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Report from the Field

The Army's Land Grab

By *Katherine T. McCaffrey*

Abstract: The U.S. Army proposes tripling the size of its Piñon Canyon maneuver site for live fire exercises. Piñon Canyon is rich in cultural, archaeological and paleontological resources. There is a lack of transparency about military objectives, skepticism about the Army's true rationale, and concern for the military's desire to continue to expand. The Piñon Canyon case tests the boundaries of civilian primacy over the military, and the strength of civil society in asserting its rights in the face of military power.

Key words: US Army; Piñon Valley, Colorado; military training, Vieques, Puerto Rico, military-civilian relations

With national attention focused overseas on the U.S. war on Iraq, few people outside of Colorado are aware of the U.S. Army's plan to triple the size of its Piñon Canyon maneuver site. The Army, which expropriated 235,000 acres in Southern Colorado in the early 1980s to establish a military maneuver site, is now seeking continued expansion of its training area. Over the next several years, it proposes to purchase and/or expropriate 418,000 acres of private ranches and national parkland in Colorado, an area rich with cultural and archaeological resources, to create the largest military training facility in the U.S.

There is a lack of transparency about military objectives and skepticism about the Army's true rationale. There is also concern for the military's appetite for land. The army's objective may be to consume as many as 5 million acres in the United States over the next 4 years or 7, 812 square miles, an area about the size of New Jersey (Slevin 2007). The proposed expansion of the Piñon Canyon site, therefore, is an issue that concerns all Americans as it tests the boundaries of military power within our society. In the very broadest terms, the primacy of civil society is under attack.

Piñon Valley, located in Southeastern Colorado, is a land of canyonlands, forested mesa, grasslands and riparian ecological zones. It is also dense with unique cultural and historical resources. Identified by the National Trust for Historic Preservation as one of 11 of the most endangered places in the United States, Piñon Valley encompasses the historic Santa Fe Trail, once a key commercial artery and point of convergence of Hispanic and Anglo peoples in the creation of the American West. It is an area rich in archaeological sites, where ancient petroglyphs and rock art mark red limestone cliffs. Enormous fossilized dinosaur footprints track through the beds of long vanished swamps. Its grassland ecology was recognized of

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national importance in 1960 when 440,000 acres were set aside as the Comanche National Grassland. Much of this same land now stands to be confiscated by the U.S. Army to expand its training area.

The Army proposes to use the Piñon Valley area as a live fire training ground, exposing the delicate ecology and irreplaceable cultural resources to permanent damage and/or destruction. The proposed land use plan includes heavy vehicle training exercises and the testing of high-tech weapons systems. The Army's suggestion that "it will rest the land" in between bouts of military maneuvers, akin to leaving cropland fallow for a season, completely distorts the complete devastation that artillery fire, 67 ton tank traffic, and grenade launching will have on unique and irreplaceable archeological resources in this area. The Colorado Council of Professional Archaeologists thus forcefully argued that all damage to archaeological resources is permanent (Colorado Council 2007).

Several dozen ranching families facing displacement by government decree are outraged that they risk losing so much for a poorly articulated cause. Area residents are still bristling over military expropriations of land in the 1980s, and the military's failure to live up to the commitments it made at that time. Residents charge that the economic benefits the Army promised them never materialized, and the army's promises not to use live weapons fire proved false (see <http://www.pinoncanyon.com>). In this context of distrust, comments from Colorado State Senator John P. Morse that "patriotism is about accepting your cost, even when it is disproportionate" did little to lessen tensions or convince residents that their proposed sacrifice was justified or necessary (Slevin 2007). Many ranchers fear that the proposed expansion is only the beginning of a long term plan to acquire a much larger chunk of southern Colorado, as much as 2.5 million acres, according to an Army map leaked to the opposition (Gable 2007).

Among the most disturbing aspects of the Colorado case are the Army's lack of candor about its ultimate plans, and its broader efforts to eliminate environmental oversight and public accountability for its actions. The Colorado Council of Archaeologists charged the Army with doing "an end run" around the spirit of environmental and preservation law with its superficial environmental impact statement (Colorado Council 2007). Local opposition activist Lon Robertson refuted the Army's assertion that the expanded base was crucial for troop readiness. "This is not about better training for the troops today. This is about building a secret multi-billion-dollar playground for the Pentagon and its military contractors - at the taxpayers' expense." Robertson characterized the Piñon Valley struggle as an effort by the Pentagon to "create a "black box," "impervious to public and Congressional scrutiny, around lethal high-tech weapons systems testing and training" (PCEOC 2007).

My own long term research in Vieques, Puerto Rico provides some important parallels to the Colorado case and cautionary tale of about risks of unchallenged expansion of military power.

Vieques, an island municipality of Puerto Rico with 10,000 American citizens, was also a military training and live fire range for over 60 years. In 1941, the Navy expropriated over 21,000 acres, approximately 2/3 of Vieques Island, when the rise of fascism in Europe led American military strategists to fear that a second front of the European conflict would unfold in the Caribbean. It didn't.

Thousands of people, however, were dislocated and the island's sugar economy was crippled. When the war in Europe ended, people in Vieques anticipated that the land they contributed to the defense of the nation would be returned to them. It wasn't.

Instead, the Navy expropriated an additional 4,000 acres of land in 1947 and dislocated more than one hundred more families. Civilians ended

up wedged between an ammunition depot and a live fire range. The rationale behind the military expansion was the new emerging threat of the communist menace.

Over the course of the sixty years that the Navy occupied Vieques, it justified its presence and expansion with a shifting laundry list of rationales: the war against fascism, the war against communism, the war against drugs, and finally the war against terror. As the Navy's base expanded, its weapons testing intensified. The Navy conducted artillery and small arms firing, naval gunfire support, and missile shoots. It rehearsed amphibious landing exercises, parachute drops and submarine maneuvers. The Navy bombed Vieques from air, land, and sea. In the 1980s and 1990s, the Navy trained an average of 180 days per year, and dropped or fired an average of 1,464 tons of bombs and explosives annually on Vieques (Shanahan and Lindsay-Poland 2002, 2). In 1998, the last year before protest interrupted maneuvers, the navy dropped twenty-three thousand bombs on the island, the majority of which contained live explosives (Fallon and Pace 1999).

Residents struggled to subsist on an island strangled by the military. The Navy controlled the majority of the land, water, and air surrounding Vieques. Its takeover shut down the island's sugar cane industry, and stifled the local economy. The Navy controlled nautical routes, flight paths, aquifers, and zoning laws in civilian territory. It blocked developers from establishing a resort on the island. It held title to the resettlement tracts in the civilian sector, where the majority of the island's population lived under constant threat of eviction (McCaffrey 2002).

The Navy argued that Vieques was only one of 56 live fire ranges operated by the U.S. military. Thus, according to the Navy, the island's share of the burden of national defense was not unusual: in fact there were a number of other communities in the United States with residents living closer to weapons ranges (Fallon and Pace 1999). However, the intensity of

military exercises, the proximity of live fire practices to the civilian population, and the environmental destruction caused by the Navy were unparalleled (Giusti 2000).

