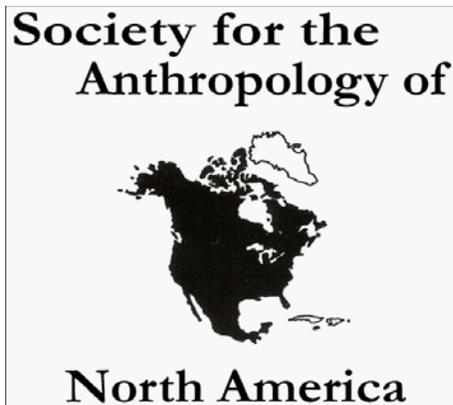


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AGAINST CULTURE:

Development, Politics and Religion in Indian Alaska

By Kirk Dombrowski

Abstract: In a small Tlingit village in 1992, newly converted members of an all-native church started a bonfire of “non-Christian” items, including, reportedly, native dancing regalia. The burnings recalled an earlier century in which church converts in the same village burned totem poles. This book traces the years leading up to the most recent burnings and reveals the multiple strands of social tension defining Tlingit and Haida life in Southeast Alaska today.

Key words: Southeast Alaska, Pentecostalism, ANCSA, stratification

In the autumn of 1992, in a village located along the Southeast Alaska panhandle, several converts of an all-native, native-led Pentecostal church started a bonfire of “non-Christian” items from their pasts as a way to demonstrate their new membership in the church and their “spiritual rebirth in Christ.” Only those at the bonfire (who are still reluctant to speak about it) knew exactly what was burned, but rumors spread quickly that Indian dancing regalia had been thrown into the fire. Within a day or two, these rumors had reached every village and town in the region, and reporters were calling or visiting the host village in search of more details, and more drama. In the weeks that followed, people as far away as Seattle were listening to radio programs and reading newspaper stories about the demonstration, and almost all the coverage focused exclusively on the reports that native regalia had been burned. For months afterward, tensions between

churches and native dance groups remained high throughout the region, and even today most native residents of Southeast Alaska are reluctant to speak about the burnings or their inspiration, for fear of dredging up still sensitive issues and hurt feelings.

Dancers on Earth and not Heaven

The revival was hosted by an independent Pentecostal church – one that had, at the time, an entirely native congregation and was led by a locally born native pastor. At the revival, the self-described “itinerant preacher” Flo Ellers raised the issue of native culture and, by her own account, challenged her audience to question the place of native religious and spiritual objects in their eternal salvation. After much prayer and thought, Ellers had come to understand that some elements of native culture – especially those that had been used in past spiritualist ceremonies (from which at least some elements of today’s native dancing are drawn) – were barriers on her path to salvation. From what she understood of the book of Revelation, “You won’t find any Chilkat dancers dancing in heaven.” Eller’s statement had reportedly set off the burnings that followed.

In the controversy that ensued, revival preachers defended a firm stance against certain cultural practices. This included, especially, a condemnation of the kind of native dancing that had become very popular in recent years, and which included the making and wearing of costumes – primarily button

blankets and headdresses – that featured stylized designs of old clan symbols, laid out as in classically Northwest Coast art.

On the other side, non-church members (especially those involved in the current village culture movement) found the events reminiscent of a past incident in the village. For in this same village, early twentieth-century converts to Christianity had convinced other residents to burn the nineteenth-century totem poles that stood in front of many of the village homes. The recent burnings, therefore, were eerily reminiscent of past attacks on native culture – and the people who supported it – by outsiders and their converts.

Native Cultural Practices and Pentecostalism: An Uneasy Peace

The Flo Eilers incident (as the 1992 burnings have come to be called) places in bold relief the contemporary tensions surrounding “culture” in the everyday lives of village residents throughout the region. This book sketches out the complexity of tensions surrounding the burnings and traces the years leading up to the event. The ethnography works backward from the present cultural situation to the context from which it emerged – and very frequently the context *against which* it emerged as well. The problem it takes up is the recent emergence of “radical” Christian churches in native villages in Southeast Alaska. These churches are Evangelical and frequently Pentecostal, and most are very recent arrivals to the region. All practice adult baptism – the hallmark of “born again” Christianity – and all are active in recruiting new members from the region’s poorest and most marginal households. And most importantly, all have, to some extent, taken a stance against native culture.

Not all native people in these villages are against native cultural practices – far from it. The situation is, in fact, more complicated than can be captured by the notion of having different sides of a dispute, for both sides agree on many things. Nearly all Southeast Alaska natives use the term “culture” to refer to two types of activities: subsistence projects and the joint participation of members of the community in collective identity projects. No one, however, not even church members, would include Pentecostal church

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membership as part of native culture, even when referring to entirely native congregations or those led by native preachers. In fact, most people – both church members and their critics – continue to view native culture and Pentecostal religion as hopelessly at odds.

The Rise of Pentecostalism in Southeast Alaska

Pentecostal church membership is a relatively new phenomenon in Southeast Alaska, but one with parallels in many areas of the neocolonial world. Elsewhere, it has found special appeal among those made marginal by the history of colonial expansion and by the continuing ebb and flow of capital penetration. It has also, and perhaps at first surprisingly, inspired in many of its converts distinct anticultural feelings – feelings that, in Alaska, have encouraged some people to look with great suspicion on the native cultural practices engaged in by their neighbors and kin. They are not alone. I am told that other churches have had similar success by preaching an anticultural message elsewhere in the developing world.

The anticultural activities of church members in Alaska are more than simply the result of theological intolerance. Rather, the roots of Pentecostalism's appeal lie in the increasing internal differentiation that has accompanied the most recent wave of colonial expansion in the region – ANCSA. The Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971 has laid the foundation for new forms of local economic and political stratification in every village. And it has done so by invoking and enhancing claims of cultural distinctiveness of natives in the region, often at the expense of other sorts of identifications (e.g., working status, gender, age, or class).

The culture movement of today is very much the public face of the villages in Southeast Alaska. Supported by native corporations, village dance groups perform at most major village and regional social events. The work they do in teaching and performing contemporary versions of traditional cultural practices plays a large role in the symbolic representation of local identity. The born-again Christians, themselves drawn from among the more marginal segments of the community, are resisting the construction of a contemporary native identity by these village culture groups and corporate elites.

To understand Pentecostal church membership in Southeast Alaska, one must examine it as part of the broader interrelation within and between village communities and their surroundings – particularly as differences *between* the local community and the larger political context are used by people in the local village to create differences *within* the local community; and conversely, as divisions within a local community are used to create and manage differences between the local and the larger as well. This points to the central unspoken and perhaps almost unspeakable issue of Native American studies: how local, village-based inequalities were made, perpetuated and tied into the larger process of resource extraction that dominates the politics of the region. Cultural divisions within virtually every native village in the region play a critical role in the relationship between small communities and the larger political economy that surrounds them.

Staying Native

Native Americans are forced to view their culture in particularly narrow terms, mainly by laws (like ANCSA and the Indian Reorganization Act) that have linked their participation *as natives* (i.e., as people with a historical claim to special status and participation based on past and present ownership of disputed resources) to their ability to maintain an acceptable level of cultural distinctiveness. They have therefore been allowed to participate in the American economy as people with a hereditary, distinctive claim to disputed, important resources – only where they have maintained extraordinary sorts of distinctiveness. This special status has been the basis for both Indian gaming and mineral development – two cases where tribal autonomy has often allowed outside industry to operate within native communities and to skirt state laws prohibiting gambling in the first case, and environmental laws aimed at long-term public protection in the second. Under ANCSA, village-based timber corporations have since the 1970s been able to harvest timber in ways that would not be possible on federal lands, and they have received considerable support from the timber industry as a result.

