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Exploring Living Heritage Conservation: An Ethnography of Taos Pueblo, New Mexico

Adriana Trujillo

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Abstract: Taos Pueblo, a Northern New Mexico Pueblo, is designated as a World Heritage Site that continues to engage in traditional cultural practices. Because it is a living community practicing traditional customs, it is considered a living heritage site. Living heritage refers to the continuity of tangible and intangible heritage that is maintained by the core-community. Western conservation approaches have rarely integrated community-based strategies when protecting dynamic cultural sites. The purpose of this research is to explore conservation strategies at Taos Pueblo and how they reflect a living heritage approach. Using Rapid Ethnographic Assessment Protocol (Taplin, Scheld, & Low, 2002), I worked closely with the community by immersing myself in the culture through an emic perspective. I conducted semi-structured interviews with 5 residents of Taos Pueblo; the questions referred to preservation processes, restoration projects, preservation of the Tiwa language, sacred ceremonies, and the evolving heritage. I inductively analyzed interview transcriptions in NVivo to identify themes. A few of these themes include conservation strategies that facilitate the restoration of adobe homes, encouraging involvement in sacred ceremonies at a young age, and restricting photographs and recordings of the Pueblo. I used Poullos' (2014) framework to interpret the extent to which Taos Pueblo's conservation practices reflect a living heritage approach. I witnessed the perpetual connection the people of Taos have with their roots, which explains their concerns with maintaining the continuity of their heritage. Through a living heritage approach, the tangible and intangible heritage of Taos Pueblo and other dynamic cultural sites can be successfully conserved because this approach provides support for long term conservation.

Keywords: *Taos Pueblo, living heritage, conservation, ethnography*

Conservation plays an important role in the protection and continuity of tangible and intangible heritage. Tangible heritage is referred to as objects belonging to the culture that can be physically handled such as buildings, clothing, art, and food. Intangible heritage consists of but is not limited to oral traditions, language, ceremonies, and knowledge systems. Heritage has a multiplicity of definitions varying by culture; therefore, not all heritage sites can be preserved using Western conservation practices. Western conservation preserves values imposed on heritage by stakeholder groups; however, a number of scholars (see Berkes, 2004; Brown & Hay-Edie, 2014; Kimball, Brunswig, McBeth, & Thomas, 2013; King, 2003; Poullos 2010, 2014; Wijesuriya, n.d.) express the importance of a community-centered approach, which is a non-Western conservation approach which promotes the continuity of heritage among dynamic cultural sites. Three conservation approaches are addressed to comprehend their roles in various heritage sites; one approach is favored because of

its priority in maintaining the continuity of heritage.

I conducted an ethnography at Taos Pueblo, NM to explore their conservation strategies and concerns pertaining to their changing tangible and intangible heritage. This research identifies Taos Pueblo as a dynamic cultural site because it is a community that continues to express their traditional cultural practices. Taos Pueblo conservation practices are entirely community-based.

The terms conservation and preservation are not synonymous in this research, they have slightly different meanings. Conservation allows for the continuity and evolution of tangible and intangible heritage. Preservation signifies the protection of tangible heritage in order to prevent further damage.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This research highlights three conservation approaches as shown below, which are also reflected in the article by Ioannis Poullos (2014). Material-based and values-based are both Western conservation approaches which Michael Kimball (2016) terms as “postcard heritage” because such

approaches prefer static snapshots of imaged places, landscapes, and people. A living heritage approach is a non-Western approach which promotes community-based conservation; it is further explained using the example of the Baudhanath Stupa in the Kathmandu Valley, Nepal (Ayoubi, 2015).

Table 1. Three conservation approaches

	Material-Based Approach	Values-Based Approach	Living Heritage Approach
Conservation Focus	Tangible/Material Objects	Values imposed on heritage	Continuity of tangible and intangible heritage
Community Responsible	Conservation Professionals- No community involvement	Stakeholder groups- Community involved, but under supervision	Core-Community
Goal	Preservation of the past for future generations	Preservation of the past for future generations	Continual process of creation for the present community

Note. Adapted from “The Past in the Present: A Living Heritage Approach – Meteora, Greece,” by Ioannis Poullos, 2014, Ch. 15. Copyright 2014 by the Ubiquity Press Ltd.

