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The Applied Anthropologist publishes peer-reviewed articles, commentaries, brief communications, field reports, and book reviews on a wide range of topics. The journal's focus is on cultural change and adaptation in the modern world. It explores how humans approach, analyze, and develop solutions to cultural, ecological, economic, and technological problems. The journal is supported and underwritten by the High Plains Society for Applied Anthropology. Guidelines for authors and electronic access to back issues are available on the website or by contacting Managing Editor Andrea Akers at underline andrea.akers.mader@gmail.com or Editor-in-Chief Stephen O. Stewart at stephen.o.stewart@gmail.com. Further information about the society is available at www.HPSfAA.org.

POINT-TO-POINT

STEPHEN O. STEWART   EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

The current issue of The Applied Anthropologist contains a series of articles that I believe to be as important as contributions to the field of applied anthropology as they were fascinating to me as editor. It is my hope that they will stimulate others — students as well as veteran professionals — to send in other equally stimulating and important contributions to our journal.

Our headline article touches on a theme of increasing importance in the United States as well as in other countries throughout the world: how to deal thoughtfully and respectfully with where we live and work — and worship. It is clear that the growing population and the desire to exploit the resources found in and under the land will continue to place continued and increasing pressures on the places we inhabit, and it is therefore important that we take into account how best to respond to those pressures.

The article by Kimball et. al. from the University of Northern Colorado at Greeley helps show how this can be done. This article presents the living heritage paradigm as an alternative to the more well-known and accepted notions of heritage, which they term the Good Old Days (GOD) and Saving the Past for the Future (SPF). The living heritage paradigm looks at heritage as evolving in response to its changing relations with communities of people. The authors integrate Place Building Theory (PBT) with the living heritage paradigm as a means of operationalizing living heritage research, and they provide three excellent examples, one of which makes reference to the Ute Ethnobotany Project reported in The Applied Anthropologist Volume 32:1 (2012).

The living heritage paradigm is further illustrated by the article by Craig Harmon, a retired employee of the Bureau of Land Management (BLM), which highlights the role of that agency. The story involves a proposed road improvement through a valley in central Utah to improve transport of mined coal. Through the eyes of those who are not Native Americans of the area, the valley is just a valley. Through the eyes of the Native Americans — Paiute, Ute, Navajo, and Hopi — the valley is a sacred place of ceremony. Justifiably, the valley has been preserved, and coal transport was to occur elsewhere.

Communication between cultures often presents problems the applied anthropologists can assist in solving. Catherine Prowse's article helps to do this through by placing a cognitive anthropological learning framework within the mainstream of anthropological thought by summarizing cognitive anthropology is, especially for non-anthropologists, and further by presenting a theoretical model of learning by non-western peoples.

The article by Galemba et al. is an ambitious article about an ambitious project involving distance collaboration involving master's level international development students, a grassroots NGO working in both Mexico and Guatemala, and the partner communities working with the NGO. The distance dialogue involves case studies, Internet conversations, and continuous feedback between NGO staff and university students. The importance of training for the students cannot be underestimated, but the immediacy of the NGO and its partners — that of course have their own agendas and needs — cuts across the article from beginning to end and makes it a fascinating study.

The King article provides information concerning an important and on-going problem in the US: the situation of undocumented immigrants, specifically youth. While much of the discussion has been touched on in the media, the interviews which underline this study provide important depth to the question.

FOSTERING LOCAL FUTURES: PLACE BUILDING THEORY AND THE LIVING HERITAGE PARADIGM

MICHAEL KIMBALL, ROBERT BRUNSWIG, SALLY MCBETH, AND DAVID THOMAS

ABSTRACT

In contrast to essentialist and static notions of heritage, encapsulated here as the Good Old Days (GOD) and Saving the Past for the Future (SPF), the living heritage paradigm offers an alternative model that sees heritage as a social construct evolving in response to its changing relations with extant communities of people. Place building theory (PBT), an applied and explanatory theory arising from research on place-based corporate social responsibility, offers tools and perspectives to operationalize living heritage research and reveal and unpack *placekeeper* (investment in place identity) and *place user* (investment in place utility) identities and roles. Using three examples from our Colorado heritage research programs, we present three different approaches to PBT living heritage research — evaluative, integrative and restorative. We conclude with a summary discussion of PBT's broader relevance to living heritage research and offer suggestions for future applications.

KEY WORDS: living heritage, place building, placekeeper, heritage conservation, heritage management

(T)here is a failure on the part of the heritage system to concede that an old place can be recycled back into Aboriginal culture with a new meaning. There is a failure, in other words, to acknowledge that a place's significance can be up-dated, a failure…to acknowledge that an old place could be given a "local future"[1] (Byrne 2008: 164).

Our topic concerns the concept of "living heritage" (ICCROM 2013; Poulios 2010), its relevance to how cultural heritage places are and should be conserved and managed, and how place building theory (Thomas 2004; Thomas and Cross 2007; Kimball and Thomas 2012) is being applied to living heritage research in Colorado.[2] In this paper, we present and discuss the living heritage paradigm and place building theory (PBT), which, through grounded theory research, is being developed as both an applied and explanatory theory in organizational and business studies to critically examine and transform corporate social responsibility.

We then show how PBT's agent perspectives, place building dimensions and place building continuum shed light on relations between communities and heritage places and align with place attachment research to suggest heritage place building identities. Further, we apply a PBT lens to three heritage research examples — a community-engaged research project embedded in an undergraduate applied anthropology course; a collaborative archaeological research project in North Park; and an ethnobotanical project in Rocky Mountain National Park — and show how they represent three different approaches — evaluative, integrative and restorative — to living heritage research. We conclude with a summary discussion of PBT's relevance to living heritage research and offer suggestions for future applications.

THE LIVING HERITAGE PARADIGM

There are arguably two hegemonic and overlapping Western paradigms that continue to frame heritage interpretation and management in the United States and beyond. First, there is the "discipline of heritage conservation" (Poulios 2010:171), inspired by the nineteenth century Western European nostalgic notion of authenticity arising from a "feeling of dissatisfaction with the present caused by its rapid change and mobility" and leading to "discontinuity between the monuments, considered to belong to the past, and the people and social and cultural processes of the present." In other words, from this point of view, heritage conservation's purpose is to help us stay in touch with the *Good Old Days* (GOD).

Second, Laurajane Smith (2006) draws on theories of discourse (Foucault 1980), hegemony (Gramsci 1971) and habitus (Bourdieu 1969) in her conceptualization of "authorized heritage discourse," which embodies power relations as expressed and reproduced through "aesthetically pleasing material objects, sites, places and/or landscapes that current generations 'must' care for, protect and revere so that they may be passed to nebulous future generations for their 'education,' and to forge a sense of common identity based on the past" (Smith 2006: :29). Authorized heritage discourse might be summed up with archaeology's well-known platitude, *Save the Past for the Future* (SPF).

In contrast, in its presentation of the concept of *living heritage*, the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM 2013) points to the necessity for "revisiting the definition of heritage and its integration into a wide variety of socio-political and economic aspects of society" and calls for heritage conservation and management to address the following concerns: respect for diversity; a focus on both past and present; en-

between the past and the present, "us" and "them." Lowenthal (2000:22) puts it this way:

> A heritage disjointed from ongoing life cannot enlist popular support. To adore the past is not enough; good caretaking involves continual creation. Heritage is ever revitalized; our legacy is not simply original but includes our forebears' alterations and additions. We treasure that heritage in our own protective *and* transformative fashion, handing it down reshaped in the faith that our heirs will also become creative as well as retentive stewards.

Returning to ICCROM's (2013) criteria for a living heritage approach, it is clear from the above that an abiding concern for reciprocal relations among local communities and heritage places is imperative for sustainable and adaptive heritage conservation and management. Questions about how heritage is perceived by people; how it might improve the quality of their lives; whose voices are being heard and whose are inaudible; what links exist or could be established between heritage and the sustainable development of society, etc., become not only possible, but essential to ask and explore.

PLACE BUILDING THEORY

As the geographer, Yi-Fu Tuan (1977:6), wrote in his classic text, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*, "What begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value." Place, like heritage, is a social construct. It is *built* at the intersections among, as anthropologist Margaret Rodman (1992:643, following Agnew and Duncan 1989:2), delineates them, "*location* (i.e., the spatial distribution of socioeconomic activity such as trade networks), *sense of place* (or attachment to place), and *locale* (the setting in which a particular social activity occurs, such as a church)." Thus, exploring living heritage is fundamentally about whether, how and why individuals and groups build place through their interactions with their own and others' heritage. From an applied perspective, the purpose of this exploration is to use insights gained from the study of place-building to improve living heritage conservation and management.

The living heritage paradigm offers a community-engaged, socially responsible, theoretically sound and pragmatic frame through which to interpret, conserve and sustainably manage heritage. It does not, however, inherently possess its own means for achieving these ends. Although there are large bodies of literature on the assessment of community interests and values for the purpose of improving cultural resource and heritage management and research on sense of place and related phenomena, there is significantly less concerned with how people build place through their experience of heritage. Further, the living heritage paradigm's transformative mission (progressive and reciprocal relations between heritage and people's lives) asks for a complementary focus on the transformative roles and potentials of heritage place-building.

This need within the living heritage paradigm calls for a framework that integrates applied and explanatory theory. We argue here, through exposition and example, that place building theory (Thomas 2004; Thomas and Cross 2007) offers such a framework. PBT is rooted in theories of place from fields such as anthropology, sociology and geography that focus on place as a social construct, defined by relations of meaning, feelings and human interaction (e.g., Sauer 1925; Lynch 1960; Zelinsky 1973; Relph 1976; Tuan 1977; Eyles 1985; Agnew 1987; Sack 1988; Rodman 1992; Schein 1992; Light and Smith 1998; Lofland 1998; Hudson 2001; Ingold 2002; Stokowski 2002).

Arising from grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss 1967) and organizational research (Morgan 1986, 1997; Schoenberger 1997; Smircich 1983; Weick 1995; Wright, S. 1994) focused on the assessment of place-based corporate social responsibility, PBT seeks to identify and explain the values and level of investment organizations have for and in their locales. Further, PBT was developed as a *participatory* modality. As Kimball and Thomas (2012:19) write, PBT's "origins are situated in the desire not only to identify and define motivating factors and strategies, but also to engage *placekeepers* (place-based stakeholders) as participants in an evaluative and proactive process."

For the purposes of this paper, we next present three key PBT components – agent perspectives, place building dimensions, and the place building continuum – and show how each articulates with the living heritage approach. For a more in-depth explanation of PBT, we refer readers to Thomas and Cross (2007) and Kimball and Thomas (2012).

Agent perspectives

An agent perspective consists of an organization's concept of its relationship to and the meaning it makes from and confers on its locale. This perspective conduces to the organization's goals, behavior, and contributions to its locale. PBT identifies two agent perspectives, *interdependent* and *independent*. As Kimball and Thomas (2012:20) write:

> Organizations with the *interdependent* perspective view themselves as members of a community and recognize that organizations and places are mutually dependent upon each other.... In contrast, organizations with an *independent* perspective view themselves merely as occupants of place and economic agents of place rather than integral members of place.

From a living heritage standpoint, it is critical to determine the agent perspectives of a place's core and peripheral communities because these have a direct impact on how these communities use heritage to "express, facilitate and construct a sense of identity, self and belonging" (Smith 2006:75). Those individuals and communities with an interdependent perspective see their identity and sense of belonging as inextricably linked to a place, how they experience, interpret and interact with it. The disposition of the place speaks to their own disposition. They are placekeepers. Those individuals and communities with an independent perspective might choose to visit a heritage place, but their relationship to it is transactional. In other words, they do not see it as part of who they are – they go there solely to receive, for example, recreational or educational returns. Regard-

less of the emotional or psychological benefits they receive from services rendered (i.e., they may "love" going there), they do not identify with the place. They are place users, not placekeepers.

In reality, of course, people, and certainly communities of them, do not fall neatly into categories. For example, it is quite easy to imagine a person who resides somewhere in between interdependent and independent agent perspectives: this person might not think of a heritage place as an inextricable part of who he or she is, but, on the other hand, he or she might visit the place to experience spiritual rejuvenation or perhaps get in touch with ethnic roots and would feel heartbroken if something bad happened to it (e.g., it was slated for closure or succumbed to an environmental disaster). Alternatively, a person could have an interdependent perspective with regard to the natural environment of a heritage place, but maintain an independent perspective concerning its social aspects (e.g., how other visitors or "traditional" people use it). To explore this range of perspectives, PBT offers place building dimensions and the place building continuum.

Place building dimensions

Thomas and Cross (2007:38) point out that place is a "multi-dimensional concept including the natural world, the built environment, social relationships, economic relationships, patterns of interaction, as well as socially constructed meanings about each dimension." Drawing on models of place in geography (Sack 1997) and sociology (Gustafson 2001), they diagram three realms of place — material environment, natural environment and social relations (Thomas and Cross 2007:39, Figure 1). Further research has derived five place building dimensions from these realms (Table 1), i.e., five dimensions along which to define and describe an organization's place building role: social relationships, economic relationships, material environment, ethics and nature (Kimball and Thomas 2012).

Table 1. Place building dimensions and definitions

Dimensions	Definitions
Social Relations	Includes the full spectrum of interactions between an organization's employees and stakeholders and among and between other organizations, e.g., how an organization encourages the development of social capital and how its treatment of certain spaces reflects its culture and values.
Economic Relations	Includes the organization's level of investment in the fiscal well-being of the community, e.g., how it attracts skilled labor to the community; how it seeks to improve the economic viability of the community; how it creates new opportunities for economic growth.
Material Environment	Includes human-made buildings, roads, and other structures such as the buildings an organization occupies and how that space is treated, including interior office spaces. This also reflects the value placed on a building's architecture, landscaping, and historical significance (if any).
Ethics	Includes the organization's practices and its implicit and explicit contract with the community, e.g., how an organization's practices are modeled in its industry, its culture, and with all its placekeepers.
Nature	Includes the natural, as opposed to human-made, elements, forces, and spaces, such as the landscape, earth, geography, and natural resources, e.g., how it relates and contributes to nature and the environment.

age-related queries in Table 2.

Place building continuum

Place building research has identified a set of agent identities (Thomas 2004; Thomas and Cross 2007) that emerge from values and strategies associated with agent perspectives. These identities are not and cannot be discrete or fixed because of the variability inherent in individual and group perspectives. Rather, they mark four regions along a place building continuum between, on one end, independent and, on the other, interdependent perspectives. These four identities are, respectively, exploitive, contingent, contributive and transformational. We present these agent identities and their definitions in Table 3.

As we mention above, an important aspect of PBT, one that makes it an applied as well as explanatory theory, is its focus on movement along the continuum. PBT practitioners are interested in not only how and why organizations are located in a certain region of the continuum, but also in engaging their collaborators in a deliberative and participatory process to determine whether, in what direction and how they might like to traverse it.

The place building continuum's agent identities speak to a variety of personal and corporate relationships with and investments in core and peripheral communities with respect to heritage places. To make these linkages more explicit, it is helpful to consider place attachment research on place *identity* and *place dependence* (e.g., Kyle, Absher and Graefe 2003 and Kyle et al. 2004). In brief, place identity is concerned with the degree to which a

By interrogating the five place building dimensions, i.e., by asking questions intended to probe each dimension's relations to agent perspective, it becomes possible to develop a fuller understanding of these perspectives in the context of living heritage. We present these dimensions, their respective definitions and example living herit-

Table 2. Place building dimensions and example living heritage queries.

Dimensions	Example Living Heritage Queries
Social Relations	What are and should be the roles of the heritage place in the life of this community? What are core communities and how are they defined? What are peripheral communities and how are they defined? What are points of contention and collaboration?
Economic Relations	To what extent and what kind of resources (time, money, energy, etc.) are and should be invested in maintaining the heritage place? To what extent and what kind of resources does and should the heritage place invest in the sustainability of this community?
Material Environment	How important are human-made components (architecture, features, artifacts, walkways, etc.) to the significance of the heritage place? What are and should be their roles? To what extent must they be preserved or might they be modified and how? What are their relationships, and what do they mean to this community?
Ethics	What does preservation mean to this community? What should be preserved and what should not? How do treatment of and interaction with the heritage place reveal this community's ethical orientations?
Nature	What is the significance of the natural environment with respect to the heritage place? What is its significance to this community? How is and should it be regarded, treated, used and modified?

place is an integral part of *who you are*. In contrast, place dependence captures the degree to which a place is an integral part of *what you want to do or get*. From a heritage place management and conservation perspective, the former is concerned with a commitment to preserving and restoring a place's *integrity*; the latter is concerned with a commitment to improving its *utility*.