Native Americans have been required to maintain a very different relationship with “their culture” than have other

subordinated peoples in the United States. Native culture, unlike many other kinds of culture, is an all-or-nothing endeavor for its members, according to the laws of the society in which Indians are embedded. As has become clear in the history of race in American, you cannot stop being “black,” as ongoing issues of police profiling all over the U.S. make clear. But you can stop being “native” – meaning you can lose your right to participate as a “native” in America’s political economy. This happens to most Native Americans who fail to maintain tribal membership with a federally recognized tribe.

All of this means that the ordinary ambivalence that virtually all people feel toward their culture – toward the sources and systems of meaning in their lives – must be lived differently by Native Americans than by others. For Native Americans to be against their culture, they must risk losing their claim to being “natives” in ways that matter immensely.

*Kirk Dombrowaki is Associate Professor of Anthropology at John Jay College of Criminal Justice, CUNY. He may be reached at kdombrowski@jjay.cuny.edu. Against Culture (2001) is the first volume in *Fourth World Rising*, a new series of contemporary ethnographies from the University of Nebraska Press. The series focuses on contemporary issues, including class, gender, religion, and politics, addressing social and cultural differentiation among and between native peoples as they confront those around them and each other in struggles for better lives, better futures, and better visions of their own pasts. Against Culture is available wherever books are sold or from the University of Nebraska Press 800.526.2617 and on the web at nebraskapress.unl.edu.*



photograph of Sam Beck's painting by the artist 2004

Anthropologist and artist Sam Beck produces contemporary representations resulting from global socio-economic and political inequalities and resistance to them.

THE PRODUCTION OF RACE, CULTURE AND STATE: An Anthropology

By Gerald M. Sider

Abstract: Across very wide regions of the world, small communities are experiencing a massively destructive encounter with both economic and state-orchestrated pressures. The contradictions of citizenship in modern “democratic” states results in the precipitous current decline of rural villages. The Newfoundland example illustrates what happens under deteriorating terms of trade: a marked differentiation in standards of living, and the export of people. As a second case, a rural southeastern North Carolina county illustrates the new process of “harnessing vulnerability” with a shift in emphasis, superficially from race to citizenship. During the 1990s, this southern county saw a massive influx of undocumented Mexican and Central American workers, a direct result of NAFTA. The author concludes that the state now assumes almost full control over the production of useful vulnerabilities, delivering these as a subsidy to capital. The role of “culture,” the central concept of anthropology and once primary in the production of vulnerabilities, is relegated to a secondary role in this process.

Key words: rural producers, undocumented immigrants, differential citizenship, NAFTA, Newfoundland, North Carolina

The life-trajectory of the small community and the distinct people has come to an end, even though the world is still full of small communities that are becoming more, rather than less, distinctive. The point here is not that we are running out of small communities, or that anything like “globalization” is homogenizing their distinctiveness. Rather, the processes that have produced and transformed continuity are changing. Widespread and intensifying crises of social reproduction are transforming communities beyond recognition. Small, distinct, and seemingly directly observable localities, the core subject matter of classical anthropology, now very widely are organized, reproduced, and fractured -- split apart -- by an unfamiliar logic, a social and historical logic that our theories cannot quite grasp.

Across very wide regions of the world, small communities are experiencing a massively destructive encounter with both economic and state-orchestrated pressures. The destructiveness itself is not new; Mike Davis’s Late Victorian Holocausts (2001) describes the havoc wreaked upon large portions of India, Africa, Asia, and Latin America by a deadly combination of *El Niño* droughts and intensifying colonialism in the late nineteenth century. He provides an important framework for understanding how the twentieth century was

founded upon a holocaust of destruction that spread across much of the colonized world. The destructiveness at the outset of the twentieth century was very different from recent processes. One difference is particularly relevant: a century ago, destructiveness was deeply embedded in successful attempts to *use* peoples in the hinterlands as cheap labor and to create new kinds of difference within and between them, while destroying prior differences, to facilitate long-term use. Now a different destructiveness is becoming widespread. It is based on dispensing with people who are no longer needed -- displacing people for whom there is very little, if any, use in their present locales -- especially not at a cost that would come close to reproducing them in anything resembling their present circumstances.

This devastation is ordinarily most visibly expressed in the destructive exploitation of the primary economic resource of the community - including not just such “natural resources” as fish, forests, and a healthy environment, but both people and their communities. The devastation seems to have far deeper causes than capitalist greed, or socialist states’ disregard for significant dimensions of the well being of ordinary people. Rather, the fundamental source of the destructive pressure against the resource, whether the basic resource is low-wage workers or water or fish, emerges from what I will call the contradictions of citizenship in modern “democratic” states. In this perspective, the precipitous current decline of Newfoundland villages (one of two ethnographic cases on which I base my analysis) lets us see rural Newfoundlanders as the miners’ canary for a very much more widespread and potentially explosive situation.

The contradictions of citizenship appear first, and most intensely, in two contexts: in locales characterized by a substantial export of people to work elsewhere, and in contexts where the production of those kinds of differences that come to be called race is particularly intense. I will look a bit more closely at the logic of exporting people, and here only touch upon the production of race.

Rural Producers and Terms of Trade: Declines and Dislocations

Rural domestic commodity producers characteristically are forced to sell their commodities below the full social costs of producing these commodities. In most of the places where

small-scale production is the primary activity, the majority of the population is rather vulnerable to routine forms of domination and exploitation and have little to no control over the terms of trade – the prices they get for their goods and the costs they pay to produce these goods and to subsist themselves (Lagos 1994). In very many places, the terms of trade have decisively worsened for large numbers of rural producers just since the early 1970s. People whose living comes, in substantial part, from selling coffee, cocoa, ground nuts, grains, beans, fish, wood, and the like, are now frequently in serious trouble. With some commodities, the problem is the resource – either there is not nearly enough or there is a price-breaking market glut. With other commodities, the problem is declining markets or unfavorable changes, particularly for small producers, in the ratio of production cost to selling price. In addition to the usual destruction of the livelihoods of many small-scale producers, there are two widely characteristic and often sequential consequences that follow these deteriorating terms of trade: a marked decline in standard of living, and exporting people.

The first consequence is a decline in local well-being, which comes from an increasing spread between the social (and not just the direct monetary) costs of producing the goods and the selling price of their commodities. While it is exceptionally difficult to measure the actual social costs of and returns to domestic commodity production, there are useful ways of approximating the situation. We can measure if communities are meeting at least their national (or, better, regional) average standards of life expectancy, infant mortality, maternal mortality, and severe maternal birth injury, as well as national standards for child growth curves, education and literacy. If they are significantly below standard, or if they are comparatively declining, it is likely that the full social costs of producing commodities are not being met. It is possible to argue that there are a very large number of additional factors shaping these outcomes, such as the presence or absence of doctors, clean water, cultural or social marginalization (Rodgers et al. 1995). All this is true, but my lifetime of working with the rural poor and on the kinds of differentiation that occur among them, leads me to think that these additional factors are secondary to, and

derivative from, structural impoverishment. The additional factors are of relatively small importance as compared to processes that continually impoverish villages and villagers.

There is a whole literature, primarily from France, which addresses this issue in ways that muddle the real-world situation of the people in such circumstances. Meillassoux (1981), for example, argues that villagers can sell their labor and their goods so cheaply because they are also subsisting themselves. Partly correct, this perspective fails to closely examine that the notion of subsistence contains the double meaning of self-provisioning and just barely getting by, with a wide and often changing range of meanings to “just barely.” As a decades-old United Nations study of rural poverty put it, if a people’s needs are not quite being met, they do not simply die on the spot, but childhood mortality increases, susceptibility to disease increases, and life-expectancy declines. Yet some still consider that these people are “subsisting themselves.”

