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Book Review: Cultural Resource Laws and Practices: An Introductory Guide by Thomas F. King

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for satisfaction that most working class people have, without being revolutionary. It would be dangerous to lose sight of this.

The historical archaeology of capitalism as advocated in this book is nothing new; we have all heard it all before. Whether we accept it or not, this is how the field must be defined. Attempts to construct a de-politicized definition, whether framed as the intersection of material culture and text, or based on the role of individual agency, is doomed to fail. The final question has to ultimately be whether our research will support capitalism or critique it. I suggest we "just do it."

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CULTURAL RESOURCE LAWS AND PRACTICE: AN INTRODUCTORY GUIDE, by Thomas F. King
1998, Altamira Press, Walnut Creek, CA. 303 pages, 9 figures, \$46.00 (cloth); \$22.95 (paper).

Reviewed by James Symonds

Cultural Resource Laws and Practice is the first volume in a new series entitled Heritage Resources Management, from the University of Nevada, Reno. On the inside of the dust cover the series editor, Don Fowler, proudly tells us that the series is based upon successful seminars sponsored by the University of Nevada and that the individual volumes have been designed to serve as "workshops

between book covers." Herein we will find case studies, worksheets, and checklists, along with "worldly advice" from experienced CRM professionals.

Thomas King rises to this challenge with panache and an idiosyncratic flamboyance. The book covers the field of CRM systematically, under three broad section headings: "Background and Overview;" "Law and Practice;" and "Bringing It All Together." King defines the intended scope of his book in the introductory chapter. This is not a legal reference book, *per se*, although useful appendices are included covering "Abbreviations, Definitions," "Laws, Executive Orders," "Regulations," a "Model Section 106 Memorandum of Agreement," and a "Model NAGPRA Plan of Action." Readers in search of the full texts of laws or regulations are sensibly advised to consult the World Wide Web. Nor is this intended to be a cookbook that contains a series of recipes or how-to strategies: "For such people I'd suggest culinary school rather than CRM, although I think you'll find that even the temperature at which water boils depends on the altitude," King comments dryly (p. 11). Instead, the book sets out to examine the *process* of CRM: how, given the constellation of legislation, regulations, and contingent issues, "possibilities get explored, selected, and implemented" (p. 11).

Inasmuch as all CRM is essentially the management of change (and this includes paradigmatic perspectives) *Cultural Resource Laws and Practice* is presented as a contribution to an ongoing debate, replacing King's earlier co-authored text (King, Hickman, and Berg 1977) and supplementing a body of related theory (Murtagh 1977; Fitch 1982; Stipe and Lee 1987; Cantor 1996; Burdge 1994). Although the book is primarily intended as a text for college and university students, including continuing education classes, it is also regarded by the author as being of interest to a wider audience: "environmental and historic preservation personnel in federal and state agencies, local governments, and Indian tribes, and consultants in environmental and historic preservation work" (p. 5).

So how far does King succeed in his attempt to guide the reader through the labyrinth of cultural resource laws and prac-

tice? The text is written in an informal style, almost as if it has been transcribed directly from the spoken word. In places one has the feeling that avuncular wisdom is being dispensed from the arms of a faded-leather armchair: "OK, so let's suppose you've completed an identification effort—whatever this may have entailed—and you've found something that *might* be eligible for the National Register, but you don't *know* whether it is. What do you do in order to decide?" (p. 73). The conversational style was probably selected to place the student audience at ease, but may irritate some readers. Elsewhere in the book (e.g., Chapter 3, "The Players") the decision to list federal agencies and their respective responsibilities breaks the text up into a series of short paragraphs, perhaps reflecting the use of overhead transparencies in the spoken performance.

These small criticisms should not be taken to detract from the undoubted value of the advice and information contained within this book. The two chapters at the core of the book, Chapter 4, "The Umbrella: The National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA)," and Chapter 5, "Impacts on Historic Properties: Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA)," offer 112 pages of measured, and frequently amusing, prose. I particularly enjoyed the discussion of the consultation process under Section 106: "be careful about participation by lawyers. You can't keep the devils out of the room, but don't take any guff from them. Despite their self-perceptions, they are not the sole receptacles of all wisdom, and their training and personalities are often precisely at odds with the interests of dispute resolution" (p. 121).

The term CRM was coined more than 25 years ago, and the field has expanded rapidly over this time, so much so that it now employs the vast majority of professional archaeologists in US government and private-sector organizations. The idea that cultural residues may be regarded as a manageable resource has gained acceptance in the UK, western Europe, Australia, and many regions of the developing world. It may therefore be pertinent to conclude this review by examining how *Cultural Resource Laws and Practice* can contribute to the

growing field of international CRM studies—or more specifically to the situation in the UK.