Transformational place building identities reflect a deep commitment to integrity over utility and strong attachment to place through reciprocal relationships with it; thus, they might be expected

Table 3. The place building continuum

Agent Identities	Definitions
Transformational	Conceptualize themselves as change agents acting to improve the lives of individuals and groups in a place, sometimes even at a cost to the organization. They view themselves as *interdependent* members of place.
Contributive	Conceptualize themselves as investors in the well-being of places in which they operate. They view themselves as stewards of place and contributors to, but not directly responsible for, the well-being of place. They value place first for its social relationships and second for its economic opportunities.
Contingent	Conceptualize themselves simply as participants in places, as dissociated and autonomous agents. They narrowly define "organizational social responsibility" as obeying existing laws, regulations and ethical codes. They view themselves a control agents but neither interdependent nor key members of place. They value place for what it provides their organization, such as workers for its labor force.
Exploitive	Conceptualize themselves as *independent* agents with little to no obligation to the places in which they are located. They are active users of the local economic, cultural, social, and political resources, valuing place as a commodity that they utilize to their greatest economic benefit.

living heritage and consist of, for example, leadership, stewardship, and transformative relations with the place (ritual, traditional use, oral history, etc.). In contrast, place user roles, being contingent and exploitive, would primarily focus on the place as a resource or backdrop and consist of transactional relations with the place (recreation, education, entertainment, sales, public relations, marketing, etc.). Just as place agent identities are not and cannot be fixed types, so too these heritage place building identities

possess high place identity and some measure of place dependence. In contrast, exploitive identities reflect deep commitment to utility over integrity; thus, they might be expected to have a low degree of both place identity and dependence, for, as Kimball and Thomas (2012:22) put it, exploitive organizations "are likely to leave a place once they have determined they do not fit or the return is not as lucrative as originally anticipated." Contributive place building identities reflect a commitment to the social dimension of place; thus they might possess some degree of both place identity and dependence because of their focus on "giving back" (Kimball and Thomas 2012:21). In contrast, the independent agent perspective of contingent identities as well as their emphasis on utility suggests some degree of place dependence, but a low degree of place identity.

Based on these expectations, we locate two separate but overlapping regions on the place building continuum: *placekeepers*, or those individuals and communities of people with transformational and contributive agent identities and whose place attachment includes place identity, and *place users*, or those with contingent and exploitive identities and whose place attachment, when present at all, emphasizes place dependence.

These regions represent heritage place building identities comprising distinct sets of roles for members of both core and peripheral living heritage communities. Placekeeper roles, being contributive and transformational, would focus on the place as

contain variability that can be unpacked and examined by interrogating the place building dimensions (cf. Table 2; also see evaluative example below). Further, PBT's concern with agency and movement along, rather than simply location on, the continuum encourages engagement with both place users and placekeepers with regard to their motivations and aspirations (see integrative and restorative examples below).

Below, we present three examples from our research, each offering a different approach to how PBT might address living heritage issues. The first is an *evaluative* example focusing on the Meeker Museum in Greeley, Colorado. This example highlights the five place building dimensions as well as the place building continuum and shows, through the results of a community-engaged undergraduate applied anthropology course, how PBT is beginning to be incorporated directly into heritage research. The second is a *integrative* example focusing on the North Park Cultural Landscapes Project (Brunswig 2012) and interprets collaborative research on sacred places as seen through a PBT lens. The third is a *restorative* example focusing on the Ute Ethnobotany Project (Chapoose et al. 2012) and shows how PBT might be used to identify and explain movement across heritage place building identities.

LIVING HERITAGE PLACE BUILDING: THREE EXAMPLES

Evaluative: Meeker Home Museum Property Redevelopment

The late 19th century home of Nathan Meeker, a founder of Greeley and controversial figure in the history of the Westward expansion of European Americans (Silbernagel 2011), is the site of a redevelopment project aimed at enhancing the Museum's grounds to attract more visitors and commemorate the seven principles of Meeker's Union Colony: faith, family, education, irrigation, temperance, agriculture and home. The first author's research project was based on a partnership with Greeley's Assistant City Manager and its purpose was threefold: (1) to train undergraduate students in applied anthropological methods; (2) to identify key values community members hold concerning the Meeker property and its redevelopment plan; and (3) to begin to lay a methodological foundation for heritage place building research.

Student research teams consisting of a lead interviewer and research assistants interviewed 15 stakeholders. The interviewee sample was drawn from participants in a community meeting convened by the Assistant City Manager at the beginning of the fall 2012 semester. Semi-structured interviews were based on an interview guide that explored values and attitudes for each of the five place building dimensions (social relations, economic relations, material environment, ethics and nature) with respect to the Meeker Home and property. Interviews were digitally recorded and transcribed by the research teams. Qualitative analysis consisted of open-coding (reading and re-reading a transcript to identify and code key values) by each interviewer and verification of resulting codes by team members (Stolp et al. 2002; LeCompte 1999). Coding sheets were then constructed in which codes were presented and defined and their associated concepts flagged, delimited, and illustrated with example quotes from the transcript. Each lead interviewer then analyzed their data with respect to the place building dimensions. The first author and his research assistant compiled and analyzed the students' work and produced a summary report for the Assistant City Manager (Clay and Kimball 2013).

Bearing in mind this study's limitations – its small sample size (n=15) based on convenience sampling and the fact that it was a semester-long project conducted by undergraduate researchers-in-training – the project's results were suggestive. The following information summarizes our findings across the place building dimensions:

Social Relations. Results suggest that, from a social relations standpoint (but not necessarily along other dimensions; see below), many of the interviewees belong to a kind of core community (*sensu* Poulios 2010) for the Meeker Home. Perspectives appear to cluster in the *contributive/transformational* region, which suggests participants see the Meeker Home as a place whose significance transcends transactional relations with the community. For example, one interviewee saw her residence (which is in close proximity to the Meeker Home) and her neighborhood as integral, "figuring that that's part of our neighborhood, our place, that's part of the Meeker Museum."

Economic Relations. Interviewees cluster in a *contingent/contributive* region of the continuum with regard to attitudes toward economic investment, which may indicate moderate to high place dependence, i.e., investment in historic properties as recreational destinations rather than a kind of "pilgrimage" site, which would reflect more transformational values. For example, one interviewee said, "If it results in more business for all of the businesses in Greeley, then I doubt too many people would object."

Material Environment. Interviewee perspectives on this dimension could be located primarily in a *contingent/contributive* region with respect to the importance and preservation of the material environment associated with the Meeker Home (e.g., the buildings, interior spaces, landscaping, etc.). For example, one interviewee expressed a contingent perspective when he said, "… the only thing that is really preserved down there is the house itself but even that's been disturbed so much … (you are) trying to preserve an adobe situation. But now you want to bring it up to the next level, so the grounds are more appealing. To me that's not preservation." In contrast, another interviewee's perspective was more contributive: "I just liked the old neighborhood…. I could see keeping the home intact of course, but also doing something with the grounds and things to encourage people to go downtown more."

Ethics. Participants appear to be in general agreement about their ethical investment in historic properties: there is a trend toward *contributive to transformational* values concerning the preservation and treatment of them. For example, one interviewee said, "Heck, they can't rip that down. I mean, how could you do that? The person that founded the community."

Nature. With respect to place building identity, the spread of perspectives is diffuse, suggesting that there is a variety of values about the role and significance of the natural environment in the context of the heritage site. For example, the following statement from one interviewee can be readily located in a *contingent/exploitive* region: "The landscaping won't mean it's open any more hours in the day and making it pretty won't get anyone else inside the door." In contrast, another interviewee expressed a *contributive/transformative* viewpoint when he said, "Once in a while we see a bird of prey like a hawk over there … it's nice to have that nature feeling about it and in fact it could be enhanced a lot."

Interestingly, additional results emerging from our research suggest the possible existence of another heritage place building continuum: *perceptions of and attitudes toward change* (cf. Davenport and Anderson 2005). These appear to fall somewhere between two poles that we are provisionally naming *traditionalist* (culturally conservative; nostalgic; focused on fixed

definitions of the meaning, use, development and display of a place) and *relativist* (culturally relative; interpretatively flexible; accommodate multiple definitions of meaning, use, development and display of a place). Future research might include individual and/or focus group interactions in which results are shared and discussed with interviewees as well as City of Greeley administrators and planners.

Integrative: North Park Cultural Landscapes Project

To successfully and sensitively conserve and manage heritage places, it is essential to find ways to integrate the values, attitudes, interests and practices of a variety of communities, both core and peripheral. The history of research by the second author and his teams in the Southern Rockies has led us to identify at least seven place building communities we view as making up a complex, sometimes competing, sometimes collaborative, socio-cultural-economic-ideological interaction system (Table 4). Members of these communities range widely between place user and placekeeper identities. Each of these communities forms an interactive system that affects both opinions and the treatment (ranging from preservation to exploitation) of prehistoric and historic heritage places. In our fifteen years of cultural heritage projects in the Colorado mountains, we have partnered with most of the seven place building communities (cf. Brunswig and Sellet 2010). The following section briefly presents some of the place building

Table 4. Listing and definitions of place building communities in Colorado's Southern Rocky Mountains.

Place Building Communities	Place Building Community Values and Practices
Traditional inhabitant cultures	Native Americans-Spiritual and heritage attachments, historical resentments. Individual communities and tribal organization are often fraught with their own internal divisions driven by socio-economic and political agendas. Tribal and intertribal relations associated with interest in any particular place (e.g. historical traditional lands) vary widely ranging from intense engagement to total non-engagement.
Modern settler/colonizer communities	Multi-Generational attachments to a particular place by normally Euro-American heritage communities with broadly common backgrounds and interests in local and regional heritage, economic lifeways, local recreation, a shared sense of established community, and sometimes conflicted views of "outsiders". Such communities are closely tied, either directly or indirectly, to substantial tracts of publically managed lands dedicated to open or limited public access for recreation, resource extraction (timber, minerals…) and leases for livestock grazing.
Federal and state public lands managers/stewards	Public lands employees operating from federal, and some state, legal mandates to preserve, manage, and in some cases, manage extraction of, public lands resources, natural & cultural) for all American people. Goals, missions, managerial organization and individual policy mandates vary widely from agency to agency as does their interpretation and emphasis of heritage resources.
Non-local recreationists	Hunters, fishers, campers, hikers, skiers, all-terrain vehicle drivers, etc. who periodically, occasionally, or even as single "passing-through" events use public land places for recreation and self-expression. Such use ranges from good stewardship to extreme exploitation and destructiveness of heritage and natural resources.
Natural resource extractors	Oil, gas, minerals mining, logging, water diversion… companies with a varying degree of positive to highly negative concern with policy and operating principles sympathetic to heritage and/or cultural resources. A common perspective is annoyance to direct hostility about the inconvenience and cost of adhering to heritage and natural resource protection laws (e.g. NAGPRA, ARPA…). There are, however, notable exceptions.
Environmental and heritage conservationists	"Professional", ranging from informal to formally constituted, chartered and legally franchised, environmental & heritage (historical/archaeological) societies and avocational organizations which seek strong stewardship and protection of heritage resources, often coincident with natural resource protection.
Public and private education sector	Universities, colleges, public schools, research, teaching, public outreach, technical assistance. Education sector agencies, institutions, museums, and NGOs typically advocate, support, and even conduct heritage resource preservation and research, often through alliances with and financial support from other groups listed above who are ideologically or economically motivated or even legally-mandated to support heritage resource stewardship and protection.

attributes and benefits of our North Park Cultural Landscapes Project, based on BLM-administered public lands and part of the Cooperative Ecosystems Study Unit system (CESU 2001, 2013), which encompasses 17 regions within the boundaries of the continental United States, Mexico, and Canada.

As one example of CESU-based programming, UNC's North Park Cultural Landscapes Project combines two important CESU-centered member academic institution and federal lands agencies' mission objectives: civically engaged research and technical assistance. Civic Engagement, as related to public lands, has been defined by the National Park Service as a "continuous, dynamic conversation with the public on many levels that reinforces the commitment of federal agencies and the public to the preservation of

heritage resources, both cultural and natural, and strengthens public understanding of the full meaning and contemporary relevance of these resources" (NPS 2007). Federal land-management agencies, universities, and private cultural resource management (CRM) companies, and, frequently, Native American tribes, engage with local communities surrounded by or bordering public lands at the place-building continuum's contributive level (Table 3), promoting stewardship of place and sustainability of public lands' natural environments and heritage resources.

The university, operating within the CESU system, interacts regularly with administrators, heritage and natural resource specialists, and its own and other institution's faculty. Our annual summer field programs routinely involve university students en-rolled in summer field schools for academic credit, international student volunteers, local community volunteers, avocational ar-chaeological society members, non-archaeologist faculty, Native American consultants, and federal land managers, encompass-ing most of the place building communities outlined in Table 4. Integration of our sacred landscapes research program with field archaeology investigations has allowed all the above groups to interact directly with Native American consultants in field settings. Local community members are further engaged through public presentations to civic and business organizations. Our active role in scholarship and engagement with a wide range of communities helps diminish viewpoints and attitudes which may be (often unconsciously) exploitive and contingent in nature and channel them toward more contributive and transfor-mational views and personal behavior.

We have, for the past decade and a half, surveyed tens of thousands of acres and excavated scores of sites from valley bottoms to alpine pastures, providing evidence of rich cultural histories essential for public lands stewardship and management (Brunswig 2008, 2012). Several high-ridgeline game drives have been documented along with partial excavation of buried late prehistoric camp levels associated with the region's latest indigenous native inhabitants, ancestors of the modern Ute tribe removed to reservations in northeastern Utah and southwestern Colorado in the late 1800s.

Since 2000, when our archaeological field programs dis-covered sacred sites in RMNP, we have conducted sacred land-scapes research, combining archaeological, ethnohistoric, and Native American consultation approaches, in tandem with arche-ology and paleoenvironment studies (Brunswig, Diggs, and Montgomery 2009; Brunswig, McBeth, and Elinoff 2009; Diggs and Brunswig 2013). One such sacred feature in the mountain valley of North Park, identified by a university field team in 2006, was situated at a location designated for construction of a cell phone tower. In 2012, after extensive consultations and negotiations between representatives from the Ute and Arapa-hoe tribes, the BLM, and the cell phone tower company, an agreement was reached allowing tower construction but which also preserved the feature and provided Native American site access for religious ceremonies. Identification of a place special to descendants of Native Americans who once called North Park their traditional lands and the bringing together of diverse place building communities (industry, Native Americans, aca-demic archaeologists, and federal land managers) transformed a potential conflict into a healthy, consensual accommodation of cultural beliefs and contemporary needs. During the consultative process, action was collectively decided upon which required stakeholders with quite different contingent (or even exploitive) perspectives and agendas to shift toward a greater sense of place-based stewardship (contributive) and transformational action. In the end, all sides acknowledged each other's cultural,

economic, and technical positions and, in a practical way, came to view themselves as "interdependent members of place", pre-serving the past, present, and future for new generations.

Finally, the project's decade of research has produced suf-ficient knowledge on Native American prehistory and history in its central valley research areas to initiate plans to nominate several thousand acres to the National Register of Historic Plac-es as an Archaeological District and Traditional Cultural Proper-ty. That effort will further ensure progress from often ex-ploitive/contingent toward more transformational living herit-age place building identities in the Colorado Rockies.

Restorative: Ute Ethnobotany Project

In 2005, a Centennial Service Challenge Grant was award-ed to the Grand Mesa, Uncompahgre, and Gunnison National Forest for the Ute Ethnobotany Project. The project had four goals: (1) to bring youth and elders together in a field setting at recorded archaeological sites to identify and discuss plant use and associated practices; (2) to create an herbarium catalogue with the assistance of Mesa State College's Biology Department to be housed at the Northern Ute tribal offices; (3) to begin to identify plant communities that are associated with specific kinds of archaeological sites; and (4) to compile a final report of the accomplishments of the project, including an ethnographic over-view of Ute plant use. The results of the project are presented in a summary report (McBeth 2008) and discussed in a recent issue of *The Applied Anthropologist* (Chapoose et al. 2012).

The outcomes of Ute Ethnobotany Project include Northern Ute (traditional inhabitant cultures) reflections on a return to Rocky Mountain National Park (RMNP), ancestral Ute home-lands. The Ute were forcibly removed from their ancestral homelands in 1881 as a direct result of the Meeker Massacre of 1879. From a PBT perspective, it is possible to identify move-ment over the course of the project from a contingent region of the continuum to transformational.

In the twenty-first century, the Ute world is sacramental and it is a world thoroughly impregnated with the energy, purpose, and sense of creative natural forces. A sense of identity with a particular locale, however, can be severed by displacement. When Venita Taveapont, Director of the Northern Ute Lan-guage Program approached Northern Ute Tribal Council to use their vans (the National Park Service grant paid for the rental) to travel to RMNP, the response was: "Why would you want to go to Colorado? They pushed us out—why would you want to reconnect with a state whose slogan was 'The Utes Must Go!'"

Thus, we suggest that Northern Ute tribal members who have visited locations of ancestral homelands (including Rocky Mountain National Park) began as autonomous agents with a contingent place building identity. In terms of the economic and social relations place building dimensions, the Ute Tribal Council perceived of itself as well as Ute tribal members (who reside in Utah) as separate from any lands that they were dispossessed of in the state of Colorado.

