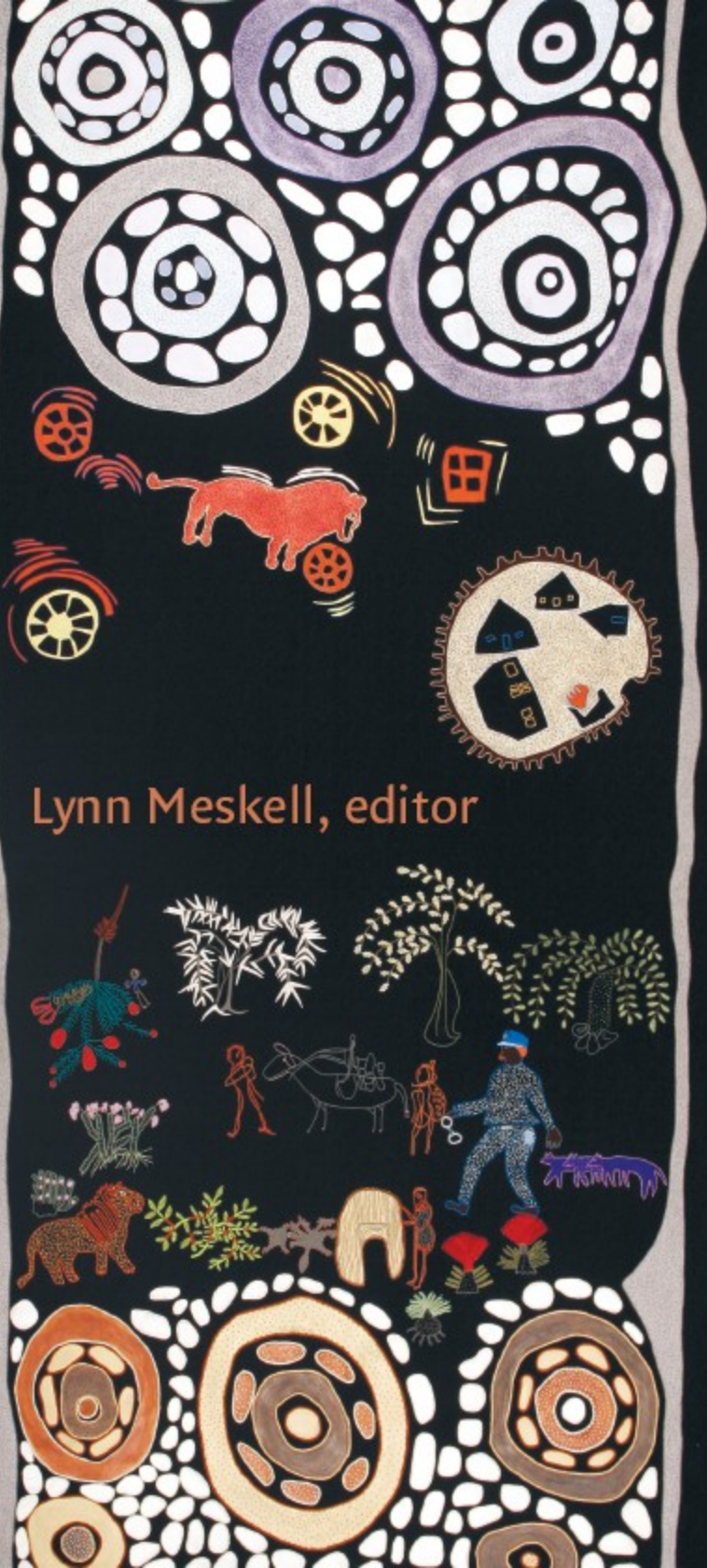# COSMOPOLITAN ARCHAEOLOGIES

Lynn Meskell, editor

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✳ INTRODUCTION

Cosmopolitan Heritage Ethics

Cosmopolitan Archaeologies asks pointed questions about the politics of contemporary archaeological practice. Specifically, it reveals a new suite of roles and responsibilities for archaeology and its practitioners and it suggests that these newly forged relationships are inherently cosmopolitan in nature and ethos. Cosmopolitanism describes a wide variety of important positions in moral and sociopolitical philosophy brought together by the belief that we are all citizens of the world who have responsibilities to others, regardless of political affiliation. This ethical commitment is the thread that connects cosmopolitan thought from the classical tradition to contemporary philosophy. Similarly, it is this ethical concern that has energized the debate in anthropology (e.g., Breckenridge et al. 2002; Kahn 2003; Rapport and Stade 2007; Werbner 2008) and has prompted archaeology to rethink the scope of its commitments at home and abroad. The subject of this volume, archaeological heritage and practice, is increasingly entwined within global networks, prompting scholars gradually to accept that our research and fieldwork carries ethical responsibilities to the living communities with whom we work. But more than simply adhering to ethical codes developed for our own discipline (Meskell and Pels 2005), a cosmopolitan approach both extends our obligations to these communities and steps up to acknowledge our role as participants in national and international organizations and developments. Honoring these obligations might take many forms and is dependent upon context, which means that we cannot expect to formulate a set of prescribed solutions that can be applied internationally. As the following chapters illustrate, our obligations may entail addressing the political and economic depredations of past regimes, enhancing local livelihoods, publicizing the effects of war, or tackling head on the incursions of transnational companies and institutions. Archaeologists are increasingly being called upon to straddle these multiple scales, in large part because of the nature of our fieldwork but also, more importantly, because heritage now occupies a

new position in the global movements of development, conservation, post-conflict restoration, and indigenous rights.

Cosmopolitanism may not provide a stock set of solutions, but I would argue that it offers a useful lens through which archaeologists might consider this new set of multi-scalar engagements. On the one hand, it encompasses the overarching framework of global politics and, on the other, it directs our attention to the concerns of the individual and the community. In this introduction I attempt to chart some of the propositions put forward in recent cosmopolitan writing that are particularly relevant to heritage ethics. While there are different in-flections to cosmopolitan thought in contemporary philosophy, eco-nomics, and politics—and in historic cosmopolitanisms from Greek, Roman, and Enlightenment writings—I focus here on what is often described as "rooted cosmopolitanism" and draw largely from discus-sions in anthropology and philosophy. A brief historical outline then follows, charting archaeology's development of a political and ethical awareness. Here I also consider new developments such as the grow-ing interconnections between archaeology and anthropology, specifi-cally in the heritage sphere, as well as the blending of ethnographic and archaeological methodologies in a new generation's field projects. Finally, cosmopolitan heritage ethics are outlined for the individual chapters in the volume, particularly as they connect to local specificities and international processes. As we will see, many heritage practitioners are now willing to go beyond merely describing our negotiations and are attempting to redress historic injustice, social inequality, and the legacies of colonialism, exploitation, and violence.

