

**THE USE OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESOURCES FOR THE BENEFIT OF RURAL  
COMMUNITIES IN EL SALVADOR**

by

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## **Abstract**

In many countries around the world, archaeological resources are seen as an opportunity for social, cultural and economic development. El Salvador is a step behind in taking advantage of their rich archaeological heritage as a means of development. In El Salvador, a weak relationship between government and academia regarding rural communities living near archaeological sites hinders the implementation of strategies that could lead to the management and use of archaeological resources for the benefit of those communities. This triadic relationship is referred to as the “Triangle of Inclusion and Cooperation” (TIC). The objective of this work is to strengthen alliances/partnerships between the three entities included in the TIC, to provide a framework for addressing the uses of local resources, including other alternatives of development according local concerns and needs. The TIC required a thorough exploration and review of published and unpublished studies, government and academic files, interviews with Salvadorian cultural experts, and by personal observations in the field.

This study is the first English subject thesis to provide a comprehensive history of the institutionalization of archaeology in El Salvador and to identify factors that shaped the current management of archaeological resources. Its historical process is framed in a socio-political context which is also analyzed in order to understand the level of inclusion of rural communities in academic and government issues. Students, scholars, government officials, and general society will find in this document a broad examination of the management and development of archaeology and its potential in this Central American country. The study represents an important improvement in interdisciplinary studies as it advances the understanding of archaeological management and its implications. It also contributes to the debate concerning the ultimate use and purpose of archaeological studies and policy adopted to protect and develop cultural resources in any country.

## **Preface**

This project was approved by the UBC Okanagan Behavioural Research Ethics Board to carry out interviews and fieldwork in El Salvador under certificate number H12-02742.

Some ideas of this research were shared by this author in a lecture given at a Maya congress called “The Maya Dawn” in Huelva, Spain, in November 2012, in which the author was sponsored by UBC Okanagan.

For the purpose of this study, the author has permission to use all of the information gathered from archaeological reports and governmental files concerning archaeological issues, according to Decree 534, given by the Salvadorian Legislative Assembly on December 2nd, 2010, as part of the Law of Access to Public Information.

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## Abbreviations

- AMSS: Metropolitan Area of San Salvador. In Spanish it stands for *Área Metropolitana de San Salvador*.
- ARENA: The Nationalist Republican Alliance party (El Salvador). In Spanish it stands for *Alianza Republicana Nacionalista*. This party is one of the main political powers in El Salvador.
- CNR: Salvadorian National Registry Centre (El Salvador). In Spanish CNR stands for *Centro Nacional de Registro*.
- COMINTERN: Third Communist International (Russia).
- CONCULTURA: National Council for Culture and Art (El Salvador). In Spanish it stands for *Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y el Arte*. The Department of Archaeology was part of this institution.
- CRM: Cultural Resource Management. This term is used for the practice of management of cultural resources, including archaeological investigations and conservation, as well as intangible culture. CRM is involves in institutions in charge of cultural issues, such as museums, archaeological parks, galleries, and governmental offices.
- CTMPI: Multi-sectorial Technical Committee of the Indigenous People(El Salvador). In Spanish it stands for *Comité Técnico Multisectorial para los Pueblos Indígenas de El Salvador*.
- DA: Department of Archaeology (El Salvador). This Department was part of the former CONCULTURA and today is the same Department that is part of SECULTURA.
- DIGESTYC: General Statistics and Census Administration (El Salvador). In Spanish it stand for *Dirección General de Estadísticas y Censos*.
- ICAHM: International Committee on Archaeological Heritage Management.
- ICOMOS: International Council of Monuments and Sites.
- IFAD: International Fund for Agricultural Development.
- FAMSI: Foundation for the Advancement of Mesoamerican Studies.
- FMLN: The Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front party (El Salvador). In Spanish it stands for *Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional*.
- FUNDAR: National Foundation of Archaeology (El Salvador). In Spanish it stands for *Fundación Nacional de Arqueología*.

GDP:	Gross Domestic Product.
INAH:	National Institute of Anthropology and History (Mexico). In Spanish it stands for <i>Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia</i> .
INTERPOL:	International Police.
JICA:	Japanese International Cooperation Agency.
MARN:	Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources (El Salvador). In Spanish it stands for <i>Ministerio del Medio Ambiente y Recursos Naturales</i> .
MINED:	Ministry of Education (El Salvador). In Spanish it stands for <i>Ministerio de Educación</i> .
MITUR:	Ministry of Tourism (El Salvador). In Spanish it stands for <i>Ministerio de Turismo</i> .
MUA:	Museum of UTEC. In Spanish it stands for <i>Museo Universitario de Antropología</i> .
MUNA:	National Museum of Anthropology “Dr. David J. Guzmán” (El Salvador). In Spanish it stands for <i>Museo Nacional de Antropología “Dr. David J. Guzmán”</i> . This is the main national museum in El Salvador, and works under the administration of SECULTURA.
MUPI:	Museum of the Word and Image. In Spanish it stands for <i>Museo de la Palabra y la Imagen</i> .
NGO:	Non-Governmental Organization.
OPAMSS:	Planning Office of the San Salvador Area. In Spanish it stands for <i>Oficina de Planificación del Área de San Salvador</i> .
PCS:	Salvadorian Communist Party. In Spanish it stands for <i>Partido Comunista Salvadoreño</i> .
PNC:	National Civil Police (El Salvador). In Spanish it stands for <i>Policía Nacional Civil</i> .
REA:	Rapid Ethnographic Assessment. This a technique used in anthropology and social sciences in order to provide a rapid assessment of socio-cultural issues, perspectives, and changes (Gwynne 2003, Carley <i>et al.</i> 2012).
SECTUR:	Secretariat of Tourism (Mexico). In Spanish it stands for <i>Secretaría de Turismo</i> .
SECULTURA:	Secretariat of Culture of the Presidency (El Salvador). In Spanish it stands for <i>Secretaría de Cultura de la Presidencia</i> . It was previously known as CONCULTURA. The DA is part of this institution. SECULTURA has existed since 2009.
TIC:	Triangle of Inclusion and Cooperation.

- UBC: University of British Columbia.
- UES: University of El Salvador. In Spanish it stands for *Universidad de El Salvador*.
- UNESCO: United Nation Educational, Science and Cultural Organization.
- UNIDROIT: International Institute for the Unification of Private Law.
- UTEC: Technological University of El Salvador. In Spanish it stands for *Universidad Tecnológica de El Salvador*.
- VMVDU: Vice-Ministry of Housing and Urban Development (El Salvador). In Spanish it stands for *Vice-Ministerio de Vivienda y Desarrollo Urbano*.

## **Glossary**

**Academia:** In this thesis it is understood as the community or society of scholars who are engaged in studies related to history, culture, and archaeological activities, supplying academic knowledge for the use of general society. That knowledge is used in issues related to heritage protection, CRM, the uses of archaeological resources, museums studies, ethnography, linguistics, and others. In theory, this knowledge can be used to strengthen cultural identity, national cohesion, and increase social and economic development.

**Academic archaeological projects:** Activities based upon research strategies and goals aiming to resolve a particular research question. These studies are many times carried out in archaeological remains that have already passed through the process of legal mitigation.

**Academic reports:** Studies written by archaeologists in order to solve academic questions, supported by government and private institutions such as universities and foundations. These reports are attached to supplementary documents, which include progress reports, field diaries, plans, technical drawings, traces, digital files, dating analysis results, photos and videos, and additional sketches related to the investigation.

**Archaeological artifact (artifact):** Material remains made or used by people that are studied by archaeologists to get information about those who made and used them (Society for American Archaeology 2013). Artifacts include pottery, lithic and obsidian, metal, ecofacts, coal, bones, wood, and pigments. In this thesis artifacts are considered archaeological resource.

**Archaeological excavation (excavation):** This is an archaeological technique used to expose, recover and study archaeological remains in their spatial context. Excavations are carried out in order to obtain detail information about chronology, stratigraphy, site extension, construction and architecture patterns, materials, cultural contexts, and human activities in general.

**Archaeological park:** An archaeological area protected and prepared to receive visitors. This protection involves legal mitigation, conservation and permanent supervision of archaeological remains, as well as surveillance.

**Archaeological reports:** Reports derived from archaeological studies. These reports include the process, description, results and conclusions of archaeological surveys, test pits, excavations, and material analysis. Include academic reports and mitigation rescue and salvage reports.

**Archaeological resources:** Archaeological evidence and information that provides any kind of benefit, whether economic or educational. These resources can be found as sites, features, and artifacts.

**Archaeological site (site):** Any place where material vestiges of the human past remains (Society for American Archaeology 2013). Archaeological sites can vary according to chronology and types of archaeological remains, and can range from simple obsidian workshops or burials to complex ancient villages and cities. Monuments and samples of building material are often considered part of an archaeological site. In this thesis sites are considered archaeological resource.

**Archaeological window:** An *exposé* of archaeological remains *in situ* used to protect archaeological resources and give them public use, serving as a tourist attraction and educational tool. Windows are clear covers or open air sites that allow the public to view archaeological remain in context.

**Central government:** A public administration at a state level. The central government is led by a constitutional president and a congress, having power to make laws, and create national institutions and organizations. In El Salvador it is elected by popular elections every five years. In other countries it is also known as a federal government. According to the Political Constitution of El Salvador, the government is the entity that represents the State's authority exercised by political parties within a democratic system (Asamblea Legislativa de El Salvador 1983).

**Centralized system:** Management and decision-making is located in the capital city, exerting political and economic power over local communities around the country.

**Classic period:** A Prehispanic period in Mesoamerica, between 250 AD to 850 AD.

**Colonial period:** A chronology that covers the Spanish colonies in America (1521 AD – 1821).

**Conservation:** A practice that attempts to preserve ancient evidence by employment of a specific methodology.

**Cultural Resource Management:** Known as CRM, it first appeared in the North American context in the early 1970s (Green and Doershuk 1998; Kerber 1994; Lipe 1984). CRM is defined in many different ways, referring to methodological or philosophical approaches to activities that affect cultural resources. These activities include preservation, use, protection, research, legislation, study of development means, and actions upon cultural issues, including archaeology (Kerber 1994:2-7). According to Wildesen (Fowler 1982:1), in the U.S., it can be understood as “the application of management skills



(planning, organizing, directing, controlling, and evaluating) to achieve goals set through the political process to preserve important aspects of our cultural heritage for the benefits of the American people.” This term can also be used to benefit rural communities in the Latin American context. In practice, CRM is concerned with the research, interpretation, and uses of cultural resources, as well as rescue, salvage, and conservation of archaeological, historical and anthropological records. CRM delves into the management of intangible and tangible heritage.

**Decentralized system:** Management and decision-making is distributed around the country, away from a central location, giving local communities power and control over their resources.

**Ejidos:** Communally-held indigenous lands.

**Ilopango:** A volcano located in the Central region of El Salvador. It is considered to have had the largest volcanic eruption in America during the last 2,000 years, recorded in about 536 AD.

**Intangible heritage:** Also known as immaterial heritage. Includes folklore and cultural traditions, language, oral traditions, knowledge concerning native medicine, local culinary, and other expressive cultures that are part of local knowledge.

**Institutionalization:** The creation of the government structure mandated to oversee heritage resources.

**Legal mitigation:** A legal mandate government instituted resolution regarding the charge, care, and control of archaeological resources.

**Local government:** An autonomous government elected by popular elections every three years. Each of these governments administers a municipality territory, and their local power is confined according to the executive, legislative and judicial power of the state.

**Mancomunidad:** An administrative system conceived by grouping municipalities through different territorial extensions.

**Material analysis:** Can range from microanalysis, dendrochronologies, zooarchaeology, radiocarbon, thermoluminescence, archaeomagnetism, analysis of volcano ashes, sediments, palynology, typology and seriation. These analyses can be undertaken while in the field or in highly complex and elaborate laboratories.

**Mesoamerica:** A macro cultural region extended from the north of Mexico, through Guatemala, Belize, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and the north-west of Costa Rica. This region includes a mosaic of Indigenous cultures which interacted in Prehispanic times, sharing cultural traits, technology, and trade.

**Mestizo:** Used to define individuals with both Indigenous and European roots.

**Mitigation rescue:** These activities attempt to record and extract archaeological remains from their original context that is under imminent destruction. In El Salvador, mitigation rescues are those interventions applied to those sites that cannot be protected. Include pedestrian surveys, test pits and excavations, requested by the government for legal mitigation.

**Mitigation salvage:** Those interventions that attempt to protect archaeological sites by giving coordinates, areas, and archaeological data. Include pedestrian surveys, test pits and excavations, requested by the government for legal mitigation.

**Modern sites:** Archaeological sites from the 20th century that are considered part of local heritage.

**Municipality:** A territory run by a mayor elected by its constituents. This territory has a principal city surrounded by smaller communities.

**Preclassic period:** A Prehispanic period in Mesoamerica dated between 2500 BC to 250 AD.

**Prehispanic period:** A chronology before the Spanish colonies in America (2500 BC - 1521 AD).

**Postclassic period:** A Prehispanic period in Mesoamerica dated between 850 AD to 1521 AD.

**Republican sites:** Archaeological sites in El Salvador dated from the year of independence to present (1821-Present).

**Restoration:** A practice that aims to reconstruct or recreate ancient evidence.

**Rural communities:** Non-urban communities located in the countryside, and composed of small villages or scattered houses. Life in these rural communities is based on agriculture.

**Survey (archaeological):** Archaeological practice carried out in order to locate and record ancient remains in certain areas and often resulted in a map with the location of archaeological remains. The information gathered enables to plan a formal archaeological study that could include excavation. These surveys can be practiced by adopting whether a systematic or unsystematic method to look for the archaeological remains.

**Tangible heritage:** Comprehends cultural and historical remains, such as archaeological resources, historical archives, handicraft production, and art expressions.

**Test Pit:** An exploratory excavation practiced to probe or gather samples from archaeological sites, or detect possible archaeological remains, and recover preliminary information. This technique also enables to understand local stratigraphy, geomorphology, and to designate an area for future excavations. Test pits are also practiced to understand site extension.

**Triangle of Inclusion and Cooperation:** A system-model used in this thesis to understand the interrelationship between government, academia, and rural communities as the main stakeholders for the use and management of archaeological resources.

**Underwater archaeology:** Archaeological practice that includes the application of techniques in sites located underwater.

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To my wife Raquel  
and my daughter Rebecca

## **Chapter 1 Introduction**

Around the world, many countries have been able to manage and use some of their archaeological resources for the benefit of the nation and the communities where the resources are found. Countries such as Mexico (Piedras Feria 2006), Spain (Pardo 1996), and Japan (Mizoguchi 2007; Tanaka 1984) have a long history experimenting with various socio-economic models for charting the development of archaeological resources. These models can generate revenue, strengthen cultural identity and protect archaeological sites. Although El Salvador is rich in archaeological resources, they have never been developed in ways that promote local economic growth and identity. In this thesis, I argue that weak relationships between the closely linked government and academia with rural communities living near archaeological sites hinders the implementation of strategies that could lead to managing and using archaeological resources for the benefit of those communities. A strong, effective, and collaborative relationship between these three parties would create conditions for social and economic development, enhance national and local identity, and protect archaeological resources for the benefit of both the nation and communities around the sites.

Building a mutually beneficial relationship between government, academia, and rural communities is long overdue in El Salvador. This triadic relationship can be referred to as the “Triangle of Inclusion and Cooperation” (TIC). The three points of the triangle are the main actors in the development and management of archaeological resources in my country. I will argue that once members of those local communities with archaeological resources will, once included in the dialogue and decision making about the future of those resources, perceive the benefits of inclusion, and develop a sense of responsibility and commitment to look after those resources (Downum and Price 1999; Durbin 1981; Green 2001; Green and Doershuk 1998; Smith 2006; Vitelli and Pyburn 1997; White 2010:487).

Recent Salvadorian history encompasses 12 years of armed conflict that lasted from 1980 to 1992, and a Postwar period that entails massive social and political transformation. This study was motivated by my personal experience working as a government official and freelance archaeologist in the years following the armed conflict. In order to successfully carry out my archaeological work, extensive contact with rural communities located near archaeological sites was required. Part of what I did and what interested me a great deal involved a series of formal and informal interviews with people in local communities, as well as participant observation involving local people and archaeological resources. I have documented much of the content of these interviews and observations in reports and publications (Valdivieso 2013, 2005a, 2003).

I found that communities often cry out for help and seek government programs to help them benefit economically and socially from archaeological resources in or near their communities. Although two decades have passed since the war ended, the government is still not fully responding to the concerns of rural communities about a range of problems, including their desires to be involved in local archaeology. Knowledge and artifacts obtained from archaeological projects are often not shared with the local communities that live around archaeological sites. Consequently, individuals often state that they see no difference between archaeological excavations carried out by experts, and those carried out by looters. In both cases, artifacts and knowledge from their local sites are not shared with the local people, the sites end up irreversibly damaged by excavations, and the community is no better off.

El Salvador is a country with rich archaeological potential in the throes of heavy demographic pressure. Its government institutions have inevitably been shaped by long periods of social and political instability. Alternative strategies to protect and develop archaeological resources are urgently needed. Any proposal to gather information and exert effective management requires a thorough study upon the way existing institutions operate, and of the role of different stakeholders involved in decision-making. The role of scholars in the political arena is key to mitigating this problem.

Throughout history, archaeologists in Latin America have played a central role in the political life of each nation (McGuire 1993:103). Governments tend to view academia as the main source of theoretical trends that shape archaeology and its application. What happens in academia, therefore, is critical in whether rural communities are part of the process. Governments can and do utilize academic knowledge to promote social and economic development based on archaeological resources (Downum and Price 1999; Green 2001; Sabloff 2008; Vitelli and Pyburn 1997). Therefore, it can be argued that scholars exert an important influence on the management of cultural resources. Thus, academia can be crucial in creating policies that are part of either a centralized or decentralized system. Concepts about the role of archaeology and who can and should participate in its activities can be roughly described as the world view of archaeologists at any time and place. Attitudes as well as theoretical trends coming from academia are a vital element in guiding government management into new avenues of development, including fostering the use of local resources for local peoples.

Academic influences within the government may have the power to restructure legislation, shape the apparatus and machinery of government, and transform a centralized system into a decentralized system. These changes all aim to enhance the practice of

archaeology, the use of archaeological resources, rural community involvement, and social inclusion. Once academia is slanted towards a certain management model involving local people, the government apparatus works as a vehicle to introduce archaeological knowledge and practices within communities and society. Rural communities must be part of these government systems in order to be involved in decision-making with national institutions and academia. To utilize archaeology as a tool for social and economic development, it is necessary to recognize the local setting.

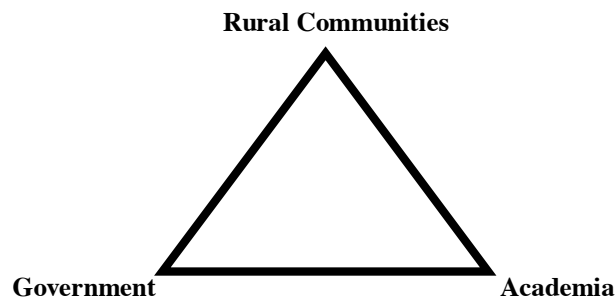
Historically in El Salvador, governmental institutions and academia have both used archaeological resources, but excluded the participation of communities near archaeological sites. One such example is the Mayan site of Cerén, a World Heritage site (Beaudry-Corbett 2002; Fowler Jr. 1995; Sheets 2011). Cerén has been broadly studied and exploited as a tourist site for many years. However, not a single community around Cerén has ever benefited from such studies or tourist development (Lara Martínez 2003). Cerén has never been used to invigorate the local economy and handicraft industry as is the case in Mayan sites such as Palenque and Chichén Itzá in Mexico (Fonte 2008; Litvak and López Varela 1997; Mundo Maya 2013; Piedras Feria 2006; Schejtman 2008). As in Mexico, archaeological resources in El Salvador could also be used to benefit communities around them by promoting local economic growth through the sales of handicrafts and the implementation of other economic strategies, like combining the use of archaeological parks and museums with the promotion of local heritage as a lure for tourism (Cerdan, Flores, and Martins de Souza 2007; Fonte 2008; Green 2001). Furthermore, the knowledge obtained from archaeological studies (e.g. ancient agriculture, ethno medicine, building techniques, and irrigation), could also be used by people from these communities to improve their living conditions.

Given the potential benefits of archaeology in other countries, why have archaeological resources in El Salvador not been used in order to promote local economic growth, and strengthen cultural identity and social inclusion? The answer, as this thesis argues, might be found in the recent history of El Salvador, which discloses factors that trigger mismanagement and exclusion. Archaeological management seems to be linked with the social and political context and historical process.

In attempting to answer this question, I undertook a comprehensive review of Salvadorian history and a review of the development and institutionalization of archaeology. Relationships between government and academia emerged as important factors in understanding this historical trajectory.



In the position adopted in this thesis, government, academia, and rural communities are the main stakeholders for the uses and management of archaeological resources in El Salvador. The relationship of these three entities are diagrammed in the TIC (Figure 1). Put into practice, the TIC requires a method that quantitatively and qualitatively analyzes government management of archaeological resources, academia development, and the involvement of rural communities.



**Figure 1. Triangle of Inclusion and Cooperation (TIC).**

Using the TIC as a conceptual tool will help fill the previous lack of studies rooted in understanding and creating mechanisms through which archaeological resources can benefit rural communities. To reach an even-handed triadic relationship between the three entities included in the TIC, five steps are required:

- (1) A comprehensive review of the historical uses of archaeological resources as background to understanding the current state of management of archaeological resources and related institutions.
- (2) A thorough understanding of the current government organizational structures and the current uses of archaeological resources.
- (3) Identify areas that may need changes within the government and the academic sector in order to move this agenda forward. These changes should be enshrined in legislation, government structures and mitigation procedures, and academic practices. Local infrastructure should be considered as well.
- (4) Identify the way archaeological resources have been promoted, including the social involvement of particular groups, budgets, and the role of landowners with archaeological resources found on their estates.
- (5) Identify the possible fate of archaeological resources after academic studies have been concluded that clarify the current role of rural communities in the uses of these resources.

The TIC paradigm makes the following assumptions. First, academia, as the community of scholars engaged with archaeological studies, is the entity that exerts influence in government actions in El Salvador. The nature of the work conducted by scholars allows them to maintain contact with rural communities and archaeological resources. Academia, therefore, can be a channel for expression of the concerns of communities to the government. Any change that aims to benefit rural communities based on local archaeological resources would be facilitated by academics through their role as government advisors on these matters.

Second, the government (that receives academic proposals and recommendations) has the power to execute any changes that aim to benefit rural communities based on local archaeological heritage. As a guarantor of cultural heritage, this entity is responsible for enforcing the laws and protecting and developing archaeological resources. Presumably, this could include local involvement in archaeology. Certainly that development would require a close relationship between the government and rural communities. Its role would be establish and support programs by allocating budgets toward specific goals, monitoring projects, and disseminating knowledge derived from academic projects.

Third, in the TIC model, rural communities, as the sector that resides near archaeological sites from which artifacts are taken and where archaeological research is conducted, should be one of the primary beneficiaries of these resources. Rural communities are also the primary source of local or traditional knowledge and, in all likelihood, of labor for working on archaeological sites, and they will best know how such a program would contribute to addressing their needs. The relationship between government officials and academics in achieving involvement of local communities is crucial.

### **1.1 Goals**

The main goal of this study is to provide a clear strategic vision that would help to promote rural economic growth and strengthen cultural identity and social inclusion by an efficient use of archaeological resources in El Salvador framed in the TIC. To achieve this goal, the following specific objectives must be met:

- (1) To present a comprehensive study of the history of the institutionalization of Salvadorian archaeology.
- (2) To demonstrate the level of relationship that exists between the three entities included in the TIC.
- (3) To provide a course of action that enables a symmetrical relationship between the three entities included in the TIC in order to give more voice to rural communities in the uses

and management of their local heritage. It aims to bring specific recommendation from which rural communities can hold a sustainable relationship between the sectors included in the TIC, and contribute to research strategies at a local level.

As a resulting effect of the TIC, a greater participation of local people in archaeological projects is expected, and the uses of the local archaeology for the benefit of rural communities might be included in the government agenda. Archaeological studies can be used to deal with social problems and solve concerns of rural communities. It is also expected that the TIC can bring local people closer to understand their archaeological heritage. In addition, an even relationship between the three parties included in the TIC will create mechanisms in which information derived from archaeological projects can percolate within people who live near archaeological sites.

This thesis provides, for the first time, a broad historical perspective on the institutionalization of the Salvadorian archaeology embedded in a socio-political context. As the first thesis about the uses and management of archaeological resources in El Salvador, it can serve more broadly as a critical look at the management of archaeological resources in different contexts. It also contributes to the debate regarding the ultimate use and purpose of any archaeological study, and how to involve people in the uses of their local heritage.

Following the Introduction, the structure of this thesis is as follows. Chapter 2 provides a general description of the study area, and it is followed by a theoretical framework. It also sheds light on the historical factors shaping current management of archaeological resources in El Salvador. This is framed in a social and political context of the history of the institutionalization of archaeology in this country with attention paid to external influences. Chapter 3 examines the current academic involvement in the management of archaeological resources in this country, and explores new paths of cultural resources and archaeological management based upon Latin American experiences. Chapter 4 addresses the methods used to gather data and interpret the current management of archaeological resources. Chapter 5 presents data and critically evaluates the rise and development of archaeology and its management in El Salvador. Chapter 6 gives a discussion and conclusion of the existing relationship between government, academia, and rural communities. It features a discussion of the asymmetrical involvement of the three entities included in the TIC regarding the management and the uses of archaeological resources. In order to achieve the goals of this thesis, a course of action is offered in which archaeological resources can be used to benefit rural communities.

## **Chapter 2 El Salvador and Historical Context**

The first section of this chapter presents a general description of the study area. The second part deals with the theoretical framework as the basis for the study of rural communities' inclusion regarding the uses of their local resources. Linked with the theoretical perspective, the third part of this chapter provides a historical overview of the social and political factors that shape the current cultural resource management (CRM) in El Salvador. A comprehensive review of the socio-political context lays the groundwork to understand the development and institutionalization of archaeology in El Salvador, as is presented in the fourth section of this chapter.

### **2.1 Area, Demographics, and Political Administration**

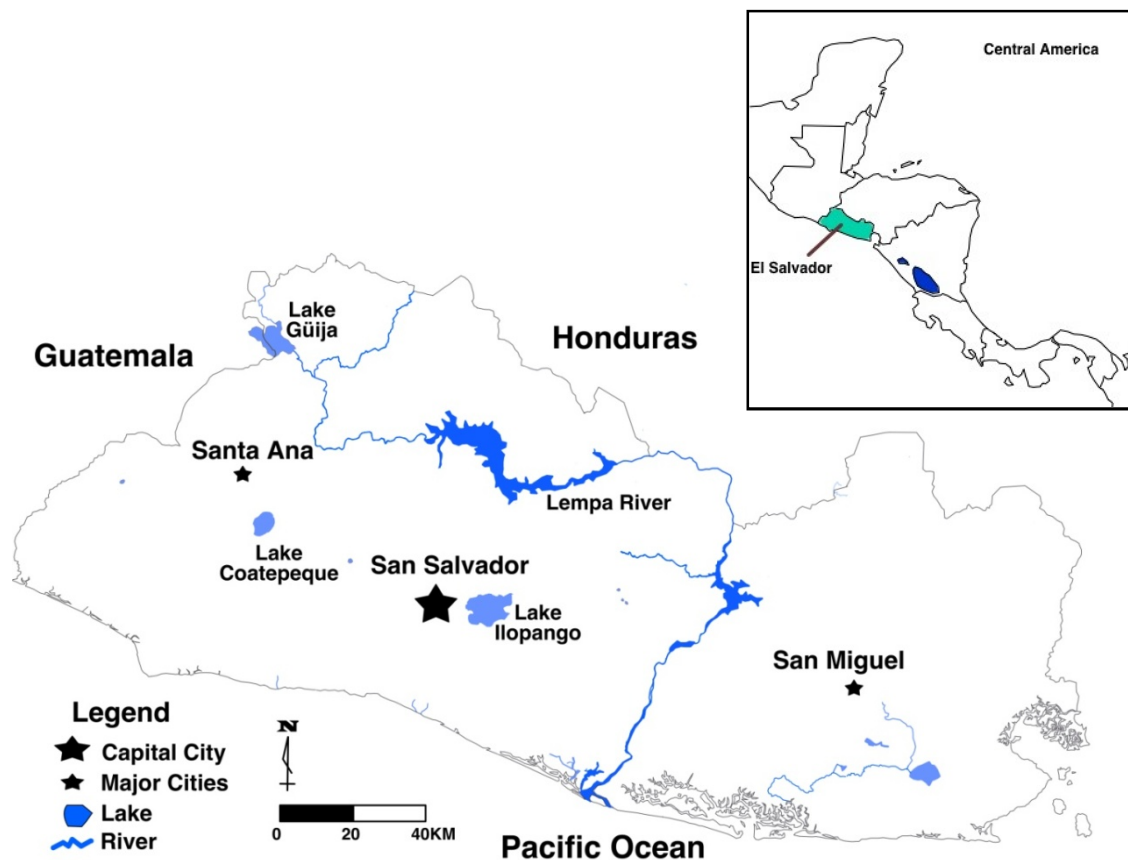
El Salvador has over 5,744,113 inhabitants (Ministerio de Economía 2009:32) in an area of 21,040.79 square kilometres (Ministerio de Economía 2008:29), with a rural population of about 2,145,277 (36.8% of the general population) (Ministerio de Economía 2008:33). The capital city is San Salvador, and Santa Ana and San Miguel are the second most important cities (Figure 2). Politically, the country is divided into 262 municipalities (Appendix D) and every municipality in El Salvador is considered as an independent community (CTMPI 2003). Rural communities are minor communities sectors included within municipalities.

According to the Salvadorian Municipal Code (Asamblea Legislativa de El Salvador 2000), the municipality is the smallest political administrative unit within the State organization. Each municipality has no less than 10,000 inhabitants (Asamblea Legislativa de El Salvador 2000:7). The municipal government, also known as the local government, manages rural and urban communities, and is made up of a municipal council headed by a mayor, who is considered the main government authority and functions as a community leader. The council, represented by the mayor, is elected by popular elections for a three-year term, and is comprised of a trustee, and from two to ten councilors. The number of councilors depends on the size of the population in each municipality. The trustee works as an advisor of the mayor and council, and the council has the responsibility to approve or reject the mayor's proposals. This style of political administration guarantees popular participation in decision-making and the management of local communities, giving autonomy to local people in coordination with the central government and state policies.

The municipal government is responsible for managing local interests with the central government, passing local bylaws, protection and exploitation of natural resources, collecting taxes, water and sewerage management, local infrastructure, street lighting, cleaning and

maintenance, public safety and traffic, supervision of slaughterhouses, organizing popular festivities, regulation of public amenities, as well as managing local parks, public venues, cemeteries, utilities, constructions permits, and other public services. The municipal government is also responsible for the promotion of education, art and culture, sport, recreation, science, health programs, and environment. However, while most archaeological sites in El Salvador are located in rural areas, municipalities have no control over them since their administration is based on a centralized system represented through the Secretariat of Culture of the Presidency (SECULTURA). Although the management of archaeological resources is not a part of the municipality's responsibilities, archaeologists often work closely with local governments on their projects, but under the supervision of the central government through SECULTURA.

According to SECULTURA, El Salvador has 671 recorded archaeological sites (Valdivieso 2007a:311). Eight of these archaeological sites are monitored by this institution, five of them are equipped as archaeological parks, and one of these sites, Cerén, was declared a World Heritage Site by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 1993.



Source: Political administrative-division adapted from a public map of El Salvador available at the National Register Centre in El Salvador (CNR 2000:13). Data adapted by the author.

**Figure 2. El Salvador in Central America, Including Main Cities, Lakes, and Rivers.**

Although most archaeological sites in El Salvador have Prehispanic origins, Indigenous and local communities are not involved in educational or archaeological programs related to these sites. The existence of “genuine” contemporary Indigenous communities is still subject to some debate, since in El Salvador the boundaries of ethnic indigenous identity are blurred with European roots (Albarracín-Jordan 2008b; Bruhns and Amaroli 2010; Cañas-Dinarte 2005; Chapin 1991; Guevara 2010; Lara Martínez 2006; Marroquín 1975; Rivas 2005). According to the last official population census taken by the government in 2007, only 0.2% of the population, equivalent to 11,488 individuals, is considered to be Indigenous (DIGESTYC 2013; Rodríguez Oconitrillo 2011:148). However, recent DNA studies demonstrate that most Salvadorians have Indigenous ancestors (Salas et al. 2009). While the debate on the authenticity of Indigenous groups in El Salvador might be a question pending future studies, the present thesis cannot assign specific ethnic groups or ethnic territory.

## **2.2 Theoretical Framework**

The weak relationship between the three entities included in the TIC have their roots in historical conflicts that are in turn embedded in political and economic affairs. These conflicts have been explored through the history of development in a number of modern societies and as a general phenomenon of the modern world (Green 2001). These studies shed light on the way local resources are managed by central governments. In the case of much of Latin America, governments responded to external interests within the capitalist system for extended periods of time. The result in many different historical contexts was to exploit a major segment of the population and to ignore local concerns, resulting in a widespread failure to use local resources for the benefit of rural communities or to address serious social and economic problems for the larger part of the population.

The supremacy of Western thought during the last century permeated many societies including Latin America through the reinforcement of values, attitudes, beliefs, social norms, and legal precepts (Bintliff 1993; Escobar 1992; McGuire 1993). Gramsci (1971) refers to this process as *hegemony*, where the dominant class exercises direct control over the ideas and institutions of the state apparatus. Hegemonic ideas of development have been represented by modernist notions of progress based on the use of technology and science. These ideas have often been concerned with the economic growth within various countries (Curry 2003). In El Salvador, the management of local archaeological resources is lodged within this Western idea of development which has dominated the entire government and economic system. This situation is entirely in line with hegemonic patterns that ignore local concerns and needs.

Historically, El Salvador has been dominated by centralized governments that concentrate decision-making and power in the hands of a small economic and intellectual group. This system tends to leave out local concerns, guiding management toward external interests rather than attending to local needs. This might be the main reason why archaeological resources are not properly developed, used, and most of the time ignored as a source of development to benefit local communities.

The predominance of the hegemonic system in El Salvador can be explained by the Marxist theory of Dependency. According to this theory development is based on the replacement and transformation of local markets that intentionally leave out rural communities' interests (Dos Santos 1970). This theory emerged in the late 1940s to explain the internal development and the replacement of local economy as a result of the expansion of the hegemonic centres. These centres are classified as the economic powers from "developed" countries, aiming to dominate internal economies of the periphery, or the so-called underdeveloped countries (Dos Santos 1970; Karl 1997; Sampedro Alvarez 1978). According to this theoretical model, local structure or internal economies, respond to external interests, putting aside their own needs. This phenomena has gradually shifted local culture into globalized norms and modernization (Crothers 2013).

Modernity assumed that the wealth of the economic elite would "trickle down" and benefit society as a whole (Rostow 1960). In theory, "trickle down" seems like a viable path to reduce poverty and achieve economic progress. However, as Escobar (1992:419) points out, poverty has become sharper than ever, triggering mass migrations from the countryside into main urban areas, transforming them into inhospitable cities, exacerbating the social and economic crisis, and paving the way for social conflict. The increase of social and cultural crisis throughout the 20th century in "underdeveloped" countries is seen as a failure of the hegemonic approaches to "development". According to the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD 2013), rural poverty in El Salvador was the main cause of the armed conflict during the 1980s, and today is the main reason for migration abroad. Continuing social problems and inequality factors are still strong enough that they could trigger a new armed conflict (Meléndez 2013). Among other things, this increasing social and political distance made it difficult for the government to manage archaeological matters in the countryside. New alternatives for development are required.

Alternatively, Post-development theory suggests that the best means to protect and develop local resources for the benefits of rural communities can be achieved by giving more voice and authority to local communities (Escobar 1992, 1995). In the 1980s, Post-development in particular emerged in reaction to the failure of the hegemonic model, giving rural communities an opportunity to increase their quality of life and protect their interests according to their own concepts of development. Theoretically, Development functions as a powerful capitalist concept that does not take into account other economic logics and cultural views (e.g. refer to *Voices from El Salvador* 2013). As a theoretical model, Post-development changes the current understanding of development from a top down approach to a bottom up approach in order to include the voice of local communities, empower marginalized populations, and achieve socio-economic benefits. Development implemented in this fashion will undoubtedly shape the relationship between government, academia, and rural communities. Thus, this thesis relies on a Post-development concept, for it aims at involving rural communities with their local archaeological resources and to promote a symmetrical relationship with the central government and the academic sector.

### **2.3 Socio-political Context**

Although Indigenous people in El Salvador were the sovereigns of the land in Prehispanic times, where are they today? Some scholars argue that while Indigenous communities still exist, they are now voiceless (De Burgos 2011; Chapin 1991). For others, these people can only be recognized through an anthropologic perspective (Marroquín 1975). The low presence of Indigenous people in this country is a result of the devastating effects of the colonial era and the turbulent periods that followed the arrival of industrialization. This issue was exacerbated by the development and diversification of cash crop agriculture such as sugar cane, coffee and cotton (Anderson 1971; Chapin 1991). However, Indigenous people are found within rural communities, although not in their "purest essence". They are melted into the general peasant population (Chapin 1991; Marroquín 1975:759). Their culture is manifest in certain contexts, including traditions, handicraft production, cosmogony, family structures, and religious fervor (Henríquez Chacón 2011; Lara Martínez 2006). Nevertheless, the great abundance of archaeological resources scattered throughout the country from all the Prehispanic periods (Archaic, Preclassic, Classic, and Postclassic), is an indication of successful Indigenous development in the Salvadorian region. The Prehispanic Indigenous settlements are evident by different kinds of archaeological remains, such as agricultural furrows buried by volcano ash,



rock art, obsidian workshops, burials, ceremonial centres, ball courts and cities such as Cihuatán, Chalchuapa, San Andrés, and Quelepa.

Early human occupation in Central America can be traced back 12,000 years (Neff et al. 2003:820-821). Pollen samples provide evidence of possible agricultural activity in the Western region of El Salvador going back 5,500 years (Dull 2004:159). El Carmen, a 3,500 year old site located on the coast of Ahuachapán, is considered the earliest archaeological settlement in El Salvador (Arroyo, Demarest, and Amaroli 1993:242). Throughout the Prehispanic periods, local cultures were related to the greater Mesoamerican cultures such as the Olmecs, Mayas, Teotihuacan, and Toltecs (Amaroli 1991; Andrews V. 1986; Demarest 1986; Fowler Jr. 2011; Sharer 1978; Sheets 1983, 1978). However, local Indigenous groups were able to develop their own cultural traditions that made them different from others in the Mesoamerican region. The Prehispanic period in El Salvador ended in 1524 with the arrival of the Spanish conquistador Pedro de Alvarado (Alvarado 1996[1524]).

When the Spaniards arrived, this territory was known as *Cuzcatlan* (Cuscatlán), predominantly inhabited by Indigenous people that they called *Pipiles*, who spoke *Nahuat* (Amaroli 1991). But other Indigenous groups, such as the *Xincas*, *Chorties*, *Pocomames*, *Cacaoperas* and *Lencas*, also inhabited this land. The earliest written references of Indigenous people in El Salvador during the conquest and Spanish colonies can be found in letters, diaries, and reports written by conquistadors, missionaries, and governors' reports. The most well-known references come from: Alvarado in 1524 (1996); Díaz del Castillo (1976[1575]), as a witness of the conquest in this region in 1526; Marroquín in 1532 (1968); García de Palacio in 1576 (1996); as well as Alonso Ponce and Antonio de Ciudad Real, who visited the region in 1586 (Ciudad Real 1873). Although these references provide important data concerning Indigenous demographics, economy, and local production, they lack details about Indigenous traditions, language and culture in general. These colonial documents make an early distinction between being Spaniard and being Indigenous. Because these manuscripts were written by colonizing Spaniards, they generally emphasize the lack of interest in understanding local Indigenous cultures, and can be considered as evidence to trace the historical inception of social disparity in this region. However, a few years after the conquest, Bartolomé de las Casas (2013[1552]) visited the Spanish village of San Salvador in 1532 and provided a brief reference about the province of Cuzcatlán. This friar was one of few Spanish eyewitnesses who denounced atrocities during the conquest in the Americas.

In the late 1830s, Stephens (1971 [1841]), a well-known American explorer who wrote about the earliest political instability in the Central American region, visited the province of Salvador (known as El Salvador only since 1915). Although considered to be one of the most important figures in the rediscovery of the Mayan civilization, Stephens did not leave any reference concerning the archaeology and Indigenous culture of this province. Nevertheless, Stephens' legacy contributes to the understanding of the roots of political instability in the Federal Republic of Central America.

