

The Tourist is Universal Citizen Heir

**Toward a Genealogy of Heritage,
Archaeology, Tourism, and the Museum**

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February 24, 2011

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Prologue 1: Caveat

■ A Theoretical Excursion

- Theory: from Gk. *theoria* "contemplation, speculation, a looking at, things looked at," from *theorein* "to consider, speculate, look at," from *theoros* "spectator," from *thea* "a view" + *horan* "to see"
- Thus: theory, theatre, spectacle, speculation are all ways of seeing; forms of seeing the world... travel, tourism

Cf.: Georges Van den Abbeele, *Travel as Metaphor*.

- Excursion "going out" day-trip
- Essay/assai: attempt, trial, (thought) experiment

Prologue 2: “Travel Motivations”

- Asked to write chapter on relationships between **Tourism and Archaeology**
 1. Since 1991 I have argued that they are “incestuous twins” born in the (modern) Museum
 2. Secondary Question or subtext of this talk is, how are archaeology and tourism historically intertwined

- Asked to Address “Rights of the Tourist” ...
(in relation to archaeology)

“Bill of Tourist Rights”?

- Right to bear point & shoot digital cameras
- Right to video-record anything, especially with weak-wrist “subjective”-camera
- Right to be rude, demanding, and condescending especially to those whose salary depends on tips
- Right to remain ignorant of and flagrantly transgress cultural norms of behavior of hosts
- Right to use, assume & foment racist, exoticizing, paternalist understandings of host cultures

Tourism, Ethics, Traveler 1

A. Ethics of Tourism, Tourism Ethics

- Question emerges in context of Sustainable development, and niche/alternative tourisms, e.g., Eco-, Adventure, Sustainable, Food, Community-based, etc. ≈1990s

1. Cite: *Moralization of Tourism*, J. Butcher, 2003

- Thus also discourse on “ethics of travel” *of traveler*
- Simple binary of “good/bad” has long history
 1. Tourist/Traveler binary: BAD (e.g., Cannibal Tours) vs GOOD: “authentic,” true, real, experiential, educative
 2. Cf. Justin Stagl (*History of Curiosity*) 16th C. Methodologies

Tourism, Ethics, Traveler 2

B. From “Ethics of Tourism” development to “Rights”

Citation: “Human Rights in Tourism: Conceptualization and Stakeholder Perspectives” in *Electronic Journal Business Ethics & Organization Studies*, vol. 12(2), 2007. By Babu George & V. Varghese

■ Conceptual Problems:

1. Human Rights is based on Citizen-State relationship
2. Whereas Tourism is a Market relationship:
3. i.e., Consumer / Service Workers / Tourism Businesses
4. Thus “Tourism Rights” is a question of *(pre-established)* civil rights as: *Consumer, Worker, Business, Owner of Services, Producer of Tourist Commodities, etc ...*

“Tourism Rights” 1

- **Significantly, this article considers the rights of tourism “communities” as hosts**
 1. **not the rights of individuals who work or perform as “hosts”**
 2. **Or who structure, foment, promote, legislate, conceptualize, “host” locations, activities, processes, packages, etc.**
- **Unquestioned ideological assumptions: “Community” is 4th World**
- **“When will the violations of NYC and Las Vegas rights as tourism hosts stop?” would never be possible in this ideology-theory of tourism**

“Rights of Tourists”? 2

- Because the Tourist is not an ontological being there can be no such rights “of tourists” or “of host communities” modeled on *human* rights...
- Tourist rights would always be the rights of a citizen within one’s country or foreign national in another nation-state
- Or *civil* rights related to social role as a consumer, worker, owner, entrepreneur, etc. in an economic relationship with other such roles in context of belonging to this or that nation-state

“Rights of Tourists”? 3

- **Still: “Travel/Traveler/Tourist Ethics” is an emergent arena of debate, discursive production, and practice**

Citations: Rough Guides (2007); *Ethical Travel* by Pattullo and Minelli (2009)

Wagner, Cynthia G. (2005) The Conscientious Tourist: Ethical Choices Influence Travelers' Vacation Planning. *The Futurist*. Vol 39 (5): 14(2)

- **Thus the question persists: What do such postulated Rights &/or Ethics have to do with Archeology?**

¿Nothing?...

then again ... perhaps Everything!