Cosmopolitan Propositions

One of the key figures of contemporary cosmopolitan theory, Anthony Appiah, observes that cosmopolitans "take seriously the value not just of human life but of particular human lives, which means taking an interest in the practices and beliefs that lend them significance. People are different, the cosmopolitan knows, and there is much to learn from our differences. Because there are so many human possibilities worth exploring, we neither expect nor desire that every person or every so-ciety should converge on a single model of life. Whatever our obliga-tions are to others (or theirs to us) they often have the right to go their own way" (2006a: xv). In terms of managing the past, this means that

our archaeological responsibilities cannot be limited to beneficence or salvage; they must include respect for cultural difference—even if that sometimes means relinquishing our own research imperatives. Archaeologists no longer have the license to "tell" people their pasts or adjudicate upon the "correct" ways of protecting or using heritage. As Appiah rightly reminds us, "there will be times when these two ideals—universal concern and respect for legitimate difference—clash" (2006a: xv). Appiah has been at the center of just such a clash himself, caught between his universal concerns for access to heritage versus respect for indigenous heritage practices (see Engmann 2008; chapter by González-Ruibal, this volume). Specifically, he maintains an elitist stance on cultural heritage in his native Ghana by suggesting that claims to global patrimony might trump local community control. As in the Ghanaian case, the chapters that follow underline the complexities archaeologists now face as they are being subject to the force of world conventions, international codes, sponsors, and other global projects, while respecting and often protecting local, communal, or indigenous understandings of the past, of heritage practices, and ways of being.

Certainly, the ideals of cosmopolitanism are not new. They stretch back to the Cynics and Stoics, and forward to Kant, Mill, Habermas, Gilroy, Žižek, and Appiah. Yet there has been a strong resurgence in cosmopolitan theory and ethics since the 1990s. Reasons for this new recasting of cosmopolitanism are manifold and must surely include recent military adventures in the Middle East, proliferating sites of genocide, and crises in humanitarian intervention, as well as global indigenous movements, environmental concerns, desires for world heritage, and the subsequent calls for return of cultural properties to source nations. Thus anthropologists have argued that the late twentieth century forces of nationalism, multiculturalism, and globalization have fostered a historical context for reconsidering concepts of cosmopolitanism (Pollock et al. 2002: 7). Given the effects of resurgent nationalism on the one hand and the ever increasing claims of culture on the other, many scholars advocate a cosmopolitanism that is very much rooted in place. While synonymous with Appiah's writing, "rooted cosmopolitanism" was first coined by Cohen (1992: 480, 483), when he called for "the fashioning of a dialectical concept of rooted cosmopolitanism, which accepts a multiplicity of roots and branches and that rests on the legitimacy of plural loyalties, of standing in many circles, but with common ground." Rooted cosmopolitanism acknowledges

attachments to place and the particular social networks, resources, and cultural experiences that inhabit that space. As various authors in the book illustrate, archaeologists are increasingly wary of strong nationalisms that may in fact mask the rights of disempowered minorities, often unacknowledged within the confines of nation. This is particularly salient in the realm of heritage, where individual and community attachments to place are often sacrificed in the abstract framing of world heritage, transacted solely by and among nation states.

Cosmopolitans take cultural difference seriously, because they take the choices individual people make seriously. What John Stuart Mill said more than a century ago in *On Liberty* about difference within a society serves just as well today: "If it were only that people have diversities of taste, that is reason enough for not attempting to shape them all after one model. But different persons also require different conditions for their spiritual development; and can no more exist healthily in the same moral, than all the variety of plants can exist in the same physical, atmosphere and climate. The same things which are helps to one person towards the cultivation of his higher nature, are hindrances to another" (Mill 1985: 133). Cosmopolitans, by Appiah's account (2006a), want to preserve a wide range of human conditions because such a range allows free people the best chance to constitute their own lives, yet this does not entail enforcing diversity by trapping people within differences they long to escape. This means that a cosmopolitan archaeology will not always be preservationist in ethos, nor would it attempt to congeal people within some preserved ancient authenticity. This is why many have called for a rooted cosmopolitanism that emanates from, and pays heed to, local settings and practices (see chapters by Lydon and Lilley, this volume).

Cosmopolitanism might look suspiciously like another version of multiculturalism. However, in this book we suggest that theories of multiculturalism differ from cosmopolitanism since multiculturalism seeks to extend equitable status or treatment to different cultural or religious groups within the bounds of a unified society (see Benhabib 2002, 2004). While the ideals of multiculturalism are admirable, many cosmopolitans find this position problematic since it can deprivilege certain forms of cultural difference and subsequently disempower indigenous and minority communities who already have less visibility and representation under the state (Ivison 2006a). Many of the authors here speak to, if not explicitly name, the inherent problems of multicultural states such as Australia or the United States, which have diverse

populations and manifold tensions over the claims of culture, economic opportunity, and indigenous rights. Charles Taylor (1994: 61–64) argues that multiculturalism results in the imposition of some cultures upon others with a tacit assumption of superiority. Western liberal societies are supremely guilty in this regard. In relating this to heritage, archaeology is increasingly employed in land claims and other forms of restitution for indigenous groups. A multiculturalist position might challenge indigenous privilege in the management and control of sacred places or objects for the democratic ideals of free and equal access for all. Conversely, a cosmopolitan stance might go beyond this recognition of equal value and access by considering whether cultural survival and indigenous practice should be considered legitimate legal goals within a specific society. Today, many archaeologists would consider the claims of connected communities primary and, in many contexts, give them greater weight than other stakeholders. But archaeologists must also be aware that while some groups may opt for cultural "preservation" and distinctiveness, other groups may prefer cultural integration and sometimes even "destruction" of the material past (see chapters by Lydon, González-Ruibal, and Colwell-Chanthaphonh, this volume). These developments represent a marked departure from the archaeology practiced in previous decades, which was satisfied with an ethos of minimum intervention or aspired to a "do no harm" model of coexistence.

The political ramifications of heritage have been an object of archaeological research and writing for some time. However, the scale and interconnectedness of archaeology's materials, research, and field practices within larger global interventions and organizations represent a much newer arena for reflection. From this perspective we find ourselves closest to the discussions raised in anthropology around the ethics of cultural cosmopolitanism, yet the large-scale and collaborative nature of archaeological field practices provides an additional, complementary dimension. Cosmopolitan approaches to an archaeological past, such as those in this volume, posit a new challenge to the impositions of Euro-American heritage discourse by destabilizing the presumed cultural "goods" of world heritage, global patrimony, and other universalisms. These studies, with their particular materialities and histories, also demonstrate that "cosmopolitanism is not a circle created by culture diffused from a center, but instead, that centers are everywhere and circumferences nowhere. This ultimately suggests that we already are and have always been cosmopolitan, though we may not

always have known it" (Pollock et al. 2002: 12). Not surprisingly, the anthropological academy has been charged with being much less cosmopolitan than some of the seemingly "remote" communities within which we work (see essays in Werbner 2008).