In the newly formed country initially named Salvador after 1840, the first academic appreciation of Indigenous people began in 1849 with Squier (1853, 1855, 1858) who describes the anthropological and archaeological aspects of this country. These descriptions are considered to be the foundation of archaeology and anthropology in Salvador. Three decades later, between 1887 and 1889, Hartman (2001) gave new ethnographic accounts and perhaps the first photographs of Indigenous settlements in the Western region of Salvador. This record might be the last images of Indigenous settlements in this country during the late 19th century. Simultaneously, the government of Salvador had developed a strong link with academia, founding the first National Museum in 1883 (Diario Oficial 1883) and paving the way into a new institutionalization of archaeology in the early 20th century. It was not until 1929 that the first Department of History in charge of archaeological matters was founded.

In Latin America, a movement to promote Indigenous culture and identity began to take place in the early 1900s. In Mexico, in the wake of the revolution during the 1920s, a populist nationalist ideology took control of the country glorifying the Aztec past (Paz 1985). Similarly, in Peru Indigenous movements sprang up giving voice and strengthening their Inca cultural identity (McGuire 1993:105). At this time in Latin America it seemed that nations were reconciling their past with Indigenous cultures; however, El Salvador was about to experiment the opposite.

In El Salvador, during the 1930s Indigenous exploitation and land expropriation sparked rural discontent that resulted in political upheaval. At that time, El Salvador had about 1,434,361 inhabitants, 61.7% of which lived in rural areas (Centro Centroamericano de Población [CCP] 2013:7). It was estimated that at least 75% of the population were *mestizos*, less than the 20% were Indigenous, and only 5% or less were *blancos* (Barón Castro 1978 [1942]:488-508). The economy depended on private industry, primarily coffee exportation, businesses owned by *criollos* and other wealthy foreign families. In the early 1930s, drastic social disparity pushed

Indigenous communities into one of the worst violent episodes of their recent history (Anderson 1971).

Until the 1920s, the *ejidos* (communally-held indigenous lands) were an ancient Indigenous system based in agriculture that these communities depended on. The *ejidos* were the economic base of Indigenous families that maintained cohesive communities (Anderson 1971). It has been estimated that this communal system occupied at least 25% of the Salvadorian territory in the early 19th century (Chapin 1991:9). Although this system was abolished by an edict published in 1881, the *ejidos* continued to exist until the early 20th century on a small scale; Indigenous families were not allowed to hold land titles. The *ejidos* were considered a system that hindered the agricultural development of the country, therefore they were systematically dismantled. First, Indigenous communities lost their lands located in the valleys, and later they lost those located in the hills. Indigenous lands became privately owned, and were gradually replaced by the coffee cash crop that became the major export commodity of the country during the first half of the 20th century. The government granted Indigenous communal land to planters free or at a very low cost, providing titles to the new owners in order to spur the coffee production (Woodward 1985:175). Coffee farmers, therefore, were the wealthy families that owned most of the land and were behind government decision-making (Anderson 1971). Many Indigenous families remained settled within the coffee farms, receiving a salary from landowners, which resulted in exploitation. Exploitation and land claims triggered social discontent. The Indigenous situation was exacerbated when coffee prices plummeted due to the economic international crisis known as the Great Depression in the 1930s (Woodward 1985), which affected coffee exportation. This crisis led to greater unemployment and reduction of salaries in the countryside (Anderson 1971; Woodward 1985). In this way, there were no social programs for the Indigenous population and peasants to improve their quality of life. This economic crisis increased social inequality between the wealthy and the peasants (Stanley 2010). In that time, the middle class had not yet developed strongly, as a U.S. army officer testified in 1931, “there appears to be nothing between these high-priced cars and the oxcart with its barefoot attendant” (Landau 1993:67). Nevertheless, craftsmen, small business owners, and minor landholders were considered part of the small middle-class sector of that time, living without ostentation (Anderson 1971:11).

In 1931, a coup led by the military elite overthrew socialist president Arturo Araujo and installed vice-president Hernández Martínez in the presidency (Stanley 2010). This president

was sympathetic to wealthy families, moving the country into a rightwing era ruled by the military sector (Lindo-Fuentes, Ching, and Lara-Martínez 2007; Woodward 1985).

Social discontent in El Salvador during the first half of the 20th century coincided with the Communist movements in Europe (Keogh 1982; Valdes Valle 2007). In 1930, the Salvadorian Communist Party (PCS) was founded (Anderson 1971), and the country was expecting a new presidential election in January 1932. Farabundo Martí was a revolutionary Salvadorian, who participated in the Sandino campaigns in Nicaragua and who was a follower of the Marxist and anarchist writings, was a key organizer of the PCS (Landau 1993; Stanley 2010). The PCS was aligned with the Third Communist International (COMINTERN), an organization established in Moscow two years after the 1917 Communist Revolution (Lindo-Fuentes, Ching, and Lara-Martínez 2007; Stanley 2010). The COMINTERN was devoted to promoting communist revolutions around the globe by coordinating activities with local communist parties. The Salvadorian government, aligned with U.S. interests, saw the Soviet Union (USSR) as a global menace to the capitalist system (Stanley 2010). Opponents to the Communist ideology believed that money and advisors were sent by the Soviets in order to spread communist ideas (Lindo-Fuentes, Ching, and Lara-Martínez 2007) -- a view that instilled fear within the coffee farmers, creating an opposition against all that they considered “communist thoughts.” An anti-communist identity surged in El Salvador promoted by the elite class, lasting throughout the 20th century (Gould and Henríquez Consalvi 2014). Although the PCS never received funds and weapons to lead a communist revolution in El Salvador during the 1930s, this party was seen as a new alternative to address Indigenous claims concerning the uses of the land and human exploitation (Lindo-Fuentes, Ching, and Lara-Martínez 2007). This party proposed changes, which included returning land to Indigenous people as an opportunity to establish again their *ejidos*. Therefore, in El Salvador the Indigenous cause merged with communist ideas. Indigenous leaders in El Salvador advocated for the uses of the land for common interests, which was interpreted by the government and landlords as a communist initiative. In this context, the PCS used this social discontent to spread communist propaganda within Indigenous and peasant groups in the Western region of El Salvador in the period leading up to the 1932 elections (Anderson 1971; Lindo-Fuentes, Ching, and Lara-Martínez 2007). Indigenous claims, therefore, became part of the political sphere.

Nevertheless, the PCS lost the 1932 presidential election through fraud, triggering a peasant and Indigenous uprising (Lindo-Fuentes, Ching, and Lara-Martínez 2007; Stanley 2010). These uprisings placed several towns in Sonsonate and Ahuachapán in the Western region of El

Salvador under siege, violently breaking into centres of local power, plundering coffee farms, and executing coffee landowners (Lindo-Fuentes, Ching, and Lara-Martínez 2007; Woodward 1985). During these tumultuous events, peasants and Indigenous people were shouting slogans and carrying placards in favor of communism and advocating seizure of the land by force (Lindo-Fuentes, Ching, and Lara-Martínez 2007:7). The government deemed these communities a threat to the interests of the state and the elite landowners, responding to the Indigenous and peasant uprising with a massacre ordered by the government in January 1932 (Stanley 2010; Woodward 1985). Approximately 20,000 Indigenous people were killed (Anderson 1971; Chapin 1991; Lindo-Fuentes, Ching, and Lara-Martínez 2007). In the wake of this genocide, also known as *la matanza* (Anderson 1971), Indigenous survivors hid their cultural identity, which was seen as synonymous with communism. As a result, Indigenous people gradually lost or gave up their language, attire, and traditions (Landau 1993) in order to avoid further violence based on ethnic identity. These people were also left out of any political process, and they did not have a voice in any kind of decision-making. Furthermore, they were not included in the national census after 1930, leaving no reference of Indigenous people in the official records (Marroquín 1975) and so these Indigenous ethnic identity within communities could not be tracked in the following years.

Lack of academic interest in the Indigenous population, both before and after *la matanza*, also contributed to the loss of their culture in El Salvador. In 1929, a few years before *la matanza*, 72.4% of the Salvadorian population was illiterate (Ministerio de Economía 2009:19), and wealthy families, who were the literate class, were certainly not interested in Indigenous people as a culture with their own knowledge and values (Marroquín 1975:750). A minority of Salvadorians had access to education in that time, and most of those who were educated were part of the elite class (Anderson 1971). Therefore, wealthy families during that time saw Indigenous people as a potential threat to their own economic interests and land rights. Another reason for the lack of attention to the study of Indigenous peoples was the sense of social caste superiority that was a remnant of the colonial era (Marroquín 1975). Indigenous people were considered to have an "inferior culture." There was no need to see beyond the Indigenous social position or to learn from their culture. The gap between Indigenous and wealthy families was wide. Further, literate people believed lower class culture had no connection with the archaeological record—a mind-set that happened in other countries of the region (Coe 1995). There was a complete lack of social and government support to conduct research upon Indigenous people of that time. Indigenous culture was barely studied and recorded.

However, there were few Salvadorian intellectuals interested in studying local Indigenous populations prior to the incidents of 1932. Barberena (1914) wrote about the archaeological, historical, ethnological, and linguistic aspects of local cultures. Lardé (1926a) wrote about issues concerning Indigenous language distribution supported by cultural traditions. Guzmán, interested in Salvadorian Indigenous past, founded the National Museum in 1883 (*Diario Oficial* 1883). Spinden, an American archaeologist who was a pioneer in carrying out studies of Prehispanic pottery types in El Salvador, mentioned a number of Salvadorians scholars interested in the ethnography and archaeology of the country, making the following statement:

A number of Salvadorian scholars have engaged themselves in gleaning the odds and ends of tradition and ancient speech and working out the meaning of local place names. Prominent among them should be mentioned Santiago Barberena, Alberto Luna, Rafael Reyes, José Antonio Cevallos, Leopoldo Alexandro Rodríguez, Juan José Laínez, and David J. Guzman. Many of their papers have appeared in *Repertorio Salvadoreño*, *La Quicena*, *La Universidad* and other local publications (1915:448-449).

After the Hernández Martínez's dictatorship ended in 1944, a new military regime came into power for the next four decades. However, none of these new governments were capable of solving the long-standing system of discrimination against Indigenous people (Marroquín 1975). Due to the lack of previous Indigenous studies and government approaches to these communities, there had been no cultural understanding of Indigenous communities. From the government's point of view, the solution was simply to deny their existence. This gave rise to what Marroquín (1975:767-768) calls "the denegation of Indigeneity," a concept totally detached from factual reality. The term Indigenous became a social category rather than an ethnic term, encompassing poverty, illiteracy, low social class, and soon was used to humiliate and shame people. Marroquín (1975:767) argues that lack of state support coupled with ethnic discrimination, political and social exclusion can drive people from rural communities into social distress resulting in violence. Given systematic pressure and repression of Indigeneity, Salvadorian society, therefore, began to tailor a *mestizo* national identity (Anderson 1971; De Burgos 2011).

In this context, the lack of formal studies upon Indigenous culture after *la matanza* was due to the lack of social and government support to conduct research, as well as the fear of further violence that followed the 1932 events. In an environment ruled by a rightwing military regime, and with the strong anti-communist identity stance (Anderson 1971), the development of

the capitalist ideas supporting the private sector was not seriously challenged. The wound left by *la matanza* hindered any kind of involvement with Indigenous issues, although some Salvadorian scholars actually carried out academic studies on the dispossessed peoples and archaeological sites. Archaeological issues were in the hands of the government; therefore academics already had a strong relationship with government officials. Archaeological resources and studies were seen primarily as useful for tourism, and as part of the construction of a new national awareness based in a *mestizo* identity (Albarracín-Jordán and Valdivieso 2013; Marroquín 1975; Paredes Umaña and Erquicia Cruz 2013). Academic involvement did not extend to any great depth since getting involved with Indigenous issues through academic studies was seen as a possible tool to strengthen Indigenous causes that could spark new uprisings. After having executed the main leaders of the communist party in 1932, the government restricted academic freedom by banning Marxism and communist literature or related issues (Stanley 2010). The University of El Salvador (UES), the home of Salvadorian scholars of that time, was aligned with the rightwing government until the late 1960s (Flores Macal 1976). Repression was a common strategy to appease any new uprising against the regime, and fear of a new event like *la matanza* lingered in the social milieu. In this way, museums and cultural institutions did not support Indigenous causes, but ironically used Indigenous archaeological resources to promote the country abroad (Paredes Umaña and Erquicia Cruz 2013). For this, the government needed a moderate degree of academic respectability. Foreign scholars were indeed welcomed to the country and studied Indigenous cultures from an outsider's perspective. Most of these scholars were interested in archaeological remains, and brought to their work in El Salvador the methods and theories they had learned at home, introducing certain broader theoretical trends.

However, only sporadic efforts were carried out to study and record the vanishing Indigenous culture in El Salvador. During the first three decades that followed the Indigenous genocide, few Salvadorian researchers contributed important studies concerning Indigenous people. The best-known works came from: Jiménez (1937), who wrote issues concerning the distribution of the *Nahuat* language and toponymies; Barón Castro (1978[1942]) published a quantified historical account of Indigenous population density from the Colonial period until 1939; De Baratta (1951), provided a comprehensive study concerning Indigenous music based on ethnographic and archaeological sources; Lardé y Larín (1957) recorded a considerable amount of stories and traditions from Salvadorian villages and towns taking into account

Indigenous roots; and Aráuz (1960), who describes the *Nahuat* language that was spoken in the region of Izalco in order to understand the toponymies of El Salvador.

As the Indigenous process of acculturation developed, Indigenous communities gradually became part of the general peasantry, with their cultural identity diminishing or vanishing (Chapin 1991). As Indigenous communities had done previous to *la matanza*, the post 1932 social struggle for land and improvement of their quality of life became a part of the peasant community, a population generally considered to be *mestizo* in rural areas. Indigenous causes percolated within the general peasantry, becoming part of their concerns. The reason for these mutual causes is answered by understanding the poverty statistics for the time. According to some sources, 83% of the Salvadorian rural population was living below the poverty line of \$1.25 per day as measured by the World Bank (Chapin 1991:1).

Oppressed communities believed that the only possible means to achieve social change was through the use of force to overthrow the dominant class (Rabasa 2010). Following the success of the Cuban revolution during the 1950s, the uprising of guerrillas in the Americas became a viable option for social change (Clariond 1981; Goldman 1987; Woodward 1985). However, local governments used repressive military strategies to suppress any kind of rebel organization. Although a state of repression prevailed throughout the second half of the 20th century (Landau 1993; Stanley 2010; Woodward 1985), claims of land and exploitation, as well as social resentment and popular discontent increased (Goldman 1987; Stanley 2010). The social crisis was exacerbated by the exploitation of the working-class, with low salaries and limited labour benefits, and the lack of proper social services (Stanley 2010:1-10). This social and economic pressure was driving the country into a political boiling pot in the late 1970s. The needs and distress of workers and peasants triggered riots and social instability, paving the way for the uprising of guerrilla movements.

Latin American social struggles in the 1970s incorporated new actors into grassroots movements against the expansion of dominant economies. In these conflicts new sectors of society became involved, such as middle-class educated people, professionals, and the church (Escobar 1992:420-42; Needler 1991; Perla Jr. 2008; Stanley 2010). Since the 1950s in El Salvador, the middle-class emerged due to the growth of the private sector that included small and mid-sized businesses, allowing more people to enter higher education whether at the local university or abroad. Meanwhile, the new educational reforms improved public education and increased the population studying at a high educational level. As a long running program, this improvement to the educational system paved the way to create a new elite of intellectuals and



social leaders from the UES, as the sole university in the country until the 1970s. Since the second half of the 20th century, the increase of the student population in the UES was gradual: in 1953, this institution registered 1,704 students, in 1963 reported 5,523, and in 1972 this population counted 13,000 students (Flores Macal 1976:130-132). The 1932 events remained in the memory of many people, allowing younger generations to sympathize with popular causes (Anderson 1971; Perla Jr. 2008).

In this context, new communication technology and media facilitated access to worldwide events, when radio and TV started to become accessible to the middle-class. As is implicit in print media at that time, news from the Cuban revolution and the Vietnam era, which included the hippy movement, percolated through Salvadorian society, spurring new local causes that were organized within the UES and the countryside. This institution provided access to humanities, science and Marxist ideas, which would shape a new profile in the Salvadorian political scenario. During the early 1970s, under the pressure of student movements, the UES became a very radical institution that embraced leftwing ideologists (Flores Macal 1976) from which guerrilla leaders and leftwing organizations arose in the late 1970s (FMLN-ERP 2014). This institution became the main centre of opposition against the military regime, as have so many universities in Latin America. As Salvadorian society modernized and produced an increase in the middle-class, the education system expanded and democracy became part of the political discourse. A revolution was seen as the only path to democracy (Landau 1993:70; Perla Jr. 2008; Stanley 2010). The church also became involved with the causes of the poor as a commitment to Christian doctrines (Landau 1993; Midlarsky and Roberts 1985; Perla Jr. 2008). El Salvador became one of the leading countries in promoting the liberation theology, a political movement within Catholic theology practiced as a response to the precarious conditions of the poor classes in Latin America.

In El Salvador, during the 1970s and 1980s, multiple social movements led by intellectuals and students emerged, supporting peasants and working-class rights aimed at transforming social and political systems (Midlarski and Roberts 1985; Perla Jr. 2008). This support of popular causes resulted in chaos and instability in the political and social spheres. These internal movements were eventually supported by the socialist system led by the USSR during the 1980s. Therefore, this conflict became enmeshed in wider external conflicts, such as the Cold War between two hegemonic cores: the USSR and the U.S. (Goldman 1987; Peceny and Stanley 2010).

The armed conflict in El Salvador lasted from 1980 to 1992. During this period, the relationship between the government and rural communities was exacerbated by the social conflict (Bourgois 2002; Peceny and Stanley 2010). Governments were focused on rebuilding the damaged economy and prioritizing war-related issues (Stanley 2010). Subsequently, the central government reduced economic support for CRM, closed offices in the rural area and scaled down archaeological research (Andrews V. 1996; Lutz 1991). Reduced economic budgets in the cultural sector resulted in weak institutions in charge of cultural management. Another effect of the conflict was migration, which resulted in a failure to transmit local culture to future generations (Henríquez Chacón 2011). This migration generated a loss of unrecorded customs and traditions, as well as artisan technologies, and other particular cultural aspects.

In the wake of the war, most of the infrastructure of the country was destroyed, leaving about 75,000 dead and millions of migrants searching for better opportunities abroad (Economist 1992; Stanley 2010; World Bank 2013). In 1992, the Peace Agreement (Naciones Unidas 1992) was signed between the Salvadorian government and the guerillas. At this agreement, the former guerrillas, known as Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN), were transformed into a new leftwing political party. The rightwing government, the Nationalist Republican Alliance (ARENA) party, governed the country for 20 years from 1989 until 2009. During this time, ARENA led by entrepreneurs from upper class society dealt with social and economic issues framed within a Postwar climate and created extremely polarized political conditions. In the 2009 elections, the FMLN party led by Funes Cartagena, for first time won power by a marginal difference in votes. Five years later, in the March 2014 elections, former guerrilla leader Sánchez Cerén formed a new leftwing government by the narrowest of margins, 50.11% to 49.89% (The Economist 2014, online report). These facts demonstrate that El Salvador remains one of the most ideologically polarized countries in Latin America. Divergent ideological views make it difficult to solidify the implementation of strong institutions and have negative effects in decision-making and long-term development programs.

### **2.3.1 Legacies of War and Cultural Management**

Throughout the 20th century, the idea of being Indigenous has been related with social class and poverty. In fact, the term ‘Indigenous’ in El Salvador was associated with archaeological sites and artifacts, considered by society to be part of the Salvadorian past, and not as an existing ethnic group within the current society. Due to the lack of government interest and academic studies throughout the last century, this country inherited very little knowledge regarding Indigenous cultures as well as a weak social awareness towards them.

After the armed conflict in the 1980s, the government did not have proper records of *Nahuat* speaking people regarding their cultural traditions, local crafts, oral traditions, etc. Overall, institutions in charge of archaeological and anthropological matters within the Ministry of Education (MINED) were poorly developed and equipped. Academia and government had only weak contacts with rural communities. Moreover, there was no local archaeological and anthropological school in El Salvador, and foreign researchers carried out most studies.

In El Salvador, academia has historically played an important role in the political realm through the ruling class. Before the last armed conflict, theories, methodologies, and practices were dominated by North American scholars. These external views of local culture seemed to be the only path to understanding the past. This is proven by multiple publication and unpublished reports carried out by foreigners scholars lodged in the Department of Archaeology (DA) and the National Museum of Anthropology (MUNA) in San Salvador. For many years, it was difficult for Salvadorian people to gain access to these archeological reports. For example, only bilingual people were able to read the English reports and bilingual speakers were part of the “educated elite.” Thus, archaeology was embedded within social structures in which only the highest socio-economic class was able to participate. The limited access to archaeological studies hindered the creation of a local perspective of Salvadorian archaeology. There was no major Salvadorian academia to create their own critical view of local cultures and archaeological practices. Salvadorian archaeologists only started getting involved with governmental management and local academia in the 1990s, as a result of three changes in the Postwar period.

The first was the creation of the National Council for Culture and Art (CONCULTURA) in 1991. In 2009, this institution was transformed into SECULTURA, which includes the DA. The creation of this institution led to in-house cultural studies. New archaeological priorities emerged with the increased demand of heritage protection as part of the national reconstruction. This institution has been working within a centralized system framed by a pre-civil war paradigm. The current CRM led by SECULTURA seems to be frozen in time. However, the incoming leftwing government has declared future changes in the country's cultural institutions, including the intention of organizing a Ministry of Culture to replace SECULTURA (Cabrera and Romero 2014).

A second change was the creation of a new Special Law for Cultural Heritage Protection of El Salvador in 1993, which led to the creation of the first Standards to Regulate Archaeological Investigations in El Salvador in 2007 (Asamblea Legislativa de El Salvador

1993, 2007). Before the implementation of this Law and regulation, archaeologists carried out excavations without any governmental guidelines or legal standards to follow.

A third change was the opening of a new local school of Salvadorian archaeologists in 1995 by the *Universidad Tecnológica de El Salvador* (UTEC). Although there has been an improvement and increase of archaeological studies conducted by Salvadorian archaeologists in the last 15 years, the academic dependency on external models prevails, following external opinion rather than the local point of view. Analyzing current archaeological reports and studies written by Salvadorian archaeologists, it is possible to observe that most bibliographies on these documents refer to foreign studies, or studies conducted by foreigners, rather than giving more value to the opinions of local scholars. In this way, the conception of a genuine Salvadorian methodological and theoretical school of thought is hindered. In addition, the lack of consultation and interaction between government and archaeologists with rural communities continues.

As a result of the armed conflict, in addition to long periods of social, political and economic instability, the government uses selective aspects of culture as part of the elite sphere, and ignores local heritage (DeLugan 2012). The discourse about local cultures used throughout the 20th century favors the European heritage over ancient Indigenous culture. For instance, colonial towns, historical buildings, scenarios from the Independence events, and Republican traditions were depicted frequently in school textbooks. By contrast, Indigenous knowledge and sites were left out, and therefore remain almost unknown by the majority of the population. During the years that followed the end of the armed conflict, construction projects had increased in El Salvador (Central Reserve Bank 1997; Climent 2010; Ministerio de Economía 2008). By serendipity, these developments triggered new archaeological findings, and increased the number of official archaeological sites. As a result, known archaeological resources in El Salvador were greatly enlarged, and the need to perform new inspections and initiate archaeological projects aimed at preserving the newly found sites became imperative. In the absence of an earmarked budget for archaeological management, many sites are excluded.

Generally, the management of archaeological resources in El Salvador is under the management of a centralized system represented through the SECULTURA. The DA operates under the supervision of SECULTURA, which functions as the highest authority in decision-making in this field. Most research and administrative files within the DA are related to construction projects, which threaten the integrity of archaeological sites. However, the continuous development of established archaeological sites in El Salvador is not

mandatory for governmental and academic institutions. This issue represents a failure in the management of archaeological resources. In most cases, after a site is officially established or formally recognized, no further government or academic intervention is conducted. Therefore, sites remain neglected.

## **2.4 Development of Archaeology in El Salvador**

This section presents an alternative approach to the study of the history of institutionalization of archaeology in El Salvador. It evaluates academic, government, media and online sources that clarify the historical management of this discipline. It is essential to undertake an evaluation of the following academic documents to understand academia's perspective and the multiple approaches archaeology has taken. The academic sources below were chosen because they are landmark pieces that shape the way scholars have theorized, perceived, and conducted archaeology in El Salvador.

### **2.4.1 Previous Approaches to the History of Archaeology in El Salvador**

The earliest history of the development of Salvadorian archaeology was given by Pecorini (1913) at the Americanists Society Conference celebrated in 1912. Pecorini provided a background of the scarce archaeological studies of that time and a description of archaeological sites. One year later, Barberena (1914) published the first comprehensive book about the history of El Salvador. This publication took into account historical documents, archaeological sites, linguistic and ethnic aspects, and a compilation of other observations given by travelers, historians and intellectuals of that time, tracing the level of development of archaeology in the early 20th century. More than 50 years later, an overview of the development of archaeology in this country was written by Casasola (1975) in Spanish. Later, an English publication by Sheets (1984), as part of a 1980 School of American Research Conference, attempts to explain problems related to ancient cultures of this region focused on external economic relations and ecological adaptations.

From 1984 until the early 1990s there were a limited number of projects and publications concerning archaeology in El Salvador. The first study of the historical development of archaeology after the armed conflict can be seen within the review of publications compiled by Castellón Huerta (1992). Through this publication it can be understood that most of the archaeological publications up to that time were linked to promote cultural identity, tourism, and education.

With respect to the history and development of Salvadorian archaeology, two comprehensive works can be cited. The first is Cobos (1994), who describes three stages in the

history of archaeology in El Salvador: The Phase of Travelers and Explorers (1850-1915), followed by the First Phase of Archaeological Research (1915-1965), and the Second Phase of Archaeological Research (1965-1991). Second, Fowler Jr. (1995) describes archaeology from the perspective of developing research, and explains Prehispanic periods.

The first publication that included the work of the earliest generation of Salvadorian archaeologists and their role within archaeological management was authored by Valdivieso (2010a). Prior to this publication, there was no assessment of the history of local archaeology from the point of view of Salvadorian scholars. One year after this publication, Escamilla and Fowler Jr. (2011) encapsulated the last 25 years as the beginning of a national Salvadorian archaeology. This publication addresses the challenges faced by the lack of regional projects and theoretical perspectives regarding Salvadorian archaeology, as well as the institutional instability since the Salvadorian armed conflict. These authors point out the existence of an ecological archaeology within the history of the Salvadorian archaeology in the last 50 years.

Recently, Erquicia (2012a) gives an analytical overview of the current state of Salvadorian archaeology after 15 years that followed the creation of the first school of archaeologists in this country. In another study, Erquicia (2012b) tackles the history of El Salvador's archaeology as a means utilized by government to construct the Nation-State in the early 20th century. The same year, McCafferty et al. (2012) present a new perspective regarding the history of archaeological practices in this region. This perspective consists of four phases of archaeological research: The first describes the interests of wealthy travelers and landowners. The second incorporates formal archaeological procedures, including surveys, mapping, excavation, and analysis performed by professional archaeologists. The third phase includes excavating large ceremonial centres and regional surveys. Since the 1990s, the fourth phase has been characterized by Salvadorian scholars conducting the majority of archaeological work. In addition, in 2012, DeLugan (2012) also contributed a new critical review of the practices and management of archaeology framed in the current socio-political context. DeLugan discusses the importance of building a national identity and addressing Indigenous affairs within the Postwar period.

The latest contributions concerning the history and development of Salvadorian archaeology is presented by Paredes Umaña and Erquicia Cruz (2013), whose work confronts the concept of history and heritage as they were constructed by the State, providing a critical evaluation of the historical driving forces of archaeological practices in El Salvador. Albarracín-Jordán and Valdivieso (2013) also provide a new critical version of the history of archaeology in

El Salvador, from doctrines contained in the first explorations carried out in the 19th century to the new paradigms of globalization that were introduced during the 20th century. These scholars highlight the archaeological potential in this country as an important component of national identity and as a pillar of the country's sustainable development.

Another perspective of the history of Salvadorian archaeology is sheltered within old files stored by the DA and the specialized library of the National Museum of Anthropology "Dr. David J. Guzmán" (MUNA) in San Salvador. The history of this discipline is also supported by media references, including printed press, magazines, and video documentaries, as well as rich sources of literature and reports still unpublished within and outside the country. Many technical reports typically include investigations or reviews of archaeological work previously performed in a given area or site.

Although printed publications are a traditional means of disseminating knowledge, online publications are increasing in relevance and reliable. Peer reviewed online references provide a vast amount of information that is often not found in printed documents. These sources included online publication from SECULTURA (2013a), Foundation for the Advances of Mesoamerican Studies (FAMSI 2013), University of Colorado Boulder (2013), Clic Foundation (Papeles de Arqueología 2013), National Foundation of Archaeology (FUNDAR 2013), TOXTLI Museum and Domenech Foundation (Museo Toxtli 2013), Museum of the UTEC (MUA 2013), and *Proyecto Arqueológico Cabezas de Jaguar* (Paredes Umaña and Cossich 2013). These online sources can also contribute to form the criteria for the institutionalization of archaeology and the role of academia as knowledge providers in this country.

#### **2.4.2 The Institutionalization of Archaeology in El Salvador**

The institutionalization of archaeology refers to the historical process in which archaeology in El Salvador evolved from foreign archaeological dependency and informal research into an institutionalized practice conducted by Salvadorian experts, and recognized by the government and the academia. This process includes the organization of local institutions dedicated to archaeological research. It also leads to the creation of laws for the management, regulation, and protection of archaeological resources, and guidelines for research and dissemination of archaeological knowledge.

The following section provides a detailed discussion of the historical process of institutionalization of archaeology in El Salvador and its external influences. This comprehensive history is based on literature review, including governmental files, archaeological reports, publications, and interviews conducted by the author. By taking into account a myriad of

views about the history of this field, this thesis summarizes the institutionalization of archaeology in El Salvador in four phases (Table 1).

**Table 1. The Institutionalization of Archaeology in El Salvador.**

Initial Phase 1849-1930	First Phase of Institutionalization 1930-1980	Armed Conflict 1980-1992	Second Phase of Institutionalization 1992- Present
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**Initial Phase (1849-1930):** This phase was developed after the arrival of Squier (1853, 1855) in 1849, being the first to write about the *Pipil* culture and archaeological sites of El Salvador. During that time, the first underwater sites were also reported in the lake of Güija in 1854 by Gómez Menéndez (1992). This phase also includes the first archaeological excavation performed by Habel (1878:32-33) in the village of Apaneca, Ahuachapán, during the 1860s. Habel (1878:34-39) also reported the existence of archaeological sites in the Central and Western region of El Salvador. Afterwards, early archaeological descriptions of Prehispanic sites were created by Montessus de Ballore (1891) in 1882, González (1906) in 1891, Sapper (Cobos 1994) in 1896, Pecorini (1913), Barberena (1914), Lardé (1926b), and Lothrop (1926, 1927). This phase also comprises the first linguistic studies conducted by Lehmann in 1910 (1920), the earliest Prehispanic chronologies carried out by Spinden (1915), and the first stratigraphical studies related with archaeological artifacts recognized by Lardé (1926c) and Lothrop (1927). Lardé, as well as Lothrop, first recognized the volcanic ash of Ilopango and its influence on Prehispanic settlements in the San Salvador area. Barberena (1914, 1950) in 1888 gives reference of rock art in Corinto, Morazán, as the earliest studies upon this kind of sites in El Salvador. Between 1890 and 1920, publications concerning Salvadorian archaeology generally emphasized the similarities between Salvadorian sites and the central Mexican region (Castellón Huerta 1992). Although many sites have been reported since the mid-19th century, the first official list of archaeological sites in El Salvador was created by Lardé (1926b).

This Initial Phase initiated a mutual interest between government and academia concerning ancient societies in El Salvador. This is seen in the foundation of the first National Museum and its specialized library in 1883 by presidential decree (Diario Oficial 1883). This institution organized archaeological data, including lists of Prehispanic sites and catalogues of artifacts, initiated government publications related to Salvadorian archaeology, and saw an increasing number of archaeological studies (Castellón Huerta 1992; La Cofradía 1979, 1977a;



Museo Nacional “Dr. David J. Guzmán” 1986). Since its very beginnings, the National Museum established the guidelines to protect and promote Salvadorian archaeology (Erquicia 2012b), and organized institutional procedures to manage archaeological issues. This Initial Phase ended in 1930, with the first archaeological excavation led by the Salvadorian Antonio Sol (Amaroli and Revene 2006; Excelsior 1929; Sol 1929) in Cihuatán. Sol also ran the first Department of History established in 1928. This department was in charge of archaeological affairs in El Salvador, paving the way to the country's institutionalization of archaeology.

**First Phase of Institutionalization (1930-1980):** This phase is characterized by a series of scientific and institutional events that incorporate foreign and local researchers to manage and practice archaeology. A centralized system of archaeological management was shaped by the concentration of political power in the capital city of San Salvador. Within this phase, the first large-scale sites survey throughout the country was carried out by Longyear (1944, 1966), and the first large archaeological excavations and restorations took place in Tazumal (Boggs 1943a, 1945b, 1950) and San Andrés (Boggs 1943b; Dimick 1941; Rise 1940). These large restoration projects led to the creation of the first archaeological parks and site-museums in El Salvador (La Cofradía 1979). As part of this phase, the Department of Archaeological Excavations of the Ministry of Popular Culture of El Salvador was created in the late 1940s, consolidating El Salvador's archaeological management. From 1948 to 1954, the American archaeologist Stanley H. Boggs directed this department, and between 1965 and 1988, Boggs headed the DA at the National Museum (Andrews V. 1996; Boggs 1974).

In this Phase, through the management of the DA headed by Boggs, six of the most important archaeological sites were declared as “National Monuments” by the Legislative Assembly in 1976, and purchased by the government for its administration (Andrews V. 1996:59). Between the 1960s and 1970s there was an increase of cultural and scientific publications (Castellón Huerta 1992). In this phase, the country experimented with the first major archaeological rescue projects (Boggs 1983; Crane 1976; Earnest 1991; Fowler Jr. 1973, 1995; La Cofradía 1977b), and put into practice a government procedure to record private archaeological collections (Boggs 1972, 1980). The National Directorate of Cultural Heritage was created in 1974 (La Cofradía 1977b). According to letters from that time filed in the current DA of SECULTURA, the first sketches of policies for archaeological research and site protection were written in the 1970s, as well as the blueprint to create the first undergraduate program for anthropology and history in the UES in 1979, and also the first attempt to create a laboratory for obsidian hydration dating (Alvarado 2007; DA file, n.d.).

In the academic realm, the definition of chronological sequences based on typological artifacts and ancient architecture were established in El Salvador. In this phase archaeologists were able to recognize stratigraphic columns based on volcanic events. In the 1960s, two major regional projects took place in El Salvador: Chalchuapa, led by Sharer (1978), and Quelepa, led by Andrews V. (1986). These projects used the classificatory system known as Type-Variety, allowing archaeologists to distinguish ceramic types and material components through regions and periods.

The official record of archaeological sites increased. The Protoclassic project led by Sheets (1983) took place in the Zapotitán valley in 1976, shedding new lights on the data of Ilopango ashes, and recording about 350 archaeological sites in the region (Black 1983). In 1976, Cerén, a Maya village buried by volcanic ashes in AD 590, was a serendipitous discovery, with its first excavations led by Zier and Sheets in 1978 (Sheets 1983, 2002). Studies of rock art increased in this phase, led by Haberland (1954), Jiménez (1959), and the DA in the 1960s and 1970s (Escamilla 2007:1222). During this phase, underwater archaeology was practiced by amateurs, reporting the existence of artifacts in the lakes of Güija, Cuzcachapa, and Apastepeque (Boggs 1976; Escamilla 2008). During the 1970s, the UES has radiocarbon laboratories, used to support the DA (Alvarado 2007; DA file, n.d.). In summary, government and academics intensified the surveys and rescue of archaeological sites, and research projects. The government, supported by an academic community led by Boggs, adopted a system in which society could be involved with archaeological topics. Archaeological parks were created, local museums were opened, there was an increase in publications, a private collection registration system was developed, and Salvadorian archaeology started to be used for international promotion and tourism by including the image of iconic archaeological sites on the bank notes and postage stamps.

**Armed Conflict (1980-1992):** The first phase of institutionalization was disrupted by the armed conflict, reducing archaeological activity in both academia and government (Andrews V. 1996:58; DA file, n.d.; Lutz 1991). The radiocarbon laboratories of the UES were destroyed (DA file, n.d.), and there was no national investment in research equipment. As a consequence of the conflict, archaeological resources in the countryside were abandoned. According to files, letters, and reports written by government employees from that time filed in SECULTURA, sites and parks were often interrupted by the army and guerrillas (Alvarado 2007; DA file, n.d.). Remains of warfare, military gear, and war trenches from this conflict were found damaging archaeological sites in Guazapa, witnessed by this author. In Figure 3, at *Sitio de Jesus*

archaeological site in the region of Guazapa, the author demonstrates the way machine guns were placed in strategic positions. This shelter was made by stones from a Prehispanic structure. War remains were also found by this author in archaeological excavations in Tazumal (Valdivieso 2007b:17-18,174). Warfare activity in Cihuatán is also reported by Kelley (1988:208), and Bruhns and Amaroli (2009:2).



**Figure 3. Shelter Remains Made by the Guerrillas in the 1980s in Guazapa.**

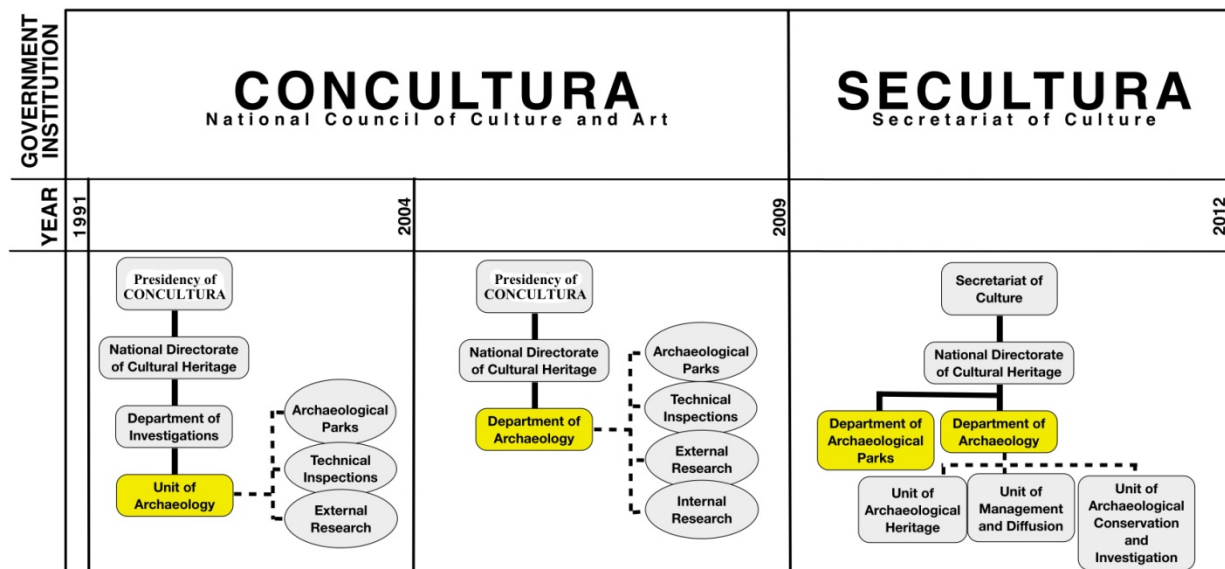
The armed conflict weakened the ability of government institutions to manage archaeological matters in the countryside. It diverted funds away from the cooperation with academia to give support to the broken economy. The neglect of archaeological sites by the government triggered looting and other types of damage within these resources. However, during this time two archaeological rescue projects were conducted by the government: Asanyamba (Beaudry 1982; Boggs 1978) and San Lorenzo (Fowler Jr. 1995). Extensive excavations in Cerén were also resumed in 1989 (Sheets 2002). The archaeological work was limited to the National Museum where a few employees would record and study artifacts found in years prior to the armed conflict (Andrews V. 1996). At the very end of this phase CONICULTURA was founded in 1991, giving strength to a new phase in the cultural management of this country. Within the government, CONICULTURA strengthened the centralized system of cultural matters, being the main institutional authority in the management of archaeology. By this

centralizing system, planning and decision-making took place through this new institution. CONCULTURA managed Cultural and Educational Television, the National Zoo, museums and historic buildings, the sections of archaeology and palaeontology, archaeological parks, ethnography, and arts that included the national symphony orchestra and the national ballet. CONCULTURA was a semiautonomous institution and a subdivision of MINED. By creating this new institution, the government established new hierarchies by bringing together all government agencies in charge of cultural issues.