Tourist is Universal Citizen Heir

... is an answer based on a “connect the dots” logic and theoretical travel; this needs 1st unpacking & 2nd explanation:

1. **Universal** refers to an imagined universal humanity or universal civilization, human civilization, etc.
... created as heritage in the Museum, partially via archaeology
2. **Citizen** refers to a subject position of belonging to and identification with Universal Civilization / Humanity
... created in the Museum through tourism for tourism
3. **Heir** refers to a process of inheritance and heritage
... in which archaeology and tourism converge on figure of Tourist

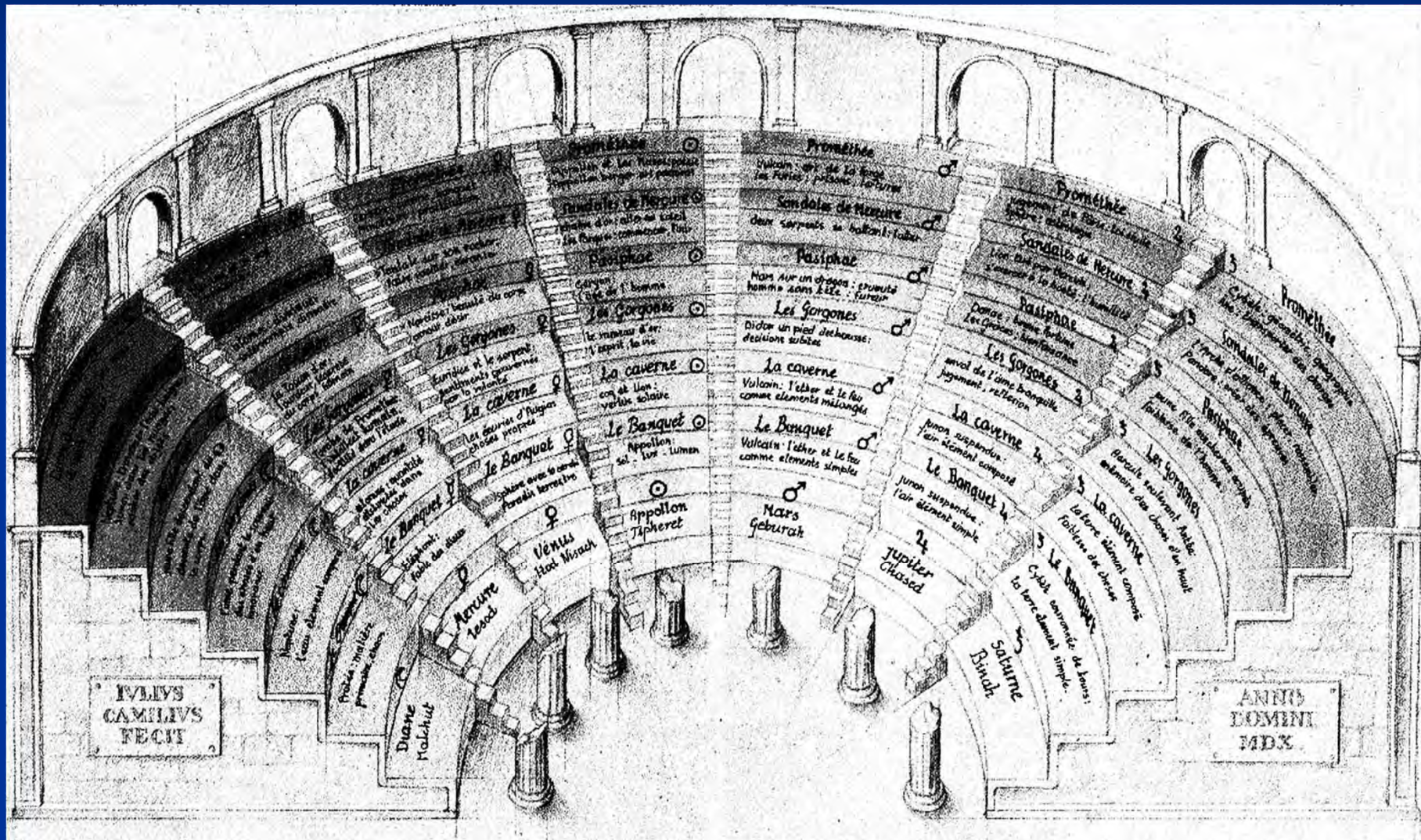
Genealogy of the Museum

- Histories of the Museum focus on shifts from ancestral forms of collections:
 1. Renaissance “Memory Theatres”
 2. Classical Collections: Cabinets of Curiosities, Cabinets of the World, Studiolos, Repositories
 3. **Museum = per se**, word itself becomes revalorized with new definition/concept; referencing a modern, national social institution situated in emergent public sphere