Tribal members then appeared to move, provisionally, to the contributive region of the continuum. Their interest in engag-

ing with the National Park Service to assist with the Park's mission to consult with tribal members on the significance of archaeological sites in a tribes' ancestral homelands brought them to RMNP.

Venita's response (echoed by others) to their initial, negative reaction was,

> If we don't (go), those places where we lived, interacted with the environment, and prayed will be lost to us. They will be lost to the next generation. We still need to have a reconnection. We still need to know and have knowledge of that area. Because it is our ancestral home, and the children—the youth and the ones that are yet to come, they need to know that because this is our traditional homeland (Taveapont, pers. Comm.).

The final move to the transformational region of the continuum came slowly. After spending a week in RMNP and getting to know the landscape and the players (National Park Service and the University of Northern Colorado) who had brought them there, the participants' prayers and offerings to the spirits of the mountains and their evocative statements have led us to believe that they did, indeed, restore their placekeeper identities.

For example, participant Loya Arrum (pers. Comm.) said,

> I'm seeing the same mountains that (our ancestors) saw. I'm walking the same trail—the path that they walked, possibly helping one another giving a hand—the rocks are sharp so the trail is not easy to walk. Children are being carried, walking hand and hand to help one another—those are the kinds of things they saw. That's what I feel when I'm in the mountains, that their spirits are there and they are reminding us that we need to come back.

Geneva Accawanna (pers. Comm.) said,

> I feel so humbled that I'm here and I can feel them; I can feel the spirits; it makes me cry to feel that I'm home. It's like a person leaving home or taken from their home and then finally they come back. I know I can't stay here. I have to go back to the reservation. But I need to share that I just have a humble feeling being here, and being on the Ute Trail, and being on the mountains. Seeing the medicine wheel and praying there, I knew that my ancestors heard me.

Helen Wash (pers. Comm.) said,

> We have to take care of it and we want to save as much as we can for the next generation and on and on. So it has to start somewhere and we're doing it with your help you know. So when we go back we'll be able to tell—share our experiences.

Mariah Cuch (pers. Comm.) said,

> But we're here today aren't we and it's because of that pain and that hurt that we're here. And I hope that we're able to give that on, and I know we will because we have it. It's not gone, nothing is lost in this world. We just need to open our hearts to it. It belongs to us just the same as we belong to each other. That's the

blessing we have from it and you can get through anything 'cause you're never alone.

Conclusions

In presenting the living heritage paradigm and showing how PBT might operationalize it, we hope to contribute to discussion among heritage professionals, scholars and other communities of practice and placekeeping about the construction, study, management and purpose of heritage in Colorado and beyond. The integration of PBT into living heritage research permits exploration of existing and potential relations among individuals, communities and heritage places. It also introduces an inclusive approach that engages both place users and placekeepers in considering the roles they and others do and might play in conserving, managing and constructing heritage and invites them into a process of assessing, defining and transforming their relations to and responsibilities for heritage places.

In addition to the evaluative, integrative and restorative approaches illustrated above, PBT also encourages other forms of engagement with place building relations. For example, PBT can be used to foster place building among emergent communities in relation to heritage places. The Roots Project (UNC 2013), a community-engaged heritage place building pilot project embedded, like the Meeker Home Project, in an applied anthropology course, focuses on the role that local heritage can play in inviting movement from exploitive/contingent to transformational place building identities in members of Greeley's "newcomer" refugee and immigrant communities from Latin America, Africa and Southeast Asia. Preliminary results suggest that when newcomers actively discover intersections between their life histories and the stories and lifeways of past immigrants to the region through interaction with local heritage (in this case, Greeley's Centennial Village Museum), their levels of both place dependence and place identity tend to increase. Future research will aim to verify this phenomenon and assess the degree to which it helps newcomers transform space into place and place into "home" (Tuan 1977).

PBT also facilitates comparative approaches. For example, it might be possible to juxtapose Chapagain's (2013) Lomanthang Buddhist monastery case study with, say, the results of the Meeker Home Project. In both cases there are clear examples of placekeeper identities, but those associated with the Meeker Home correspond much better to those of the temple's conservators than to those of its core community. Likewise, there are divergent definitions with respect to traditionalist attitudes: along the social relations, ethical and material environment place building dimensions, the Lomanthang core community constructs, re-constructs and preserves heritage through direct physical and social interaction with it; in contrast, the Meeker Home's European American core community, in keeping with GOD and SPF, appears to relate to heritage through passive interaction with it and efforts to preserve its "authentic" physical attributes. A PBT lens can highlight differences and similarities such as these and thereby facilitate their assessment for and incorpora-

tion into heritage management and conservation planning.

Finally, PBT also allows for critical examination and improvement of the living heritage paradigm itself. For example, it offers inductively derived definitions of place agent identities, place users, placekeepers and even the construct we researchers, often uncritically, call "community." Waterton and Smith (2013:5) warn that an essentialist notion of community (with Poulios [2010], we would also add "stakeholder" to this list) creates opportunities for oppression: "©ommunity has … emerged as a discomforting convenience we – and here 'we' includes professionals, policymakers and scholars – use to manage and make sense of 'others'." Rather than reifying these notions – such as those that might indeed be implicit in Poulios's (2010) "core" and "peripheral" community constructs – or imposing on people membership in groups based on rigid sets of criteria, PBT recognizes alternatives: evolution, within- and between-group variability, multivocality and shared systems of belief, practice, etc., that arise from life histories, social interaction and interaction with place, thus fostering a "local future" for placekeepers and their living heritage places.

NOTES

1Byrne refers here to James Clifford's (1988:5) critique of colonialist perspectives: "Swept up in a destiny dominated by the capitalist West and by various technologically advanced socialisms, these suddenly 'backward' peoples no longer invent local futures."

2 This paper is an expanded version of a talk we delivered at the 7th World Archaeological Congress, Dead Sea, Jordan, in January, 2013.

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WHAT DID YOU THINK I ASKED?
AN ALTERNATIVE TO WRITTEN TESTING FOR ABORIGINAL STUDENT-LEARNERS

CATHY PROWSE

ABSTRACT

An important aspect of culture remains the principles by which a people classify their world. The ultimate goal for those engaged in the study of culture then, is to grasp the native point of view: their vision of their world.

Against the backdrop of a cognitive anthropological framework, this paper will propose a paradigm for the testing of Aboriginal students, that has been elicited from post-secondary Aboriginal student-learners pursuing anthropology. The theoretical model presented has application across many disciplines in the liberal arts whose course curricula deal with Euro-North American concepts and/or constructs that historically situate the Aboriginal experience.

The intent of this paper is twofold: i) To situate a cognitive anthropological learning framework within the mainstream of anthropological thought by summarizing - primarily for non-anthropologists - what cognitive anthropology as a theoretical/methodological pursuit is, and; ii) To present a theoretical model of Aboriginal learning that builds on a paradigm of cognitive anthropology and advocates for the incorporation of alternative testing methods for Aboriginal student-learners and educators alike.

KEY WORDS: Aboriginal, oral testing, cognitive anthropology, schemata

Interpretation involves much more than the mere translation of words from one language to another. It requires an understanding of cultural meanings that lie behind the statements people make and an ability to render these meanings intelligible to people from other cultural backgrounds (O'Neil, Koolage, & Kaufert, 1988:387).

THE DEVELOPMENT OF COGNITIVE ANTHROPOLOGY

It is by no means a new suggestion that an important aspect of culture is made up of the principles by which a people classify their world. The ultimate goal of which an educator should never lose sight then, is to grasp the native point of view or, as alternatively expressed: their vision of their world.

The suggestion that ethnography should be conceived of primarily as a methodology for the discovery of the "conceptual models" with which a society operates, was first offered by the anthropologist Ward Goodenough, who observed:

> A society's culture consists of whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members, and do so in any role that they accept for any one of themselves. ... By this definition ... it does not consist of things, people, behavior, or emotions. It is rather an *organization* of these things. It is the forms of things that people have in mind, their *model* for perceiving, relating, and otherwise interpreting them" (1957:167-68).

Accordingly, conceptual pursuits in anthropology sought to understand actions in terms of the organizing principles underlying people's behaviour. In so doing, those who followed this cognitive path of structural analysis viewed their efforts as the "new ethnography" or, as it later became known "ethnoscience".

The early years of ethnoscience in the 1960's and 70's represented a shift away from the generalized description of a way of life, or culture, to a study of cultural knowledge elicited from informants by exacting techniques borrowed from linguistics. By "cultural knowledge", it was generally meant the knowledge that different individuals in a social group must have in order to adapt to the social and physical environment of which they are part. Analysis focused on how to determine meaning from a speaker's language terminology: terms which *they* use to reference *their* environment. Analysis also involved the determination of the logical relationships between these words or lexemes, expressed variously as a "domain", "paradigm", or "taxonomy", and representing a shared but unconscious classification of things. Lastly, a methodological shift from a reliance on participant observation to that of systematic interviews designed to 'tap' specific domains was spawned. The search for representations of what people know - as exemplified in early ethnoscience - led to a perhaps exaggerated portrayal of the world of the perceiver as divided neatly into discrete lexical domains demarcated by clear boundaries. These domains were conceived of as bounded conceptual subsystems within a culture, in which word meaning, rather than word form, was kept foremost. By implication then, a domain excluded those meanings of a word that fell outside the specific domain under study; a limitation created by focusing on language rather than conceptualization.

COGNITIVE ANTHROPOLOGY AND CULTURAL KNOWLEDGE

Modern cognitive anthropology evolved out of early ethnoscience, and rested with the belief that if we could reconstruct what members of a cultural group needed to know in order to *function* in the world of that cultural group, the results

would capture an important part of a people's "culturally constructed reality" (Quinn & Holland, 1987). By shifting our focus to a cognitive model of functional knowledge, an instance of a concept from one domain could be related to concepts from many other domains, thereby creating a "semantic domain" of meaning. A semantic domain could then be said to be formed when a set of related concepts are joined by a network of interrelatedness in meaning that enables our ability to shift from concept to concept.

In an idiom of learning, a major weakness identified from early studies of ethnoscience was that they tended to be conducted within only the domain under study and, largely the norm, these studies were unanimous in their findings that the domain being referenced had to be described within the context of other domains with which its use in language was intricately connected. By contrast to these early pursuits, more recent research has tended to establish a new focus on conceptualization or cognition, hence the emergence of *cognitive* domains as opposed to *language* domains. In particular, "knowledge structures" have been prominent in the social science literature, associated with the concept of *schema* which has provided a framework within which it has become possible to relate concepts from different language domains (D'Andrade, 1995). The concept of schema evolved out of attempts to accommodate model development in the area of human problem-solving and out of attempts to contend with the problems of how human beings employ specific instances of experience and knowledge to manage specific problems. Dougherty & Keller (1985:165) have described the "organization of cultural knowledge" as

> …constellations of conceptual units arising in response to a task at hand. The basic principles of such organizations are functional relations. These constellations are held together only while immediately relevant.

Their emphasis on conceptual constellations to overcome task-specific undertakings is consistent with the concept of *schema*. Others have similarly observed the cognitive organization of cultural knowledge, referring to such as a "connectionist" thinking that makes cultures efficient by the "construction of connected domain-relevant networks which, by their very nature, cannot be stored or accessed through sentential logical forms such as govern natural language" (Bloch, 1992:192). How then might "connectionist" concepts be accessed?

Against the backdrop of this theoretical framework, this paper will develop a paradigm of Aboriginal learning which has been elicited from post-secondary Aboriginal student-learners — past and present — taught by this author over the past decade. The model which follows has application across many disciplines in the liberal arts, particularly those whose course curricula deal with Euro-North American concepts and/or constructs that historically situate with the Aboriginal-Canadian and North American Indian experience.

While cognitive anthropology continues to focus on how cultural knowledge is organized (D'Andrade, 1995; Quinn & Holland, 1987): the methodological strategy has evolved to one of reconstructing the organization of this shared knowledge from what

people say about their experience. Explanations offered by cultural informants are "mapped" and "decoded" to reveal cultural *schemas* or template models, upon which individual experience can be superimposed or mapped to create a *prototype* or an instance example. These models are both cultural and shared: cultural because they represent the historically cumulated knowledge of a people as embodied in language, and; shared because such cognitive paradigms are used to interpret our world and influence how we respond to it. When doing so, we gain insight into these "surface manifestations" (Keesing, 1987) of cultural knowledge that equip us with a set of operating strategies for using cultural knowledge. In short, cultural models are *presupposed* models of the world that are widely shared by persons of similar cultural backgrounds.

APPLYING A COGNITIVE ANTHROPOLOGICAL PARADIGM TO ORAL CULTURES

Concerning the dynamic aspect of oral culture, it has been long observed that people are very efficient at transmitting complex information from generation to generation. As stated by Leach almost a half-century ago, "The world is created by the process of classification and, the repetition of the classification of itself, perpetuates the knowledge which it incorporates" (Leach, 1979 [1966]:231). Of relevance to Aboriginal oral cultures is the role of Elders who, as the keepers and transmitters of cultural tradition and knowledge, often choose to speak through the use of parables. Not unlike 'mainstream' slogans and cliches, parables are built upon layers of cultural-specific schemata through which meaning is derived by those sharing a similar worldview. Friesen (1995) cites the significance of such "stories with no ending", noting that while such a style reflects an Aboriginal emphasis on individual autonomy in deriving one's own conclusions, those sharing a similar worldview are nevertheless quite able to draw the appropriate conclusions to the stories told. Valentine's (1994) work among the Iroquois described how prodigious feats of memory — as exhibited in the production of long narratives — can be accomplished through reconstructions around a sequential structure of themes and events. Likewise, research among the Athabaskan population in Fort Chipewyan, Alberta, by Scollon & Scollon (1981) also emphasized the importance of culture-specific schemata in recall and comprehension; organizational schemata that are learned through enculturation processes.

The notion of *schema*, and *prototype* as an instantiation of a schema, came about because of a merging interest in the cognitive ordering of knowledge among educators in anthropology, linguistics, and psychology. *Schema* was actually a neutral term that gained popularity because it seemed to suggest inclusion of various other labels, namely, "map", "scenario", "script", "scene", and "frame". Mandler (1984:55-56) suggests that at the level of individuals, a schema is a processing mechanism that "is developed as a result of prior experiences with a particular kind of event … We comprehend events in terms of the schemas they activate." D'Andrade (1984:112) demonstrated the interchangability between *cultural model* and *cultural schema* in his explanation that "A

cultural model is a cognitive schema that is intersubjectively shared by a social group"; the terminological distinction resting with the breadth of application.
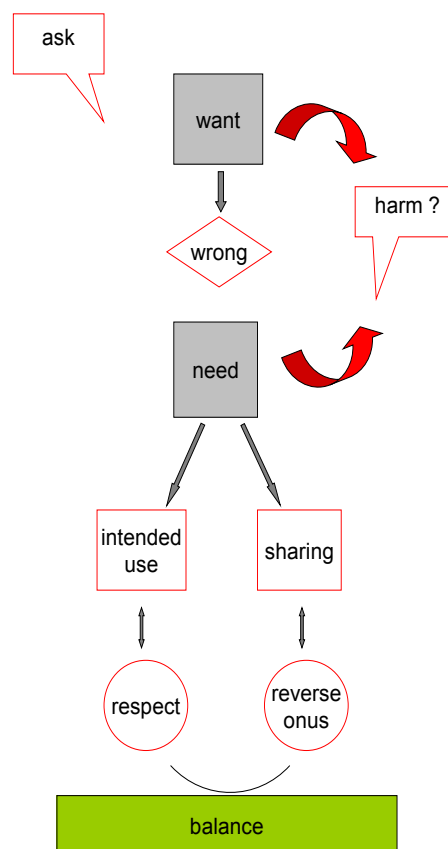
To use an example from this author's research, Aboriginal "law" in the literature is generally conceived of as a set of rules which are codified in the sense that they are known to the members of a cultural group, but not written down as is consistent with Aboriginal oral traditions. Commenting on the fact that Aboriginal "laws" are not written, Denny (1992:103) suggested that "to codify customary forms of behavior or law is to destroy the living flexibility that is their greatest virtue." If existing rules were not adequate for a specific situation, the system in place was flexible enough to provide for the consensual creation of new rules (Ryan, 1995). The provision for instance or scenario flexibility when applied to a cultural schematic template, seemed to suggest a compatibility between the pursuit of a cognitive anthropological framework and ideas held by Aboriginal peoples concerning related concepts such as "justice" and "crime". Native American anthropologists themselves have specifically endorsed an applied variant of the cognitive anthropological approach to Native cultures, describing it as a means by which "to gather traditional tribal wisdom into a coherent body of knowledge which can be passed on to the next generation (Deloria, 1992:14)."