**Second Phase of Institutionalization (1992-Present):** This phase began with the signing of the Peace Agreements in 1992 and continues to the present. Boggs passed away in 1991. Therefore, in 1992, this country was ready to deal with a new institutional phase without Boggs. Historically, Salvadorian scholars consider Boggs to be the pioneer of the modern archaeology of El Salvador and the main promoter of contemporary institutionalization of archaeology in this country (Andrews V. 1996; Fowler Jr. 1995). In this phase, for the first time, the management of archaeology turns into the leadership of local Salvadorian archaeologists (Erquicia 2012a; Escamilla and Fowler Jr. 2011; McCafferty et al. 2012). During this phase the demand for archaeological projects increased in both government and academia, in relation to the reconstruction of the country.

Within CONCULTURA, the section in charge of all issues related with archaeology was known as Unit of Archaeology, initially handled by the Department of Investigations, which was also under the umbrella of the National Directorate of Cultural Heritage. This Unit of Archaeology did not have any power in decision-making over archaeological sites and archaeological projects, in which technicians worked as supervisors of construction projects, inspectors of archaeological sites, and in archaeological park management. In 2004, the Unit of Archaeology was transformed into a new Department in charge of all matters related to archaeology and park administration, and detached from the Department of Investigations. This new Department had decision-making power over all archaeological projects, site management, and archaeological parks (Valdivieso 2010a), with an emphasis on archaeological projects and mitigation rescue and salvage. Later, in 2009, CONCULTURA was transformed into a Secretariat of Culture, known as SECULTURA, detached from MINED, and put under the direct authority of the Presidency. Organizational structures changed. Administration of archaeological parks, for instance, became a new independent department detached from the DA. Both, archaeology and administration of archaeological parks are now under the National Directorate of Cultural Heritage (Figure 4).

In 1993, a new law protecting cultural heritage was introduced (Asamblea Legislativa de El Salvador 1993), and Cerén was declared a World Heritage Site by UNESCO, being the first site in El Salvador on this list. Through CONULTURA, archaeological sites began to be considered in spatial planning policies (Albarracín-Jordán 2008a; PNODT 2013), and archaeological clearance became required in construction and development projects. In 1995, UTEC opened the first school of Salvadorian archaeology—an event that paved the way into a new stage of archaeological research led by Salvadorian scholars (Erquicia 2012a; McCafferty et al. 2012; Valdivieso 2010a). Since the creation of the new DA within CONULTURA in 2004, a policy was adopted of hiring archaeologists from UTEC and other accredited archaeologists (Valdivieso 2010a). These archaeologists carry out archaeological projects for legal mitigation and site protection. Simultaneously, the number of research projects intensified, new archaeological sites were registered, archaeological work increased in the Eastern region of El Salvador (Albarracín-Jordán and Valdivieso 2013; Amador, Ramírez and Garnica 2008), and the first regulatory standards governing archaeological research were created in 2007 (Asamblea Legislativa de El Salvador 2007).



Source: SECULTURA 2013a. Scheme adapted by the author.

**Figure 4. Institutional Changes Since 1991 to 2012.**

During this phase, El Salvador also began to receive international cooperation and new research missions and experts from the U.S., Japan, Mexico, France, Italy, and Spain. In 1999, substantial amounts of research equipment was donated to the DA by the government of Japan

(Valdivieso 2010a). New archaeological projects were carried out, including studies of rock art led by Coladan (1996), the DA of CONCULTURA (Escamilla 2007), and the French Archaeological Mission (Perrot-Minnot 2010). Since 2004, underwater archaeology by the DA increased (Escamilla 2008). Urban and historical archaeology projects have been conducted by government archaeologists, the Salvadorian Academia of History, UTEC, and Vanderbilt experts since 1997. Historical buildings, Colonial and Republican churches, Ciudad Vieja (a Spanish village from the 16th century), Indigo colonial factories, and Iron factories have been investigated (Erquicia 2007, 2011; Fowler Jr. 2003; Valdivieso 2005a). This phase also includes a public archaeology program led by Japanese (Ikeda 2010a; Murano and Valdivieso 2007), and French (Delsol 2006) experts. The most important archaeological and restoration projects were carried out in Cerén (Sheets 2002), Chalchuapa (Valdivieso 2007b), and Cihuatán (Bruhns and Amaroli 2009). In 2013, Cihuatán was awarded the U.S. Ambassadors Fund for Cultural Preservation to support conservation work on the main pyramid of this site. This award is considered the largest fund ever assigned to archaeological conservation in El Salvador in the last 30 years. In addition, the communities of Casa Blanca (Ohi 2000) and Ataco (Paredes Umaña and Cossich 2013) for the first time got fully involved in archaeological programs. The Archaeological Window project (Valdivieso 2009) was introduced. For the first time in this phase, the DA worked with the International Police (INTERPOL) and the local National Civil Police (PNC) as a collaborator in cases of illicit smuggling of archaeological heritage and site protection.

#### **2.4.3 The Outside and the Inside**

Based on the history of the institutionalization of archaeology in El Salvador, as explained above, it is possible to recognize the multiple influences that impact academia and government management. Academia in El Salvador has been heavily influenced by external sources since the inception of archaeology in the Initial Phase of institutionalization of archaeology. However, governments began to be influenced by worldwide tendencies during the First Phase.

The history of the institutionalization in El Salvador parallels the timeline of worldwide archaeological events concerning legislature, CRM, and archaeological research. However, the external influences, including practices and theories from the wider archaeological world, took time to arrive and be implemented in El Salvador. The delay in implementation results from low budgets to support a proper system of management with infrastructure, payrolls, and professional assistance. For instance, countries like the U.S. and Great Britain started creating laws to protect

their heritage as early as the mid-19th century. In contrast, El Salvador implemented the first regulations to protect cultural heritage with the inception of the National Museum in 1883, and a law to protect heritage was created over one-century later in 1993. Europe had been including archaeological sites in spatial planning policies since the 1950s, and El Salvador did not institute these ideas until the 1990s. Similar patterns are seen in the academic realm, where El Salvador recently established its own archaeological school in 2000, while neighbouring countries such as Guatemala and Costa Rica produced their first archaeologists in the 1970s.

During the last 15 years the development of CRM in El Salvador has seen drastic changes. Current CRM in El Salvador seems to follow external examples more closely than before, with an emphasis on archaeological site protection within the local legislation and governmental procedures, and developmental projects. In addition, new technology such as the Internet and other means of communications like social networking is playing a role in local developments. International cooperation is providing scholarships and grants to local people. The increase in foreign research missions, mostly from Japan and the U.S., is actually strengthening external academic influence at the present time, even as Salvadorans are becoming more prominent in the archaeology of their country.

In summary, El Salvador has received external influences throughout its history, molding the way archaeological management is practiced. Figure 5 shows the four phases of the history of institutionalization of archaeology in El Salvador overlapping the three phases of the history of archaeological research proposed by Cobos (1994), and worldwide CRM trends.







### Chapter 3 The Current Situation

When the Peace Agreement in El Salvador was signed in 1992, the world was ready to commemorate the 500 years of the discovery of the New World by Christopher Columbus. For some, that year was an occasion to mark the first encounter of European and Native Americans and honour cultural diversity in the Americas. However, many countries with high Indigenous population sees that year as an opportunity to remember the atrocities that followed the colonial era and the Indigenous people's disgrace after the European arrival, as well as to highlight Indigenous pride and identity. Many Indigenous movements declared October 12, 1992, as the "International Day of Solidarity with Indigenous People." In that context, however, little was known about El Salvador's celebration concerning its Indigenous pride. As we have seen, this reality is embedded in a particular historical process in this region. After all, most of the Salvadorian population is now considered *mestizo*, an ethnic category coined by the Spanish colonizers: half European and half Indigenous. Although this category also implies having Indigenous roots, in 1992 little honour had been given to this fact in this country. Even though the armed conflict had its roots in Indigenous issues and social inequality as is explained in this work, the Peace Agreement which took place during the eve of the "Day of Respect for Cultural Diversity" does not mention Indigenous matters at all.

During the first 10 years of Postwar reconstruction, there was an increased rate of investment and economic growth in El Salvador (Central Reserve Bank 1997). Most of the previously state run institutions, such as telecommunication and the pensions system, were privatized. Commodity importation diversified and construction investment increased. New investments led to the creation of malls, clothing factories, and the tourism industry—thereby ushering the country into a new era run by the private sector. Commerce tended to be conducted according to American standards, with importations often replacing local products and markets. In addition, the price of coffee dropped during the late 1990s, and was no longer the primary source of national revenues (Blackman and Ávalos-Sartorio 2012; EIU 2013[2006]). Migration, during this period, also increased from the countryside to the main cities and abroad, and local families became dependent mostly on remittances. Local industry, such as handicraft production, was severely affected by this exodus of people (Henríquez Chacón 2011). The local currency was also replaced by the American dollar in 2001 (Castillo Ponce and Rodríguez Espinoza 2013), and development of the country was focused more on infrastructure than solving social issues (González 2013). After the war, many undocumented Salvadorians and refugees were deported from the U.S. to El Salvador during the 1990s. Most of these individuals had criminal

records associated with gang activities (DeCesare 1998). The return of many young men, especially from California, has also had a socially destabilizing effect.

Within this context, the present chapter explains the current academic involvement in the management of archaeological resources in El Salvador, and explores other paths of cultural and archaeological management rooted in Latin American experiences.

### **3.1 Academic Involvement**

Many government institutions in this country, including cultural and archeological management, have historically been conducted through a centralized system. The beginning of the centralized system within the management of culture has its roots with the foundation of the first National Museum in 1883, located in San Salvador, and the later foundation of the first Department of History in 1928.

In El Salvador's centralized system, the central government is the main locus and repository of archaeological studies. Archaeological studies tend to be produced in response to central government requests. In most cases, knowledge coming from archaeological studies is not shared with the local people, and it is managed within the tightly interrelated spheres of academia, site management and government offices. When government and academia manage this knowledge without sharing it with local communities, they tend to ignore the real meaning and importance of local heritage as a source of local social and economic benefit. Therefore, local communities lack resources and knowledge to explore the possible benefits of local heritage sites, and they see that most of the larger scale developments are in the hands of foreigners.

Foreign and local archaeologists often work to solve theoretical problems related to the use of land by ancient populations, domestic life, environment and ecological issues, as well as questions concerning ancient society, technology, government and religion. A minority of researchers in El Salvador have suggested the use of archaeological knowledge to solve local problems and increase community-level involvement with the remains of the ancient past for social and economic benefits to these communities in the present (Delsol 2006; Ikeda 2010a, 2010b; Murano 2007; Murano and Valdivieso 2007; Ohi 2000; Sheets 1975; Valdivieso 2013, 2007c:18-19). These suggestions have never been put into practice because of the weak relationship between government and academia with rural communities.

After the 1930s, the Indigenous past has been used primarily as a means for promoting tourism rather than strengthening local identity (Castellón Huerta 1992). Since the mid-20th century, some of the main archaeological sites in El Salvador, such as Tazumal and San Andrés,

were excavated and restored by North American archaeologists (Boggs 1943a, 1943b, 1950; Dimick 1941; Rise 1940). The government, which supports these projects, prioritized these sites for investigation due to their voluminous and eye-catching structures. This helped to create a new tourism industry in the Central American region. From a governmental view, Indigenous heritage was valued for its monumental architecture and aesthetic, but not because of its cultural content that had roots to the nation's Indigenous past (Albarracín-Jordán and Valdivieso 2013; DeLugan 2012). Ironically, the only time that "Indigenous things" (Knight 1990:101) are valued in El Salvador is when they are part of the monumental archaeological record. There is a generalized double morality that allows society to appreciate "Indigenous things", but to disdain Indigenous people. There is a tendency to glorify the Indigenous past, but a rejection of an Indigenous present (De Burgos 2011; Marroquín 1975).

Historical exclusion has ensured that Indigenous people and rural communities do not benefit from the government's social programs and development projects. The academic sector has put too little pressure on the government to invest in research and development. The national museum founded in 1883 as an institution concerned with El Salvador's heritage does not promote or protect Indigenous interests (Lara-Martínez 2010:21). From this museum new culturally oriented institutions have emerged, and now they form the basis of CRM in El Salvador. None of them, however, are genuinely helping improve the social and material condition of Indigenous people. The Peace Agreement (Naciones Unidas 1992) that ended the armed conflict in 1992 does not mention Indigenous peoples as part of cultural, social, and economic demands.

The process of cultural assimilation of a *mestizo* culture throughout the 20th century gradually replaced Indigenous ideas and concepts (Chapin 1991; DeLugan 2012). The components of an Indigenous identity include an identity attached to their own history, way of life, values, traditions, language, and attire among other cultural traits. In El Salvador, today these Indigenous components are fully contaminated by elements derived from globalization and modernity, gradually replacing local traditions and culture. Therefore, Indigenous identity is hidden or has entirely disappeared.

However, in the last two decades the nature of the discussions about the existence of Indigenous people and their role in modern El Salvador has been changing gradually. Social sciences and humanities programs have contributed to this emerging transformation. An increasingly visible segment of society is interested in the ongoing pursuit of a tolerant, inclusive, and cohesive social milieu for El Salvador, paralleling similar trends in other Latin

American countries (Barrera Basol, del Campo, and Hernández García 2012; CTMPI 2003; Piedras Feria 2006; Politis and Pérez Gollán 2007). At the same time, the expansion of industry, large scale agriculture and ranching, urbanization, tourism, and other factors create friction with local communities – a trend that is perhaps most noticeable in craft production. As time goes by, local knowledge is lost at the same time that their power over their local resources is reduced. These factors spark social conflicts and increasing inequality (Dos Santos 1970; Marroquín 1975). Globalization accelerates the process of acculturation, in which Western culture encroaches upon local cultures. The new global interest in Indigenous studies in part aims to revert the loss of cultural values and diminish the breach between social classes (Piedras Feria 2006; Schejtman 2008). The social construction of cultural heritage, revitalization of Indigenous traditions and knowledge depends on the proper understanding of the local concerns and concepts.

This interest in Indigenous studies and preservation of heritage goes beyond an interest to answer academic questions that link the present and past of each region (Atalay 2006; Fonte 2008). Ultimately, the growing interest in Indigenous studies proposes a different and legitimate way of understanding the world (Politis and Pérez Gollán 2007). In El Salvador, a country considered to be predominantly *mestizo*, the reintroduction of an indigenous component into the national identity offers the possibility of a more realistic and less oppressive society. Such a position, within an increasingly globalized society, advocates principles based on the respect of cultural diversity (Marroquín 1975; Piedras Feria 2006; Schejtman 2008). These principles allowed more equitable and successful coping with social crisis paradigms and class conflicts in this region.

### **3.2 New Paths of Cultural and Archaeological Management**

Today, there is increasing worldwide interest to know about the past of each region, and learn from ethnic diversity. Scholars believe it is possible to work against the ongoing loss of Indigenous identity by giving support and inclusion through social programs, and taking into account the conservation of local archaeology and intangible heritage as means to attain social and economic development (Atalay 2006; Bolaños 2012; Downum and Price 1999; International Council of Monuments and Sites, International Committee on Archaeological Heritage Management [ICOMOS, ICAHM] 2012; Marliac 1997; Marshall 2002; Sabloff 2008; Smith and Jackson 2006; Trigger 1968; UNESCO 2012[1972]; Vitelli and Pyburn 1997). In different parts of the world, scholars have recognized the importance of rural community involvement in archaeology to generate social and economic development, often based on their own values and

perceptions of development and heritage (Colwell-Chanthaphonh, Ferguson, and Anyon 2008; Lipe 1984; Miller et al. 1980; Rubertone 2008; Shanks and Tilley 1992; Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996a; White 2010). The world stage provides lessons and a number of models on the use and management of archaeological resources. El Salvador has been exploring some of these models throughout the last 15 years. However, this country is not yet fully taking advantage of available models.

For instance, Mexico gives a remarkable example that can be compared with El Salvador. The Mexican Secretariat of Tourism (SECTUR 2013a, 2013b, 2013c) points out that archaeological resources and cultural tourism in that country represent one of the driving forces of the national economy. According to the following chart comparing two polls carried out on Mexico and El Salvador between 2002 and 2006, the uses of archeological resources for tourist issues depicts a remarkable difference (Table 2). In Mexico (SECTUR 2013a:7), archaeology is one of the main lures for tourism activities (27%), while in El Salvador (MITUR 2007, online report), archaeology seems to be the least popular topic chosen by tourists (1.4%).

**Table 2. Preferred Activities by International Visitors in the Cultural Sector in Mexico and El Salvador.**

<b>Mexico</b>		<b>El Salvador</b>	
Source: Secretariat of Tourism of Mexico (SECTUR)		Source: Ministry of Tourism El Salvador (MITUR)	
Archaeology	27%	Gastronomy	9.3%
Architectonic monuments	23%	Monuments	4.8%
Towns and traditions	16%	Towns and traditions	3%
Museums and galleries	13%	Archaeology	1.4%
Gastronomy	8%	Others	81.5%
Handicrafts	5%		
Others	8%		

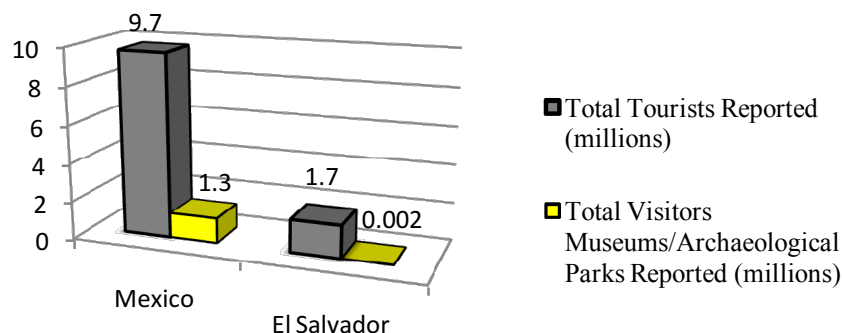
In 2012, between January and September, Mexico received 9.7 million foreign visitors, leaving behind more than \$5,593 million in profit. From this total of foreign visitors in Mexico, it is estimated that 1,336,821 visited museums and archaeological parks (SECTUR, Boletín Informativo 131/2012). Meanwhile in the same year, El Salvador received about 1.7 million foreign visitors (Portillo 2013, online report), generating around \$730 million in profit (MITUR 2013, online report). However, from these, it is reported that only 23,238 visited archaeological parks (FUNDAR 2013, online report). This means that from the general total of foreign tourists who visited Mexico in 2012, 13.78% visited museums and archaeological parks. Meanwhile, in El Salvador, in the same year only 1.3% of foreign tourists visited archaeological parks

(FUNDAR 2013, online report). These data are proof that archaeology in El Salvador as a tourism resource is not producing the same results as Mexico. Further, the income from Salvadoran archaeological tourism is not being used to benefit communities around archaeological resources by promoting local economic growth (Table 3).

Developmental strategies in other countries have considered archaeological sites as part of programs to create social and economic benefits for communities (Fonte 2008; Lafrenz Samuels 2009; Litvak and López Varela 1997; Piedras Feria 2006). The interest of visitors in archaeological resources depends on the strategies adopted by both local and central governments and communities.

The transformation of sites into parks is being carried out around the world as a common strategy toward the better uses of archaeological sites (Preucel and Matero 2008). This transformation includes archaeological excavation, restoration, construction of pathways and signs for tourists, local museums, visitor information centres, and other kinds of infrastructure for visitors. However, in El Salvador, profits gathered by archaeological parks go to state coffers rather than remaining in the local economy.

**Table 3. Total of Foreign Tourists Reported in 2012 in Mexico and in El Salvador and Total of Foreign Tourists that Visited Archaeological Sites the Same Year in Both Countries.**



Source: SECTUR 2013a:7, Boletín Informativo 131/2012; FUNDAR 2013, online report; MITUR 2013, online report. Chart adapted by the author.

Although ‘culture’ is an essential element for the tourism industry (since it attracts tourists and financial returns), tourism alone cannot provide the necessary development for a country (Piedras Feria 2006). Throughout the world, countries and agencies have been experimenting with different management programs in order to further development. However, these programs can fail because the local population responds in unexpected ways. Such was the

case of the Fes Medina Rehabilitation Project in Morocco conducted between 1999 and 2005 (World Bank 2014[2006]), when, according to Lanfrenz Samuels (2009:77), “ICOMOS and UNESCO have repeatedly voiced frustration over the preservation of the site and collection of site revenue.” The Tunisia Cultural Site Heritage projects can also be seen as an example of one kind of problem related to site revenues; these were sent to national institutions, depriving local guides of income and resulting in decreased local economic benefit (Lanfrenz Samuels 2009). This type of economic theory, which sends money back to the economic core rather than allowing at least some of the income to remain among local people who value and protect local culture, does not alleviate inequity but rather fuels it (Wallerstein 2006). Litvak and López Varela (1997) point out the case of Mexico in which management strategy failures are related to the lack of consensus between commercial, scientific, academic, and governmental interests. One result is the uncontrolled development of commercial areas, hotels and other businesses on or near the archaeological sites (e.g. Teotihuacan); such developments tend to degrade archaeological resources as well as the entire area (see Mendoza 2014).

Some scholars support the idea that archaeological heritage can be focused on management, conservation, tourism, and leisure activities (Smith 2006). Piedras Feria (2006) suggests that development stemming from cultural resources needs to create an integral policy allowing a healthy balance and sustainability between every involved sector. The following Table 4 is a summary of models of management based on cultural heritage being used in Latin America.

**Table 4. General Strategies for Cultural Resource Management in Latin America.**

<b>Model 1</b>	This model reconstructs cultural identity starting with the value of tangible cultural heritage and its relation with the development of surrounding societies. This model is -- or can be applied -- in a region that does not preserve its native languages or other cultural references, while -- the <i>mestizo</i> culture, which originated in the Colonial period and 19th century, prevails. Even though this model allows the improvement of services and sources of income, it nonetheless implies the construction of a false identity. It creates management problems and it is slow in obtaining results. This model is registered and applied in communities reported by Fonte (2008) in South America.
<b>Model 2</b>	This model tends to have a minimum dependency on local authorities for development, with initiatives organized by the same population. These initiatives pave the way to the creation of lodging, food establishments, guides and artisanship production. Additionally, this model can benefit from NGO (non-governmental organization) cooperation. The problem with this model is the generation of a non- authentic, or disjointed identity. For instance, some communities can be identified with the culture, whereas others identify with nature. Therefore, funding sources are necessary. This model is registered and applied in communities reported by Fonte (2008) in South America.

<b>Model 3</b>	This model assembles intermediate organizations, which include local governments, public and private institutions in order to carry out activities for developing the local culture. In this model, strategies are based on agricultural and forest production. Nevertheless, the problem is embedded within the lack of revitalization of cultural elements from the locality, as well as the inadequacies to give values to the local production. This model is registered and applied in communities reported by Fonte (2008) in South America.
<b>Model 4</b>	This model has development based on cultural tourism, which involves local families who are committed to the conservation of architectural heritage, and specialize in handicraft production. This model is registered and applied in communities reported by Fonte (2008) in South America.
<b>Model 5</b>	This model opts for the conception of a “cultural brand,” after the cohesion of many cultural elements within a territory. The term "territory" represents the “cultural brand,” which will result in the development of the region. This model is exposed by Schejtman (2008) focused on rural areas in Latin America.
<b>Model 6</b>	In this model, development can occur around cultural heritage, defined by tourism marketing and products with “cultural brand,” as well as the presence and dissemination of historical monuments. In this model, historic buildings act as “cultural brands.” This model is exposed by Schejtman (2008) focused on rural areas in Latin America.
<b>Model 7</b>	In this model, cultural heritage is considered as the main manager for development, working as a platform for further initiatives coming from local governments. This process includes the tangible and intangible heritage, as well as Indigenous traditions fused on Colonial and Republican elements. This model is exposed by Schejtman (2008) focused on rural areas in Latin America.
<b>Model 8</b>	Cultural heritage is managed by non-profit organizations. This model is exposed by Schejtman (2008) focused on rural areas in Latin America.
<b>Model 9</b>	This model integrates public and private initiatives, which drives the management of institutions, pointing in one single direction. This model is exposed by Schejtman (2008) focused on rural areas in Latin America.
<b>Model 10</b>	This model integrates local experiences in order to conduct development based on cultural identity. This integration includes experiences in the production of local crafts and traditional techniques, promotion and strengthening of local production, creation of local guides for archaeological heritage, creation of new government and private handicrafts, promotion of tourism, and others. The role of the local government is elemental, in which local legislation and tax incentives are key. Local people need to be part of everything: management, conservation, initiatives, and others. Local governments function as the promoters of initiatives, and as cultural vectors and connectors between people and central governments. This model is exposed by Hernández Asencio (2008) focused in the Colca Valley, Arequipa, Peru.



## Chapter 4 Methods

Once a historical overview of the institutionalization of archaeology in El Salvador is provided, it is possible to understand factors that shape the development and current management of archaeological resources within a socio-political context. History, as well as the models shown in Table 4, encompasses the existence of three entities in the CRM: government, academia, and rural communities. For this reason, it is crucial to study the current relationship between the three TIC entities. The method adopted is focused on the Second Phase of Institutionalization (1992-Present). Conceptually, this method is divided into three procedural parts:

- (1) **Documentary research centered on CRM.** In accordance with Downum and Price (1999:230-231), CRM studies supply at least three types of knowledge: (a) Information of the location of archaeological sites, their conservation status, and other attributes; (b) information concerning the potential of a site and its importance; and (c) issues related with mitigation, in which archaeology offers perspectives and techniques to help to minimize cultural losses. The present method includes a review of archival and government documents, anthropological and archaeological publications and reports, as well as national laws and international agreements for the protection and management of cultural heritage. Detailed and unpublished information concerning the uses, development, and management of archaeological resources throughout time can be found in these documents. Files and academic reports function as primary sources of information, which include management strategies adopted in certain periods, institutional organizations, budgets allocated, legal mitigation cases, academic procedures, and support provided by non-government institutions and the private sector. Lodged in those sources, it is possible to understand the level of interest that government and academics have deposited upon rural communities regarding their local heritage. The documents reveal the reasons for which rural communities are not getting involved with their local archaeological resources.
- (2) **Interviews with archaeologists and CRM experts in El Salvador.** The interviewing method in this study is based on a research model employed by Fowler (1982:37-39), who identified six main areas of concerns within CRM in the U.S. Fowler's concerns include: justifications in investment of CRM, the role of CRM studies, concerns about "salvage" versus "conservation," issues about the generation

of data in CRM, issues related with professional training in CRM, and issues concerning the increasing casuistry of project agency. Fowler's interviews were ranked by the level of interest according to experts, providing a broad understanding of what CRM and historic preservation entails, and selecting the information that contributes to the "public good." Following Fowler's model, I interviewed 12 CRM experts in El Salvador in order to provide an understanding of what CRM entails in this country regarding the needs of rural communities.

- (3) **Fieldwork.** This part of the research includes visits to archaeological sites, parks, museums, craft markets and stores. Observing archaeological regions set the bases to classify of the various kinds of archaeological sites in terms of accessibility and potential for further social and economic development. The parameters for this evaluation are based on infrastructure investment, quality of display and content, public access, and local economic dynamics. By observing handicraft production, it is possible to determine whether any substantial influence derived from archaeological studies contributes to the development of local industry, communal welfare, cultural identity, and popular imagery. Artisan production reveals the level of either inclusion or exclusion of rural communities from their participation in policies and development projects implemented by the government. These visits build criteria to assess the current uses of archaeological resources in El Salvador.

## **4.1 Data Collection**

The method includes the uses of notepads, camera, and videos to collect the data. Tables and forms were designed in order to gather and sort information as is explained below. The research was conducted between January 2012 and January 2014. Spanish is the official language of El Salvador; therefore, particular attention was paid to overcome the language barrier. Most information was translated into English, taking into account cultural idiosyncrasies. The information gathered is organized in quantitative and qualitative data.

### **4.1.1 Documentary Research**

Government archives are held at the SECULTURA headquarter and in the Specialized Library of MUNA in the capital city of San Salvador. This study evaluates a total of 1,028 files at the DA of SECULTURA and Specialized Library of the MUNA, dating from 1999 until 2012. Of all these files, 970 are related to legal mitigations concerning construction projects and protection of archaeological sites in different parts of the country (Appendix A). Mitigation files

provide information about inspections conducted and locations, protected sites, procedures, and recommendations. A table was designed to sort information collected from government files (Appendix A.1). This research also required tracing maps from the Salvadorian National Registry Centre (CNR). Original data from the current research was added to the traced maps. Secondary research were also consulted, including census and management plans.

This study also evaluates 245 archaeological reports submitted by scholars to the Salvadorian government between 1992 and 2012 (Appendix B). Archaeological reports are supported by progress reports, field diaries, maps, technical drawings, traces, dating of analysis results, digital files, photos and videos, and additional descriptions related to the investigation. Research forms were created as part of the current method in order to classify and organize data collected from archaeological reports (Appendix B.1).

The method also examines national legislation and international agreements that aim to protect archaeological resources in El Salvador, with the purpose of finding clauses that promote people's right to be involved in the management and protection of local archaeological resources. This search looks for legal commitments and agreements that emphasize the responsibilities of government and scholars with rural communities concerning the uses, management, and promotion of archaeological resources.

Rural communities' voices and concerns are reinforced in written documents from other anthropological and archaeological studies (Bruhns and Amaroli 2010; Chapin 1991; CTMPI 2003; De Burgos 2013; Delsol 2006; Guevara 1976; Henríquez Chacón 2011; Ikeda 2010a, 2010b; Lara Martínez 2005, 2003; Marroquín 1975; Rivas 2005). These documents also inform this thesis.

#### **4.1.2 Interviews**

Twelve interviews were conducted for this thesis. Three interviewees are academic archaeologists and hold positions at universities. Three are professional archaeologists and are private sector consultants. Six are institutional employees in government agencies and hold positions at universities. While not archaeologists, these later experts have experience with cultural issues in El Salvador and work with local communities. The criteria used to select this sample is based upon their experience with CRM in El Salvador, as well as their track record regarding community oriented approaches to field work or archaeological research. All of these experts have been active for at least 10 years in CRM or archaeology in El Salvador. This limited sample is due to the fact that Salvadoran CRM is a relatively new field and incorporates the first

graduating class of Salvadoran cultural experts in 2000 and the creation of new government institutions such as CONCULTURA (1991) and SECULTURA (2009).

Informed consent was required by those interviewed (Appendix C), approved by the UBC Research Ethics Board and attached to the status of the Tri-Council Policy Statement, issued on October 2, 2012. Letters requesting interviews were sent to a list of contacts. Interviews appointments were booked and acceptance was requested. The informed consent was signed before the interview.

These interviews were conducted by the general interview guide approach (Turner 2010), lasting approximately one hour each, and carried out in government and private venues. The interview was centered on one single question: How do you see the role of cultural resource management as a means to develop and contribute to the interests of local communities? Each interview was recorded by handwritten notes, and keeping confidentiality of the interviewees according to the informed consent. Quotations were then selected from interviewees.

#### **4.1.3 Fieldwork**

Fieldwork required exploratory visits to archaeological sites and parks, anthropological and archaeological museums, craft markets and stores in El Salvador. The data were collected through observation, under natural, non-manipulated setting, recorded with handwritten notes, pictures and videos. These activities were conducted between December 15, 2012 and January 15, 2013. That time is considered the beginning of the dry season and holiday season in El Salvador. Commerce and tourism increase at this time of year, therefore a better appreciation of the uses of archaeological parks, museums, and handicraft commerce can be observed.

National archaeological parks and sites visited included Tazumal, Casa Blanca, San Andrés, Cerén, and Cihuatán. The museum visited include MUNA, MUPI, MUA, Museum "Antonio Sol" in Cihuatán, Museum San Andrés, Museum Joya de Cerén, Museum "Dr. Stanley H. Boggs" in Tazumal, Museum Casa Blanca, Museum de Arte Popular de El Salvador, and Museo de los Mártires de la UCA. The better stocked craft markets and stores visited include Mercado Nacional de Artesanías (San Salvador), Mercado de Artesanías ex-Cuartel (San Salvador), Nahanché (San Salvador), El Arbol de Dios (San Salvador), Artesanías Fruto de Copinol (La Palma), La Pradera (La Palma), Souvenirs El Tazumal (Chalchuapa), Chalchihuit Jade y Artesanías Maya (Chalchuapa), Indigo Workshop in Casa Blanca (Chalchuapa), Telares y Artesanías (Ataco), Madre Tierra Handicraft (Ataco), Tienda de Artesanías Joya de Cerén (Cerén Park), and Mercadito de Artesanías San Andrés (San Andrés Park). During these visits

there was also time to have an informal discussions with local artisans and take notes concerning their perceptions about archaeology to inform this thesis.

Also informing this thesis are the author's previous visits as a former government official and freelance archaeologist in El Salvador between 1997 and 2010. That work can be found in publications, non-published reports, government files, videos, and a vast collection of pictures and notes stored in the DA. The copyright for the material created by the author remained the property of the author. Table 5 shows the places visited out of the total number of places that exist.

**Table 5. Places Visited by the Author Between 1997 and 2012.**

Place	National total amount of places	Visited between 1997-2010	Visited for this thesis 2012-2013
Archaeological sites	671	150 (approximately)	5
National archaeological parks	8 (5 parks)	8	5
Private archaeological park	1	1	0
Museums	20	13	10
Craft market and stores	Unknown	23	13

## 4.2 Data Evaluation

The level of relationship between the three entities included in the TIC, and the uses of archaeological resources in El Salvador can be identified in the following manner:

- (1) Recognizing the historical development of the uses of archaeological resources. The method selects historical aspects that have favoured the development of archaeology throughout time in El Salvador. Qualitative data is obtained. The development of the uses of archaeological resources is ranked in a process from simple to complex stages, and organized according to chronology. This information is derived from publications, non-public reports, government files and public archives. The data provides an overview of the historical development of the uses of these resources as a base to understand the current CRM. Results are described and presented in a chart.
- (2) Recognizing people's rights within legislations and international agreements. Quotations from law and international commitments were selected. By examining these sources, it is possible to recognize the level of State support for people's rights. This evaluation contributes to identify areas in legislation that might need changes.
- (3) Recognizing archaeological potential. Archaeological sites were sorted according to sites categories identified in the official archaeological atlas, official card records of sites, and archaeological reports. The current method organizes the data in order to provide an

overview of archaeological sites that exist in El Salvador, grouped by categories and chronologies, and reinforced with qualitative data concerning each category. Quantitative data provides information concerning the categorization of sites. The information gathered is presented in charts. It is also organized in a map that depicts site distribution according their location in each municipality.

- (4) Recognizing study trends and archaeological practices. The current method identifies two sorts of archaeological reports: academic reports and mitigation rescue and salvage, and recognizes the number of reports generated from 1992 to 2012. Based on these reports, the method classified the archaeological techniques that are most practiced and most common research issues. The most common suggestions provided by scholars concerning the uses of archaeological resources were also quoted and classified. Quantitative and qualitative data is presented. This data provides an overview of archaeological activity in the last 20 years, and the inclusion of rural communities in academic issues.
- (5) Recognizing government approaches with rural communities. The existing relationship between the Salvadorian government and rural communities is evaluated in terms of the number of archaeological/technical inspections that every municipality throughout the country has received between 1999 to 2012. Prior to 1999, there was no clear record of government inspections to any municipalities in the country. This data shows how frequently the government approached rural communities during the last decade and the number of files generated each year. The information gathered is identified within a map and charts, providing a quantitative overview of government activity during the last 14 years.
- (6) Recognizing scholars opinion. Quotations from interviewees were organized in a quantitative scheme by sorting and ranking the most common answers. Experiences shared by interviewees are also useful in suggesting alternative models to improve the current management of archaeological resources. The interviewees provided an inside perspective of the uses and management of archaeological resources, and information regarding communities' concerns about their local heritage. The results were compared with fieldwork observation and documents for corroboration.
- (7) Recognizing the current CRM. Government management, that include institutional organization, budgets, strategies and procedures were identified and described in this thesis. The information gathered is presented in qualitative data. This information is derived from government files, archaeological reports, archival review, online sources,

interviews, and fieldwork. Failures derived from mismanagement were identified that resulted in damage or neglect to sites. A list of sites that were damaged during the last 20 years is provided and their causes are analyzed descriptively. An overview of the current uses of archaeological resources is also provided, including the role of communities within the Salvadorian CRM, entities involved, and the uses of the documents resulted from archaeological researches. This evaluation contributes to identify areas in CRM that might need changes.

## **Chapter 5 Data Presentation and Results**

This chapter is divided into three sections. First, section 5.1 classifies the development of Salvadoran archaeology in six stages. Next, section 5.2 provides the information gathered concerning the Salvadorian CRM within the Second Phase of Institutionalization, which is presented in qualitative and quantitative data. Finally, section 5.3 provides a general evaluation and results concerning the management of archaeology and the current uses of archaeological resources in El Salvador.

### **5.1 Six Stages on the Uses and Management of Archaeological Resources**

The historical development of the institutionalization of archaeology in El Salvador can be divided into six critical stages that range from simple to complex in terms of the dominant uses of archaeological resources. These stages can be followed through the four historical phases of institutionalization of archaeology in El Salvador to evaluate the relationships of the entities of the TIC.

Stage 1 is characterized by an archaeological site that has been reported, but has not received any government or academic intervention. Sites, at this stage, are not protected. The reporting of sites comes from many sources such as members of civil society, agriculture workers, construction projects, media, students, and others. When a site is reported, it enters the system and government, academia, and communities can become involved. This Stage appears in all four phases of the history of institutionalization of archaeology -- from Squier's first observations (1853, 1855) until today. At present, there is a standard procedure using official forms, supported by data bases and modern technology used by archaeologists and government officials.

Stage 2 occurs when an archaeological site is officially recorded. After a site is reported, following Stage 1, the government initiates legal procedures in order to protect it. It starts with an official inspection, followed by a legal mitigation and official registration of the site. Overall, this assistance can be translated into legal protection without academic involvement. Historically, prior to governmental intervention, archaeological sites were an exclusive resource for academic studies. In the first part of the Initial Phase (1849 to 1930) this stage does not appear until the 1920s as El Salvador was entering the First Phase of Institutionalization (1930 – 1980). In this second phase, government intervention was initiated with the creation of the first Department of History in 1929, and throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, it was the prelude to all archaeological projects. Stage 2 must precede academic activities and all other stages.



Stage 3 is the time at which mitigation plans and formal archaeological studies are conducted. This stage includes surveys and test pits practices, rescue and salvage projects, and the implementation of academic studies. This stage appeared in the mid-19th century with the first notes provided by Squier (1853, 1855). However, academic studies have been formally implemented with the first archaeological excavation conducted by Habel (1878). Prior to the 1920s, academics sought to investigate archaeological sites without government approval. It was not until the late 1920s when academia started working in a close collaboration with the Salvadorian government. The latter adopted a better role in the practices and surveillance of archaeological issues, and increasing archaeological awareness. Mitigation activities started gaining ground. This collaboration between government and academia was briefly disrupted by the armed conflict of the 1980s. During that time, archaeology was solely managed by the government and some archaeological mitigation and recording continued to be carried out in some parts of the country. At the end of the armed conflict in 1992, the academic arm came under government supervision.

Stage 4 includes restoration and conservation procedures, as well as studies concerning public uses of archaeological resources. Site restoration/conservation practices are closely related to previous academic studies and current government budgets. El Salvador experimented with this stage during the First Phase of the Institutionalization of Archaeology (1930-1980) after the first archaeological restoration in Cihuatán by Sol (1929), until the 1950s with the large-scale excavations and restoration in Tazumal and San Andrés, and the creation of the first national archaeological parks. Little conservation occurred between the 1960s to the 1990s. In the 1990s, this stage is reintroduced as part of the Second Phase of Institutionalization (1992 – Present). Projects such as Cerén, led by Sheets (1983), and Casa Blanca, led by Ohi (2000), were the first endeavours to more widely disseminate research. Legislation and regulations now guarantee that this stage will permanently remain a part of archaeological heritage management procedures in El Salvador. Recent large-scale restoration projects like Ciudad Vieja, led by Erquicia in 2002 (2007), B1-2 in Tazumal led by Valdivieso between 2004 and 2008 (Valdivieso 2007b), and Cihuatán led by Amaroli since 2000 (Bruhns and Amaroli 2009), are some good examples of this process.

Another form of restoration, conservation, and public education related to archaeological remains are referred to as archaeological windows (National Institute of Anthropology and History [INAH] 2012). These windows can be placed in both public and private areas such as shopping malls, interiors of historic buildings, plazas, and parks. At least four archaeological

windows have opened in El Salvador in the last 20 years by different initiatives: *Santiago Apóstol* Colonial temple in Chalchuapa, *San Miguel Arcángel* republican church in Ilobasco, *Palacio Nacional* in San Salvador, and the most widely known open air archaeological window is located in the park of Casa Blanca, Chalchuapa (Figure 6). Furthermore, in 2010 four archaeological windows were in blueprint in order to show the effects of Ilopango volcano ash over archaeological furrows in San Salvador.



**Figure 6. The Casa Blanca Archaeological Window in Chalchuapa, El Salvador, Shows Part of a Preclassic Structure and Different Stratified Layers.**

Stage 5 is attained when formal studies concerning communities and their relation with local archaeological resources are carried out, including involving local organizations in site protection. This stage creates a collaborative relationship between government, academia, and rural communities based on archaeological resources and ancient knowledge. In El Salvador this stage clearly appears in the Second Phase of Institutionalization, beginning with a Japanese archaeological project in Casa Blanca, Chalchuapa (Ohi 2000) that involved the local communities as active members of the project, led by Ohi between 1995 and 2000. Ohi and his research team opened a local restoration workshop, where people from the community were

trained in restoration, conservation, and techniques for the maintenance of archaeological structures.