In the forgoing I have suggested that the ethical responsibilities surrounding heritage sites and practices now inhabit ever wider cosmopolitan circuits. In addition, the basis of archaeology is itself inherently cosmopolitan through its disciplinary tactics and spatiotemporal practices. At every level our work is both multi-scalar and contextual, making archaeology rather different from her sister disciplines of history and anthropology. Cosmopolitanism is thus inescapable for archaeologists who deal with uncovering human histories that transcend modern national borders and Western understandings of cultural affiliation, and when the results of our research have serious ramifications for living peoples, many of whom live in non-urban contexts, depend on local livelihoods, and have emotive connections to place (see chapters by Breglia and Benavides, this volume). Cosmopolitan archaeology acknowledges its responsibilities to the wider world yet embraces the cultural differences that are premised upon particular histories, places, practices, and sentiments. In the heritage domain we must wrestle with the tensions of universalism and particularism and constantly negotiate some middle ground. But as discussions of human rights demonstrate, according to Chakrabarty (2002: 82), universalistic assumptions are not easily given up, and the tension between universalism and historical difference is not easily dismissed. In his view cosmopolitanism is a particular strategy formulated in the course of this very struggle. Access to one's own cultural heritage as a fundamental human right represents a new challenge that is fast appearing on our disciplinary horizon. Rights to heritage and heritage rights are gradually emerging within archaeological discourse (O'Keefe 2000; Prott 2002; see also chapters by Lydon and Hodder, this volume) whereas researchers were previously ill-prepared to enter debates that traversed international, national, and indigenous platforms.

How might cosmopolitan heritage discourse prepare us for these emergent struggles in which archaeological pasts are drawn into contemporary struggles for recognition and self-determination? Cosmopolitans tend to be strong proponents for the survival of cultural diversity. They value the inherent differences between societies and support the maintenance of those differences. But as a cautionary note,

we cannot assume that striving for cultural diversity is a necessary good for everyone in the arena of heritage and identity politics. Surely it is problematic to privilege *diversity* for its own sake, and rather more important to recognize the situations in which individuals and groups actually choose to retain their distinctive traditions and relationships to the material past. There is a danger that we might force indigenous and minority groups to succumb to oppressive legal frameworks in order to gain recognition or to even claim their heritage through the language of international rights. We should not presume that the maintenance of cultural diversity is an a priori desire for all people in all places. Moreover, the tenets underpinning diversity, biodiversity, and natural heritage cannot easily be sutured to a model of cultural heritage (see chapter 4 by Meskell, this volume). As these struggles emerge, we might instead consider another cosmopolitan commitment, namely the equal worth and dignity of different cultures, instead of falling back upon the trope of diversity. Such perspectives find wide resonance with the concerns of political and postcolonial liberalism (Ivison 2002, 2006b; Rawls 1993), specifically as they pertain to issues of indigenous heritage, recognition ethics, and social justice.

As archaeologists and ethnographers writing together and supporting a strong contextualism, we trace outward the relational webs that result from our engagements both in the field and beyond. As many of us have already noted, researchers will have to partake in wider social and political conversations, with the caveat that archaeologists are not the primary stakeholders or arbiters of culture and that we cannot always mandate mutually reconcilable outcomes around heritage issues. Cosmopolitans suppose, however, that all cultures have enough overlap in their vocabulary of values to begin a conversation. Yet counter to some universalists, they do not presume that they can craft a consensus (Appiah 2006a: 57). As many of the chapters imply, archaeologists should expect to spend more of our time in conversation and negotiation with various constituencies and be prepared to increasingly relinquish some of our archaeological goals.

Developing Cosmopolitan Heritages

Cosmopolitan theory is being redefined differently by scholars across disciplines as diverse as geography, anthropology, political and social theory, law, international relations, and even business management

(Beck and Sznaider 2006: 1). As stated above, our closest dialogue understandably remains with our colleagues in anthropology, specifically in regard to issues of internationalism, migration, identity politics, indigenous movements, postcolonialism, and ethics. Archaeology has been a relative latecomer to the discussion and our current contribution stems from the discipline's gradual acknowledgment that the past is always present and that we are indeed responsible for the sociopolitical interventions and repercussions of the archaeological project.

Archaeology's engagement with politics and its larger framing within global developments are direct outgrowths of a specific disciplinary trajectory that has only recently incorporated social theory, politics, philosophy, feminism, and indigenous scholarship. During the 1980s and 1990s many archaeologists deepened their awareness and application of social theory, whereas the 1990s and the decade 2000–2009 were marked by our recognition of the field's sociopolitical embedding. This volume is also a product of that acknowledgment. In recent years practitioners have become increasingly concerned with the ethical implications of their research and, more importantly, the politics of fieldwork, and with collaborations with local people, descendants, indigenous groups, and other communities of connection (e.g., Hall 2005; Hodder 1998; Joyce 2005; Lilley and Williams 2005; Meskell 2005a, 2005b; Smith 2004; Watkins 2004; Zimmerman et al. 2003). Ethics has become the subject of numerous volumes (e.g., Lynott and Wylie 2000; Meskell and Pels 2005; Messenger 1999; Vitelli and Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2006), as had politics and nationalism before that. Importantly, these were not simply Euro-American trends but were more often driven by archaeologists from Latin America, Australasia, Africa, and the Middle East (see Abdi 2001; Funari 2004; Ndoro 2001; Politis 2001; Scham and Yahya 2003; Shepherd 2002). Indigenous issues and potential collaborations are slowly becoming mainstream in archaeological discussions and, while there is much that still needs redressing, I would argue that the language of restitution, repatriation, and reconciliation has gradually gained ground. Organizations like the World Archaeology Congress acknowledge the discipline's colonial history and present, and they have a public mandate of social justice that seeks not only to instantiate a model of best practice but to go beyond in terms of reparations and enhanced livelihoods, to make a positive, felt impact for the communities within which archaeologists work (Meskell 2007b). These are all vital disciplinary

developments that have irrevocably changed how we undertake our research.

It is not simply our situated contexts that have been exposed and challenged: our methodologies have also recently been expanded and reimagined. Given the current climate of research briefly outlined here, and the types of transnational ethical and political work undertaken, a new generation of archaeologists has pursued a broader suite of techniques and multi-sited field methods. Blurring the conventional disciplinary divides, archaeologists have increasingly conducted ethnographic work around the construction of heritage, excavated the archives, investigated media-based productions of knowledge, and worked creatively in conjunction with living communities. Sometimes this work is focused on the materiality of the past, but more commonly such research enjoys a strong contemporary emphasis and is concerned with deciphering the micro-politics of archaeological practice, the effects of heritage on an international scale, and the entwined global networks of tourism, development, and heritage agencies, nongovernmental organizations, and so on. Additionally, there is a burgeoning literature by anthropologists on archaeological and heritage projects (Abu el-Haj 2001; Benavides and Breglia chapters in this volume; Castañeda 1996; Clifford 2004; Fontein 2005; Handler 2003). Crossover or hybrid projects such as archaeological ethnography (Meskell 2007a) bring a new set of connections and conversations to the fore, as well as disciplinary alliances, as we hope this volume demonstrates. Yet where this work diverges from mainstream ethnography is with the foregrounding of the past's materiality, specifically those traces of the past that have residual afterlives in living communities, traces that are often considered spiritually significant, and that often invite a kind of governmental monitoring and control that many indigenous communities and archaeologists increasingly find problematic. Moreover, archaeological ethnography often entails collaborating with, rather than studying, the people with whom we work in the heritage sphere, as the following chapters demonstrate.

