01 Imagining New Worlds

1 01:00:20:13 CAPTIONING MADE POSSIBLE BY THE ANNENBERG/CPB PROJECT

2 01:00:55:13 THIS IS SOUTHEASTERN MEXICO ON THE SHORES OF THE CARIBBEAN.

3 01:00:58:27 WE'VE COME HERE TO EXPLORE, TO FIND OUT WHAT KIND OF PLACE THIS IS.

4 01:01:03:12 HOW DO PEOPLE IMAGINE THIS WORLD?

5 01:01:08:12 MOST MODERN INVADERS ARRIVE HERE IN CANCUN, A TOWN CREATED FOR TOURISM.

6 01:01:13:13 IT IS A VAST, MODERN DEVELOPMENT.

7 01:01:15:28 PEOPLE HAVE COME HERE SEARCHING FOR MANY OF THE THINGS THAT TOURISTS SEARCH FOR EVERYWHERE -- BEACHES, SUN, NIGHT LIFE.

8 01:01:25:25 [SINGING IN SPANISH] IN THEIR GEOGRAPHICAL IMAGINATION, THIS IS A PLACE OF LEISURE.

9 01:01:38:12 IT'S AWAY FROM THEIR PLACE OF WORK, A BREAK FROM THE REAL WORLD.

10 01:01:42:27 IT'S TIME OFF FROM NORMAL LIFE.

11 01:01:48:21 THOUGH MANY MEXICANS OF COURSE SEE IT DIFFERENTLY.

12 01:01:51:27 IT'S VERY MUCH THEIR REAL WORLD, THEIR PLACE OF WORK, LIKE THESE LOCAL GARDENERS AT THE SHERATON HOTEL, CLIPPING TRADITIONAL SYMBOLS INTO THE HEDGES.

13 01:02:07:07 NATURE FOR THE TOURISTS IS SUN, SEA, SAND, AND PALM TREES.

14 01:02:15:12 SO THIS IS HOW TOURISTS THINK ABOUT THIS PLACE.

15 01:02:18:12 IT'S SOMEWHERE TO RELAX ON THE EDGE OF THE
Yet in the middle of all this construction, there are hints of another world, another existence.

Here among the hotels looking out to sea are the remains of an ancient Mayan pyramid.

The tourists have one view of this place, but presumably other people might see it differently.

We're here to explore how a place like this can be understood in contrasting ways by different groups of people.

Also, we wondered how this place had fit into the Mayan geographical imagination.

What kind of a view of this world did they have, and how might it have been different from that of the tourists?

Here, Doreen Massey, professor of geography, joins a tourist bus heading for Chichen Itza, where centuries ago there was an immense Mayan city, part of a civilization which stretched from here -- ignoring present-day national boundaries -- through Belize, Guatemala, and into Honduras.

A day trip to Chichen Itza has now become an integral part of the tourist visit.

[Tour guide] The city you are visiting today is considered one of the largest Mayan sites, and over 400 remains of the stone buildings have been already found within this area of 18 square miles.

Chichen Itza was found by the Spanish all covered by jungle, by vegetation.

The place was in ruins, much like it is today.

Mayan people did not disappear.
They are still living in Southeast Mexico and Central America.

We have approximately four million Mayan-speaking people living in these jungles.

One of the many theories explaining the origin of the Mayas deals with migrations from Siberia to Alaska via Bering Strait, and this theory makes sense when you realize that we do look like oriental sort of person, the Mayas.

Why did you choose to come on this tour?

Because I like history, and I wanted to see how the Mayans lived.

I found it interesting that a lot of them were from Asian descent and that the, uh...

And that they have similar characteristics.

I just think that is great.

Because, you know, it's almost like you can't really say, "Well, these are the Mayans, and these are the Asians."

They're all related.

Yeah, and I like that.

It doesn't keep us separated.

Round buildings throughout Mesoamerica have been associated with astronomical observations, and this is the only round structure we have in Chichen Itza.

If you are standing in the observation chamber and you look from the inside left jamb of this observation chamber with the outside right jamb of the window at diagonal side line, you get the alignment 27.5, which is the maximum deviation of the planet Venus -- the northernmost setting position of the planet Venus -- before it disappears in our
LOCAL HORIZON TO REAPPEAR WEEKS LATER, PRECEDING THE SUN AS THE MORNING STAR.

