Heritage development makes cultural difference more recognizable. It brings culture, identity, and the past into consciousness and into view, lifting people, places, and social practices out of everyday existence and holding them up for inspection. This view of heritage as a *process*, which I elaborate in the following chapters, differs from the view of heritage as a collection of objects and traditions I described above.⁹

Notes from the Field

JUNE 20, 2002

Senate Hearing on the Northern Rio Grande National Heritage Area Act, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Washington DC

I moved to New Mexico in early June but happened to be in Washington for a wedding when the Senate Subcommittee on National

Parks held a hearing on three heritage area bills. I never expected to do fieldwork on Capitol Hill in a suit and tie but quite enjoyed it.

Brenda Barrett, the national coordinator of the heritage area program, testified on all the bills and conveyed the National Park Service's support for the NRGNHA. In response to a question from Senator Bingaman, she confirmed that the NRGNHA bill would not preempt the land management authority of any private individuals, local governments, or Pueblos.

Two New Mexicans testified on behalf of the NRGNHA. Kathy Córdova, the chair of the heritage area's interim board, emphasized that this was a grassroots, collaborative initiative. In New Mexico, "American Indians, Hispanics, and other cultures live side by side in scenic beauty," she said. Córdova recounted the history of citizen involvement in the heritage area and presented letters of support from three city governments, three county commissions, the New Mexico state legislature, three Pueblo governors, and the Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Council. She mentioned that she recently ran into the governor of Pojoaque Pueblo at a rosary and that he invited her to come have lunch at their casino to talk about the heritage area. This is how business often gets done in New Mexico.

José Villa, the vice-chair of the board, brought warm greetings from Richard Lucero, the mayor of Española, whose "vision and leadership have guided and inspired us." Villa argued that establishing the NRGNHA would be a way to recognize the contributions of Indians and Hispanics to American history and to educate Americans about New Mexico's place in the United States. He described the importance of family, religion, land, and water in New Mexico. "Our traditions and culture . . . emphasize the American ability to be different while still being American."

Everyone who spoke about the NRGNHA exalted the collaboration between Hispanics and Indians. The hearing was an affirmation of multicultural politics. I found it fitting that the chair of the subcommittee, Senator Daniel Akaka of Hawaii, had both Native Hawaiian and Chinese ancestry.

Multicultural Domination and Multicultural Justice

Attempts to recognize heritage in New Mexico reveal how multiculturalism as a political ideal and practice can subtly reinforce colonial hierarchies. If some liberal theorists equate multicultural justice with the accurate recognition of real identities, an anti-essentialist position requires new theories of power and justice in multicultural settings (e.g., Fish 1997; Markell 2003; Povinelli 2002). Pursuing justice through recognition may have some positive results, but recognition is at best an insufficient and at worst a counterproductive strategy. I identify three characteristics of multiculturalism in northern New Mexico that help to reproduce colonial power relations: the politics of visibility, the politics of authenticity, and the anti-politics of culture.

“Culture” has become a depoliticized and depoliticizing concept. In New Mexico, the rhetoric of triculturalism emphasizes harmonious coexistence and downplays colonial violence, racism, and inequality. While “cultural” celebrations are welcome in public spaces, debates about land and water rights (or anything else that seems “political”) are often marginalized. Talking about culture and celebrating cultural survival can be a way of *not* talking about colonial legacies or the need for a redistribution of wealth and resources.¹⁰ This does not mean that culture is any less political (or real) than people’s access to land and water. There is nothing apolitical about the anti-politics of culture. Although (or precisely because) cultural projects may appear apolitical, they can have powerful political effects (see chapters 3 and 4).

Dominant groups can ensure their power by making themselves and their authority visible while erasing the presence of the colonized. But the opposite tactic also works (Casper and Moore 2009). Multicultural projects often highlight the cultures, perspectives, and experiences of subaltern (subordinate) groups while leaving dominant groups in the dark and thus immune to criticism. Ensuring the visibility of a group renders it more susceptible to surveillance and discipline (Foucault [1975] 1995; Markell 2003, 145–46). In New Mexico, Hispanics and Pueblo Indians,

famous for their “rich” and “colorful” cultures, are often the objects of a controlling colonial and tourist gaze (Rodríguez 1994). They stand out, especially in comparison to Anglo-Americans, who often appear cultureless.¹¹ While this unequal visibility seems to favor subaltern groups, it allows Anglos to occupy a normative position. If Indians and Nuevomexicanos are *marked* by their difference (which accounts for their high visibility), Anglos are *unmarked*. Marking in this sense represents an assertion of power, because the unmarked category remains the standard or norm (Anglos are just normal, modern) against which others are measured (the others are different, unusual). To the extent that Hispanos and Native Americans are marked by their colorful heritage, they are associated with “tradition” and the past, leaving Anglo-Americans to claim “modernity” and New Mexico’s future for themselves (see chapters 1, 3, and 4).