The second consequence, which ordinarily follows or intensifies after a period of the worsening of the terms of trade, a collapse of the resource, or a collapse in the conditions of production, is that people begin to be exported in substantial numbers -- partly for the remittances they will send or bring back and partly because it ceases to be possible to sustain all the local people with locally available resources. The production of humans for export in some ways is not logically different from the production of any other commodity: when you sell a commodity below the cost of production, your own continuity is undermined. But humans are so costly to produce, and the gap between costs and returns often so great, that when humans become raised for export the problem of social continuity is dramatically intensified. All this is but one part of the situation of hinterland domestic commodity producers.

Race, Differential Citizenship and the Diminishing Role of Culture

Rural producers, and the villages or localities in which they live, nowadays usually do not simply reproduce themselves through their own efforts, social relations, income, and resources; they are ordinarily at least partly assisted and subsidized (and simultaneously also, of course, undermined)

by governments. This brings us to a central issue in the differential involvement of governments with social reproduction: differential citizenship.

Differential citizenship is a particularly complex phenomenon, due partly to the changing way citizenship has been combined with race, both in the United States and Canada, in the history of the twentieth century. A brief illustration from my work in rural southeastern North Carolina will highlight some relevant dimensions of this issue (Sider 2003 [1993]).

By the mid-1970s, the civil rights victories of the 1960s were finally being institutionalized in the rural south. The results could be seen in employment (including job-safety in industry and agriculture and minimum wage protection for farm laborers), housing, municipal services (especially water and sewerage), access to medical care, and schools that were more equally funded, staffed and serviced.

Twenty years later, southern towns were again in transition. Robeson County, on the southern end of the North Carolina coastal plain, has seen a massive influx of Central American workers during the 1990s. This influx directly followed the passage of the North American Free Trade Act (NAFTA), and especially followed the severe decline in the number of *maquiladora* factories in northern Mexico in 1999, as the factories relocated to China and Viet Nam. According to Robeson County officials, by 2001 there were about 12,000 to 14,000 Mexicans and Central Americans living and working in the County during the summers, and at least three-fourths of them are undocumented. This means that approximately 9,000 to 11,000 so-called “illegal Mexicans” (many from Guatemala, Honduras, and Columbia) work in just this one county. With the post- 9/11 tightening of border controls, these workers are increasingly becoming year-round residents.

Conditions for these workers are appalling. The point of using undocumented workers is not simply that they can be worked very hard for little more than the minimum wage, but that they have no protection on the job against, for instance, the increasingly intense use of agricultural chemicals, including insecticides and herbicides that are used with scarcely any safeguards for the workers, or against the

likelihood of eventual injury or repetitive stress problems in the chicken and hog-packing industry. The belt in a chicken factory, for example, usually runs at 93 birds an hour, with one chicken to cut or clean every 38 seconds. These plants have the highest injury rate of any occupation in the US. More: undocumented workers make very low demands on tax-revenue-supported services, being largely denied access to hospital or clinic-based medical care in this region, save for life-threatening situations, and they have diminished access to education, to housing that meets standards, municipal services, etc. As a bonus for using undocumented workers, employers can pocket a portion of the social security deductions from their pay, and the federal government can pocket the rest, for undocumented workers have, by definition, fake social security numbers. Agriculture and meat and poultry packing are now the two largest sources of employment in the region, and in both of these occupations African Americans have been almost entirely displaced by Mexicans and Central Americans. This displacement is further compounded by the closing of all the textile assembly plants in the region since the passage of NAFTA, and their move out of the United States, a move that cost nearly 8,500 people their jobs in just this one county, most of whom were African American and Native American women.

A core feature of the policing of the national and the interior “borders” is the production of non-citizen workers. In Robeson County, the new process of “harnessing vulnerability” has shifted from race (racialized workers) to citizenship (“illegal”/non-citizen workers). But to a very large extent what we called “race” was differential citizenship, and in that sense the transition from one to the other is illusory.

“Race” was produced by a deep collusion between the state and popular culture. For example, the state historically granted impunity for major crimes committed against African Americans - kidnap, torture, rape, murder -- none of which was punished in the context of lynching. This explicitly put the state in deep collusion with specific elements of popular culture to produce categories of people who, while legally citizens, in fact enjoyed almost none of the protections and very few of the rights, although they took on most of the obligations of citizenship.

In this perspective, the apparent transition from race to citizenship as the primary way of producing usable difference and inequality is more usefully understood as the state increasingly and directly assuming almost full control over the production of useful vulnerabilities, without having any need to involve “culture,” and delivering these vulnerabilities as a subsidy to capital. With 9,000 to 11,000 “illegal aliens” in one North Carolina county, and county officials telling me where they work and where they live, the adjective “illegal” far more defines what is being done *to* them than the ordinary conception as criminal actions by people who should be apprehended.

In this state-orchestrated transition from race to citizenship for the purpose of producing and harnessing vulnerability, we find the state increasingly acting directly, without bothering to defer to, or acknowledge, or produce “culture.” This implies that the historical moment of culture -- the central concept of anthropology -- is passing into secondary importance.

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Gerald Sider is Professor of Anthropology at The College of Staten Island, City University of New York. This is a summary of his keynote address sponsored by the Canadian Anthropological Society/ Société Canadienne D'Anthropologie at the SANA/CASCA Conference on May 9, 2003 in Halifax, Nova Scotia. The full address will be published in a forthcoming issue of Anthropologica, the Journal of the Canadian Anthropological Society. Gerald Sider may be reached at gsider@mindspring.com.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

By Lee Baker

It is an exciting time to be an anthropologist of North America. Your membership in SANA is not only important for our unit; it also helps to legitimate and ratify the importance of North American anthropology to our colleagues as well as to our students. We currently have over 450 members and growing. I am very honored and humbled to be part of the leadership team of one of the most critically engaged units of the American Anthropological Association. Our program at the AAA was second to none and we each need to applaud the efforts of our former program chair, Vincent Lyon-Callo (Western Michigan), and wish Dana-ain Davis (SUNY—Purchase) the very best of luck in her efforts to organize, simultaneously may I add, the program for the upcoming spring conference and our program for the AAA meetings in San Francisco.

In the few short months that I have served as President of SANA, I received a crash course in how the AAA organizes its budgets as well as AAA's efforts to solicit "input," but ultimately mandate that each unit's publications be shuttled through the portal we all have come to know simply as "AnthroSource." The board debated long and hard whether to go along with including North American Dialogue within the portal or simply continue publishing it on our own. Thanks in large part to NAD Editor Alisse Waterston (John Jay), who serves on the committee that is overseeing the implementation of the portal project, we had valuable insight and much needed guidance in our deliberations. At this time, we have decided to go ahead and move NAD into the portal, hoping that the articles and timely content will find a niche and serve various communities within anthropology and beyond.

Currently, we have three particular initiatives that we pursue with your membership dollars: North American Dialogue, travel grants for students, and underwriting a portion of the spring conferences. We also spend a small amount on awards. Each one of these initiatives we feel are important for our efforts to extend the reach and develop the next generation of anthropologists who study North America. However, this will lead us into a budget crunch. Next year we

have budgetary shortfall of almost \$3,000, but we must sustain our viability as a unit and maintain our unit's "fund balance" Upon recommendation of our Treasure Sarah Horton (Harvard) and a rather involved discussion with the board, we will be raising our dues next year.