In the last 10 years, two new projects involving communities were initiated. The first conducted by French experts in San Isidro, Cabañas, led by Delsol (2006) and the second by Japanese experts in Nueva Esperanza, San Vicente led by Ikeda (2010a). Both integrated the communities' own perceptions of archaeology and the ancient past with archaeological projects. Ikeda (2010b) and Murano (2008) also interviewed individual in communities located near archaeological parks, such as Chalchuapa to determine local perceptions on park use and planning. In addition, projects using ancient technology have been set up as a new handicrafts for local benefit, such as the Usulután batik technique used to decorate ceramic in the Salvadorian Preclassic period, led by Murano in 2007-2008. I conducted the first Salvadorian study concerning the use and perception of archaeological resources by rural communities in San José Guayabal in 2008 (Valdivieso 2013). More recently, a comprehensive Salvadorian study in relation with local communities and their archaeological heritage took place in Chalchuapa, Santa Ana, led by Erquicia between 2010 and 2012.

Stage 5 is also emphasized in many archaeological reports and proposals that favour involving communities. Some of these reports argue for an expansion of these programs to other sites that have been the scene of the previous archaeological projects. In addition, there are some proposals particularly designed to engage communities with their local archaeological resources, such as the Joya de Cerén Capital Master Plan written in 2000 (CONCULTURA – Getty Conservation Institute 2013), the cultural program as part of the Millennium Challenge Corporation in the Northern region of El Salvador in 2008 (Albarracín-Jordán 2008a), and the cultural program for the Metropolitan Plan of the Great San Salvador region in 2010 (Valdivieso 2010b). Going beyond a mere proposal, there have been practical approaches to engage communities with their local archaeological resources, such as the Ciudad Vieja project led by Erquicia (2006) focused on communities El Molino and Primavera in Suchitoto, and Cuscatlán. Recent projects attempting to involve local communities with their archaeological past are Ataco, Ahuachapán led by Paredes Umaña and Cossich (2013) from 2009 to 2012. Other projects, such as Cihuatán, led by Amaroli (Amaroli 2012; Bruhns and Amaroli 2008) since 2000, invite communities to participate through a series of dialogues, in order to mitigate looting and site destruction, and engage local interests in archaeological activities in regions such as Guazapa, Aguilares, and Quezaltepeque.

Stage 6 is the dissemination of archaeological knowledge within CRM, government institutions and public education. Archaeological resources are used as a means to educate, promote tourism, increase local production, and solve economic and social problems. Government ministries, institutions, laws, and the private sector promote archaeological resources as a tool for development. In El Salvador, Stage 6 has been experimented with from the 1930s until present with a disruption during the Armed Conflict Phase (1980 – 1992). In the First Phase of Institutionalization (1930 – 1980), archaeology was used to promote patrimony through mass media, educational programs, tourism, and also as an image on postage stamps and local currency. This phase also saw the wide-scale construction of local archaeological parks and site museums. In the Second Phase of Institutionalization (1992 – Present), archaeological parks were remodelled, new regional museums were opened, and a national program to install archaeological windows was launched.

In El Salvador, it is possible that the first attempt to use ancient knowledge for social benefits was given by Sheets (1987). Based on artifacts recovered from Preclassic obsidian workshops, Sheets proposed to use a reconstructed Preclassic lithic production method for the modern production of surgical tools for eye surgeon Dr. Firmon Hardenberg (Buck 1982; Downum and Price 1999; Sheets 1975). This example demonstrates the potential for the use of archaeological knowledge in modern life, although this knowledge has never been put in practice in El Salvador. However, the indigo study led by Kojima (2000) as part of the Casa Blanca project (Ohi 2000), is the most remarkable project that reached this stage during the Second Phase of Institutionalization (1992 - Present). This project studied and experimented with the process and uses of indigo in order to re-establish the extinct colonial indigo industry in Chalchuapa. At the end of the Casa Blanca project, the community of Chalchuapa was able to traditionally process and use blue dye, triggering an economic revival, opening workshops to instruct new artisans, and selling indigo products in local stores. In this case, archaeological knowledge was successfully used to solve local community economic problems.

Other examples from other parts of the world include the work carried out by Don Crabtree (1968), who adopts ancient Mesoamerican techniques to replicate obsidian polyhedral core and prismatic blades. This knowledge can be used in modern contexts so people can process lithics using ancient technology. Another remarkable example that put in practice ancient knowledge in order to solve people's contemporary needs is the case in Lake Titicaca, led by Erickson in 1981 and 1982 (Downum and Price 1999; Erickson 1985; Sabloff 2008). Based in ancient agricultural technique, Erickson worked with local peasants, teaching them how

Prehispanic farmers successfully intensified their agricultural production and controlled water using certain techniques. Erickson aimed to adapt this knowledge into the modern situation in order to improve the local economy. This case can be a pilot project to be used in other areas. Spreading ancient knowledge within educational systems, and emphasizing its advantage as well as its progress in the uses of the knowledge, is part of Stage 6 in any part of the world. Disseminating ancient knowledge for social benefits need to be framed within a national program.

### 5.1.1 Summary

The institutionalization of archaeology in El Salvador is a complex process that encompasses six critical stages of the development of archaeological intervention in archaeological sites (Table 6).

**Table 6. Six Stages on the Uses and Management of Archaeological Resources in El Salvador.**

Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3	Stage 4	Stage 5	Stage 6
Archaeological Sites Reported	Site Recorded	Site Mitigation	Restoration / conservation	Community interaction	Disemination of Archaeological Information
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Site has been reported, but there is no government or academic intervention.</li> <li>- Site is not protected</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Archaeological site under legal protection.</li> <li>- Government inspection.</li> <li>- Official registration of the site.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Surveys and test pits.</li> <li>- Rescue and salvage.</li> <li>- Academic studies.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Study of public uses of the site.</li> <li>- Archaeological Windows.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Formal studies concerning the interaction between local archaeological resources and communities.</li> <li>- Local organization for site protection.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Formal study of sites as part of national interest.</li> <li>- Formal study of sites for its proper management within institutional structures.</li> <li>- Studies of the sites as an alternative of development.</li> <li>- Uses of the sites to strengthen cultural identity.</li> <li>- The sites within globalization (museum and its technology, media, tourism, education, others.)</li> </ul>

Within the four phases of the history of institutionalization of archaeology in El Salvador, these stages are non-linear, meaning they begin at different points in time and at times overlap. They are sometimes disrupted and fluctuate according to external influences, and social changes such as the armed conflict during the 1980s. These stages have been historically scattered until the Second Phase of Institutionalization in the 1990s when all six stages are visible in a linear fashion (Figure 7). When the six stages line up in the last phase of institutionalization, the

archaeological resources can be deemed to have reached an optimum state for the inclusion of local groups. The existence of all stages within the Second Phase of Institutionalization does not signify a strong link between government, academia, and rural communities in the TIC model.

Stage 1 (site reported) and Stage 3 (site mitigation) are present throughout the four phases of institutionalization. Stages 1 and 3 both include academic approaches. In the very beginning of the history of institutionalization, archaeological sites were reported by scholars. In this way, academic intervention historically started its role before any government involvement, as is represented in Stage 2 since the 1920s. Stage 2 (sites recorded) appeared after the first official list of archaeological sites in El Salvador was created, and after the first department of history started taking care of archaeological sites throughout the First and Second Phase of Institutionalization. Stage 4 (restoration/conservation) was represented between the 1930s and the 1950s within the First Phase of Institutionalization, becoming visible again in the late years of the Armed Conflict Phase (1980-1992) until the present. Stage 5 (Community Interaction) appears only during the Second Phase of Institutionalization (1992-Present). Stage 6 (Dissemination of Archaeological Information) represents the ultimate level in which archaeological resources are fully used and promoted in a wide context in order to solve social, political, and economic problems. This stage appears from the 1930s to the 1980s as part of the First Phase of Institutionalization, disrupted by the Armed Conflict, and emerging again in the early 1990s, during the Second Phase of Institutionalization.

For the point of view represented in this thesis, Stages 5 and 6 are the most important levels since these are the levels in which government, academia, and rural communities interact. The reason why Stage 5 appears only in the Second Phase of Institutionalization can be related with the political changes that followed the end of the armed conflict. Its absence in previous periods is based on the historical marginalization of Indigenous and rural communities from the governmental and academic agendas throughout the 20th century. This issue of marginalization is related to the long period of social and economical instability and the armed conflict in El Salvador. In the aftermath of the civil war, a new phase of social reconciliation began, and subsequently local communities started to be considered in management plan proposals for archaeological resource development. These proposals often came from non-governmental institutions, and can be seen as a blueprint for solving social problems, including issues of social support, political bias, low budgets, lack of experts, and lack of infrastructure. Those are factors that also hinder changes to the management of archaeological resources throughout the country.

The development of archaeological resources within management plan proposals have not been put into practice because the government is still working under a centralized system that limits its influence in rural areas.

The production of knowledge coming from archaeological projects generally remains within academia and governmental spheres, rather than being used to solve community problems. Prior to any kind of investment in archaeology, it is necessary to understand local legislation and international agreements, archaeological potentialities and the various type of archaeological sites included in this country, as well as academic contributions, and governmental systems and procedures. The relationship between government, academia, and rural communities within the Second Phase of Institutionalization requires a thorough evaluation as explained in the next section of this chapter. Following the discussion above, graphically it is possible to represent the different stages within the phases of institutionalization of archaeology on El Salvador (Figure 7).

## **5.2 The Second Phase of Institutionalization (1992 – 2012)**

In order to understand the current management of archaeological resources as well as the involvement and role of rural communities as part of the TIC, the following section analyzes the Second Phase of Institutionalization (1992 – 2012), introduced in Chapter 2. This section evaluates the Salvadorian legislation and international agreement, academic development, and government management.

### **5.2.1 Salvadorian Legislation and International Agreements**

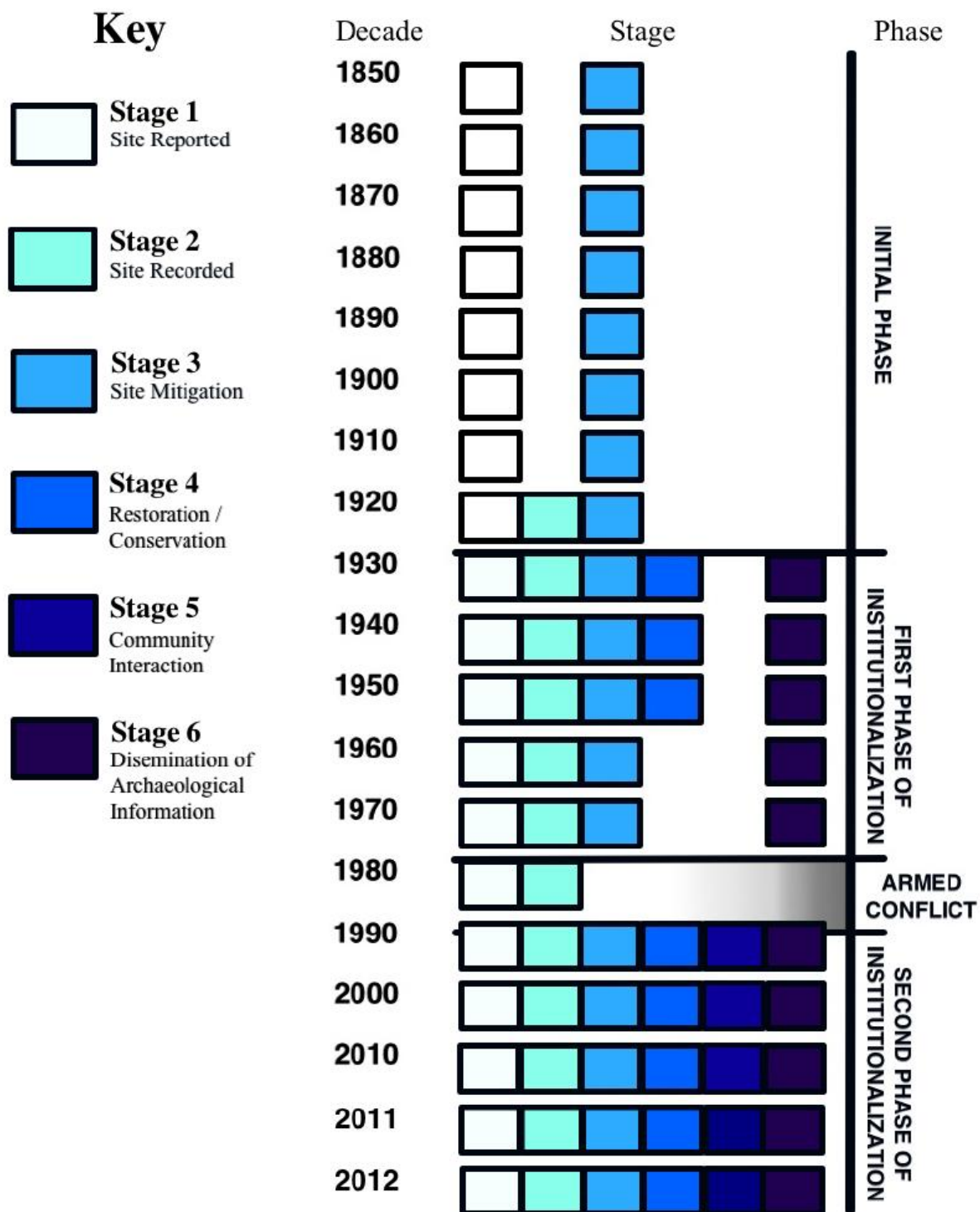
The review of legislation and international agreements presented in this section aims to understand legal responsibilities assumed by central and local governments in order to protect and include rural communities in archaeological programs. This review recognizes government commitments to the management of archaeological resources according to international standards. The resulting review of legislation and international agreements provides an overview of the governmental commitment to Salvadorian people and their cultural resources, identifying clauses that promote the people's right to be included in the management and protection of local archaeological resources.

#### **Legislation**

The Constitution of El Salvador (Asamblea Legislativa de El Salvador 1983) guarantees every citizen the enjoyment of freedom, health, culture, welfare, economic and social justice (Article 1). Article 63 adds that artistic, archaeological and historic wealth are all part of



# EL SALVADOR



Scheme proposed by the author.

**Figure 7. Six Stages on the Uses and Management of Archaeological Resources Throughout the History of Institutionalization of Archaeology in El Salvador.**



Salvadorian cultural treasures, which remain under the protection of the State and subject to special laws for conservation.

In 1993, the Legislative Assembly, through Decree 513 (Asamblea Legislativa de El Salvador 1993:1), created the Special Law for the Protection of Cultural Heritage of El Salvador and its Regulations, through the Ministry of Education or Secretariat of the nation that is responsible for the administration of cultural heritage. This law regulates the rescue, research, preservation, protection, promotion, dissemination, and enhancement of Salvadorian cultural treasures (Article 1). Community involvement is mentioned in this law as an essential partner to achieve the conservation, maintenance, and valuation of cultural heritage.

The Special Law for the Protection of Cultural Heritage of El Salvador (Asamblea Legislativa de El Salvador 1993) demands the creation of Standards to Regulate Archaeological Investigations in El Salvador, and Rules for the organization and internal functioning of the Department of Inventory and Register of SECULTURA, authorized on December 20th, 2007 (Asamblea Legislativa de El Salvador 2007:188-195).

The Municipal Code (Asamblea Legislativa de El Salvador 2000) is a tool to support the development and preservation of archaeological heritage. Under Article 4, paragraphs 1, 4, 7, 9, 10, 12, 18, 19, and 23 of the Municipal Code, municipalities are responsible for the approval and implementation of development plans for urban and rural locations, as well as for the promotion of culture. In addition, Article 15, Chapter 3 of the Environmental Law, culture issues must be properly addressed in every Spatial and Development Plan proposed by the Environment Ministry (Ministerio de Medio Ambiente 1998).

Archaeological protection and development is also included in the regulatory norms of Planning of Great San Salvador (OPAMSS), and the Metropolitan Land Use and Developmental Plan (AMSS). However, archaeological protection is also a concern of the Ministry of Urban Development and Housing (VMVDU), including SECULTURA, to issue legal mitigations for their internal projects (Asamblea Legislativa de El Salvador 2012).

Legislation and international agreements to protect archaeological heritage are included in the curricula of the archaeology program given by the *Universidad Tecnológica de El Salvador* (UTEC 2013). This is the only university that offers professional training in archaeology in El Salvador; the program was inaugurated in 1995.

## **International Agreements**

Today, El Salvador has been included in 16 international conventions and agreements concerning cultural heritage protection. Among these agreements, the most important are:

- (1) Ratification of the Hague Convention (UNESCO 2014[1954]). This convention is an international agreement in which the signed countries are committed to protect cultural heritage properties in periods of armed conflict.
- (2) Convention on the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage by UNESCO (2014[1972]). In order to protect cultural heritage, this convention provided an agreement by establishing a supportive system for international cooperation, including financial, artistic, scientific and technical assistance.
- (3) UNESCO Convention (2013[1970]) on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property (ratified by El Salvador in 1978). This convention is an international agreement and cooperation against the illicit import, export and transfer of ownership of cultural property, considering that these practices are one of the main causes of the impoverishment of cultural heritage of the countries of origin of such properties.
- (4) Convention on the Protection of the Archaeological, Historical and Artistic Heritage of the American Nations, ratified in 1980 (Department of International Law 2013[1976]). The purpose of this convention is to prevent illegal exportation or importation of cultural property, and promote cooperation among the American nations for mutual appreciation and awareness of their cultural heritage.
- (5) Charter for the conservation of cultural sites "Burra Charter" adopted by ICOMOS (2013[1981]). This charter defines basic international principles and procedures to be followed in the conservation, restoration, and management of places with cultural significance.
- (6) UNIDROIT Convention on Stolen or Illegally Exported Cultural Objects (International Institute for the Unification of Private Law [UNIDROIT]2014[1995]). This convention was created for the restitution of stolen cultural objects, as well as the return of cultural objects removed from the country or territory of origin. This convention contributes in the prevention and protection of cultural heritage in the interest of all.
- (7) Memorandum of Understanding between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Republic of El Salvador Concerning the Imposition of Import Restrictions on Certain Categories of Archaeological Material from the

Prehispanic Cultures of the Republic of El Salvador (Embassy of the United State of America 2013[2005]). This agreement was created in order to prevent and prohibit the illicit import, export and transfer of cultural property of both countries, as well as to reduce the pillage of archaeological sites in El Salvador, and collaborate in the preservation and protection of such cultural patrimony through appropriate technical assistance, training, and resources.

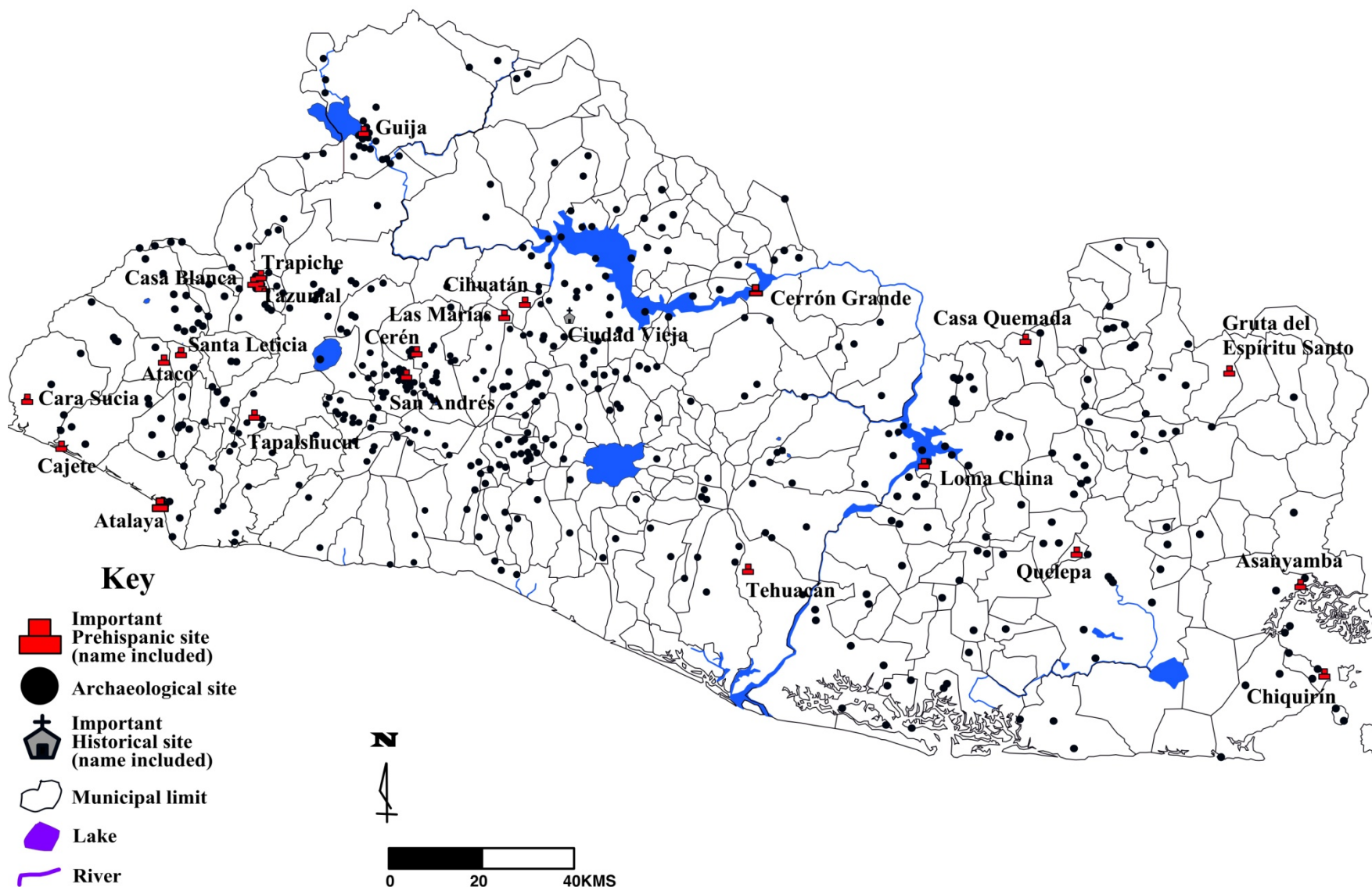
(8) The Central American Convention for the Protection of Cultural Heritage (2013[1996]).

This convention is undertaken in order to unify the effort of the Central American region to protect their cultural heritage. This convention covers legal, political, financial, and technical aspects of cooperation.

### **5.2.2 Archaeological Sites in El Salvador**

Sites in El Salvador vary according to periods and types, and range from simple obsidian workshops or burials to complex ancient villages and cities. Monuments and samples of building material are considered part of an archaeological site. In 2006, the official record counts 671 archaeological sites in El Salvador (Valdivieso 2007a:311). These sites are divided in the following way based on government priority: 8 are considered high priority for investigation and study, 545 are low priority with less government and academic intervention, 48 are historical sites, 66 are rock art, and 4 are underwater sites. Archaeological parks include a museum, and an administration and maintenance sections. Among the list of archaeological sites in El Salvador, 8 have been purchased by the state, and 5 of those have been transformed into real archaeological parks: Cerén, San Andrés, Tazumal, Casa Blanca, and Cihuatán; meanwhile 2 sites are under development as parks: Ciudad Vieja and Gruta del Espíritu Santo. The last site, Cara Sucia, is under government care without major interventions. Santa Leticia is the only private archaeological park in El Salvador.

Figure 8 depicts those sites deemed to be the most important according to recurrent archaeological investigations and publications as well as those whose documentation includes particular or relevant information concerning data, settlement pattern, area, geographical location, and material contained. Most archaeological sites are located in the Central and Western region of El Salvador. This is at least partly caused by increased site visibility and recording due to increased development and construction projects in the region (CNR 2000). It is important to note that the Central and Western region of El Salvador is also considered to be the South-eastern Maya boundary zone during the Classic period (Amador, Ramírez and Garnica



Source: Political administrative-division adapted from a public map of El Salvador available at the National Register Centre in El Salvador (CNR 2000:13). Map of archaeological sites provided by SECULTURA. Data adapted by the author.

**Figure 8. Distribution of Archaeological Sites in El Salvador and its Municipalities.**

2008; Andrews 1986; Baudez 1986; Beaudry-Corbett 2002). This region is also considered having a remarkable increase in population during the Postclassic period, and is characterized by the introduction of new cultural patterns related with central Mexico (Fowler Jr. 1983; Valdivieso 2007b). These facts encourage many archaeologists to study archaeological sites in this part of the country, linking their research concerns with the rest of the great cultures in the Mesoamerican region.

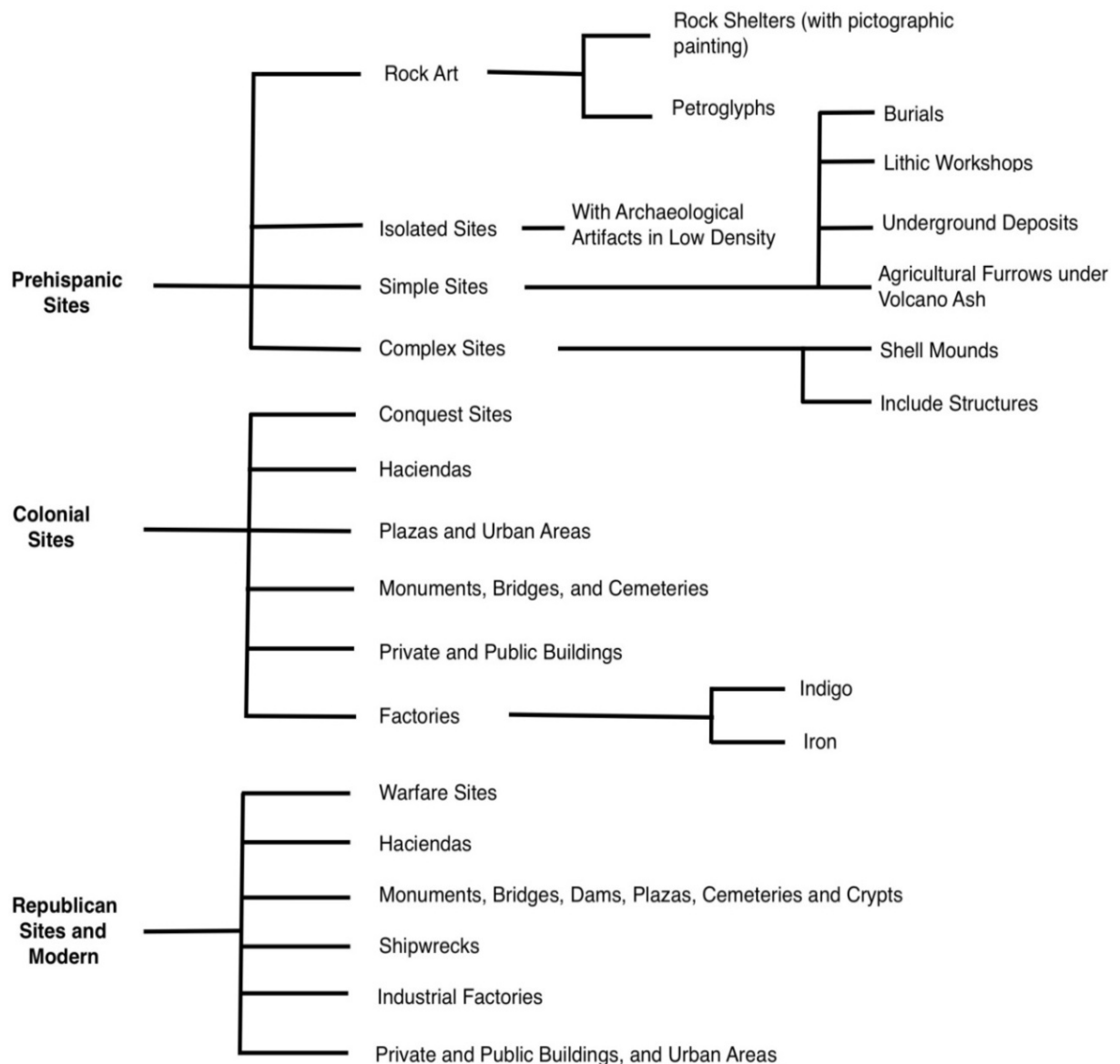
However, the official list of archaeological sites is incomplete and inaccurate. There are many sites that are not on the official record list, and many other sites registered decades ago seem to be disappearing as a result of looting, urban growth, natural events, or wilful devastation caused by ignorance or negligence. Most sites from the Colonial and Republican periods are not included in the list; nor are underwater sites and small scattered archaeological remains, such as concentrations of shards or obsidian workshops.

### **Archaeological Site Classification**

Based on descriptions logged in legal mitigation files, index card records, an official archaeological atlas, archaeological reports, and information gathered from fieldwork observations (see Appendix A and B), the current study groups four main categories of sites in El Salvador which are sorted by historical periods. Each category contains different classes of archaeological remains classified by context (Figure 9).

#### **5.2.3 The Academia**

This section examines 245 published and unpublished archaeological reports generated between 1992 and 2012, which are submitted by scholars to the government throughout the Second Phase of Institutionalization. These reports are considered academic scholarly works submitted to the Salvadorian government, and stored in both the DA of the SECULTURA, and the specialized library of MUNA in San Salvador. This evaluation aims to understand types of archaeological resources contained in El Salvador, the level of rural communities' involvement in archaeological research, and scholars' interest in these communities as evidenced in their archaeological projects. This section provides a classification of archaeological sites contained in El Salvador, as well as an evaluation of archaeological activities with particular attention to how archaeologists have interacted with rural communities.

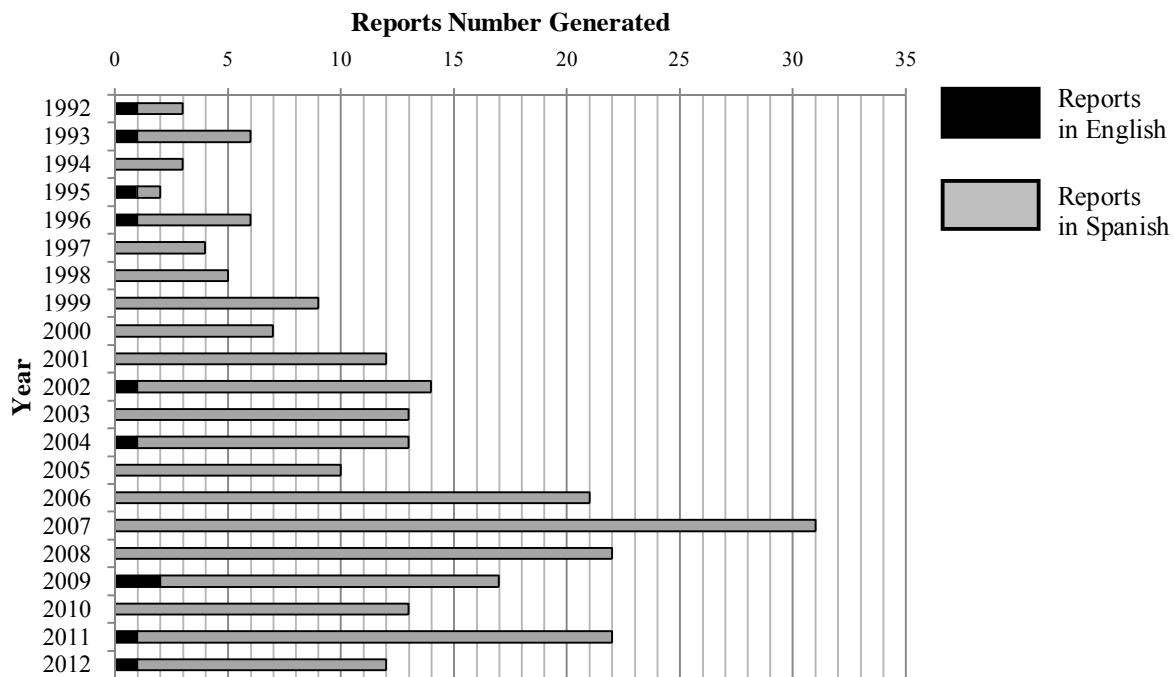


Scheme proposed by the author.

**Figure 9. Archaeological Site Classification Scheme in El Salvador.**

Very few archaeological reports have been published during this phase of institutionalization. The frequency of reports from 1992 to 2000 ranges from 3 to 9 reports per year. However, in the period from 2001 to 2005, this number increased from 7 to 14 reports per year. From 2006 to 2012, the number of reports increased from 12 up to as many as 31 per year. Most archaeological studies have been written in Spanish since 1992 (Table 7). The fluctuation of archaeological reports generated in the Second Phase of Institutionalization reflects government organization and institutional changes.

**Table 7. Archaeological Reports Generated from 1992 to 2012.**



### Archaeological Sites of Greater Interest

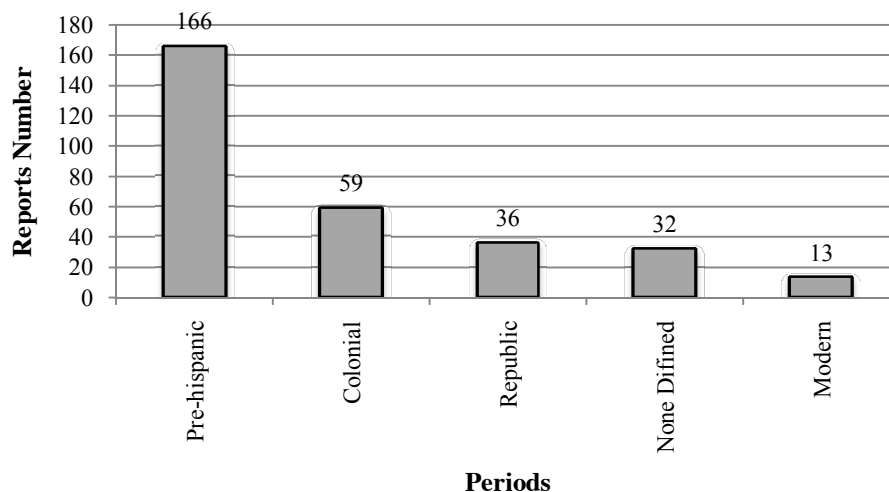
The interest of government and scholars in archaeological resources in El Salvador can be measured by analysing the number of archaeological reports generated within each category as follows:

- (1) Prehispanic sites (N=166/67.75% of archaeological reports generated). This category includes only Indigenous sites (1500 BC - 1521 AD). In El Salvador, Prehispanic sites present the most variables types, from simple agricultural furrows to complex settlements such as Cerén, Chalchuapa, Cihuatán, and San Andrés. Simple sites described in Figure 9 are the most frequent sites under this category. The most studied Prehispanic regions in El Salvador are the Zapotitán valley, the Cihuatán area, and the Chalchuapa region. In El Salvador archaeologists predominantly work on Prehispanic sites (Table 8).
- (2) Colonial sites (N=59/24% of archaeological reports generated). This category includes sites from the Spanish colony (1521 AD – 1821). The most representative site under this category in El Salvador is Ciudad Vieja, the earliest Spanish colonial village founded in 1524. However, churches, haciendas, iron and indigo factories are the most frequent sites within this category.
- (3) Republican sites (N=36/14% of archaeological reports generated). This category includes sites from the independence year to the present (1821-Present). Private and public

buildings are the most frequent sites within this category. The most representative zones from this period are downtown San Salvador, Suchitoto city, Sonsonate city, Santa Ana city, Ahuachapán city, Nueva San Salvador city, and San Miguel city. The work in Republican sites has increased after two great earthquakes in 2001 in El Salvador, which triggered many restorations and archaeological interventions on churches and public buildings.

- (4) Modern sites (N=13/5.3% of archaeological reports generated). This category includes places from the 20th century that are considered part of the local heritage and include sites such as battle grounds, or places in which significant natural disasters, tragic scenarios, and political events have occurred (Scott and McFeaters 2011; Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996a, 1996b). Other kinds of sites related to the progress and industry of the country such as the first dam of the country, first steel bridges, factories, and buildings are included. Today only the *Helicópteros* site (SECULTURA, record card 40-16) located in San Miguel, is part of this category recorded in the official record list of archaeological sites in El Salvador. *Helicópteros* is the wreckage of two helicopters from the armed conflict of the 1980s. Potential sites for inclusion in this category include *El Mozote*, in Morazán, *Tatus* in Guazapa, *Las Colinas*, in Nueva San Salvador, *Ruinas Puente de Oro*, in San Vicente, *Ruinas Puente Cuscatlán*, in Usulután, *Ojo de Agua* dam, in San Salvador, *Colonia Bloom* in San Salvador, as well as some underwater wrecks off of the Pacific coast. Modern sites are depicted as the least explored sites by archaeologists in El Salvador (Table 8).

**Table 8. Archaeological Chronology Receiving More Attention According to Reports Generated.**





## Academic Trends

The practice of archaeology in El Salvador is closely related to the academic archaeological work and the cultural, social, political, and economic paradigms prevailing at any particular time. Only two categories of archaeological reports have been recognized in this study. These categories are based on the purpose and the subject that each report addresses: Academic reports and Mitigation Rescue and Salvage reports. Archaeological reports for the period of 1992 to 2012 indicate the following (Table 9, Appendix B):

- (1) Academic reports (N=130/53.06% of archaeological reports generated). Archaeologists in El Salvador often work in sites which are already protected, and with artifacts that come from rescues and salvage projects. As shown in Table 9, academic reports are the most prevalent documents generated.
- (2) Mitigation rescue and salvage (N=119/48.57% of archaeological reports generated). Mitigation rescue and salvage efforts are triggered by development projects and population expansion, including agricultural activity, dam constructions, installation of power transmission lines, and road constructions. They can also be due to serendipitous discoveries occurring in the aftermath of natural events such as earthquakes or floods.

**Table 9. Number of Reports Generated from 1992 to 2012, Classified Into Two Types: Academic Reports, and Mitigation Rescue and Salvage Reports.**

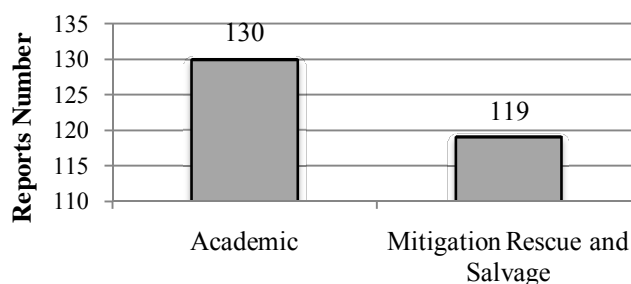
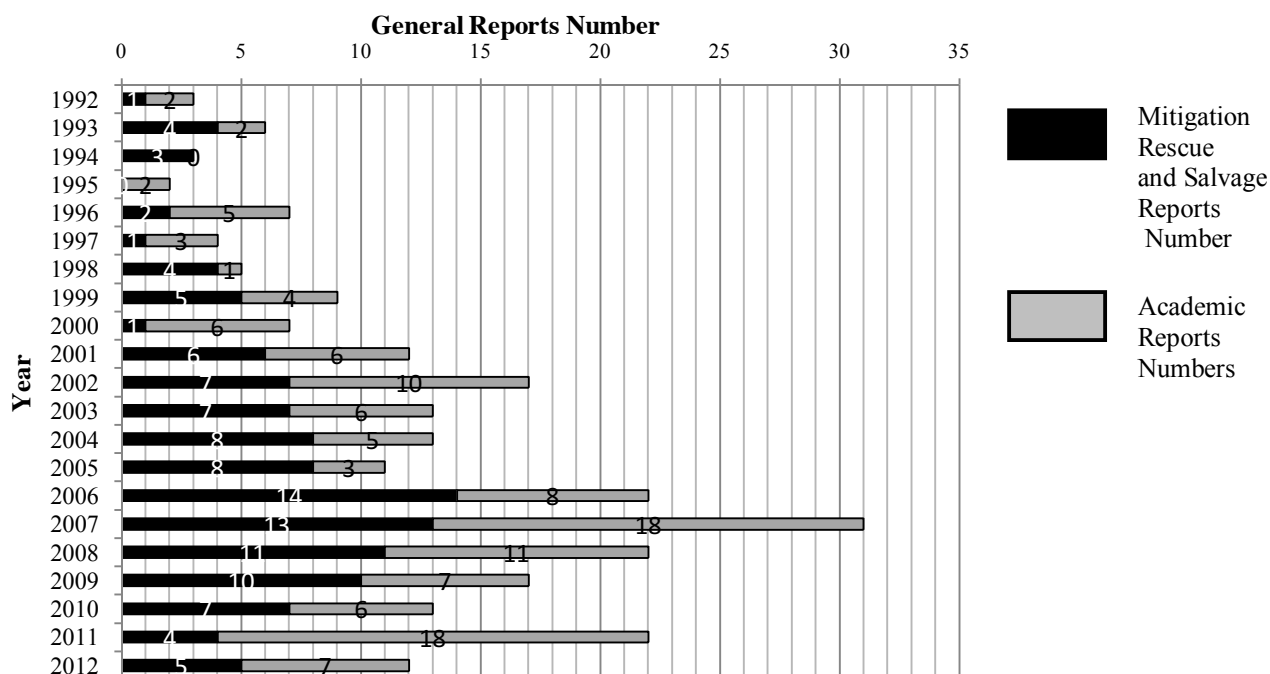


Table 10 enables to track the amount of reports generated between 1992 and 2012. This chart provides a perspective of archaeological activity in a chronological frame. Fluctuation on the generation of archaeological reports is linked with institutional changes, legislation, and management strategies as is further explained in the current chapter.