Native American and Hispanic cultures in New Mexico have been scrutinized, studied, curated, and managed more than other cultures. Concerns about their authenticity add an extra burden. Authenticity is an impossible ideal with significant political implications. In New Mexico, the political rights of Native Americans and Nuevomexicanos sometimes depend on their ability to maintain and perform “traditional” cultures. Anglo-Americans have often defined and evaluated the cultural authenticity of these groups, and the ultimate measure of authenticity lies in the (imagined) past. Demands for authenticity therefore constrain Hispanos and Indians, who benefit when they orient their lives to the past rather than the present or future. The successful maintenance of tradition reassures all New Mexicans that American colonization has not been totally destructive. However, New Mexico’s double colonial history and highly developed tourism industry fuel anxieties over culture loss, casting doubt on all cultural performances. Subaltern groups bear the political and psychological weight of these anxieties, since they must convince others and themselves of their cultural integrity. The politics of authenticity also excludes people of mixed ancestry, lower- and working-class people, and recent Mexican immigrants

from public spaces in New Mexico (e.g., Horton 2010, 163–74) (see chapters 2 and 5).

In order for multicultural projects to dismantle rather than reproduce colonial hierarchies—to nurture equality without requiring homogeneity—they must first foreground political and economic relations. In New Mexico this must involve addressing land and water rights, the social and environmental costs of development, and the unequal benefits of capitalism (Briggs and Van Ness 1987; Ebright 1994; R. Ortiz 1980; Rodríguez 2006). But it is also essential to uncover the politics of *culture* and the relationship between cultural production and material conditions (Kosek 2006; Rodríguez 1994; Wilson 1997). Second, the public interpretation of New Mexican heritage must bring Anglo-Americans, tourists, and capitalists into view, not because they are victims of “reverse discrimination” but because they have had a profound impact on social life in New Mexico. Rejecting a narrow focus on subaltern groups (the usual “targets” of multicultural reforms) may help to reconfigure cultural norms and expose colonial power relations to critique. Finally, I advocate a broad public effort to deconstruct the concept of cultural authenticity. This will require rethinking fundamental concepts such as culture, identity, tradition, modernity, and indigeneity. I discuss all of these recommendations more fully in chapter 5.

Beyond New Mexico

Although this book focuses on a particular place with a distinctive history, it sheds light on a broader set of issues. Multicultural celebrations are ubiquitous in the United States and throughout much of the world. Yet the politics of authenticity, the politics of visibility, and the anti-politics of culture often tether them to colonial orders. Analyzing the unintentional colonial effects of multiculturalism in New Mexico may provide tools for exposing them elsewhere. The politics of recognition deserves special attention. Recognition has become the basis for all kinds of political struggles as indigenous peoples, women, religious and sexual minorities, immigrants, and others assert their identities and rights. Rec-

ognition may seem like a clear path toward justice, but I join other scholars in pointing out its pitfalls. New Mexico is also a useful vantage point for analyzing American nationalism, since identity and citizenship have been contentious there for centuries. What does it mean to be American? What is the relationship between cultural identity and political rights in the United States? As I will show, New Mexicans engage with these questions on a daily basis.

Heritage has also become a global concern, expanding in every direction. Writers tend either to treat heritage as an objective reality or to dismiss it as a social construct. I critically analyze heritage projects without writing them off. The people I know in New Mexico take heritage seriously, and so do I. Heritage preservation efforts are a response to the intergenerational stress of rapid social change. They often seek to revive outmoded cultural forms. But my work demonstrates the value of concentrating instead on social, economic, and political context, particularly when colonialism and capitalism have produced structural inequalities. My focus on a national heritage area makes the project unique and timely. Heritage areas represent the cutting edge of conservation practice in the United States, and their popularity is growing. Of the forty-nine national heritage areas established since 1984, forty-three have been created since 1996 and more than half since 2004. Huge regions—including the entire state of Tennessee—have become national heritage areas. What does this mean? Other countries are also integrating environmental protection, cultural conservation, and economic development on a regional scale. This book provides a model for studying similar projects.