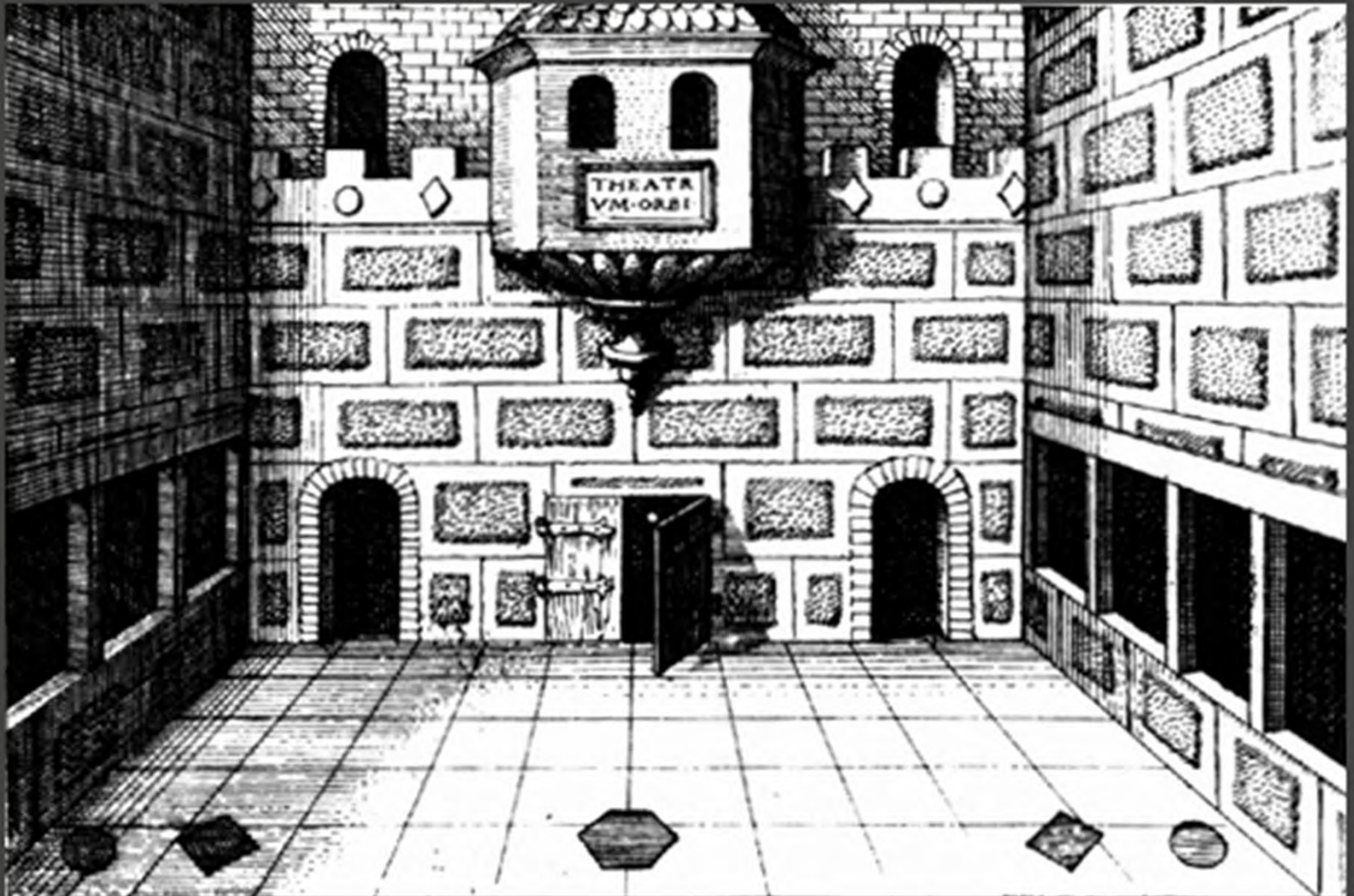
Humanist Memory Theatre

- Renaissance Humanists used Classical Art of Memory to create an architectural system of total knowledge / space of representation of universe.
- Principle of micro-macrocosm representation of human in universe (decentering God)
- Allegory; not narrative representation
- Unlike both Catholic Stations of Cross & later Museum
- Items are Symbols with occult, hermetic, esoteric, alchemic meanings; symbolic knowledge based in allegory
- e.g., Giordano Bruno, Guilio Camillo, Robert Fludd

Guilio Camillo Memory Theatre



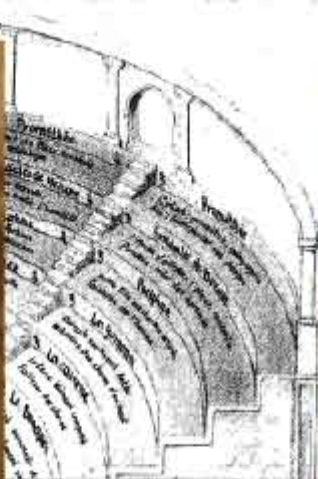
Robert Fludd Memory Theatre





Classical Wunderkammer

- Collections in early modern period: studiolo, galleria, kunstkamera, cabinets of world, etc.
- correspond to Foucault's "classical" episteme
- Thus Natural History Classification swaps out Allegorical Hermetic/Esoteric knowledge
- Both retain stasis – "flat" tables of knowledge based on visible versus occult invisible meanings
- Private collections of Princes, Monarchs, Noblesse, and powerful Bourgeoisie.
- Visited by their privileged guests & Grand Tourists



Birth of the Museum 1

Eileen Hooper-Greenhill landmark study of the museum and historical antecedents”

- She uses case of France & French Revolution, illustrates that Museum is resolutely NATIONAL, MODERN, PUBLIC
- Take over of palaces and their collections converting them to exhibitions open to citizenry as national project

Transformation of collections into Museums occurs in two registers: 1) as social institution