Material-Based Approach

Western conservation prefers a material-based approach (Ayoubi, 2015), which is based on an art-historic doctrine that emphasized the preservation of material artifacts that has caused them to be frozen in the past, not allowing for evolution. A material-based approach and its weaknesses are expressed by Poullos (2014) using Angkor in Cambodia (a World Heritage Site) as an example. Heritage authorities have promoted tourism development at the site, which has negatively affected the community associated with the site by restricting and removing them from the site (Ayoubi, 2015). The limitations in a material-based approach is that they overlook the living dimensions of heritage places by emphasizing the tangible heritage, which breaks down the communities’ connection with their heritage (Wijesuriya, n.d.).

Values-Based Approach

The heritage preservation at Chaco Culture National Historical Park (CCNHP), NM is an example of a values-based approach to conservation (de la Torre, MacLean, & Myers, 2005; Poullos, 2014). The park has been occupied by multiple indigenous groups for over 8,000 years; Navajo occupied it in the late 16th or 17th century, but over time the land has been taken over by the National Park Service (NPS) (de la Torre et al., 2005). The Navajo continue to live in local communities around CCNHP. According to de la Torre et al. (2005), only the NPS is allowed to manage CCNHP, and stakeholder groups can only be involved in consultation. Stakeholder refers to a group or a person with an interest in heritage (e.g. the local community and groups that have an interest in heritage preservation that are not conservation professionals). A values-based approach focuses on the discontinuity between the material objects which are considered a part of the past and the present community, and does not

prioritize the core-community; discontinuity between the past and the present contradicts the continuity of the original function (Poulios, 2010). Conservation professionals having managing authority over all the stakeholder groups runs counter to the role of the core-community in the management of their living heritage site; one could argue that conservation professionals in a way deprive the core-community of its association with the site (Poulios, 2010).

The mission of the NPS is to preserve the natural and cultural resources and values of CCNHP for the enjoyment and education of present and future generations (de la Torre et al., 2005). Is this what indigenous groups intended it to be? Community involvement in the restoration of the site is allowed, but under the supervision of park authorities. In 1937, local Navajo stonemasons repaired large Chacoan structures that were deteriorating from exposure to wind, rain, freeze-thaw cycles, and archaeological excavations (de la Torre et al., 2005). Even though Puebloan cultures originally occupied CCNHP, the NPS has assumed management of the Park.

The Getty Conservation Institute has been involved with values-based site management planning, and produced a series of case studies using this approach (de la Torre et al., 2005; Sullivan & Mackay, 2012). One of these case studies is on the Hopi Pueblo, providing a Hopi perspective on the preservation of their ruins and culture. Including the Hopi in the restoration process has helped to better understand the ruins at Flagstaff Area National Monuments (Sullivan & Mackay, 2012). Researchers learned, problems arise when sites have unrestricted visitation; this causes damage to the site and disturbs religious practices. Matero (2004) explored conservation strategies for Ancestral Puebloan sites; trails were moved away from walls and out of kivas and were filled in with compacted dirt to allow continual use. Field re-evaluation after four years has proven the method to be effective (Matero, 2004). These examples of a values-based approach to preservation expresses priority of tourism development at Ancestral Puebloan sites.

Living Heritage Approach

Living heritage refers to cultural practices, traditions, and values that continue to have meaning to generations of people as individuals and communities. Kimball et al. (2013) explains that living heritage is meant to be altered and added to. Living heritage should be protected in a transformative fashion; to adore the past is simply not enough. “Livingness” is embedded in Buddhist religious heritage, and is synonymous with continuity. The conservation of the Bauddhanath Stupa in the Kathmandu Valley, Nepal best expresses the process of a living heritage approach to conservation (Ayoubi, 2015). The Bauddhanath Stupa, one of the largest stupas in Asia, is the ancient symbolic representation of the Great Buddha (Ayoubi, 2015). “A *cetiya* (stupa) should be treated as a living Buddha. All respect and honour that one pays to the Buddha should be paid to the *cetiya* as well” (Wijesuriya, 2005: 33). The stupa represents spirituality rather than the physical continuity of the structure itself. The Bauddhanath Stupa is one of the best representations of a living heritage approach to conservation because it focuses on the continual process of creation by the core-community.

Restoration of the Bauddhanath Stupa occurs two to three times a month; bags with colored powder and saffron flowers are sold in order to raise money for the Stupa’s conservation (Ayoubi, 2015). The restoration process is not only undertaken by the Buddhist community associated with the Stupa, but also volunteers who want to contribute to the restoration by lubricating the prayer wheels, and removing the remaining ashes from incense sticks (Ayoubi, 2015). Maintaining usage of traditional materials is exemplified in the restoration of the Stupa; the community uses naturally produced paints rather than paints with chemical substances because the restoration process is a sacred ritual (Ayoubi, 2015). Due to Nepal’s long monsoon season, rainfalls are expected every day, and because of this, the restoration of the Stupa can be washed away in a single day (Ayoubi, 2015). The constant restoration of the Stupa demonstrates the

community's ongoing spiritual connection with the site and their visceral attachment to their faith.