One of the real benefits of our section is its low dues structure. Frankly, setting dues at only \$10.00 has allowed us to boast the numbers that we have and subsequently command more space on the program. However, I have devised a new and hopefully successful way to raise dues, which I really don't want to implement. Beginning next year, we will have two categories of members. One tier will be for those who are gainfully employed and for whom \$25.00 does not impose a financial burden. Adjuncts, graduate students, retired members, or anyone else who might find a \$25.00 membership fee difficult may still select the \$10.00 option.

Please don't drop your membership in SANA. If you feel it is just too much, continue to pay \$10.00. On the other hand, signing up for the \$25.00 will help support SANA's initiatives and insure that we can have the quality of spring conferences we have enjoyed thus far, continue to support the graduate student travel grant, and usher NAD into the portal. We need your financial support and your membership. Without you. . . (Ok, enough, I am starting to sound like a NPR fundraiser).

Nominating Committee Chair Tim Sieber (UMass – Boston) has done a great job soliciting a strong slate of candidates to fill the roles of At-large Board Member and President-elect. Please vote in the upcoming elections. Also, save the date for the SANA Spring Conference: the dates are April 23-25, and the calls for papers are at <http://www.unc.edu/depts/anthro/sana/index.htm> (see pp. 18-19 this issue for more information on the SANA Spring Conference). The theme is "Containment and Transgression: Global Encounters with North America @ Twenty-first Century." Although it is currently scheduled to take place in Durham, NC, the dates directly overlap the mid-year conference of the American Ethnological Society, so we are currently studying the feasibility of joining forces with AES in Atlanta.

Everyone has been so gracious and supportive as I figure out all of my new responsibilities, but I want to extend a special thanks to out-going President Karen Brodtkin (UCLA), Out-going Secretary Tim Sieber, Publications Committee Chair Maria Vesperi (New College), Spring Conference Chair Don Nonini (UNC-Chapel Hill) and my current crew, Treasurer Sarah Horton, Secretary Elizabeth Chin (Occidental), and Program Chair Dana-ain Davis for making this transition as smooth as possible.

SANA President Lee D. Baker is Associate Prof of Cultural Anthropology at Duke University. He may be reached at Ldbaker@duke.edu.

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photograph of Sam Beck's painting by the artist 2004

I am captivated by Australian aboriginal aesthetic. Much of what aboriginals have painted are maps that integrate past, present, and future on one plane, defining the space they inhabit in ways that are not easily comprehensible to minds bent and twisted by the consumption of commodities. – Sam Beck

2004 is SANA's tenth anniversary. In honor of this milestone, we reprint here the SANA Statement of Purpose:

The goal of the Society for the Anthropology of North America is to address the need for a focused voice and institutional presence for the anthropology of the United States, Canada and Mexico. Our society hopes to embrace the range of anthropological research and theory-building addressed to the region and its emerging issues. Anthropologists have been studying in these nations for over 100 years, and over 50 percent of U.S. anthropologists currently conduct research on North American issues, both urban and rural. While elements of our research tradition are addressed by applied, medical, educational, political and urban anthropology, among others, no previously organized anthropological society has focused specifically upon this region as an "area." Specialists in Europe, Oceania, Latin America and other regions have long benefited from membership in area societies. In order to place our own research findings in historical perspective and to continue developing theoretically, it is important that we acknowledge our area context and begin to analyze it systematically within broad frameworks such as ethnicity, race, class, gender, and structured inequality.

The creation of SANA is timely. Anthropologists have long focused their attention on contact between Mexico and the United States, with particular attention to the border zones. In 1993, passage of the North American Free Trade Agreement essentially "created" North America as an economic and political entity, recognizing the history of migration and trade and setting the stage for an accelerated rate of culture change.

Contemporary anthropologists who study North America are located both within and outside universities. SANA aims to meet the need for a common forum through which ideas can be exchanged, dialogues established, and networks for future academic cooperation developed. This, in turn, will sharpen the agenda for domestic research and enhance our contributions to the broader discipline of anthropology.

One of our society's concerns is to present anthropological research findings to the public. While anthropologists are actively engaged in gathering and analyzing the most current information about changes in values, economics, social institutions, and health concerns throughout North America, too little of the anthropological perspective has been readily available to decision-makers. We believe that the recognition and support afforded by our official status within the AAA can help to further the process of making theoretical constructs and research data more accessible.

In the contemporary context of North America, where issues of multiple cultural perspectives are of increasing concern, our research is likely to have an important part to play in university curricula. We believe SANA will allow anthropology to contribute more fully and effectively to curriculum development, and we regard our graduate student members as vital to this effort. Through the engagement of the profession in issues of significance, we hope to assist in meeting the social challenges of the future.

REPORT FROM THE FIELD:

Pimping Maria from Puebla to Panama: Peasants, Petroleum, and Paramilitaries

By Katherine O'Donnell

Abstract: Through participation in grassroots education workshops, conferences, and economic solidarity work, the author explores the expected impact of *Plan Puebla de Panama* on indigenous people in Chiapas, Mexico, as well as North-South resistance to militarization and neoliberal maldevelopment.

Keywords: globalization, militarization, human rights, resistance, *Plan Puebla de Panama*, NAFTA

The most recent incarnation of U.S. economic policy as embodied in World Bank and IMF development initiatives and mandates is *Plan Puebla de Panama* (PPP). In the words of activist Vandana Shiva (1993), the “disease is offered as the cure.” In 2001, days after thousands of Zapatistas and their supporters arrived in Mexico City, President Vicente Fox addressed the World Economic Forum in Cancun and announced his support for *Plan Puebla Panama* as the cure for Mexico’s poverty through the maquiladorization of the poor southern states (see also [Mexico Turns South for Its Future](#) by June Nash in the June 2003 issue of [NAD](#)). In Chiapas, where salaries are 40% less than in *maquilas* of the north, such a plan represents Mexico’s response to the threat posed by cheap labor from places like China where wages are lower than in northern Mexican *maquilas*.

In Chiapas, women are challenging dominant hegemonic northern conceptions of neoliberalism, individualized conceptions of feminism and human rights, and population and development policies, all of which have restricted the voice and autonomy of indigenous people. Civil society is organizing against neoliberal development in the context of indigenous peoples’ and women’s experiences with its effects: privatization, maquiladorization, and human rights abuses. As such, neoliberal development is also manifest in village politics.

The PPP: Community Activism against Neoliberalism

In the summer of 2001, members of the *Coordinadora Regional de Los Altos de Sociedad Civil en Resistencia* of Chiapas, Mexico, met with members of a mountain community to discuss the development plan. Their most

recent organizing efforts have been centered on the proposed *Plan Puebla de Panama* which is the sequel to NAFTA. At a five hour workshop that I attended in the highlands, 60 participants, mostly indigenous people from the area, discussed their views on the impact of the proposed development plan. With the help of facilitators, participants raised questions and offered analyses, many speaking passionately. Most agreed that the development scheme would lead to displacement of people, development of *maquilas* in Chiapas, the loss of labor rights, decline in the health of the population due to working conditions and environmental pollution, increases in family and community violence due to destruction of the social fabric, and a rise in prostitution, alcoholism, and drug addiction. The full discussion was translated from Spanish to Chol, the language of the region.

The following illustrates the kind of dialogue generated by the facilitator-led question and answer format:

Question: Who from the U.S. and Mexican administrations are interested in the region?

Answer: Large corporations and manufacturers.

Q: Why are they interested in Chiapas?

A: *Manos baratas* - peasants’ cheap hands.

Q: What are the implications for the people?

