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The Applied Anthropologist publishes peer-reviewed articles, commentaries, brief communications, field reports, and book reviews on a wide range of topics. The journal's focus is on cultural change and adaptation in the modern world. It explores how humans approach, analyze, and develop solutions to cultural, ecological, economic, and technological problems. The journal is supported and underwritten by the High Plains Society for Applied Anthropology. Guidelines for authors, electronic access to back issues, and further information about the society is available on the website at www.HPSfAA.org.

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POINT-TO-POINT STEVE WERNER, MICHELE CONKLIN, AND PETER VAN ARSDALE

ROTARIANS AS ACTION ANTHROPOLOGISTS IN THE ERA OF COVID-19

Rotary International is a humanitarian service organization founded by Chicago attorney Paul Harris in 1905. From a single small club, it has grown to an organization of over 1.2 million members in more than 150 countries. It counts over 35,000 clubs.

Rotary emphasizes six broad areas of focus: Promoting peace, fighting disease, saving mothers and children, supporting education, growing local economies, and assisting with WASH (water, sanitation, and hygiene, in recent years of particular interest to the current authors). Among other special causes has been the eradication of polio, a goal – pursued since 1979 with others, including the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation – that is close to being achieved. “Service above self” is more than a simple Rotary mantra, it is a concept which Rotarians diligently try to pursue. Many Rotarians, not trained as action or applied anthropologists, in fact pursue projects much like those that anthropologists pursue. As with Steve Werner and Michele Conklin, whose work is featured here, many have skill sets akin to those of applied anthropologists: communications (including advocacy attuned to both rural and urban settings), networking (including outreach attuned to interorganizational connectivity), and project development (including fundraising and partnership building).

With the COVID-19 pandemic consuming human attention worldwide, Rotarians have been forced to adjust their activities (e.g., Zoom versus in-person meetings), while still assisting those in need, both domestically and internationally. Peter Van Arsdale, both Rotarian and applied anthropologist, has been working domestically with food security issues. However, more challenging during the COVID-19 era have been international issues. Two such efforts are featured here.

Projects in Georgia: Rotarian Steve Werner has been working with issues confronting the country of Georgia, located in the Caucasus Region adjoining (among other countries) Russia. Until the early 1990s, it was part of the Soviet Union but now emphasizes a European style of democratic government – even while outside interests try to influence its diplomatic, political and economic decisions. Georgia has associate status in the European Union and is hoping to gain full status in the future. Historically it has been a crossroad for other countries and empires – Ottomans, Persians, Russians, Mongols, and even Romans.

Georgians admire the U.S. and other Western democracies. Some of the things that distinguish those countries are volunteerism, social programs to help the less fortunate, and foreign policies that try to lift up developing countries. While there have been incidents of intolerance towards other groups, mostly incited by outside interests, Georgians are proud of their tolerance towards other religions and ethnic groups. However, the concept of volunteerism is not as strong as in the U.S.

COVID-19 has disrupted social and economic conditions in Georgia as elsewhere, and there are many citizens who are suffering as a result. Poorer Georgians already were living on the edge and doing jobs that were minimum wage, without many safety nets. Such families also had few reserves to fall back on. While many extended Georgian families live together (e.g., from grandparents, to parents, to children in high school or college), most are dependent on just a few wage earners. Older Georgians have small social security-type incomes, but still are dependent on other family members to get by.

The Georgian government encourages Georgian youth to volunteer and there are many ways to get involved. Rotary International and other service groups are trying to expand the number of clubs, and there are increasing numbers of examples of what can be accomplished by caring people who have “time, talent, and treasure” to contribute. The concept of service above self is gradually taking hold. Projects are generally small and involve direct service, rather than those seen in other countries that are larger and more sustainable. The adage that you must crawl before you can walk fits the situation. American Rotarians are in co-advisory roles with Georgian Rotarians. Zoom meetings, with

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international participation, are being held. Several projects have involved public schools, from new playground equipment to more sanitary latrines and toilets. Others have involved food security for those most at-risk. Food baskets have been prepared. Service groups and NGOs are attempting to adjust to constraints imposed by the COVID-19 crisis.

Georgians are becoming more involved in outreach and in caring for their fellow citizens. Sometimes, the process of starting is the hardest part; volunteers learn while they are doing, which is a concept that applied anthropologists certainly embrace. It is rare that the best solution can be created the first time that someone tries – the important part is to keep trying and learning better ways to serve, and eventually move from projects to sustainable programs. This is happening in Georgia.