Buddhist ideologies of conservation express an approach similar to a living heritage approach (see Kimball et al., 2013; Poulios, 2014), because priority is given to conserving tangible and intangible heritage as one entity. There are three underlying categories in Buddhist heritage: intellectual, intangible, and tangible (Wijesuriya, 2005), which are also the main components in a living heritage approach. There is a direct correlation between Buddhist heritage and a living heritage approach to conservation. According to Buddhist philosophy, the conservation of sacred objects and sites form an inseparable bond with religious rituals (Ayoubi, 2015). Sacred objects and sites are continuously being restored or reconstructed; the livingness is the main characteristic of objects and sites associated with Buddhism (Ayoubi, 2015).

Significance of a Living Heritage Approach

The aim of a living heritage approach is the maintenance and enhancement of continuity (Poulios, 2010). This research does not express a new conservation model, rather, it brings a new perspective to the conservation of dynamic cultural sites. A living heritage approach is preferred because it sustains the heritage that continues to have meaning to the core-community associated with these sites, and is a long term sustainable solution to the management of these sites. Core-community refers to the community that is directly associated, contributing, and living within a heritage site. Taking a living heritage approach to conservation rather than a material- or values-based approach will promote and support the continuity of heritage at such sites.

Importance of Community in a Living Heritage Approach

There is a common agreement among multiple scholars (Berkes, 2004; King, 2003; Parker & King, 1998; Poulios, 2010, 2014; Wijesuriya, n.d.) that the core-community is what creates continuity at a living heritage site. Continuity allows for the evolution of traditions, religious practices, and values of cultures. A living heritage

approach aims to respect communities by recognizing their identities as associated with a cultural site. This is achieved by gaining background knowledge of the site's history, ethnography, and understanding the core-communities' association with the cultural site (Berkes, 2004, Parker & King 1998). Cultures maintain their tangible and intangible heritage differently; therefore, understanding a culture's priorities and values is vital in understanding the continuity of their heritage.

Conservation Organizations

Conservation organizations impact the degree that cultural and natural sites are funded for conservation. The following organizations are concerned with the conservation of world heritage sites: The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), The World Heritage List, and the World Monuments Fund (WMF). The WMF is a private nonprofit organization that has been involved in preserving traditional constructions and training craftsmen in these techniques (*Conservation*, 2012). UNESCO has 10 criteria, 6 for cultural sites and 4 for natural sites, which determine if a site is eligible to be on the World Heritage List. A site can be removed from the World Heritage List if the site has deteriorated to the extent that it has lost characteristics that previously qualified it on the World Heritage List (Feilden & Jokilehto, 1998). Should a heritage site be maintained to avoid removal from the World Heritage List, or is deterioration a part of the evolution of a site and its heritage? The General Conference of UNESCO adopted the World Heritage Convention on November 16th, 1972 in order to ensure the identification, protection, and conservation of cultural and natural heritage in the world for future generations (Poulios, 2014). UNESCO adopted the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) in 2003 and it came into effect soon after. This became an increasingly popular instrument and soon incorporated the theme of 'living heritage' into its activities. However, intangible heritage approach has also been criticized for its lack of a holistic view on heritage by only

emphasizing the intangible aspects (Wijesuriya, n.d.). A current trend has emerged among these organizations, moving toward a more inclusive approach to conservation.

The International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) has been showing increasing interest in the living dimensions of heritage sites. ICCROM is an intergovernmental organization that was founded by UNESCO in 1959 (ICCROM, 2015b). ICCROM created its first course, promoting a people-centered approach to conservation in October, 2015. This course, 'Engaging Communities in the Conservation of Nature and Culture', is available to faculty at ICCROM (ICCROM, 2015a). Community Management of Protected Areas Conservation (COMPACT) and ICCROM emphasize the importance of community engagement in management at the site level (Brown & Hay-Edie, 2014; Poullos, 2014). ICCROM has been running the Living Heritage Sites Program, which aims to develop and support a living heritage approach (Poullos, 2014); socio-cultural activities are as important as the material fabric because they express the values of a culture (Wijesuriya, n.d.).

An organization specific to the New Mexico region is the Northern Río Grande National Heritage Area (NRGNHA), established on October 12, 2006. It is a non-profit organization that serves as the management entity for Taos Pueblo, Santa Fe, and Española (NRGNHA, 2013). Its mission is to help sustain the communities, languages, cultures, traditions, heritage, and environment of these regions (NRGNHA, 2011).