I would argue that the new millennium also brought with it a new set of concerns for archaeologists and heritage practitioners. It was no longer possible to take refuge in the past or in the comfort that the subjects of our research were dead and buried. Rather than operating within a circumscribed set of practices, archaeologists now find themselves ever broadening out to embrace the discourses and effects of

environmentalism, protectionism, and international law, or to confront the modalities of war and conflict. This expansion underlines a cosmopolitan commitment that follows from the discipline's first forays into sociopolitics during the 1980s and stretches ever more widely into the larger, international political arenas in which we are all enmeshed. It is timely and appropriate that the first volume in this series, *Material Worlds*, should address these interdisciplinary concerns, which have become the hallmark of an engaged archaeology. As argued above, archaeology has always been cosmopolitan by the very nature of its subject matter and field practices. However, these chapters go much further by examining the changing nature of multi-sited fieldwork, exploring hybrid modes of research, and tackling the implications of transnational or global heritage. In the main this is not a collection devoted to traditional accounts of ancient societies, but rather to our contemporary commitments, heritage ethics, and sociopolitical linkages between residual pasts and projected futures.

Contributors in this volume focus largely on the "past in the present," rather than the traditional "past in the past" analyses that tend to be synonymous with the discipline of archaeology. The past matters a great deal in the present and its material residues are increasingly crucial for imagining possible futures, particularly for developing beneficial trajectories based on the economic, political, and social potentials embedded within valued archaeological sites and objects. The chapters deal with forms of "heritage ethics"—the fusing of contemporary concerns for ethical collaborations, the politics of recognition, and redress around sites and objects in the heritage landscape. Much of this work connects to indigenous communities and their rights to culture, but not in every case, since there are other minorities, descendants, diasporic communities, and communities of connection with whom archaeologists and ethnographers collectively work. However, the chapters extend out even further from these networked relationships, to the worldwide organizations and entanglements with which we are inexorably bound: these too form critical loci for engagement with heritage ethics.

Cosmopolitan Heritage Ethics in Practice

To illustrate the complex cosmopolitan arrangements in which archaeologists and their objects of study are increasingly embroiled, the contributors to this volume describe various forms of cosmopolitanism

and take different paths to documenting or reconciling social differences and understandings across local, national, and multinational scales.

One salient thread running through many chapters is the politics of something I call heritage protectionism, and by this I mean the desire and means to preserve certain valued sites for the global benefit of humanity. Traditionally such moves have been mobilized from a Euro-American platform based on the presumed universalism of something called "world heritage"—the logic of which has widespread effects in both international and localized settings. It has been argued that the ideal of universal salvage often betrays a "hypocritical neutrality, behind which the domination by another conception of the good (precisely the secular ethos of equality) is merely taking refuge" (Habermas 2003b: 24). The construction of world heritage, a supposed cosmopolitan good, is often used to culturally demonize certain polities with which the West has irreconcilable differences. Recently we have seen the language of sanctions being used to combat the scale of looting in Iraq, although we know that the largest market for illegal antiquities remains the United States (Eck and Gerstenblith 2003). The imperatives for heritage protectionism are tightly wed to the familiar global processes of development, neoliberalism, and governmentality, with their attendant array of concerns. Though often filled with promise, many of these internationally deployed strategies also produce heritage victims, as Alfredo González-Ruibal documents in his chapter in this volume.

Instigated in the name of humanitarianism and development, the forced relocations of communities in Ethiopia and Brazil rely on decisions underwritten by narratives of underdevelopment bolstered by the work of archaeologists, who have placed people such as the Awá and Gumuz at the far end of modernity's spectrum. Framing such events in terms of an archaeology of failure, González-Ruibal goes further by suggesting that even some seemingly charitable community-based projects, based on the neoliberal rhetoric of development, only instantiate the inequities they purport to alleviate. Those who ultimately benefit are generally state authorities that can showcase pristine archaeology, the transnational companies whose business is tourism, and those who might gain employment in the process. Many more have something to lose in these new reconfigurations of heritage and tourism, namely the immediate residents and stakeholders who happen to live amid the ruins. Using archaeology and ethnography in tandem, González-Ruibal's

cosmopolitan project takes him from Spain to Brazil and Ethiopia, tracking the effects of development, globalization, and universalistic policies. This project includes uncovering the interventions of USAID, the World Bank, the European Union, and Italian, Dutch, and former Soviet organizations. His work is an example of the move toward an "archaeology of the present" or an archaeological ethnography, working with living peoples, their object worlds, and the remains of their contemporary past.

Generally, González-Ruibal is suspicious of archaeological lip service to multiculturalism and multivocality that draws attention to "local communities" but constructs their concerns and agendas as secondary to academic research ambitions. Heritage humanitarianism has become its own fetish, immersed in philanthropy and aid that generally serves to buttress paternalism and cultural superiority. He rightly asserts that archaeologists have willingly accepted funding and participated in heritage development projects, following the path of international agencies, sometimes without the consent of those most affected. In doing so they are simply papering over the cracks of global disorder. He argues for a vernacular or marginal cosmopolitanism that aligns itself with the victims of progress and does not presuppose a transcendent human universal. Finally, he calls for an archaeology that excavates the devastation of modernism, which is accompanied by the betrayal, and often annihilation, of the communities within which we work.