Projects in Bangladesh: Rotarian Michele Conklin has been working with issues confronting the country of Bangladesh. Bangladesh, the world's second largest ready-made-garment producer, felt the effects of the global pandemic almost immediately. As one country after another shut down, retailers began cancelling garment orders. By mid-April 2020, retailers had cancelled orders worth more than \$3 billion, according to the Bangladesh Garment Manufacturers and Exporters Association.

As a result of the cancelled orders, more than 400 factories shut down, with one-third of those going out of business permanently. The shuttered factories stopped paying workers. Without an industry or governmental safety net, these workers – whose pay is just at or slightly above the World Food Bank's International Poverty Line – faced immediate threat of starvation.

Rotary and other NGOs working in the country began reaching out to try to help improve the situation, by guiding the country's manufacturing sector to pivot toward manufacturing personal protective equipment (PPE). Working with Bangladesh factory owners, the U.S. contingency contacted potential US purchasers, including US federal officials, state officials in Illinois and Colorado, and national healthcare systems. The Bangladesh manufacturers faced steep barrier entries into this market due to worldwide supply shortages and lack of proper certification.

Despite these odds, some factories were able to refit their manufacturing lines and begin producing gowns and masks. In early June, a Bangladesh-based garment manufacturer announced the opening of a factory in Detroit to make N95 respiratory masks. The company, Beximco, estimated that the factory would be on line in nine months. Its Bangladesh factory would begin producing PPE in four months.

What roles might Rotarians, like applied anthropologists, play in analyzing this situation? What options for engaging local people might they suggest? Rotarians, like applied anthropologists, play important roles in researching such situations, often with a special focus on economic resiliency. The economic devastation facing Bangladesh shows how a global recession will be felt heaviest not just in developing countries but particularly in those that lack diversification. Garment manufacturing accounts for 85 percent of Bangladesh merchandise export income and employs more than four million workers. Prior to the pandemic, Bangladesh had been experiencing steady economic growth and was on track to graduate from least developed country (LDC) to middle income country status in 2021. As the country tries to regain its economic footing, it undoubtedly will consider massive governmental and private investment. The question is whether the government will take lessons from this pandemic and invest in a way that makes its economy more diverse and resilient, or take the most expedient route and quickly restart its garment sector. And if it chooses the harder route, how will it transition its workers and also keep them fed in the interim? Another question asked by Rotarians: How might Rohingya refugees be meaningfully engaged in this?

As in Georgia, discernible humanitarian processes are underway in Bangladesh. Those described herein for Georgia are at the micro level. Those described herein for Bangladesh are at the macro level. Economic and social factors are at play in both. Post-pandemic impacts are yet to be understood. We remain optimistic.

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AN INTRODUCTORY COMMENTARY: THE VALUE AND LIMITATIONS OF THEORY FOR APPLIED SOCIAL SCIENTISTS

JOSEF GARRETT

As social scientists we have called upon our forebearers to lead us through the murky depths of studying human existence. We have learned about their exploits in the South Pacific, Arctic tundra, and many other "exotic places" around the world. As we studied their experiences, we often learned as much about the people they were studying as about how these researchers perceived their world. Most took their experiences, composed their ideas, decided how they should be organized, and eventually either created or tapped into "a Theory" that best explained their findings. As contemporary researchers we take these ideas and apply them to the world that we now see; sometimes we acknowledge that they no longer fit or are outdated. Sometimes we work *deductively* and try to fit our research into the realm of contemporary theory; we take the framework and apply our data to it. However, as we learn more about the diversity of cultures worldwide and the often distinct ways their members live and adapt, we need to approach our research projects more *inductively*. My argument is not that we shouldn't use theory in our research, but that it should never be the sole foundation or goal of our work, especially when in the field as practitioners. Rather, one goal should be to help create a theory that applies to the culture we are working within. In other words, we might create what is known as a *grounded theory*.

Theory itself represents a process, a framework, in which we thoroughly and repeatedly observe and experiment within the boundaries of our research, creating the foundation for truth. However, because of the uniqueness of many cultures and their members' abilities to change dramatically over short periods of time, those truths can change.

Throughout our existence as humans, we have always tried to categorize the world around us. We like things to fit nicely into certain boxes that allow us to understand and conceptualize what we are experiencing. As researchers we attempt to do this so that we can compare and contrast what we learn in the hope of better understanding it, but this also creates an inherent bias. This bias develops as we organize the world around us, as we classify systems of power, populations centers, cultural behaviors, racial and ethnic ideologies, and cultural territories.

I think something important to consider in concert with this is the elapse of time. Some of the theories that have been created, often ones we learn throughout our studies, no longer fit current circumstances. An example is that of geographical determinism. They might have fit during "the day," but a lot can happen in the decades that follow. We also have to consider who created these theories and where they came from, where they were situated. Some reflected a western cultural idealism and world view bias, which could and did influence the outcome of the research linked to them.