Investigations and other forms of activities in archaeological sites can move from just identifying the site, possibly with surveys, to more detailed studies by implementing techniques such as test pits, excavation and materials analysis. Archaeological reports provides quantitative

**Table 10. Reports Generated From 1992 to 2012 According to Type and Arranged by Year.**



data according to archaeological techniques practiced in El Salvador. Sites can be further evaluated with this data with regard to identifying the uses of archaeological resources by archaeologists.

In El Salvador, this thesis recognizes five main kinds of archaeological techniques practiced in mitigation rescue and salvage projects, as well as in academic projects (Table 11, Appendix B):

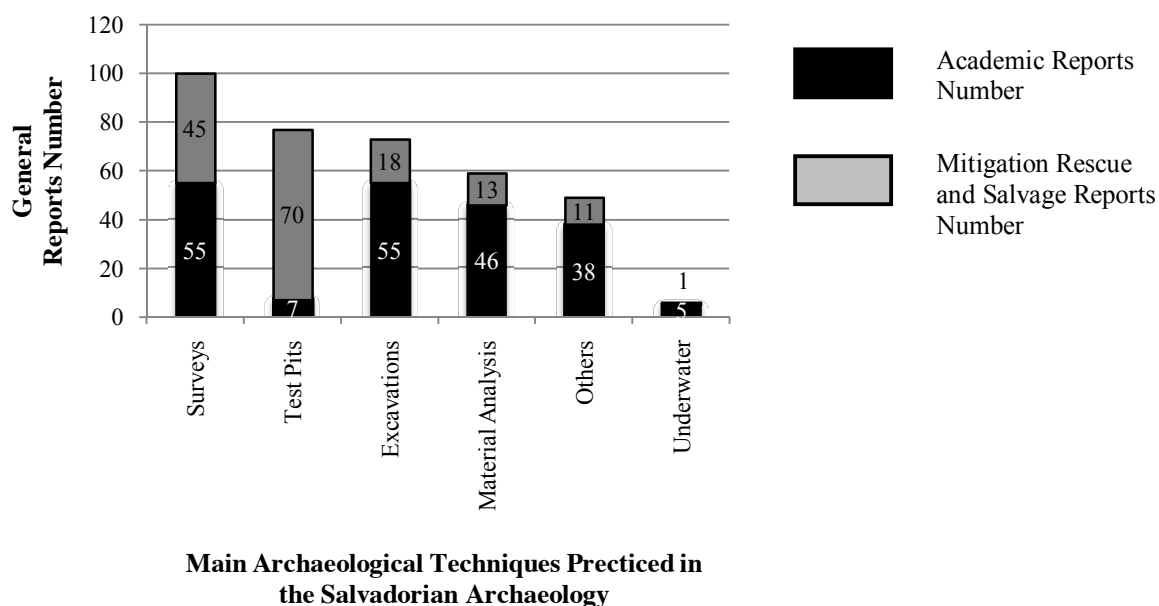
- (1) Surveys, or reconnaissance surveys (N=100/40.81% of archaeological reports). The pedestrian survey is the most common technique in order to locate and record archaeological remains. Other archaeological techniques include geophysical surveys, electromagnetic methods, and aerial or satellite reconnaissance. Site area and preliminary maps, identification of concentrations of artifacts and structures, preliminary photos, surface data, and archaeological samples can be derived from reconnaissance surveys. Any survey will result in a map including data from discovered sites.
- (2) Test pits (N=77/31.42% of archaeological reports). In El Salvador, as elsewhere, testing is often employed following archaeological surveys.
- (3) Excavation (N=73/29.79% of archaeological reports). Fuller investigations involving larger scale excavations can be used to record and recover evidence as part of rescue and salvage projects as well as to answer academic questions.

- (4) Materials analysis (N=59/24.08% of archaeological reports). These studies are applied to materials recovered from surveys, testing and excavation.
- (5) Underwater archaeology (N=6/2.44% of archaeological reports). These are the least explored sites since they are few in number and they require methods and techniques that are just now entering the Salvadoran repertoire. Such explorations require a large budget, new technologies and specialized training. It is nonetheless being practiced in lakes and in the sea.

In summary, archaeological surveys are an essential part of any kind of both academic and mitigation rescue salvage and are fairly routinely conducted. Test pits are commonly used in mitigation rescue and salvage interventions. Fuller excavation, material analysis, underwater archaeology, and other techniques tend to be concentrated in academic projects. The category of ‘Other’ techniques includes cartography, visual images, documents, oral references and non-conventional means.

Rural communities can be able to understand the benefits that archaeological resources provide by exploring the most recurrent research issues over these resources. These concerns trigger a site intervention for protection and development. In other words, the ongoing search for answers and development of knowledge enables to develop archaeological sites. The interest on a site and its further development depends on what archaeologists are looking for. Therefore,

**Table 11. Archaeological Techniques Most Practiced in El Salvador According Reports Generated From 1992 to 2012.**



Note: some archaeological projects require more than one of the techniques depicted in this chart (Appendix B).

understanding the range of research issues of archaeologists will put certain sites on the loop of government institutions and sponsors, developing researching projects from which local communities can be benefited.

Research issues can be summarized in the following way (Table 12, Appendix B):

- (1) Artifact typology (N=148/60.4%). Definition of specific characteristics of material, shape and decoration, which is then classified by types according to chronology, culture and region.
- (2) Chronology (N=146/59.5%). Chronological studies are mostly found in academic reports.
- (3) Stratigraphic studies (N=105/42.8%). Soil layers in El Salvador include sediments and volcanic ash dated by geologists. Archaeological stratigraphic context provides relative ages of different parts of sites. There is an ongoing search for finding archaeological sites associated with volcanic ash and sediments. Agricultural furrows buried by volcanic ash are frequently found.
- (4) Architecture/construction (N=99/40.4%). Prominent in the large sites with major centres.
- (5) Conservation (N=60/24%). The conservation of sites requires prolonged projects in order to determine fluctuations in the condition of the site and its resilience against environmental factors. Conservation is mostly included in academic reports and is primarily seen in larger sites that can serve as tourist attractions.
- (6) Clarifying particular facts (N=43/17.5%). Particular questions can arise about certain periods, archaeological sites or materials that cause a focused effort. For instance, a discovery of a cache of early 20th century weapons from an archaeological excavation carried out inside a church, can bring out questions related with the role of the church in tumultuous times (Valdivieso 2005b). Such cases are usually found in academic reports.
- (7) Understanding cultural distributions in socio-political terms (N=42/17.1%). The study of regional centres in relation with local centres, or villages, site size, social and political territories, population density, and organization is predominantly included in academic reports.
- (8) Environment and ecology (N=39/15.9%). Reconstruction of the prehistoric environment and tracking changes in that environment is largely an academic pursuit that often involves a variety botanical, geological, faunal specialists.
- (9) Ancient religion and government (N=35/14.2%). These topics are of great importance to studies of complex ancient cultures. Related research deals with the nature of prehistoric

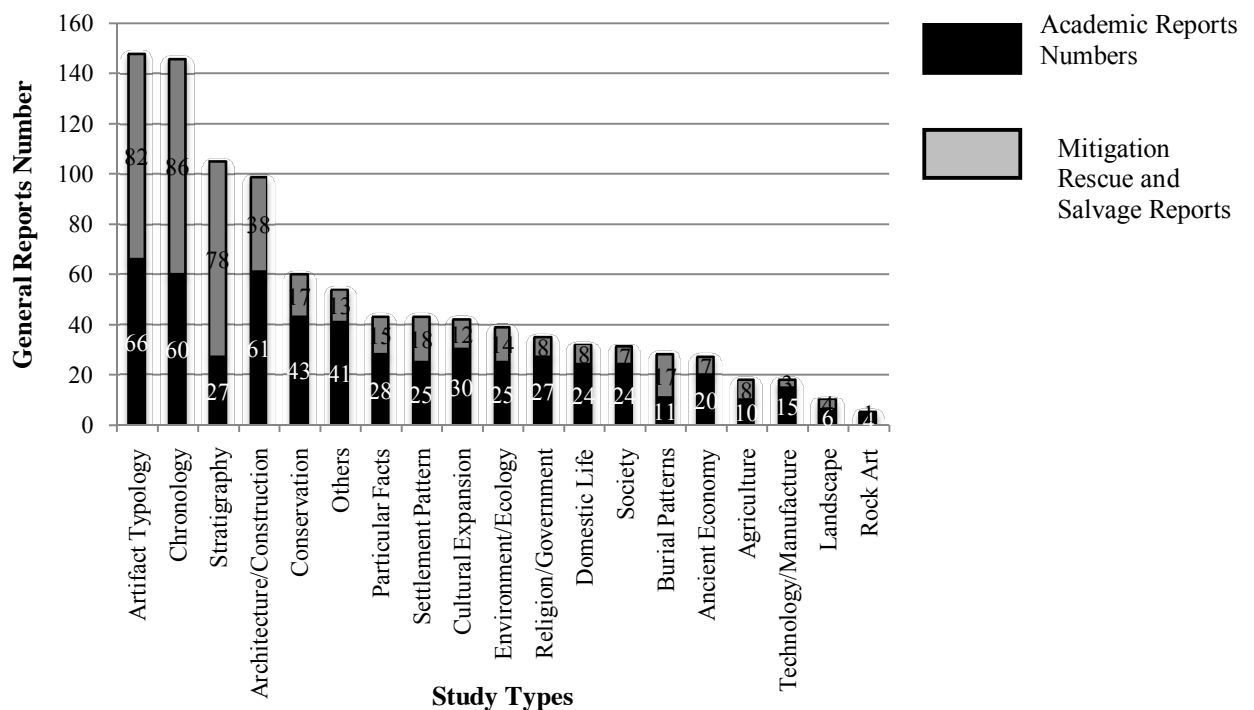
society (N=31/12%). Concern with domestic life was found in 32/13% of the reports, burial patterns (N=28/11.4%), ancient economy (27/11%), agriculture (N=18/7.3%), technology and manufacturing (N=18/7.3%), and landscape (N=10/4%). Rock art studies (N=5/2%) have not formed a major part of the research agenda.

(11) Other research issues (N=54/22%) are focused on the uses of sites as a park, the creation of archaeological windows, the study of urban areas as historical centres, the inclusion of local people in archaeological projects, and planning for future uses of certain sites and archaeological materials.

Most recurrent research includes artifact typology, chronology, and stratigraphy (Table

12) Landscape archaeology and rock art are underdeveloped in El Salvador, at least until 2012.

**Table 12. Most Recurrent Issues.**



The fate of any site or artifact depends on decisions made in the government agencies. This in turn relies on archaeologists' suggestions. These suggestions, included in most reports, are key to developing certain archaeological sites in which communities can be involved. Here I review the most basic suggestions that are emphasized in every report. The frequency of suggestions reflects the level of interest in the academic sector to involve rural communities with

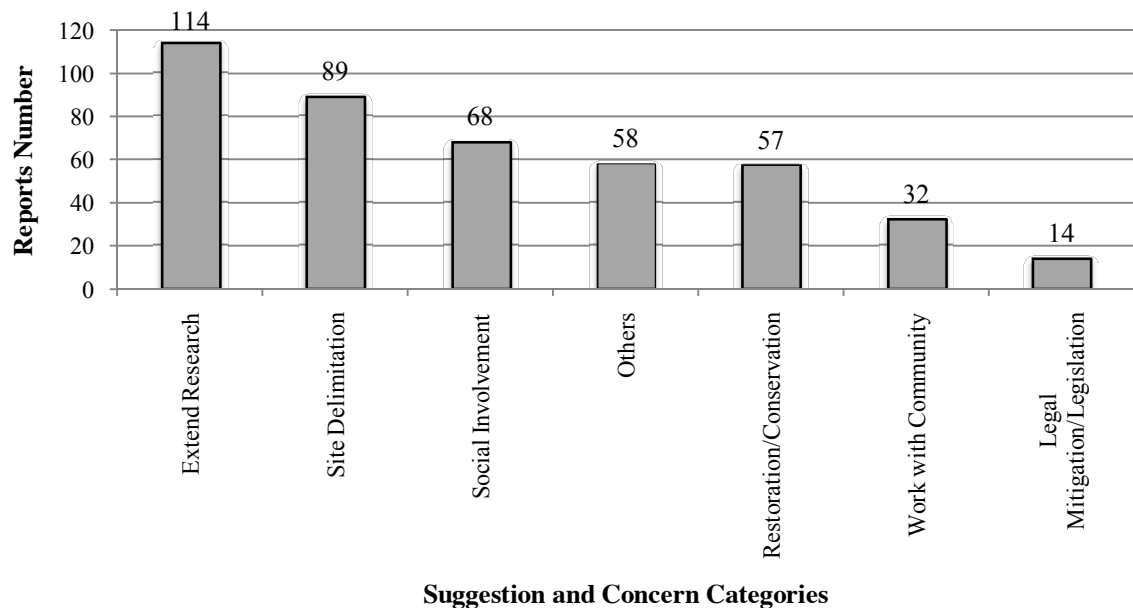
the uses and management of their local archaeology. These suggestions can be sorted in seven basic categories as follows (Table 13, Appendix B):

- (1) Extend research (N=114/46.5%). This category of suggestions is a call for further field and/or laboratory investigation in the area. These cry out for the involvement of more scholars, research investment, archaeological equipment and venues, greater budget, and new funds.
- (2) Site delimitation (N=89/36.3%). These suggestions often occur in newly discovered sites, and are usually deal with site protection.
- (3) Social involvement (N=68/27.5%). These suggestions ask for the involvement of people in order to protect and promote archaeological resources by using media, or educational programs through both government and private institutions. Social involvement also calls for venues to present archaeological findings such as museums or parks.
- (4) Restoration/Conservation (N=57/23.2%). These suggestions are often related with park proposals or archaeological windows.
- (5) Work with communities (N=32/13%). Archaeologists suggest participatory programs through local authorities in order to protect, develop and promote local archaeological resources.
- (6) Legal mitigation/legislation (N=14/5.7%). These suggestions call for legal changes or reforms, and legal support to protect archaeological sites. Some reports specifically name sites that they feel would qualify as National Monuments.
- (7) Others (N=58/23.6%). Personnel training for site management, measures to mitigate site destruction, and the use of certain methods not commonly employed in El Salvador make up this category.

Most archaeologists conclude their reports suggesting that extended research is needed to obtain further information for a more accurate results. The second most common suggestion is related to site delimitations that aims to protect archaeological resources. As a third priority, archaeologists often report a need for greater social involvement. Some archaeologists include the need to extend work with communities in their recommendations, however, this is a low priority within the majority of archaeological reports. This evaluation reveals a weak interest in fostering local development based on archaeology. Work with communities implies local workshops, communal participation in cultural issues, implementation of further community

studies, and an extension of knowledge to people from local archaeological sites. The least important issue reported by archaeologists is related to solving legal issues.

**Table 13. Most Prevalent Suggestions and Concerns Identified Through Archaeological Reports.**



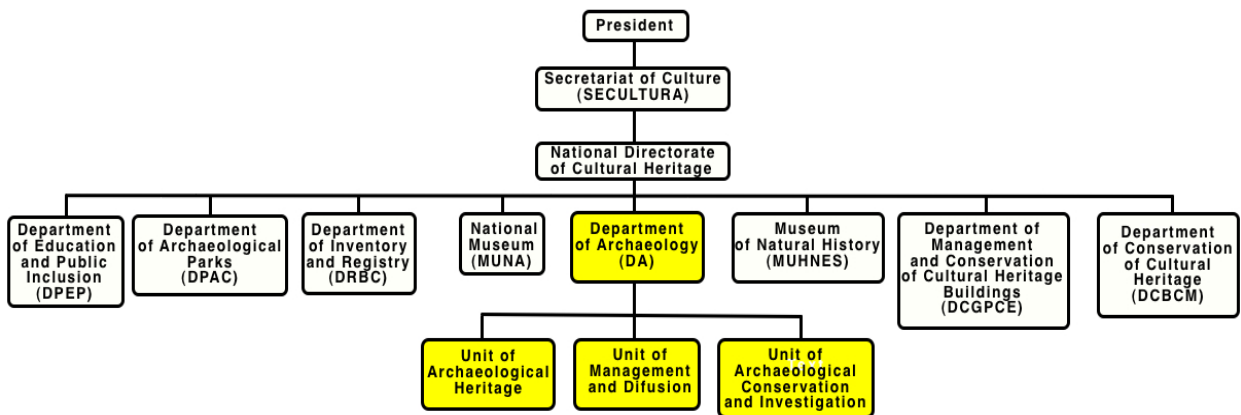
#### 5.2.4 Government Management

As mentioned in Chapter 4, government management evaluation required a review of 1,028 files located in the DA, including 970 cases with legal mitigation. This study aims to understand the government management of archaeological resources, factors affecting the inclusion of rural communities in government plans, government organization and operations, and the strengths and weaknesses of government institutions throughout this Second Phase of Institutionalization. Understanding relationships between academics and governmental institutions over the last 20 years are crucial to developing the TIC model.

#### Institutional Organization

During the armed conflict (1980-1992) there was a considerable decrease of archaeological activity. In 1991, just one year before the end of the armed conflict, CONICULTURA was founded as a dependency of the Ministry of Education. In 2004, the Unit of Archaeology of CONICULTURA was transformed into a Department (today the current DA of SECULTURA). This altered decision-making, procedures, and restructured the organizational chart. This institution was transformed into the Secretariat of Culture in 2009, becoming a

dependency of the Presidency. The structural organization changed again (see Chapter 2, Figure 4). Today, the DA is in charge of archaeological research projects, mitigation rescue and salvage, management and dissemination of information. However, archaeological responsibilities are shared with other departments and sections: the MUNA, the Department of Management and Conservation of Cultural Heritage Buildings (DCGPCE), the Department of Conservation of Cultural Heritage (DCBCM), the Department of Archaeological Parks (DPAC), the Department of Education and Public Inclusion (DPEP), and the Department of Inventory and Registry (DRBC), all under the umbrella of the National Directorate of Cultural Heritage (Figure 10).



Source: SECULTURA 2013a. Scheme adapted by the author.

**Figure 10. Current Organizational Structure of SECULTURA, Highlighting the DA.**

Since 1991, archaeological inspections throughout the country have been conducted by the DA. These inspections aim to establish legal mitigation measures in order to protect sites. Archaeological inspections also deal with unexpected archaeological discoveries, or landowners' requests to verify the existence of archaeological sites in their properties. Issues related with construction projects require an archaeological inspection. Mitigation rescue and salvage depend on the result of each inspection. This Department also establishes guidelines, and supervise any archaeological project, directs revisions to procedures, and is the main repository of academic reports and legal mitigation files. The DA also receives technical support from other departments within SECULTURA and sometimes from external entities. Archaeological materials recovered from inspections and academic projects are recorded in the DA prior to being registered by the Department of Inventory and Registry, finally to be stored in the deposits of the MUNA.



## **Budget for Culture**

The General Budget of the Nation is subject to be approved by the Legislative Assembly. Therefore, this budget varies each year. In the period 2013-2014 the General Budget of the Nation was \$4,505,302,405 (Asamblea Legislativa, Decreto No 182, Sumario No 1, Art. 1). According to the President's report (Presidencia de la República 2013), \$125,320,048 was assigned to the Presidency of the Republic (2.77% of the General Budget of the Nation), who invested \$17,291,205 in SECULTURA (13.72% of the Presidency budget, and 0.3% of the General Budget of the Nation). This institution invested \$2,425,485 (13.9% of SECULTURA budget) in administration and management, \$13,758,110 (77.9% of SECULTURA budget) went to art and cultural services (agencies related to archaeology are part of this amount), and \$80,990 (0.4% of SECULTURA budget) was invested in projects related with restoration of cultural assets. The remaining \$933,100 (5.4% of SECULTURA budget) was used to subsidize 15 cultural institutions and foundations, including *Casas de la Cultura* (Cultural Houses), the Salvadorian Opera, and the Museum of the Word and Image (MUPI) (Presidencia de la República, year 2013, folio 0500, table 3, section 06).

Transport, office supplies, and research equipment used in archaeological activities are part of the general budget assigned to SECULTURA. There is no real data about the amount assigned to archaeological projects and mitigation. Supplies are requested by the DA through the Supplies Department of SECULTURA, and are given according to priorities. Some archaeological projects are coordinated with institutions outside of SECULTURA, including the Salvadorian Academy of History, the UTEC, the VMVDU, and the Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources (MARN). Mitigation rescue and salvage are supported by people or institutions who are responsible for certain projects that threaten archaeological sites. Also, the private sector, that includes investors and business entrepreneurs, companies, private institutions, and industries provides transport, office supplies, and workers to carry out archaeological inspection and mitigation rescue and salvage as part of the procedure to obtain a assessment and clearance by the DA for construction projects. The DA can also ask to hire archaeologists that work as private consultants. In summary, government archaeological activity continues to have a low budget and is supported by external entities.

## **Government Inspections**

In order to protect archaeological sites and attend legal mitigation issues, the DA has followed a standard procedure to organize inspections. Appointments are booked by letters, phone calls, or emails sent to the DA by members of communities or landowners of properties

with archaeological sites. These interviews generally last from one to three hours with the staff of the DA.

As a result of these interviews, a survey or inspection is planned for the following days. These surveys can last more than one day. This may involve contact with local communities in order to gather information related with the local uses and management of archaeological resources. This information is gathered and recorded in field notebooks, by using Global Positioning Systems (GPS), digital cameras, and bags to collect archaeological samples from the surface. A technical report submitted to the Legal Department of the government institution includes a description of local problems or values concerning their archaeological heritage, description of local archaeological resources, site damage, coordinates, natural surroundings, landowners, uses of soil, and archaeological background. These documents are used in a legal mitigation case filed in the government institutions in the capital city of San Salvador (Appendix A and A.1).

### **Legal Mitigation Files**

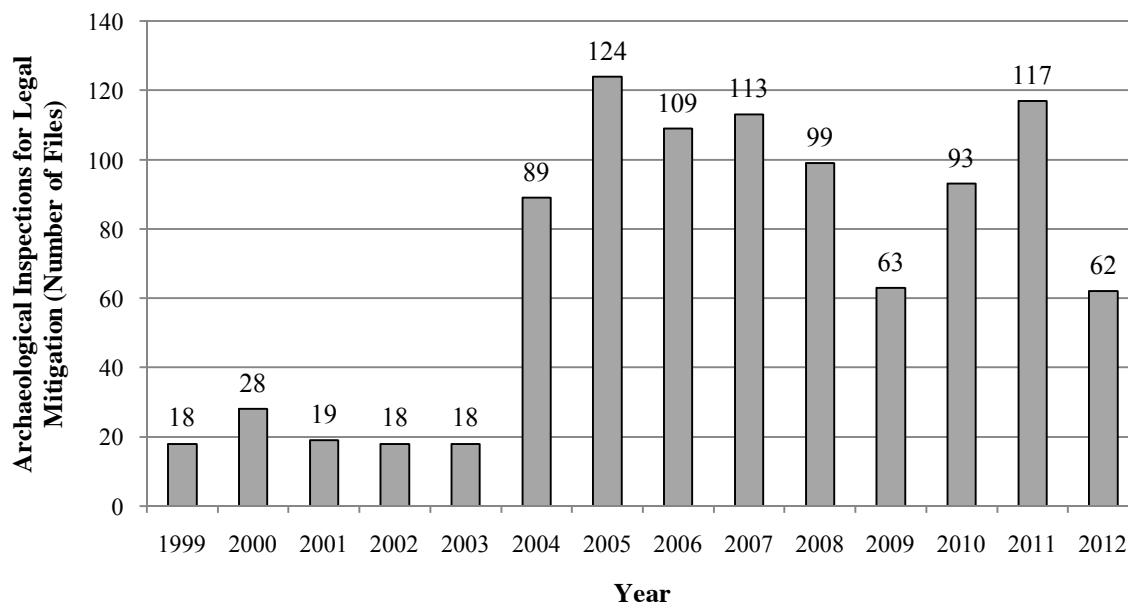
As is explained in Chapter 2, in 1993 a new law protecting cultural heritage was created (Asamblea Legislativa de El Salvador 1993), and the first regulatory standards governing archaeological research were introduced in 2007 (Asamblea Legislativa de El Salvador 2007). The protection of archaeological sites required by the Municipal Code (Asamblea Legislativa de El Salvador 2000), in the Environmental Law (Ministerio de Medio Ambiente 1998), as well as in the regulatory norms of OPAMSS, the AMSS, is also a concern of the VMVDU. The protection of archaeological sites is a legal responsibility of all these institution. However, SECULTURA is the main institution responsible for the management and protection of archaeological sites. For these mitigation, SECULTURA organized archaeological inspection and opened legal mitigation files to give guidelines concerning the uses of land, limits of sites, extending research, or carrying out mitigation rescue and salvage in sites that are endangered of looters.

This section demonstrates that the number of archaeological inspections carried out by the DA, and the number of legal mitigation files generated is not strongly related to institutional changes, but the fluctuation of the number of inspection and legal mitigation files seems not to be related to changes in legislation.

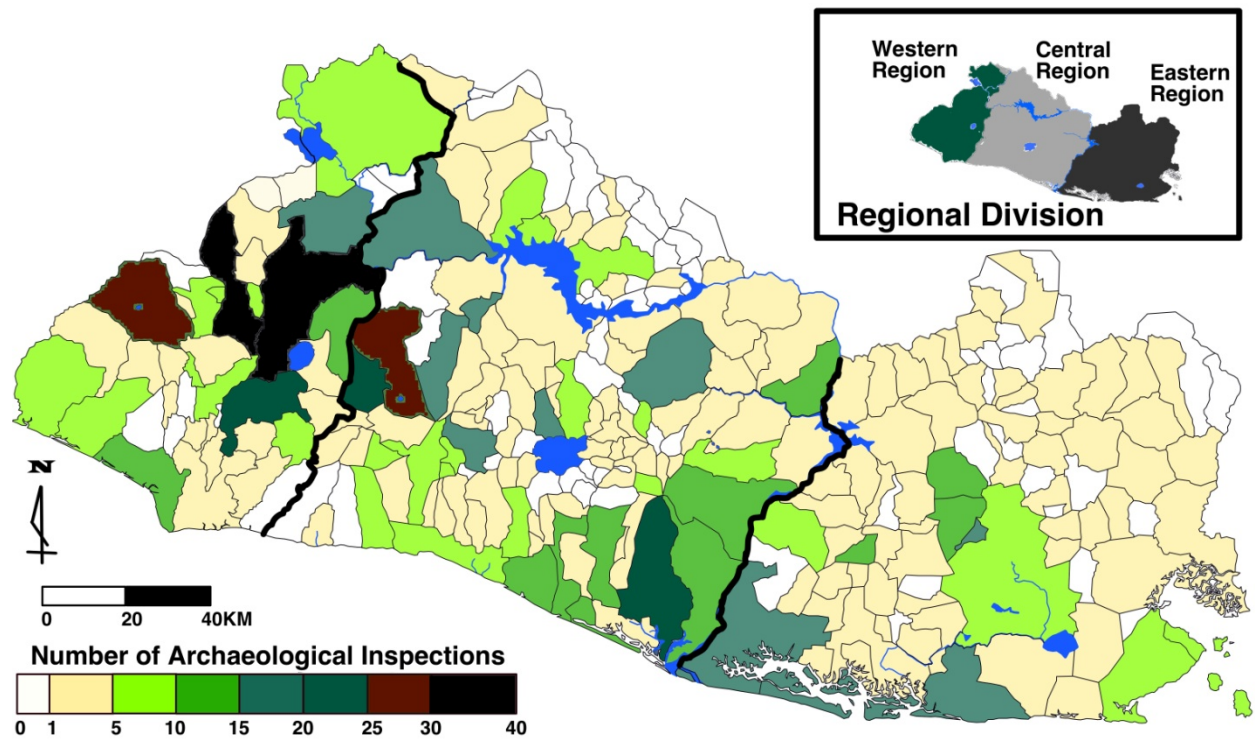
According to the results obtained from the review of Legal Mitigation files, archaeological management can be explained in two ways: chronologically and spatially. Therefore, legal mitigation cases are sorted by the number of files generated per year, and the

frequency of assistance provided to a certain community. Between 1999 and 2012 (Table 14), there are 1,028 reported archaeological inspections, including 970 cases with legal mitigation. Those cases without legal mitigation present archaeological findings throughout the country.

**Table 14. Legal Mitigations Carried Out by the DA Ranked by Year From 1999 to 2012.**



Mitigation files demonstrate the number of archaeological inspection undertaken in El Salvador, pointing out places visited. Each inspection means attention given by the central government for site mitigation. The following map (Figure 11, Appendix A) shows the resulting number of inspection carried out from 1999 to 2012 sorted by municipalities. According to this map, the central government, through the DA, gave more attention to the Western region of El Salvador. The Central and Eastern regions received fewer inspections. Significant differences exist in monitoring with areas in the Northern region and Eastern municipalities receiving very little archaeological attention, or at least they have had very few inspections during the last 12 years. I would argue that the centralization of every archaeological activity within a single institution in charge of archaeological matters to cover the whole country as well as inadequate budgets, a scarcity of technical equipment and the lack of trained personnel contribute to these discrepancies.



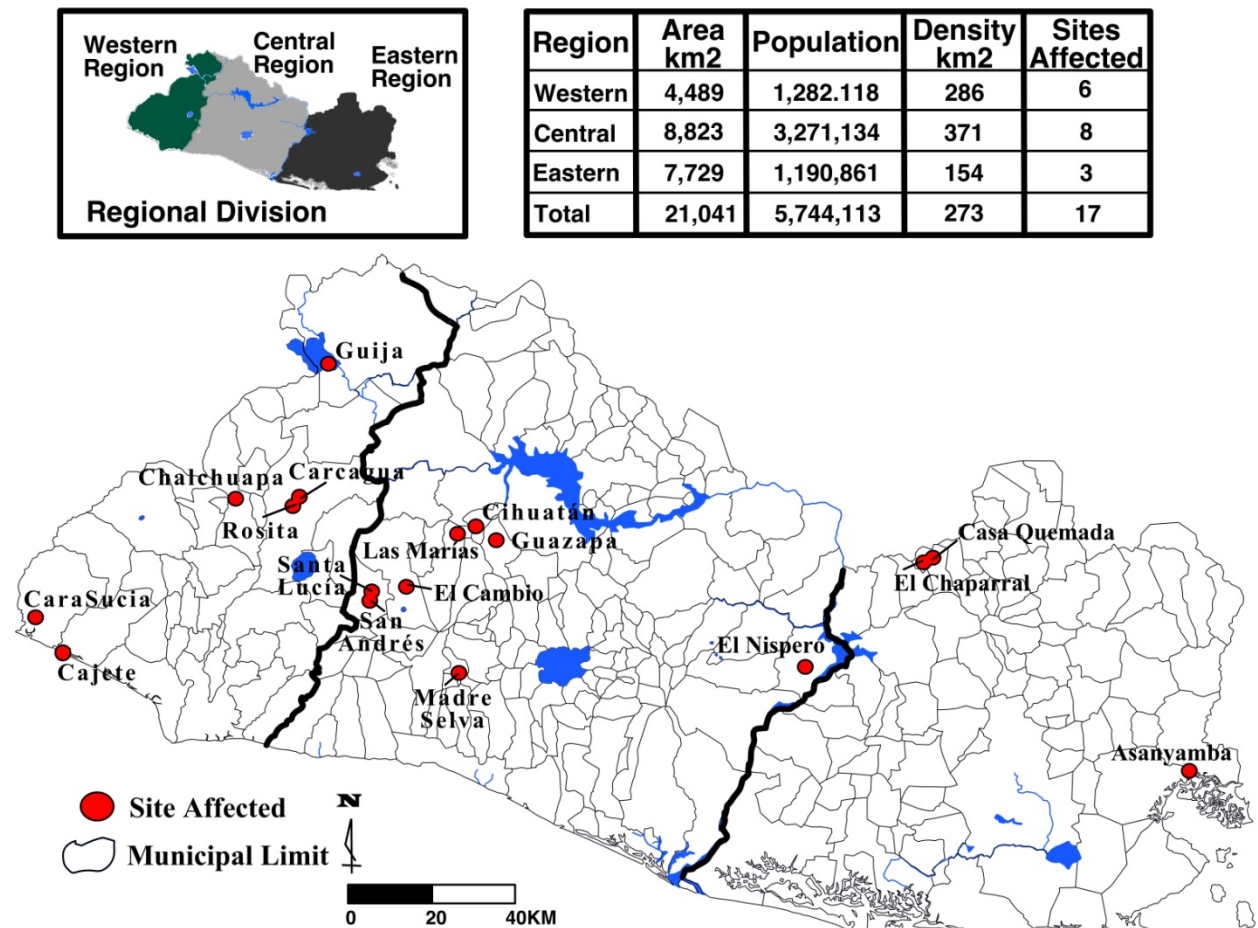
Source: Political administrative-division adapted from a public map of El Salvador available at the National Register Centre in El Salvador (CNR 2000:13). SECULTURA (see Appendix A [mitigation files 1999-2012]). Data adapted by the author.

**Figure 11. Archaeological Inspections Given by the Government of El Salvador Between 1999 and 2012.**

### Archaeological Site Damage and Mismanagement

I would further argue that the weak centralized system that characterizes the Second Phase of Institutionalization is the main culprit of the damage caused to archaeological sites in El Salvador (Appendix A and B). Cultural heritage management fluctuated throughout the 20th century, and the lack of supplies and mechanisms to meet the demand for heritage protection have caused an irreversible loss of sites (Amaroli 2010, 2005, 2000; Boggs 1983, 1945a, 1945c; Valdivieso 2013). These failures are exacerbated by the placement of non- professionals in positions of authority for purely political reasons. Construction projects in archaeological areas were approved when preservation of archaeological resources should have been implemented. In addition, there has been a distinct lack of long-term institutional projects, legal incentives, and conservation plans available to persuade landowners with sites on their land to pursue preservation goals. The official record of archaeological sites stored within the DA still shows sites that ceased to exist long ago. Figure 12 shows the most known archaeological sites that were damaged or totally destroyed in the last 20 years. In this figure, site damage is also related

to major population density because it is in those areas that there is the most pressure for construction projects to occupy formerly agricultural lands. Further, archaeological sites in more populated areas are well known to looters.



Sources: Ministerio de Economía 2009:13; SECULTURA (see Appendix A and B [archive 1992-2012]). Political administrative-division adapted from a public map of El Salvador available at the National Register Centre in El Salvador (CNR 2000:13). Data adapted by the author.

**Figure 12. Most Damaged Archaeological Sites During the Second Phase of Institutionalization (1992-2012).**

The most damaged archaeological regions and sites recognized by this thesis are:

- (1) Chalchuapa, a region with more than seven sites all from the Prehispanic periods. Most of the sites in this region have been brutally plundered and destroyed by urban development.
- (2) San Andrés, dating to the Classic period, is subject to on-going looting around the perimeter of the current archaeological park grounds.

- (3) The region of Guazapa, with sites such as Sitio de Jesús from the Postclassic period, have been partially destroyed for the acquisition of stone that is used for building materials.
- (4) Guija, with rock art and the Classic period site named Igualtepeque, is constantly being vandalized.
- (5) Asanyamba, a complex classical period site with shell mounts has been partially destroyed by looters since the late 1970s.
- (6) Cara Sucia, a Postclassic site contains more than 5000 looting holes created since the early 1980s.
- (7) Madre Selva, where the U.S. Embassy is currently located in the Santa Elena district. This is a Postclassic site considered by many to be in the dominion of Cuscatlán; it was destroyed in 1993.
- (8) Carcagua, a Preclassic site (with structures) was fully destroyed in 1998. Located on the outskirts of the city of Santa Ana, it was razed to make way for the construction of the Western bus terminal, which was never completed.
- (9) Rosita, a Preclassic site, was partially destroyed to make way for the construction of a residential area on the outskirts of the city of Santa Ana in 1999.
- (10) Santa Lucia, located in Ciudad Arce, was from the Classical period, and destroyed in 2001 to make way for the construction of a settlement for families affected by the earthquakes that same year.
- (11) El Cambio, part of the Cerén-San Andrés complex, is a Preclassic site partially destroyed by paving a street into a residential zone in 2008. The central government and the private sector were responsible.
- (12) El Nispero, a classic period site, was partially destroyed by the instalment of transmission lines conducted by the central government in 2009.
- (13) Cihuatán, from the Postclassic period, was partially destroyed in 2010 due to residential construction which was authorized by the mayor of the municipality of Aguilares.
- (14) Las Marías, a Postclassic site and probably the largest Prehispanic site in El Salvador, has been damaged by looters and crop activity since 2000.
- (15) Cajete, locate in an island in Ahuachapán, is under constant looting since the 1980s.
- (16) Casa Quemada and El Chaparral, as well as 10 more sites are threatened by the construction of El Chaparral dam in the near future.

The majority of these archaeological sites are located within the most populated regions. All-in-all these sites are mostly located in the Western and Central regions of El Salvador. A centralized system to manage archaeological resources seems to exert less influence in the Eastern region. However, this does not entail that archaeological damage in the Eastern region is not present, on the contrary, damage is present, but under this centralized system, is barely reported or noticed.

### **Archaeological Parks**

After the armed conflict in El Salvador, the tourism industry has gradually become a main driving force to achieve social and economic development. Archaeological parks have been part of government strategies to develop this industry since the First Phase of Institutionalization. There are 671 archaeological sites registered, eight of them are managed by the government. Five of these sites have been transformed into parks: Cerén, Cihuatán, Tazumal, Casa Blanca and San Andrés, which are properly equipped with infrastructure that includes road access, museums, walkways, signs, information area, and shops.

Archaeological research in each of the parks mentioned above can be summarized as follows:

- (1) Research in Cerén has been mostly supported by the University of Colorado at Boulder since the early 1990s (CONCULTURA – Getty Conservation Institute 2013; Sheets 2002).
- (2) Cihuatán is co-administrated by FUNDAR. This foundation has been conducting a long-term research project since 1999 (Bruhns and Amaroli 2008).
- (3) Tazumal and Casa Blanca have been under archaeological exploration by the government through CONCULTURA and Japanese projects since 1995 (Erquicia 2012c; Ohi 2000; Valdivieso 2007b).
- (4) San Andrés has also seen sporadic explorations led by American teams, FUNDAR, and the DA of SECULTURA (Albarracín-Jordán and Valdivieso 2013; Bruhns and Amaroli 2008; Departamento de Arqueología 2011a; Fowler Jr. 1995).
- (5) Cara Sucia is still under legal dispute with little activity since the 1990s. The last archaeological intervention in this site was carried out in 2008 by a French mission (Moraga et al. 2009).
- (6) Gruta del Espíritu Santo had its last intervention in 2009, in a project sponsored by the United States Embassy with the Ambassadors' Funds, and led by the DA of SECULTURA (Departamento de Arqueología 2011b).

(7) Ciudad Vieja has also been partially restored by the DA of SECULTURA, and the former CONCULTURA since 2002. Vanderbilt university has conducted research here since the 1990s (Erquicia 2007).

### **5.2.5 Archaeology and Communities**

Many communities have Cultural Houses, located in almost every municipality of El Salvador, sponsored and managed by the central government. Cultural Houses have existed since 1973. Its inception was supported by UNESCO. Cultural Houses were created to provide a local space in order to inform, engage, promote, and teach people from the countryside about art and local traditions, and to disseminate knowledge about Salvadorian culture (Casas de la Cultura 1977). Today, there are 163 Cultural Houses throughout the country (SECULTURA 2013a). However, during my visits to several of these between 1997 and 2013, I observed that many of these houses look neglected or inactive due to the lack of resources, including basic supplies and personnel. These places are often used to receive, display, and house archaeological artifacts found by serendipity in the vicinity. For instance, inside the Quelepa Cultural House there is a shelf holding archaeological artifacts donated by local people who found them in sites near the town (Figure 13). As is common in El Salvador, the Cultural House of Quelepa depicts a local initiative to share archaeological artifacts with the community. Although lacking a trained staff members as well as government support, and a proper stand to display artifacts, people refer to this arrangement of archaeological objects as "our museum". Many people believe that the central government should provide support to develop a real museum in their communities, and use these public places for cultural and scientific purposes (e.g. see Baires 2014[2009]).