Jane Lydon's chapter guides us through the pitfalls of multicultural discourse in Australia today and critiques the kinds of elision and attenuation of diverse cultures through globalized heritage discourses. In the Australian case, indigenous accounts are most vulnerable to the hollow multiculturalism that would purvey a singular narrative of nation. Multiculturalist, not cosmopolitan, discourse underlies many of the claims of powerful nations to appropriate, house, and manage the cultural riches of others, whether on their own territory or on foreign soil. Multiculturalism is mobilized within nations both to embrace and curtail certain diverse groups that challenge the dominant fabric of nation. John Howard (2006), the former Australian prime minister, used the rhetoric of multiculturalism to flatten diversity, particularly Aboriginal claims for primacy, and celebrate the "great and enduring heritage of Western civilisation, those nations that became the major tributaries of European settlement and in turn a sense of the original ways

in which Australians from diverse backgrounds have created our own distinct history" in his call for "One People, One Destiny." We might well ask whose pasts and properties are privileged or marginalized in those claims for multiculturalism? The seemingly positive equation of democratic inclusion and equality effectively trumps the preservation of cultural distinctiveness (Benhabib 2002: x), yet it assumes that legal democracy was already forged with cultural diversity in mind—a situation we know is historically untrue. Furthermore, "reparations for past injustices by the state, law and morality can become entangled in contradictions, even if both are governed by the principle of equal respect for all. This is because law is a recursively closed medium that can only reflectively react to its own past decisions, but it is insensitive to episodes that pre-date the legal system" (Habermas 2003b: 24). Proponents of strong multiculturalism would be willing to sideline the cultural and political understandings of law for nations with minorities or indigenous groups, for example, disavowing the possibilities for states within states. Lydon's chapter explains that even the Australian referendum of 1967, while ushering in significant changes, did not entail full citizenship rights for Aboriginal people. Thus it cannot be presumed that they have an inherent allegiance to a nationalist framework, nor can it be assumed, conversely, that the dominant white culture necessarily embraces indigenous places and objects as sacred or even meaningful. International heritage discourse exacerbates the dual tension between valuing diversity and difference and propounding universalism. Lydon underscores the specific link between heritage discourses and those of human rights, using UNESCO's program of world heritage as the linchpin and organizational node for a global cultural commons. On the one hand, UNESCO's documents purport to support group rights, minorities, and traditional lifestyles; on the other hand, its expressed allegiance to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights accords those rights to individuals, not groups (see the chapter by Hodder, this volume).

   In Australia, Lydon contends that a cosmopolitan ethos of openness to cultural difference is effectively countered by the commitment to universal heritage values, themselves bolstered by transnational heritage practices and organizations, and other sets of professional and disciplinary alliances. Archaeologists and heritage workers are situated in this uncomfortable impasse. Increasingly, indigenous peoples seek to

forge international connections, often in preference to national ones, constituting yet another site of emergent cosmopolitanism (see the chapters by Breglia and Benavides, this volume). In 1998 Aboriginal people petitioned UNESCO to stave off the incursions of the Jabiluka uranium mine, which threatened the Mirarr Aboriginal community and its lifeways. At a UNESCO bureau meeting in Paris, compelling presentations by Aboriginal leaders led to a situation where the site was placed on the world heritage "in danger" list without the permission of the host country. Juxtaposing the fractious internal heritage politics of Australia and its indigenous past, Lydon then documents the recent movement to project the nation's heritage beyond the boundaries of the nation-state with the historic site of Gallipoli, Turkey. Now famed as a pilgrimage site, the Gallipoli Peninsula Peace Park marks the conflict of 1915 during which thousands of young men from Australia and New Zealand lost their lives to the Turks over eight months of bitter fighting. Claiming heritage in a foreign conflict zone has clearly proven more palatable to the Australian government than addressing its own internal repressions and seeking equitable restitution for segments of its citizenry. As this chapter evinces, debates over multiculturalism, indigenous rights, and the possibilities of transnational or cosmopolitan justice bring to the fore twofold tensions, namely between states and their minorities (or majorities), as well as states and the international community as defined by particular ruling bodies. The thorny relationships between national sovereignty and international intervention, surrounding heritage and social justice, are thus bound to resurface continually.

Although echoing Lydon's assertion of Australia's shameful history with its indigenous minority, Ian Lilley resists the pessimism of scholars such as Peter Thorley who express skepticism about successfully translating indigenous archaeology into practice. Within Australian heritage debates Thorley has claimed that indigenous and Western values cannot be bridged since even the notion of "indigenous archaeology" is the product of an external and powerful settler society. Taking a more positive stance, Lilley imputes that Australian archaeology has developed closer relations with indigenous peoples than that of other nations such as the United States (see also Lilley 2000b). Using the example of the influential Burra Charter, he argues that Australia has effectively led the way in bringing indigenous and archaeological interests together as a matter of conventional professional practice at a

national scale. Moreover, the charter has been inspirational for a host of other countries from China to South Africa. One reason for this positive move within Australian archaeology, Lilley posits, was the profession's recognition in the early 1980s that decolonization raised profound questions about archaeology's relationships and responsibilities to descendent communities. A second was the pragmatism of the discipline's response and its development of creative solutions to these newfound working collaborations.

Lilley's other fieldwork in New Caledonia provides an alternative national context and a site of potential conflict where Kanak interpretations and those of traditional archaeology are fundamentally oppositional. Understandably, Kanaks remain unconvinced of the virtue of archaeological accounts and find themselves glossed in disciplinary discourse as simply one group in a long series of "migrants" and "invaders." Such tensions are played out in many heritage locales and find resonance in the following chapters on South Africa, Turkey, and Brazil. From the communities' vantage, archaeologists should pay less attention to historicizing the past and more to historically bolstering indigenous rights. Negotiating different disciplinary and political aims is crucial and, as Lilley rightly recognizes, takes time, trust, and transparency. His chapter recalls that archaeologists have long performed the role of dangerous interloper, and despite long-term intense cross-cultural interaction researchers frequently find themselves entangled in encounters of profound difference. He suggests that a crucial way to lessen the divide is through language, specifically by practitioners adopting local languages and lingua francas, which he suggests are themselves forms of hybridized or vernacular cosmopolitanism.

A further contribution Lilley makes is methodological. He and an Aboriginal colleague have begun a collaborative project that attempts to see and experience the Australian landscape from indigenous perspectives. Linked to the new moves in collaborative archaeologies, the project takes seriously the animate spiritual quality that inheres in certain features and places and combines these with ancestral knowledge and storytelling. The work is part of a growing corpus of field practice in Australia and the Pacific, coupled with developments in Native American indigenous archaeology (for example, Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2003a; Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2004; Ferguson and Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2006; Stoffle et al. 2001). As the second Daes Report, commissioned by the United Nations, attests (1999): "Indigenous peoples have explained

that, because of the profound relationship that [they] have to their lands, territories and resources, there is a need for a different conceptual framework to understand this relationship and a need for recognition of the cultural differences that exist. Indigenous peoples have urged the world community to attach positive value to this distinct relationship." As the first Daes Report made clear in 1997, each indigenous community must retain permanent control over its own heritage, but reserve the right to determine how that shared knowledge is used. This is tantamount to a *lex loci*, or the law of the place (Brown 2003: 210, 225).