Intensification of weapons testing correlated with rising cancer rates and other illnesses in Vieques that residents attribute to air-borne contaminants from weapons testing and other toxic pollution from the base. The revelation in 1999 that the US Navy trained with depleted uranium munitions on the base--- in violation of federal law--- only heightened residents' anxieties. Intensified maneuvers also correlated with increased misfires, accidental bombings, and eventually the death of a civilian security guard by a stray bomb. The military's response to this death was callous and sparked outrage. Ultimately this incident sparked a grassroots movement to halt live fire practices on the island and ultimately succeeded in removing the Navy from Vieques Island.

In the Colorado case, it has been suggested that the damage local communities suffer from military expansion is an unfortunate but necessary consequence of the larger freedoms they enjoy. I would like to suggest that the harm communities suffer, instead, is a consequence of their lack of power in the face of military expansion, and too often, a culture of military impunity, that we as US citizens should challenge.

One of the key tenets of democracy is the supremacy of civilian power over the military. Although we often laud and express our reverence for our soldiers and generals for their sacrifice to the nation, and hold them up as examples of courage and love of nation, ultimately we prioritize civilian life over the military. That is why our commander in chief of the armed forces is a civilian, as is our secretary of defense. The military is a servant to civil society, its job is to protect and uphold the freedom and liberty that we cherish.

Conflicts like the proposed expansion of the Piñon Canyon Maneuver Site test those

boundaries. The military proposes confiscating property and inevitably destroying cultural resources in the name of national security. The military is proposing to harm the civilian society it is supposed to serve and justifying this harm by appealing to the larger goal of the good of the nation. Rather than resigning to this plan as a *fait accompli*, it is the job of political leaders to critically evaluate the costs and benefits of this expansion. The Army is in the position to assess its ideal training conditions. It is the job of civil society, however, to assess whether the benefits of those training exercises justifies the cost to society as a whole. In the case of Vieques, the training exercises that the Navy fiercely defended for decades as crucial to the defense of the Western Hemisphere, were later revealed to be obsolete for decades (McCaffrey 2002, 176-177).

While it would be ideal to hammer out a mutually satisfying arrangement between the military and civil society—what Colorado Senator Salazar repeatedly calls a “win-win” situation—ultimately the proposed expansion of the Piñon Canyon range is a topic that requires the vigorous debate among our political leaders and civil society, who are the final arbitrators of this case. Does society as a whole benefit from the proposed training, and the potential irreplaceable loss of land, natural and cultural resources and risks from military training practices? My knowledge of Vieques leads me to be skeptical, and I hope that other citizens and political leaders will be sufficiently skeptical of this expansion. We need to defend the democratic principles of our nation as an important act of patriotism.

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Report from the Field

Skin-in-Solutions: Militarizing Medicine and Militarizing Culture in the United States Military

By Andrew Bickford

Abstract: The US military's creation and deployment of "Human Terrain Teams" and the use of anthropology as a weapon in counterinsurgency operations bears a disturbing similarity to militarized forms of medicine and biotechnology currently in development for US military personnel. Through the mobilization and instrumentalization of health, the US military intends to manipulate the bodies of soldiers while claiming that this manipulation is to protect the well-being of the soldier. This sort of deployment of health has little to do with the health of the individual, and is directly linked to "improving" the combat abilities of the individual, and of creating better and more encompassing means of control of the individual. As I see it, the Human Terrain System, and attempts to deploy a militarized anthropology to aid in counterinsurgency operations utilize a similar rationale, a rationale directly at odds with the AAA code of ethics and what I think it means to be an anthropologist.

Key words: US Military, biotechnology, medical anthropology, ethics, fieldwork

The current controversy around the "Weaponization of Culture," and the U.S. military's attempts to utilize anthropology and anthropologists in counter-insurgency efforts, resonates with my work on U.S. military biomedical research that focuses on the military's quest to use medicine and medical interventions to develop soldiers who feel no pain, need no sleep, and suffer no trauma. The military defends these measures and allays any concerns raised about them by arguing that these performance enhancements will "save lives," and as a side benefit, lower the tax burden on US citizens, because if all goes as planned, the VA and society in general will not have to pay for PTSD care and emotionally disabled veterans. As stories about anthropologists in the military began to circulate, I began to think about the similarities between medical doctors and anthropologists, between militarized anthropologists and militarized doctors, and the ethical issues these involvements raise for both professions. What does it mean to be a doctor or anthropologist, and what does it mean for each if they work for the military, or within a militarized setting? What are the similarities between weaponized medicine and weaponized culture?

In my current research, I examine the double-bind of military biotechnology and pharmacology: these sorts of medical interventions may in fact save soldiers' lives, but in so doing, enable the military to continue to deploy soldiers, and so expose them to harm, and expose civilians to harm. The military (specifically, "Research Area 3 of the United States Army Medical Research and Materials Command - Military Operational Medicine Research Program" as it is officially designated) calls these efforts "Skin-in Solutions" to making the better warfighter, solutions that come at the tip of a syringe, a nasal inhaler, or in a pill. These biotechnical and psycho-pharmaceutical interventions are called "skin-in" because they are implanted, embedded, and injected into the body of the soldier, designed to change him or her into a more efficient fighting machine, one that can keep up the operational tempo of the military. And if they are "skin-in," they are not on display, on view to the public.

US military pharmacological interventions bind soldiers and civilians to a form of medicine that protects at a cost, and brings about death and maiming. Soldiers and civilians alike become convinced of the efficacy of these interventions. Soldiers may find it hard to disobey orders or deployments due to health concerns when technologies that promise protection and curing are readily at hand. No matter how harmful military medicine can be, even iatrogenic effects are passed off as benevolence, provided for the good of the troops. While "Skin-in Solutions" may be touted as positive "performance enhancement" interventions and life-saving technologies for soldiers, the problem with these measures is that they will in fact force and compel soldier to perform, and perform, and perform again. What seem like positive, life-saving measures are simply another way—in the guise of positive medical interventions—of making soldiers fight, of insuring compliance and deployability, and of harnessing a "resource" for national security and policy purposes.

Military doctors and biomedical researchers are not tasked simply with the maintenance of health and wellbeing; rather, their job is to produce, monitor, and intervene, to incorporate technology *in* soldiers. Ultimately, it is not a question of palliative care, but of production, and control of the soldier through the medical "needs" of military health. In

Vaccine A, journalist Gary Matsumoto quotes Edmund G. Howe of the Uniformed Services University concerning the goals of military medicine:

The military physician...accepts the obligation to place military interests over his own interests and those he might otherwise have as a civilian doctor when he becomes a military officer; he is, in this sense, primarily a soldier with special technical expertise. Thus, when during combat, the soldier comes to the military physician with an injury, both the soldiers and the physician have agreed to prioritize the needs of the military" (Edmund G. Howe, as quoted in Matsumoto 2004:67).

As stated in section Q of the *United States Army 1998 Science and Technology Master Plan*, military biomedicine and the management of soldiers' health are of the utmost importance, because "high casualty and death rates are warstoppers," and "post-deployment health problems have an adverse impact on future capabilities" (1998: Q 1). The first priority of military biomedical researchers and doctors is to deploy health to insure that health concerns do not impede the prosecution of war. Dead, wounded, and unhealthy soldiers in the present make it difficult to fight wars in the future.