El Salvador has about 6,544 kilometres of road of which approximately 3,377 kilometres is paved (CNR 2000:49; PROESA 2013:15). El Salvador's road network is judged to be the second most extensive and efficient road system in Latin America, and the 52nd in the world according the World Economic Forum (2013). Most of the 671 archaeological sites distributed within the 262 municipalities are accessible and connected through these roadways. This interconnectivity of roadways presents an opportunity for future development in which communities can take advantage of their access to their sites. Therefore, sites could be transformed into parks managed by a decentralized system governed by local communities. Cultural Houses provide a ready-made existing structure that could be deployed when and if decentralization occurs.





**Figure 13. A Shelf Depicting Archaeological Artifacts in the Cultural House of Quelepa, San Miguel.**

The craft industry is the most dynamic sector of the Salvadorian economy. The majority of craftspeople reside in the rural areas. Handicrafts from all over the country are found in markets. Local creativity is implicit in El Salvador's handicraft production (Henríquez Chacón 2011), and products from specific communities can be easily recognized. The dominant regions of Salvadorian handicraft production are La Palma and Ilobasco. Henríquez Chacón (2011:10) points out that all 262 municipalities have developed at least one or two handicrafts, involving both traditional and non-traditional crafts. According to the National Commission for Micro and Small Enterprises (COMAMYPE), 40% of the craft production in El Salvador is based on wood, 30% is based on yarn and textiles, 20% are based on ceramic, and 10% use leather, flowers, seeds, wicker, and confectionary (DESCA 2013[2008]:1). According to these data sources, 6% of the Salvadorian population (approximately 150,000 artisans) work part-time in handicraft production, and only 10% (approximately 15,000 artisans) work at their craft full-time (DESCA 2013[2008]:2). This production represents important revenue for El Salvador's economy. In 2006, 2,516,894.49 handicraft products were exported to Europe, bringing 717,200,000 Euros to the Salvadoran economy (DESCA 2013[2008]:3).

Many Salvadorian artisans have received financial and technical support to keep traditions alive, increase local production, and gain more access to markets promoting local products. This support is given by NGOs, the private sector, and local and central government. Critics argue that external intervention has altered many local stylistic traditions and traditional techniques (Bruhns and Amaroli 2010; Henríquez Chacón 2011). Some critiques point out that globalization factors, like introducing synthetic materials and altering the traditional process with industrial tools, are the triggers for changes in this field (Turok 1990). The armed conflict in the 1980s affected this realm through the loss of those artisans who migrated to other countries. Elders, who were skilled artisans, passed away without transferring their knowledge to new generations. This loss of knowledge caused a break in traditions, many of which were not recorded.

Traditional handicrafts are a marker of cultural identity, and some crafts can be traced back to Prehispanic times. For example, the black-pottery produced in Santo Domingo de Guzmán, Sonsonate, represents a tradition characterized by open-fired hand modeled pots and comals (Bruhns and Amaroli 2010:2). Another example is the production of ground stone *metates* that has been utilized by Indigenous people for more than 2,000 years, and its manufacture is still active (Valdivieso 2000). Raw materials of clays and minerals for slips and paint is obtained from local plants and minerals potteries in Guatajiagua and Izalco. Henríquez Chacón (2011) believes that techniques to process these materials have an origin in Prehispanic times.

In El Salvador, the recurrent topic of handicraft production is related to the daily life of peasants, idiosyncrasy, nationalism, custom, mythology, and politics. A few neo-indigenous handicrafts attempt to emulate archaeological motifs mixing them with modern subjects. Although there are no clear archaeological themes in handicraft production, Henríquez Chacón (2011:46) believes that it is possible to find a blurry link between the present imaginary with the Indigenous cosmology within current Salvadorian handicrafts. In this vein, the uses of plants and animal motifs in current crafts might represent remnants of ancient cosmology. The motifs included in some current crafts depict scorpions, birds, and bats, as well as geometric and braided lines, and many of these motifs can be found on archaeological vessels (e.g. see Museo Toxtli). However, in current artisan production, the topics depicted are not strongly related to archaeological themes. Tazumal and San Andrés are the sites most often depicted on craft pieces, perhaps due to the massive structures at those sites. Tazumal and San Andrés are mostly represented by adding the images of iconic structures onto ceramics, textiles, and wood products.

Other sites and artifacts have not yet been included on artisanal work. Overall, crafts that have some link to prior ages appear to be diminishing. As Kurin (2004:74) points out, “practices of the past are discarded when they cease to be functionally useful or symbolically meaningful to a community”.

This author noticed that most people in the countryside are not aware of the existence of archaeological sites in their communities. Most rural communities do not know the meaning of archaeology as a discipline and as a resource to study past cultures and ancient knowledge. In cases in which people know about the existence of an archaeological site, local communities will often ignore attempts originating from central authorities to protect sites. Local communities are usually unaware of the work that archaeologists and government officials have conducted upon their sites. Landowners with archaeological sites in their properties are afraid to report the existence of these sites, because they fear that the government will expropriate or impose restrictions on land use.

### **El Refugio, Case Study**

A few years ago, I observed in the community of El Refugio, Ahuachapán, that here are artisans who create elaborate pottery, including colourful and complex engravings, based on archaeological samples, and sell them as authentic vessels. These ceramics depict the most accurate archaeological images and emulate ancient techniques by using colour from natural sources, firing clay in traditional furnaces and sometimes burying the artifact in mud for a while just to give them an aged appearance.

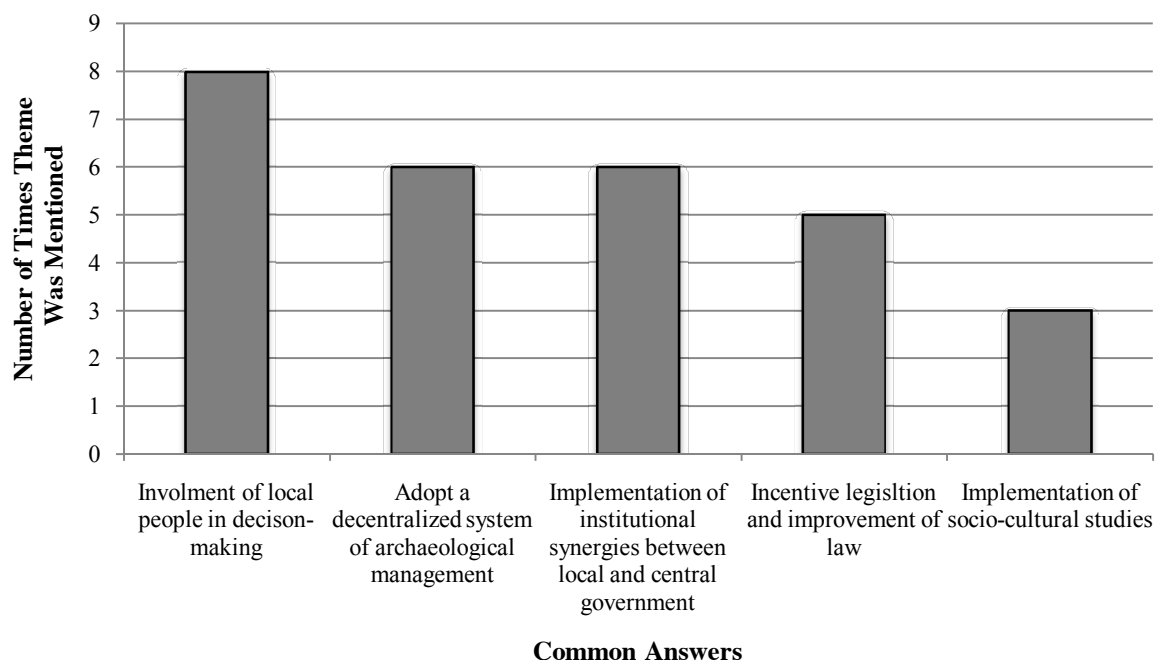
This case is a clear opportunity for some people to learn from ancient sources in order to produce revenues. Academia seems to be unwilling to cooperate in these cases because these people are considered to be displaying dishonest behaviour and may be connected with looters who supply them with authentic archaeological artifacts to create replicas. However, El Refugio is an artisan school that works under the radar, in which archaeology is used as a resource for welfare. Government and academia might be able to get more involved with the El Refugio community, giving artisans other kinds of supplies, addressing the protection of sites, introducing a new dynamic of work, and taking lessons from these people for developmental purposes in other parts of the country.

### 5.2.6 Interview Evaluation

I conducted 12 interviews with CRM experts and archaeologists. The most common views can be summarized as follows (Table 15):

- (1) Most of the interviewees considered the involvement of local people in site development to be essential to the process (8/12 interviewees). Development proposals based on local heritage should come from local governments rather than central governments in order to avoid risks of adopting unsustainable programs based on external realities.
- (2) Experts repeatedly favoured adopting a decentralized system in order to obtain better results in the management of archaeology and its interactions with communities (6/12 interviewees). This decentralization needs to be addressed in order to grant municipalities the administration of their own local heritage, but with technical assistance and support given by the central government.
- (3) Experts consider that a proper plan for the better use of local archaeological resources in El Salvador calls for institutional synergies, in which local government seems to be the main protagonist (6/12 interviewees). Interviewees consider archaeological resources to be a means to give self-sustainability to communities, once they create a proper developmental plan.

**Table 15. Interview Evaluation: Answers Ranged by Common Views.**



- (4) Experts suggest the implementation of an incentive-based legislation rather than a repressive one would be an important step toward improving the state of archaeological resources. A Law of Culture is needed, along with changes to the current legal structure, tax incentives for owners of lands with cultural heritage, and the adoption of appropriate mechanisms to enforce regulations (5/12 interviewees).
- (5) Interviewees also consider that formal studies applied to local realities are key for effective results in the implementation of development programs based on archaeological resources (3/12 interviewees). Recognizing the socio-cultural dynamic of certain localities is essential in order to design a proper plan for the uses of local heritage. These studies imply exploring different values given by locals to their own heritage.

### **5.3 General Evaluation**

#### **5.3.1 Archaeological Management**

This section demonstrates significant factors affecting the management of archaeology throughout the Second Phase of Institutionalization in El Salvador (1992-Present). It is important to notice that the number of reports and mitigation files generated prior to 2004 were relatively low, but significantly, there was a sudden historical increase since that year: in 2004, 18 mitigation files suddenly increased to 89 files, and in 2005, to 124. There was a similar incremental increase in archaeological reports: 10 reports generated in 2005 increased to 21 in 2006, and 31 in 2007. Since that time, the production of legal mitigation files and archaeological reports has remained relatively constant. Strikingly, this continuous generation of reports and files are carried out despite lack of budget resulting in, among other things, reduced supplies allocated to the current DA. Overall, the dramatic fluctuations of file and report production can be understood by analyzing legislation, as well as institutional and organizational changes within the former CONCULTURA and the current SECULTURA. Table 16 addresses these fluctuations. It also depicts the relationship that exists between the number of archaeological reports and legal mitigation files generated in this phase, and changes in legislation and institutional structures.

Changes in legislation is not correlated with the generation of legal mitigation files and archaeological reports. Specifically, the generation of archaeological reports and mitigation files ranked in Tables 7 and Table 9 depict no increases related with the introduction of the Special Law for the Protection of Cultural Heritage of El Salvador and its Regulations in 1993. Similarly, there was no increase of reports and files after the creation of the First Standard of

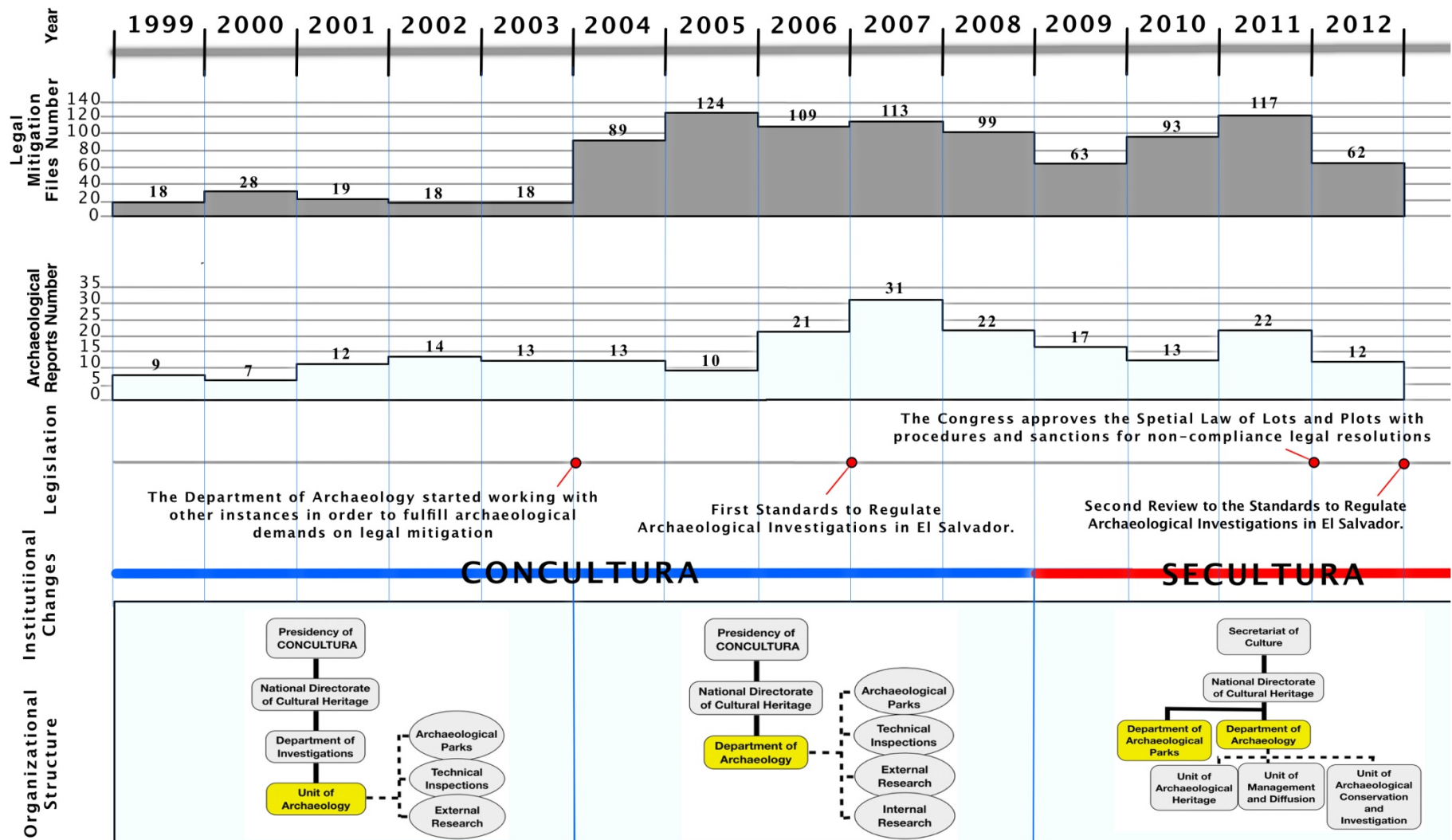
Archaeological Investigation in 2007. Although legislation provides a legal tool to protect archaeological sites and spur archaeological projects, the law tends to be broken if government institutions do not have mechanisms to promote measures that insure its enforcement. Therefore, the remarkable increase in the number of files and reports produced are related to institutional organization and strategies adopted by the DA. Governmental demand for archaeological studies is responsible for the incremental production of reports and files. New management strategies are due to changes perceived in the institutional organization structure. In a context in which resources are scarce, these elements represent an important factor in the adoption of particular management strategists, as follows.

Administration and management took up 13.9% of the general budget of SECULTURA in 2013, 5.4% was used to subsidize 15 cultural institutions and foundations (Presidencia de la República, year 2013, folio 0500, table 3, section 06). The remaining 77.9% of this budget was used in general projects carried out by all departments of this institution, and there is no budget that goes to the DA. Indeed, it is clear that SECULTURA and the former CONCULTURA have invested little in the DA, as is evidenced by the lack of resources noted during this author's visit in 2012 and for years before. This lack of investment in archaeology is due to long periods of social, political and economic instability in El Salvador. It is clear that the central government refuses to accept the contribution and benefits granted by archaeology to reconstruct society after the armed conflict.

However, the strategy adopted by the DA since 2004 lays the groundwork to operate within a reduced budget. Put in practice, these management strategies require changes in the institutional and organizational structures, and will have repercussions on the generation of legal mitigation files and archaeological reports. The strategy adopted and the increased production of archaeological reports and mitigation files can be explored chronologically, as follows.

In 2004, the Unit of Archaeology was transformed into the DA, acquiring more power for decision-making. The policy adopted by the new DA was to ensure compliance with the law in order to protect archaeological sites. That year, the DA started working in coordination with other institutions for legal mitigation, including the VMVDU, and the MARN. The DA also started coordinating inspections and mitigation rescue and salvage with those responsible for constructive projects. By mutual agreement, these companies and private individuals provided all necessary supplies: transport, office supplies, equipment to carry out research, workers, venues to conduct fieldwork, and consultant archaeologists accredited by CONCULTURA and supervised by the DA. The consultant archaeologists follow the term of reference issued by the

**Table 16. Development of the Archaeological Management in El Salvador From 1999 to 2012, Within the Second Phase of Institutionalization.**



Scheme proposed by the author.

DA to carry out research. As a result, legal mitigations have increased since 2004. Strategies to manage the DA also involve working with the media to promote archaeology and the protection of sites, as well as opening new archaeological programs that include rock art projects, underwater projects, and historical archaeology projects. DA also opened the archaeological windows project to put information about the protection and promotion of archaeological sites in public places, and as a way to gain support for the archaeological monitoring of construction projects on land with archaeological sites.

The upgraded training program produces more trained people to undertake increased inspections. Although rock art projects, underwater archaeology projects, and historical archaeology projects are considered academic projects, they can also be part of the legal mitigation process in order to protect the sites reported. This in turn increases the number of archaeological reports and legal mitigation files. Many archaeological reports, including academic studies, are generated after the DA has already carried out an inspection and opened a legal mitigation file. Archaeologists work in legally protected sites, or in sites requiring mitigation rescue and salvage. These in turn are seen as opportunities to generate new academic studies. Archaeological programs led by the DA received support from external institutions to carry out inspections by providing technicians and training, equipment, and transport. These institutions include the Salvadorian Academy of History, OCEANICA diving centre, UES, UTEC, and support derived from foreign institutions like the Japanese International Cooperation Agency (JICA), the Embassy of the United States, and foreign archaeological missions as is explained in Chapter 2. In 2006, the production of academic reports increased, just two years after the Unit of Archaeology was changed to the current DA. Nevertheless, in absence of an earmarked budget, these archaeological programs led by the DA can only be for short to medium term projects. No long-term program can be carried out by this Department.

In 2009 CONCULTURA was shifted into SECULTURA, changing its organizational structure. Since that year, the Secretary of Culture, who is the head of this new institution, has been replaced three times. The recurrent replacing of the Secretary hinders the development of long-term projects initiated under the leadership of the former Secretary, weakens investment in cultural projects, and creates instability that has repercussions for their departments. Therefore, institutional instability affects the development of archaeological activities by reducing resources to the DA, while the attention of the new authorities is focused on reorganizing and channelling resources to new departments as part of the new organizational structure. During this transition in 2009, the DA has a decrease of 36 % (from 99 to 63) of archaeological reports and legal



mitigation files compared to previous years. In that year, the organizational structure of the DA changed again, detaching the administration of archaeological parks from this Department, and creating the new Department of Archaeological Parks. With new personnel in the DA, the archaeological reports and mitigation files gradually rose again in 2010 and 2011. In 2012, the Secretary of SECULTURA was changed again. That year there was also a decrease in the generation of archaeological reports and legal mitigation files.

The production of archaeological reports and legal mitigation files do not depend merely on the budget and resources provided by SECULTURA to the DA, and not even on legislation changes. Instead, the fluctuation on the range of archaeological reports and legal mitigation files generated in the Second Phase of Institutionalization is most closely correlated with changes in the institutional and organizational changes, and strategies of management adopted. The DA of SECULTURA has adopted a strategy to carry out archaeological activities managing support from external entities enabling them to keep inspections and mitigation projects running. Improvement of archaeological activities is largely dependent on the external resources. Tables 7 and 14 show a remarkable rise of archaeological reports and legal mitigation files since 2004, the year in which the Unit of Archaeology change into a DA. This shift gave the DA more power on decision-making, and the ability to work with the private sector and external agencies.

In conclusion, although the generation of mitigation files and archaeological reports has a substantial increase and a successful continuity after adopting proper strategies of management, dealing with institutional instability and budgetary uncertainties, rural communities still remain outside of this management.

### **5.3.2 The Uses of Archaeological Resources**

I am particularly interested in the use of archaeological resources to provide any kind of benefit, whether economic or educational, to local communities. It is useful to consider sites and artifacts as two categories of potential interest. The latter category includes pottery, lithic and obsidian tools, metal, ecofacts, coal, bones, wood, pigments, minerals, and soil samples.

Documents submitted to the central government could be used by key community people and institutions for local interests. Collectors, landowners of sites, and residents in communities near archaeological sites could be interested in having copies of relevant academic reports. However, reports are not accessible to local communities as they remain archived within cultural headquarters in the capital city of San Salvador. These reports are seldom published, therefore information about the value of archaeological resources do not generally reach local populations. According to this author's experience, copies of these documents or publications are rarely found

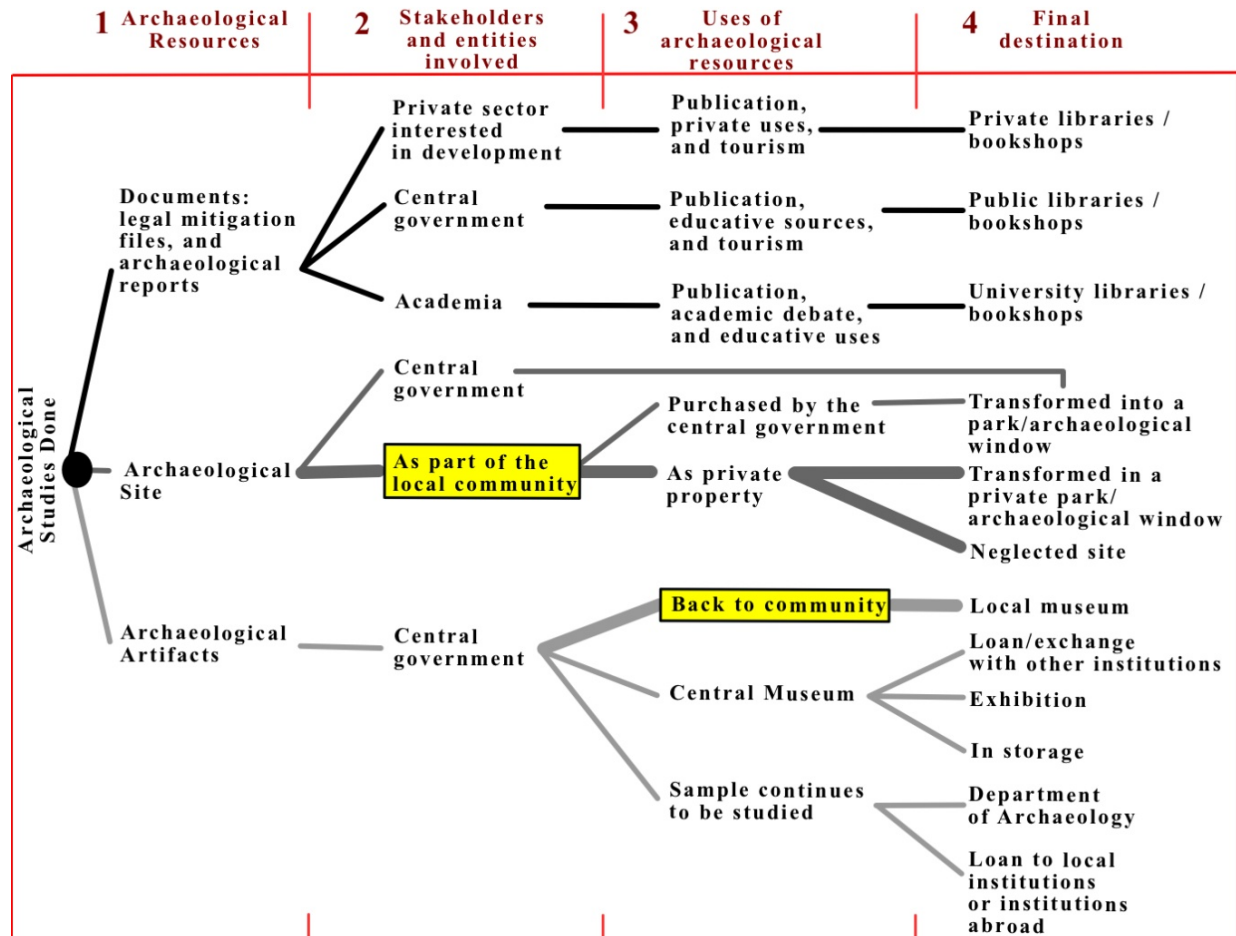
in private or public libraries. Inspections and researches that are part of legal mitigation files are often supported by private initiatives, and they sometimes provide copies of archaeological reports to interested people.

The fate of sites after mitigation and research have been completed is another factor in the arguments for local community involvement. The sites are, of course, altered in some manner. They can be turned into archaeological parks by the government, they can be reburied, or they can be essentially abandoned to whatever fate holds for them. If the site is on private property, then the owner could make a private archaeological park without oversight, or it could be damaged by agricultural activity or sold for development. There is no report of a site being managed by local authorities. However, placing sites under local authorities, or in a situation of shared responsibility, might protect sites more successfully in the future. At present, many of the sites are on private property to which the local population has only limited access. In the present structure, local people may only be involved as custodians or employed in tourist facilities.

In a parallel scenario the management of archaeological artifacts often depends on central government rather than local authorities. After any archaeological study is done, artifacts are submitted to the central government, already classified and catalogued. These artifacts could have three fates: first, they could go to the central museum, in which they can be exhibited, loaned, or remain in storage; second, artifacts can remain in the DA for research purposes or loaned to be studied abroad due to the lack of technology to carry out advanced research in El Salvador; and third, artifacts are sometimes returned to communities and exhibited in local museums. This last alternative is extremely rare in El Salvador. When communities request the return of these resources, government requires a local venue that is properly equipped with adequate security, as well as a dedicated budget. These conditions are not easily met at the local level. Figure 14 presents a chart to track the uses of archaeological resources in a wider context. This figure highlight the role of communities within this process.

In summary, communities are often out of the uses of archaeological resources. Documents and artifacts are submitted to the central government, while communities remain outside of the management of these resources. Much of the published and (more numerous) unpublished knowledge is not diffused among communities, leaving local people in ignorance of their local archaeological resources. Most artifacts are stored in the central museum, and they too remain unknown to local communities. Most sites, on the other hand, are in private properties, tending to be plundering by looters or damaging by agricultural activity or natural events. There is no archeological site under the administration of local governments. In addition, there are no

local libraries collecting archaeological reports, as well as there are no local storages and research venues that allowing artifacts to remain in the community. Communities remain largely outside of the management of archaeological sites, artifacts, and documents.



Scheme proposed by the author.

**Figure 14. Process Chart on the Uses of Archaeological Resources After Archaeological Studies Have Been Done in El Salvador.**

## **Chapter 6 Discussion and Conclusion**

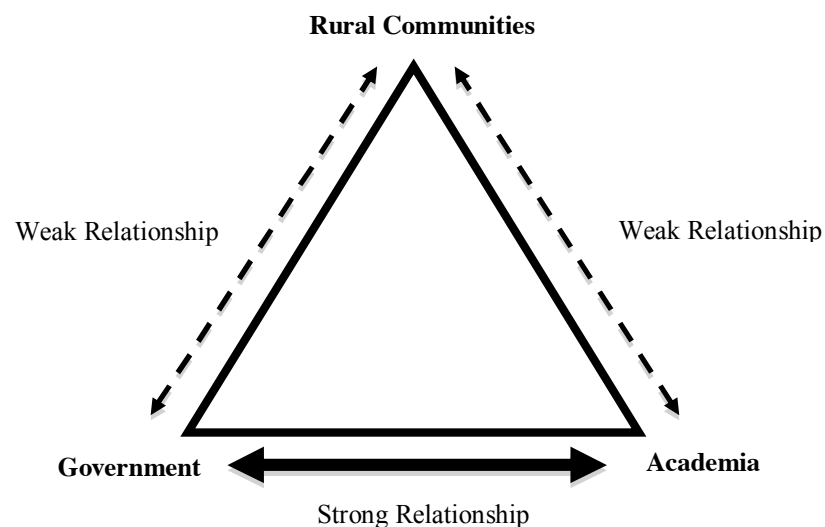
El Salvador is a nation laden with archaeological potential. Therefore, if adequately managed, this archaeological wealth can provide many opportunities to improve living condition of the rural communities where the sites are found. However, this study demonstrates that El Salvador is not using its archaeological resources to promote social and economic growth as other countries in many parts of the world. Neither the Salvadorian government nor academics have a symmetrical relationship with rural communities near archaeological sites. As a result, rural communities and their archaeological resources are often ignored or barely developed. The relationship between government and these communities is further weakened by a centralized system that has been in place since the first half of the 20th century. As it has been shown, this system of archaeological resource management, that excluded rural communities, is rooted in a long history of social and political instability.

The history of the institutionalization of archaeology in El Salvador shows that during the 20th century, there was a limited Salvadorian point of view of its local archaeology. This contrasts with most Latin American countries that are able to produce their own theories and practice (McGuire 1993). This is because social crisis in El Salvador hindered the training of Salvadorian archaeologists and academics capable of adequately managing archaeological resources. El Salvador's endemic social, economic, and political instability which led to the armed conflict not only diminished archaeological activities, but also hampered the creation of solid institutions that could advance the management and development of archaeological resources, and use them to promote rural communities economic growth. Once the armed conflict ended in 1992, archaeological management was fully resumed, operating under a centralized system. This centralization concentrated decision-making power in the capital city of San Salvador, neglecting the countryside where most archaeological sites are found, leaving out the concerns of local communities upon their archaeological resources. Meanwhile, during the Postwar period, the Salvadorian government has barely invested in archaeological issues, including purchase of sites, promotion of research, restoration, and publications.

Once these factors are thoroughly understood, a particular course of action that would solve the problem of exclusion can be taken. These actions are framed by Post-development theories, which advocate giving more voice to local people. Understanding these factors will allow both government officials and academic to take a new path in the management and development of the Salvadorian archaeology.

## 6.1 The TIC in El Salvador

Governmental files, archaeological reports, interviews, and fieldwork observations demonstrate that there is a strong relationship between academia and government, and a weak relationship with rural communities. Therefore, the TIC system-model is not complete (Figure 15). This uneven relationship jeopardizes the potential use of archaeological sites, and hinders any possibility of development. Archaeology has been managed solely as a source of knowledge among government and academic rungs, and used exclusively to promote government and academia interests. To create a beneficial model for the development and use of archaeological resources and put these resources to their maximal operational capability, it is essential that a dialectical relationship between government, academia, and rural communities is achieved.



**Figure 15. The TIC Perceived in El Salvador.**

The following section lists the overall results derived from the data gathered. These results are selected and organized in such a way as to cover faults detected in the three sector included in the TIC, as well as the current uses of archaeological resources in El Salvador.

### 6.1.1 Government

- (1) **A centralized system to manage cultural heritage hinders the uses and development of archaeological resources.** According to the law, the central government through SECULTURA is the main entity responsible for cultural heritage management (Asamblea Legislativa de El Salvador 1993:2,4-5). This entity works as a central repository of archaeological studies and legal mitigation files. SECULTURA is located in

the capital city of San Salvador, working with a limited budget to invest in cultural issues throughout the country. As a result, this institution cannot afford extensive programs of protection and development of archaeological sites for the benefit of rural communities, so these resources are generally neglected. A centralized system to manage archaeological resources hinders experts and government officials from approaching local problems related to their archaeological resources.

- (2) Lack of attention leads to site misuse, leaving resources in danger of vandalism, or obliteration.** Although the DA has visited most of the municipalities in El Salvador, the average number of visits is between 1 and 5 recurrences from 1999 to 2012. There are still many municipalities that have never been visited because the government is not able to support the archaeological demand throughout the country. This is a result of its lack of supplies and trained professionals. The DA depends largely on the support given by the private sector and external institutions to carry out investigations, monitoring of projects, and inspections. The protection and development of sites is contingent upon the government's ability to purchase property and monitor its protection, which generally exceed the budget allocated to SECULTURA. Therefore, most archaeological sites in El Salvador remain neglected.
- (3) There is a strong relationship between government and academia.** Academia and the central government have been sustaining a historical relationship based on the uses of archaeological resources for State interests. Today, all archaeological projects depend on the central government's approval and supervision, strengthening the relationship between government and academia. This relationship between government and academia has a historical background embedded in socio-politics.
- (4) Archaeological resources are used merely by the government interests rather than rural communities.** The 20th century gives remarkable lessons about the politicization of archaeology in El Salvador, which has led to the use of archaeological resources for mere State interests rather than rural communities' benefit. Today, problems related to conservation, including misleading procedures, plundering and damaging of sites, negligence, and other issues related to the protection of sites tend to remain neglected due to the lack of supplies and lack of qualified personnel. Communities' archaeological resources are neglected due to social and political issues and the centralized management of archaeology. The government has veto power to create a new heritage site through legal mitigation and Legislative Assembly nomination. This power depends on academic

opinion, leaving out rural communities' ideas concerning heritage and the protection and development of these resources.

- (5) Proposals for developing archaeological resources gather dust on shelves.** The Capital Master Plan of Cerén (CONCULTURA – Getty Conservation Institute 2013) is a remarkable example. The lack of supplies and relationship with local government hinder local programs, and other institutional support. In addition, the government does not properly disseminate information from archaeological reports. Most of these reports are not published, lack a database of information, and are not properly distributed in public libraries, even though archaeologists are required by law to provide six copies which are to be distributed. In this way, archaeological knowledge seems to be stored in SECULTURA, denying the general public an opportunity to learn from the archaeological field. None of these studies has been used to improve daily lives of rural communities.

#### **6.1.2 Academia**

- (1) There is no clear involvement of rural communities with archaeological work.** This observation is also supported by the evaluation of archaeological reports and the current uses of archaeological resources. Archaeological reports do not aim to fulfill a social or communal claim. Instead, they are geared toward fulfilling an academic interest. In other words, most suggestions and concerns in archaeological reports are related to research extension aimed at solving academic questions without emphasizing a clear willingness to share knowledge with local people, or communities' involvement.
- (2) The cases where archaeological reports have been given to rural communities are rare.** Most municipalities ignore issues concerning their local heritage. Recent studies demonstrate that a lack of knowledge about archaeological research being conducted within communities is the main reason resources do not have developmental value among people (Ikeda 2010a). Once people learn about the importance of archaeology, the interest increases (Delsol 2006, Ikeda 2010a and 2010b). This observation is similar to those given by other scholars in other parts of the world, such as Miller (Miller et al. 1980), Cleere (1984a, 1984b), and Ritchie and Gardescu (1994).
- (3) There are no archaeological management training programs in El Salvador.** Although there is an archaeological school, there is a lack of personnel trained in the management of archaeological resources. This lack of qualified personnel, leads to the dearth of projects for the proper uses of archaeological resources. Suggestions gleaned

from archaeological reports and interviews prove this point. In addition, universities in El Salvador that offer the program of anthropology and archaeology as a career do not yet include archaeological resource management topics (UES 2013; UTEC 2013). These studies could serve as point of departure for the preparation of personnel to manage these resources. However, before 2013, few attempts have been made to develop workshops and certificated courses in cultural heritage management strategies (García 2006; SECULTURA 2013b).

### **6.1.3 Rural Communities**

- (1) Artisans, a sector that provides one of the highest revenues to El Salvador's economy, are not identified with Salvadorian archaeology.** One of the reasons for this fact can be attributed to the unlinked relationship between archaeologists and communities. Although the craft industry represents the most dynamic sector in the Salvadorian economy, craft production is not linked with any kind of knowledge arising from archaeological studies, with the exception of the uses of indigo in Casa Blanca (Ohi 2000). This archaeological knowledge includes ancient techniques, such as those used in construction, in pottery manufacture, or in the processing of ground stones, as well as decorative techniques related to ancient motifs as found in local archaeological sites. Recently, only the Ataco project has implemented ancient motifs to promote local handicraft (Paredes Umaña and Cossich 2013). Although El Salvador has many archaeological studies concerning native construction, agriculture techniques, and ancient handicraft techniques among others, none of them are working to solve current needs. This statement is also supported by the evaluation of the archaeological reports in the present study, which reveal that archaeological studies do not aim to solve communities' needs.
- (2) There is a limited view of the use of archaeological resources for the benefit of communities.** Few of the documents evaluated in this thesis refer to the uses of archaeological resources for the benefit of rural communities after research projects are done. There are few proposals made by researchers to improve the uses of cultural heritage. The misuse of archaeological resources is also recognized by the Multi-sectorial Technical Committee of the Indigenous People (CTMP 2003:94), an organization sponsored by the World Bank, government, municipalities, and the private sector. This committee considers archaeological heritage an abandoned resource, exploited simply for touristic aims and occasionally for spiritual purposes by Indigenous communities.



Furthermore, the archaeological subject as a resource for community benefit is barely addressed within this committee.

- (3) Rural communities ignore the benefits and uses of archaeological resources.** This is proven by the lack of publications, workshops, archaeological parks, and archaeological windows throughout the country. Most archaeological reports are stored in SECULTURA.
- (4) Lack of studies focused on the value of local archaeology for the rural communities.** Besides the studies conducted by Delsol in 2006, Ikeda in 2010, and Valdivieso 2013, there are no other studies concerning communities' views of archaeology.
- (5) Rural communities ignore the existence of archaeological sites in their vicinity.** This occurs because people are not familiar with the term archaeology, its meaning and uses (Delsol 2006; Ikeda 2010a, 2010b; Valdivieso 2013). People cannot recognize an archaeological site without the assistance of experts.

#### **6.1.4 Archaeological Resources**

- (1) Archaeological sites and artifacts have mutually exclusive paths.** Most sites are abandoned, with no link to rural communities' interests.
- (2) The archaeological atlas is out of date.** This atlas lacks new classifications with sites from Colonial, Republican and Modern periods, and the condition of sites already recorded.
- (3) It has been estimated that damage caused to archaeological sites is due to issues related with the growing population and government inability to prevent damage to sites throughout the country.** Globally, some causes of site damage are earthquakes, vegetation, flooding, erosion, tourism, vibration, ignorance, incompatible laws and regulations, and procedures (Henry 2005:11). However, in El Salvador the most common causes of site damage are agriculture, looting, vandalism, land development, and land modification. The limited budget allocated to the DA is unable to support the protection of archaeological sites throughout the country.
- (4) There is no site in El Salvador under a rural community's administration.** This is a result of a centralized system, which is revealed through the evaluation of archaeological reports and government management.
- (5) Most archaeological sites have not been delimited and studied by scholars.** Legal mitigation files show the existence of continuous archaeological activities related to site protection that require site delimitation. To delimitate certain site, the DA request a

mitigation rescue and salvage that include mapping, surveys, and test pits. According to the evaluation of reports carried out by this thesis, archaeologists often refer to the existence of sites in certain regions of the country, which may remain protected by legal mitigations actions. However, most sites in the official list of archaeological sites lack technical information, because they lack formal archaeological studies.

## 6.2 Implications of the TIC

This study has demonstrated the precarious inclusion of local communities in the management of archaeological resources throughout El Salvador's history. The results of this study have multiple implications for the three entities included in the TIC system-model. To reach an even triadic relationship it is essential to adopt the following scheme:

- (1) **Academia:** Within this sector, scholars work as vectors of communities' concerns. This information is key to propose better uses of archaeological resources according to local needs. The knowledge gathered from archaeological projects needs to be promoted in localities near those sites. Due to the fact that the academia exerts a strong influence in the government management of archaeology, the inclusion of rural communities should be considered in archaeological reports submitted to the government. Local authorities need to have a copy of every archaeological study conducted in their localities, and academics need to propose the possible uses of these resources for the benefit of local people. In other words, local people need to be included as part of all archaeological research conducted in each region, and academics need to consider awareness programs concerning the protection of archaeological resources.
- (2) **Government:** This entity needs to change its structures in order to increase mitigation and archaeological projects in the countryside. These changes aim for a decentralized power structure that leaves management and responsibilities over archaeological resources to local governments. Therefore, government and the Legislative Assembly need to manage all changes toward a decentralized system through legislation. The uses of archaeological resources requires the development of policies that are incentives for local people to get involved with the protection and development of their local archaeological resources. The government should consider rural communities in their short, medium, and long-term projects based on archaeology. Therefore, government should introduce an operational mechanism that engages rural communities with their local heritage, so that they can begin to benefit from each academic study generated, their archaeological sites, and archaeological artifacts recovered.

(3) **Rural communities:** This sector needs to work hand in hand with scholars and government officials in order to protect and develop their archaeological resources. Government and academics need to promote local workshops concerning the protection and dissemination of local heritage. Rural communities need to be aware of the benefits that their local archaeological resources are able to provide. In addition, local knowledge and concepts need to be part of any development project based on local heritage. This will contribute to the restoration of cultural values that have vanished or have been affected after tumultuous periods and globalization, thereby diminishing marginalization.