The History of Taos Pueblo

Taos Pueblo, a Northern New Mexico Pueblo, is a cultural site considered an authentic living heritage community that continues to engage with traditional religious practices and ceremonies. The true beauty of Taos Pueblo is the community's unceasing relationship with the Pueblo and the land. It is one of the most ancient heritage sites in the United States; it was established along the Río Grande in New Mexico around 1100 A.D.

(*Conservation*, 2012). A legend of the Taos Pueblo Tribe suggests that the deep shadows of the Río Grande Gorge were where the first people emerged from to get to the new world (*Conservation*, 2012). Taos Pueblo is a UNESCO World Heritage Site, two miles north east from the modern town Taos.

Violent contact with the Spanish since the late 1400's is the reason Northern Pueblos are resistant to outsiders (Leo & Anderson, 2007). There are 2,500 registered tribal members, approximately 150 live within the Pueblo walls, while 1,400 live around Taos Pueblo, and the remaining members reside throughout the United States. The Taos Pueblo Tribal Government consists of the Tribal Council, which comprises 45 to 50 elderly men who are all former Governors and Lt. Governors. The Governor's Office, whose responsibilities are the people and all civil matters is the most demanding and functions six to seven days per week. The War Chief's Office is staffed with younger men and their responsibilities are the land and animals. The Governor and War Chief staff members are appointed annually by the Tribal Council. The community living within the historic pueblo walls lives without running water or electricity.

Taos Pueblo was inscribed on UNESCO's World Heritage List in 1992, one of only 23 such sites in the United States (*Conservation*, 2012). Taos was designated based on UNESCO's Criterion (iv): Pueblo de Taos is a remarkable example of a traditional type of architectural ensemble from the pre-Hispanic period of the Americas unique to this region and one which, because of the living culture of its community, has successfully retained most of its traditional forms up to the present day (UNESCO, 2015). Taos Pueblo was also designated a National Historic Landmark on October 9th, 1960, which is the most elevated status bestowed by NPS because such sites possess exceptional value or quality in illustrating or interpreting the heritage of the United States (*Conservation*, 2012). Because Taos Pueblo was inscribed on UNESCO's World Heritage List and designated a National Historic

Landmark, this expresses Taos Pueblo's value and significance as a living heritage site.

The National Park Service nominated Taos Pueblo to the World Monuments Watch in 2009 in order to create a World Heritage management plan to maintain its status (*Conservation*, 2012). The WMF has been collaborating with the Taos Pueblo Tribal Council since 2010 to develop a restoration project at Taos Pueblo due to the Watch announcement (*Conservation*, 2012). The nomination of Taos Pueblo to the World Monuments Watch resulted in the creation of a training program in construction methods for tribal members and the conservation of Sub-House 2, an 11-family dwelling which was in the state of deterioration (*Conservation*, 2012).

METHODOLOGY

Researcher Stance

I have an educational background in Art History and Anthropology which are two specific lenses that guided my research at Taos Pueblo; both lenses allow me to appreciate both the tangible and intangible qualities about Taos Pueblo. My Anthropology background has taught me to understand a culture through an emic perspective. I undertook the study without any prior hypothesis to avoid predetermining my observations and the information that was extracted from the interviewees. Empathic neutrality was the perspective I took when I interviewed residents.

I intentionally chose to study Taos Pueblo over Mesa Verde, CO and Chaco Canyon, NM because immersing myself in a culture that continues to practice traditional customs was essential to understanding a true living heritage site. Taos Pueblo was the first living cultural site I visited, and I was aware that I would experience a unique culture. I was not an expert of Taos Pueblo's culture when I visited Taos, but I prepared myself by understanding the history of Taos to present respect when introducing myself to residents. A vital component in this ethnographic research is recognizing there are multiple ways to conserve living heritage; each dynamic cultural site has different conservation

techniques. My intentions were to represent the people of Taos Pueblo through their perspective. I asked residents to help me create meaning and gain understanding of the culture through their experiences and knowledge.

Theoretical Perspective

Rapid Ethnographic Assessment Protocol (REAP) guides this research because it emphasizes the understanding of community involvement in order to create a connection between the community and the site. The task of rapid assessment is to reach a more rational decision-making processes in real-life circumstances (Taplin, Scheld, & Low, 2002). REAP is appropriate for project-driven applications because it provides a great deal of cultural information within a short amount of time.