2) epistemological-representational system

Birth of the Museum 2

1) Epistemological & Representational

1. Geological-Archaeological metaphors of knowledge, temporality, principles of representation are added to Natural History epistemology creating “new” episteme
2. Sidebar Debate with Foucault
3. Shift from “flat” classificatory system of natural history to “thick” stratigraphic mode of representation; geo-archaeological epistemology
 - ⇒ “social” now on geologic/bio-evolutionary temporality
 - ⇒ new representational system of series and sets of objects that “represent” civilizational stages, cultural unities, social wholes by synecdoche (part-whole) exemplary or metaphor “replica”



Thus the Museum inherits the Memory Theatre & Encyclopedia-Library dream of totalizing knowledge of the universe

- 1. actualizes this ideal using the *geo-archæ*-logical logic of representation and evolutionary master narrative**
- 2. within a totally new & modern sociological institution**



The Dream of the Museum 4

- **Dream of Totality, yet always Partial**
 1. **The Museum Collection & thus its Representation is always incomplete, only a partial sample by any criteria**
 2. **Partial in political sense of privileging & prioritizing specific identities & groups in what is exhibited**
 3. **This space of politics/critique opens up after civil rights; in 80s with culture wars, feminisms, postcolonial movements, critiques of representation; critique of culture and theory as totalization project...**