As a research pursuit, cognitive anthropology starts with the question "How is cultural knowledge organized?"; its methodological strategy aims to reconstruct the organization of shared knowledge from what people say about their experiences, and; the outcomes are the "surface manifestations" of cultural knowledge. In so doing, it contributes to an emerging composite understanding of 'humans-in-society' through its pursuit of conceptual models which seek to demonstrate how what we see, is constituted by what we know. Using this explanation itself as a template, the remainder of this article is devoted to examples from the post-secondary educational experience, wherein I will specifically advocate for the use of oral testing as an option for Aboriginal students who have struggled with the written format of 'mainstream' testing, particularly as it applies to Euro-North American concepts and constructs.

ORAL TESTING OF ABORIGINAL STUDENT-LEARNERS

As a university educator of a Contemporary Aboriginal Issues course – a dual-section course of which one section is dedicated to Aboriginal students – I have repeatedly noted what I believe to be the existence of cognitive schema associated with concepts included in the course content. Let me provide an example. The sections of my Contemporary Aboriginal Issues course that deal with issues flowing from land claims and the treaty process in Canada, asks questions relative to what types of claims and treaty grievances exist. The written answers provided by a portion of the Aboriginal students taking this class were, in actuality, narratives that focus on many of the same domains that I saw activated years earlier during my research into the cultural meaning attached to the concept of 'crime' and within the semantic domain of "wrongdoing" (Prowse, 1997). Albeit a different venue and concept focus, the cultural ethos domains of respect, sharing, and bal-

Figure 1. Schemata of 'Wrongdoing'

ance were seen to be common to both pursuits and were again being activated as part of a semantic domain to address course concepts that included land claims and treaty processes. My assessment of the answers received by students enrolled in the course section restricted to those of Aboriginal-descent, spanned a period of six course-offerings and revealed comments which, with remarkable consistency, were variants on the following themes: "The land was **taken** from the "Indian" who was never **asked**"; "The "Indian" was **sharing** the land because the land owns us, not the other way around"; "The "white man" took **more** from the land than they **needed**" (both land mass and furs). What became clear was that a similar schema was being applied to every instance of real or perceived "wrongdoing", and the only way I was able to move beyond this activation was oral testing. Figure 1 represents the template that emerged when the narrative answers provided by my students during the written testing process were superimposed on one another. What I witnessed, and continue to witness when these curriculum concepts emerge, are interrelated domains of cognition that share a common schemata. What I have found is that by resorting to oral testing I am able to first allow the students to activate the cognitive schemata and then I can follow-up with specific questions – derived from their answers – to tease out the

answers I'm seeking. If I were to refer back to Friesen's (1995) observation that experiences shared as part of Native storytelling require no ending to be understood, his insights can be seen to be analogous to what students are providing as answers on my written tests. My students are superimposing the issues we discuss in class on a cognitive template of "wrongdoing". And, while in their oral cultural traditions this paradigm does not require an ending, it is exactly that ending that provides my sought after 'textbook' answer. What I then try to do, is to probe my students to provide me with the story's ending – in my instance the correct answer - but explained from within the context of their cognitive template. Once this can be accomplished, I have observed that the students are able to quite adeptly 'step outside' their cultural schemata and provide me with the answer I was seeking. It should be made clear at this point that this is an exercise that is obviously not required with the majority of Aboriginal students; it has however been a technique I have frequently implemented with those Aboriginal post-secondary students taking my Contemporary Aboriginal Issues course who are either early into their academic careers or those Aboriginal students who have lived – or continue to live - a more 'traditional' lifestyle in the First Nations reserve setting. Mainstream Euro-North American constructs such as crime, justice, the treaty process, and land claims, represent those concepts I have encountered to date that most frequently trigger the activation of a shared schematic template, against which a 'goodness of fit' is superimposed by the student based on cultural teachings and understanding. What these concepts share is the activation of a schema that emphasizes a methodology for assessing "wrongdoing". What is applied first is the context of the action; a somewhat logical expectation when we consider that Aboriginal languages are verb-based and reflect events as a process, in counter-distinction to the noun-based English language that favours sentential description over process. To 'step-out' of this paradigm is the challenge; oral testing has proven to be a way of overcoming this challenge because it has provided an opportunity for process to occur first, before follow-up descriptive questions follow.

A COGNITIVE SCHEMA OF "WRONGDOING"

To fully develop the theoretical paradigm I am suggesting, let me explain the elements of the schemata and how it manifested across the various domains of crime, justice, land claims, and the treaty process, as discussed in my courses. Before proceeding however, it must be emphasized that while elements of the schemata have the potential to be preferentially activated across other problematic concepts that I have not yet encountered, new domains of understanding will inevitably find inclusion to illuminate these other concepts as they manifest. An understanding of the schematic construct however, will enable educators to move outside the traditional testing paradigm to a model of assessment that gives primacy to the oral tradition.

In my course topic examples of crime, justice, land claims, and the treaty process, each of these conceptual terms was interpreted as an individual act or collective action which was, in turn, assessed through its context. To use the instance example of land claims, it

was understood in terms of the collective action of taking without asking or taking out of want and not need. When my test questions asked my Aboriginal students to explain what constituted land claims, the answers invariably focused on the process of the action and not on a description of the concept itself. What I was witnessing was the manifestation of two very different worldviews: a prevailing Aboriginal worldview emphasizing actions – albeit the processes for resolving such actions differ among Aboriginal cultures – and a Euro-North American worldview emphasizing the result or outcome. Moving through the theoretical schematic model, the act or actions leading to land forfeiture were evaluated through the application of the Aboriginal ethics of sharing and 'reverse-onus' responsibility. Sharing as an over-arching worldview cultural value was seen to be a two-way street which carries with it the corollary of reverse-onus: Taking as yours is wrong, but no more so than refusing to share [the land] when in a position of sufficiency. Similarly, in order to ensure that taking [land] as your own will not result in personal hardship to others (the Aboriginals), your taking should be limited to those with whom you have a relationship (peace treaties not land forfeitures). To do otherwise, is a "wrongdoing" that requires restoring "balance". Continuing along the "wrongdoing" schematic that emerged – and found application across specific course concepts – was a closely related cultural ethos of "intended use". A sense of personal responsibility and respect for the original custodians of the land who had provided access to it, necessitated that it be used to fulfil the intended need (food, shelter), and not abused to fulfil want (excess or greed).

Because schemas emerge from what Bloch (1992) has described as "connectionist" thinking, they activate clusters of features from many domain-relevant networks. When placed against the template of "wrongdoing", "balance" was an emerging theme that could only be achieved if harmony – as manifested through the Aboriginal values of respect, trust, and sharing – was restored. It was at this point of "balance" that specific, descriptive, noun-based responses would emerge, but not until the cognitive schemata had processed the concepts. Once the concepts or constructs being tested had been situated in a cultural or worldview context, the 'textbook' answers were then forthcoming.

The challenge with the theoretical model for oral testing that I have presented, is that it requires both time to develop and the input of accomplished Aboriginal students who can act as cultural brokers. Those individuals who are Aboriginal students themselves can assist educators by relating "what they think they thought they heard you say" (or ask on written tests) and can make a tremendous contribution toward 'charting' the action schemata that may be influencing the learning process of those less experienced as 'mainstream' learners. And, while I acknowledge that I never consciously embarked on the task of identifying schemata surrounding troublesome curriculum concepts, I did regularly call upon both past and present Aboriginal student-informants to illuminate how my questions may be being interpreted by other less 'mainstream' Aboriginal student-learners. Those students who are adeptly 'walking in two worlds' have learned to recognize what 'mainstream' answers are being sought to test questions, and are

invaluable in their ability to present educators with alternative paradigms of meaning that reflect a shared Aboriginal cultures' worldview, mediated through different processes of resolution.

While I have limited my analysis to observations drawn from the domain of testing in higher education, the basic dynamics presented in this paper may find application in other spheres of Aboriginal to non-Aboriginal interaction.

Real or perceived status differences – such as hiring interviews, accessing service providers, or formalized interaction with government in the realm of negotiation or resolution – may likewise witness cultural variance associated with positive assertion. Moving beyond a cultural ethos of taciturnity, that preserves social distance in the presence of the less familiar, to positive assertion amidst cross-cultural discomfort, takes time. It requires overcoming the activation of a culturally-determined cognitive schema, which ensures a 'comfortable' social distance between speakers until such time as perceived status differences have been reconciled. This process will, to a great extent, be facilitated by the ability among those involved to safeguard against any perceived 'power' or status differentials that could potentially carry with them the risk of encroaching prematurely on this imposed social distance gradient (see: Scollon & Scollon, 1981; Prowse, 2012).

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NOTES
1   The word "Aboriginal" is being used as an inclusive terminology to include First Nations peoples (status/non-status Indians), Inuit, and Metis, as well as Native Americans; the latter being a terminology used by the Canadian Census to reference Aboriginal peoples in Canada who are American citizens. Where the term Native American or Native has been used, it has been for the purposes of being consistent with the terminology used by the author or research cited.
2   The word 'crime' has been placed in single quotes to acknowledge that it's meaning and usage derives from a Euro-North American worldview, whereas "wrongdoing" reflects an Aboriginal worldview.
3 'Traditional' is being used consistent with its historical genesis as "in the way of the people". (See: Ryan, 1995)
4   While Aboriginal cultures share an overarching worldview, the processes individual cultures pursue to achieve or restore 'balance' can vary.

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Development Across Learning Boundaries: Student Collaboration with a Grassroots NGO in Mexico and Guatemala

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Abstract

Increasingly, professors take students to the "field" as part of a course, study abroad, service-learning experience, or summer field school/internship component. However, anthropologists have reservations regarding a bounded notion of a field "out there" and their academic lives back "home." This article reflects on the collaboration between a class of MA level International Development students, a grassroots NGO working in Mexico and Guatemala, and the NGO's partner communities. Working collaboratively, the authors, including NGO staff and former fellows, graduate students, and the class professor discuss ways that the classroom, NGOs, and communities can interactively dialogue from a distance through case studies, Internet conversations, and continuous feedback over time. The article debates the ethics and power dynamics that develop in this dialogic process. For example: whose voices are heard and how can these interactions serve to increase the representation of community members in the field? The article assesses the rewards and challenges of incorporating students from a distance into development and NGO projects in the field as the NGO and communities simultaneously talk back.

Key Words: service-learning, grassroots development, partnership, power dynamics, community engagement

INTRODUCTION: A MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL COLLABORATIVE PARTNERSHIP?

This article addresses issues of power, positionality, and engaged service-learning by evaluating an evolving collaborative relationship between a Master's Level International Development Course at the Josef Korbel School of International Studies at the University of Denver (DU); Natik: a grassroots NGO working on development in Chiapas, Mexico and Santiago Atitlán, Guatemala; and Natik's partner communities in the field. The authors debate whether it is possible for these diverse stakeholders to create a mutually beneficial partnership. Can NGOs and anthropologists combine their resources and truly partner with grassroots community initiatives to help advocate for communities in which they work? Moreover, can this be accomplished through distance-based learning and communications technology when students cannot be brought to the field? Through this distance-based collaboration, the authors question bounded, timeless notions of a distinct field "out there" and their academic lives back "home" as both spaces continually inflect one another despite the researcher or development worker's physical presence.

The University of Denver's commitment to service-learning, serving the public good, and internationalization provides a promising context to facilitate such partnerships. The University of Denver approaches service-learning through a community organizing frame[1] and includes forms of community engagement that stretch beyond direct service for reporting purposes. Thus, the University's Center for Community Engagement and

Service Learning (CCESL) places a strong emphasis on collaborative relationships between community partners and University constituents. Regardless of this commitment to collaborative partnership, faculty and staff members at the University of Denver are the primary initiators of these community relationships, often setting the terms for engagement;[2] and thus establishing an unequal power dynamic from the start.

To explore the multiple interests, synergies, and challenges of the collaboration, this article integrates the perspectives of Author 1 (an anthropologist, Lecturer in International Studies at DU, and a board member of Natik), Author 2 (a former fellow working with Natik[3] who was based in Chiapas during the course collaboration), Author 3 (a recent PhD recipient in Education at DU and a former student in the development course), Author 4 (a PhD candidate in Religion at DU and a former student in the development course), Author 5 (Executive Director of Natik who has been living and working in Chiapas for over 25 years), and Author 6 (the project manager for Natik's microloan program in Chiapas and head of a local women's cooperative in Zinacantán, Chiapas, Mexico whose words are translated in this article by Author 2), While the article integrates the perspectives to create a more seamless analysis, it provides comments from the different authors in order to highlight the dialogical and reciprocal relationship that this partnership hoped to create.

The collaboration, as well as attention to the diverse voices of the authors and participants, aimed to further the principle tenets of inclusive pedagogy (Tuitt 2003). Inclusive peda-

gogy is a term used to "describe teaching practices that embrace the whole student in the learning process" (Tuitt 2003:243). The precepts of inclusive pedagogy can be traced to engaged (Hooks 1994) and critical pedagogy methodologies (Freire 1993), which reject the problem-posing model of education dependent on the deposit of information rather than the engagement of knowledge. Inclusive pedagogy maintains five key tenets: 1) faculty-student interaction; 2) sharing-power; 3) dialogical professor-student interaction; 4) activation of student voice; and 5) utilization of personal narratives (Tuitt 2003). The collaboration succeeded on some fronts and faltered on others. For example, despite good intentions, traditional power dynamics often became more evident through the collective effort.

DEVELOPMENT AND PARTNERSHIP IN CHIAPAS

James Ferguson (1997) has called development "anthropology's evil twin," as each mirrors the other in its morally questionable historical links to colonialism, neoliberalism, and dependency. In many cases, there has been mutual skepticism and wariness between anthropologists and NGOs, but many anthropologists have taken steps to collaborate with, or even start their own NGOs as they also remain engaged with grassroots social movements and activism. In Chiapas, Mexico and Guatemala, small grassroots development NGOs, like anthropologists, are often similarly critical of top-down, large-scale development.

A healthy critique of development is necessary, but there may also be opportunities for collaboration when interests align between NGOs, communities, and researchers. While some grassroots NGOs embedded in partner communities have valuable local experience and resources, it is important to note that not all NGOs are in touch with local realities nor can they necessarily be seen as spokespeople for their communities, especially in places where both communities and the development industry are divided and politicized.

This cautionary note is especially relevant to Chiapas, where state development projects have been used to deflect support from the Zapatistas.[4] Even when intentions are noble, NGOs are often beholden to the demands and audit frameworks demanded by Western donor agencies, rendering them more responsible to donors than to intended beneficiaries or "partners" (see Pickard 2007 for Chiapas). In this fashion, commitments to larger social transformation and justice are often forgotten or even directly undermined (Mitlin et al. 2007).

For an anthropologist working in Chiapas and Guatemala, however, "development" remains a daily encounter. When Author 1 first arrived in Chiapas in 2005 to conduct pre-dissertation fieldwork, it seemed that every block in San Cristóbal de las Casas, Chiapas hosted a different NGO--some local, some foreign, and many a mixture. Some are effective in advocating for the rights of indigenous and marginalized Chiapans, and others are merely products of the post-Zapatista donor and activist frenzy that descended upon the city post-1994. With funds less forthcoming than in the aftermath of the 1994 Zapatista rebellion, and especially after the 2008 recession, some

organizations have come together in exciting collaborations while others have become increasingly competitive and corrupt. It is within this context and during Author 1's dissertation fieldwork in 2006-2007 that she met Author 5 in Chiapas. Author 5 is a United States expat who has been living in Chiapas and engaging in grassroots development for over 25 years.

The point of confluence among community needs, development NGOs, funders' expectations and researcher/academic interest is the niche that Natik aspires to occupy. The mutual wariness among academic and development professionals "in the field" ranges from discomfort to disdain for the different perspectives and approaches regarding 'the community' that everyone is focusing on. As Author 5 commented:

A common shortcoming of NGOs is the chaotic urgency to get things done. Documentation of process, reflection and analysis (beyond what is required for funding justification), interdisciplinary dialogue and thoughtful critiques are considered "academic" and of little or no use in "the real world". And yet, the same mistakes are constantly repeated. From the academic point of view, the complications and expense of field experience are understandable, but can lead to a more theoretical/academic approach to anthropology and development that does not get at the complexity and messiness 'in the field,' where differing cultural, political, religious, gender and educational cosmovisions converge.

THE COURSE COLLABORATION: NATIK AND DU DEVELOPMENT STUDENTS

When Author 1 began as a Lecturer in Development at the Josef Korbel School of International Studies at the University of Denver in 2012, she approached Natik with the concept of establishing a partnership between her graduate students in a course on International Development in Cross-Cultural Perspectives and Natik. The idea was that Natik would benefit from the theoretical reflexivity of university students, and students would gain hands-on-experience with field professionals in the process of grassroots development. Moreover, the academic resources would be useful to Natik, since few of the staff have access to the emerging critical scholarship on development thanks to academic paywalls (see Kendzior 2012, 2013; Gusterson 2012). In addition to fostering a critical understanding of development among the students and providing potentially beneficial insights for Natik, the course also strove to bridge power divides and to engage the participants in a discussion of power, privilege, and positionality.