The rationale of linking health, protection, the body, and readiness to the economic rationalization of war is further stated in the *1998 Master Plan*, and seems to speak to the "weaponization of culture:"

Combat systems will be designed to capitalize on human strengths and mitigate weaknesses while simultaneously improving sustainment and support of warfighting systems. Advances in warrior protection systems address concerns about casualties in conflict. By providing the personal protection and life support necessary to meet current and future threats, these technology efforts make the individual warrior more effective and achieve force multiplication. With fewer soldiers executing the mission, we decrease the tax burden and put fewer warfighters in harm's way while still achieving mission objectives (ASTMP 1998: N 2).

The role of Human Terrain Team anthropologists is much the same: to deploy culture to increase warfighting capabilities, to remove another hurdle in the prosecution of war and domination, to decrease the tax burden of war on civilians, making it more palatable. Cultural knowledge might in some instances save lives, but it will also take lives, and help in the selection and targeting of individuals and groups. They are to produce a form of knowledge in “real time” that can be deployed to further warfighting and control. Medicine and culture in this instance are used not for peaceful purposes, or to maintain the health and wellbeing of the soldier, but to enhance the soldier to make him or her deployable, again and again and again.

In his classic *A Fortunate Man*, writer John Berger (1967) depicts Dr. Sassall and the role of the country doctor as a “clerk of records,” someone who knows all about the lives of his patients. Nancy Scheper Hughes takes this a step further, linking the work of ethnographers to Berger’s notion of the “clerk of records” to consider the moral implications of our holding such knowledge (Scheper-Hughes 1995). Just as it would be a grievous ethical violation for a doctor to use the accumulated knowledge of his or her patients and community against them, so too would the use of the accumulated knowledge of the ethnographer be unethical if used against the people with whom he or she works.

When we work with people, do fieldwork and participant observation, we take on the responsibility of protecting the trust people bestow upon us, of taking care of the secrets about their lives and their communities, of the mundane “imponderabilia of everyday life” that make up their lives and our work. But safeguarding this information is not simply safeguarding knowledge, obscure anthropological data or field notes. Rather, this can literally be a safeguarding of their health and safety, their physical wellbeing and existence. The knowledge we gain can have a direct physical impact, and can result in their being wounded, killed, harmed, kidnapped, disappeared, tortured, murdered, maimed. We are responsible, in much the same way as a medical doctor, for the physical care of the people with whom we work.

In thinking about the connections between the Hippocratic Oath and the AAA Code of Ethics, I

came to realize that in a sense, we are all medical anthropologists. We are privy to data that can result in people being tortured, wounded, abducted, or killed. In this sense, we are responsible for their health and well-being, even if this simply means keeping their secrets safe. We work with living people, human populations, and are in a position of power over them: what we do can have an effect on their lives. No matter what kind of research we do, there is some link to the health and welfare of our research populations, given that any kind of information can suddenly become of use and importance to the military or security organizations. Anything can be used as a weapon, as a lever to achieve a goal.

Stanford historian David Kennedy recently commented on U.S. casualty figures in a television interview (CSPAN). Kennedy noted that improved military medicine and evacuation procedures had saved many US soldiers’ lives that would have otherwise been lost, and then remarked that killing and death are loud—they call attention to themselves, are loud political statements. In contrast, Kennedy said, being wounded is quiet; it goes almost unnoticed, does not generate the same kind of political noise generated by death and killing. And while it is a good thing that frontline military medicine has saved lives, the quiet part is that veterans and their families have to live out their lives dealing with horrific wounds and battling the government for services and support, and that people will continue to be killed and wounded.

Much like Kennedy’s loud/quiet distinction, the HTS program tries to make war quiet, tries to deflect from wounding and killing, tries to make operations in Iraq and Afghanistan fall under the radar. It is also an attempt to make anthropology quiet by bringing it into the national security fold, by declaring that if you are not part of the program, you’re aiding in the killing and wounding of innocents (as if using culture as a way to “fight smarter” is the only way to think about peace and saving lives). This is an attempt to quiet both the killing of the invasion and occupation, the protests and concerns of anthropologists and the AAA, and discontent on the homefront; the military can now say “look, even anthropology is helping out.” Much like “Skin-In Solutions,” it’s an attempt to dull the pain of the conquest for all involved

without addressing the real source of pain, to keep it below the surface.

“Skin-in-Solutions,” biotechnology, and the HTS are all part of a concern for the individual, an ideological anesthetic designed to make the home front think everything is being done for its sons and daughters, and everything possible is being done to mitigate pain and suffering. “Skin-in-Solutions” and the HTS, regardless of the public relations spin the military utilize about them, are simply means to make soldiers fight better, to make them deployable, ultimately increasing their chances of being killed or wounded, not to mention the increase in the number of times they might have to kill and wound, and live with the consequences thereafter.

Like doctors, who take an oath to not cause harm or suffering, anthropologists have a similar obligation to not intentionally cause harm or suffering to the people with whom they work. While one may inadvertently cause harm through fieldwork, the problem with militarized anthropology and the HTS is the knowing, intentional use of skills and insights for combat, to trade in hurt and injury, wounding and death, fragmentation and destruction. Keep in mind that “counterinsurgency” is combat, and definitions of a “counterinsurgent” are fluid. I find it unethical to use anthropological skills and insights for counterinsurgency operations, for anthropologists to accompany combat units into battle, wear uniforms, carrying weapons, to not be accountable to the Uniform Code of Military Justice, and place the needs of the military before those of the people they study. This strikes me as mercenary anthropology, and contributes to the overall militarization of anthropology.

Like medical doctors, we too have an obligation to protect the health and wellbeing of the people with whom we work. Sadly, it may now be time to coin a new term: iatrogenic anthropology – harm caused by anthropologists, particularly those actively cooperating with the military. If we are all like Berger’s Dr. Sassall, the clerk of records of people’s lives, militarized anthropology is a sort of clerkship that carries a mortal danger for those in our care. The military wasn’t knocking on Sassall’s door. How can we let it knock on ours?

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*The following are sessions to be held at the upcoming Spring SANA/AES meeting
April 3-5 in Wrightsville Beach, North Carolina:*

Spheres of Development: Citizen Mobilization in Five Contexts

Consumption, Corruption and Identity

Conceptualizing and Performing Democracy

The Prospects for Social Justice on the Imperial Homefront

Living in a Democratic Empire:

Globalization and US Colonial Relations from 1898 to 2007

Beyond Liberal Democracy:

Vernacular Alternatives to Normative Political Processes

Democracy, Citizenship and Transnationalism

Neoliberalism and its Discontents

Race and Justice Plenary

The Prospects for Global Citizenship

Exporting Democracy

Religion and the Struggle for Equality and Democracy

Shifting Patterns of War and Conflict

Health, Gender, and Policy in the Public Sector

Towards a Critically Engaged Historical Political Economy:

Essays in Honor of Tom Patterson

The Dialectical Imagination

Defining Democracy in the Americas

Immigration and Disordered Democracy in the Americas

The Tension of Race and Rights in Divided States

War and Accountability Plenary

**Discontent, Disorder, and Solidarity: Lessons for Democracy from the Fight to Free the Charleston
Five - Workshop**

Rethinking Democracy and Choice

From Ethnography to Epidemiology:

Celebrating Shirley Lindenbaum's Contributions to Anthropology

Report from the President

By Sandra Morgen

Abstract: SANA member research provides critical insights into key issues facing contemporary North America. The section depends on, and thrives because of the research of members and the contributions of members who take on leadership roles. We thank them profusely. The article also focuses on the thoughts of past and current presidents about the challenges of engaged public anthropology. It is important to consider not only “how” to do engaged anthropology, but “why.”