I believe that we must learn from those who have gone before us, review their research, test it, poke it, see how it ticks, and then find what still works and what doesn't. Understandably, we already do this in many ways as we study in college settings and move into professional careers. However, I propose that instead of emphasizing the "re-use" of someone else's theory, we emphasize *creation of a*

tool box of sorts: A basic set of skills that the applied anthropologist needs, along with a basic and open-ended "field template" that can be used for future research. By doing so, we can minimize biases and pitfalls that we might encounter if we had relied upon research and ideas that may no longer be as relevant as we had hoped. Instead of emphasizing theory, we should emphasize methodology.

Utilizing Methodologies and Developing a Toolbox

In my experience, we often talk about "tools in our toolbox" when we discuss the various skills that an anthropologist or sociologist needs to have in order to do their work. We need the tools of *observation* in order to view a community, how it is constructed, how it moves, how it reacts, how it sees itself and its neighbors. We need the tools of *communication* in order to comprehend the world views of that community, what it finds important and what it is missing, how its members convey ideas and needs, and how they deal with confrontation. We need the tools of *comprehension* by which the researcher is able to piece the various parts together, to acknowledge what is being seen, to recognize one's biases, and to allow critical analysis, both by the researcher and by his or her peers.

To illustrate how this can work, let's compare anthropological theory and practice with architectural theory and construction. Architecture is the theory of building a structure, while construction is the practice of building a structure. An architect must study principles of design, how a structure should be built, what makes it structurally sound, what sometimes makes it unique, and what sometimes makes it similar or common. Building a structure is the process of gathering the tools and materials, and then applying force to create it. Underlying this, therefore, is a theoretical truth and a ground truth. There is an idealism, compounded by real-world technicalities, in terms of what is intended. There is a blueprint, in theory representing something both beautiful and functional, which attempts to take account of everything to be encountered during construction. As things progress, the architect and the builders look at the soil to see how it will affect structural stability. They look at weather and climate conditions, to determine what kind of wind loads the structure must endure to remain safe, to determine how moisture and temperature will affect the construction materials, and to determine what kind of maintenance will be needed to assure its viability for years to come. All of these things must be considered when designing a structure. The architect and the builders know these things because they, or their colleagues, have built many structures in the past; with each one they presumably get better at it. This is the basis of their theoretical truth.

Therefore, when building structures these practitioners take their blueprints and apply them to the real world. Yet, at times theory and practice can come into conflict. When considering the materials and tools needed, sometimes adjustments have to be made. Some of the materials might not be available or might not meet the accepted standards. The skill levels of the workers might differ from project to project. The tools available might be old or unsuitable. The actual issues encountered in constructing the buildings might be different from what had initially been imagined. In the process of construction,

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the ground truth might not match the original blueprints. In reality, major modifications might be required to ensure completion.

Expectations

In the realm of applied anthropology and sociology, we can take the notion of creating a blueprint and apply it to the cultural issues we are studying. We usually do this, via a research plan, with varying degrees of success. However, rather than taking the “architect’s approach,” I believe that we must take the “builders’ approach.” We, as “builders,” must deal with the actual or ground truth of the culture in question. A “blueprint” might indicate how a social structure (e.g.) is supposed to work, vis-à-vis networking, but once on-the-ground other, even unique, factors might emerge. Had only a theory been used, deductively, such elements might have been missed.

Practitioners should go in with the best tools, the best methods, available. While a good understanding of theory – referenced inductively – provides a foundation, suggesting positives and negatives that might be encountered, a good toolbox allows fine-tuning with each research situation encountered. Entering the field with fewer expectations may allow the unexpected to be discovered more easily.

This process will have an effect on the researcher as well. Usually, anthropologists and sociologists are hired to conduct research with a goal in mind. A governmental entity or private interest will require work that a social scientist is suited for; perhaps the sponsor is looking at a community that needs help. The researcher goes in and, because he or she has been hired to help this community, brings certain ideas which *a priori* might be the most useful. For example, let’s now merge our architectural and anthropological enterprises. The anthropologist visits a community building, a clinic, that is being built by architects and construction workers. The construction has slowed and is about to go over budget. The architects start demanding that the pace be picked up and, through their financiers, are willing to put more money forth, but they don’t understand why there is a delay. The anthropologist might go in with the “theory” that what they need is more money to complete the project, and with possibilities as to how the money would best be spent. He or she might then look at per diem expenses, at the materials being consumed, at the tools being used, and might then conclude that, to increase speed, the builders should buy new tools and better materials. If, however, the anthropologist went in without the presumption that money was the issue, and with the methodological toolbox readily at hand, the architects and builders might be facilitated to examine other factors that could be causative. Maybe there is a worker shortage which, in turn, is connected to larger economic constraints. Perhaps it is a seasonal issue in which the climate is affecting the working conditions. Perhaps there is labor unrest. There could be any number of issues causing the delay which are not connected to money *per se*, but if the premise is money, the problem might be missed altogether. Through this empirically-attuned inductive approach to research, we also can find ourselves a part of the community we are interacting with, and can better learn about residents’ perceived needs. We still can take into account the needs of the architects and builders, as we create a holistic analysis.