A: Increasing poverty for women – neoliberalism has a specific impact on women: 1. domestic work, reproductive, education of children, take place in the house and are unpaid; neoliberals are not interested in anything produced unless it can be sold; 2. for the *campesina*, often she must go to get wool, water, and wood but none of this generates money; women who work in the field are not recognized as workers, only as housewives nor do they have access to ownership of land; 3. increased emigration by men and family abandonment; 4. women are cheap labor and are the primary target for *maquila* development.

Q: What does Chiapas have to offer besides cheap labor?

A: Petroleum and other natural resources in biodiversity, natural gas, water for hydroelectric power, uranium, wood; agricultural products including corn, cattle, beans, milk; commercial routes by water and land from the U.S. to Panama.

Q: What are the implications for the region?

A: Development of transgenic crops; plantations for palm oil, eucalyptus, other agricultural products; huge construction projects for private ports, high speed trains, and large highways and the displacement of indigenous people from those areas.

After the group discussion, participants broke into smaller groups for more detailed analysis. The larger group decided

that an all-women's group should be formed in addition to an all-male group or mixed sex group. I participated in an all-women's group.

Our discussion leader began by talking about the nature and conditions of work in *maquilas* -- the long hours, the supervision, potential work-related dangers, and the problem of alcoholism. Another facilitator discussed on-the-job sexual harassment and invasion of privacy by management interested in discovering the pregnancy status of women workers. The group discussion focused on the role of the *PPP* in generating more poverty, particularly for *campesinas*, with the expected rise in male emigration and family abandonment, low pay as well as repressive jobs for women in *maquilas*. When the principal representative from the *Coordinadora* arrived, the women asked her to talk about violence. She spoke with great intensity: "There are many forms of violence," the leader explained, "domestic violence, sexual violence, and the poverty which is violence to women's minds, hearts, and bodies, as they worry about the next day and how to get food." She added, "We all know what has happened to our sisters in Juarez where *maquila* workers are poor, forced into prostitution, raped, and killed." In her final words to the group, the leader said poignantly, "Neoliberalism is a choice about our future. But what kind of a future does it offer? One where the rich get richer, and the poor get poorer."

For members of the *Coordinadora* as well as for members of the mountain community, the proposed development plan is seen as part of an ongoing attack on indigenous autonomy, facilitated by the acceleration of privatization, changes in laws regarding land, new laws that facilitate development of factories, the expulsion of the poor via militarization, and armed conflict.

The group discussed the impact of neoliberal development on the spirit of the people and on the Catholic Church. Many believe that capitalist development will foster more individualism, competitiveness, and greed – values that will undermine community spirit. They see these values as in keeping with the Protestant Evangelical church in its emphasis on the individual. They also consider neoliberalism a threat to the Catholic Church which they believe values community over the individual.

Contesting Militarization and Human Rights Violations

Militarization is central to the neoliberal project. Many *chiapanecos* see the military occupation and paramilitary action as part of the development strategy since it forces indigenous people off their lands, further impoverishing them, and forcing migration. Food insecurities, land loss, and intimidation are part of a form of conflict called "*Guerra Baja Intensidad*" or *GBI* (Low Intensity Warfare). *K'in al Antzetik*, a grassroots, human rights NGO located in Chiapas, refers to *GBI* as a "war of extermination."

For women, *GBI* is manifest in harassment, beatings, rape, and the utilization of prostitutes as informants. To the perpetrators of *GBI*, women and children are at best seen as symbols (representing life, the future, the promise of democracy, and hope), but they are also easy targets. Women affiliated with *K'in al* as well as the Mayan women's cooperative called *Jolom Mayaetik*, have experienced intimidation and violence first-hand in the course of participating in organizing efforts. These activists also report that people in the villages where they work are experiencing constant intimidation, paramilitary invasions, beatings, rape, arrests, and imprisonment. Other results of Low Intensity Warfare include more poverty, hunger, and illness as communities are cut off from both their subsistence crops and marketable produce.

More Voices of Protest and Resistance

A large sit-in demonstration (*planton*) was held in August, 2002 on the plaza in front of the famous cathedral in San Cristóbal de las Casas. The event, organized by the *Coordinadora*, featured speakers who paired economic terrorism with political terrorism, and made explicit the links between brutal neoliberal economic regimes, militarization, paramilitarization, and human rights abuses. There were huge, vibrant banners bearing bold statements and vivid images of the "parasitic system," the fluctuation of money as criminal, economic terrorism, the global export of Anglo-Saxon terrorism, avarice, and hardship along with Mayan glyphs and words. One banner featured a large, dark, downward spiraling cloud of evil reminiscent of Dante's inferno with a depiction of flags from the U.S., the KKK, Great Britain, the U.N., and Israel coupled with symbols for oil, the Nazis, uranium, the

united forces of the World Bank, WTO, IMF, the Inter-American Development Bank, death, PAN (the National Action Party) and PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party) and dollar signs. Demons smiled and danced through fields of exploding weapons, fighter jets, mushroom clouds, and guillotines while faint symbols for music, love, and freedom of speech were marked censored and crossed out. Next to the swirling nightmare, the world -- a fragile Christmas ornament surrounded by swarms of missiles, satellites, and bombers -- was clutched by the talons of the U.S. eagle, and together, they were being sucked into the web of dark terrorisms. All these images swam in a pool of bright, red, blood cells.

Nine months later, the First Hemispheric Conference against the Militarization of the Americas was held in San Cristóbal in May, 2003. During the four-day conference, testimonials and research findings on the relationship between development plans and global forces were presented. Speakers discussed the buildup of U.S. military forces in Costa Rica, Colombia, Mexico, Guatemala, Ecuador, Honduras, Cuba, Aruba, Curacao, Peru, Bolivia, and those proposed for Argentina. Also explored were interventions by corporate, university and World Bank-related environmental groups as well as the U.S. government intelligence in regions such as Chiapas, places rich in biodiversity, water, and natural resources. One thousand participants from 28 countries shared stories of the death and misery toll of neoliberal terrorism as well as strategies for hope and North-South solidarity to forge resistance and alternatives.

A highlight of the conference was its emphasis on economic, paramilitary, and military repression and its particular impact on women and indigenous peoples. A representative from Puerto Rico testified that the bombs that were dropped on Iraq had been tested on the people of Vieques. Women from Guatemala reported on the resurgence of paramilitary actions in their country. The U.S./Canada delegation outlined the impact of militarization on women in the north. Cheri Honkala of the Kensington Welfare Rights Union gave a dramatic address linking the criminalization of the poor and homeless to growing militarization of the U.S. and government spending priorities. To a packed and hushed

audience Honkala spoke powerfully (the following is based on notes I took at the session):

The U.S. houses the School of the Americas -- so when will people understand organizing for the poor in the belly of the beast or the danger of the poor in the U.S. getting organized against empire? The poor in the U.S. should be seen as strategically important to all people who struggle against the daily terror of the empire. When will religious, labor and legal communities hear our cries and see the invisible faces of our kids? When a military base is built or a bomb is dropped, more kids will go hungry, more kids will die and become forever more invisible. Poverty is the root cause of war and if we are serious about ending war and poverty in the U.S. and the whole world, help organize the poor to speak for themselves 'cause we've learned important lessons from history. When those most affected by an issue are involved in the fight, we can end those conditions around the world and in the U.S. Speaking for ourselves, linking movements, no longer hiding the human rights violations of the U.S., we will take down this empire!