An initial budget needs to be assigned in order to make changes and activate the TIC. An ad hoc organization sponsored by the central government can conduct this budget, towards the design of a new organizational model based on a decentralized system. This organization requires autonomy detached from any political infusion. Academics, government officials and local authorities can constitute this organization. The inclusion of specialists in legislation, archaeologists, anthropologists, social experts and CRM experts is imperative in this team. The budget needs to cover consultants and the hiring of personnel, such as assistants. This organization requires its own venues and supplies. Goals and deadlines need to be established.

As a result, a strong relationship of rural communities with government and academia is expected to increase local craft production, reinforcing cultural identity, reducing migration and spurring education based on local cultural values. This triadic relationship is also crucial to a more inclusive and cohesive society that is able to cope with social problems and class conflicts.

### **6.3 Course of Action and Specifications**

To hold a sustainable relationship between these three sectors included in the TIC, it is necessary to consider the following points:

(1) **Learning lessons from abroad.** Multiple authors claim that knowledge gathered from archaeology could work within the government system, or as an alternative knowledge base for development projects and social welfare (Bird and O'Connell 2006; Bolaños 2012; Buck 1982; Downum and Price 1999; Marshall 2002; Sabloff 2008).

Archaeological management models also have a narrow relationship with the economic model of each country. In Europe, Japan and the U.S. cultural heritage receives greater governmental support, and strengthens cultural identity based on their resources (Cerdan, Flores and Martins de Souza 2007; Cleere 1984a; Downum and Price 1999; Keatinge 1980; Kohl and Fawcett 1995; Lafrenz Samuels 2009; Lipe 1984; Litvak and López Varela 1997; Marliac 1997; Mizoguchi 2007; Piedras Fera 2006; Shanks and

Tilley 1992; Specht and MacLulich 1996; Trigger 1995). Management strategies need to be adapted according to the local economy (Van Waarden 1989). Therefore, it is possible to apply a development model based on individual cultures and social realities, while taking into consideration many other models and experiences around the world.

Studies of cultural and social attitudes enable to design a management of archaeology program, which would be created according to the reality of locality, preponderant governmental systems, local economies, kinds of cultural resources included, and others factors. Scholars around the world have suggested cases in which cultural management can be adapted according to local circumstances and economic and political platforms (Borja Idrovo 2012; Cerdan, Flores and Martins de Souza 2007; Fonte 2008; Hernández Asencio 2008; Lafrenz Samuels 2009; Lombardo de Ruíz 1997; Piedras Fera 2006; Schejtman 2008). Some cases are focused purely on economic strategy, but others attempt to cope with the social and political schemes. Latin America depicts both scenarios, in which the management of places, such as museums, monuments, archaeological sites, historical buildings, and intangible heritage, are at stake. For El Salvador, working upon both social and political schemes to create a sustainable cultural management is crucial, because these conditions have shaped the current management of archaeological resources.

World's trends and experiences to manage cultural heritage suggest that archaeological management programs in El Salvador can be framed within social developmental programs, with a design based on previous studies of social and cultural attitudes. Previous studies concerning cultural and social attitudes are also suggested by interviewees in the current thesis. Every cultural management program requires a regional study, in which cultural resources, whether tangible or intangible, are a priority. Existing access to archaeological sites, communication and utilities in the region must be a proponent of the study. Recognizing previous initiatives to obtain development are also part of the first approach to create a development program based on culture.

**(2) For the Use of Archaeological Resources.** This study identified two categories of archaeological resources: archaeological sites and archaeological artifacts. All knowledge derived from archaeological resources needs to be seen as part of a local opportunity to reach socio-economic development. Each community has its own particular demand on the uses of these resources, and every archaeological site has its

own characteristics. Archaeological sites in El Salvador are grouped in four categories: Prehispanic, Colonial, Republican, and Modern sites. Prehispanic sites are the most studied by archaeologists in this country. In other Latin American countries, scholars, such as Lombardo de Ruíz (1997), Schejtman (2008), and Fonte (2008), have suggested the integrating of intangible heritage and archaeological sites in order to boost the uses and benefits of cultural heritage. Public and private initiatives also need to be considered in local programs based on the use of archaeological resources (Piedras Feria 2006). El Salvador should follow similar ideas by taking archaeological sites as a main platform for development, aiming for a program that integrates these sites with intangible heritage.

Development plans based in culture can be focused on conserving historical areas to preserve the past, and as a hook for tourism that increases local revenues. In other parts of the world, archaeological sites and historical buildings are also used as theaters, spaces for popular performances of cultural activities, and celebrating aspects of the past within the current social order (Preucel and Matero 2008). The performances realized within these sites are typically a connection between the past and the present, culture, and social relations. These relations are translated into visual entertainment to share messages based on popular interpretation, and adoption of ideas embedded in the cultural imagination. From this standpoint, the government in El Salvador needed to promote the creation of cultural spaces by transforming archaeological sites into parks, field schools, and archaeological windows. As a result, rural communities would be able to engage their local heritage and learn from them, increasing in this way awareness and appreciation of their local culture, and strengthening cultural identity. All in all, this transformation and use of archaeological resources reinforces Stages 4, 5 and 6 identified in Chapter 5 of this study.

A data base such as the one used as a resource management strategy with the *Wet'suwet'en* First Nations in Canada (Budhwa 2005:28), can be a model to support the use and management of archaeological resources in El Salvador. This tool can serve as a centralized hub of on-line information about each archaeological study, reports, and mitigation files and procedures. This data base can also provide archaeological knowledge ready to be used in practical life. In addition, community perspectives about local heritage can be included in this system and linked to a decision-making framework. Local perception upon archaeological sites and artifacts can contribute with alternative interpretations of the archaeological record. Video and audio records of local

traditions can be included. Sites and artifacts from each region or community can also be cataloged and included in this hub, supported by maps, archaeological drawings, technical information, photos, GIS-base projections, and others. In this way, archaeologists and local communities can define their role within the Salvadorian CRM, and promote local heritage in a wider context.

- (3) Archaeological Management from the Central Government.** Government strategies to manage archaeological resources must be oriented towards the results of actions committed by academia, and channelled towards social and communal benefits to progress on the development stages. Subsequently, the archaeological record should be transformed into utilities for social benefits. In practice, sites and artifacts, as well as archaeological reports, are transformed into resources for communities and society. They are not exclusively for central government, academics, and private sector.

The government needs to prepare a proper dialogue with local people, and offer guidelines for the possible fate of archaeological sites supported by academic reports. The better use of archaeological resources might not only be addressed to decision-makers inside the government and academia; they may also be addressed to those who coincidentally have archaeological sites in their land. As part of government and academic agendas, management of archaeological sites on private property needs to be discussed with landowners in relationship to community use. In the management and preservation of archaeological resources, legal issues and tax incentives need to be considered. Local interests must also match state interests. Ministries such as Environment, Tourism, and Education, fall under state management plans for culture.

Site damage, on the other hand, depends on population growth, development and infrastructure encroachment, shaping government procedures to protect local resources. Periodical studies upon the Salvadorian CRM are key to tackle future problems related with site damage. The present thesis could serve as a platform for such studies.

In order to protect archaeological sites, it might be beneficial to establish mandatory workshops for communities regarding their rights and ability to utilize local ideas for a greater benefit of archaeological resources (Barrera Basol, del Campo, and Hernández García 2012). Through this process, communities will also be aware of knowledge coming from archaeological research in their region. Through these workshops, dialogue between central and local government, academia, and rural communities, needs to be horizontal.

However, it is undeniable that archaeological activities throughout the country could also improve with a earmarked budget and considerable resources, strategies could be focused in increasing assistance to all municipalities. A budget allocated could also enable the organization of long-term projects, as well as the hiring of more personnel, the investing in equipment, and routing management into a decentralized system. As a result, financial support could increase archaeological projects that include the generation of academic and mitigation rescue and salvage reports throughout the country.

**(4) A Decentralized System.** It has been proven that the Salvadorian government is not able to provide technical assistance and financial support to the whole country. Therefore, a decentralized system could be an alternative to respond to local demand, in which local governments work closely with experts, and given rural communities more inclusion in decision-making concerning their local archaeological resources. The proposal of a decentralized system is based on the evaluation of archaeological management in the Second Phase of Institutionalization, knowledge of experts interviewed, and on fieldwork observations.

Decentralization is the most accepted system to manage cultural resources around the world, considering the inclusion of local people in the control of their own heritage (Atalay 2006; MACHI 2012; Marshall 2002; Shooceongdej 2011; Smith and Jackson 2006). This is an issue in which archaeologists and government institutions have been working towards greater cohesion in the last three decades, giving support to local museums, material heritage, and its association to archaeological resources (Downum and Price 1999; Gosden 2007; Price 1996; Sabloff 2008; Sansom 1996; Shanks and Tilley 1992; Vitelli and Pyburn 1997; Walder 1996; White 2010). A decentralized system requires training local people to manage archaeological issues, with cultural centres having a close relationship with archaeological activity, keeping an eye on the administration of protective legislation, and accompanying archaeologists working in the area (Miller et al. 1980:713). This system also depends on reaching a minimal threshold of infrastructure and economic development.

A decentralized system in El Salvador is proposed through alliances between groups of municipalities, aiming to cope with challenges concerning heritage management. An administrative system can be created by grouping municipalities (*mancomunidad*) through different territorial extensions and the variability of sites included in each one. This *mancomunidad* can be linked with the central government to

reach a common national interest surrounding the use of archaeological resources successfully reaching Stage 6 of development. Municipalities would have autonomy over their archaeological resources and function as a network bound by national legislation, interchanging communications and working for common objectives to conserve and develop sites, and use archaeological knowledge from academic projects. In other words, this local control must be linked with the rest of the system at a national level. In the same way, Hannigan stresses: “local government has access to local knowledge, as well as national support and influence” (2012:24). Local governments may function as the promoters of local initiatives, and as cultural vectors and connectors between people and central governments (Hernández Asencio 2008). Decentralization, however, is a process that is heavily dependent on government structures and political decisions.

Under this decentralized system, each *mancomunidad* could be able to manage funds and any kind of financial and technical support with external institutions, NGOs, universities, and the private sector. This support can be used to develop short, medium and long-term projects based in their local culture, as well as promote local archaeological research, site protection, restorations, and dissemination of their local archaeology. This funds can also work for the development and maintenance of sites and create new local archaeological parks and archaeological windows. These *mancomunidades* should have a precise inventory of sites in their respective regions and personnel trained in archaeological management. The economic resources generated by each grouping of municipalities would be greater than those generated by independent municipalities. Moreover, these grouping municipalities could also generated a better financial support and budgets than the budget allotted to the current central institution of SECULTURA, which is not properly used for the benefit of rural communities. Overall, archaeological resources should be seen as potential to improve the quality of life of the population. The implementation of this model of management requires the creation of a legal framework and a new operational strategy. This strategy includes administrative organizations, statutes and standards to operate.

- (5) Legislation and Operational Reforms.** Any plan that attempts to improve the management of archaeological resources and run a decentralized system needs to work on two reforms: (1) Legal reform, which allows the opening or establishment of institutions and policies, and other autonomies. This reform also includes the legal



creation of *mancomunidades* allowing them the management of local heritage, and giving them power in decision-making. (2) Operational reform as a strategy for the management of archaeological resources. This strategy includes the creation of standards procedures, work platforms, and organizational structure that fit within the decentralized system and government structures. The operational strategy needs to be designed in order to link common interests between all municipalities and the central government. The local administrations, organized by *mancomunidades*, needs to be coordinated with the central government administration. These organizations require a standard management system, with principles and statutes toward the same goal. This reform also includes operational diffusion mechanisms, and the dissemination and use of knowledge from archaeological research. The operational reform adopted shall have a durability of at least ten years in order to analyze the experiences and feedback of management. By contrast, each five year period of government may have a different ideology, adopting new ideas that invalidate and hinder previous programs designed as long-term projects. Archaeological management cannot be sustainable when the adoption of new ideas takes development in a new direction every five years.

#### **6.4 Conclusion**

After exploring El Salvador's archaeology, it is certain that this country, like other countries in Latin America, is able to use its archaeological resources as a means of social and economic development. The present work describes how archaeological resources in El Salvador have been managed, and how CRM has evolved since the inception of archaeology in the mid 19th century in this country. Methodologically and theoretically, this thesis provides a new way to address issues that entail Salvadorian archaeological management today. Although many archaeological reports and mitigation files have been produced since the armed conflict ended, this research also demonstrates that little has been done to change rural communities' conditions by using their local archaeological resources. Most of the issues discussed in this study are related with the current uses of archaeological resources which tend to address government and academic concerns rather than solving the needs of people. In addition, social and political instability have hampered the implementation of long-term projects and sustainable development programs based on archaeological heritage.

Throughout the last century, the underlying premises for the archaeological management in El Salvador was: first to support mitigation with limited or even no budget; second, to protect the "most important sites;" and third, to rely on external archaeological experts. Paradoxically,

these factors were the groundwork to institutionalize the management of archaeology in El Salvador. Through history, government and academia have been instrumental in using archaeology as merely a political and academic tool with little impact in the communities where archaeological resources are found. Archaeological resources in this country seem to reach their zenith when a site is restored and transformed into a park for touristic interests, generating profits that goes to central government institutions and private sector. Under this perspective, El Salvador has mostly utilized archaeology as a source of tourism that respond to external interests rather than benefiting dwellers of rural communities. However, there are more stages that need to be experienced that may improve the quality of life in communities, reinforce cultural identity, and use ancient knowledge and the archaeological record to solve current human needs.

History has given us a lesson on the way in which the management of archaeological resources in El Salvador has failed by following a model of development that leaves out local interest. Most archaeological sites are neglected, and a few archaeological parks are exploited for profit by the central government. The use of archaeology as a means to reach social, economic, and political benefits for rural communities has never been a concept in practice in this country. In part, this is due to the lack of social awareness and inadequate dissemination of the uses and benefits of archaeology that go beyond academic knowledge. This situation is exacerbated by not receiving enough government funding in this field, contributing to the loss of archaeological sites. However, the experiences in the management of archaeological resources in El Salvador, particularly in regards to the historical process of the institutionalization of archaeology, can provide positive feedback to overcome the endemic exclusion of rural communities, who should be the primary beneficiaries of archaeological sites. Now is the time to consider alternative means of development that benefit the most deprived sectors. As a quest for alternative solutions, new models of cultural management can embrace Post-development ideas in order to change the current scenario.

In countries like El Salvador, in which social and political conflicts are rooted in class disparity and marginalization, Post-development opens the way to accept alternative ideas of development anchored in local concepts and concerns. It is certain that social and grassroots movements, as Escobar (1992) points out, rely more on their own knowledge than in the knowledge coming from government agents, and this knowledge occupies an important role in the decision-making process. This is also proven after analyzing other Latin American models of cultural management that advocate putting local people first when it comes to the uses and benefits of cultural heritage. In alignment with Post-development ideas, local people can be part

of decision-making by contributing to finding solutions to their local needs, mitigating class conflict and the promotion of social inclusion and cohesion.

The adoption of a decentralized system seems to be aligned with Post-development ideas in which both local authorities and people would be able to use their resources according to their own concepts and needs. After analyzing other strategies for cultural resource management in Latin America, it could be argued that the development of archaeological resources depends essentially on the participation of organized communities to protect and develop their local sites. The income generated by local people based on their archaeological resources would help solve economic and social problems locally. To achieve this idea, strengthening local power is key. It has been proven that depositing the power of development in the hands of communities contributes to their ability to cope with real problems that can only be understood from the inside (Atalay 2006; Marshall 2002; Lipe 1984; Politis and Pérez Gollán 2007; Sansom 1996; Smith and Jackson 2006).

Gaining social support is perhaps the most important element to guarantee site protection and obtain better use of sites (Ritchie and Gardescu 1994). For this task, an interdisciplinary study including other areas of academia is required. Many experts have suggested that development stemming from cultural resources calls for an integral policy that allows a healthy balance and sustainable functioning between every sector involved (Green 2001; Piedras Feria 2006). The search for this balance is the driving force that perpetuates the creation of new models of social and economic development based on archaeological resources in the Latin American region generally and in El Salvador specifically.

Academia is the sector that provides knowledge and promotes change in the CRM, exerting a strong influence in government decision-making. In this sense, archaeologists can go beyond archaeological studies by working to formulate new programs and proposals to work with governments and communities based on the results of their archaeological research. Many times, local archaeology has been ignored due to the lack of proposals, or because people ignore archaeological benefits (Sabloff 2008). State institutions, local governments, private sector, media, and public opinion, among others, need to consider local heritage as an integral part of the development of countries (Green 2001; Green and Doershuk 1998). The need for these changes is motivated by historical factors.

Writing Salvadorian archaeology history and CRM is, in part, an attempt to understand the way cultural issues have been conducted, having political implications. With the arrival of a new government in 2014, once again, new changes within cultural institutions are expected. In

this context, the current thesis might provide a tool for any new institutional structure and planning: a focus for achieving sustainable programs for rural communities and a design for promoting short, medium and long-term projects based on culture. Government and academia can now take a step further in the management and use of archaeological resources and the knowledge coming from them, addressing cultural issues in a single direction, thus helping to break down political polarization and ameliorate social inequity.

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## Appendices

### Appendix A Government Files Evaluation (legal mitigation)

Average of technical inspections attendances given by the Department of Archaeology of SECULTURA to communities (ranked by municipalities), between the years 1999-2012					
Department	Municipality	Count	Department	Municipality	Count
Ahuachapán Total: 70	Ahuachapán	27		Azacualpa	0
	San Francisco Menéndez	8		Cancasque	0
	Concepción de Ataco	4		San Miguel de Mercedes	1
	Tacuba	2		San Francisco Lempa	2
	Apaneca	4		Ojos de agua	0
	San Pedro Puxtla	2		La Laguna	1
	Guaymango	0		Tejutla	8
	Jujutla	6		Nueva Concepción	16
	Atiquizaya	6		Citalá	3
	Turin	5		La Palma	3
	San Lorenzo	0		La Reina	1
	El Refugio	6		San Ignacio	0
Santa Ana Total: 127	Santa Ana	32		Agua Caliente	2
	Coatepeque	14		El Paraíso	6
	Texistepeque	19		Dulce Nombre de María	0
	El Congo	4		San Fernando	0
	Chalchuapa	36		San Francisco Morazán	0
	Candelaria de la Frontera	4		San Rafael	1
	San Sebastian Salitrillo	8		Santa Rita	1
	El Porvenir	2		Comalapa	0
	Metapán	8	La Libertad Total: 136	Santa Tecla	9
	Santiago de la Frontera	0		Jayaque	3
	Masahuat	0		La Libertad	10
	Sta. Rosa Guachipilín	0		Comasagua	2
	San Antonio Pajonal	0		Teotepeque	0
Sonsonate Total: 81	Sonsonate	3		Huizucar	1
	Nahuizalco	10		Tepecoyo	3
	Santo Domingo de Guzmán	0		Colón	4
	Nahuilingo	2		San José Villanueva	5
	Sonzacate	0		Tamanique	7
	San Antonio del Monte	2		Chiltuipán	0
	Acajutla	14		Antiguo Cuscatlán	6
	Izalco	22		Nuevo Cuscatlán	6
	Armenia	1		Talnique	6
	San Julián	10		Zaragoza	3
	Santa Isabel Ishuatán	0		Jicalapa	1
	Cuisnahuat	2		Sacacoyo	2
	Caluco	3		Quezaltepeque	17
	Juayúa	4		San Pablo Tacachico	0
	Santa Catarina Masahuat	0		Opico	28
	Salcoatitán	8		San Matías	0
Chalatenango Total: 59	Chalatenango	9		Ciudad Arce	23
	Arcatao	0	San Salvador Total: 79	San Salvador	18
	San Isidro Labrador	1		Mejicanos	1
	Nueva Trinidad	0		Soyapango	2
	Las Flores	0		Delgado	0
	Concepción Quezaltepeque	3		Cuscatancingo	4
	Nombre de Jesús	1		Ilopango	0
	San Antonio Los Ranchos	0		Ayutuxtepeque	1
	El Carrizal	0		Tonacatepeque	1
	San Antonio de la Cruz	0		Guazapa	1
	Las Vueltas	0		San Martín	18
	Potonico	0		Apopa	2
	San Luis del Carmen	0		Nejapa	4

Source: Department of Archaeology/ SECULTURA, El Salvador. 4  
Classification and analysis by Fabricio Valdivieso, ADES project. 4University of British Columbia, Canada.

Average of technical inspections attendances given by the Department of Archaeology of SECULTURA to communities (ranked by municipalities), between the years 1999-2012					
Department	Municipality	Count	Department	Municipality	Count
	El Paisnal	4		San Esteban Catarina	3
	Aguilares	17		San Lorenzo	0
	Santo Tomás	1		Santo Domingo	0
	Panchimalco	4		Santa Clara	2
	Santiago Texacuangos	1		San Ildefonso	1
	Rosario de Mora	1			
	San Marcos	0	La Paz Total: 93	Zacatecoluca	21
Cuzcatlán Total: 34	Cojutepeque	1		Santiago Nonualco	15
	San Pedro Perulapán	7		San Juan Nonualco	3
	Tenancingo	0		San Rafael Obrajuelo	4
	San Rafael Cedros	6		San Pedro Nonualco	0
	Candelaria	1		Santa María Ostuma	1
	Monte San Juan	1		San Emigdio	0
	El Carmen	1		Paraíso de Osorio	0
	San Cristóbal	0		Jerusalén	2
	Santa Cruz Michapa	2		Mercedes La Ceiba	0
	San Bartolomé Perulapía	1		Olocuilta	9
	San Ramón	3		San Juan Talpa	2
	El Rosario	0		Cuyultitán	3
	Santa Cruz Analquito	3		San Francisco Chinameca	0
	Suchitoto	5		Tapahuaca	1
	San José Guayabal	2		San Luis Talpa	15
	Oratorio de Concepción	1		San Luis La Herradura	2
Cabañas Total: 43	Sensuntepeque	5		San Pedro Masahuat	11
	Victoria	1		San Miguel Tepezontes	0
	Dolores	12		San Antonio Masahuat	1
	San Isidro	2		San Juan Tepezontes	0
	Guacotecti	2		El Rosario	3
	Ilobasco	18	Usulután Total: 95	Usulután	5
	Tejutepeque	2		Jiquilisco	20
	Jutiapa	1		Jucuarán	2
	Cinquera	0		Ozatlán	2
San Vicente Total: 53	San Vicente	11		Santa María	1
	Apastepeque	6		Santa Elena	4
	Guadalupe	9		San Dionisio	3
	Verapaz	3		Ereguayquín	6
	Tepetitán	1		Concepción Batres	1
	Tecoluca	12		Puerto El Triunfo	3
	San Cayetano Istepeque	2		Jucuapa	5
	San Sebastián	3		El Triunfo	4
				Estanzuelas	2

Source: Department of Archaeology/ SECULTURA, El Salvador. 0  
Classification and analysis archive by Fabricio Valdivieso. ADES project. University of British Columbia, Canada.



Average of technical inspections attendances given by the Department of Archaeology of SECULTURA to communities (ranked by municipalities), between the years 1999-2012						
Departmen t	Municipality	Count	Department	Municipality	Count	
	San Buenaventura	0		Yoloaiquín	0	
	Nueva Granada	3		Delicias de Concepción	1	
	Santiago de María	11		Gualococti	0	
	Alegría	2		San Simón	1	
	Tecapán	4		Corinto	4	
	California	4		Jocoaltique	0	
	Berlin	10		El Rosario	0	
	San Agustín	0		Joateca	0	
	San Francisco Javier	2		Meanguera	0	
	Mercedes Umaña	1		Arambala	1	
San Miguel Total: 92	San Miguel	8		Perquín	0	
	Ciudad Barrios	4		San Fernando	1	
	Moncagua	12		Torola	1	
	Uluazapa	2		El Divisadero	1	
	Chapeltique	12		La Unión Total: 46	La Unión	9
	Chirilagua	2			San Alejo	4
	Quelepa	18			Yucuaiquín	1
	Comacarán	2			Yayantique	0
	Chinameca	2			Bolivar	1
	Nueva Guadalupe	3			El Carmen	4
	San Rafael	3	Conchagua		10	
	El Tránsito	4	Intipucá		3	
	Lolotique	1	San José		1	
	San Jorge	0	Meanguera del Golfo		0	
	Sesori	4	Santa Rosa de Lima	1		
	San Luis de la Reina	4	Pasaquina	3		
	Carolina	3	Anamorós	3		
	Nuevo Edén de San Juan	3	El Sauce	3		
	San Gerardo	4	Nueva Esparta	2		
	San Antonio	1	Concepción de Oriente	0		
Morazán Total: 20	San Francisco (Gotera)	3	Great Total: 1,028	Polorós	0	
	Jocoro	0		Lislique	1	
	San Carlos	0				
	Guatajiagua	0				
	Chilanga	1				
	Sociedad	1				
	Yamabal	1				
	Sensembra	0				
	Lolotiquillo	1				
	Osicala	2				
	San Isidro	0				
	Cacaopera	1				
Source: Department of Archaeology / SECULTURA, El Salvador. Classification and analysis archive by Fabricio Valdivieso. ADES project. University of British Columbia, Canada.						

## Appendix A.1 Sample Table Used for Government Files Evaluation

CUADRO DE ACTIVIDADES EN CUANTO A TRAMITES DE RESOLUCIONES ARQUEOLÓGICAS EN PROPIEDADES INMUEBLES.								
AÑO	MES	DÍA	PROYECTO	RESPONSABLE	UBICACIÓN	ÁREA	ACTIVO U OBSERVACION	NÚMERO DE EXP.
2006	OCT.	11	PARCELACION FATIMA	Sr. Ricardo Antonio López	CANTON EL JUTE, CANDELARIA DE LA FRONTRRA, SANTA ANA.	22,778.49 m2	INSPECCIÓN TECNICA	074/06
			PARCELACION MAY	Sr. Ricardo Antonio López	FINCA EL PALON, COATEPEQUE, SANTA ANA.	56,695.76 m2	INSPECCIÓN TECNICA	075/06
			LOTIFICACION ATLANTIS	Sra. Rosa Lina López	CANTON CANGREJERA, LA LIBERTAD.	117,313.99 m2	INSPECCIÓN TECNICA	076/06
			PARCELACION EL JOCOTAL	Sr. José Benedicto Morataya	CANTON CHAMOCO, SAN VICENTE.	52,509.45 m2	INSPECCIÓN TECNICA	077/06
		23	PARCELACION EL SINAI	Sr. Oscar Emilio Barcenes	CANTON SANTO TOMAS, TEXISTEPEQUE, SANTA ANA.	19,312.82m2	INSPECCIÓN TECNICA	078/06

ARCHAEOLOGICAL REPORT ANALYSIS IN EL SALVADOR																																											
		Study Period					Type of Technique					Research Applied		Theoretical (Problem related with...)																	Type of suggestions or further recommendations												
Short Title Report	Author (s)	Pre-Hispanic	Hispanic	Republic	Modern	None	Survey	Material Analysis	Excavation	Underwater	Test Pit	Others	Rescue and Salvage	Academic	Cultural expansion	Technology	Society	Environm./ecologi.	Economy	Religion/govern.	Domestic life	Architect./construc.	Artifacts typology	Stratigraphy	Conservation	Time period	Settlement pattern	Rock art	Landscape	Agriculture	Clarifying facts	Burial	Others	Extend research	Community Work	Site Delimited	Social Involvement	Restorati./Conser.	Law Issues	Others/none			
Year: 1992																																											
Investigations at the Cerén Site.	Sheets and Kievit (Ed.)	X					X	X	X					X		X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X		X				X	X				X	X		X					
Rescate Arqueológico Madre Selva	Amaroli	X							X				X									X	X		X	X	X				X	X				X		X	X				
Gropos cerámicos pipiles de El Salvador	Amaroli	X						X						X	X	X		X				X				X										X							
TOTAL:		3					1	2	2				1	2	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	3	2	1	1	3	1			1	2	1			3	1	1	2	1	1			
																																				Total reports analyzed: 3							
Year: 1993																																											
Report of the Cerén Research Project	Sheets and Simmons	X					X	X	X					X				X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X					X	X			X									X
Sector 2, Cumbres de Cuscatlán	Hermes and Velázquez					X				X			X								X		X	X		X				X							X						
Sector 3, Cumbres de Cuscatlán	Hermes and Velázquez					X				X			X										X							X						X							
Via del Mar	Bröillet	X								X			X										X	X		X											X						
San Juan Bautista, Nahuizalco	Amaroli		X	X						X			X									X	X		X								X	X				X					
Proyecto Izalco, San Pedro y San Pablo, Caluco	Fowler and Verhagen	X	X					X					X		X	X		X	X		X	X	X		X										X	X		X					
TOTAL:		3	2	1		2	1	1	2		4		4	2	1		1	1	2	2	2	3	5	5		4			1	2	1	1	1	1	3		4	1	1		1		
																																				Total reports analyzed: 6							
Year: 1994																																											
Catedral Metropolitana de San Salvador	Castellón Huerta		X	X					X				X						X							X								X				X	X				
Sectores 4 y 5, Cumbres de Cuscatlán	Velázquez					X				X			X										X													X							
Cumbres de Cuscatlán, reseña de trabajos	Hermes and Velazquez	X	X							X			X									X	X	X		X				X						X							
TOTAL:		1	2	1		1				1		2	3							1		1	1	2		2				1		1			2		1	1	1	1			
																																				Total reports analyzed: 3							
Year: 1995																																											
Conservación y restauración cerámica Ioya de Cerén	INAH	X						X					X											X																X			
Ground Penetrating Radar at the Cerén Site	Conyers	X					X						X										X			X		X									X						
TOTAL:		2					1	1					2										1	1		1											1			1			
																																				Total reports analyzed: 2							
Source: Department of Archaeology/ SECULTURA, El Salvador. Classification and analysis by Fabricio Valdivieso. ADES project. University of British Columbia, Canada.																																											

ARCHAEOLOGICAL REPORT ANALYSIS IN EL SALVADOR																																										
Short Title Report	Author (s)	Study Period					Type of Technique					Research Applied		Theoretical (Problem related with...)																	Type of suggestions or further recommendations											
		Pre-Hispanic	Hispanic	Republic	Modern	None	Survey	Material Analysis	Excavation	Underwater	Test Pit	Others	Rescue and Salvage	Academic	Cultural expansion	Technology	Society	Environment/ecology	Economy	Religion/govern.	Domestic life	Architect./construc.	Artifacts typology	Stratigraphy	Conservation	Time period	Settlement pattern	Rock art	Landscape	Agriculture	Classifying facts	Burial	Others	Extend research	Community Work	Site Delimited	Social Involvement	Restorati./Conser.	Law Issues	Others/none		
Year: 1996																																										
Report of the Cerén Research Project	Sheets and Brown	X						X	X				X				X			X	X	X	X	X	X				X						X							
Resumen Proyecto Joya de Cerén	Sheets and Brown	X						X	X				X				X			X	X				X	X				X											X	
Proyecto Arqueológico San Andrés	Begley et al.	X							X				X				X	X	X		X	X		X	X						X	X	X		X			X				
Pinturas rupestres, Gruta del Espíritu Santo	Coladan	X					X				X		X			X					X							X										X	X			
Vergéles del Edén, Chalchuapa	Amador	X								X		X							X		X	X	X		X	X									X							
Área de nuevas instalaciones en Parque San Andrés	Amaroli	X	X						X		X		X	X			X	X			X	X			X	X				X							X	X				
TOTAL:		6	1				1	2	4		2	1	2	5	2	2	2	5	1	2	2	5	5	2	2	5		1		3	1	1	1	1	2	1		3	3		1	
Total reports analyzed: 6																																										
Year: 1997																																										
La Ranchería	Valdivieso	X								X		X								X	X	X			X										X							
Zona residencial sitio arqueológico San Andrés	McKee	X					X						X							X	X				X										X							
Proyecto San Andrés, investigaciones Obraje de Añil	Verhagen		X						X					X							X	X	X	X	X	X	X										X					
Proyecto arqueológico Ciudad Vieja	Fowler		X				X		X				X						X	X	X			X		X									X		X		X			
TOTAL:		2	2				2		2		1		1	3	1	1	1	1	1	3	4	2	1	2	2	2									3		2		1		1	
Total reports analyzed: 4																																										
Year: 1998																																										
Zona de influencia Proyecto hidroeléctrico Torola	Bello-Suazo	X	X	X	X		X					X					X			X	X			X	X									X			X					
Nuevos datos arte rupestre El Salvador	Coladan					X	X	X		X	X		X								X	X	X			X								X								
Inspección al sitio arqueológico La Pichichera	Gallardo	X	X	X			X					X					X			X	X			X	X		X	X													X	
Templo Santiago Apóstol	CONCULTURA		X	X						X	X		X						X		X	X	X		X								X		X							
Reporte trabajos en Finca San Rafael	Valdivieso	X								X		X									X	X		X		X																
TOTAL:		3	3	3	1	1	3	1			3	2	4	1	1				2	1		3	5	3	1	4	2	1						3			1			1		
Total reports analyzed: 5																																										
Source: Department of Archaeology/ SECULTURA, El Salvador. Classification and analysis by Fabricio Valdivieso, ADES project, University of British Columbia, Canada																																										

ARCHAEOLOGICAL REPORT ANALYSIS IN EL SALVADOR																																											
		Study Period					Type of Technique					Research Applied		Theoretical (Problem related with...)															Type of suggestions or further recommendations														
Short Title Report	Author (s)	Pre-Hispanic	Hispanic	Republic	Modern	None	Survey	Material Analysis	Excavation	Underwater	Test Pit	Others	Rescue and Salvage	Academic	Cultural expansion	Technology	Society	Environm./ecologi.	Economy	Religion/govern.	Domestic life	Architect./construc.	Artifacts typology	Stratigraphy	Conservation	Time period	Settlement pattern	Rock art	Landscape	Agriculture	Clarifying facts	Burial	Others	Extend research	Community Work	Site Delimited	Social Involvement	Restorati./conser.	Law issues	Others/none			
Year: 1999																																											
Petrograbados del sitio Piedra Herrada	Escamilla					X	X							X														X						X				X					
La Ranchería III	Valdivieso	X					X			X			X										X	X		X											X						
Proyecto arqueológico Chanmico	Valdivieso	X					X		X		X		X				X					X	X		X		X					X	X			X							
Procesos de desechos y contextos arqueológicos en Joya de Cerén	McKee	X						X	X					X							X		X	X								X		X							X		
Diagnóstico Centro ceremonial poniente, Cihuatán	Amaroli	X										X		X								X			X													X					
Proyecto arqueológico Ciudad Vieja	Gallardo		X				X		X					X		X		X		X		X	X		X	X	X		X						X		X						
Templo Santiago Apóstol	CONCULTURA		X	X						X	X		X									X	X		X		X						X		X								
Carcagua, proyecto "terminal de buses de Santa Ana"	Valdivieso	X					X			X			X		X			X		X		X	X	X		X				X		X	X	X								X	
Investigación arqueológica "Zona Franca Internacional"	Gallardo	X					X			X			X									X				X									X								
TOTAL:		6	2	1		1	6	1	3		5	2	5	4	2	1	1	1	1	1	3	6	5	4	2	6	2	1	1	1	1	2	3	3	5	3		2		1	2		
Total reports analyzed: 9																																											
Source: Department of Archaeology/ SECULTURA, El Salvador. Classification and analysis by Fabricio Valdivieso, ADES project, University of British Columbia, Canada.																																											

ARCHAEOLOGICAL REPORT ANALYSIS IN EL SALVADOR																																										
		Study Period					Type of Technique					Research Applied		Theoretical (Problem related with...)																	Type of suggestions or further recommendations											
Short Title Report	Author (s)	Pre-Hispanic	Hispanic	Republic	Modern	None	Survey	Material Analysis	Excavation	Underwater	Test Pit	Others	Rescue and Salvage	Academic	Cultural expansion	Technology	Society	Environm./ecologi.	Economy	Religion/govern.	Domestic life	Architect./construc.	Artifacts typology	Stratigraphy	Conservation	Time period	Settlement pattern	Rock art	Landscape	Agriculture	Clarifying facts	Burial	Others	Extend research	Community Work	Site Delimited	Social Involvement	Restorati./Conser.	Law Issues	Others/none		
Year: 2000																																										
Conservación parques arqueológicos en El Salvador	Cossio	X					X	X						X								X			X									X			X	X				
Arqueología domestica del valle de Zanotitán	McKee	X						X						X	X					X		X			X																X	
Desarrollo del parque Cihuatán	FUNDAR-CONCULTURA	X										X		X															X					X			X					
Proyecto arqueológico Ciudad Vieja	Fowler and Gallardo		X						X			X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X					X	X		X					
Proyecto Interdisciplinario Chalchuapa	Ohi	X					X	X	X					X	X	X	X	X		X	X		X	X	X	X	X				X	X		X	X	X		X				
Diagnóstico del centro ceremonial poniente Cihuatán	Amaroli	X					X		X					X				X		X		X	X		X						X		X	X		X	X	X	X			
La urgencia de comprar el sitio Las Marías	Amaroli	X					X						X												X									X	X	X	X	X				
TOTAL:		6	1				4	3	3			2	1	6	3	1	2	3	1	3	3	3	4	1	5	3	2		1		2	1	4	6	2	5	3	4			1	
Total reports analyzed: 7																																										
Source: Department of Archaeology/ SECULTURA, El Salvador. Classification and analysis by Fabricio Valdivieso, ADES project, University of British Columbia, Canada.																																										

ARCHAEOLOGICAL REPORT ANALYSIS IN EL SALVADOR																																										
		Study Period					Type of Technique					Research Applied	Theoretical (Problem related with...)															Type of suggestions or further recommendations														
Short Title Report	Author (s)	Pre-Hispanic	Hispanic	Republic	Modern	None	Survey	Material Analysis	Excavation	Underwater	Test Pit	Others	Rescue and Salvage	Academic	Cultural expansion	Technology	Society	Environment/ecological	Economy	Religion/Government	Domestic life	Architect./construction	Artifacts typology	Stratigraphy	Conservation	Time period	Settlement pattern	Rock art	Landscape	Agriculture	Clarifying facts	Burial	Others	Extend research	Community Work	Site Delimited	Social Involvement	Restoration/Conservation	Law Issues	Others/none		
Year: 2001																																										
Primera y segunda temporada Casa Blanca, en Chalchuapa	Ito et al.	X							X					X								X								X		X			X			X				
Estudio geotécnico "Iniciativa maya"	ICIA S.A. de C.V.	X								X				X										X	X												X	X				
Evaluación de riesgo y deslizamiento	ICIA S.A. de C.V.	X								X			X										X	X										X			X					
Condiciones geológicas en Joya de Cerén	ICIA S.A. de C.V.	X								X													X	X													X					
Investigación arqueológica Palacio Nacional	Erquicia		X									X	X									X	X	X		X														X		
Rescatos arqueológicos Inmaculada Concepción en Nueva San Salvador	Valdivieso		X				X	X				X	X	X					X	X	X	X	X	X		X						X	X	X						X		
Plan sitio arqueológico Quelepa - POA SAQ	Univ. San Carlos de Guatemala	X										X		X										X							X	X	X	X	X	X						
Proyecto arqueológico Ciudad Vieja	CONCULTURA		X						X			X		X							X		X													X	X					
Investigación terreno Inversiones Méndez Rugana, Huscovolate	Erquicia	X		X			X				X		X									X	X		X															X		
Proyecto arqueológico Ciudad Vieja	Fowler		X						X					X			X				X	X					X						X									
Investigación en terreno Transportes Pesados, finca Rosita	Valdivieso	X								X			X									X	X		X																X	
Investigación en terreno HOTESA, finca Rosita	Erquicia	X								X			X								X	X	X		X																X	
TOTAL:		8	2	3			2	1	3		6	4	6	6		1	1			1	1	6	6	8	5	5	1		1	1	3	1	1	4	1	1	3	6		5		
Total reports analyzed: 12																																										
Source: Department of Archaeology/ SECULTURA, El Salvador. Classification and analysis by Fabricio Valdivieso. ADES project. University of British Columbia, Canada.																																										