To summarize, when we go in with expectations linked to theory, we tend dichotomously to see these expectations either being met or not. Theory used deductively can provide vital insights, but it can be linked to expectations about cultural factors that focus our research to a point where we are blinded to other important, unexpected aspects. However, if we feature a base set of tools, of methods, and go in without such expectations, we might find that the problems reported by sponsors were not real problems after all, but symptoms or correlates of something else. I believe that a key difference between theoretical

truth and ground truth is that the former is based on expectations, while the latter is based on practical expression. When considering entering the field for applied research, having a background knowledge of theory is good, but having the tools and lack of expectations is more beneficial in the long run.

I would recommend that as we go forth and continue our research, we emphasize the best tools to apply rather than the best theoretical framework. Eliminating expectations and engaging a more open approach might allow for a broader range of experiences and analyses, which in turn could lead to better understanding and better solutions to the issues being faced. In diverse ways, the commentaries and articles in this issue all address the applied social science-theory interface.

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A COMMENTARY: APPLIED ANTHROPOLOGY, APPLIED POETRY, AND THEORY, A USEFUL TRIANGULATION¹

HOWARD F. STEIN

ABSTRACT

The author proposes a model for how (1) the practice of applied anthropology, (2) the use and development of theory in applied anthropology, and (3) the writing and use of applied anthropological poetry can be visualized as three vertices or points on a fluid equilateral triangle. Here the relationships among them are not static but dynamic, each dimension influencing the other. The author first explores the often conflict-ridden relationship between practice and theory in the past as well as current history of applied anthropology. He then introduces applied anthropological poetry as contributing both to anthropological practice and theory, and as serving as a link between the two. He offers several examples of his own applied anthropological poetry to illustrate the process and, in turn, to help visualize how the triangulation works in the real world.

Introduction

This article – which also serves as an extended commentary – explores the idea of a *triangulation* among applied anthropology, theory, and applied poetry. I imagine this relationship to be fluid and mutually influencing among the three vertices or points on an equilateral triangle. That is, I imagine this process as a verb (“triangulate”), not a noun (“triangle,” the three sides of which are fixed, straight lines).

I first explore my own experience of the relationship between applied anthropology (as a practice of anthropology in the real world) and theory, that is, two of the vertices. Turning to the third vertex, I then explore applied poetry and how it might be useful in both anthropological practice and theory. Next, I illustrate the latter with several of my poems and a brief discussion of them. I conclude that this *fluid* process could be a useful tool for applied anthropologists.

Applied Anthropology and Theory Building in My Work: Two Vertices of the Triangle

I have considered my work to be applied anthropology ever since I joined the High Plains Society for Applied Anthropology in 1980. From the outset of my career, I have had difficulty knowing how to classify my work. When I attended my first several HPSfAA conferences, many people said that what I do of course qualifies as applied anthropology, that “you are an applied anthropologist.”

At the same time, I have always imagined the relationship between (1) my day-to-day work as clinical teacher and group facilitator in health sciences settings, and (2) my contributions to anthropological theory, to assume the form of two arrows that form a continuously moving circle. At one side of the circle is *theory*, and at the other is *practice* or *real-world application*. I soon came to visualize this process as an upward-expanding *virtuous spiral* rather than a repetitious circle.

I have likewise always considered my teaching, group processing, and consulting activities to be a kind of applied research. That is, as I performed my various tasks, I tried not to impose theoretical models on the work, but to develop anthropological (grounded) theory from what I learned while doing the work. For me, theory and practice always informed and, ideally, contributed to each other. Thus, in my mind there was no opposition between theory and practice.

Applied Anthropology and Theory in Historical Context

However, I learned that in the larger world of university life it was entirely different. Many anthropologists who taught and wrote in academic universities regarded applied anthropology as inferior to, even outside the boundary of, “real anthropology.” To many of them, bona fide anthropology consisted of doing ethnographic fieldwork; teaching courses in theory, method, and culture area studies; and writing and publishing scholarly articles in scholarly journals. Contributing to ethnological theory was the *summum bonum*.