The women's caucus at the First Hemispheric Conference echoed Honkala's sentiments in its final resolution which challenged U.S. imperialism and militarization, manifestations of patriarchy parading as liberty, democracy, and development. The women identified war as the device which converts women into objects and objectives, and which utilizes women's statuses as mothers and wives to generate terror and control over the population. They see sexual violence as a pervasive strategy of war. The final resolution made special mention of Central America where many women have disappeared, have witnessed the deaths of their husbands and children, or who have been forced to denounce them. The document also noted that women in places like Peru, Bolivia, Colombia and Mexico have been hanged and mutilated, some with their pregnant wombs split open. Thousands of women have been violated by "Low Intensity Warfare." The final statement reads, in part: "Women have proclaimed that the

personal is political, and we now proclaim that the political is personal, that wars affect us directly and we say ‘No’ to militarization and wars. For a peace with justice and dignity for all!”

K’inal Antzetik is confronting Low Intensity Warfare by organizing civil rights brigades against the military, offering testimonials, and developing community mental health programs. In public bulletins and in international human rights courts, members of *K’inal* and *Jolom* continue to denounce the constant intimidation and sexual violations occurring in the context of insecurity and militarization and argue for the necessity of organizing resistance against the ongoing human rights violations experienced by women and indigenous communities.

They share the perspective of 131 other organizations from southern Mexico, Guatemala, Nicaragua, and El Salvador in rejecting the *PPP*: “Given that any development plan must be the result of democratic process and not an authoritarian one, we firmly reject the *Plan Puebla de Panama*. We condemn all strategies geared toward the destruction of the national, peasant, and popular economy, and/or food self sufficiency” (Call 2002:25). Their main goal is framed by a perspective that emphasizes regaining self reliance and subsistence security, and to live with justice and dignity.

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REPORT FROM THE ACADEMY: Crossing the Mexican Border: An Ethnographic Account By Oswaldo J. Rivera

There are many conceptions and misconceptions about the U.S., its society, culture, and the quality of American life in general. It seems that everyone – whether citizen or “outsider” -- is searching for the American Dream, as it is called. The main idea is that anyone can come to come to America, and have “equal” opportunity to work, make money, start a business, buy property and live like a king. The chance to realize that dream is enough to bring people from all walks of life into our “great” country. Many people believe that for most immigrants, life in America, on whatever level, is much better than that in their home country.

In this essay, I explore one man’s quest for the American “Dream” by telling the story of “Miguel,” a Mexican immigrant living in New York for over ten years. I sought out Miguel (a pseudonym) in order to complete an assignment on migration for an undergraduate anthropology class I took during the fall 2003 semester

I must say that attaining this interview was a bit difficult because, for one, I did not know Miguel on a personal level. We were familiar with one another, having seen each other’s face fairly regularly over the past few years. Before the interview, the only dialogue we exchanged were head nods of acknowledgment and an occasional, “*Como estás?*” -- if you call that a dialogue. To approach him was a bit awkward, as was gaining his trust which I did not completely achieve. The fact that I speak broken Spanish and he speaks broken English did not help the situation at all. I deciphered Miguel’s sometimes ambiguous responses to my questions as best I could.

Miguel finished his shift at a pizza parlor, and I conducted the interview while walking with him to the block where he lives. I stuck to questions suggested by my professor because I did not want to overstep my boundaries or “overstay my welcome,” and, again, I did not have Miguel’s complete trust. He also seemed a bit paranoid at times, especially when I began taking notes of our conversation. To accommodate him, I put the notepad away and pretty much had to memorize

his answers to my questions, which was not as difficult as I originally thought it would be.

My first question was a simple one. “How long have you been in the U.S.?” (“Since 1991”). My next question was more complicated. “Why did you leave Mexico?” Miguel explained it was the sum of several different reasons that pushed him to leave Mexico for the States. His first reason had to do with the idea of “the grass being greener on the other side.” As Miguel spoke of everyday life in his hometown, I got the impression that he had felt *anything* would be better than the economic condition in Mexico. Even though the cost of living in Mexico “*no es t n caro como ac ,*” as he put it, (“was not as costly as over here), the problem was finding consistent work and a means of bringing in an income to support his family. Miguel said that in Mexico, not having a job does *not* put one down, but “*no te gana respeto*” -- it does not gain you much respect either.

According to Miguel, a *gringo* would occasionally come to town and speak about the huge demand for workers on the other side of the border, how “well” they would be treated in terms of wages and work environment, and how much better life could be there. Miguel had no intention of moving to Texas because he did not completely believe the *gringo* who worked for some type of garment factory not far from the border on the American side. He says the *gringo* painted a picture that was “*demasiado bella*” or too pretty. He also noticed a certain lack of honesty when the *gringo* would side-step some questions, substituting “real answers with promises.” Miguel had also heard about bad things happening to the Latinos in Texas and how difficult “*pasando*” (crossing over) had become.

Still, Miguel did believe the part about “*una vida mas buena que esta,*” a life much better than this one, and decided to go to New York where Roberto, an old friend from his hometown, was already working and living. Roberto had been in New York for three years, working in a local pizza shop not far from his apartment in Brooklyn. Roberto had spoken about his employer who treated workers fairly and paid a decent wage.

I wondered what made New York more appealing to Miguel than those states closer to the border. Besides that he

already had a friend in the city, Miguel noted that New York has a “strong” Mexican population. I was confused and told him so, “Most Mexicans live in the states that share the border, and besides, living by the border would mean you’d be closer to home.” Miguel explained that I would be correct if we were talking about a person who “wanted” to be close to home -- but that was not him. He also pointed out that Mexicans living in the border states already have a bad reputation and that the government has been going to great lengths to keep them out, including introducing plans to keep immigrant children out of their schools and to abolish bilingual education under the notion that immigrant children need to become more “American.” Miguel, whose family joined him a year after he arrived in New York, said he had no intention of allowing his kids pay for circumstances over which they had no control.

The time came for Miguel to make the move. It was fall when he made his first attempt to cross the border “permanently.” He and two other men planned to cross together and part ways once they penetrated Texas, where Miguel would take a bus to New York with money he had saved. The three men had established a “save your own ass” rule: if anything happened, the three would split up and not worry about each other.

As Miguel tells it, the three were spotted and fired upon by Border Patrol before they were able to cross. The men fled back, sticking to the plan to split up. Miguel says he often wonders what happened to one of the men who was hit in the leg by a bullet and fell while the others ran away.

Miguel’s second attempt also failed. There was too much activity on the border, so he decided to just turn back. Finally, he turned to a professional smuggler, a personal acquaintance who succeeded in getting Miguel to Texas. There, Miguel boarded a bus for New York.

For Miguel, life in New York turned out not as pretty as the “gringo” painted it, but it is better than the “inconsistent” life back home. I asked Miguel to define what he means by “inconsistent.” “Well,” he said, “I became a regular worker at the pizza shop, and I only stayed with my friend for one year before getting my own place and bringing my family over.”

As we reached the corner of his block, Miguel cut me short, giving me a brief summary of his new life. He has had the same job since arriving in New York, and his boss, an “*Italiano*,” has taken a liking to him. The boss is “talking to some people he knows,” to help Miguel get his papers. For now, Miguel continues to get paid “off the books.”

“Have you been back to Mexico?” I asked. Miguel answered with an enthusiastic “No!” and added, “And risk losing all that I have worked for?”

Miguel feels “lucky” to be here and for leaving Mexico when he did, before the crackdowns on the border became even more intense. He says his prayers are with those who wish to come across but can’t. “They are not at fault,” Miguel says, “They were invited into to this country with great promises of work and fair treatment. They are in search of a better life, as was I.”