Keywords: leadership, engaged anthropology, public anthropology

In the short period that I have been SANA president, the escalating political and economic crises in North America clearly underline the continuing importance of critical scholarship on North America. Highly polarized political debates in the US—about immigration, the economic and human costs of the sub-prime mortgage fiasco, the falling value of the dollar and the stock market, the continuing hemorrhaging of jobs out of this country, the impending reality of recession, and more—generally substitute sound bytes for clear analysis. Candidates scrambling for their parties’ nominations aim to score points for their campaigns, rather than offering a comprehensive, systematic analysis of the effects of economic practices and public policies that have left so many individuals, families and communities facing greater economic insecurity eight years into the 21st century than at its dawn.

January 1, 2008 also meant the final stage of full implementation of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), 14 years, after it was signed into law. Needless to say, the anniversary did not occasion celebrations, at least outside corporate boardrooms. Trade between the US, Canada, and Mexico has nearly tripled since 1994. But for many, including small farmers, “free trade” has meant falling prices for what they grow. They cannot compete with imported subsidized farm products from the US and Canada; the result has been economic devastation for hundreds of thousands of families. Although it did not make the news

headlines north of the US-Mexico border, agricultural workers gathered at the El Paso-Ciudad Juarez border crossing in late January to protest NAFTA. Their main concern: this final phase of liberalization for staples such as corn and beans promises to put even more farmers out of business and further jeopardize Mexico’s food sovereignty. Meanwhile in the US, Republican candidates for the presidency jockey to outdo each other, clamoring for “secure” borders, the completion of the border fence, and swift deportation of undocumented people.

What SANA members offer instead is research such as Lynn Stephen’s new book *Transborder Lives: Indigenous Oaxacans in Mexico, California and Oregon* (Duke University Press, 2007). The book follows indigenous Mexicans from two communities in Oaxaca who live transborder lives, straddling Mexico, California and Oregon. Stephen is only one of many SANA members whose scholarship illuminates these issues. But I mention her work because it was honored this year at the annual meeting when she received the 2007 SANA Prize for Distinguished Achievement in the Critical Study of North America. Given the example of the effects of trade liberalization and neoliberalism more generally on the vast majority of low and middle income people in Mexico, Canada and the US, it is important that as a section we work harder to promote greater discussion and collaboration among anthropologists from these countries whose work bears on these issues.

Expect more trenchant analysis when we gather at a spring conference April 3rd-5th in Wrightsville Beach, North Carolina. This year we are co-hosting the spring conference with the American Ethnological Association (AES). The conference theme, “Democracy, Disorder, and Discontent,” will engage the discrepancies between the idea and the practice of democracy and explore the forms of disorder and discontent engendered by these contradictions. In addition to the excellent plenaries and sessions you can expect, Andy Bickford, the SANA Spring conference co-organizer (with Lesley Gill, AES), is excited about another conference event. SANA/AES will screen a new documentary called *The War on Democracy* directed by John Pilger. This film “demonstrates the brutal reality of America’s notion of ‘spreading democracy’; that, in fact, America is actually conducting a war on democracy, and that true

popular democracy is now more likely to be found among the poorest of Latin America whose grassroots movements are often ignored in the west”

(<http://www.bullfrogfilms.com/catalog/wdem.html>). If the great sessions and the film by themselves are not enough of a lure, don't forget—Wrightsville Beach is a beach!

If you are a member who doesn't usually attend our spring conference I hope you will consider joining us next year. After years of attending the AAA and SANA conferences I can honestly say that the smaller, more intimate spring conference offer some of the most intellectually engaging sessions and informal conversations I have been privileged to be part of as an anthropologist.

As a section SANA is in great shape thanks to excellent past leadership and the continuing dedication of our membership. In addition to elected positions we have committed members who take on critical tasks such as organizing conferences and the AAA program, recruiting nominees for offices, keeping up the website, writing the column for *Anthropology News*, and editing *North American Dialogue*. Each of us know well the feeling of being “too busy” to take on such tasks. The officers, Board members and general members who have done this work are no less busy than the rest of us. They have just decided to make the vitality of SANA a priority. We owe all of them our thanks.

No one deserves that gratitude more than our immediate past President Jeff Maskovsky. At the annual meeting we presented Jeff with some tokens of our collective appreciation, including a booklet of testimonials that spoke of his outstanding leadership. There were too many to reproduce here, but repeatedly his colleagues referred, as in this quote, to his “commitment to academic excellence, social justice, and helping to make a more fair and just world.” Others lauded his vision, his generous dedication of time and energy to SANA, his critical edge, and, to sum it all up, the enormous value of having “someone at the helm who cares as much as you do, who feels so much the urgency of our collective project together, and who works so hard to advance it at every opportunity.” On behalf of all SANA's members, let me once again thank Jeff for his past and continuing service.

For the past six years Alisse Waterston has served as editor of *North American Dialogue*. She brought a wealth of creativity, dedication and professionalism to this work. Under her leadership, NAD has become a jewel among AAA publications, distinguished for interesting, incisive, highly accessible articles that bring the fruits of our scholarship to each other and to the larger public. Behind the scenes Alisse has brought her vision of an engaged anthropology to these pages, and we thank her for her inspired and hard work. But this issue will be her last as editor. Long time SANA member Catherine Kingfisher has agreed to take over as editor. Thanks Catherine, and good luck with this transition. We also want to thank Sue Hyatt who has so ably served as the editor of the SANA column for *Anthropology News*. She will be turning that job over to another SANA member in the near future.

Our nominations committee worked hard to recruit potential candidates for officer and board positions. We have such an impressive set of candidates running. The only problem is that we are forced to run such excellent people against each other! We are all grateful to each of you who agreed to run for office and thank as well Tim Sieber, the Nomination's Committee chair, who has served diligently in this capacity for over a decade! Don't forget to vote (AAA election participation is notoriously low).

One of our goals for the coming year is to recruit new members. SANA is close to the next “notch,” i.e., reaching the magical number at which we get more invited time on the AAA annual meeting program. But more importantly, we aim to attract new members as part of our commitment to diversity and inclusion. Setting increased membership as a goal goes against the tide that almost all AAA sections are losing members. From my vantage point such membership loss, especially among small sections, is not a sign of dwindling interest. Rather, most SANA members are much like other North Americans: except for the most economically privileged among us, most of us face stagnating salaries, or, if we are lucky, salaries that grow but not enough to keep pace with the rising costs of everything, including professional expenses.