The idea of being “useful” and “practical” in the real world was at best second-class, impure, tainted with “getting your hands dirty.” By contrast, the ideal life consisted of “going to the field” regularly and conducting ethnographic research, and then, upon returning to urban academic life, teaching and publishing about it for fellow university anthropologists.

Applied anthropologists responded to this outsider, minority-group, seemingly degraded status in several ways, as I remember it: going their own way, confident that it was valuable; feeling they always had to keep trying to “prove themselves” as equals of academic anthropology; and mirroring the us/them splitting that had been indelibly imposed on them. The words “academic” and “theory” were often as disparaged by applied anthropologists, as the words “applied” and “practicing” were uttered with contempt by university anthropologists.

As an applied anthropologist who worked in an academic health sciences center setting, I came to be regarded by many anthropologists as illegitimate. For several decades I was not invited by the anthropology department in my own university to present any lectures. Nor have I ever been offered a joint appointment in that department.

On a historic note, I hasten to add that this ideological split within anthropology between “academic” and “applied” was not present in the early history of the field; instead the boundary was blurred and the same person often embodied both. From my reading of the history of anthropology, polarization became the offspring of the professionalization and legitimization of academic identity and bureaucratization within university structure. (See <http://anthropology.iresearchnet.com/applied-anthropology/> for a thorough discussion of the history of applied anthropology.)

This identity-split is rife throughout academic life. Ironically, it affected my life and work within my own academic health sciences context. Although physicians and many related health care profes-

sionals clinically *treated* patients, the *ideal* for many faculty in academic medical departments was instead large, multi-year grant-funded medical research projects. Countless “basic science” lab (bench) researchers distanced themselves from clinical practice and occupied a much higher status.

The fact that I loved to teach students and apprentice-like interns and residents (centered in my family medicine department), and to write papers, chapters, and books on various real-world, practical topics, made me an outsider, looked down upon, by “real” academic medical researchers. The same academic/practical split as occurred in my own profession of anthropology, also took place in urban health sciences centers.

The Ordinarity of Thinking, Reflecting, Interpreting, and Explaining in Applied Anthropology

Still, for nearly fifty years I have persevered in my commitment to the complementarity, even unity, of theory and practice. It was thus welcome “music to my ears” to have our HPSfAA Spring 2020 Conference theme be that of applied anthropology and theory. Given my interests in psychoanalysis and the contribution of unconscious processes to all that we humans do, I am especially interested in the role of *implicit* (often unconscious-influenced) *theory* as well as *explicit theory*, and their interaction, in our day-to-day practical work with tribes, communities, NGOs, rural agricultural and other development projects, health care, education, conflict resolution, and organizational consulting. Processes such as self-reflection, mindfulness, discussing with fellow applied anthropologists our day-to-day work, all help us to better “know what we know and do not know (or even wish to know),” that drives our work.

Developing theory or at least proto-theory turns out to be ordinary, not special and extraordinary, in our day-to-day work as anthropological practitioners. Forgive me if I am simplistic. Thinking is part of doing; doing always requires thinking. Even when we try not to think and simply “do,” we are still thinking. Sometimes this thinking involves self-reflection (“Is this the only way of thinking about my work?”). By contrast, often we try *not* to reflect as we think and do, but simply apply/impose our favorite model of human culture, community, or change. Sometimes we act on thinking without thinking about it or *knowing* we are not thinking about it. That is, we unconsciously rely on implicit theory, models about people we take for granted, theory that might even have become for us unquestioned and unquestionable ideology = truth. Still, ideology is also a form of thought.

When we can reflect, observe ourselves in-the-moment thinking and doing, we can recognize and correct our mistakes, revise our own assumptions and interpretations, know reality better, and learn from experience – our own and others’. Without reflection, thinking and doing often become a *downward vicious spiral*, creating and perpetuating impasses in the group for whom we are trying to help solve some problem. By contrast, when we *do* reflect, step back and observe ourselves in-the-moment, thinking and doing become *virtuous upward spirals*, as we learn from experience rather than repeat what we have done before. Thinking in this way can be creative, refreshing, opening us to new ideas, feelings, and experiences, and to the revision of old ways. When thinking occurs in a closed system, we often hotly defend it, which in turn prevents revision and deviation.

In sum, thinking can be playful and imaginative, or defensive and rigid. In the day-to-day work of doing applied anthropology, theory has always been part of the most *practical* things we do. In fact, together, these activities of thinking, reflecting, interpreting, and explaining *create* theory in applied anthropology.