42 01:05:32:05 [NARRATOR] BUT ALL THIS ADVANCED ASTRONOMICAL MEASUREMENT, WHICH WE WOULD THINK OF AS SCIENCE, WAS USED BY THE MAYA IN A VERY DIFFERENT CONTEXT.

43 01:05:39:27 THEY BELIEVED THAT EVENTS ON EARTH WERE INFLUENCED BY THE MOVEMENTS OF THE PLANETS, SO IT WAS VERY IMPORTANT TO HAVE PRECISE CALCULATIONS IN ORDER TO KNOW HOW TO BEHAVE OR IF THIS WAS THE YEAR YOU WOULD HAVE GOOD RAINS.

44 01:05:53:12 THAT KIND OF RELATION BETWEEN NATURE AND SOCIETY WAS LINKED TO A PARTICULAR VIEW OF THE COSMOS, WHAT WE MIGHT CALL A SACRED GEOGRAPHY.

45 01:06:01:27 THE MAYANS IMAGINED THE WORLD AS MADE UP OF LAYERS GROUPED INTO THE HEAVENS, THIS WORLD, AND THE UNDERWORLD.

46 01:06:07:25 THIS WORLD IN WHICH WE LIVE WAS THUS A THIN LAYER AT THE CENTER OF THE COSMOS, AND AT THE CENTER OF THIS EARTHLY WORLD WAS THE REGION OF THE MAYA.

47 01:06:23:07 THIS WAS A MAP OF THE WORLD BUILT ON RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLES AND WITH THIS PLACE AT ITS VERY CENTER.

48 01:06:34:10 AND THERE WAS NOT JUST A COSMOLOGICAL GEOGRAPHY.

49 01:06:37:13 THERE WAS ALSO ONE RELATED TO TRADING.

50 01:06:39:28 FROM THIS PLACE, TRADE CONNECTIONS LINKED CHICHEN AS FAR NORTH AS PRESENT-DAY ARIZONA AND AS FAR SOUTH AS COLOMBIA.

51 01:06:47:27 PEOPLE HERE ALSO HAD A KNOWLEDGE OF TERRESTRIAL GEOGRAPHY.

52 01:06:50:12 THEY HAD TO KNOW HOW TO TRAVEL THESE ROUTES.
They had a concept of cartography.

At one point, they even drew a map for the Spanish invaders.

The arrival of the Spanish on a classic voyage of discovery did much to destroy what remained of Mayan culture, but it by no means destroyed it entirely.

Here in Acanceh, it’s possible to see traces of three cultures side by side -- the ancient Mayan pyramid, the Catholic church, and the present-day market.

Local people told us this was not the only pyramid, and we followed directions to another.

[Speaking Spanish] and here in an ordinary back street was a further reminder of the Mayan past.

The legacy of that civilization still lives on in many ways in the lives of people today.

In another nearby village, we met Daniel and went to a traditional Mayan ceremony held to celebrate the corn harvest, which was then beginning.

To get there, we walked through fields of maize worked by people from Daniel’s village.

They were wearing jeans and baseball caps, but the language was Mayan.

This was an evolving cultural mix of Mayan, Spanish, and modern Mexican.

The shaman turned toward the four cardinal directions of the Mayan cosmos.

It is the durability and tenacity of the Maya that is astonishing, given attempts since the conquest to root out their culture.

Despite the efforts of the Spanish, the
MAYANS RETAINED AND STILL RETAIN THEIR RELATIONSHIP WITH NATURE AND A VISION OF THE HUMAN PLACE WITHIN IT.

67 01:09:45:27 THIS VIEW OF NATURE IS ALSO VERY DIFFERENT FROM THAT OF THE TOURISTS.

68 01:09:50:28 THE MAYANS BELIEVED THEY WERE CREATED FROM MAIZE.

69 01:10:33:07 MAIZE HAS ALWAYS BEEN A STAPLE OF LIFE.

70 01:10:35:28 ENDLESS HOURS ARE SPENT EACH DAY MAKING TORTILLAS.

71 01:10:38:28 THE CORN CEREMONY HAPPENS THROUGHOUT THE REGION, BUT THE WOMEN LAUGHINGLY TOLD US THAT COOKING IS THEIR CEREMONY.

72 01:10:46:10 THEY ALSO SAID THEIR CHILDREN COME BACK WEEKENDS FROM WORKING IN MERIDA, THE NEARBY STATE CAPITAL, SO BRIDGING TWO WORLDS.

73 01:10:53:28 WHAT LOCAL PEOPLE ARE CONSTRUCTING HERE IS AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE WORLD WHICH DRAWS ON MANY ROOTS.