Data Collection Procedures

The Taos Pueblo Governor's Office granted me permission to study at Taos Pueblo. My stay at Taos Pueblo spanned 3 days in December of 2015. The purpose of this study is to identify Taos Pueblo as a living heritage site based on their conservation practices and understanding how they maintain their tangible and intangible heritage. To understand Taos Pueblo's conservation strategies, I conducted semi-structured interviews and participant observation in the Tribal Government Office and in the Pueblo.

I conducted one-on-one semi-structured interviews with five residents of Taos Pueblo over the age of 18 through snowball sampling. Semi-structured interviews maintain relevancy to the research topic while allowing the true voice of the participant to be included during the interview process. I was introduced to other residents of Taos Pueblo through snowball sampling. I was welcomed by a family that became interested in my research. Historical and background research on Taos Pueblo aided in the production of the interview questions which includes open ended questions and probing. Participants had ample flexibility to comfortably share their thoughts, feelings, opinions, and experiences related to the

research topic. I was given a tour of Taos Pueblo on the morning of Christmas Eve and was shown the modern changes of the Pueblo, some that were approved of and some that were not. The tour guide pointed out the damages throughout the exterior of the adobe homes as well as changes done to the homes such as framed glass windows, doors, propane tanks, and cemented buttressing.

Data Analysis

I inductively analyzed interview transcriptions in NVivo to identify themes. Through open coding analysis, I was able to efficiently evaluate common trends among each transcription and probe deeper to understand the perception of each Puebloan. Simultaneous coding was an unconscious process because each code had multiple meanings and were coded into several nodes. Transcriptions were coded under appropriate themes through deliberate line-by-line analysis. Codes were placed under appropriate themes. Axial coding was used during the second round of data analysis to examine how the sub-themes are related, this allowed me to group them according to similarities and the overall meaning behind the subthemes.

Member Check

To ensure quality control, member checking includes contacting original participants in order to verify the interpretations and quality of the data. This step is to verify that the themes and findings were consistent with the ideas, perspectives, and opinions of the participants. One participant was contacted to confirm or disconfirm the themes that were found during coding as well as the description of the Pueblo and the people of Taos. Consistency of the findings is essential when conveying participants' viewpoints on the topic and helps confirm credible and accurate findings.

FINDINGS

The residents of Taos Pueblo expressed different levels of conservation strategies and concerns about their culture which differed with gender and age. One-on-one interviews allowed me to get a better understanding of the resident's

perspectives about conservation. Stories of residents from Taos Pueblo whom I interviewed are laid out in the next section using pseudonyms to protect their confidentiality. The themes are further described in each story.

Diego

I was warmly welcomed by Diego, a tribal elder, when I arrived at Taos Pueblo on the 23rd of December. "As a child, I grew up in our Pueblo house on the South side, food was cooked on the wood stove and the bathroom was a walk away. I was never taught the Tiwa language, but grew up learning it and speaking it in the home, like everyone my age, we learned songs and dances. On cold nights from the top of the house you could hear the buffalo grinding their teeth about two miles away and during the spring run offs you could hear boulders rolling under the fast moving water. These sounds are now drowned out by the sounds of vehicles and planes."

He explained, "we are a very secretive tribe...so sometimes if I catch myself going a little too far I will stop and then rephrase it because we are trying to protect [our culture] as much as we can." Keeping their culture confidential is a way for the people of Taos to protect their heritage. Diego focused on the construction aspect and explained how the adobe homes are maintained. He stated, "we make mud mixed with straw to plaster the homes. We may take off a chunk and put on new plaster and that's how they're repaired every year." Diego is concerned about the jets and military planes flying over the Pueblo because he stated, "I think it's all these years of vibrations that makes the walls crumble."

Traditional aspects of the Pueblo include traditional burials; "The cemetery is located on the West side within the walls, which is where one of the first churches was built at Taos Pueblo, but it was destroyed in 1847 by the U.S. Calvary and cannon fire. It is now where we bury our people using traditional burials; we do not use caskets or coffins." He went on to explain traditional living of the people of Taos, "there is no electricity, no running water, and no indoor

plumbing within the Pueblo.” The river that comes from Blue Lake runs through Taos Pueblo and is the main water supply for the residents. Another traditional aspect is traditional clothing styles, which have changed. Diego stated, “Women wore a shawl and young boys and older men wore traditional blankets, but they don’t want to wear it anymore.” Throughout my stay at Taos Pueblo, I noticed that Diego wore the traditional clothing under his modern clothes. Both males and females wore the traditional clothing during the ceremonies on Christmas Eve and Christmas Day.