Applied Poetry: The Third Vertex that Completes the Equilateral Triangle

I have thus far considered two always-interacting facets of our work as applied anthropologists. They are two vertices of the imaginary triangulation I am trying to describe as a potentially useful way of thinking about our work. Here I wish to introduce a third point in my imaginary triangulation – a *fluid triangle* – which I have come to find not only useful but also essential to all my work, for at least the past thirty years. In this point lies the contribution of *applied poetry* to applied anthropological practice and theory. Although it may at first seem farfetched to think of applied anthropological poetry as contributing both to theory and practice, a moment’s reflection on what applied poetry is and does might allow you to reconsider what seems absurd.

Let me briefly situate my contribution in applied anthropological poetry within the larger framework of the use of poetry as an instrument of qualitative inquiry, method, theory, and their application for practice. My work might be pictured as being located at the meeting point of many overlapping circles. For instance, in arts-based research, applied poetry functions at once as a research method, a form of inquiry, a type of research data, and a method of representing research data or findings (Hanauer 2010; Faulkner 2007; Faulkner 2016). It is one among many ways of knowing. The poetic voice begins where narrative approaches leave off. Where narrative is opaque, poetry is transparent. Poetry compensates for the inadequacy of standard narrative to capture, evoke, and represent a hidden, inner dimension of lived reality (Faulkner 2007).

Louise Grisoni writes: “By immersing in the experience of organizational life through poetry, customary ways of making sense are suspended, and new insights into encountered reality become possible. Poetic expression therefore grasps at a newly discovered reality” (2009, p. 100). Poetry is a form of knowing through emotional engagement (Lapum et al., 2011). Through poetry, one connects with the subjects of research at a deeply personal level. “[P]oems can be a powerful narrative tool to further empathy and understanding and can serve education and advocacy goals” (Poindexter 2002, p. 708). Research poetry gives voice to the unsayable. Just as the poet shapes the poem, poetry likewise shapes the researcher and consultant’s experiences into stanzas (Poindexter 2002). Poetry provides insights that feel like sudden revelations (Faulkner 2007).

Poetry is an alternate form of *representing* research interviews and data from participant observation. For instance, Poindexter writes: “I continually feared that I would not be able to sufficiently give voice to the respondents’ stories and not be able to translate their experiences in a way that would be useful and meaningful to readers. I was aware that the respondents were counting on me to tell their stories, but I did not feel that I had the language at that time to express their experiences” (2002, p. 708). Similarly, Sherry and Schouten recognize that “Traditional or conventional prose articles seem increasingly insufficient as vessels for representing our understandings and experiences” (2002, p. 218).

Taken together, these works exemplify the contribution *applied poetry* can make to qualitative method, research, theory, and helpfulness in the real world. First of all, applied poetry is poetry the writer hopes will be useful to other people in their real-world lives, not something so simple and direct as a prescription for how to think and what to do, but as a *different way of knowing*. Applied poetry contrasts with what is often called “pure poetry,” largely associated with the academy and modern language specialists. Pure poetry tends to focus on being clever with words, abstraction, erudition rather than ordinary language.

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The currently dominant use of the term “pure poetry” consists of poems written by and largely for university faculty poets in the institutional cultures of academia, “ivory towers.” Their poetry is published within a closed circle of literary journals.

Where applied poetry embraces and engages with untidy lived experience, pure poetry is often written as a means of withdrawal from the ordinary and is intentionally complex, and arcane, an engagement in language-for-language’s sake. Its language is often pretentious. By contrast, “pure poetry” in the older, non-academically institutionalized sense, is written to make a difference in and speak to people’s lives, to be available and emotionally accessible to listeners and readers, and to plumb the musicality of language to help people both to make sense of their experience and to feel understood, affirmed, and less alone and isolated. Readers often say, “I recognize myself and my world in that poem. I’ve had that experience too.”

For me there has always been a dovetailing of my applied anthropological poetry and my thinking and practice of applied anthropology. Grounded as applied poetry is in day-to-day ethnographic fieldwork and in problem-solving with many types of human groups, it has long been for me only a short step from this practical work to writing poems about what I am doing, thinking, feeling, and experiencing in the midst of this process. For me, reflection and writing poetry offer me new, creative, imaginative ways of understanding and interpreting what I am observing and experiencing – “outside the box.”

Applied poetry is thus simultaneously a qualitative research method, the data that emerge from this approach, a form of representing the data, and a new way of developing theory derived from these. It complements, not competes with, traditional ethnographic methods and development of ethnological theory. Of course, as a tributary to applied anthropology, it helps me, ideally, to be a better anthropological practitioner. We have thus returned to the never-complete circle and virtuous upward spiral I mentioned earlier.