74 01:11:04:07 AND AT THE FRONT OF THE HOUSE, ANOTHER KIND OF MIXING OF DIFFERENT WORLDS WAS GOING ON, ANOTHER ASPECT OF THE HYBRID CULTURE THESE PEOPLE ARE BUILDING HERE.

75 01:11:28:14 THE MURALS ON THE WALL OF THE GOVERNMENT HOUSE DEPICT THE MAYAN WAY OF VIEWING THE WORLD.

76 01:11:33:28 HERE’S THE BIRTH OF HUMANITY FROM CORN IN A UNIVERSE HELD UP BY A FIGURE AT EACH OF THE FOUR CARDINAL POINTS.

77 01:11:41:08 FERTILE YELLOW IN THE SOUTH.

78 01:11:42:21 IN THE NORTH, THE STAR IS HELD UP BY A WHITE HAND.

THE FIGURE HERE IS BLACK.

THE RED FIGURE ON THE EAST BRINGS THE RAINS FOR THE HARVEST WHICH GIVES LIFE AND SCIENCE AND THE ARTS.

IT MATTERS THAT THERE ARE SUCH DIFFERENT VIEWS OF THE WORLD.

IT CAN LEAD TO CONFLICT.

ONE OF THE MOST NOTORIOUS OF THE EARLY SPANISH ARRIVALS WAS BISHOP LANDA, WHO IN THE EARLY 16th CENTURY QUITE EXPLICITLY TRIED TO ERADICATE MANY FEATURES OF MAYAN CIVILIZATION, WHICH HE SAW AS BEING AGAINST HIS GOD.

DIFFERENT GEOGRAPHICAL IMAGINATIONS CONFRONTED EACH OTHER.

YET IN SPITE OF ALL THIS DESTRUCTION, MORE AND MORE IS BEING DISCOVERED ABOUT THAT ANCIENT MAYAN WAY OF LIFE.

500 KILOMETERS TO THE SOUTH AT PALENQUE, A CONFERENCE WAS GOING ON.

PALENQUE WAS ANOTHER OF THE MANY HUGE CITIES THAT WERE PART OF THE MAYAN WORLD.

MUCH OF IT STILL LIES HIDDEN BENEATH THE JUNGLE.

NATURE HAS RECLAIMED MUCH OF WHAT WAS ONCE A BUSTLING URBAN SPACE.

[MAN] ONE OF THE FIRST THINGS I NOTICED DOWN HERE -- HAVING COME FROM A TEMPERATE ZONE MYSELF -- IS THAT IN THE TROPICS EVERYTHING SEEMS TO BE ALIVE.

YOU WALK EVERYWHERE, YOU HEAR SOUNDS OF CRICKETS AND CICADAS AND HOWLER MONKEYS.

YOU SEE LITTLE BEETLES SCURRYING ALONG IN FRONT OF YOU, AND IF YOU'RE UNLUCKY, SNAKES AND JAGUARS.
UM, AND CERTAINLY I’VE ALWAYS FELT THE MAYA HAD THAT KIND OF FEELING ABOUT THEIR WORLD, THAT JUST EVERYTHING WAS ALIVE AND EVERYTHING WAS IMBUED WITH LIFE, INCLUDING THE ROCKS AND MOUNTAINS AND CAVES AND SO ON.

WHO WAS IT IN MAYAN SOCIETY WHO WERE THE KEEPERS OF THIS KNOWLEDGE?

THE KEEPERS OF THE KNOWLEDGE -- THAT’S A GOOD TERM -- WERE ALMOST CERTAINLY THE ELITE.

IT SEEMS THAT POLITICAL, HIGH POLITICAL OFFICE WAS PROBABLY COMBINED WITH PRIESTLY OFFICE IN MANY CASES, AT LEAST IN THE SAME FAMILY.

BY THE END OF THE CLASSIC PERIOD, THE RULERS AND THEIR NEARER OR MORE DISTANT RELATIVES WERE PROBABLY QUITE NUMEROUS, SO YOU’VE GOT A LARGE NOBILITY AS WELL.

BUT CERTAINLY MOST OF THIS KNOWLEDGE, I THINK, WAS PROBABLY IN THE HANDS OF THE RULERS, AND THAT, I’M SURE, WAS ONE OF THE MAIN WAYS IN WHICH THEY MANAGED TO KEEP THEIR PLACE IN SOCIETY.