The Dream of the Museum 5

■ Dream of Totality, yet always Partial

1. Further: The Museum is an ideal concept, like the state, culture, or society; actual, real, specific expressions assume task of representing determinate “chunks” of the universe: museums of art, natural history, science...
2. Art becomes invented as aesthetic category amenable to social and philosophic evolutionary narratives
3. Civilizational schema and periodizations (schools, traditions, influences) & evolutionary narrative of Nation re-organizes all of human accomplishments into the master story of universal humanity in which the Nation is the embodiment and pinnacle of civilization

Museum Master Narrative 5

1. **Thus, Narrative** ➔ **overarching Museum logic** narrative replaces Renaissance allegory and Classical taxonomy as the LOGIC of the system of representation
2. **Narrative becomes mode of representation constitutive of the Museum *as Museum***
over and against the prior cabinets, repositories, theatres
3. **Master Narrative (both form & content)**

As every knows, the content is ...

Museum and Civilization 6

1. The Story of Universal Human History (from amoeba to modern civilization) – *story of evolution*
2. Story of *Progress* of Universal Civilization from geological to technological time of science, modernity, Capitalism, Nations
3. Story of the Heritage of Humanity
⇒ *(we return to visit this question of Heritage after discussion of Museum representation & rationality)*

Microcosm ↔ Macrocosm 7

Museum re-works Memory Theatre Allegory:

- Human ↔ Universe (micro-macrocosm) becomes four representational strata or microcosm-macrocosm relations

- histories & analyses of museum have focused on:

1. **Citizen ↔ Nation** (nation-state, imagined community)

2. **Nation ↔ Civilization** (nation as pinnacle of Civilization)

and via critique of politics of representation:

3. **“Minority group” or “Culture” ↔ Nation**

Minority sub-national group and trans-national cultures

Museum Representation 8

The 4th representational series has been ignored:

■ Human Being/Subject ↔ Universal Humanity

■ Or: Citizen-Subject ↔ Universal Civilization

1. Why? Production of Meanings of Modern Subject/ivity is studied elsewhere (e.g., prison, psychology, literature...)
2. “Humanity” is domain of humanities or bio-sciences
3. “Civilization” too abstract; & quickly replaced by Culture (i.e., Theories of Culture with Cap “c” and pluralized in historically specific civilizations via the emerging academic science of archaeology)
4. Footnote: genealogy of Heritage runs through Civilization & Culture/cultures

Museum Representation, 9

Universal Citizen Heir

Thus: Museum has produced subject position of Universal Citizen but as empty content, an implicit category, a sub-textual residue, a raw resource waiting in standby; an “unused” discursive effect & potentiality of the museum representational economy:

1. How is this subject-positioning linked to tourism/Tourist?
2. Why do new practices of Heritage reveal this link?
2. How does the debate about “Tourist Ethics/Rights” help make visible & substantiate this effect of the Museum?

Museum 1, Political Rationality

2) A completely new social Institution:

- Private to public; in terms of ownership, objectives, and for whom it serves (obvert social function and role)
- New social roles and subject positions: “army” of curators, experts, collectors, administrators, funders, visitors, etc.
- linked directly or indirectly to Nation-State as para-governmental or “NGO”-type institution in public sphere
- Strategic Goals:
 1. Create national culture as modern culture
 2. Image/forge National Identity, Belonging, Heritage
 3. Civilize, domesticate, subjectivize proper citizens

Museum 2, Political Rationality

Tony Bennett, Birth of the Museum (1995)

- Builds on Hooper-Greenhill, who uses Foucault the Archaeologist for her history of (epistemes of the) Museum
- Bennett uses Disciplinary Foucault to create concept of “exhibitionary complex” – the panopticon “inside-out” as it were (museum, department stores, exhibitions, World Fairs, industrial and technological Expos etc.)
- Analyzes how Museum has had as conscious objective the domestication of lower classes as proper citizens of state;

That is, to educate, enculturate, domesticate, subjectivize as modern subjects & national citizens

Museum 3: Interpellation

To Bennett we can add Althusser:

- Museum representational system (Narrative of Progress and Universal Civilization) “hails” or interpellates the “visitor” as modern subject marked by national (& subnational) identities
 1. If someone were to shout your name in the street or even “Hey you!” and you turn acknowledging the shout, you thereby recognize that salutation to mean yourself.
 2. Identifying oneself in and by response to being so hailed on the street, “I am the one that is being called.”