Diego explained that the process of learning the Tiwa language as a child was mainly listening and imitating. He then expressed his concern about the loss of Tiwa language fluency, “When I was growing up, I thought everyone grew up learning the language, I never thought people would lose the language. Now we have to teach our own language, but it is difficult because it is like learning a foreign language, and even the teachers don’t know how to go about teaching the language. It seems like every other pueblo in New Mexico is running into the same problem.” It shocked me to hear Diego say, “We never thought we had to teach the language”; this demonstrates their confidence in the continuity of their heritage without any type of vitiation. He then stated, “Back in the day, we didn’t know English would take over and no one thought about teaching Tiwa, but now that we are losing our language we have to figure out how to teach it efficiently. We are really trying hard to teach our kids how to speak the language, and when they speak now it sounds kind of funny because they can’t really pronounce the words.” He expressed his concern about the Tiwa fluency, “I’m worried; my little nieces are having trouble but I have to teach them. They can teach it in school from 1 to 3, but when they go home [they speak] English.”

George

George is a tribal elder in the Tribal council who starts off by explaining the Taos Pueblo Preservation Program where “in 2007 there was effort underway to start to secure money to start

renovating a lot of these buildings because they were getting neglected and they were in danger of falling in.” Ground penetrating radar was one of the processes to build the structures just as they were originally. In order to maintain the integrity of the adobe homes, George stated, “Ideally, I’d like to see a group of five men that are permanently in place that will do nothing but stuff having to do with preservation.”

A few of the maintenance projects he talks about are drainage, raising the grade of the homes, snow removal, and yearly plastering of the homes. “We had to have a crew that is on standby for heavy snow...so my vision of having a permanent crew is coming to fruition.” He goes on to explain that even the historic wall along the edges of the Pueblo is still traditionally maintained, “that wall has to be maintained because that used to be the protection wall at one time. Everything inside that wall [has] a code that has to be followed, you can’t put big pitch windows and you can’t do too modern of a fix on your house, so we have to follow these traditional rules. These traditions that are in place just like the fixing of the fences - fence mending- we have to all do it as a community. That’s what you have here, a sense of when you have to do something and the leadership of the tribe he knows he has to get the men together...whether it be in the mountains or [in the Pueblo]. We still go by that.”

Benjamin

Benjamin is in his 20’s and experienced traditional living in the Pueblo when he was younger, “since we have such small homes, our families used to sleep family-style [which is when] everyone sleeps in one room to stay warm.” He shows his concern about people not living in the Pueblo full-time, “I think my parent’s generation is one of the last generations that lived in the Pueblo mostly throughout their childhood.” Benjamin explains that when teaching traditions, it must be “little by little because if you overwhelm them...it’s more discouraging. When I grew up, older generations were really strict about the way you said and did things, if you got it wrong they would get after you and reprimand

you. My generation [is] a lot more relaxed, so we will try to teach the younger generations, but we won't reprimand them if they get it wrong."

Benjamin explained that he takes part in the maintenance of the adobe homes. "Usually, [plastering the homes] was the tradition of the women's job, but these days the men are the ones that do that, so I will do that every year [too]. As of late, it is not typical for women to plaster homes." He also took part in the TPPP last year and explained that they still use traditional building material.

I asked Benjamin if he dresses in the traditional clothing while he is in the Pueblo, and he responded with, "I am just hanging out here in the café, so I am dressed in American clothing, but anytime you're going to do anything traditionally you have to dress in our native dress." In order to protect their heritage, I was asked not to describe the traditional clothing worn during ceremonies.

Cecilia

Cecilia is in her 60's and has lived in the Pueblo her entire life. "My grandparents raised me traditionally. I speak the [Tiwa] language fluently and I never spoke to my grandparents in English..." She explains about the importance of balancing the traditional and modern lifestyles, "...we should have a balance between the Indian and the non-Indian world because if you have too much of the non-Indian world you cannot function in the Indian world [and vice versa], so if you have a balance of both then you can survive in either..."

Cecilia stated, "to preserve the culture, the women remind the children and teach them the corn dance." She explains her responsibility as a tribal elder, "If we see one of our nieces or nephews not doing something that is right whether it's tradition or everyday life, it's our job to advise and to counsel, but nowadays these kids call it being reprimanded. It's not reprimand, they are just not used to that anymore." This brings me back to when Benjamin referenced being reprimanded when he was younger; it clearly shows the generation gap.