The catch was that, in direct contrast with most service-learning courses, the students could not travel to "the field" due to multiple factors. First, the course was a requirement for many students[5] and required more diverse exposure to development issues beyond Natik. Furthermore, Author 1 was a new faculty member, graduate students had demanding work and course requirements, which made it difficult to travel during a ten-week academic quarter, and Natik did not have the capacity to han-

dle 25 development students in Chiapas. Therefore, in the Fall quarter Author 1 integrated work with Natik into three discrete class projects that balanced development themes and the needs addressed by Natik staff and partners. In the first iteration of this course, these projects included exercises on Natik's Just Apparel fair trade clothing cooperative in Guatemala combined with readings on social capital. Author 1 also introduced work with one of Natik's new microloan programs in Chiapas, combined with critical readings on microfinance, and one exercise at the end of the quarter whereby students worked on logistical, financial, and administrative issues suggested by Natik. The class communicated with Natik via their Chiapas-based staff including Author 5, two fellows who recently received their MA degrees in International Development and were living in Chiapas for the year, and one post-graduate fellow, co-author Author 2. The Natik staff also communicated with the Board of Directors and their local community contacts and staff, most notably the loan accompanier, co-author Author 6, an indigenous woman who lives in Zinacantán, Chiapas, and Dolores, a local indigenous woman and program manager for Just Apparel in Santiago Atitlán, Guatemala. Due to technical and linguistic obstacles, most communications with Dolores and Author 6 were indirectly facilitated and translated by Natik staff.

Most of the communications between Natik and the class occurred via Internet technology. Natik staff provided case studies in coordination with class readings when possible, on which Author 1 provided feedback. Author 5 spoke with the class via Internet calling to provide an overview of Natik's work and Author 2, or another fellow, was available via Internet chat during most of the class exercises for student questions. Author 6, via interpretation by Author 2, attempted to speak with the class during the microloan exercise in the Fall of 2012, but Internet connectivity problems only permitted for the usage of the Internet chat function via Author 2's interpretation. Students were given access to the transcripts to use in reflection papers.

After each class that contained a Natik exercise, Author 1 would debrief by email or Internet chat with Natik staff, who occasionally spoke with community members and leaders on the ground.[6] Students wrote critical reflection papers that combined the exercises with their readings and select papers were sent to Natik staff, which were compiled and analyzed by Author 2. This feedback was given to the students in Winter 2013 (the second version of this course) to inform their exercise on microcredit. This process intended to create an ongoing dialogue that would enable the new students to build off of the efforts of the students from the previous quarter, as well as to understand how Natik had incorporated the feedback.

REFLECTIONS ON THE COLLABORATION

Synergies and Complementary, Inclusive Learning
Many aspects of the Natik-collaboration, such as the constant real-time communication through Internet calls and Internet chat, as well as access to relevant and current interviews with project participants in the field, increased the level of dialogical

discourse in the class. This aspect of bridging theory into praxis and vice versa, aimed to create a collaborative learning environment. Connecting students to the Natik fellows and Executive Director in the field complemented the literature being read throughout the course and helped students understand the practicalities of development work without physically being in the field. According to Author 3, "it was the interconnectedness of all course materials that better enhanced the learning experience."

Author 3, who viewed the course through her background in education, reflected:

> All the aspects of differentiated learning were accomplished throughout the course. The overarching goal of the course became *transforming theory into praxis*, where we as the students could apply what we learned in the "field."

While there is nothing to replace the learning achieved when physically being transplanted to another country, without the means to do so within the constraints of this course, many students believed that the praxis gained was comparable to some inter-term programs. For example, when speaking with Author 6 in Mexico, Author 3 commented:

> I was able to better understand and apply the readings on micro-finance. More specifically, it was evident that the permeating social network attained by the women in Veredas allowed for the success of the micro-finance programs. From the Skype call conversation, I was able to recall and restate how Veredas accomplished 100% repayment and comparatively assessed the success and failures of other cases presented in the course readings.

Difficulty 1: Clarifying Natik's Identity
Students and staff both saw benefits from the collaboration, but numerous difficulties and confusion also emerged. According to Author 3, Natik, when first presented:

> …was described as a start-up NGO trying to restructure its business model in order to operate more efficiently across regions. At first, many students perceived Natik as disheveled in its operations and without the necessary business acumen to succeed or remain in operation.

Author 1 and the staff soon realized that many students did not have a firm grasp of the history or activities of Natik, which has a somewhat unique flexible internal organizational structure. Natik partners with grassroots community projects in Mexico and Guatemala, referred to as "partners," provide a wide range of services that are constantly changing. Currently, Natik assists its partners through fundraising efforts, administrative tasks, web administration, intern recruitment and placement, and simply serving as a legal 501(c)3 in the United States through which the partners can channel funds.

Founded in 2003, Natik was originally an umbrella organization with university chapters that each partnered with grassroots development projects in several countries. Over time, the

university chapter model was found to be counterproductive to the mission of creating long-lasting partnerships (groups disintegrated when leaders graduated or funding opportunities waned), and the geographic distance of the projects contributed to staff and board members becoming increasingly disconnected from local realities. Beginning in 2011, Natik scaled back to focus on its strongest partner relations with organizations in Chiapas, Mexico and Santiago Atitlán, Guatemala. It also created a semi-permanent administrative staff for the first time.

Despite recent changes, Natik has maintained a consistent mission since 2003 to connect young Americans with grassroots community development projects that foster mutual empowerment and transformative social change in the "developing world." Under the new model, Natik focuses on volunteer/intern placement (according to the self-stated needs of community partners) and building infrastructure to support collaborations with field schools, study abroad programs, and service-learning trips. In this model, partners have an active role in determining projects and intern needs and the organization can maintain flexibility. As Author 5 asserts:

> This philosophical commitment to long-term, personal relationships with our partners, combined with a constant influx of new eyes, ears, hearts and minds allows us to be in a constant state of self-reflective awareness.

As a small grassroots organization with a young Board of Directors that is primarily funded through small ($25-50) donations from family, friends, and a few small family foundations, Natik relies heavily on voluntary support. While this is a weakness in some ways, it gives the organization flexibility to learn from mistakes, experiment with strategies, and serve the changing needs of its partners. While the global development community generally considers financial and measurable 'growth indicators' as the criteria of success, Natik believes that the quality of its long-term relationships is a primary indicator of success. As Author 5 states:

> Having earned relationships of mutual loyalty, trust, and transparency means that we have entry into communities as friends and colleagues; not as foreign conduits for financial or political gain. This powerful (yet mostly invisible) benefit is passed along to the volunteers, interns and fellows that experience our partners 'in the field'. This is more difficult to convey from a distance through electronic media, but is worth the effort.

Difficulty 2: Development Coursework as Experimental Process
Since the fall of 2012 was Author 1's first time teaching this course as a new faculty member at the University of Denver, and Natik was still in the rebranding stage, case studies and communication were constantly in formation throughout the fall course. Students often did not receive the case studies until they were in class, which they worked on in groups, using the development readings they had read prior to class as

references. Papers reflecting on the case study and readings were due the week following the exercise.

Many students expressed that they would have preferred to receive the case studies in advance. Sometimes there were student questions in class that Author 1 could not answer since the interchanges often appeared unfinished. In many ways, this confusion was reflective of the grassroots development process. Everything was a dialogue in construction and part of an evolving process, into which the students were inserted as active participants. Case studies were not finished projects for them to analyze, but continually reformed encounters and dilemmas with which they had to wrestle. Some of the more experienced students felt that this process approximated the development experience and its unpredictability, messiness, and contingency, but others expressed frustration. Given that the first version of this class occurred in the fall, many students were new to development and preferred more structure and clarity of expectations. Other students, who were further along in their graduate careers, had a preference for focusing on their own areas of interest. While students understood that they were involved in an active, ongoing process, their papers were being graded and they had other academic commitments. Was it fair to them to expect the same reflexivity, flexibility, and critical attention from this range of student perspectives?

Since this was somewhat of an introductory course, Author 1 found it challenging to balance a partnership with Natik and with providing students with a holistic understanding of development in cross-cultural perspective. This was especially complicated in a 10-week quarter with 25 students with diverse interests and backgrounds. Three weeks of a ten-week quarter was too much focus on Natik for some, but for others it was not enough to acquire the intensive experience that they desired.

In the Winter 2013 version of the course, Author 1 made changes to address these logistical concerns. The Just Apparel exercise was dropped so that only two exercises focused on Natik and instead of speaking with the class at the end of the term, Author 5 presented information about Natik in the first class to provide students with an up-front context. Visits from other NGOs and social organizations were added to the winter course to provide students with a more varied experience.

Difficulty 3: Conveying Context and "Checking-Out"
One of the largest obstacles was conveying the cultural, political, and historical complexities of work in Chiapas and Guatemala to students who could not be there. According to Author 3:

> It remained unclear as to whether or not the goal of transforming theory into practice was actually achieved due to the physical distance of Natik's operations. In truth, as a class, we engaged with Natik and as a class were transported metaphorically to Chiapas, Mexico for three hours each week, but similar to many community and service learning programs, we removed ourselves each week from that space.

Author 4 added:

> The way in which the partnership was run in the fall of 2012 often allowed students to voluntarily 'check out' of the collaboration. Many students engaged minimally with the NGO partners. Thus, students held the partner organizations at a distance, doing only what was necessary to complete assignments.

Since real-time class interactions with NGO representatives took place in a large group setting, many students were disengaged and did not truly enter into a dialogue with the NGO representatives. Some students also felt that the conversations with NGO partners were too open-ended. Although the discussion often began on the pretense of talking about a specific development issue, the conversations became disjointed as students threw out questions on different topics. Thus, many students did not feel that they were personally involved in a continuous conversation with the NGO representatives.

In Fall 2012, the student feedback was primarily from short written reflections. While students offered a plethora of insights, it was also not possible to implement most of the ideas. Author 1 and the Natik staff realized that bringing "the field" to students was more challenging than they had expected, especially in terms of the complicated nature of Natik's and of its partners' work in their specific political, economic, and cultural realities. After only a few months, the advice of the class did not result in specific changes. However, as Author 2 and Natik staff updated some cases for the second iteration of the course in Winter 2013, this began to lead to deeper insights from the class. While the example below highlights some of the benefits of sustained collaboration, it also reveals the continuing problem of conveying deep contextual and historical realities, as well as on-the-ground exigencies of life in Chiapas, to students based in the United States.

VEREDAS MICROLOANS: LACK OF CONTEXT OR SUCCESSFUL COLLABORATION?

The Veredas microloan program, a Natik partner, presented an extensive case study to the class both in fall of 2012 and winter of 2013. While most of the material provided, including history of the program and interviews with loan participants, remained the same from the first iteration to the second, the challenges presented to the class shifted significantly. Repeating the case has enabled the authors to assess how the dialogue between the class and Natik is evolving over time.

The Veredas microloan program was founded in 2009 to provide small loans to cooperatives of women engaged in various productive activities. Author 6, the current micro loan accompanier, is a college-educated indigenous woman from Zinacantán, an indigenous municipality near San Cristóbal de las Casas, Chiapas.

When the University of Denver class originally engaged with the Veredas program in the fall of 2012 via Internet conference with Author 6 (via Author 2's interpretation), a poor Internet connection resulted in the conversation being conducted solely via Internet "chat." This limitation removed the human interaction that the videoconference had aimed to stimulate.

Author 6 laughed as she fielded rapid-fire questions from the students, many of which had very little to do with microfinance. It was clear that thirty minutes would not be enough for the class to grasp the socioeconomic context of the region, much less the intricacies of the lending program itself. On the other hand, the students' "outside" perspective had an unexpected result. They asked Author 6 questions about the microloan program that were direct and hard-hitting, including what tensions exist between the women of her cooperative, how Author 6 gained their trust, and how she could properly monitor whether the women's husbands took the loan money.

While Author 2 was apprehensive about some of the students' hard-hitting questions, Author 6 told Author 2 that she is used to such questions and that they were "easy" to answer. She assured Author 2 that she never felt pressured to respond in a certain way. Author 2 reflected:

> In three months (at the time) in Chiapas working for Natik, I had never thought to ask those questions, preferring to be polite in a collaboration I was only beginning to be involved with and taking for granted the knowledge of other Natik staff with respect to Author 6's history with the cooperative. The DU class, on the other hand, could be unabashed about their lack of close knowledge and ask questions almost anonymously from thousands of miles away.

In the end, Author 6's answers to the class's questions prompted new conversations throughout Veredas. The most tangible result was Author 6's description of a savings program she had previously administered among the women of the cooperative. Author 6 explained the program in response to a student's question about whether the cooperative had engaged in savings or reinvestment.

Veredas had never engaged in any systematic savings program.[7] Author 2 and the staff were therefore surprised to hear Author 6 respond to the student by enthusiastically describing the cooperative's savings and loan program (previous to their relationship to Veredas). The women were happy with the program, and although they drained their savings during the global recession in 2008, Author 6 and the women believed that it had been worthwhile.

Utilizing this new information, over the next few months other Natik staff and Author 2 spoke with Author 6 about creating a savings plan through Veredas. Author 6 was critical of some aspects of the previous plan, but she identified the parts that she thought were most helpful or popular among the women, and was enthusiastic about designing an ideal savings plan. Some of the assertive student questions, although they may have made the staff somewhat uncomfortable, led the staff and community members to ponder new questions.

However, the microloan case also revealed some of the problematic power dynamics of the collaboration. The collaboration aimed to foster transformative thinking through an inclusive pedagogical framework that would link the various actors

across borders through the sharing of power, knowledge, and personal narratives. However, Author 2 realized that Author 6's experience with the class was not remarkable for her. As a women's leader in a region known for its abundance of social programs and development projects, Author 6 had given many interviews in the past. When Author 2 mentioned that the conversation had been instrumental in her understanding of the cooperative and the microloan project, Author 6 responded, "It was interesting for me, too. It helped me think through how I would answer those questions in the future." When Author 2 described the kind of transformative thinking about the projects that Author 1 and Natik staff hoped this collaboration could instigate, she simply nodded. As Author 2 noted, "Unfortunately, we had not taken time to explain the collaboration to her beforehand, or to seek her advice on what information should be provided and what advice should be solicited."

Students also often wondered why Natik staff only interviewed cooperative members versus members of the larger community in order to assess the wider impacts and views surrounding Natik's role in the community. While the staff found these questions helpful, they revealed that it might be impossible to convey the complexities of their work in Chiapas, conducted with limited staff and financial resources, to students in Denver. Student comments illustrated the balance of power undergirding the cooperation, whereby students could freely offer suggestions without fully grasping the context or experiencing the consequences.

POWER, PARTNERSHIP, AND PRIVILEGE:

> What is needed is a different kind of interaction, one that emphasize[s] respectful listening of perspectives and histories, together with community building and possibly advocacy in an environment that acknowledges and addresses the difficult emotions and political choices that accompany these tensions, on both sides. (Keith 2005:14).

As dialogue ensued between Author 1, the class and Natik's staff, Author 1 reflected on her and the students' privileged positions inside a private university. While student input was often desirable, did it reproduce power differences between north/south, academic/grassroots, and ivory tower/intended beneficiaries? Author 1 and some students asked: who were they to know anything about not only what Natik was doing, but also what its partners on the ground thought? Author 3 perceived this evolving power struggle and the challenges that arose in the application of the course to the expectations of privileged graduate students. According to Author 3:

> The power struggles were further exacerbated because the premise of the work around Natik was that collectively the graduate students would help provide solutions. The misconstrued interpretation was one of a "White man's burden" (Kipling 1899) in which the graduate students were in place to "save" this NGO. The irony in reflexively analyzing that experience is the assumed role reversal of what many of the stu-

dents detested; that of the developed-world funder's role of being put in place to save the problems of developing countries.

Having a class filled with mostly American students, many who had previously served in some capacity in the Peace Corps or other international service-learning experience, made for an interesting clash of power and privilege. Whereas the second principle of inclusive pedagogy speaks to sharing-power in which the dissemination of knowledge is co-created between the faculty and student, the sharing power between Natik and the graduate students often seemed uneven.

There was an inherent power struggle between Natik and the students arguably due to the physical and assumed intellectual distance between the two groups. As Author 4 noted:

> From the start, there was a significant difference in the power dynamics between students in the classroom and those working for Natik and its partners in Mexico and Guatemala. This power dynamic showed up in low levels of student participation in discussions about, and in dialogue with, the NGO partners as students had the luxury of being able to distance themselves from the issues on the ground.