Museum 4: Interpellation

The Museum Visitor is the one Interpellated by the Master Narrative of Civilization as:

- 1. National Citizen**
- 2. Subject of Universal Humanity**
- 3. “Citizen” of (universal/modern/human) Civilization**

“The tourist is one of the best models of available for modern man-in-general. Our apprehension of modern civilization, it seems to me, emerges first in the mind of the tourist.” Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist*, pg. 1.

Tourism 1: Who visits Museums?

Is the Museum Visitor a *Tourist*?

Of course "he" is!

Why Not?!?

- Histories of Tourism
- Definitions, Types, Theories of Tourism
- Where is the Museum in Histories of Tourism?
 1. Not there! but
 2. Expos, fairs, and other types of spectacles of Bennett's exhibitionary complex are.

Tourism 2: Museum Visitors

- **England in contrast to France**, created public museums with restricted access at first; fear of lower classes
- **15 million visitors between 1857 to 1883**
average 570,000 a year to South Kensington Museum when opened with unrestricted access to masses
- **In 2007 Machu Pichu received 800,000 – after New 7 Wonders Vote!**

The Museum is significant institution in development of modern tourism yet not studied in these terms – only in today's context of sustainable tourism, community museums, ethical travel, niche tourisms

Does the museum “suddenly” appear as relevant

Tourism 4: Exhibitions

Expos & Worlds Fairs

- 1851 Crystal Palace, 6 million visitors
- 1889 Paris exhibition, 32 million visitors
- 1893 Columbian Exhibition in Chicago, 27.5 million
- 1924-25 Wembley Empire Exhibition, 27 million
- 1933-34 Century of Progress in Chicago, 49 million
- 1938 Glasgow Empire Exhibition, 12 million
- 1990s Chichén Itzá begins to get over 500,000
- 1990s Cancun, approx. 1 million a year; 3 today?
- 2010 NYC, 36 million domestic, 8.6 international

Tourism 3: Who is Interpellated?

Museum Visitor—*who is indeed The Tourist*

- **Is Differentiated from the Visitor**

Industry Definition Standard: overnights ≥ 50 miles away

- **“Good” (citizen) / “Bad” (tourist)**

- E.g., Anthropological abhorrence of tourism \Rightarrow differentiation of “good/bad” travelers as ethnographers versus tourists (up thru 1990s)
- **Ideological construction of Good traveler-visitor vs. Bad Tourist: (ironic given origin of Cook’s Tours!)
Crucial to the disenfranchisement of the “Tourist”**

Heritage, Inheritance, Heir 1

Heritage: “stuff” inherited from “the past”

- 1. Inheritance**, different processes & practices depending on “stuff” being inherited; eg. biology, language, identity, cultural customs, property wealth, all differ in process
- 2. Requires “source”/giver; an “ancestor”**
- 3. Requires “heir” /proper recipient, beneficiary**
- 4. Inheritance is transference; not an exchange**
property inheritance is legally defined, social process whereas biological “inheritance” is not even intentional/conscious

Heritage, Inheritance, Heir 2

Inheritance of property is a political process that works to identify the proper, correct, legitimate, legal heir-beneficiary to carry out “proper” transference

1. In realm of sociocultural heritage, inheritance is not transference but an **identification** of the proper “heir”
2. This identification, in the Museum, is an interpellation or ideological “hailing” by narrative-representational system
3. Museum Story of Universal Civilization hails the visitor to acknowledge oneself as belonging to Humanity, identify as modern subject, as citizen of nation,
4. ... *as heir to Universal Civilization / Universal Humanity*