Andrea

Andrea is in her late 30's and lived in the Pueblo until she was about 4 years old. She stated, "I wish we could resort back to spending more time in [the Pueblo]." She explained that family homes that are passed down are "used as a gathering place for holidays, feast days, and very few people now live in the Pueblo...I wish I could [have] give[n] my kids the experience of having an upbringing in here." She explained the importance of involvement and experience, "Giving them that experience, even if it's a little taste of it they appreciate it, but if they never have it, they don't understand it and they don't grow up wanting to preserve it because it's something of the past, and our traditions are very much alive as modern as we are today."

Just as Cecilia explained about the children learning the corn dance at home, Andrea reiterated, "the practice has to happen in the home, so you can practice and explain the purpose of the dance and what they are supposed to do...and the tribal officials usually direct the dances and tell them which position to stand in or which direction they are supposed to move, and the women are there as a support." This is where she explained that giving the children encouragement and positive reinforcement was the best way to pass down traditions. Family is important to the culture. Andrea stated, "This day [Christmas Eve] that is designated for the kids to dance...is a family event because we have our bonfires this evening and the families gather and they share food together, they open presents, they may go to mass, they pray together...the ceremony within itself just being with family is really important and just that constant interaction."

Andrea explained her role as a woman in Taos Pueblo. "Women have always been...more of the nurturers caring for the children, making the home feel like a home, that's always been the responsibility of the woman, and for us, being that our culture is living, it's not something that we do at a designated time once a week." Both Andrea and Cecilia shared the same perspective of

balancing the traditional and modern lifestyles. Andrea explained that “balancing out our native traditions and also Catholicism...is important to give my kids because I would hope that as they grow older they will identify with the importance of having the balance of the two religions because they do complement each other.”

DISCUSSION

Each participant focused on different aspects of conservation during the interviews. The male tribal elders, which were in positions of authority, reiterated the importance of restoring the adobe homes. George was hired for one of the restoration projects to restore some of the stories on the North building in the Pueblo. Diego explained the positive impact that the TPPP had on the reconstruction of the adobe homes; the program has been ongoing since 2007 and continues to play an integral role in the continuity of the Pueblo’s tangible heritage. The female tribal members had different perspectives of conservation compared to the male tribal elders. Their main concern was teaching the new generations the Tiwa language and keeping them involved in the ceremonies and everyday life in the Pueblo. Both females had children that grew up in the Pueblo but are now living in the modernized town surrounding the Pueblo. Andrea continues to participate in sacred ceremonies throughout the year; she is a role model for her children by maintaining the connection to her heritage through participation.

Certain themes were not discussed in the stories of the residents which will be described in this section such as unapproved documentation of the Pueblo. There are books and journal articles that have been published without the direct approval of the people of Taos. Such documents contain information about Taos Pueblo that should have remained undisclosed. There are particular aspects of the traditions that are too sacred to publicize, thus such documents that exploit parts of the traditions are disrespectful to the people of Taos. An important aspect when conserving living cultures is the protection of

sacred heritage, which is what I aim to protect in this research.

To refrain from generalizing the people of Taos, I must articulate that only some grandparents and parents reprimand their children. The residents that were interviewed are not meant to generalize the people of Taos as a whole; even though they are one community, there are nuances within each family. Aspects of the ceremonies are not part of the Taos Pueblo traditions, rather they are modern additions due to colonization and influences from the modern town surrounding Taos Pueblo. Regardless of modern changes to the tangible and intangible heritage, King (2003) explains, “you’ve got to consider whether a potential change constitutes an adverse effect in the eyes of those who value the property. It doesn’t matter whether it looks like an adverse effect to *you*; the question is, does it look like an adverse effect to the people?”

Continuity of heritage is key to conserving the tangible and intangible heritage at dynamic cultural sites. In order to understand the continuity of heritage at Taos Pueblo I utilize Poullos’s (2014) criteria of continuity which includes (1) the continuity of the site’s original function, (2) the continuity of the community’s connection with the site, (3) continuous traditional care of the site by the community, and (4) evolving tangible and intangible heritage expressions of the site. I identified Taos Pueblo as a living heritage site through the evaluation of their conservation strategies in conjunction with Poullos’s (2014) continuity criteria:

- 1) The people of Taos express the importance of maintaining traditions and reconstructing the adobe homes in order for the Pueblo to continue to fulfill its original purpose. The environment in which Taos Pueblo is situated is essential to their survival and continues to maintain its original function as they continue to utilize the river from Blue Lake as their main water supply.
- 2) Taos Pueblo is the sacred homeland of the people of Taos and they explained that they feel responsible for the care of the site.

Ownership and passing down property to next generations keeps each generation connected to the Pueblo. I spoke to a family in a home that belonged to a relative of theirs that passed; the home is a family tie that expresses their connection with the Pueblo.