Add to this the well known fact that a growing number of anthropologists employed in higher education do not have tenure-track jobs.

Contingent faculty enjoy little job security and their earnings are almost always lower than their tenured or tenure-track counterparts. In 2007 the AAA adopted a graduated dues structure, recognizing, in the words of then AAA President Alan Goodman, the value "of maintaining economic diversity and the long-term vitality of the association. It also seems like the right thing to do in a society that maintains tremendous disparities in wealth." This was an important step by the AAA. But joining a section still adds to the cost of membership, even in sections like SANA that try to keep their dues low. Sustaining and building membership is a challenge. We ask you to help us: by continuing to be a member of SANA, by helping us to recruit new members, and by working collectively to make SANA membership well worth the price because of the value of what we do.

One conversation that has been repeatedly raised in anthropology over the past decade is how, as a discipline, we can become more audible and influential in the larger public dialogue about the pressing social issues that confront us as residents and citizens of our different international, national, and local communities. This issue has long been an important one for me. I plan, as president, to try to amplify that conversation within SANA. At the same time, it is important not to be naïve about the challenges of this undertaking, especially given the cautionary tale the racist, colonial past (and its legacies in the present) offers about what can happen when representatives of the state employ anthropology for their own ends.

To help stimulate dialogue on this issue, I asked the three most recent presidents of SANA to send me a few words about their own thoughts about public engagement. Jeff Maskovsky, under the title, "Be Careful What You Wish For," notes that "with some exceptions, our discipline does not have an intimate relationship to governmental or corporate power at the present. With a few exceptions (the US military's recent attempts to recruit anthropologists with knowledge of the Middle East comes to mind), our ethnographic knowledge is no longer viewed as essential in popular, political or academic circles."

Nevertheless, he adds, within the academy, demand for anthropology courses has expanded as undergraduates scramble to fill general education "diversity" requirements. Without minimizing the importance of what "our interventions" in higher

education can mean, Jeff sees this as a limited platform:

Individual anthropologists have managed to speak out publicly about 9/11, the war on terror, the ill effects of welfare "reform," and other major public issues. But as a discipline we are expected to play the rather benign and politically neutral role of explaining exotic cultures to college students... Our critique of essentialized cultures is also not without political significance and the academy is as legitimate a site as any for political struggle these days.

He ends with a caveat:

Anthropology may someday find broader public relevance if the kind of knowledge we create once again becomes vital to dominant governing projects in the United States or elsewhere. The irony -- and danger -- is that this may happen as part of, not in opposition to, American imperialism. If, for example, the forces within our discipline that want us to work more closely with the US military and the CIA were somehow to prevail, might we then lament the rebirth of public anthropology, wishing instead for the bygone days of the present, when our discipline produces much oppositional knowledge as it toils on the margins of the academy in relative public and political obscurity?

Lee Baker reminds us that the boundary between our classrooms and public space may be both more artificial, and more fluid, than the ideology of the "ivory tower" suggests:

Sometimes it seems overwhelming in terms of what one can do to impact change and make a better world. As graduate students and professors, however, we sometimes forget that our most effective "activism" can be in the classroom. Educating students to understand, grapple, and explore the myriad of cross cutting issues that that impact our students everyday can make for lasting change. As students of North America, we have the added responsibility to help frame

contemporary issues that are playing out right outside, and sometimes within the walls, of our classrooms.

Karen Brodtkin urges us to cross those boundaries creatively, both as individuals and as teacher:

As individuals one important thing to do is to look around us for grassroots campaigns that are working for real alternatives to the phony versions that the candidates are offering, campaigns that are multiracial in practice and/or message. In California, I think of the organizing being done around state senator Sheila Kuehl's single payer health care bill, or by environmental activists to clean up the ports of Los Angeles and Long Beach as well as to create urban green spaces in the city and surrounding low-income cities and communities of color. We should do some thinking about how we can make student participation in such efforts part of our courses, or find other ways to involve our students in such work--and we should volunteer too...[This can help] students and colleagues to see what real alternatives look like--and to see that they have possibilities of winning. In other words, to expand the politics and political discourse of the possible.

My own recent effort to "expand the political discourse of the possible" concerns the research I did as part of a collaborative, interdisciplinary team that studied the neoliberalization of welfare policy in Oregon. The publics we tried to reach were varied. For example, we reached out to the reading and listening public through the media and talks we gave sponsored by various community organizations. We did target national, state and regional level policy makers and welfare administrators with reports, policy briefs and legislative testimony. Some of our most fulfilling work was with state-level anti-poverty advocates in support of a bill to expand post-secondary education opportunities for poor women and against a bill that sought to help plug holes in the state's budget by cutting \$5/month from a TANF grant that had not been raised for more than a

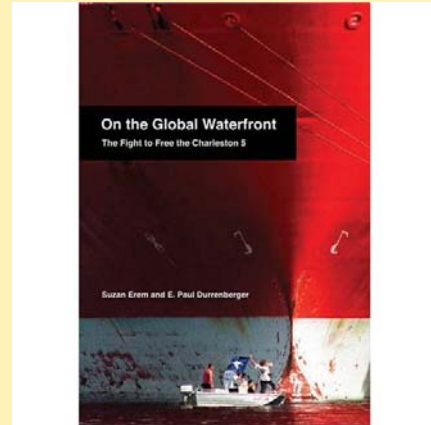
decade. In a very general way we tried to challenge hegemonic evaluations of welfare "reform" as a grand policy success. And we can count a few successes from this work, and many more areas where, at least in the immediate sense, tangible results are less clear.

These and other examples of crossing the scholarly/community or university/public boundaries remind me that translating ethnographic information and insight into public purpose and venues does not take magic. Many of the skills I drew on were the same skills ethnographers use to gain access to and be effective in "the field:" communicating with people in terms that can foster meaningful conversations, making connections, and following leads. Saying this does not mean there are not other particular skills we might hone to better cross boundaries. As with the rest of what we do, becoming good at this takes practice, openness to critique, time and considered thought. Yet I have found myself on more than one occasion sitting through yet another scientific session on the AAA program about one or another aspect of "public anthropology" wanting to walk to the front of the room with a big sign that appropriates Nike's slogan, and in large, bold letters reads: "just do it."

I think that the biggest obstacle to anthropology engaging productively with various and varied "publics" is not a skills deficit. It is how we conceive of ourselves as professionals and the institutional reward structures that discipline and reward us. Even many of us who have embraced the critique of positivism, of the "disinterested scientist," may well share some ambivalence about the consequences and messiness of engagement. We wonder how our colleagues will view us, fret about the time away from doing "what counts," feel a whole lot less secure or in control outside of our very familiar classrooms, committees, and meetings.

On the other hand, many SANA members have "just done it." And our experiences are worthy of being analyzed, shared, critiqued, valued. There are colleagues in other sections, including, but not limited to ABA, ALLA, and AFA who also have histories of doing, rather than mainly talking about public engagement. And as you all know, the history of the anthropology of North America extends well beyond ivory towers and professional journals.