THE ORDINARY MAYA TODAY PROBABLY DON’T HAVE A LIFE TOO DISSIMILAR TO THAT OF THE ANCIENT ORDINARY MAYA.

I GUESS YOU COULD SAY THE CATHOLIC CHURCH HAS TAKEN OVER THE CEREMONIAL ROLE THAT USED TO BE IN THE HANDS OF THE ELITE AND THE PRIESTS IN ANCIENT TIMES, BUT CERTAINLY I THINK WITH THESE HUGE PLAZAS THAT YOU HAVE OUT IN FRONT OF THE SITES AND THE TEMPLES HIGH ABOVE, IT’S AN OBVIOUS SETTING FOR PAGEANTRY AND FOR DRAMA TO BE ENACTED OUT, AND I THINK, CLEARLY, LARGE SEGMENTS OF THE SOCIETY ALL THE WAY DOWN TO THE COMMONERS, WILLINGLY CAME IN TO TAKE PART IN THESE GREAT PAGEANTS.

THE RULERS YOU CAN IMAGINE BEING PORTRAYED UP ABOVE IN ALL THEIR FINERY AND ENACTING THE VARIOUS MYTHS AND LEGENDS AND OTHER CEREMONIES, BUT IN FRONT OF THE PEOPLE.
ONE OF THE MOST COMMON SCENES WE HAVE ON THE CARVED STONE MONUMENTS ARE OF THE RULERS STANDING WITH THEIR ROYAL PORTRAITS FOR ALL TO SEE.

[NARRATOR] ONE OF THE PROBLEMS IS THE DIFFICULTY OF INTERPRETING ONE UNDERSTANDING OF THE WORLD THROUGH THE EYES OF ANOTHER.

BLANCA LOPEZ DE MARISCAL OF THE MONTERREY INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY EXPLAINED HOW THE SPANISH UNDERSTANDING OF MAYAN CULTURE HAD BEEN INFLUENCED BY THEIR READING OF IT THROUGH THE FRAMEWORK OF 16th-CENTURY EUROPEAN CATHOLICISM.

FOR THE SPANISH DIDN'T JUST ATTACK THE MAYAN CULTURE, THEY ALSO TRANSLATED IT TO US.

BUT IN SPITE OF ALL THAT EFFORT AT DOMINATION THAT WENT IN BY THE SPANISH, MAYAN CULTURE STILL SURVIVES.

CLEARLY, THE MAYANS MANAGED SOMEHOW.

YES.

THE MAYAS ESPECIALLY WERE CONQUEST AND EVANGELIZED AND ALSO EXPLOITED, AND THEN THEY RETREAT TO THE HIGHLANDS, TO PLACES WHERE THEY COULDN'T BE REACHED BY THE SPANIARDS, AND I THINK THEY HAD -- THEY HAD THIS KIND OF INCOMPLETE EVANGELIZATION.

THEY TOOK THE IDEAS OF CHRISTIANITY, BUT THEY NEVER LOST THE IDEAS OF THEIR OWN WORLD.

NOWADAYS, YOU CAN STILL SEE -- IF YOU GO TO CHAMULA, FOR EXAMPLE, YOU CAN SEE THE WAY THE RITES IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH ARE BEING HELD.

THEY STILL HAVE A LOT OF ELEMENTS THAT BELONG TO THE ANCIENT WAY OF THINKING, THE ANCIENT PHILOSOPHY.

THEY MIXED MAYAN AND CHRISTIAN?
YES, THEY MIXED MAYAN AND CHRISTIAN.

FOR EXAMPLE, WHEN YOU SEE THOSE CROSSES THEY HAVE AROUND CHAMULA AND ZINACANTAN, IT’S A CHRISTIAN CROSS, BUT THE REPRESENTATION FOR THEM IS THE TREE OF LIFE, THE DEON CROSS.

SO THEY'RE INTERPRETING THE SPANISH, THEN.

YES, THEY ARE INTERPRETING THE SPANISH.

AND, THEY ARE, UM -- WELL, WHAT I WOULD SAY THAT WE HAVE HERE IS A REAL SYNCRETISM.

IT'S NOT THE IMPOSITION OF ONE CULTURE ON TOP OF THE OTHER.

THEY TAKE THE VALUES OF -- THOSE VALUES THAT ARE IMPORTANT FOR THEM, THOSE ARE THE VALUES THAT THEY KEEP.