As a CRM practitioner based in the UK I found the book to be of interest, partly because it gave me a voyeuristic insight into the workings (and at times failings) of the US system. Five years ago I contributed a short commentary to this journal comparing contract archaeology—the "coal-face" of much CRM work—in England, to commercial practices in North America (Symonds 1995). At that time I was able to draw some depressing parallels between the two systems. Both, it seemed to me, were characterized by low pay, job insecurity, a tendency for low bidding, off-the-peg sampling procedures, and a preoccupation with satisfying the client as paymaster, rather than engaging with the ultimate sponsors, the general public.

There were, however, two big differences. First, far more work was instigated and funded in the US by federal government agencies. In England the onus was placed on commercial development companies to mitigate against the potential impacts arising from their actions. Second, approaches to CRM in England lacked the anthropological angle. There were no "Native English" peoples (or so it seemed) to claim land rights, or to lobby for the restitution or reburial of human remains. An imaginary national past of Beefeaters, country houses, cream teas, and pre-WWII social values was invoked by the word *heritage*, which was taken as a blanket term for inherited and shared culture (Brisbane and Wood 1996: 4).

Meanwhile, the majority of English archaeologists concentrated their efforts on the *archaeological record*—evidence of cultures that had preceded us in time (usually pre-AD 1700), but were safely dead and gone. The preface to the most recent British equivalent to King's book, *Archaeological Resource Management in the UK*, illustrates this dichotomy:

The title includes, as far as we are aware, a new coining in the phrase "archaeological resource management"... "archaeological" seemed preferable to "cultural" as a description of the material covered. Furthermore, at a time of increasing recogni-

tion of the erosion of the archaeological record, we considered it more appropriate to focus attention on the significance of archaeological remains as "resources" rather than as "heritage." (Hunter and Ralston 1993: vii–viii; see also Pugh-Smith and Samuels 1996; Cookson 2000)

The situation in England has been changing dramatically in the intervening years and there is now a convergence towards doing things the American way. The election of a Labour government (which has openly appropriated many of the policies of the Clinton administration) in 1997 led to the replacement of the Department of National Heritage with the Department of Culture, Media, and Sport. The concept of *heritage* is now regarded by government as having negative connotations: "Establishment definitions can have the results of concealing or denying some people's pasts: officially endorsed values can separate many people from their past" (English Heritage 2000). Those of us working within CRM are now charged with the responsibility of exploring social inclusion and cultural diversity, as the government attempts to make English pasts available to ethnic minorities and other disenfranchised social groups.

This brings me full circle to King, and to the relevance of *Cultural Resource Laws and Practice* to international CRM studies. The book is based upon American federal law. For this reason much of the detail is likely to be scan-read by those working in other countries. The relevance, however, derives from the central premise that CRM is about people, not things, and that all sustainable solutions have to be negotiated through a process of consultation and response (p. 9):

The cultural environment, the corpus of "cultural resources," is a big, complex, intricate mosaic of things and institutions and values, beliefs and perceptions, customs and traditions, symbols and social structure.... As a result, "Cultural resource management" needs to be a great deal more than archaeology, or architectural history, or folklife, or historic preservation. It needs to deal with management of the whole cultural environment.

In our dealings with cultural resources we would do well to take heed of W. B. Yeats' famous injunction

*I have spread my dreams under your feet;
Tread softly because you tread on my dreams.*

(W. B. Yeats, "He Wishes for the Cloths of Heaven")

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RACE AND AFFLUENCE: AN ARCHAEOLOGY OF AFRICAN AMERICA AND CONSUMER CULTURE (CONTRIBUTIONS TO GLOBAL HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY), by Paul R. Mullins 1999, Kluwer/Plenum Academic Publishers, New York. 217 pages, \$59.95 (cloth).

Reviewed by Maria Franklin

Paul Mullins is the leading scholar on African-American consumerism and the material symbolism of bric-a-brac amongst historical archaeologists. He is also one of a small number of historical archaeologists who grounds their research explicitly in the analysis of race and racism. It should therefore come as no surprise that his first book provides a definitive statement on the relation between race and materialism, and the significant role that consumer culture played within black Annapolitan society from 1850 to 1930. One of Mullins's main theses is that through consumerism, blacks were variously able to contest imposed racial subjectivities. Moreover, despite white racism, blacks viewed consumer culture as a strategic means to potentially stake a claim on American citizenship, with all the rights and privileges that came with such a status. Throughout the book, Mullins effectively demonstrates how black Annapolitans, as a group and as individuals, both negotiated their identities and social positions through material symbolism and challenged societal inequalities through their consumption practices.

In *Race and Affluence: An Archaeology of African America and Consumer Culture*, Mullins presents complex questions and arguments framed within a clearly articulated theoretical position that reaches beyond the simplistic consumer studies that view material culture as a reflection of identity, or which focus on function or price (as an indicator of status) in the analysis. He also refrains from homogenizing African Americans, indicating that people enacted diverse political strategies and cultural and consumer practices for different reasons and to achieve varying ends. While arguing persuasively that material consumption could and often did enable blacks to oppose white racism and redefine themselves