Anthropology off the Shelf



On the Global Waterfront The Fight to Free the Charleston 5 By Suzan Erem and Paul Durrenberger Monthly Review Press 2008

Book Signing and Reception at SANA/AES Spring Conference

Longshoremen stand at the nexus of the global economy, handling nearly every cargo container that enters or leaves any country.

On the Global Waterfront tells the story of how longshoremen in South Carolina confronted attempts to wipe out the state's most powerful black organization. When a Danish shipping company began to shift their transportation to a nonunion firm in 1999, Local 1422 in Charleston, South Carolina, mobilized to protect their hard-won rights. What followed culminated in a protest in which 660 riot police arrayed against fifty dockworkers, a group that grew to 150 before the night was over. Four black and one white longshoreman—subsequently known as the Charleston 5—were held for twenty months under house arrest on trumped-up felony charges of inciting a riot.

Within the politically conservative, racially charged, and religiously fanatic climate of the South, the unassuming local union president, Ken Riley—supported behind the scenes by a militant AFL-CIO staffer—crafted an international, grassroots campaign in defense of the arrested longshoremen. Their ultimate success vaulted Riley, and his reform-minded coworkers, to higher leadership in a notoriously corrupt union, and laid the foundation for successful rebuffs in ports around the world. *On the Global Waterfront* explores in detail a local conflict and in the process exposes the powers that rule the United States and the global economy.

For more information:

<http://www.ontheglobalwaterfront.org/>

I am not proposing an “inventory project.” But it may well be valuable to consider the broad spectrum of very different “publics” that anthropologists have engaged and with whom we might work. Influencing those who influence and make public policy matters, for example. But surely they should not be are only, or perhaps even our main target public.

Fundamentally, the key question is “why.” Enacting various forms of public anthropology is not first and foremost about “selling” our profession to the public, at least not the way I think about it. Jeff, Lee, Karen and I all say, in our different ways, that what motivates us is social justice. Sometimes I wonder if the much ado about public anthropology doesn't reflect a deep yearning among many anthropologists to contribute to the larger project of social transformation. What might unleash more of this yearning and help channel it into doing is attention to the fact that many of us already do this work and that what we have to share about public engagement may well be as important (if not more important) than our newest theoretical insights.

When our work reveals the practices and consequences of inequalities; the texts or subtexts of racism, gender subordination, homophobia, class exploitation, and neocolonialism/recolonization in public policy and neoliberal markets; and the resistance of communities to marginalization and oppression, it becomes a potentially valuable resource to be shared widely. The biggest challenge is how to take this work outside the academy in ways that are empowering for/with those communities who seek to and often do “speak truth to power.” We have much to learn along the way.

So look for more discussion of these issues in the next couple of years. And even better: do not hesitate to contact me about how you might help foster and elevate this discussion. I look forward to hearing from you about this or other matters as we forge ahead as a section.

Sandra Morgen is professor of women's studies at Penn State, and may be reached at smorgen@psu.edu.

Report from the Editor

A Farewell and a New Welcome

By Alisse Waterston

With some relief and a lot of gratitude to many folks in SANA, I write my last column as editor of *North American Dialogue*, a position I have held for six years. I am also pleased to leave the editorship in the capable hands of Catherine Kingfisher, an anthropologist at the University of Lethbridge in Alberta, Canada. A scholar, activist and educator with a focus on North America, Catherine represents the best of what SANA hopes to nurture in its members. In turn, as editor of *North American Dialogue*, Catherine will help our section continue to achieve its important mission.

It was not so long ago that key parts of North America were not considered legitimate field sites. Times have changed. The climate for doing North Americanist research feels a lot warmer. SANA provides an institutional base for North Americanist anthropologists who have traditionally been marginalized in our discipline. Just fourteen years old, SANA has been a major force in the growing recognition of North American anthropology. *North American Dialogue* has been vital to that process.

NAD is a truly wonderful forum for North Americanist scholars, activists and practitioners to share their thoughts-in-process and works-in-progress. Officially considered a newsletter, *NAD* is much more than the designation suggests. *NAD* provides a place to disclose information, raise issues, describe fieldwork, and offer political and theoretical analysis as it is happening. Here, there is no need to wait until fieldwork is fully completed or until every relevant reference has been examined. On these pages, readers learn what their North Americanist colleagues are worrying about *now* and working on *today*.

This publication offers a rare opportunity for us to see connections between each other's works and therefore be more likely to develop new "communities of interest" around common themes and critical issues. The topics covered in *NAD* are among the most current and pressing of our times.

In theme issues or individual articles, we have tackled subjects such as: the **US military, and the militarization of US society and anthropology**

(April 2008) **global inequality, war and the US** (April 2005; September 2004); **attacks on academic freedom and the threat this poses for our field** (April 2005); **neoliberal development policy in Mexico and activist responses to it** (October 2005; June 2003; September 2002); **the human impact of federal Hope VI housing policy in the US** (October 2007; June 2003; September 2002); **service learning as a pedagogical tool** (April 2006); **fragile water systems along the Mexico-US border** (October 2005); and **an entire issue devoted to Coca-Cola plants in Colombia** (October 2006).

We have featured articles by graduate students and established scholars, and published short, readable pieces from the likes of Micaela di Leonardo, Susan Hyatt, Ashley Spalding, June Nash, Paul Farmer, Tomás Martínez Saldaña, Susan Greenbaum, Shari Feldman, Wendy Hathaway, Ann Kingsolver, Lesley Gill, Gerrie Casey and Tim Sieber.

We pair young scholars with their senior counterparts in dialogue on critical issues for our discipline, like Kate Masley (April 2007) and Jane Adams (October 2007) on research "at home" in the U.S., and María (Lorena) Núñez and Elizabeth Chin (April 2006) on the value of community-based learning.

You may search and access back issues of *NAD* on AnthroSource:
(<http://www.aaanet.org/publications/anthrosource/>).

At SANA, we like to think of *North American Dialogue* as a small publication that takes on the big issues of our times. It is a wonderful resource for sharing the word and spreading information.

It has been my pleasure to work with each and every *NAD* contributor, and with SANA leadership, especially Lee Baker who never fails to offer gracious support. I am enormously grateful to Maria Vesperi with whom I now share the role of SANA Publications Chair. I thank Maria for her insightful comments, wise advice, sharp editorial eye, and most of all, for her warm friendship.

For inquiries on how to contribute to *NAD*, please contact Catherine Kingfisher at c.kingfisher@uleth.ca.

Alisse Waterston is professor of anthropology at John Jay College of Criminal Justice, CUNY, and may be reached at awaterston@jjay.cuny.edu.

Report from the Field

Redoing Chicago:

Gentrification, Race, and Intimate Segregation

By *Jesse Mumm*

Abstract: “Do you know what gentrification is?” one new Chicago resident poses. “To some people it means just plain white.” Latino neighborhoods in Chicago have become well documented terrains of contestation over community space, as upscale redevelopment threatens to displace established residents. As people promote or challenge gentrification on the Near Northwest Side, they make reference to Latino and white spaces, practices, representations, market engagements, and political control—and race erupts in overt and covert ways. Recent anthropological work illuminates and unpacks ground level social dynamics with profound consequences amid this latest historical political economic shift. Both interracial contact and avoidance increasingly operate through mixed discourses and practices of diversity and inclusion on the one hand, and heightened and overt racial signification on the other. Intimate segregation is a lived contradiction, embodied in a new repertoire of practices that internalize the ways we interrelate even as we separate.