My entire way of thinking (and being) as I write applied anthropological poetry contrasts with how I think when I write social science *lineal narrative* – which consists of an implicit straight line from here to there. Applied poetry offers different ways of getting “there,” and even corrects where I thought I should be going in the first place, the destination.

Perhaps my linear thinking tricks me into going to the wrong place, coming to the wrong conclusion, missing crucial data, and solving the wrong problem, because I had thought there was only one kind of data, one that took a certain form. When I write poetry, the “there,” the destination, is unknown, unknowable, from the outset. It emerges in the writing, which feels far more like a dream than like carrying out a plan. When I reach it, I am always surprised. Yet I *know* (feel as well as think) that I have arrived at the right place.

Drawing upon creativity and imagination, applied poetry often leads me to say, “I never thought about it *that way*.” The best poets let the poem “write itself,” that is, take them to places they could not know or anticipate when they began to write. This is, I think, the essence of new knowledge and new theory – which applied anthropologists then put to use in the real world.

Here, then, is the triangulation process at work: each point or vertex flows into and informs the other. Applied poetry, applied anthropology, and theory provide constant feedback to each other, continuously correcting and renewing one another.

How Can This Triangulation Process Be Used in the Workplace?

The obvious question arises as to how to validate and test this notion of triangulating practice, poetry, and theory. What and where are my data to back up my claim? They come from the innumerable

times that listeners to and readers of my applied workplace poetry have directly told or written to me that, e.g., “You put into words what I have been feeling all along”; “Your poem could have been about me at work”; “The place you describe is like where I worked until I was terminated”; “Your poem is about me”; “That’s me you are writing about”; “Thank you for understanding what I am going through where I work”; “Your poem speaks for both of us”; “How did you know our company so well, when you have never been there?”; “You know what it feels like to have a target on my back”; “Your poem says exactly what it’s like to work here”; “Your poem says how I have felt for so many years going to work.” Expressions of gratitude for recognizing, putting into words, and sharing with the world what these people were going through, almost always accompanied their statements. I realize that these could all be dismissed as “testimonials” and not data. I have come to trust what these people are telling me about the emotional usefulness, even healing value, of my applied workplace poems.

In addition to people reading my poems and listening to me when I read them aloud, as in a conference presentation or poetry seminar, I also often use poetry as part of my work with individuals and groups in workplaces. I often introduce poems during a real-time, in-the-moment organizational consultation. I might carry some poems with me in my file to a meeting or presentation, not *planning* to use them, but having them available if it is timely in the conversation. Depending upon the topic under discussion, and on the quality of our relationship, I might ask my client or group if I could hand him, her, or them a piece of paper with a poem that in some way addresses what we are talking about. Often an objection emerges that questions the relevance of poetry to the problem-at-hand. I ask the person raising doubt to bear with me for a little bit and to give it a chance. I then might read the poem aloud, or ask someone to read it, clearly and slowly.

Often, not always, the poem emotionally resonates with their workplace experience, and stories spontaneously begin to flow about personal and group situations that the poem reawakens. The consultation often changes “voice” dramatically, and enters a deeper, more personal, more open, more vulnerable, more trusting, more reflective style of communication. Often this process in turn opens up creative space in which new ideas emerge and contribute to ways of thinking and problem-solving that could not have happened if the poet-consultant had not introduced the lived experience the poem embodied.

An Extended Example: “Managed Organizational Change” and Its Tragic Underbelly

Permit me now to illustrate this with a concrete example of the triangulation process in practice. My “test case” (extended) is the applied research, organizational consulting, wide reading, constant communication and co-authorship I have been doing with colleagues who share similar interests and personal experiences since the early 1980s in what has consistently been officially called “managed organizational change.” This term subsumes such on-going practices as downsizing, reduction in force, restructuring, reengineering, outsourcing/offshoring, deskilling, corporate mergers and acquisitions, hostile takeovers, and other forms of massive, sudden, dramatic, rapid, and mostly traumatic organizational change.

All these terms – official names for ostensibly rational, objective, necessary business practices – are in fact *euphemisms*, smokescreens, for brutal, often sadistically-driven, destructive organizational executive decision-making and implementation. I have written many papers, chapters, books, and poems about the human experience of wave after wave of these organizational upheavals upon those people who are fired, and those who (temporarily) “survive” and must shoulder the work

of two or more people, receive less pay and fewer benefits, and feel they “have targets on our backs” and “might be next [to be fired]” (Stein 1997, 1998a, 1998b, 1999, 2001, 2007, 2009, 2017; Stein and Allcorn 2020).

I have consulted in person and by phone and teleconference with many people and large corporate groups to help personalize the de-personalizing, degrading, mechanized process so catastrophic to individuals, families, workplaces, and communities.