Finally, *Recognizing Heritage* illuminates the relationship between heritage projects and anthropology. I discuss the parallel development of anthropology and tourism in the Southwest, identify outdated anthropological concepts in the heritage industry, and suggest that some of the problems with heritage preservation efforts remain entrenched in academic anthropology. Both anthropologists and preservationists can benefit from considering our similarities and differences.

My Research and Writing

I lived in Santa Fe for eighteen months in 2002 and 2003 and have returned to New Mexico almost every year since then for shorter visits. I have attended lectures and panel discussions, taken tours, visited museums, parks, and monuments, shared drinks and meals with people, observed dances and other special events, and generally explored the region. I spent a significant portion of my time investigating and participating in the early development of the Northern Rio Grande National Heritage Area. I attended the heritage area board's monthly meetings and, as a volunteer with the National Park Service in Santa Fe, provided administrative assistance to NPS staff and the board. This gave me an inside view of the bureaucratic dimension of federal heritage projects. I attended several national conferences on heritage areas and heritage development sponsored by the NPS. Finally, I conducted semi-structured interviews with members of the heritage area board, NPS staff, and other preservationists and planners interested in the project. This close involvement in the development of the heritage area gave me insight into how local organizers imagined their region and why they believed New Mexico deserved national recognition.

The following chapters examine four sites within the NRGNHA that illustrate multicultural politics and the social and political conditions under which the heritage area is developing.¹² This collection of sites provides a partial survey not only of the heritage *area* but also of related attempts to recognize New Mexican heritage. My research at these various sites included participant observation, interviews, historical reconstruction, architectural analysis, investigation of legal cases, and analysis of newspaper articles, archival materials, anthropological accounts, memoirs, government reports, and preservation proposals. Site analysis has several advantages (see Dorst 1989, 1999). First, it suits my interest in a region, its construction as a site of cultural difference within the United States, and the various groups that interact there. Second, it lessens the extent to which my work objectifies human beings.

Finally, it makes it easy to combine spatial and historical research, crucial in this study of the Northern Rio Grande National Heritage Area.

Anthropologists sometimes strive to convey “the native’s point of view” and often exaggerate their ability to do so (Geertz 1983). I am sympathetic with both Native Americans and Hispanics in New Mexico and am critical of Anglo-American domination. This does not mean, however, that this book privileges Pueblo and Nuevomexicano perspectives. I cannot speak for Hispanics or Indians, who have already spoken for themselves in many diverse voices. I am not a New Mexican (I grew up in Georgia and now live in North Carolina). My status as a newcomer, the brevity of my fieldwork, and my poor command of Spanish and inability to speak any indigenous languages precluded me from gaining full access to Pueblo and Hispano communities. While I am grateful that people have welcomed me to their meetings and into their homes, sat down for interviews, showed me around their communities, and supported my research in countless other ways, I cannot offer a private, insider’s view of northern New Mexico. My account sometimes significantly differs, in both content and form, from the self-representations of the people I worked with. I make arguments (e.g., about the social construction of heritage) that they would not make, and I am writing in a language and style that they would not necessarily choose when representing themselves.

However, my status as an “outsider” and my social scientific style of writing should in no way imply objectivity or neutrality. All outsiders are insiders somewhere. My particular identity has hardly been irrelevant in my engagement with New Mexico (see chapter 4). Furthermore, within a larger, national context I am no outsider at all. I acknowledge the specificity of my own position so that readers are better able to evaluate and criticize my interpretations. Disclosing one’s position is an important part of confronting the politics of visibility and pursuing multicultural justice. Western culture has long privileged the view from the outside or from above, because such a view supposedly enables rational,

disengaged, comprehensive understanding. This “view from nowhere” is authoritative and controlling (Gupta 1998, 303). What is more, to stand *nowhere* is to occupy an unmarked, unassailable position. As I argue in the following chapters, this kind of invisibility is an unjust privilege. If anthropologists are to contribute to social justice, we must avoid drawing on and reproducing the very forms of power we are critiquing. I cannot write from someone else’s position, and I cannot write from no position. In this book I offer nothing more or less than my own particular perspective on New Mexico, which is both informed and partial.