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		Pre-Hispanic	Hispanic	Republic	Modern	None	Survey	Material Analysis	Excavation	Underwater	Test Pit	Others	Rescue and Salvage	Academic	Cultural expansion	Technology	Society	Environm./ecologi.	Economy	Religion/govern.	Domestic life	Architect./construc.	Artifacts typology	Stratigraphy	Conservation	Time period	Settlement pattern	Rock art	Landscape	Agriculture	Clarifying facts	Burial	Others	Extend research	Community Work	Site Delimited	Social Involvement	Restorati./Conser.	Law Issues	Others/none
Year: 2002																																								
Plan de manejo Joya de Cerén (Informe ejecutivo)	CONCULTURA-Getty	X	X								X		X											X								X	X	X	X	X	X	X		
Investigación arqueológica La Cuchilla La Libertad	Valdivieso	X								X		X									X	X	X		X						X			X						
Técnicas para copias estratigráficas en Casa Blanca	Matsui and Kato	X					X					X											X											X						
Experimento para conservación estructuras de tierra	Kato	X					X						X											X													X			
Tercera y cuarta temporada Casa Blanca	Ito	X						X					X									X			X							X			X					
Joya de Ceré, visit and report of findings	Gemperline and Rutenbeck	X					X						X								X			X											X			X		
Plan de manejo Joya de Cerén	CONCULTURA - Getty	X	X								X		X											X								X	X	X	X	X	X	X		
Primer Informe rescate sitio arqueológico Carranza	Amaroli	X					X		X			X	X	X	X				X		X	X		X	X															X
Segundo informe de avance Carranza	Amaroli	X					X		X			X	X	X	X				X		X	X		X	X															X
Investigación y rescate en el sitio Carranza	Amaroli	X							X			X	X		X				X		X	X			X	X						X			X					
Informe Tapalshucut	Escamilla	X					X	X				X									X	X	X		X									X		X				
Informe practica de campo Ciudad Vieja	Paredes U.		X				X						X								X						X													X
Inspección arqueológica Bordo Las Ollas	Valdivieso		X				X					X			X							X		X	X										X		X			
Rescate effigies de Tlaloc en Las Marías	Amaroli	X					X		X			X									X	X				X								X						
TOTAL:		12	4				6	4	5		1	2	7	10	3	1	3			3		8	8	3	7	7	3				4		2	9	3	6	3	4	2	3
Total reports analyzed: 14																																								
Source: Department of Archaeology / SECULTURA, El Salvador. Classification and analysis by Fabricio Valdivieso. ADES project. University of British Columbia, Canada.																																								



ARCHAEOLOGICAL REPORT ANALYSIS IN EL SALVADOR																																										
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Short Title Report	Author (s)	Pre-Hispanic	Hispanic	Republic	Modern	None	Survey	Material Analysis	Excavation	Underwater	Test Pit	Others	Rescue and Salvage	Academic	Cultural expansion	Technology	Society	Environm./ecologi.	Economy	Religion/govern.	Domestic life	Architec./construc.	Artifacts typology	Stratigraphy	Conservation	Time period	Settlement pattern	Rock art	Landscape	Agriculture	Clarifying facts	Burial	Others	Extend research	Community Work	Site Delimited	Social Involvement	Restorati./Conser.	Law Issues	Others/none		
Year: 2003																																										
Nuevas estructuras centro ceremonial poniente Cihuatán	Bruhns	X					X							X			X			X		X					X								X		X					
Excavación rescate estructura 12 Joya de Cerén	Ramírez	X							X				X								X				X							X									X	
Estudio arqueológico Proyecto El Pilar	Amador		X	X								X	X							X		X	X	X		X							X	X	X							
Excavaciones en estructura P-7 Cihuatán (2001-2002)	Amaroli, Bruhns, and Amador	X						X	X			X		X								X			X	X									X			X				
Los límites de Cihuatán. Reconocimiento extensión de la ciudad	Amaroli and Amador	X					X					X		X	X							X		X		X						X	X	X		X	X		X	X		
Reconstrucción del templo San Antonio del Monte	Ramírez		X					X				X	X				X	X				X		X		X								X								
Proyecto arqueológico Ciudad Vieja	Fowler		X				X		X					X	X	X						X	X									X			X							
Investigación, conservación, puesta en valor Ciudad Vieja	Erquicia		X						X			X		X	X							X	X				X					X									X	
Investigación en terreno Transportes Pesados, finca Rosita	Erquicia	X									X		X										X	X		X															X	
Exhumación Gral. Manuel J. Arce e investigación de otros próceres	Valdivieso			X				X				X	X				X			X			X			X						X	X		X							
Inspección arqueológica en Casa Salarrué	Valdivieso				X		X					X	X											X															X			
El sitio Santa María, a 27 años de su inundación	Amaroli	X					X							X			X							X		X						X			X	X	X	X				
Impacto en recursos culturales en Proyecto El Chaparral	Lange	X					X				X		X				X					X	X		X							X			X		X					
TOTAL:		7	4	2	1		6	3	4		3	7	7	6	3	2	2	3		3	1	7	6	4	5	6	4			6	3	2	9		4	2	3	1	4			
Total reports analyzed: 13																																										
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Year: 2004																																																
Estudio rehabilitación y diagnóstico en templo Nuestra Señora de la Paz	Erquicia			X				X				X	X										X			X						X									X							
Sondeo en Cooperativa Chamnico	Erquicia	X								X			X											X		X											X											
Structure 6F1 at Ciudad Vieja (thesis)	Gallardo		X						X					X	X	X	X	X				X	X								X										X							
Investigaciones en Cara Sucia (Tomo II)	Perrot-Minnot et al.	X					X					X		X								X																X										
Casa Blanca Chalchuapa	Ito	X					X		X					X				X				X	X			X									X			X										
Investigaciones en la zona de Titihuapa y Cara Sucia	Perrot-Minnot et al.	X					X							X									X						X						X				X									
Investigaciones en la zona de Titihuapa y Cara Sucia	Perrot-Minnot et al.	X					X							X														X							X													
Proyecto Condominio Residencial La Sultana	Amador					X				X			X											X																	X							
Inspección arqueológica Hacienda Río Claro	Erquicia		X				X						X									X			X										X													
Inspección arqueológica Asanyamba	Valdivieso	X					X						X													X									X			X	X									
Lotificación "Juan José", estudio arqueológico	González de A.					X					X		X		X		X				X		X																	X								
Salinas en San Luis La Herradura	Valdivieso		X				X	X					X			X	X	X					X	X		X									X		X											
Lotificación "El carrito Las Medidas", estudio arqueológico	González de A.	X								X			X										X	X		X									X	X			X									
TOTAL:		7	1	3	1	1	2	7	1	2	2	1	4	1	2	8	1	5	2	2	1	4	1	1	1	1	5	6	5	2	1	6	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	7	1	1	2	2	3	1	1	4
Total reports analyzed: 13																																																
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		Year: 2005																																									
		Reparación y remodelación edificio central de la PNC	Amador		X	X	X		X				X	X									X	X			X						X								X		
		Investigaciones arqueológicas en El Cambio	González de A.	X							X			X			X							X	X		X										X						
		Ingllesia San Pedro Nonualco	González de A.		X						X			X									X		X																X		
		Reconocimiento arqueológico San Gerardo	Valdivieso	X	X	X			X						X		X						X	X			X	X							X		X	X					
		Una vision del pasado Nuestra Señora de la Asunción, Ahuachapán	Valdivieso		X	X			X	X		X	X	X	X				X	X	X		X	X	X		X						X	X				X	X				
		Excavation of structure P-12 and P-20 at Cihuatán	Lubensky	X						X					X		X							X	X			X					X								X		
		Inspección arqueológica en hacienda Tihuilocoyo, La Paz	Erquicia	X					X	X				X										X				X								X		X					
		Urbanización Brisas de San Andrés. Investigación arqueológica	González de A.	X							X			X					X				X	X	X		X				X		X			X							
Proyecto arqueológico "Lomas de San Jorge"	Amador					X			X			X											X																	X			
Urbanización "El Sinal", estudio arqueológico	Amador	X							X			X										X	X		X															X			
TOTAL:		6	4	3	1	1	2	3	2		6	2	8	3	3			1	1	1	1	6	8	6	8	1			1	3	2		3	3	2	2			5				
Total reports analyzed: 10																																											
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Year: 2006																																							
Reconocimiento en estacionamiento parque Cihuatán	Bruhuns and Amaroli	X					X						X									X			X						X				X				
Conservación Estructura P-5, juego de pelota norte Cihuatán	Amaroli and Revene	X										X		X								X			X									X	X				
Excavaciones en estructura P-8, Cihuatán	Amaroli and Bruhuns	X							X					X						X		X	X			X	X										X		
Igualtepeque y las amenazas que enfrenta	Amaroli	X					X						X								X	X		X	X	X	X				X		X	X		X			
Penitenciaría de Nueva Salvador	Erquicia			X							X		X										X	X		X		X									X		
Urbanización Brisas de San Andrés. Investigación arqueológica	González de A.	X									X		X										X	X		X				X							X		
Análisis material cerámico Finca Rosita	Méndez	X						X						X						X	X		X			X		X									X		
Proyecto arqueológico Cara Sucia	Perrot-Minnot	X					X						X		X					X		X				X						X		X		X			
Proyecto arqueológico Cara Sucia	Perrot-Minnot	X							X					X						X		X					X									X			
Estudio arqueológico "Los Rivas"	Amador et al.					X				X			X										X															X	
Señalización de bienes culturales de El Salvador. Fase I	CONCULTURA-UNESCO	X	X	X	X							X	X											X						X			X		X				
Proyecto El Cimarrón. Prospección arqueológica	Genovez	X	X	X	X		X						X									X	X				X	X				X		X	X				
Sondeo arqueológico abrigos rocosos de Apancovo y Acachapa	Revene				X		X	X						X										X	X	X					X								
Habilitación del parque arqueológico Duclena	Valdivieso	X										X		X											X						X		X		X	X			
Proyecto municipal "Bello Amanecer"	Genovez	X					X				X		X										X	X		X													
Investigación y restauración estructura B1-2 Tazumal	Kato	X							X				X	X								X	X		X	X			X	X			X		X	X			
Estudio arqueológico "Palermo II", Nahulingo	Amador		X								X		X									X			X		X								X				
Avance informe arqueológico "Villa Florida", Iquilescio	Amador et al.					X					X		X											X														X	
Informe arqueológico "La Florida", Usulután	Amador et al.	X					X				X		X									X	X		X									X					
Avance Informe "Finca San Rafael"	Amador et al.	X								X			X								X	X		X	X		X	X							X				
Informe final proyecto "El Cimarrón"	Genovéz	X	X	X	X		X						X									X	X			X	X				X		X						
TOTAL:		16	4	4	4	2	8	2	3		8	3	14	8	2	2		2	1	4	2	11	13	9	7	15	5	3	2	4	11	1	8	10	7	2	6		
Total reports analyzed: 21																																							

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Short Title Report	Author (s)	Pre-Hispanic	Hispanic	Republic	Moderne	None	Survey	Material Analysis	Excavation	Test Pit	Others	Rescue and Salvage	Academic	Cultural expansion	Technology	Society	Economy	Religion / ceremony	Domestic life	Architect / construc.	Artifacts typology	Stratigraphy	Conservation	Time period	Settlement pattern	Rock art	Agriculture	Charifying herbs	Burial	Others	Extend research	Community Work	Site Delimited	Social Involvement	Restoration / Conserv.	Law Issues	Others / none		
Year: 2007																																							
Reconocimiento arqueológico Tamarique	Méndez	X					X					X													X								X						
Reparación drenaje en estructura 5, Casa Blanca	Ichikawa	X							X			X				X				X				X				X				X							
Informe preliminary investigación Tazumal	Ito and Shibata	X							X											X				X								X							
Investigación en terreno PAMON y FRALEX	Méndez	X								X		X									X		X		X							X							
Investigación en "El Cambio" Informe final	Castillo T.	X							X				X							X	X	X		X				X										X	
Investigación terreno Grupo Roble, Campo Real	Méndez	X								X													X		X								X						
Investigación sector sur Izo de Cerén	Sheets	X					X	X	X				X				X	X	X	X	X							X	X		X	X							
Segundo Informe "Atlas Arqueológico Oriente"	Amador et al.	X	X				X	X					X								X				X	X						X	X	X		X			
Funcionamiento del Departamento de Arqueología	Valdivieso					X						X																			X		X		X				
Proceso extracción de entierro en Tazumal	Valdivieso et al.	X					X	X					X							X	X			X	X					X								X	
Primer mapa digital de arqueología de El Salv.	Valdivieso	X	X	X	X			X			X		X																		X			X					
Promesa Ventanas arqueológicas	Valdivieso	X	X	X	X		X	X	X				X											X								X	X	X		X			
Primera Normativa investigaciones arqueológicas	Valdivieso					X						X		X																	X		X		X				
Programa sesiones científicas y ciclos de conferencias	Valdivieso					X						X		X																X		X		X					
Talleres de capacitación	Valdivieso					X						X		X																	X		X		X				
Evidencias arqueológicas en nuestra ciudad	Valdivieso	X	X	X	X		X						X																	X	X			X					
Arqueología industrial en El Salvador	Valdivieso		X	X	X		X										X	X		X	X			X											X				
Helicópteros: un sitio arqueológico - histórico	Valdivieso			X			X					X											X	X										X					
Sitios históricos de El Salvador	Erquicia	X	X				X	X					X												X						X		X	X					
Informe final "Los Babuey", Ahuahchapán	Amador					X				X		X											X															X	
Reconocimiento Cerro El Rito	- - -					X						X																			X								
Proyecto "El Papalán City", Moncagua	Erquicia	X							X			X								X	X		X		X													X	
Restos arquitectónicos Ciudad Vieja, caserio El Molino y Primavera	UTEQ / CONCUL TURU		X	X					X										X	X	X		X	X											X				
Informe preliminary "Brisas de Iquiquito"	Amador et al.			X						X										X				X										X					
Finca El Carmen, Santa Ana. Prospección arqueológica	Erquicia	X										X		X							X	X		X									X						
Finca Santa Marcelina Sur, Chalchuapa	Erquicia					X						X										X																X	
Finca El Carmen, Santa Ana	Erquicia and Jansen	X							X			X							X		X	X		X									X	X					
Estudio arqueológico SIEPAC fase 1, tramo I	Amador et al.	X	X				X					X							X	X			X	X	X									X					
Estudio arqueológico SIEPAC tramo oriente	Amador	X	X				X					X													X									X			X		
Tazumal y la B1-2. registro de una deconstrucción	Valdivieso	X							X				X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X		X	X			X						X	X				
Una escultura del área de Nahuiztlan	Alvarado					X		X					X		X	X	X				X			X				X										X	
TOTAL:		18	9	7	4	0	11	7	7	9	5	11	10	2	2	3	3	3	2	10	13	10	6	16	5	1	2	4	2	8	0	6	12	12	4	1	7		
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Total reports analyzed: 31																																							

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Year: 2008																																						
Informe de avance Proyecto Chibatán	Amaroli	X						X			X		X							X	X		X	X								X		X				
Reconocimiento en "Ampliación de Naves Industriales"	Erquicia	X					X			X		X									X	X		X								X						
Proyecto arqueológico Cabañas	Gelliot et al.	X					X		X				X								X			X					X	X	X		X	X				
Restauración estructura 5 y montículo 6 de Casa Blanca	Murano	X						X			X		X		X					X			X								X		X	X				
Cerámica de la Trincera 4N, Casa Blanca	Ito, and Ichicawa	X						X					X								X			X											X			
Proyecto arqueológico Conchagua Vieja	Gómez	X	X				X		X				X			X					X			X											X			
Proyecto arqueológico "La Campiña", Zapotitán	Amador, and Ramírez					X	X			X		X										X													X			
"Ampliación planta de tratamiento para industria textil"	Erquicia	X								X		X									X	X		X			X				X							
Complejidad social Occidente de El Salvador	Paredes U.	X					X	X					X	X	X	X	X					X		X	X	X			X	X								
Proyecto Parcelación Aragón, Guazapa	Méndez	X					X			X		X									X	X		X								X		X				
Resurgimiento de técnica Antigua para elaboración cerámica	Murano	X						X			X		X								X								X		X	X						
Investigación en sector sur de Joya de Cerén. Informe final	Sheets	X					X	X	X				X			X	X		X			X					X	X	X	X	X							
Proyecto "Línea de Transmisión AES Fonseca Energía"	Méndez					X				X		X									X	X		X							X							
Proyecto arqueológicos de concheros en Chiquirín	Ito	X					X			X			X		X				X		X	X		X							X		X					
Proyecto arqueológico Conchagua Vieja	Móntes G.					X		X					X	X							X	X		X											X			
Levantamiento arquitectónico estructura B1-2, Tazumal	Murano	X									X		X							X										X		X						
Investigación en propiedad Escobar Rivera, Brisas del Pacífico	Méndez	X								X		X									X	X		X											X			
Reconocimiento y sondeo en colonia Trinidad, Texistepeque, Santa Ana	Erquicia	X					X			X		X										X		X											X			
Proyecto "zona franca Las Mercedes", Santa Ana	Méndez	X								X		X									X	X		X											X			
Estudio arqueológico SIEPAC, Fase II	Amador et al.	X	X				X			X		X									X	X		X	X							X						
EEIAR, Longitudinal del Norte, FOMILENIO	Albarracín-Jordán	X	X				X		X												X			X	X	X				X		X						
Estudio arqueológico SIEPAC Fase I	Amador et al.	X	X				X			X		X						X			X	X		X						X		X						
TOTAL:		19	4			3	12	6	5	11	4	11	11	2	2	3	3	1	2	3	16	14	2	17	3	2	2	1	4	7	4	9	3	3	7			
Total reports analyzed: 22																																						

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Year: 2009																																						
Conservación muralla norte de Cihuatán	Bruhns and Amaroli	X									X		X								X		X												X	X		
Informe de Avance proyecto Cihuatán	Amaroli	X							X				X								X			X												X	X	
Puebla Nueva 3, Dolores, Cabañas	Valdivieso	X								X		X					X				X	X		X											X	X		
Proyecto arqueológico Cara Sucia	Moraga et al.	X						X					X								X			X		X												
Prehispanic burial discovered at El Zonte Beach	Gallardo	X							X			X					X				X			X							X			X				
Informe final investigaciones en Tazumal	Ito	X							X				X								X				X									X				
Rescate arqueológico en San José Guayabal	Chávez, Alvarado and Shibata	X							X			X										X	X		X								X					
Formación troncoconica en Aytuxtepeque	Méndez, Alvarado, and Shibata	X							X			X										X	X		X							X		X				
Rescate arqueológico en Santa Emilia, San Miguel	Alvarado, Chávez, and Shibata	X							X	X		X										X	X		X							X		X				
Resurgimiento de técnica Antigua para elaboración cerámica. Informe II	Murano	X							X				X									X											X		X		X	
Agricultura Maya al sur de Joya de Cerén	Sheets et al.	X					X	X	X				X		X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X					X	X									X
Investigación en "Lotificación El Paraiso", Queleña	Méndez				X		X					X																				X						X
Investigación en "Bodega Central", Chalchuapa	Méndez				X					X		X										X	X		X													
An Early Postclassic Round Structure at Cihuatán	Bruhns and Amaroli	X					X	X	X				X		X			X		X	X	X			X	X						X		X				
Proyecto "Lotificación Las Mercedes", Santiago de María	Valdivieso	X								X		X									X	X		X		X									X			
Reconocimiento arqueológico EsIA de Línea de Transmisión	Valdivieso	X					X					X		X		X	X			X	X			X	X	X	X							X		X		
Investigación arqueológica en proyecto "El Chaparral"	Valdivieso	X	X	X	X		X		X			X		X	X	X	X			X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X				X	X	X	X		
TOTAL:		15	1	1	1	2	5	7	7	3	1	10	7	3	1	3	5	3	2	1	7	13	8	3	11	4	2	2	2	3	5	11	2	5	4	2	3	
Total reports analyzed: 17																																						
Source: Department of Archaeology/ SECULTURA, El Salvador. Classification and analysis by Fabricio Valdivieso, ADES project, University of British Columbia, Canada.																																						

ARCHAEOLOGICAL REPORT ANALYSIS IN EL SALVADOR																																										
		Study Period					Type of Technique					Research Applied		Theoretical (Problem related with...)															Type of suggestions or further recommendations													
Short Title Report	Author (s)	Pre-Hispanic	Hispanic	Republic	Modern	None	Survey	Material Analysis	Excavation	Underwater	Test Pit	Others	Rescue and Salvage	Academic	Cultural expansion	Technology	Society	Environment/ecology	Economy	Religion/govern.	Domestic life	Architect./construc.	Artifacts typology	Stratigraphy	Conservation	Time period	Settlement pattern	Rock art	Landscape	Agriculture	Clarifying facts	Burial	Others	Extend research	Community Work	Site Delimited	Social Involvement	Restorati./Conser.	Law Issues	Others/none		
Year: 2010																																										
Acciones prioritarias para la protección del patrimonio arqueológico	FUNDAR	X	X	X								X		X											X								X	X	X	X	X		X			
Ordenamiento territorial Subregión San Salvador. Patrimonio Cultural	Valdivieso	X	X	X	X		X					X		X																			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Investigación arqueológica en proyecto "Eléctrica de Cerén"	Méndez	X										X		X									X													X						
Arqueología y desarrollo de recursos humanos. Nueva Esperanza	Ikeda	X										X		X																			X	X	X		X					
Arqueología y multidisciplinario de educación en historia en Santa Ana	Ikeda					X						X		X																			X		X		X					
Arqueología y desarrollo de recursos humanos. Nueva Esperanza. Informe preliminar	Ikeda					X						X		X																			X		X		X					
Investigación en lotificación "Piedra del Sol". Ouelena	Méndez	X					X					X		X								X	X			X	X								X							
Proyecto arqueológicos concheros en Chiquirían, informe final	Ito	X					X	X	X					X		X	X			X	X	X			X																X	
Investigación arqueológica en lotificación "Jardines del Calvario"	Méndez	X					X					X		X								X	X		X											X						
Proyecto lotificación "Altos de la Paz"	Méndez					X						X		X									X																		X	
Proyecto "Lotificación Santa Emilia". Caluco	Méndez		X				X					X		X								X	X		X											X						
Atalaya, exploración arqueológica	Valdivieso	X										X		X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X						
Proyecto "Central Hidroeléctrica de Juayúa S.A. de C.V."	Erquicia					X						X		X																				X	X							
TOTAL:		8	3	2	1	4	5	1	1	1		6	6	7	6	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	2	5	6	1	5	2	1	1	1	1	1	6	5	5	7	5	1	2	3	
Total reports analyzed: 13																																										
Source: Department of Archaeology/ SECULTURA, El Salvador. Classification and analysis by Fabricio Valdivieso. ADES project. University of British Columbia, Canada.																																										




ARCHAEOLOGICAL REPORT ANALYSIS IN EL SALVADOR																																							
		Study Period				Type of Technique				Research Applied		Theoretical (Problems related with...)												Type of suggestions or further recommendations															
Short Title Report	Author (s)	Pre-Hispanic	Hispanic	Republic	Modern	None	Survey	Material Analysis	Excavation	Underwater	Test Pit	Others	Rescue and Salvage	Academic	Cultural expansion	Society	Environmental /ecologi	Economy	Religion/ govern.	Domestic life	Architecture /construct.	Artifacts typology	Stratigraphy	Conservation	Time period	Settlement pattern	Landscape	Agriculture	Clarifying facts	Burial	Others	Extend research	Community Work	Site Delimited	Social Involvement	Restorat./Conser.	Law / Ethics	Others /none	
Year: 2011																																							
Restauración estructura 3D2. Ciudad Vieja	Gallardo, and Morán	X										X		X							X			X											X	X			
Caracterización biológica S.S. Douglas ANP Los Cóbano	Segovia		X						X					X																		X			X				
Área de protección del sitio S.S. Douglas (SAKKARAH), Cóbano.	Gallardo		X						X				X																			X			X	X			
Registro sitios arqueológicos históricos. Fase III. Anal.Indus.	Erquicia		X	X	X		X							X			X			X		X																X	
Proyecto arqueológico Ataco. La complejidad social en el occidente	Paredes U., and Cossich	X					X	X	X				X		X	X		X		X	X	X		X	X						X			X				X	
Santa Teresa, Santa Ana y Santa Marta en Sonsonate	Paredes U.	X	X				X	X					X		X						X			X	X						X		X						
Sitio arqueológico subacuático S.S. San Blas	Gallardo		X	X					X				X																			X			X	X	X		X
Resurgimiento de técnica antigua para elaboración cerámica. Informe IV	Murano	X					X						X								X											X	X		X				
Proyecto arqueológico San Andrés. Informe Anal.	Departamento de arqueología	X						X					X							X	X			X														X	
Proyecto subacuático en Pueblo Viejo	Valentini et al.		X				X		X				X							X	X			X							X			X					
Agricultura maya al sur de Joya de Cerén	Sheets and Dixon	X					X			X			X			X	X	X		X		X						X	X					X	X	X			
Investigación y desarrollo regional arqueología subacuática en El Salva.	Valentini et al.		X	X	X		X			X		X	X		X																X		X	X	X	X		X	
"Plan especial Silvaplana-condominios del Valle", Antigua Cuscatlán	Erquicia					X	X						X																			X							X
Registro de condiciones Joya de Cerén	Departamento de Arqueología	X						X					X			X																X				X			
Memoria final "Investigación, mapeo y conservación Gruta del Espíritu Santo"	SECULTURA					X		X	X			X	X								X	X		X			X				X					X			
Reconocimiento y contextualización arte rupestre El Salvador	Costa et al.	X					X						X												X							X							
Primer avance "Investigación Nueva Esperanza"	Ichikawa	X						X					X							X	X	X	X								X			X	X	X			
Isótopos estables y ADN pobladores prehispánicos de El Salvador.	Ichikawa et al.	X					X						X		X																	X							
Proyecto lotificación "Santa Carlota", Aguilares	Méndez	X									X		X								X	X		X										X					
Proyecto "El Encanto, villas y golf". San José Villanueva y Huizúcar	---	X					X						X											X			X										X		
Consolidación y restauración estructura 3D2. Ciudad Vieja	Gallardo		X									X		X									X									X					X	X	
The Archaeology of Chichén. Vol. I and II	Bruins and Amaroli	X						X					X		X	X					X	X		X	X						X					X			
TOTAL:		12	6	5		2	9	6	5	5	2	4	4	16	4	3	2	2	1	7	9	6	2	9	3	2	1	2	1	11	9	2	0	8	5	3	3		
Total reports analyzed: 22																																							
Source: Department of Archaeology/ SECULTURA, El Salvador. Classification and analysis by Fabricio Valdivieso, ADES project. University of British Columbia, Canada.																																							

# ARCHAEOLOGICAL REPORT ANALYSIS IN EL SALVADOR

		Study Period					Type of Technique					Research Applied		Theoretical (Problem related with...)																	Type of suggestions or further recommendations										
Short Title Report	Author (s)	Pre-Hispanic	Hispanic	Republic	Modern	None	Survey	Material Analysis	Excavation	Underwater	Test Pit	Others	Rescue and Salvage	Academic	Cultural expansion	Technology	Society	Environm./ecologi.	Economy	Religion/govern.	Domestic life	Architect./construc.	Artifacts typology	Stratigraphy	Conservation	Time period	Settlement pattern	Rock art	Landscape	Agriculture	Clarifying facts	Burial	Others	Extend research	Community Work	Site Delimited	Social Involvement	Restorati./Conser.	Law Issues	Others/none	
Year: 2012																																									
Local Symbols and regional dynamic (thesis)	Paredes U.	X					X	X	X					X	X	X		X		X		X	X	X		X	X					X							X		
Informe de actividades en Cihuacán	Amaroli and FUNDAR	X						X	X					X	X		X					X	X	X	X	X					X				X	X					
Proyecto "Urbanización Industrial San Andrés"	Escamilla				X		X						X									X			X										X						
Informe de actividades Cihuacán y San Andrés	Amaroli	X						X	X					X	X	X					X	X			X									X	X		X				
Reeducación, restauración y consolidación Ciudad Vieja	Chávez		X									X		X											X									X			X				
Material arqueológico en "centro escolar Prof. Emilio Urrutia"	Chávez	X						X	X				X									X	X		X							X		X	X	X					
Proyecto "Parcelación San Raymundo", Ahuachapán	Erquicia				X					X			X									X	X		X										X						
Proyecto "Parque recreativo San Andrés", Quelepa	Erquicia				X		X				X		X										X												X						
Materiales encontrados en Nuevo Tazumal, Chalchuapa	Yoshidome	X						X						X								X			X									X							
Investigaciones arqueológicas en Tazumal	Ito	X							X					X								X																	X		
Registro y documentación histórica del pecio S.S. Colón	Gallardo			X			X			X				X																			X		X	X	X		X		
Investigación en area construcción de sanitarios en Ciudad Vieja	Gallardo and Alvarado		X					X					X									X	X	X								X		X							
TOTAL:		6	2	1	1	3	4	5	6	1	1	2	1	5	7	3	1	1	2	1	1	5	8	6	2	7	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	4	3	6	3	3	1	2	
																														Total reports analyzed: 12											
Source: Department of Archaeology/ SECULTURA, El Salvador. Classification and analysis by Fabricio Valdivieso, ADES project, University of British Columbia, Canada.																																									

## Appendix B.1 Form Used for Archaeological Reports Evaluation

**University of British Columbia**

 a place of mind

Archaeology of Development in El Salvador (ADES):  
An Alternative Strategy for Better Uses of Archaeological Resources

**Archaeological Reports Analysis in El Salvador**

Site (s): \_\_\_\_\_ Year: \_\_\_\_\_

Title: \_\_\_\_\_

Author or Institution: \_\_\_\_\_

Location: \_\_\_\_\_

**Period:** Preclassic \_\_\_\_\_ Classic \_\_\_\_\_ Posclassic \_\_\_\_\_ Colonial \_\_\_\_\_ Republic \_\_\_\_\_  
Modern \_\_\_\_\_ other: \_\_\_\_\_

**Type of research:**

Survey \_\_\_\_\_ Material analysis \_\_\_\_\_ Excavation \_\_\_\_\_ Underwater \_\_\_\_\_ Test pit \_\_\_\_\_

Others: \_\_\_\_\_

**Type of conclusion:**

**Practical:** Rescue \_\_\_\_\_ Salvage \_\_\_\_\_ Academic \_\_\_\_\_

**Theoretical (problems related with...):**

Migration or expansion factors	_____	Time period (archaeological data)	_____
Technological factors	_____	Governmental factors	_____
Society	_____	Settlement pattern	_____
Environmental factors	_____	Ecological factors	_____
Economical factors	_____	Cosmological factors	_____
Religious factors	_____	Agricultural factors	_____
Domestic life	_____	Construction factors	_____
Architecture	_____	Clarifying facts:	_____
Artifacts typology	_____	Underground deposit	_____
Stratigraphic questions	_____	Landscape archaeology	_____
Conservation	_____	Others: _____	

**Type of suggestion or further recommendation (in case there were)**

Extend research \_\_\_\_\_ Delimitation of sites \_\_\_\_\_ Restoration \_\_\_\_\_

Community workshops \_\_\_\_\_ Social involvement \_\_\_\_\_ Issues related with Law \_\_\_\_\_

Others: \_\_\_\_\_

**If there were suggestions, were they fulfilled?** Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

**Comments**

## **Appendix C Consent Form Used on the Interviews**

### **I. Study Team**

Principal Investigator: This project is conducted by Dr. Richard Garvin, an Associate Professor from the University of British Columbia, Okanagan campus, in Canada.

Co-Investigator: Fabricio Valdivieso, a graduate student in the Interdisciplinary Graduate Studies program at the University of British Columbia, Okanagan, Canada. This study is part of the Co-Investigator's Master thesis research from the above mentioned university.

### **II. Invitation and Study Purpose**

As an investigator or administrator regarding the management and/or development of cultural resources in El Salvador, we would like to kindly invite you to participate in this survey of the current state of cultural resource management in this country. This will consist of an interview, centered upon one principal discussion point. That is, How do you see the role of cultural resource management as a means to develop and contribute to the interests of local communities?

This study will form the basis of an MA Thesis regarding the development of models and procedures which will facilitate the use of cultural resources, particularly archaeology, to address the concerns and benefit local communities in El Salvador.

### **III. Study Procedure**

This study will consist of gathering information from individuals with vested interests in cultural resource management and development in El Salvador. This information will be obtained through interviews of approximately one hour each. Individuals will be asked for their opinions regarding how such strategies might be developed and implemented.

### **IV. Study Results**

The results of this study will form the basis for a graduate thesis in Interdisciplinary Graduate Studies at UBC. Copies of this thesis will be provided to all institutions of those who participated in the survey and freely available to participants and the public at large. Results may also eventually be published.

### **V. Potential Risk of the Study**

We do not believe there is anything regarding the results of this interview which may be used to harm your personal integrity or that of your institution.

### **VI. Potential Benefits of the Study**

Your opinion as a participant is valuable due to your professional position and experience regarding cultural resource management in El Salvador. This study may help you, as well as your institution, improve and more efficiently manage these resources (particularly archaeological resources) and help prioritize them with regard to the economic and developmental needs of local communities.

### **VII. Confidentiality**

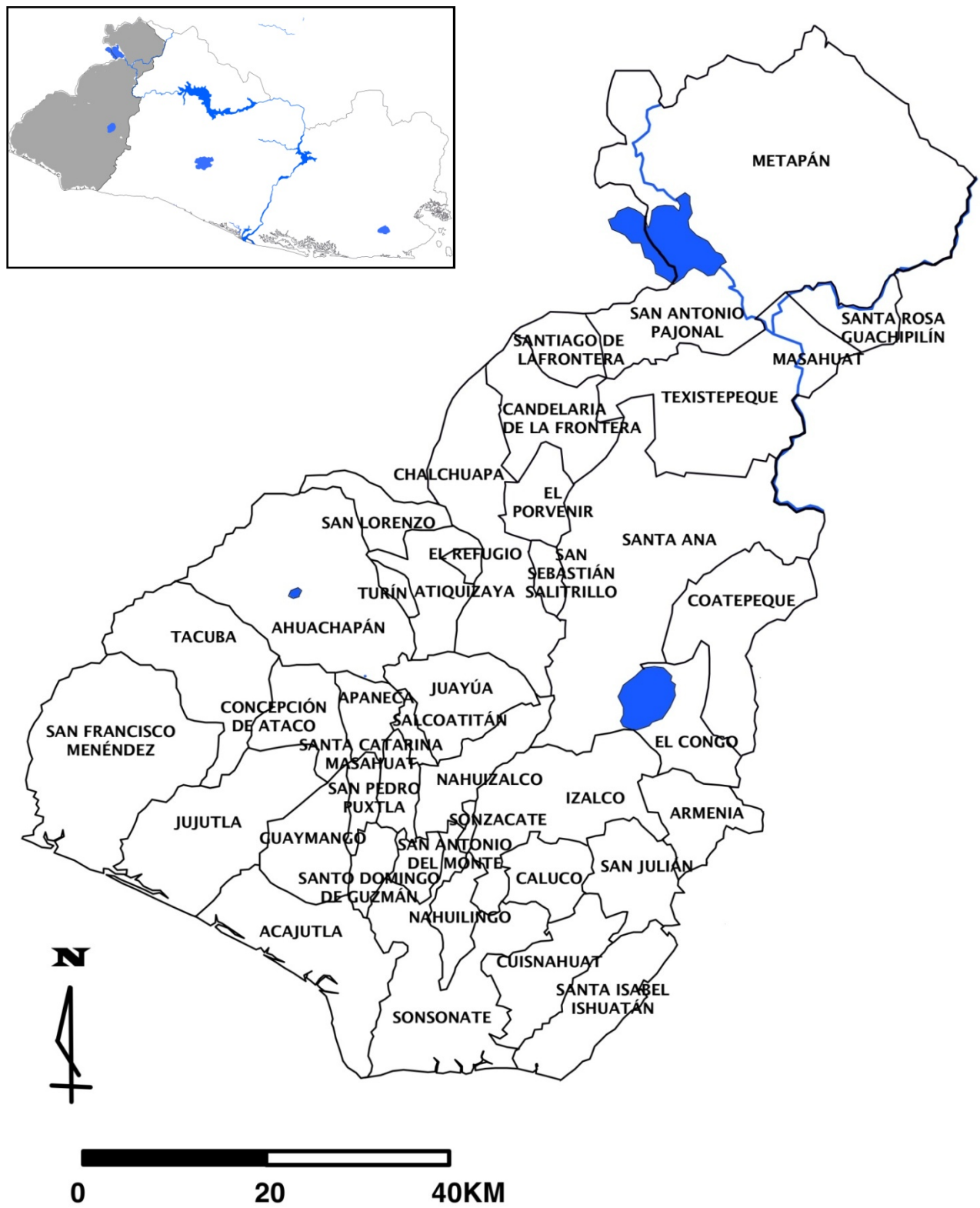
All information collected during the interview will be confidential. Notes from the interview will be transcribed and stored in a password protected, personal database at the University of British Columbia, Okanagan. All files will be destroyed after five years in accordance to UBC Okanagan institutional policy.

### **VIII. Contact for Information About the Study**

If you, as a participant, have any questions regarding this study, you may contact the Co-Investigator, Claudio Fabricio Valdivieso, at the address, telephone numbers and email address listed on the footer of this consent form. If you wish to contact the Principal Investigator, Dr. Richard Garvin, you may do so using the following e-mail address: Richard.Garvin@ubc.ca.

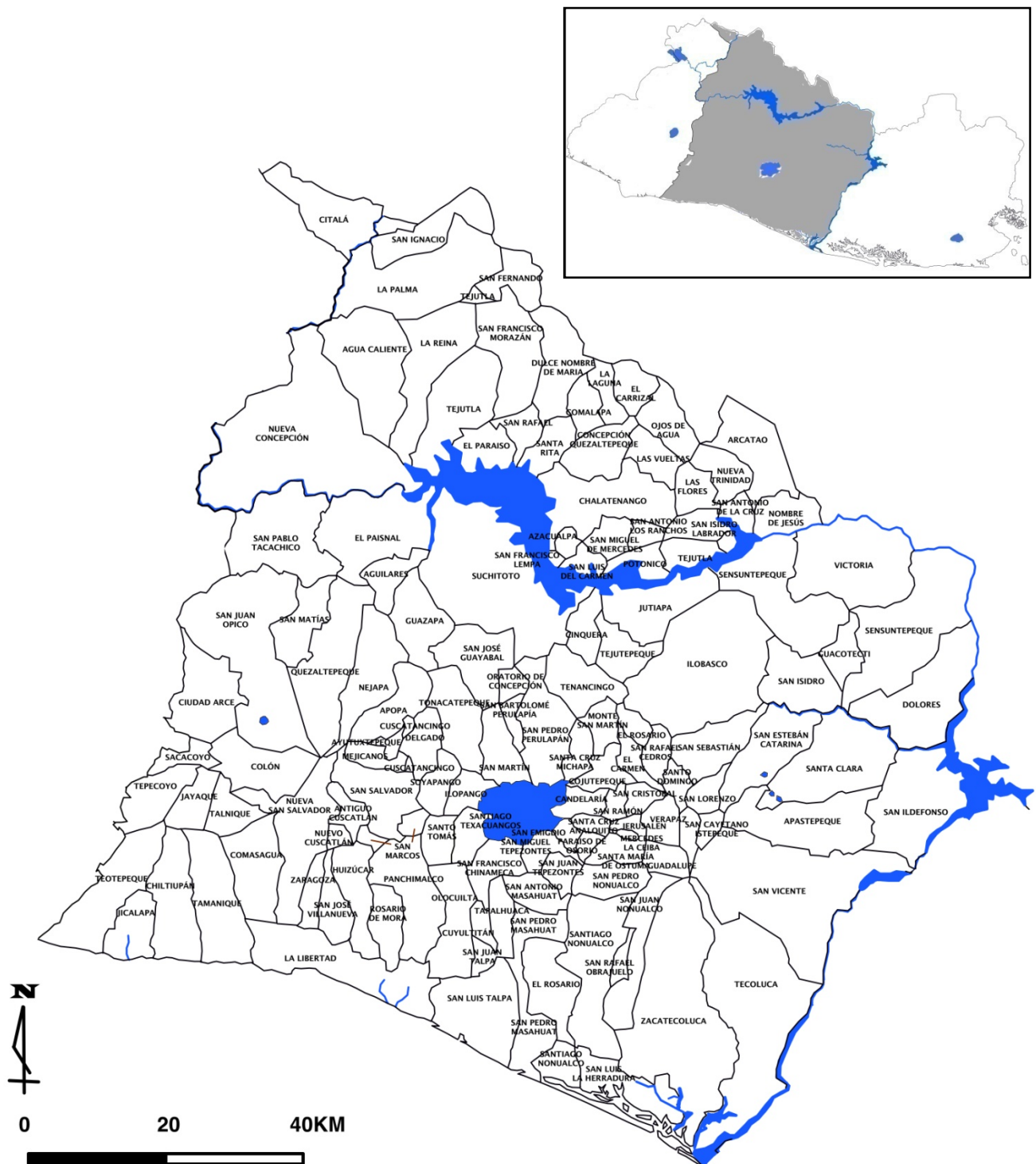
## Appendix D Municipalities of El Salvador

### Western Region of El Salvador



Source: Political administrative-division adapted from a public map of El Salvador available at the National Register Centre in El Salvador (CNR 2000:13). Data adapted by the author.

## Central Region of El Salvador



Source: Political administrative-division adapted from a public map of El Salvador available at the National Register Centre in El Salvador (CNR 2000:13). Data adapted by the author.



A map of the north-eastern part of the Iberian Peninsula, showing the coastline and the location of the study area in blue. The map includes the Gulf of Biscay and the Bay of Biscay. The study area is located in the north-eastern part of the Iberian Peninsula, specifically in the region of Cantabria and Asturias. The map shows the coastline and the location of the study area in blue.