The instantiation of an indigenous conceptual framework that embraces cultural difference is exemplified in Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh's chapter addressing the North American context. Here he employs ethnographic archaeologies from contemporary Zuni, Hopi, and Navajo communities to underscore our obligations to embrace indigenous practices and worldviews, rather than retreating into a narrow view of protectionism. He concludes that there is no "universal" preservation ethic, since preservation itself is a cultural construct, yet international bodies like UNESCO insist that we universalize just such an ethic. Instead, our only recourse as practitioners is to a cosmopolitan heritage ethic. He calls for a "complex stewardship" modeled on rooted cosmopolitanism that acknowledges that preservation is both locally enacted and universally sought. For Colwell-Chanthaphonh this translates into maximizing "the integrity of heritage objects for the good of the greatest number of people, but not absolutely." His views have strong resonance with the tenets of postcolonial liberalism, which assert that "cultural difference is real, especially in the case of clashes between liberal institutions and indigenous societies, but it does not follow from this that the differences are therefore radically incommensurable" (Ivison 2002: 36). Negotiation and discussion is key as Colwell-Chanthaphonh himself has demonstrated. Heritage practitioners are increasingly learning that *process* is everything and their commitment to inclusion, participation, and ongoing discussions with affected groups is paramount. Importantly, cosmopolitanism entails openness to divergent cultural experiences (Hannerz 2006), which has inevitably become the hallmark of recent writing in interpretive, contextual, collaborative, and indigenous archaeologies (see Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2007).

Heritage negotiations, however, cannot simply be interpolated into blanket multiculturalism, since they pivot around the issue of indi-

vidual versus group rights, as Ian Hodder spells out in his chapter. He advocates that rather than imposing a priori strictures (group or individual rights, for example), archaeologists should embark upon a process of deliberation and negotiation. Throughout such a process Hodder argues that it will often be necessary to empower local groups or individual voices through complex cosmopolitan alliances that cut across individual, local group, regional and national group, and global scales. Drawing on three contemporary examples from Turkey, Hodder demonstrates that complex cosmopolitan interactions highlight the need for wider legal framings around cultural heritage rights in relation to human rights. The first case he puts forward involves the silencing of a local Turkish woman in a public heritage display in Istanbul: Mavili plays an integral role in the archaeological project of Çatalhöyük, which Hodder directs. The elision of a local voice, literally and meta-phorically, haunts any attempt to present an ethical or comprehensive picture of the project and illustrates the internal national tensions that would be rendered mute under any banner of multiculturalism. The Turkish state is strongly nationalist and republican, in the tradition of its founder, Kemal Atatürk, and promotes national unity over cultural diversity as Hodder's next example lays bare. This second case involves an issue of reburial, specifically secularist-Islamist tensions over sixty-four graves excavated at the site: in the summer of 2007 the first C14 dates came back as thirteenth to fifteenth centuries AD, which could indicate early Islamic burials. The third case recounts relations with a local university in Konya, whose students participate on the project, specifically detailing how the university is caught between the state's desire for secularism and individual expression of religious rights. As Hodder's work demonstrates, cosmopolitanism has come to embrace a wider and more nuanced analytical reach than the traditional bifur-cations of global and local. Certainly, community can be envisioned variously, and while several authors focus upon political institutions, Hodder focuses on moral norms, relationships, and forms of cultural expression. As he notes, the fabric of the nation-state is being eroded by claims to and about heritage, some operating at the international level, others instigated by intranational minorities. Others provoca-tively ask why states are perceived to possess legitimate and exclusive sovereignty over all their territories (see Ivison 2006a). Why presume that state institutions and processes dealing with distributive justice

are legitimate? Going further, one might even question the carving up of the global into something called states in the first instance. These heuristics allow us to see the state strictures, not to mention international mandates, that have been naturalized at the intranational level. Transnational governance represents a new and proliferating mode of global politics.

At present, a decentralized political system is operative where global allegiance around heritage ethics is thin and populated largely by intellectuals and activists. Ultimately for transnational agencies to be modified, progress must occur in cooperation with and through nation-states, and in the nation-state's role in those negotiations reside the same potentials for emancipation as for domination. The present aporia recognizes that nationalism, even in its most oppressive times, cannot be easily transcended by cosmopolitan solidarity (Cheah 1998: 312). The international public sphere is typically represented by nation-states—the United Nations is the obvious case in point and exemplifies the uneven nature of member representation. For Hodder, it is a matter of negotiating or balancing these supra- and infra-politics of engagement at Çatalhöyük, from the international funders, including the U.S. State Department, Boeing, Yapı Kredi Bank, and Shell, to the local support and labor of villagers like Mavili and her family. He is candid that the whole project of local engagement in Çatalhöyük is borne out of his own interventionist agenda, while neoliberal market economies have also played their role in the shaping of a heritage landscape. Ultimately he steers us away from multiculturalist discourse to focus instead on human rights to counter inequalities and injustices. In doing so he describes the difficulties in some universal privileging of individual heritage rights as opposed to the group or community (see the chapter by Lydon, this volume). In the process he does not fetishize the "local" but insists that national and international entities be brought into the frame to ensure full participation at various levels.

Other chapters deal more pointedly with the discourse of heritage conservation and its linkages to natural heritage and ecology movements. For archaeologists, cultural heritage discourse has historically borrowed much from the tenets of nature conservation and increasingly from the global desire for biodiversity, as the chapters by Byrne and Meskell respectively demonstrate. Conservation at these scales is already prefigured as a cosmopolitan value and legacy, yet a more

political cosmopolitanism lies behind our efforts to draw attention to those who happen to dwell in or near protected areas and whose own heritage is marginalized for the sake of some greater, global good. For Denis Byrne, these individuals join the ranks of the "conservation refugees," the victims of fortress conservation that, in his words, is clearly incompatible with a cosmopolitan respect for plurality. Thai practice provides the context from which Byrne explores popular culture and religion, the "magical supernatural" that imbues objects and places and is respected by Thais across the social spectrum. Archaeological sites themselves become the receptacles of empowerment, though foreign practitioners have difficulty in integrating indigenous religion into their own field practice and subsequently elide the most interesting contemporary dimensions of their research. Moreover, they grapple with the Thais' abilities to incorporate state-sponsored, nationalistic accounts of their past while simultaneously venerating archaeological objects as supernaturally endowed, as in the case of the iconic heritage site of Sukhotai. Byrne sees Thai cosmopolitanism as sharply contrastive with the strict taxonomies that heritage practitioners and archaeologists regularly enforce. And as a result local people and popular religion are decoupled from heritage management, leaving both parties somewhat bereft. Paralleling the development of archaeology, the rise of the nation-state in Southeast Asia also encouraged the jettisoning of certain uses and experiences of the past that were deemed uncivilized or premodern. Acknowledging those *felt* perspectives and cultural differences toward materiality, however, might lead to more tolerant and less polarized decision-making processes regarding heritage, preservation, conservation, and use. As Byrne reminds us, popular religious practice does not require our consent, but rather it is the students of heritage who stand to gain by taking a cosmopolitan approach.