[NARRATOR] CHAMULA AND ZINACANTAN ARE IN THE HIGHLANDS OF CHIAPAS, NEAR THE MOUNTAINS WHERE FOR CENTURIES PEOPLE HAVE RETREATED AND WHERE THEY HAVE EVOLVED THEIR VISION OF THAT HYBRID CULTURE THAT BLANCA DESCRIBED.

SO IT WAS THERE THAT WE WENT FOR THE FINAL STAGE OF OUR JOURNEY.

AS WE HAD LEARNED, FOR THE MAYA, HUMAN BEINGS AND NATURE ARE UTTERLY INTERRELATED.

EN ROUTE TO THE HIGHLANDS, IT WAS EASY TO APPRECIATE THIS VIEW, AS THE CLOUDS MINGLED WITH THE MOUNTAINS.

WE REALLY FELT OURSELVES TO BE IN THAT THIN LAYER BETWEEN ROCKS AND CLOUDS.

THE LANDSCAPE HERE IS STILL DOTTED WITH MAYAN VILLAGES, PLACES WHICH ARE DIFFICULT TO FILM BECAUSE PEOPLE ARE UNDERSTANDBLY WARY OF STRANGERS, AND ALSO BECAUSE OF LOCAL UNREST.

IN JANUARY 1994, MEXICO WAS SURPRISED BY THE UPRISING OF A PEASANT ARMY CALLING ITSELF THE ZAPATISTAS.
MILITARY CHECKPOINTS ARE AN INDICATION OF THIS LOCAL UNREST.

THE ZAPATISTAS FEAR THAT CURRENT ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IS ERODING THEIR WAY OF LIFE.

AMONG OTHER THINGS, THEY ARE CALLING FOR THE CONTINUED PROTECTION OF COMMUNAL LANDS AND FOR THE RIGHTS OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLE TO BE ENSHRINED IN THE CONSTITUTION.

TODAY'S MEXICAN MAYA IN CHIAPAS HAVE RETAINED THEIR RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND WHAT HAS BEEN TERMED THEIR SACRED GEOGRAPHY.

THOSE BELIEFS ARE EMBEDDED IN THE NATURAL WORLD AND LINK TOGETHER WHAT WE WOULD SEPARATE AS THE SECULAR AND THE SACRED IN ONE SEAMLESS WHOLE.

THIS INTEGRATION OF SECULAR AND SACRED CAN BE FOUND IN THE WEAVING WHICH THE WOMEN DO.

CHIP MORRIS HAS LIVED IN THIS AREA FOR YEARS AND SPEAKS THE LOCAL MAYAN LANGUAGE.

HE'S WORKED WITH MANY OF THE PEOPLE HERE.

AROUND EACH PLACE, THERE IS A SACRED GEOGRAPHY.

IN THE CENTER OF EACH TOWN, THERE'S A STONE MARKING THE BELLYBUTTON OF THE WORLD.

EACH OF THESE COMMUNITIES IS ITS OWN CENTER.

AROUND THE CENTER ARE SACRED MOUNTAINS, WHERE THE ANCESTORS LIVE.

THE ANCESTORS WATCH AND TAKE CARE OF THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNITY.

THEY LIVE INSIDE THIS MOUNTAIN, WHICH IS COVERED BY A CLOUD FOREST.

IT'S WHERE CLOUDS ARE BORN, WHERE RAIN COMES FROM.
IT'S WHERE YOUR ANIMAL COMPANION SPIRITS LIVE, WHERE THE LORD OF THE EARTH LIVES.

BUT THE PEOPLE YOU CAN ADDRESS THE BEST ARE YOUR OWN ANCESTORS, WHO ARE ALWAYS PRESENT BUT CAN ONLY BE SEEN IN DREAMS.

THIS WORLD OF DREAMS IS MADE VISUAL ONLY IN WEAVING.

[NARRATOR] HE ASKED MICHAELA FROM THE LOCAL WEAVING COOPERATIVE ABOUT THE PATTERNS WHICH SHE MADE.

THE DESIGNS BEING WOVEN TODAY HAVE ROOTS IN ANCIENT MAYAN CIVILIZATION AND STILL REFLECT THEIR UNDERSTANDING OF THE COSMOS.

SOME OF THE DESIGNS ON HER HUIPIL REPRESENT THE FOUR-CORNERED UNIVERSE.

[CHIP MORRIS] MICHAELA WAS DESCRIBING WHAT ARE THE DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE DESIGNS.