Key words: gentrification, race, Chicago, segregation, space

My children will never see the Chicago where I grew up, the only redheaded Irish American kid in a sea of mostly brown faces. The abandoned buildings on Kedzie Boulevard are now luxury apartments, and in place of *El Gustito*—the *bodega* where my mother sent me for milk—condos dwarf the block. Puerto Rican and Mexican families who survived the long winter of city neglect and built community on the Near Northwest Side now face a wild surge in local real estate values. By the 1990s several Latino neighborhoods in Chicago became well known terrains of struggle over community space, as upscale redevelopment expanded from downtown and threatened established residents. To promote or contest gentrification in Humboldt Park and Logan Square has often meant to define or redefine Latino and white spaces, practices, representations, market engagements, and political control. Promoters of gentrification may explain the phenomenon as a natural and inevitable wrecking ball that leaves flowers behind, but we would be fools not to recognize that it is also about race.

“Do you know what gentrification is?” one white newcomer challenged me, as I began fieldwork in gentrifying neighborhoods in Chicago in 2004. “To some people it means just plain white....Well, there were no whites living right where I lived, okay? I would say the last three years, on both sides of the street now maybe there are twenty-two, in a block of a hundred people, okay? Do they have to be white for the area to change? No. I’d like to say it’s more about economics. I don’t want to sound racist, because I’m not racist, otherwise why would I have moved in?”

Indeed. Many newcomers view their arrival in areas like Humboldt Park as an embrace of diversity. José López, director of the Puerto Rican Cultural Center of Chicago, differs. “I think that, for example, you’ve created an illusion of diversity,” he told me. “The bulk of the Latino population is obviously not in that world. So what happens is you create an illusion where, especially among this generation of young urban professionals, that you’ve overcome the problems of racism. They exist in multicultural environments, for the most part...and it’s an illusion. It’s an illusion because in the long run the society continues to be quite segregated. People continue to be judged on the color of their skin.”

Often scholars and residents alike treat race as a *given* in gentrification: it may produce racialized *effects*, but does not necessarily remake the ways race *operates*. When I pose questions which draw attention to race, my respondents offer wry smirks and knowing comments, which often limit the discussion. A neighborhood *was* black, but what can you do? Tell people where to live? How funny is it that those Mexicans are fighting against new construction when half their houses are falling apart? Don’t you know the Puerto Ricans pushed out the Polish, and now “their time has come”? So why are they marching and chanting, “*¡No se vende!*”? [Do not sell!]

Isn’t it all just so *ironic*?

No. It *is*, however, part and parcel of the historical political economy of race in the United States. Gentrification is complex. Defined as the revaluation and reshaping of urban space by more affluent newcomers who displace lower income predecessors, gentrification is happening around the globe. A complex nexus of social actors transform neighborhoods through an urban growth

machine that includes the state, the real estate industry, businesses, civic groups, and the new middle classes (Logan and Molotch 1987). Yet I approach gentrification both as a *moment* that reveals race, and as a *process* that constructs and transforms race through the medium of urban space. I build on insightful urban and Americanist anthropology, and the guidance of Micaela di Leonardo, who deftly illustrates how whites and blacks negotiate poverty and violence from divergent positions in relation to similar available repertoires (1998: 330). I hope to contribute to theory that more fully explains gentrification, answering recent calls to reinvestigate race, culture and identity (Lees 2000) as cities transform nearly overnight. It is easier to explain how capital moves than why it moves to one neighborhood and not another, at one time but not earlier, and how it was received or contested. In comparative projects we can uncover what this beast really is.

My work is also a response to the popular notion, echoed in academia, that gentrification brings racial integration to once segregated communities. Many well-known scholars of black poverty in the United States continue to identify inner city concentration as the central organizing principle of race, and thus call for “dismantling the ghetto” (Massey & Denton 1993: 236; see also Polikoff 2006). So would most big real estate developers. I argue instead that gentrification in Chicago does not create integrated communities by increasing diversity, but rather establishes a new regime of racial segmentation I have termed *intimate segregation*. Raised in segregated neighborhoods and now living side by side, these residents develop ways to avoid, structure and confront interracial contact using repertoires with historical origins in the same segregated landscape they seek to transform. And they are transforming with it.

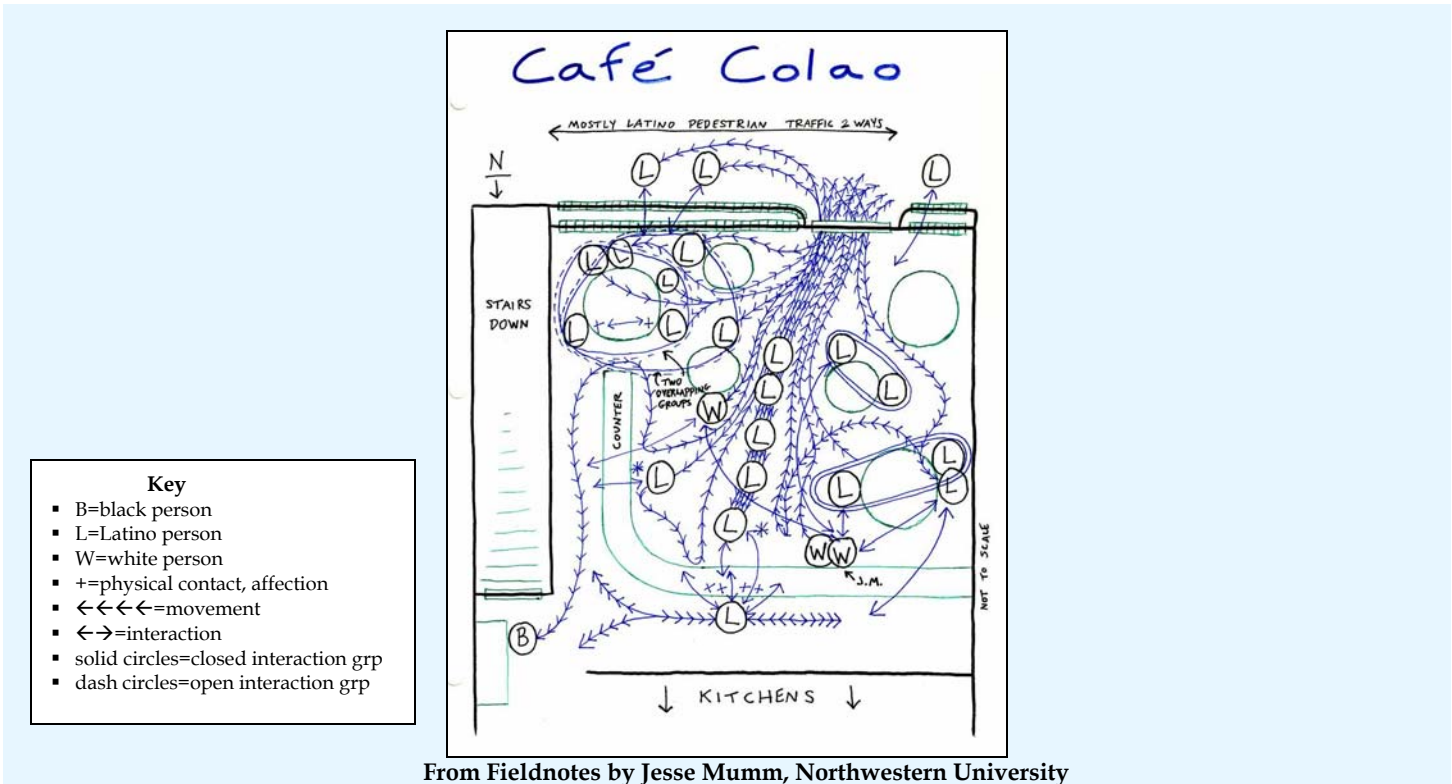
I approach issues of race from an interactional perspective, examining the practices and discourses of predecessors and newcomers *together*. I am interested in how the residents in those neighborhoods facing displacement fit into the economic and social interactions that frame their complex new relationships and a new urban political economy. In the United States anthropologists have engaged the contradictions of race through the lenses of space and place