- 3) Traditional care of Taos Pueblo includes the annual reconstruction and maintenance of adobe homes. “[They] get the dirt up in the mountains and then bring it down and mix it with dry straw” (Diego). These traditional materials continue to be used when restoring and plastering the adobe homes.
- 4) Minor changes to adobe homes have come about over the past thirty years because the need to protect themselves from colonization has diminished; therefore, residents have added bigger windows, propane tanks for better heating, and metal gutters for efficient drainage of rain. However, the changes do not necessarily mean that the heritage is being lost. Integrity of association and integrity of condition is not always linked when it comes to what is essential to a culture (King, 2003).

The definition of conservation is different in each culture; therefore, I identified how the people of Taos defined conservation and what it meant to them and their culture. Andrea stated, “The idea is to preserve the original buildings the way that they are.” Continuous care and maintenance of tangible and intangible heritage is of utmost importance to the people of Taos, and I promote the importance of involving the core-community in the protection of their heritage. The traditional knowledge of the core-community is unique to the culture and is only truly understood by the residents of that community, which is why conservation professionals, stakeholders, or any form of outsider cannot properly manage and conserve the heritage of dynamic cultural sites.

The continuity of Taos Pueblo’s heritage is evident, but there is also evidence that the indigenous culture is evolving due to Western influences and the generation gap. Evolution is the result of cultures being influenced by other local or accessible cultures. The evolution of Taos

Pueblo’s culture has proceeded at a relatively slow pace; the modern town surrounding the Pueblo was created when electricity was introduced in the 1970’s and since then, Taos Pueblo has slowly added modern changes to their adobe homes such as petroleum tanks, glass windows, and metal drains for water.

Immersing myself in a culture through an emic perspective revealed things I did not intend to find. There were major concerns about the evolution and changes of Taos Pueblo’s heritage that have been and continue to be influenced by the modern town surrounding the Pueblo. The concerns include decline in youth health, loss of language fluency, residents living outside the Pueblo, and modern changes to adobe homes. In order to properly address these concerns, the core-community must be involved in the decision making process and management in order to create sustainable solutions that are agreed upon by the core-community.

Anthropologically-sound solutions involve the core-community – Taos Pueblo in this instance – being completely in charge of the management, decision making, and implementation of conservation strategies. A strategy for a sustainable solution is not the restriction of modern conveniences to the people of Taos; rather, establishing a healthy balance of the modern world and the traditional world. An example of a healthy balance was described by Cecilia, “we should have a balance between the Indian and the non-Indian world because if you have too much of the non-Indian world you cannot function in the Indian world, if you have too much of that Indian world you cannot function in the non-Indian world. So you have a balance of both then you can survive in either, and that’s what we’ve done.” Andrea explained the importance of balancing the native and Catholic religions “...for me it’s been a very fine balance of both religions, I have faith in both and I feel that that is important to give my kids because I would hope that as they grow older they will identify with the importance of having the balance of the two religions because they do complement each other...”

Spending time in Taos Pueblo surrounded by the traditional cultural values gave me a different perspective of the culture, which enabled me to understand why dynamic cultural sites cannot be conserved using material- or values-based approaches because these approaches do not take the core-community into consideration. A living heritage approach puts the core-community in the driver's seat and gives them full control over the management of heritage conservation. My objection is to expand and improve upon the living heritage approach because this approach does not take into consideration the concerns a cultural site may have about their heritage conservation. To best conserve dynamic cultural sites, the community's needs must be understood, and what must be understood is that each cultural site has slightly different needs and objectives. The approach used to conserve dynamic cultural sites must be flexible and correspond with evolving cultures.

Specific to Taos Pueblo, future research should broaden and increase the sample of participants. Spending more time at the cultural site would help the researcher better understand traditional practices and unique conservation strategies. Expanding this research to other Puebloan sites in NM will add to the knowledge of the different conservation strategies and common threads among each culture.

CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of transcriptions through Poulivos' (2014) framework has shown that the conservation practices at Taos Pueblo reflect a living heritage approach. Taos Pueblo has successfully conserved their traditional tangible and intangible heritage with the exception of some evolving heritage. Living heritage approach demonstrates the limitations in other conservation approaches such as the lack in community involvement in the management and protection of heritage sites. Change is a key component in the continuity of heritage; changes in tangible and intangible heritage can only be declared as adverse effects by the core-community of a culture. The purpose of this research is to

differentiate living heritage sites from inactive sites by appreciating and understanding the intricate management systems through the perspective of the core-community.

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