SHE STUDIES HUIPILS, AND SHE WENT OVER THE NAMES OF THE EDGES OF THE SQUARE DESIGNS AND ALL THE POINTS IN THE MIDDLE.

I SUGGESTED TO HER THAT PERHAPS THESE -- THE EDGES, HEADS, AND MAIN BODY -- IS REPRESENTING THE SUN.

SHE SAID, "OF COURSE."

"THIS IS WHERE IT RISES. THIS IS WHERE IT SETS."

AND THE EDGES OF THE DESIGN ARE THE EDGES OF THE WORLD."

WE LOOKED AT OTHER SIMILAR DESIGNS.

THE DESIGN ON HER BLOUSE IS A BUTTERFLY, ONE OF THE SYMBOLS FOR THE SUN, THE CURLICUES IN THE CENTER OF THE DESIGN.

THOSE SIMPLE DIAMONDS AROUND HER NECK AND ON THE SLEEVES, THOSE ARE CALLED "THE WANDERER" BECAUSE THEY'RE STARS.
There are also very different patterns between the different kinds of weaving.

Is that a geography of the world in which they live?

Yes. We did a map once, showing different designs of different places, and you can find out where people are from by what they're wearing.

I could look at a huipil and say from what particular hamlet or part, which people inside the community know very well.

They represent themselves in the same style outside of the community.

All Chamulans sort of look blue and black and white.

That's their colors and style of dress, and to say, "We're from Chamula."

Inside there's lots of little variations, to say who is the individual.

So your type of dress says where you're from.

[Narrator] We tried to visit the village of Chamula but were stopped by roadblocks and demonstrations.

[Man] It's serious.

[Woman] It's really dangerous?

[Narrator] Local unrest has increased in the context of the Zapatista uprising.

[People singing] Bishop Samuel Ruiz has played a key role as mediator between the Zapatistas and the Mexican government.

In many ways, he is seen as giving voice to the plight of the local indigenous people.
HE’S SPOKEN OF ZAPATA, A PEASANT HERO OF THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION IN THE EARLY 20th CENTURY, AND OF HOW ZAPATA BELIEVED THAT THE LAND BELONGS TO THOSE WHO WORK IT.

HE HAS SPOKEN, TOO, OF HOW RECENT MOVES TOWARDS FREE TRADE, FOR INSTANCE, THE SIGNING OF THE NORTH AMERICAN FREE TRADE AGREEMENT, ARE THREATENING THE LOCAL ECONOMY AND CUSTOMS.

CHANGES TO THE CONSTITUTION ARE DESIGNED TO OPEN UP COMMUNAL LAND TO PRIVATE OWNERSHIP.

THIS IS A MEASURE DESIGNED TO ENCOURAGE INVESTMENT, BUT IT CUTS ACROSS THE MAYAN VIEW OF LAND AS SOMETHING WE CANNOT INDIVIDUALLY OWN.

WE TALKED TO THE BISHOP ABOUT THESE ISSUES.

AS WE CONCLUDED OUR JOURNEY, WE RAN INTO DEBRIS FROM ANOTHER ROADBLOCK.

IT TURNS OUT THERE ARE MANY DIFFERENT WAYS OF IMAGINING THIS REGION, AND HERE, TWO DIFFERENT VISIONS CONFRONTED EACH OTHER.

FOR THE MAYAN VILLAGERS, THIS LAND AND ITS NATURE ARE THE CENTER OF THEIR UNIVERSE AND AN INTEGRAL PART OF THEIR LIVES AND THE WAY IN WHICH THEY UNDERSTAND THE WORLD.

FOR THE INDUSTRIES OF THE GLOBALIZING FREE MARKET, THIS IS JUST ONE REGION AMONG MANY OTHERS EVALUATED IN TERMS OF ITS INVESTMENT POTENTIAL, ITS NATURE INTERPRETED IN TERMS OF EXPLOITABLE RESOURCES.

THIS IS A VIEW OF THE WORLD WHICH THINKS IN TERMS OF PROFITS AND DIVIDES IT UP ACCORDING TO AN INTERNATIONAL DIVISION OF LABOR.

ONCE AGAIN, DIFFERENT WAYS OF UNDERSTANDING THIS PLACE, DIFFERENT GEOGRAPHICAL IMAGINATIONS, ARE IN CONFLICT.

CAPTIONING MADE POSSIBLE BY THE
For information about this and other Annenberg Media programs call 1-800-LEARNER and visit us at www.learner.org.