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photograph by Sam Beck 2003

Signs are ubiquitous in urban spaces and places and reflect the interpenetration of commoditization and consumption in every-day life. – Sam Beck



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ANTHROPOLOGY OFF THE SHELF

Catherine Lutz’s Homefront and What It Says About The War In Iraq

By Jill Schennum

In her recent ethnography, Homefront: A Military City and the American 20th Century, Catherine Lutz studies Fayetteville, North Carolina in an attempt to look at the “single, deeply entwined but often invisible world of America and its military” (2001:1). Lutz examines the local level relationships connecting the Fort Bragg military base and the adjacent city of Fayetteville. Rooting her ethnography in an historically situated understanding of the development of both city and base, Lutz hopes that an ethnography of these relations will help her to understand the militarization of U.S. society. Lutz argues that the militarization of daily life is not unique to cities that house military bases, since the framing of a “military definition of situation” in the U.S. has infused militarism into much of everyday life.

Reading Lutz’s book today is fascinating given the political and military developments in the U.S. since her writing. Lutz’s analysis of the military as “neoliberal,” designed like a contemporary flexible corporation, is a fruitful approach. The contemporary “all volunteer army” is modeled on a corporate strategy that involves downsizing, outsourcing, and privatization. Ever since the Vietnam era, the army has been downsized by means of the elimination of the draft, and with a growing reliance on part time and temporary labor, such as the National Guard and Reserves as well as privately contracted forces, to meet increased labor needs during war. Downsizing is fueled by the growth of post industrial low-wage, no-benefit service sector jobs, and has also resulted in a much heavier reliance on active recruitment which in turn depends on advertising and marketing. The elimination of the draft, the development of an all-volunteer army and the related increase in advertising have also resulted in greater public support for the U.S. military perceived as an institution of democracy.

Much labor in the military is currently contracted and privatized. Lutz points out that these private forces include private security and local paramilitary forces as well as

contracted private U.S. personnel. Privatization and the use of a contingent labor force have proven advantageous in maintaining a powerful military while avoiding the almost certain difficulties that would come with conscription: popular mobilization against a draft, getting a draft passed by Congress, and the opposition of resistant soldiers who do not want to be in the military. In addition, farming out labor to private contractors allows the army to move staff around flexibly, on a “just-in-time” basis, to lay off staff when they are not needed, to avoid paying cumbersome benefits, to avoid staff mobilization and organization, and to maintain secrecy, from both the American people and the U.S. Congress, about military contractors’ activities.

Lutz offers an informative description of the pressures to advertise and market the U.S. military “brand” in recruitment efforts. These campaigns involve the construction of a particular image of the military as well as military personnel visiting schools to talk to children at younger and younger ages. Lutz explores the ways in which war is constructed as a spectator sport. As town residents watch “war games,” at Fort Bragg, these civilians have become “fans” of the military.

We can extend Lutz’s analysis to recent military interventions. In the first Gulf War, for example, the military encouraged and exploited the fetishization of military technology in the images, pictures and descriptions of war it released to the press. The media fawned over military experts who explained the success of new high-tech weaponry, weaponry so accurate and successful, we were told, that neither American soldiers nor Iraqi civilians were being killed. The Private Lynch rescue during the current Iraq war offers another case in point. The unit involved in the rescue brought its own night vision video cameras to film their heroism to be viewed by “fans” watching at home. For today’s military, it is not sufficient that it “embeds” and therefore contains and controls war reporters, it now overtly and aggressively produces its own images, experts, and commentary on the war to the viewing public.

Lutz also relates the structure of today’s military to polarization in the home economy, and points to growth in military spending as an important factor in limiting job opportunities overall. The reliance on a high tech military

complex is tied to the decline in unionized employment and working class jobs in corporations contracted by the military. Lutz reveals a troubling pattern: as the military continues to grow, working class, unionized jobs continue to vanish.

The volunteer military recruits soldiers from the new working class which is over-represented by people of color and low-income southern whites. The military offers what low-wage, service sector jobs lack: job security and benefits. The story of Private Lynch is again telling. As told in a fall 2003 New York Times interview with Steve Young, the screenwriter for a made-for-TV movie about her rescue, Jessica Lynch is “a girl who, because the economy is so bad, can’t even get a part-time job at Walmart when she graduates from high school. So she joins the Army, believing she’s selected a military occupation that will protect her: supply clerk.” Although the screenwriter had hoped to focus on this aspect of her story, NBC Entertainment did not find it suitable or compelling for television. Instead, the final script portrayed a “heroic” rescue of the young woman by America’s “freedom fighters” in Iraq.

Lutz’s analysis could be updated today in light of the Bush administration’s invasion and occupation of Iraq. The contradictions of a “neoliberal” army are now coming to light. As David Harvey (2003) points out, the current occupation requires actual soldiers in Iraq for a long time in contrast to the short-term, high-tech first Gulf War. There is great pressure on Bush’s neoconservative administration around the issue of the size of the military force in Iraq. Controversy roils within the ranks of Bush’s cabinet. On one hand, Secretary of the Defense Donald Rumsfeld argues for a smaller contingent in Iraq, and on the other, several military generals argue for a larger invading and occupying force. There is public pressure to keep the number of forces in Iraq down since Americans are unwilling to support a draft or a war that results in a substantial number of American deaths (having been convinced through marketing that war is a spectator sport, rendering death unnecessary). Yet the administration’s neoconservative, unilateral approach to the war has also eliminated the military support of allies, thus creating a much heavier reliance on U.S. soldiers.

The military is currently mobilizing soldiers from a predominantly part-time army for long-term duty, creating a very problematic situation. Parents and spouses of soldiers are resisting and protesting against their relatives' call into lengthy service, despite the government's stated need for a large, long-term occupying force in Iraq. In newspaper advertisements and letters to the press, people are expressing growing anger against the long-term deployment of part-time forces. Part-time and contingent military personnel (as Lutz describes them) may have viewed the military as an opportunity to attain benefits and career mobility in an insecure economy, and they are not eager to leave their families and their jobs to spend long periods in Iraq. In addition, representations about military service and citizenship are situated in a context of other competing representations of citizenship and democracy. Soldiers' resistance, however, has great legitimacy since it comes from inside the military, from those who have been endowed by the military with "full citizenship." Lutz shows this same process to have occurred during the Vietnam era.

In Homefront, Lutz demonstrates the ways in which relations between the military and the home front contribute to the militarization of democratic society. We can certainly see this process at work today in the relationship between the "war on terror" abroad and growing militarization at home. As Harvey points out, empire abroad generates a "consent to coercion" on the home front (2003, 193). The Patriot Act, the Homeland Security Act, the color-coded alert system requesting all Americans to be ever vigilant and to act as vigilantes in the "war against terror," militarizes all civilians. In this environment, dissent and protest are considered "unpatriotic." We are told to "support our troops" by supporting the war. Simultaneously, the home economy continues to sink into recession while unilateral, long-term warfare requires ever-increasing monetary investments. The growing tension between troubling economic and undemocratic developments at home and the demands of empire abroad is becoming clear.

Lutz's analysis raises fascinating questions about the relationship between the shift to a neoconservative military and the unilateral and preemptive invasion of Iraq which now

seems to require commitment to long-term occupation of that country. How will the shift define or redefine how militarism and citizenship are constructed at home? What are the economic consequences of this prioritization of the military, and what will be the long-term effects on class structure at home? What conflicts and resistances might this shift generate both within and outside of the military? Lutz's ethnography points to the necessity of analyzing the ways in which changes in the mobilization and organization of the military are inextricably related to discipline, economic processes, and constructions of citizenship on the home front.

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TEST YOUR KNOWLEDGE

Who Wrote It? (see page 19 for answers)

A. "People are divided into ruled, and into specialists in ruling, those who rise above society and are called rulers, representatives of the state. This apparatus, this group of people who rule others, always takes possession of a certain apparatus of coercion, of physical force, irrespective of whether this violence over people is expressed in the primitive club, or, in the epoch of slavery, in more perfected types of weapons, or in the firearms which appeared in the Middle Ages, or, finally, in modern weapons, which in the twentieth century are marvels of technique and are entirely based on the latest achievements of modern technology."