Some students perceived that many university students in the United States often assume that "first world" universities are the only ones producing worthwhile research on development, while development work itself only takes place outside of these contexts. This presumption maintains the uneven power dynamic between U.S. classrooms and NGOs outside of the U.S.[8]

The collaboration, ironically, intended to foster a greater role for NGOs and communities on the ground in the service-learning experience. The NGO in Chiapas initiated much of the relationship rather than the university or the students, which does give some power to those in tune with the realities on the ground. Yet did students still come to play the louder partner? Did Author 1, as the professor and lynchpin between students and the organization? Moreover, while Author 1 has conducted extensive research in Chiapas and Guatemala, she has not worked long-term in any of Natik's research communities nor was she in the field during the course. Balancing commitments also proved difficult. Author 1 felt mutual commitments to students, Natik staff, and Natik's partner communities. While mostly aligned, sometimes these obligations competed. Author 1 was excited for students to apply a critical lens to Natik, but also felt a responsibility to respect the time and work that Natik had invested into the course's case studies.

The class engaged in a critical discussion of positionality in order to ponder their own roles in development. In the process, for example, did the collaboration serve to reinforce exclusive notions of "expertise" and authority that shape what counts as valuable knowledge? Kothari (2005: 429), for example, refers to the problematic consequences of the professionalization of development whereby expertise is "socially, culturally, and geographically informed" and is "based more on the characteristics of people...than what they know." Many students came to a critical reflexivity regarding the powerful gaze of development

(see Camacho 2004), but they struggled with how to reconcile this with their genuine desires to create collaborative partnerships to help remedy persistent issues of poverty and inequality.

Many of the class discussions and critiques proved beneficial to both parties, but discussions often went back and forth between students, the Natik staff, and Author 1. At times, students and staff could communicate directly, but the class remained largely in the dark about what community members thought. Despite attempts to be inclusive, some students realized that even as they were attempting to foster innovative collaborations, they were often repeating development's biggest mistake of leaving people and their communities out of the equation. Had the class inadvertently reproduced the very power dynamics of research and development it had sought out to challenge? Who was speaking for whom and whose voices carried the most weight? All of the parties involved recognized the need for community input into not only communication, but also the case studies, but all struggled with how to accomplish this.

TOWARDS SUSTAINED PARTNERSHIP AND REEVALUATION?

Through sustained interaction and partnership, perhaps some of these power imbalances can be surmounted. Natik was excited to pursue the collaboration the following Winter Quarter and to offer a revised Veredas case study in order to assess the potential structure and benefits of a savings plan without engaging in paternalistic discourses or practices. The students reiterated Natik's original idea that the plan should be optional for the women loan participants and felt that it would be possible to implement the plan in a culturally respectful way. Veredas projects implementing the savings program in 2014. The Veredas savings plan is thus a positive and tangible example of the impact of the collaboration. The development of the program would probably not have occurred as soon as it has without the continuity of the collaboration with the students (in comparison with other cases presented one quarter, but not the other) or the flexible nature of the communication between both parties. Author 2 stated that "the opportunity to bring the case back to the class a second time, though with a different group of students, acted as an opportunity to articulate the nuances of and begin planning for a project that became a serious consideration through the first collaboration." This example is an illustration of the need for longevity and flexibility in collaborations between universities and grassroots organizations. It *is* possible to change organizational perspectives and policies through such a process of constant re-articulation and communication.

For other Natik partner organizations, the effects of the collaboration may take longer to appear or may require longer and deeper engagement. The greatest impact for Natik may be the recruitment of longer-term interns from the classes to engage in more sustained work with the organization, either at home or abroad. For future collaborations between the DU class, potential interns, and Natik to be successful, all parties need to see the collaboration with a long-term view, similar to the perspective Natik takes with its partner relationships.

Apart from the duration of the relationship, several logistical shifts could increase genuine sustained interaction and partnership between the course, Natik, and its communities. For example, requiring groups of students to connect with specific NGO representatives around more specific topics could help to better engage students and create more focused results for Natik. In addition, Author 4 suggests three ways to navigate the "disconnect" that students perceived between the theoretical material on development and the case studies (she observed that students engaged less, both quantitatively and qualitatively, with case study materials outside of class). 1) Encourage NGO representatives to read a portion or summary of the theoretical material on a particular topic in order to create space for a deeper, more even-footed dialogue between the NGO and the class, instead of students giving advice to the NGO based on their knowledge of the theory. 2) Encourage small groups of students to have more frequent conversations with NGO representatives on issues of concern to the NGO in order to increase students' investment in specific topics and enhance student-to-student discussions. 3) Encourage students to focus more on case study documents by limiting the peripheral documents they are asked to read. Small group interactions with NGO partners around more clearly delineated issues over longer periods of time could have the effect of more fully representing the point of view of the NGO partners in classroom discussions. However, these strategies would work best for students who already had an interest in a deeper relationship with Natik and could potentially alienate those seeking a broader exposure to development.

Natik may also be encouraged to consider how it represents its partners during the collaboration. Natik's unique organizational structure may allow the organization to act as a bridge between community projects seeking support and university students seeking further understanding of development or social justice issues. This would ideally allow community projects to not spend valuable time organizing the logistics of university partnerships (see Curwood et al. 2011). At the same time, to make the collaboration truly productive for its partners, Natik may need to allow community members to pass more easily over the bridge it creates between the communities where it works and U.S. students for two reasons: First, because involvement in decision-making with respect to the collaboration might give the partner organizations more ownership of the interaction and put them on a more equal footing in the relationship. Second, from a pragmatic viewpoint, easier communication could allow project participants to better reflect on the results of the collaboration and to potentially implement changes. Directly including project staff and participants in the case studies would greatly benefit Natik, its partners, and student understanding of the relationship and projects. As Author 2 related, "Despite all the information Natik may have about its partners, partner input will be necessary for the creation of goals and questions for academic collaboration, as painstaking as that process may be."

Literature dedicated to understanding how service-learning can best have a positive, non-exploitative impact on communi-

ties has often emphasized the goal of "reciprocity"[9] in interactions between students and communities (see Crabtree 2008, Porter and Monard 2001). However, it is necessary to remain conscious of power dynamics that may detract from attempts to create equal exchanges between students and communities. Author 5 posed additional suggestions for leveling out power dynamics and creating a shared field of interaction and mutual understanding:

> It might be interesting to experiment with encouraging *all* participants to create personal narratives of their/ our own lives. This might encourage a different degree of engagement on the part of the students—and would certainly be of interest for our partners in the field![10]

CONCLUSIONS AND REFLECTIONS ACROSS PARTICIPANTS:

Service-learning and NGO-university collaborations have much to offer in a context where access to technology has rapidly improved, but barriers to sharing information and true collaboration among different actors across borders and disciplines still exist, even when the actors involved may share similar concerns. Such barriers include disciplinary boundaries, competition, critique and suspicion between development and academia, lack of funding, and academic paywalls. Yet is it possible for students to become true collaborators when they cannot experience the true context? For U.S.-based students and faculty, ease of access to information can create a false perception that that this can replace physical space and face-to-face interaction. In this sense, have we have substituted facility and speed for depth and complexity? Moreover, the collaboration raised questions regarding the appropriate role for students in this process. Students exerted agency in the development process, but also risked reproducing the very power and privilege so entrenched in many academic settings.

One goal of an NGO-classroom collaboration is that the voices of those working with an NGO, as well as those on what is often thought of as the "receiving end" of development, be heard in the academy. It is critical that those involved in development work be part of the process of evaluating and revising ways of approaching development (Earle and Simonelli 2000). However, there are logistical and conceptual barriers to making such an arrangement work well in practice.[11] The process of collaborating to write this article itself has been challenging, involving soliciting input from Natik staff and community voices through constant electronic communication, some in-person meetings, and English-Spanish/Spanish-English translation.

On the other hand, according to Author 5, one of the principal benefits of the collaboration for Natik was the process of creating the case studies themselves. As Author 5 reflected:

> Creating materials for the class forced Natik to define itself beyond the usual social media brevity. Describing ourselves to outsiders was an incredibly valuable experience. Even if solutions didn't emerge, it has been an important reminder that finding the right answers requires finding the right questions.

Author 6 also suggests that there are some benefits inherent to the process of putting the students and the organization in contact with one another:

> The collaboration means that I get to know the work Natik does more broadly, am able to share work experiences, and learn more. The students can support communities and collaborate in the work that Natik does, and as they share in the work, they are able to be closer to the organization. In addition, students who have links to Natik can use those links to help out in easy, practical ways.

For the course to be successful for students, it must also do a better job of marketing itself as a distinct type of learning experience requiring a high level of student engagement and partnership. Instead of incorporating exercises into a more general International Development course, one possible future solution would be to propose a specific topics course through which students could elect to pursue this type of in-depth collaboration and possibly add on a subsequent field component. This option may also be of greater benefit to Natik and its partners in the longer term.

The writing process is one in which we can ponder our roles and power dynamics to explore the ethics of the development encounter and the academic experience. Could these dilemmas have been avoided if the course had had a field component? Perhaps. However, we believe that such academic-international development partnerships forged at a distance can provide a window into how such problems may be similarly experienced by students in the "field", who may easily mistake short-term encounters with in-depth knowledge and complex understanding. The problems and difficulties were perhaps more apparent in this particular case, which can lead us to examine how similar reproductions of power and erasures of people also happen in situ.

In writing, the authors have striven to collaborate as academics, students, practitioners, and community stakeholders in order to learn from the mistakes and ponder the issues rather than gloss them over in reports of success, synergy, and accountability indicators. Student reviews, loans disbursed, interns recruited, or programs the university funds obscure all of these all-too-important issues and the process of relationship building. The authors have also struggled with how to represent the voices of community members in the process, but Author 2 and Author 6 have worked to incorporate their opinions and will share this document with them and enable them to add, disagree, and analyze. In the writing process, the authors have put their reflections together and engaged in analysis and dialogue together in order to understand how collaborations, inherently messy and evolving (in practice, reflection, and writing) are inherently embedded in, and reflective of, our own positionalities.

NOTES

1. See http://www.du.edu/ccesl/ docsco_handbook_2010_11_print_protected.pdf
2. While this course did not pursue a direct relationship with DU's Service Learning Program, Author 1 and Natik think that this could be a possible future collaboration.
3. After completing her fellowship in the summer of 2013, Author 2 joined Natik's Board of Directors
4. On January 1 1994, the Zapatistas (The Zapatista Army of National Liberation), a revolutionary leftist group, took up arms against the Mexican government to protest the passage of the North American Free Trade Agreement and to demand indigenous land, cultural, economic, and social rights. The Mexican army and paramilitary groups countered the Zapatistas, resulting in low-intensity warfare. The Zapatistas have since laid down arms and expanded their project beyond indigenous rights to a wider consideration of human and social rights, for which they have attracted international attention. They set up autonomous communities and municipalities based on the concept of "govern by obeying" (Simonelli, Earle, and Story 2004). The Mexican government continues to respond through a mix of selective repression and surveillance, paramilitarization, and co-optation through the usage of social programs and development projects.
5. Students in the Development track at Korbel can either take this course or the Politics of Development to satisfy this requirement, but many become limited due to scheduling.
6. In fact, consistent communication with community members and local leaders about the course was one of the greatest obstacles of the collaboration.
7. Some of the earliest Veredas loan application forms stated that loan recipients could participate in a savings program by depositing a little extra money whenever they made loan payments, but cooperatives never took advantage of the offer.
8. One way of addressing this power dynamic would be to involve scholars and researchers from areas where the NGOs are located; in this case, Mexico and Guatemala.
9. Simonelli, Earle, and Story (2004) use the slightly different term, "symmetry."
10. This might include having students devise standard questions/criteria and then apply those questions to themselves to share with Natik staff and partners.
11. For example, as the authors were preparing to present these results at the Society for Applied Anthropology Meetings, they become even more aware of the barriers. Author 2 wanted to participate as a co-presenter via Internet calling from Chiapas, but realized that this was impeded by the Marriott Hotel's $68-per-day Internet fee at the conference.

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COMMENTARY

OUR FACTS—THEIR TRUTH

CRAIG HARMON

INTRODUCTION

An extensive assortment of legislation has been passed over the years in an effort to level the playing field for Native Americans and finally extend to them many of the same legal protections and opportunities under the law that most other Americans take for granted, and owing to the treatment of this country's original inhabitants since Columbus, there is a lot of leveling to do. Certain laws and executive orders passed the last twenty years have helped. Much of this legislation has been targeted at religious freedom while some, such as the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) of 1990, address cultural items and ways of life treasured by Indian people. The original intentions behind this legislation were good, but the outcome has occasionally been to legally deny Indian people the acknowledgement they deserve and the access to their past they need to survive. As an archaeologist now retired from the federal Bureau of Land Management and involved for much of my career in the tribal consultation between the Federal government and Indian tribes affected by BLM land management, I have learned a lot. But a consequence of this has allowed me to observe both the intended and unintended effects of laws as well as other Federal actions on Indian Tribes. Some of what I have witnessed has been positive, but much of it has not.

This paper is divided into two parts. In the first part I plan to present several negative experiences involving laws and other actions that have affected Indians in one way or another. I will look at NAGPRA and the impact this law has had. I will also look at the Kennewick Man, named for the town in Washington state where the remains of this individual was found in 1996, and the situation surrounding this controversial find involving the American scientific community and the courts. Finally, I will look the situation of the human and cultural remains found at Spirit Cave in 1940 near Fallon, Nevada. The second part of the paper presents what I consider to be essentially positive actions involving the Paiute tribe where a new road had been proposed and where the treatment of the Indians could be characterized as following a much more collaborative and respectful path.
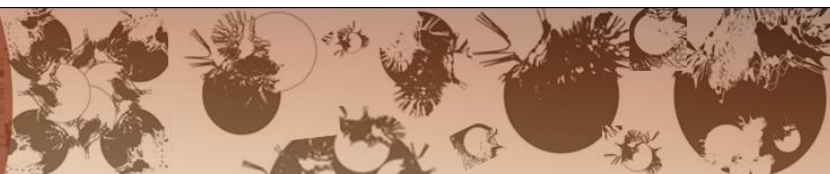
NAGPRA

Before beginning the discussion of NAGPRA, we present the following outline on NAGPRA from the government NAGPRA website:

The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act is a Federal law passed in 1990. NAGPRA provides a process for museums and Federal agencies to return certain Native American cultural items -- human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, or objects of cultural patrimony -- to lineal descendants, and culturally affiliated Indian tribes and Native Hawaiian organizations. NAGPRA includes provisions for unclaimed and culturally unidentifiable Native American cultural items, intentional and inadvertent discovery of Native American cultural items on Federal and tribal lands, and penalties for noncompliance and illegal trafficking. In addition, NAGPRA authorizes Federal grants to Indian tribes, Native Hawaiian organizations, and museums to assist with the documentation and repatriation of Native American cultural items, and establishes the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Review Committee to monitor the NAGPRA process and facilitate the resolution of disputes that may arise concerning repatriation under NAGPRA. (http://www.nps.gov/history/nagpra/MANDATES/INDEX.HTM)

Since the passage of NAGPRA in 1990, repatriation efforts have occasionally strayed considerably from the stated original goal of neutral and accurate fact-finding and have steadily been reduced to contests between competing cultural belief systems. NAGPRA outlines a process to be used by museums and federal agencies to return certain Native American cultural items to 'lineal descendants, and culturally affiliated' Indian tribes and also specifies the lines of evidence to be used in making those determinations. Professionals representing various federal agencies and institutions of higher learning participate in this contest by taking sides in the debate and attempting to make the case for one or another belief system, essentially taking sides concerning which side should win and which should lose. There are a number of these cases, some better known than others. Returning things to their rightful owners has created a huge problem in these cases, because no one seems to have figured out an accurate method to determine just who the rightful owners are, and although we seem to have become quite adept at figuring out who they are not, the identification of the rightful owners still presents a problem. NAGPRA (section 7c) says that cultural affiliation will be determined "by a preponderance of the evidence based on geographical, kinship, biological, archaeological, linguistic, folkloric, oral tradition, historical, or other relevant information or expert opinion." Nowhere in NAGPRA does it state that any one of these lines of evidence is any more valid than the other. Even so, the historical arguments presented by Indian

tribes are struck down repeatedly in favor of the biological evidence (DNA), resulting in losses in the courts for the Indians. The Supreme Court has decided against Native American interests many times (Deloria 2000, 169; Echo-Hawk 2010, 3). Why this has happened is a question anthropologists should come to terms with.

The philosophies and ways of life found in tribal societies are rooted in generations of observations of their surroundings. Western or Anglo societies do the same thing, but the resulting philosophies and traditions of the two societies are vastly different. We have chosen not only to characterize our investigative and historical philosophies as "Science" but also to proclaim them virtually infallible. An inevitable result of this is to downgrade the Native counterparts by characterizing them as simply custom and folklore. When the two philosophies clash in court, the outcome is sadly predictable. The process that identifies lineal descendants and determines cultural affiliation has become extremely biased in favor of Western science. Traditional native concerns receive far less consideration, especially when those judging the issue dismiss custom and oral tradition as myth and legend. The loud and clear message being sent is that Native American tradition is less valid than our own.