Just as Byrne and González-Ruibal have shown the negative intersection of the politics of natural and cultural protectionism in Thailand, Brazil, and Ethiopia, my own chapter documents the dangerous narratives of *terra nullius* or "empty lands" in South Africa and the communities that are forced to pay the price of global conservation and biodiversity. My own archaeological ethnography asks how different black communities living on the edge of a celebrated national park envision the global. Like Lydon's case of Jabiluka, the communities bordering Kruger National Park draw upon the networks of indigenous rights, international law, and expert international researchers to craft

a particular identity and stake in the reclaiming of the natural commons. And even so-called national parks are *ipso facto* transnational bodies composed of American funders, European aid agencies, NGOs, government officials, impoverished park workers, and foreign research scientists. Identifying competing conceptions of the common good, and the practices by which new and emergent social realities come into being, is very much at issue in this chapter and others throughout this volume. Multicultural discourse cannot hope to explain or encompass these processes, since they are not confined to a notion of pluralism, but to cosmopolitan openness, self-constitution, and transformation. Philosophers such as Benhabib (2002: ix–x) adopt an academic stance by opposing social movements that maintain the distinctiveness of cultures, finding them fundamentally irreconcilable with democratic considerations. Her position finds little purchase with those individuals and communities around Kruger and elsewhere who currently struggle for recognition and restitution from the state. What is troubling with bourgeois theories of justice is the propensity to detemporalize or decontextualize, presenting themselves as fixed and unchanging standards (Ruiters 2002: 120). Such abstractions fail to account for real institutions and relations in practice. How would such a theoretical position account for the situation in South Africa, where the majority is not synonymous with colonizer and the minority with indigenous community per se, where indigeneity is multiply claimed across many ethnic categories, and where ethnicity and religion are complexly crosscutting and even fractious?

Discourses of biodiversity form the backdrop to this chapter, specifically its global success and ability to outstrip cultural heritage on national and international agendas. These discourses privilege nature over culture and typically sacrifice historic recognition and restitution for the "greater good" of conservation. Irrespective of leadership or regime change in South African national parks, state power continues to devalue the archaeological past and its human histories. Narratives of *terra nullius* have resurfaced in dangerous and familiar ways. The now discredited discourse erases indigenous histories and is perilously hitched to the celebratory discourses of conservation and biodiversity, since both espouse global desires for pristine wilderness, minimal human intensification, the erasure of anthropogenic landscapes, the primacy of non-human species, sustainability, and so on. There is a denial

of indigenous presence, irrespective of the documented rock art, pre-historic sites, and Iron Age remains that number well over one thousand within Kruger's borders. Without recognition of the complex and continued human history in Kruger's landscapes there is little chance of historical justice and restitution for indigenous South Africans in these regions. Archaeologists have played no small part in this erasure, certainly during the apartheid years, and their racialized narratives, and even their silences, have had tremendous residual force to this day for black South Africans. Cultural heritage is seen as divisive and particular, whereas natural heritage is global and encompassing, entreating us all to subscribe to its world-making project.

A consistent concern throughout the chapters is the fallout for local communities and other stakeholders who inhabit heritage landscapes and inadvertently bear the brunt of our archaeological fieldwork and findings. Sandra Arnold Scham's chapter reveals that even our current crises in the Middle East are not free from archaeology's disciplinary misadventures. She asserts that archaeologists have narrativized the East as more religious, irrational, ritualistic, and oppressive. And the premises and practices we enjoy are often directly fed back into popular conceptions of the Middle East, or perhaps worse, U.S. foreign policy discussions. Archaeologists working in the region, in Scham's view, continually stress sacred or ritualized material culture, thereby capitulating to an image of the East as being more religious and less secular by the very nature of our research. Our taxonomies are mutually exclusive rather than permeable, she imputes, and the resultant picture constructs religion in a wholly Western guise that is all pervasive, extremist, and impractical, existing as a force external to culture and society.

Taking this squarely into the realm of heritage ethics, Scham interrogates the Archaeological Institute of America's *Open Declaration on Cultural Heritage at Risk*, which was circulated to the U.S. government before the invasion of Iraq. Surely, she muses, human life is not secondary to cultural property? But scholars of the Middle East have inevitably couched their preoccupations with invasion and conflict "in terms of preserving things rather than people." Instead of focusing on these preoccupations she extends the cosmopolitan idea of hospitality, inspired by Derrida and Habermas, and tempered by her own excavation experiences, as a set of obligations on the part of hosts and guests,

which is becoming so crucial for our continued fieldwork in the archaeological present. Critical of those who fail to honor obligations to those with whom we work, she suggests that these decisions are sometimes premised upon derogatory views of Middle Eastern culture, and that even our oft-critiqued "Orientalist" forebears assessed the situation with greater savvy by employing local workers rather than wealthy Western students. Her work poignantly demonstrates who wins and loses in our disciplinary and personal refusals to engage, whether at the local or international scale. While the Middle East is always positioned as the most extreme or volatile heritage scape, the attitudes and fallouts she exposes occur globally, as other chapters in this volume detail.

   Lisa Breglia's chapter critically examines the consequences of achieving world heritage status for those who live and work in the shadows of global patrimony. Her ethnographic study reveals how a celebrated Mayan heritage has ultimately failed its immediate stakeholders and what remains is a shrinking horizon of possibility for social, economic, and cultural uplift. Despite Chichén Itzá's cosmopolitan underpinnings and the promise of neoliberal development, the inequities of labor regimes, land use, tenure, and ownership remain intransigent. Moreover, she draws a distinction between the attitudes and experiences of Yucatec Maya and other Mexican citizens around the site as they are polarized within a disjointed nationalism, itself a reminder of the fractious nature of the local. In the context of Mexican heritage, nationalism is an artifice that is exposed and effaced through an archaeological past and thus the nation-state falls short. Ethnographic interviews with Chichén Itzá's heritage workers reveal that their attitudes extend beyond indigenous appeals toward a cosmopolitan discourse on global culture, internationalism, and supranational constructions of rights and duties connected to citizenship (see the chapter by Lydon, this volume). Tensions between Mexicans and indigenous Maya site custodians abound: the former flagrantly resist site rules and restrictions, damage the monuments, and litter the site, according to the latter. Breglia asserts that site workers are implementing their own "cosmopolitan, postnational politics of location that highlights the tenuousness of the modern apparatus that grafts together archaeology, heritage, tourism, and nationalism, hiding the diverse interests of each in order to create the illusion of a supposedly transparent site of Mexicanness." As with Hodder's contribution, archaeologists cannot sim-

ply tack between community and state entities, as the nation-state so often fails its minorities, sometimes silencing or erasing their pasts and presents. Breglia further argues that while heritage scapes are tacitly cosmopolitan due to their global connectedness and tourist markets, the social relations between workers, local residents, landowners, managers, archaeologists, bureaucrats, and tourists reflect an even greater quotidian cosmopolitanism.