B. "Although many groups were barred from that masked ball of false prosperity that was the United States in the 1980s, few proved as successful at crashing the party than the homeless poor. They were the spoilers, insistent reminders of the unruly night outside. Try as its officials might – by denying their existence, ascribing it to pathology (alcohol, drugs, and mental illness), interpreting it as a perverse exercise of 'individual choice' – the state was hard pressed to conjure away the evidence of the streets. Most of the damage done to the poor in that decade took the form of a quiet, unobtrusive violence, and as such escaped notice. Unwitting exception though it may have been, the visible suffering of the street-dwelling poor inconveniently had no place else to go."

C. "The national government, if it wants to be national, ought to govern by the people and for the people, for the outcasts and by the outcasts. No leader, however valuable he may be, can substitute himself for the popular will; and the national government, before concerning itself about international prestige, ought first to give back their dignity to all citizens, fill their minds and feast their eyes with human things, and create a prospect that is human because conscious and sovereign men dwell therein."

Springtime in North Carolina
SANA 2004 Annual Meeting

By Don Nonini

Come to the SANA 2004 Annual Meeting at beautiful Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, in the heart of the Research Triangle region, on the weekend of April 23-25, 2004. Join your fellow North Americanists for two-and-a half days of stellar sessions consisting of panels, roundtables, workshops and plenaries, plus informal socializing and Southern hospitality.

Our theme, "Containment and Transgression," promises to help us rethink the meaning of living in North America and its connections to the rest of the world, which the present situation demands of us. It is particularly appropriate that SANA meet in the Southern U.S. at a time when issues of global militarism, racial and class inequality and neoliberal globalization--so patent in the South--confront the peoples and groups we study in their everyday lives, even as these same issues confound and challenge us in our research and teaching.

As we seek at SANA 2004 to globalize our understandings of North America, it is appropriate that this conference reflect the wide diversity of theoretical and substantive interests of our members. Therefore, we particularly invite sessions by anthropologists who belong to AAA units with interests that overlap and complement our own, such as the Association of Black Anthropologists, the Association of Latino and Latina Anthropologists, the Association of Feminist Anthropologists, the Society of Lesbian and Gay Anthropologists, the Society for the Anthropology of Work and the Society for Urban, National and Transnational Anthropology, as well as from our foreign colleagues who belong to the Canadian Anthropological Society (CASCA), and other associations beyond North America. Several of these associations have joined SANA in co-sponsoring our Spring conference.

Our Keynote Speaker will be Catherine Lutz of Brown University, who will share her research on American militarization and militarism. Many exciting sessions are now in the planning stages, and we invite you to join us with your ideas, energies – and commitments!

We especially seek the participation of graduate students. We have kept our Student Registration fee as low as possible (\$10), and SANA 2004 organizers will do what we can to assist grad students with travel stipends and low-cost accommodations in the Durham area.

Our meeting site will be on East Campus of Duke University. Not all our time will be taken up with sessions; there will be opportunities for informal socializing and for enjoying the culinary and cultural attractions of Durham as well. In addition to the conference amenities that Duke will provide, the meeting site is close to the Ninth Street shopping and dining area, and not far from Durham's fabled downtown. Hotel accommodations are nearby, and relatively inexpensive.

The Department of Cultural Anthropology of Duke University and the Department of Anthropology at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill will be your co-hosts at SANA 2004. Looking forward to seeing you there!

Don Nonini serves as the 2004 SANA Program Chair. He is Professor of Anthropology at UNC-Chapel Hill and may be reached at dnonini@email.unc.edu.

SANA 2004 Annual Meeting
Containment and Transgression:
Global Encounters with North America @
Twenty-first Century
Duke University, Durham, North Carolina

PLEASE NOTE NEW DATES: April 23-25, 2004

The world continues to be polarized by race, class, nationalism, and other forms of social division, even as the processes of globalization make us all more interdependent through movements of people and flows of money and commodities across national boundaries. On one hand, the U.S. initiated war on and occupation of Iraq, the wars on terrorism and on drugs, and various efforts to stem the tide of so-called illegal immigrants have fueled fear, hatred, and mistrust among the peoples of North America and beyond. On the other hand, new information and transport technologies, and the political changes associated with NAFTA and "free trade" agreements have fueled global migrations of people and flows of money, technologies, and cultural forms (e.g., music, ideologies) into and out of North America. These movements have engendered new connections and interdependencies

among otherwise different peoples, and have put people in intimate and daily contact with one another in new ways. Above all else, people have come to realize that the connections between North America and the rest of the world are increasingly close, unstable, and irreversible.

How can anthropologists explore the contradictions that have emerged between dominant institutions' use of the forces of globalization to increase the efficacy of markets, surveillance, and violence in containing everyday lives -- and the daily practices of organizations and individuals who harness these forces for transgressing boundaries, borders, and behaviors?

How can a new critical study of North America emerge which sees it not as an autonomous continent of populations surrounded by oceans, but as the historical outcome of the dialectics of dynamic networks that connect it to the rest of the globe? Could one way to develop this new approach be to examine the contradictions between containment by these institutions and transgressions by organizations and individuals?

We invite the submission of proposals for papers, panels, roundtables, workshops, poster sessions, film and video screenings, and other forms of presentation on this meeting theme or on other topics:

- ✓ For papers, please include the following: title, abstract of 100 words or less, name, e-mail address and mailing address. Be sure to specify media equipment needs if you have them. Submit to SANA Program Chair Dana-Ain Davis at: dana-ain.davis@purchase.edu.
- ✓ For panel, roundtable and workshop sessions, please submit the following: title, nature of session (panel, roundtable or workshop), name of organizer, organizer's email and mailing address, list of participants, and abstract of 200 words or less. Submit to Dana-Ain Davis at: dana-ain.davis@purchase.edu.
- ✓ Information on SANA 2004 and forms to be used for paper and panel submissions are available at: <http://www.unc.edu/depts/anthro/sana/>

- ✓ Deadline for submissions is Friday, February 27, 2004. People submitting abstracts need to also register by March 1, 2004 with the AAA in order to be on the SANA 2004 program. Registration Fees are \$50.00 for Ph.D. holders, \$10.00 for graduate students.
- ✓ Forms for registration can be printed out at: <http://www.unc.edu/depts/anthro/sana/2004registration.htm>
- ✓ For more information, see the SANA 2004 website <http://www.unc.edu/depts/anthro/sana/>

Keynote Address:

CATHERINE LUTZ

SANA 2004 Duke University

Catherine Lutz of Brown University and author of Homefront: A Military City and the American 20th Century (see Schennum, this issue, p. 15) will give the keynote address at this year's SANA annual meeting. The Keynote Address is co-sponsored by: Association of Black Anthropologists, Association of Feminist Anthropologists, Society of Lesbian and Gay Anthropologists, Society of Urban, National, and Transnational Anthropology, Critique of Anthropology, and President's Office of the State University of New York at Purchase

Answers to Who Wrote It?:

1. V.I. Lenin. 1970. The State. A Lecture Delivered at the Sverdlov University, July 11, 1919. First published on January 18, 1929 in Pravda, No. 15. Peking: Foreign Languages Press: 11.
2. Hopper, Kim. 2003. Reckoning with Homelessness. Ithaca: Cornell University Press: 175.
3. Fanon, Frantz. 1963. The Wretched of the Earth. New York: Grove Press: 205.

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