Of course, court decisions have favored tribes occasionally (Zimmerman 2000, 295). When they have, the 'good' subjective value judgments that favor the scientists become not so good when they support the Native American side. In the case of Kennewick Man, the government tried to do the right thing and return the remains to four Northwestern Indian tribes, but this decision was overturned by the Federal District Court in Washington State so that anthropologists could analyze the remains. The Spirit Cave Mummy debate is just the opposite. In this one, when the government tried to deny affiliation with an Indian Tribe, the Federal District Court in Reno, Nevada, ruled in favor of repatriation to the Tribe, but the government is still trying to deny repatriation.

It is interesting that human remains are regarded so differently by Indian people than they are by anthropologists. To Indian people they are family. To anthropologists they are things. This country has always had an awkward relationship with Native Americans. We put most of them on reservations during the nineteenth century and continued their marginalization throughout the twentieth by passing a number of laws concerning their heritage and political organization that have progressively disenfranchised them. Anthropologists have always tended to dehumanize Native people and reduce them to objects of study, and it appears now that the tendency has become the rule. The Antiquities Act of 1906 made sure of that when it declared that their remains were 'objects of antiquity' and that research on them was to be conducted for the benefit of 'reputable museums, universities, colleges, or other recognized scientific or educational institutions' (American Antiquities Act of 1906, 16 USC 431-433). Native people were left out of this discussion. Nor were they consulted about the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act that dictated Indian tribes organize themselves according to our own federal system or do without federal aid

– which undermined the whole concept of sovereignty and also led the federal government to anoint itself as the arbiter of 'Indian-ness' as indicated by the criteria for federal recognition of Indian tribes promulgated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 classified Indian sites as 'environmental resources'. To be considered an environmental resource is quite a step down from being considered a human being.

There is no doubt that NAGPRA has stirred controversy. There have been many complaints over the years that myths and legends are granted as much credibility as conclusions reached through detailed scientific inquiry, even though the law calls for just that. This is viewed in some quarters as nothing more than being politically correct. Others go a step further and characterize this as an assault on the realism and objectivity that are the foundations of western science. The idea that western science might itself be subjective has not been considered. Historian Donna Haraway cautioned us about facts many years ago when she said, "facts are always theory-laden; theories are always value-laden, therefore, facts are value-laden" (Haraway 1977, 288). The implication is that 'scientific facts' are probably much more subjective than we are comfortable with.
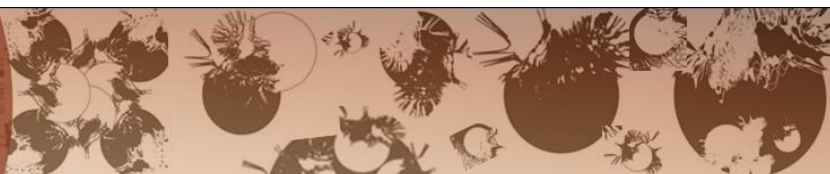
The passage of NAGPRA was an attempt to remedy a problem that has plagued Indian-white relations ever since the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock in 1620. The very first Pilgrim exploring party sent to check out the surrounding countryside returned to the Mayflower with corn taken from Indian storage pits and items removed from a grave, and this has been going on ever since. Vine Deloria said that, "Many Indians, of course, believe it would have been better if Plymouth Rock had landed on the Pilgrims than the Pilgrims on Plymouth Rock" (1969, 177).

Examples in this country such as the Kennewick Man and Spirit Cave cases have illustrated the tensions between Native Americans and archaeologists which can be summarized as a conflict between a need to remain respectful towards burials and sacred sites and the academic benefit from studying them. For years, American archaeologists dug on Indian burial grounds and other places considered sacred, removing artifacts and human remains to storage facilities for further study. In many cases human remains were put on a shelf awaiting a generous budget to appear so that all those archived and incomplete studies could be done. Furthermore, archaeologists' views of the past often differ from those of tribal peoples. Archaeologists view time as linear, while for many natives, it is cyclical. From our perspective, the past is long-gone but can be reconstructed through its material remains. From a native perspective, the past is often still alive and disturbing it can have dire consequences in the present.

KENNEWICK MAN: A NEGATIVE OUTCOME

Kennewick Man was found on land that is under the jurisdiction of the Army Corps of Engineers, which maintains ownership of the remains unless and until the Native American tribe claims ownership and that ownership can be confirmed.

The Umatilla tribe requested custody of the remains, wanting to bury them according to tribal tradition. The Umatilla argued that their oral history goes back 10,000 years and say that their people have been present on their historical territory since the dawn of time. In addition, a government statement that Kennewick Man is not Native American was considered by the Umatilla to be disrespectful to their religious beliefs. The Umatilla claim was contested by researchers hoping to study the remains.

Major issues permeated the Kennewick Man debate. Native people wanted the remains for reburial. Scientists wanted them for the knowledge that could be extracted from them. Natives accused the scientists of being racist. The scientists accused Natives of being obstructionists attempting to shut down valuable research. The controversy over Kennewick Man raged on and on until February of 2004 when the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled in favor of the original plaintiffs stating that a cultural link between modern Indian tribes and the skeleton was not established (United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit 2004). The Court essentially said that NAGPRA did not apply in this case because the remains were too old. NAGPRA never addressed age – a serious shortcoming. The court decision opened the door for scientific study of the remains that currently reside at the University of Washington's Burke Museum in Seattle. The farther back in time we go, the more difficult it becomes to establish either affiliation or non-affiliation, and this is the important point: it is not possible to prove either one. However, it is obvious from the studies surrounding disputed human remains that the lack of evidence supporting affiliation is somehow being construed as the presence of evidence supporting non-affiliation.

There has been some fairly recent activity on the Kennewick Man front. In early October of 2012, the scientist who led the effort to deny repatriation met with tribal leaders in Washington State and told them that the Kennewick Man was not only not of Native American descent but that he was not from the Columbia Plateau where he was found but more likely from coastal Washington (important because it was central Washington tribes who initially claimed the remains).

SPIRIT CAVE: ANOTHER NEGATIVE OUTCOME

The Kennewick Man controversy is a good example of the struggle over Native American remains and objects, but it is by no means the only one. In 1940, archaeologists with (what became) the Nevada Division of State Parks legally removed human remains and associated funerary objects from Spirit Cave near Fallon, Nevada, and stored them at the Nevada State Museum in Carson City. It was a truly unique find at the time, but the archaeologists had no idea that what they had actually found was the oldest mummy in North America. Despite all the controversy and bickering between the Federal government and the Fallon Paiute-Shoshone Tribe who claimed the remains, they still reside at the Nevada State Museum – more than seventy years since they were originally stored there.

The Fallon Paiute-Shoshone Tribe, representing all Northern Paiute tribal governments, made a formal request for repatriation of the remains in the spring of 1997, just a few years after the passage of NAGPRA. A year earlier, in 1996, a team of physical anthropologists from the University of California at Davis had approached the Nevada State Museum and requested that they be allowed to do some DNA analysis and radiocarbon testing of several sets of remains housed at the Museum. The Spirit Cave Mummy was among them. In January of 1999, the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) told the tribal leaders of a preliminary decision that the Spirit Cave remains were not linked to any modern Nevada tribes and then documented that decision in the "Determination of Cultural Affiliation of Ancient Human Remains from Spirit Cave, Nevada" a study published by the Nevada State BLM Office in July of 2000 (Barker et al. 2000). The tribe asked for more time to submit evidence of cultural affiliation and soon submitted six reports from recognized experts in relevant fields supporting the Nevada tribes in their repatriation request. The tribe also strongly opposed any consumptive testing of the remains and reasserted its cultural affiliation with the Spirit Cave Mummy.

After years of legal wrangling, the Tribe filed suit against the BLM in Federal District Court in Reno, NV. In September of 2006, U.S. District Court Judge Larry R. Hicks ruled that 1) BLM's decision was arbitrary and capricious, 2) BLM failed to meet the requirements of NAGPRA and the Administrative Procedures Act, and 3) the NAGPRA Review Committee's findings supporting repatriation were relevant and persuasive. Judge Hicks stated in his decision that "In this matter, there is no cogent explanation why BLM chose to deny the repatriation request" (United States District Court District of Nevada 2006). This decision remanded the matter back to the BLM for further consideration.

To date, the Tribe has received no information about the status of the Spirit Cave situation other than the matter was remanded back to the BLM in 2006 for further consideration (Rochanne Downs, Fallon Paiute-Shone Tribe, personal communication 2007). The situation in 2007 has not changed as of this writing (January 2013) and there is no indication that it will. There has been no decision since the case was remanded. Is it any wonder that Indian tribes view the repatriation process and those who direct it with skepticism, distrust, frustration and suspicion?

QUITCHUPAH: A POSITIVE OUTCOME

There are success stories. A project that came to be called the Quitchupah Road had been proposed several times over the years beginning in 1994. The Quitchupah Creek Road as proposed by a coal mine in central Utah and its partners involved the upgrading and realignment of an existing 9-mile dirt road along Quitchupah Creek in Convulsion Canyon. The sole purpose of the project was to shorten the existing distance coal trucks had to travel from the mine to their destination in order to save the associated costs. The proposed road would have a 28-

foot wide paved surface and new disturbance within the road corridor would be about 92 acres, which is not a big project as projects go. The whole project was small enough that everyone involved thought it would probably be fairly unnoticed. This was not to be the case.

Each time the proposal was made, it lapsed for various reasons. In May of 1995 there was some cultural resource inventory work done of the Quitchupah Road as proposed at the time. After that inventory the project languished for the next three years until it was proposed again in June of 1998. The original cultural resource inventory of 1995 recorded about twenty archaeological sites along the route of the proposed Quitchupah Road and the report served as an indicator of the level of analysis that would be necessary for what was rapidly becoming a genuine project. Once it became clear that something was actually going to materialize, interest in the project began to grow.

In June of 1999, the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah informed the BLM that Quitchupah was sacred to them. This issue involved the entire canyon and not just the archaeological sites in it. Largely because of the sacred issue, but because of other issues as well, the BLM told the project proponents that a road down Quitchupah Creek would probably never get built. In response, the project proponents proposed an alternative route as a good -faith effort to avoid encroaching on any archaeological site. After further engineering was done to come up with a route that would avoid all archaeological sites in the canyon, the BLM — including myself — went back to the Paiute Tribe to discuss this new alternative. All archaeological sites were avoided. However, the sacred issue remained.

The Paiutes maintained that the presence or absence of sites in Quitchupah Canyon was not the issue to the Tribe. Rather, the whole area is sacred to the Paiute Tribe for other reasons, and they did not see why they were being asked to compromise their sacred values so that a paved road could be constructed in the canyon whose sole purpose was to save money. This was a difficult issue to deal with. Company representatives continually reminded me that the canyon already had a dirt road going through it and a power line as well, which serviced the coal mine. I always responded by reminding them that those developments were put in back in the days when Indian people were not asked how they felt about what we had in mind. Had that happened, I doubt that those facilities would be there today.

Having the Paiute Tribe tell me of their concerns (to the extent they were comfortable) and then trying to be an advocate for the Tribe with the BLM, Forest Service and the project proponents, was not working well at all. The Northern Ute Tribe (Uinta and Ouray), the Southern Ute Tribe, the Navajo Nation, the Hopi Tribe and the Kaibab Band of Paiutes all shared similar concerns and agreed to support one another and let the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah take the lead for all concerned tribes. Getting the federal agencies and the project proponent to understand the tribes' concerns on this project did not seem possible initially. It became obvious that an ethnographer

would have to be brought in to document tribal concerns, and the Paiutes requested one that they knew and trusted: Dr. Richard W. Stoffle of the University of Arizona in Tucson. The trust relationship between the Paiutes and Dr. Stoffle was key to the resolution of this project.
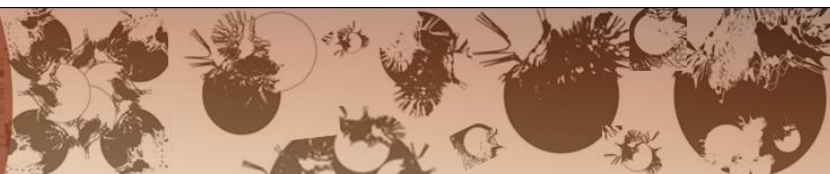
I took Dr. Stoffle out to see Quitchupah Canyon and most of the 23 archaeological sites that were found there by the recent archaeological inventories of the final route being proposed for the road (a few of the sites represented historic ranching activity and were not a focus of this study). We spent two days in the canyon and selected fourteen sites that we would take the tribal elders to and conduct carefully prepared interviews. Interviews of the Paiute tribal elders identified these fourteen 'sites' as six Indian places. Some of the individual sites as recorded by the archaeological crews were discussed by Indian people as components of a larger unit defined by the purpose and intent of the activity that took place there.

Some of the interviews focused on the cultural, religious, traditional and other connections a tribe or person may have with a specific site. Others focused on the many petroglyph and pictograph panels present in the canyon and their use and significance to the elders and their tribe. Still other interviews included questions and maps to locate cultural associations, paths, and connections between localized portions of the study area. All these interviews provided both an insight into the significance of the entire region and the importance of specific sites. This process took some time. After showing the elders the location of the archaeological sites, they were given time to do their own 'survey' of the locale to define what they perceived to be Indian sites. The sites used to present the findings of the ethnographic work in Quitchupah were Indian-defined. The questions asked at each of these sites focused on specific patterns of site and resource use, historic events occurring at the sites, and how sites and places are culturally interconnected to form cultural landscapes (Stoffle et al. 2004, xi — xii).

The results and findings of the study were very consistent, reliable and dependable. Many of the sites visited in the canyon were described by the elders as having connections to other sites within the canyon. The elders voiced concerns for a variety of cultural resources such as archaeological sites, plants, animals, water, and the canyon itself. Each of these resources has significance in Southern Paiute culture. Archaeological sites are respected as places their ancestors used, which should therefore be respected and left undisturbed. Plants have many uses and have a high degree of significance to the Southern Paiute — many of them are still used. Animals are respected both as a resource and as co-residents. Water is respected because it is necessary for the survival of all creatures and because it carries a power down from the mountains. Geographic features such as the canyon are important to Indian people for a number of reasons. The mountains themselves are powerful beings with strong connections to Creation, and should be respected when approaching them. Canyons are often places that offer a unique combination of resources which Indian people need for their physical and spiritual well-being. Canyons have

an aesthetic value for Indian people. They were created as they should be and are to be admired for the way things are (Stoffle et al. 2004, 72).

The Paiute have a strong concept of connection to other people, places and resources that is shared by other American Indians. This connection or power is a natural perception of one of the prime forces of Existence. It came into being with the original Creation and was placed in everything. Epistemologically, it is why everything is alive, has a will, and is capable of action in the Numic conception of the world (Stoffle et al. 2004, 16). The concept is a very powerful one and explains much about the Southern Paiute connection with the world we live in.

The local landscape of Quitchupah Creek has several primary components that were identified by the Paiute elders after examining the canyon and defining some very special places. Each place had a unique function and was sequentially linked creating a networked landscape. Quitchupah Canyon — the whole thing — is a good example of a pilgrimage landscape. At either end of Quitchupah Creek, Indian people grew, hunted or gathered food and medicine. The central portion of the canyon is the location of a ceremonial site located at the confluence of two streams. Ceremonial sites are places of great power, and this one was used for specific purposes. In order to protect the ceremonial site and control access to it, people lived in the areas adjacent to it, thus making one of the sites defined by the elders the starting place of the ceremonial landscape. This site and its counterpart at the western end of the canyon served as places for ritual preparation prior to interacting with the ceremonial site at the confluence. Such preparation included sacrifice and abstinence. People from far and wide would have made pilgrimages to Quitchupah Creek to access the ceremonial site. They asked permission of the site to approach, and the permission involved prayers and the proper respect. Powerful guardian figures at the entrance to the site ensured this.

The ceremonies could take several days, and were important to ensure that the area would provide the people with what they needed and guarantee their safety within the canyon. Without proper ceremony, the canyon would not offer its game to the people and medicinal plants might not work as expected. The site marks an important location within the canyon. The ceremonial site is located at the confluence of two waterways and the water comes from the surrounding mountains. The mountains are places where power flows down across the landscape through water, so the confluence has a high concentration of this personal and spiritual power. The elders interviewed for the ethnographic study associated the petroglyphs and pictographs with game animals and prayers for a good hunt (Stoffle et al. 2004, 91-95).

My own experience with Indian people on this particular project was one of the more instructive and humbling things I have ever been through. I watched. I listened. And I learned. I watched as Indian people looked with awe at some of the sites we visited and were visibly moved by what they saw. I listened as they described a spiritual connection with the past. I learned that they know things about these remains we can only guess at.

None of the 'scientific' studies that archaeologists do will ever refute any of this. They merely provide another piece of the puzzle. Do archaeologists have research rights that trump Native concerns about their past? I do not think so.