In such heritage settings, cosmopolitans would consider that though indigenous individuals and connected communities have certain rights and claims to culture, they are not trapped by ancient identities and necessarily expected to perform them in the present. However, identity politics may be a necessary avenue to pursue in order to gain adequate restitution for the past in the present. Hugo Benavides's ethnographic work in Ecuador lays bare the fiction of cultural authenticity within a nationalizing project, as the latter abuts the "progressive" neoliberal entities of sustainable development, eco-tourism, and indigenous human rights that are invested in reproducing global difference. He asks how the archaeological remains of a pre-Hispanic past become a tool for hegemonic reproduction against a backdrop of transnational cultural diversity. In his account, Indian and black diasporic communities are reified as the national "other" despite claims to a grounded national identity based on geographical legitimization that is equal to or greater than the white elite. Referencing three archaeological sites, Benavides describes the contemporary fashioning of a politically expedient "Indianness" through heritage, the narratives of continuity, and the fallbacks to hardened categories of race and pristine culture, all of which are influenced by the machinations of global capital and struggles for political recognition. However, with the palpable disinterest in excavating black maroon sites, an Afro-Ecuadorian archaeological research legacy is left languishing. Those of us working in the interstices of cultures and histories have held deep expectations on how indigenous groups are meant to behave or supposed to perform their historical connections. Archaeologists must be more embracing of cultural difference in the present, in our own contact zones and our own clashes of cultures. There are myriad ways in which past inheritance can be embodied, felt, narrated, mobilized, and experienced: there is no single path to cultural legitimacy.

Like those of many other authors in this book, Benavides's findings impel practitioners to consider the interventions of multinational bodies,

international legal framings, and rights movements that go beyond cultural heritage imperatives, because they are frequently interpolated into broader development schemes, the involvement of NGOs, corporations, and the workings of global capital. In his words, "Ecuador as a whole cannot be a competitive player in today's global market without a coherent story of a pre-Hispanic historical narrative." And archaeologists proffer the means of legitimating political struggles and thus enable hegemonic entry into the contested domain of transnational market imperatives. This is by no means a celebratory cosmopolitanism, but rather a fraught cosmopolitics, emphasizing the "need to introduce order and accountability into this newly dynamic space of gushingly unrestrained sentiments, pieties and urgencies for which no adequately discriminating lexicon has had time to develop" (Robbins 1998: 9). As the chapters in this volume elucidate, an attention to cosmopolitanism is a recognition of our obligations and responsibilities, historically and presently: it is neither a theoretical gloss nor a political trend scholars could hope to bypass or one day overcome. It is the position we as archaeologists find ourselves in today, much as social anthropologists and others have previously acknowledged (Breckenridge et al. 2002; Cheah and Robbins 1998; Hannerz 2006; Latour 2004; Mignolo 2002). Stimulated by the discipline's political and ethical engagements and bolstered by a new incursion into ethnographic and hybrid field practices, archaeologists and heritage workers are already caught up in cosmopolitics. With such a legacy from the past and set of responsibilities for the present and future, archaeologists should accept that there will be troubling terrain ahead. The challenge may require us to relinquish some of our own goals and set those within a wider international arena, as well as redress the hierarchical relationships of power in which we are all enmeshed.

Implications for the Archaeological Present

The subject of our research, the archaeological past and present, is situated firmly within a suite of cosmopolitan dispositions and practices: extensive mobility and travel; consuming places and environments; curiosity about people, places, and cultures; experiencing risks in encountering others; mapping various cultures and societies; semiotic skills in interpreting others; openness to different languages and cultures

(Szerszynski and Urry 2006: 114–15). *Cosmopolitan Archaeologies* recognizes that particular "locals," "communities," and "national" bodies have complex interactions with various international sponsors and universities, conservation agencies, development organizations, and NGOs, thus challenging simplistic notions of globalization or homogenization. The shorthand of local and global, caricatured by imputed cultural designations of traditional versus capitalist, falls short of the current complexities we all necessarily face on the ground. The utility of the term *globalization*, once descriptive of the macroeconomic turn, is further restricted by the fact that it now stands for everything and nothing simultaneously. What is appealing about cosmopolitanism is that while the processes of globalization lay claim to an overarching homogeneity of the planet in economic, political, and cultural spheres, the term *cosmopolitanism* might be employed as a counter to globalization from below. It also effectively overturns any notion that the local, situated contexts in which we work as archaeologists or ethnographers are isolated, traditional, disengaged, or disconnected from larger processes, institutions, organizations, consumer networks, and knowledges. While globalization is seen as something happening "out there," cosmopolitanism happens from within (Beck and Sznaider 2006: 9). As archaeologists and anthropologists, we are primed to be attentive to specific local contexts and histories that plan and project global designs and understandings in particular modalities (Mignolo 2002: 157). Studies of the archaeological present have lately evinced this local dimension, placing local communities and understandings at the forefront of our research agendas.

The chapters in this book are testament to a range of diverse cosmopolitanisms around the broad topic of heritage ethics. Through sustained case studies we examine the ways in which local and national heritage politics are made and unmade through international discourses and regulations; how transnational bodies and organizations such as UNESCO, the World Bank, and conservation and funding agencies are curiously brought into play in local arenas. Balancing appeals to universalism with that of cultural difference remains a critical tension that underlines much of the existing literature on heritage and our engagements as practitioners. These strange proximities and multiplicities are experienced in particular regions and locales in distinct ways, even though the organizational directives might aspire to a presumed

universality and neutrality. We have also explored the politics of salvage, with its incentives of the common good that are based on promises, driven by the future, and depend upon networks of participation, discipline, and sacrifice that discursively create desirable heritage citizens (see Hayden 2003). In an Orwellian tone, interventionist policies that control the past also serve to predict future outcomes, promising sustainable development, betterment, and socioeconomic uplift. What must be sublated in the present will be recouped in the future by coming generations, while international elites and the adequately resourced will be able to enjoy the spoils of heritage and conservation in the present in the form of cultural and ecological tourism and research. Such promissory strategies tend to deprivilege indigenous and minority communities, often disempowered constituencies whose land, livelihoods, and legacies are threatened.

Collectively we take seriously the intellectual foundations and political economies of heritage—the legal, political, and ethical strata that underlie implicit tensions over access, preservation, and control of the material past in an unstable present. We question the translatability of heritage terms and practices across a wide array of sites and locations. Through the lens of cosmopolitanism we consider the discursive production, consumption, and governing of other people's pasts through examination of the participants, organizations, stakeholders, beneficiaries, and victims. In the future, a cosmopolitan archaeology is likely to fuel lines of inquiry into emergent experiences, commitments, and relationships, as well as critique its opposites and adversaries in debate (Hannerz 2006: 84). Taken with our obligation to reflexivity and alongside further theoretical and methodological developments, those of us working within heritage ethics will continue to reexamine and recast our own commitments and identifications in true cosmopolitan spirit.

Note