(Lawrence-Zúñiga and Low 2003), poverty (Goode and Maskovsky 2001), language and prejudice (Urciuoli 1996), political economy (Harrison 1995), and immigration (Lamphere 1992). In the present, the poorest and most marginalized blacks and Latinos in cities like Chicago now face spatial deconcentration, dispersal, and reconcentration in impoverished metropolitan peripheries. As in past generations, they are not taking it lying down.

Intimate Segregation In Latino Chicago

A monumental, forty ton archway sculpture of the Puerto Rican flag claims space on Division Street in direct resistance to the threat of displacement by white newcomers. Like many other built forms of *Paseo Boricua*, the flags become an iconographic means by which Latinos speak to other Latinos and to outsiders in order “to claim a Puerto Rican space and resist encroaching gentrification” (Pérez 2004: 154). By a similar token developers of a half block long new condo building on California Avenue sell units to potential customers by pitching a potential appreciation value dependent on a present, but disappearing background of low-income people of color. These two monuments and the practices they embody are substantially different—one overt, one covert—yet both based on the interaction of complementary racial categories. Each is a kind of gamble, both involve racial signification, but for divergent ends using divergent means.

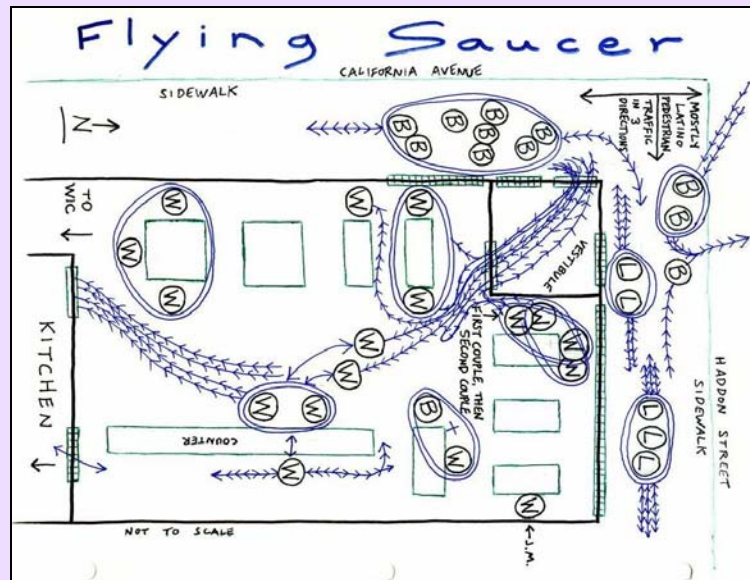
On a smaller scale, the 94% white clientele of a café called the Flying Saucer sit as far apart as possible in groups that never interact between tables or make contact with the crowds of Latinos and black folks visible through its two walls of bay windows as I sit observing one afternoon. Conversely, at *Café Colao* among the 87% Latino grouping over half the customers speak across the room, often adding physical contact to the interaction, three times knocking, waving, or calling to someone out the windows. *Café Colao* is a deliberate project of *Paseo Boricua* and its reclamation of Latino presence on Division Street. Meanwhile the Flying Saucer is one of four hip, eclectic urban venues catering mostly to white people at the forefront of the edge of gentrification in Humboldt Park. Racialized spaces arise from and feed this new landscape at multiple scales.



Elizabeth Bronwyn (a pseudonym) moved to Humboldt Park in 2002. She immediately decided to start her own community organization with other white newcomers, largely to promote “beautification” and “safety,” after looking around for a local group to join and deciding, “There was not one.” There was certainly “not one” organized primarily by white newcomers, or defined by the half mile borders of what a handful of real estate professionals were beginning to call “West Bucktown.” Within those boundaries, however, were the offices of the Near Northwest Neighborhood Network, a Latino based alliance of dozens of local groups united to promote affordable housing through the Humboldt Park Empowerment Project (HPEP). In this they work with the Puerto Rican Cultural Center and its Batey Urbano youth collective, who promote a campaign they call “Come Back To El Barrio.” Here race and space consolidate through the threat of displacement, tying the definition of home as a locality in a particular landscape of Chicago to the self-definition of Latinos, in a gamble intending to reverse the impact of racialized displacement. Bronwyn’s group and the members of HPEP represent people who live and work in separate worlds within the same neighborhood, yet their

cultural and economic strategies are calculated in relation to each other. These vignettes shed light on moments and sites within an increasingly complex and largely untold story of the recreation of American cities.

Famed sociologist Robert Park once described Chicago neighborhoods as a “mosaic of little worlds which touch but do not interpenetrate” (Park et al 1967: 40). We have arrived at a new moment in which worlds interpenetrate but do not touch. Neighborhood racial segmentation on the Near Northwest Side involves whites and Latinos in a more intimate, personal participation in the formation of racial boundaries. In gentrifying neighborhoods, white people begin to internalize this formation as they learn to police local spaces, social life, and neighborhood narratives in order to maximize their privilege. Latino predecessors respond by deploying a mixture of overt racial self-signification and covert inhabitation and transformation of spaces and social life on their own terms. Although many scholars have identified the racial causes and effects of gentrification, few consider the meaning of the creation of racially separate, disparate but embedded urban social worlds as a shift in the racial landscape.



From Fieldnotes by Jesse Mumm, Northwestern University
Key to map in previous illustration

This year I continue to examine these shifts in Garfield Park, Humboldt Park, and Pilsen, three Chicago neighborhoods of historical significance to black, Puerto Rican, and Mexican residents respectively—all at the western frontiers of gentrification. So far we seem to understand our racial scripts well enough to remain mostly socially separated in Chicago, but not nearly well enough to avoid the necessity of constantly redefining boundaries. Intimate segregation sounds like a contradiction—indeed, it is—but it is a *lived* contradiction.

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