The BLM and Forest Service issued the final decision on the Quitchupah Road in March of 2006. This decision approved one of the alternatives routes — but not the one going down the canyon.
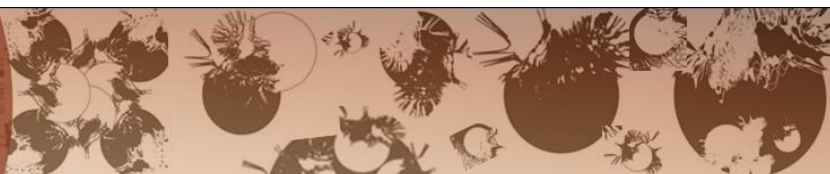
CONCLUSION

Native people know who they are and where they came from. They do not need western science to tell them what they already know. In subscribing to one religion, it is often difficult to either understand or accept the basic tenets of another. In a very real sense, western science has become a religion, and it has some intensely devoted followers. As with any other religion, the only people who really need western science and the conclusions from it are western scientists.

We do exhaustive studies to validate or invalidate Native claims, and the standards by which those claims are judged are always our own paradigms and models. If we discovered, for example, that a proposed action was going to encroach on ground held sacred by any of the major Anglo religions of the world, would we subject them to the kind of scrutiny we impose on Indians? We would not ask that Church to document its interest in the area, and we would not acknowledge past importance of the area to the Church and then demand proof that the area was still sacred and important. We have too much respect for their position to ever do that. Why then is it so difficult to extend the same courtesy and respect to Native people? The irony of this situation is that no religion in existence would stand up under the scrutiny that we subject Native religions to. All religions would be reduced to inaccurate — but interesting — myths.

Both sides in the debate usually end up losing. Indian people lose their dignity and identity and are robbed of their history. Anthropologists lose their credibility. Something has to change. Not too long ago, the official but disastrous policy of the U.S. Government towards Indian Tribes was active termination of the trust relationship Tribes had with the government. That policy was formally reversed several years ago (even though that reversal never was universally applied). But Indian people are just as surely being terminated today, only the perpetrators today are the anthropologists who are complicit in robbing whole tribes of their past. Through biased research and bad legal decisions, Indian people are being effectively and tragically terminated from their past and divorced from their ancestors. Indian people have just as much right to their history as we do to ours, and neither side has the right to destroy the accounts, records, stories and remains of the other. It is absurd to argue a holistic concern with all dimensions of humanity while at the same time driving a wedge between the component parts. Some of the basic anthropological tenets we all learned a long time ago seem to have been left behind, things like an acceptance and respect for the many opposing epistemologies we encounter; the fact that individual human beliefs

and activities should be interpreted in terms of that individual's culture – not our own. Anthropologists of all people should know that messing with somebody's religion creates problems. There is undoubtedly a price to be paid for doing so.

The study of humans – past and present – is not what it used to be. The Indian people who used to be the 'objects of study' are involved in the discussion now and they have a right to be heard. More and more, both sides have to agree. More and more, they do seem to be agreeing. But that agreement has to be more than simple surrender on the tribes' part. Both sides have to reach an understanding and be of the same mind. The Tribes deserve to be heard. And we need to listen.

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COMMENTARY

THE DILEMMA OF UNDOCUMENTED YOUTH IN THE UNITED STATES

EDITH W. KING

ABSTRACT

This project set out to investigate the experiences of undocumented youth in the U.S. The focus of the research was on their transition from school to the world of work. The issues, questions, and concerns surrounding undocumented residents, especially younger people, have come into the general awareness of Americans following the 9/11 terrorist attacks and the rising concerns to secure the U.S. borders from terrorists. This study particularized the situation of one subset of undocumented residents and described how *E*-Verify adversely affected undocumented youth by limiting them to dead end jobs with virtually no opportunity to change employers in search of advancement. These youth are afforded little opportunity to have any type of employment and can only hope that something someday will change for them.

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

In the recent decade, discrimination and bias against young people of (illegal) undocumented immigrant families set up barriers into higher education, precluding educational opportunities and imposing premature transition to low level employment. It is important to note that this term "illegal immigrant" was widely applied to immigrants since the 1980s. The term "illegal" or "illegal alien" was favored by the press and the media to label undocumented immigrants. Recently pressure has been asserted by many sources to drop illegal and alien from use and replace it with other terminology (Ackerman, 2013). Not only have these youths been limited from higher education, they also have been kept from obtaining employment at a living wage. They are forced into multiple jobs with crushing work schedules. Additionally, high school students from undocumented immigrant families are not eligible for state or federal aid and must pay the higher tuition fees at public universities.
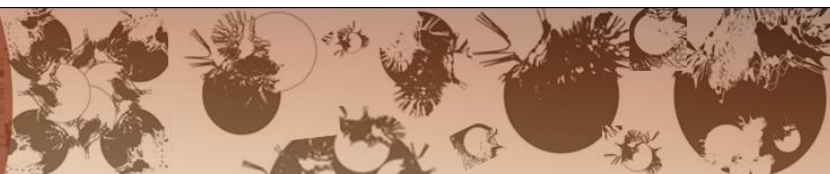
The bill titled "Development, Relief and Education for Alien Minors" and known as the "Dream Act" has been debated in the U.S. Congress for years now. Various versions of this bill would put high school graduates on a path to legal citizenship but many conditions apply. These include arrival by the age of 15 and living in the U.S. continuously for five years, and they then must attend college or serve in the military for two years during the legal residency period. Passage of such a bill in Congress in one version or another is uncertain and appears unlikely in the near future. This is discouraging to young undocumented immigrants of many ethnic groups. However, some state legislatures have passed regulations that offer more liberal conditions for undocumented youths, such as financial assistance and grants for higher education, possibilities for employment, and even the ability to obtain drivers' licenses.

While the DREAM Act at the federal level appears to be in question, the current administration has attempted to make some provisions to help these undocumented young people. A federal program, Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) that began in 2012, gave recognition to youths brought to the United States by parents at an early age, and allowed them to legally live and to work in this country without threat of deportation. The federal Citizenship and Immigration Services reported that during 2012 more than 500,000 people had applied to the DACA program. Since the time I interviewed my informants, several of them have taken the opportunity to enroll in higher education at the lower tuition rates for local students and to find jobs as well. The passage of the "California DREAM Act" is setting the stage for more state initiated attempts to achieve similar goals.

Impact of *E-Verify*: It was in 2007 that conditions surrounding employment of undocumented people in this country became dramatically affected. The federal government (and some states) had previously adopted and began to more rigorously enforce legislation with stringent regulations on hiring. These measures barred people who did not have appropriate documentation, i.e. a valid social security number, from working in the U.S. The most crucial of these regulations is the requirement that employers use *E-Verify,* a data base system through which an individual's eligibility to work in the U.S. is verified. Substantial sanctions can result from an employer's failure to use *E-Verify* in the hiring process. The federal government program and requirements for *E-Verify* were promulgated in 2003. However, since the economy was strong until late into 2007, employers paid little attention to implementing this system. But as the economic climate changed and more workers sought jobs the status of undocumented workers became more precarious.

Concerned social scientists and others have investigated the situation of undocumented young Latino adults as I have in my project. The young people were asked how they dealt with their legal status as they approach the need to find employment after schooling. The researchers found that undocumented young people quickly learn they cannot legally work, vote, receive financial aid for college or drive a vehicle. Fur-

ther they could face deportation. This usually occurs at about age 16 when they try to obtain a driver's license or attempt to find some form of work. For example: a 17 year old Latino male described himself as an immigrant who was brought here at a very young age. Due to his lack of documentation, it is hard for him to take college courses to achieve his career. Even though his skills and abilities to learn and study are strong he is treated differently when it comes to paying for tuition. He must pay much steeper "out of state" charges and costs (Watterson, 2008).

Another student, a Latino female, age 15, tells how she was brought to the U.S. by her parents at two years of age. She says "I am not a citizen but I feel like a citizen. I learned to read and write here. I said my Pledge of Allegiance every day at Elementary School although I am not legally a U.S. citizen, I feel like a citizen" (Watterson, 2008: 15). These remarks by undocumented youth are repeated over and over in the mass media, in newspapers, and on the Internet. It is estimated that about 65,000 undocumented students graduate from high schools each year in the U.S. Undocumented children cannot be denied education from kindergarten to 12th grade under a Supreme Court ruling. Hence, parents can enroll their children in public schools knowing their undocumented status does not keep them from a public education. Notwithstanding, laws and regulations in some states such as Alabama and Arizona menace the undocumented children when their parents try to register them at public schools.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND QUALITATIVE METHODS

From 2011 to 2012 I carried out a qualitative research project that involved investigating the lives of young adults, raised in the U.S. at an early age, who now find themselves labeled "illegals." They have often become successful high school graduates, and now are transitioning to employment. My project featured interviews with young people recounting their stories when they recognized their precarious status in finding and keeping work. Further, their desires of higher education are hindered because they cannot afford the out-of-state tuitions required for attendance, even at a community college. The specific purpose of my study was to investigate the conditions of U.S. undocumented youth in their transition from school to work during a financial downturn starting in late 2007.

For this qualitative research design I posed a central research question and sub-questions. The central question is: *What are the experiences of undocumented youth in the U.S. Southwest as they transition from high school and seek employment?*

The sub-questions are: *How does undocumented status affect attitudes and values toward job opportunities?* and ho*w does undocumented status affect plans and aspirations for a future career?* My qualitative methodology consisted of determining who were the <u>participants</u>, the <u>setting</u>, where the study was carried out, the strategies for <u>collecting</u> the data and then <u>analyzing</u> the findings, coming to conclusions or implications and suggesting further research on the issue or topic.

My participants were young adults, male and female, ages 17 to 24 of Mexican/Latino ethnicity. They clearly recognized

that they were undocumented from personal experiences with the local authorities, as well as from experiences of friends and family. In Arizona, the authorities are well known for their poor treatment of the undocumented. This undocumented status makes them subject to arrest if apprehended by the local law enforcement and then turned over to the federal Immigration Control and Enforcement (ICE) for deportation in the case of my participants to Mexico or Guatemala. I was also able to obtain as informants, a limited number of employers who were owner-managers of large restaurants that employed some of these undocumented youths. This qualitative investigation used in depth interviews and focus group meetings. Group meetings were held in a secluded area of a local public park, while the individual interviews took place at local restaurants in secluded corners. Care was taken to keep the identities of all informants confidential.

I collected background information from each youth through a questionnaire I designed for the study, including gender, ethnicity, age, education, and employment. Among the questions asked were: Where were you born? How old were you when you were brought to the U.S.? When did you realize that you were considered undocumented? Describe how you feel about your status. Other topics explored in the interview with the youths were: tell me about your family, are any of them undocumented? What about your friends? Tell me about your schooling, did you encounter problems? Tell me about your employment and jobs held: did your employer use *E-Verify*? What are your career plans and aspirations? What else would you like to discuss?
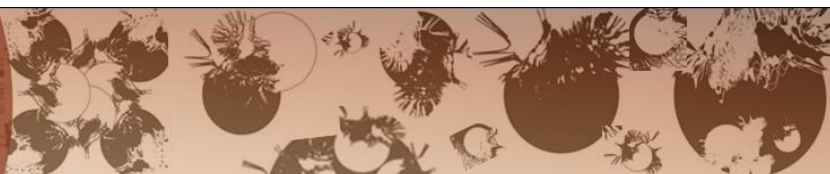
A separate questionnaire asked the undocumented youths' employers some background information such as: gender, age, ethnicity, type of business, and years as manager. Interview questions included: describe your opportunities to hire young people. Did you suspect that any of these youths could be undocumented? Do you have experience using *E-Verify*? Are there experiences you would like to tell me about undocumented youth seeking employment?

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

The background information for both male and female undocumented youths revealed that all were of Hispanic/Mexican ethnicity and between the ages of 17 - 24. Their educational levels ranged from seniors in high school to high school graduates with some higher education or currently taking college courses but not full time. Informants were in each of the following categories: full-time employed, part time employed or unemployed. My informants had arrived in the U.S. from Mexico at two to six years of age. They had been living in a large metropolitan area in Arizona for between 11 to 22 years and were therefore not recent arrivals. All had attended U.S. public schools from kindergarten through high school.

Background information on the business people, male and female, showed that they were highly experienced, well regarded, local area employers and familiar with the use of the *E-Verify system.*

Qualitative methods encourage the use of themes for ana-lyzing interview data. This study employed the identification of themes to organize the information derived from the individual interviews and the focus groups carried out with the youth and their employers. The following themes of the study are: when and how was undocumented status revealed? What was the impact of this on participant's family life and on transition from school to work, career plans and aspirations? What were the effects of *E-Verify*; further statements and comments.

FINDINGS

Analysis of the data brought to light the following findings:

- Informants over the age of 18 explained how they success-fully transitioned into employment, usually full time, because they obtained these jobs before *E-Verify*. These youths had held their jobs mainly from the age of 16, obtaining this employment through family contacts or through friends. Additionally, if not self-employed or working in family en-terprises, these undocumented youth could not leave their current jobs to seek employment elsewhere now post-*E-Verify*.

- Informants under the age of 18, post-*E-Verify*, were unable to obtain employment. They had never been employed and were not attempting to seek employment, as a consequence of being undocumented.

- Informants consistently voiced concerns that being undocu-mented creates burdensome financial barriers, such as the high cost of tuition. This situation makes transitioning from high school to further education difficult or impossible, limit-ing their future plans.

- Some youths in the study said that their families were had been broken up since financial conditions had worsened in recent years and the U.S. borders with Mexico were closed to those without documentation.

- Although these youths recognized the limitations of their circumstances, they still had some expectations of accessing further education. They consistently expressed optimism about the future and their aspirations.

    "I am hopeful that someday my plans can be achieved. It all depends on how one views it."

    "It is a matter of time and the future will be brighter for the Hispanic community."

- Informants in this study conveyed the opinion that their sib-lings who are citizens, born in the U.S., do not appreciate their status, opportunities, and advantages. It is important, these youths said, to make their siblings and others aware of their privileges as U.S. citizens. Undocumented youth point out that undocumented persons are effectively barred from travel out of state and access to international travel or driving, because they cannot obtain a valid driver's license.

- In further comments the informants stated hopes for their plans and aspirations:

    "If the DREAM Act is passed I would like to join the military"

    "If I got my documentation the first thing I would do would be to have just one job and I could go to college full time."

IMPLICATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDIES

While the scope of this study is limited, its findings corrobo-rate what already has been extensively researched. Current U.S. and state immigration laws have served to create a class of alienated individuals, that is made up of young people not born in the U.S. who are the children of undocumented immigrants. These individuals cannot develop viable vocational or profes-sional paths, because the laws do not allow them to find legiti-mate jobs, enter the military, or readily attend higher education. Current U.S. and some state laws place these individuals, through no fault of their own, in a limbo status and they are unable to pursue a viable career or livelihood.

The creation of a class of alienated undocumented young people is unhealthy for a country. Anthropologists and others who research social issues are aware of the debilitating effects of alienation on the individual and on society. By corroborating other studies, this research also highlights a fundamental legal question: Should not these youth have gained "de facto" legal status because they and their families have lived in the United States for an extended period and obeyed its laws? An addi-tional question might be: why don't these young people pursue and obtain U.S. citizenship? However applying for U.S. citizen-ship is lengthy, arduous and very expensive.

Another implication for further study is related to the fact that the informants told of stress and tension with their U.S.-born siblings on this issue. This is clear in the words of one respondent: "I am the only one of my siblings that is not documented so I have been trying to make my family members aware of the privileges they enjoy and the setbacks and problems that I have to wrestle with." Studies could be conducted on the U.S.-born siblings of undocumented youth to investigate their experiences, and the attitudes and opinions they hold towards the undocu-mented, especially their siblings.

There are also international aspects of the plights of the undocumented, at times referred to as refugees and held in precarious status. The circumstances that designate people as "illegals" without rights vary significantly from nation to nation. Inquiries, investigations, and further research on these migrating populations, at all age levels and in cross-cultural perspectives, are needed. The dilemma of vulnerable populations is detailed in *Forced to Flee: Human Rights and Wrongs in Refugee Homelands* (Van Arsdale, 2006), where the author recounts the continuing plight of endangered populations in countries such as Ethiopia, Sudan, and El Salvador, currently some of the most troubled areas of the world. Taking up a global view on "the undocumented" can be a vital and rewarding subject matter for social research.

This research should include qualitative projects on a smaller scale that look into the family life of undocumented youths, as well as larger scale international, cross-cultural investigations.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The above discussion shows that the economic, political, legal and educational structures of society have negatively converged on the undocumented. For example, a recent article detailed a California Supreme Court decision allowing an undocumented Latino man to practice law in California. The man, Sergio Garcia, who has a personal history that mirrors that of the participants in my study, was deemed fully qualified to practice law after receiving his accredited law degree and passing the bar exam. Unfortunately, the headline for this article read *"Illegal Immigrant Allowed to Practice Law, Court Rules."*

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