Heritage, Inheritance, Heir 3

Since not everyone is interpellated the “same” as having same privilege as “white, male, heterosexual, bourgeoisie, (neo)colonialist” citizen

- (this constitutes the politics of museum representation as a field of political contestation)

In the Museum, representational system defines the “heir” – designates who is proper heir of the national heritage and heritage of humanity

Heritage, Inheritance, Heir 4

- Inheritance often requires a “lawyer” when the proper beneficiary has not been designated or identified
- Inheritance as process of identifying proper heir, of designating who/what groups fit the legitimated criteria of beneficiary,
- is one type of politics of heritage
- Outside the Museum, archaeology functions as “inheritance lawyer” of archaeological pasts

Archaeology 1: Science Values

“Pure Science Ideal:”

- Produce Knowledge (endlessly) for its own sake
 - for ultimate (not immediate, practical) Good of Humanity
 - not measured in immediate utilitarian terms
-
- **Mission of the CIW in support of BASIC Research:**
“... investigation, research and discovery, and the application of knowledge to the improvement of mankind”
 - Key to “pure/basic” science is promise of eventual application (contrast to Rockefeller Foundation funding)

Archeology 2: Scientific Axiology

Axiology: system of guiding ethical values

Archeology has historically defined itself as (academic, univ.) science by its mandate to

- 1. NOT destroy the past (via looting, use of unscientific methods, black market)**
- 2. Nor destroy knowledge of the past (e.g., via lack of documentation, preservation, conservation)**
- 3. Act as Steward of the archeological past**

Archeology 3: Legitimization

Archeology legitimizes itself through stewardship, as the “steward of the past”

1. Protect, conserve, study the materiality of “the past” as generic heritage of universal humanity
2. Produce knowledge about “the past” for the greater good in the name of society in general, that is “humanity” or “mankind”
3. Concretely, this is The Tourist, the empty discursive effect of Museum representation

Archeology 4: Tourist Meccas

- If Chichén can be kept both interesting and beautiful, *it will without question become a Mecca of travel, and incidentally, a most valuable asset for archaeology which, like every other science, needs its “show-windows.”*... public interest must be aroused and eventual public understanding must be achieved if archaeology is to go forward: *for from the public comes, in the last analysis, all support for scientific endeavor.*
- (Alfred V. Kidder, Report of CIW, 1930: 99).



Archaeology 5: and Tourism

In conclusion, by way of new points of departure:

- 1. Archaeology and Tourism have a long standing historical intimacy; born in Museum**
- 2. Increasing dependency of archaeology on tourism, once it splits from the institution of the Museum and is situated in the University**
- 3. Similarly, tourism has always relied upon archaeology and “heritage” sites as destinations**
- 4. Thus: need for thicker historical analyses and thicker analyses of dependence of archaeology on what views as outside itself (tourism) and vice-versa, how tourism encourages appropriates infests science**

Archaeology 6: and Heritage

Conclusions/Points of Departure:

5. Transformation of Heritage (roughly from 1972 UNESCO) from an unmarked “Heritage” that was used to create national identity (patrimony) to Heritage that is the result/product of assertions and claims of ownership by identity groups (sub/trans-national); heritage as resource
6. New politics of heritage as governmentality triangulating *Identity-Science-Legalities* as mechanisms regulating Heritage

Archaeology 7: Social Values

■ Sociological Axiology of Archaeology

Archaeology conducted not in the name of general humanity, but in name of and for specific descendent and stakeholder communities

General trend toward ethics (beginning in 1990s) and politics; manifested in move from public to “engaged” anthropologies: activist, participatory action research, experimental ethnography, etc.

Archaeological Museum

- **Historical inter-dependency has been leading in the contemporary moment of proliferation archaeologies and tourisms to return to the Museum**
- **Explicit collaborations between archeological science, capitalist tourism, and underdeveloped communities to create:**
 - ⇒ “Community Heritage Museums” (archeological heritage or ethnographic “intangible cultural” heritage)
- **All in name of ethical business & sustainable science**
- **The universal citizen heir is rendered visible at the very moment of its long historical presence when politically critiqued**