Notes from the Field

JUNE 27, 2002

Northern Rio Grande National Heritage Area board meeting, the Misión-Convento, Española

I had only been in New Mexico for a few weeks when I attended my first heritage area board meeting. The members of the interim board were all friendly. In addition to Kathy Córdova and José Villa, whom I met a week earlier in Washington after the Senate hearing, seven other board members were present. All were Hispanic professionals at least in their forties. Duane Alire (a National Park Service employee working with the NRGNHA) and a representative from Senator Bingaman’s office were also there.

I sat down at the back of the small, plain room, but José told me to come sit next to him at the table. After he introduced me, someone jokingly asked how much I was going to pay to study them. Another anthropologist had studied his town and promised to donate the royalties from her book to their school system, but they never heard back from her. I said I would be happy to do the same but that a book was a long way off.

The board was focused on spreading the word about the heritage area, meeting with city and county government representatives, demonstrating local support for the legislation, and lobbying their congressional delegates. Kathy reported on the Senate

hearing and all the politicians they visited in Washington. Pete Domenici, New Mexico's other senator, had expressed concerns about property rights that the board was eager to dispel. Several board members were frustrated that no Pueblo representatives had come to the meeting after they complained to Bingaman about their lack of involvement. José was preparing articles of incorporation for the board, and a discussion about the relationship between the heritage area and the National Park Service ensued.

After the meeting I joined Duane and several board members for a beer at Anthony's at the Delta, a bar just down the street from the Española plaza. José had many suggestions for what I should read and told me about his involvement in the Chicano movement in California. After the drinks and conversation I felt like a real anthropologist.

A Map of the Book

The four central chapters of *Recognizing Heritage* provide a selective tour of the Northern Rio Grande National Heritage Area. In chapter 1, I return to the Palace of the Governors, the site of Senator Bingaman's press conference, to examine the social and political effects of its development as a museum. I argue that the Palace has become a key site for the construction of history and colonial modernity in New Mexico, both of which are subtly racialized. In the early 1900s, museum founders promoted the Palace as a monument to New Mexico's Indian and Hispanic past and American future. Since the 1970s several exhibits have implied that the building's history ended when it became a museum, which leaves the museum establishment to occupy the normative and unmarked space of modernity.

Chapter 2 picks up just outside the front door of the Palace of the Governors, where Indian artists participating in a Museum of New Mexico program sell their work to tourists. The beginning of the chapter explores the semiotics of tourism and the relationship between authenticity and recognition. I then consider

the legal and institutional construction of authenticity in the portal market and critiques of “staged authenticity.” When critics imply that *true* authenticity lies somewhere *else*, they doubly imperil indigenous people, who are discredited in the public places where they actually are and who cannot possibly inhabit the fantasy spaces where their authentic traditions supposedly exist.

In chapter 3 we leave Santa Fe and head up the road to the town of Española. I examine the production of public cultural identities and the creative use of the past in the Española valley and how both relate to the politics of recognition. The chapter focuses on the development of a tricultural plaza space in Española and a series of attempts in the 1990s to commemorate the Spanish colonization of the Southwest. Both addressed New Mexico’s place within the United States, garnered national recognition for the region, and paved the way for the NRGNHA.

The last site I consider is the village of Las Trampas. Chapter 4 marks a shift to rural issues and addresses the decline of New Mexico’s agricultural economy. However, its principal concern is how Anglo preservationists have represented and engaged with Las Trampas. They have tended to represent the village as either timeless and traditional or on the verge of collapse. Both discourses have reassured preservationists and helped to perpetuate colonial domination in northern New Mexico. I analyze a proposal in the 1960s to turn the entire village into a living national monument that was a precursor of the national heritage area initiative. I conclude the chapter with a self-reflexive discussion of the politics of ethnography and the relationship between cultural representation and power.

The concluding chapter suggests that the heritage industry relies upon outdated anthropological concepts and principles that impede multicultural justice. One example is a preoccupation with authenticity in discussions of cultural objectification. I elaborate a theory of multicultural justice based on current anthropology and examples from the book.

The epilogue provides an update on the development of the Northern Rio Grande National Heritage Area. I describe an event

in 2011 that illustrates the heritage area's social and political potential. The theme of recognition no longer comes up as much in talk about the heritage area. This shift makes it more likely that the NRGNHA may support grassroots efforts that significantly challenge colonial power relations.