Much of my work has also been informal, as a compassionate listener to people’s unimaginable workplace stories, to bear witness that “this really happened.” Deep listening helps individuals and groups to feel heard, to express and at least in part work through the grief, rage, and identity loss that have been induced by their loss of job and human dignity, their unforeseen abrupt “termination,” and their sense of being thrown out into the street. The experience of soul murder (Stein 1997, 1998a, 2000; Stein and Allcorn 2020), “death of the spirit in the American workplace” (Allcorn 2001), emotionally abusive command-and-control organizational leadership, demoralization, meaninglessness, and imminent expendability, are all recurrent stories that countless people at all levels in workplaces have told me for nearly forty years.

Certainly, I have learned much about all this through general observation, participant observation, open-ended interviews, and other traditional ethnographic methods that direct me to look *outside* myself. In addition, I have also learned much about the depth of human experiences in workplaces by writing applied poetry, which gives me access to the *inner*, interpersonal, and group experience of “what it is like to work here,” a different kind of knowing from traditional narrative modes. The poems come from the emergent, creative space between us.

My workplace poetry is thus not only about myself and my own inner world, but also about my relationship with people in “the organization” and with the organization itself as it becomes part of my internal as well as external experience. Paradoxically, my workplace poetry is simultaneously *mine* and *ours*. That is, as I experience “the-organization-in-the-poet,” the poem emerges from an *emotional resonance* (as in tuning forks tuned to the same pitch) between us. A similar resonant process takes place between the listener or reader and the poet-behind-the-poem (Langer and Furman 2004).

These workplace poems have long provided me with crucial research data that in turn help me *develop greater understanding of, and theory about*, workplace organizations. This process has most recently culminated in a book I co-authored with my long-time friend Seth Allcorn, a career health sciences center executive. It is called *The Psychodynamics of Toxic Organizations: Applied Poems, Stories, Analysis*. Here, my applied organizational poems, the contextual stories behind the poems, and psychodynamic theory, serve as building blocks for understanding what Michael Diamond felicitously called “the unconscious life of organizations” (1993, 2017).

With this discussion of applied workplace poetry, we have completed examining each of the three vertices of my imaginary fluid triangulation: applied anthropology, applied poetry, and theory. What remains to be said is that these are *merely three points in a continuous process of mutual influence among all three vertices*. The day-to-day applied work inspires the poetry that leads, ideally, to new ways of imagining and thinking, and thereby new theory. We both use and test our theories with our practice in trying to help people and solve problem in their communities. Our ordinary work stimulates new ideas and offers new perspectives. One form of “data” that our applied work provides is fruit of the poetic imagination.

As I stressed earlier, applied poetry is simultaneously a method for generating data, the data themselves, and interpretations, reflections, explanations – that is, theory. Furthermore, theory itself can also offer different ways of feeling, imagining, and thinking, which in turn might inspire applied poetry, that in turn offers perspectives and ideas for our day-to-day work.

Five Brief Examples of Applied Workplace Poems

To conclude this commentary, permit me to offer a few of my applied workplace poems that illustrate the processes I have described. They can be viewed as “raw material” for how the triangulation process that I have proposed works in practice.

The first of five applied workplace poems is about the experience of organizational identity, “what it feels like to work here.” The widespread metaphor of the box, both as comforting enclosure and prison, leads to a surreal identification with the box itself. This defensive identity directly opposes the recently espoused organizational ideal of creatively “thinking outside the box” – which is often punished.

Who We Are

A matrix of sacred clichés
proclaims to the world,
“This is the way
we do things around here –
and don’t mess with it.”
“We don’t think of
thinking outside the box.
We are the box.”

Light and Shadow. 2nd edition. Yukon, OK: Doodle and Peck Publishing, 2018. © Howard Stein.

The second poem is about the common experience of failure to be listened to by managers, supervisors, and upper management. Instead of inviting ideas, holding onto them, and reflecting prior to making a response, they often mentally invade and seek to control the worker’s mind. It feels like a physical intrusion, an attack, and a takeover of one’s very inner spaces. An employee learns that his or her own thoughts are unwelcome, serving as invitations for reprimand, even termination. Instead, silencing oneself, and lockstep thinking like the organizational hierarchy, frequently become one’s only safety.

Thought’s Geography

Before I have a thought,
you know what mine should be.

You can’t seem
to occupy yourself
without first
occupying me.

Evocations. Pittsburgh, PA: Dorrance, 1997. © Howard Stein.

My third applied poem, inspired by Robert Frost’s 1914 poem, “The Mending Wall,” depicts a common workplace experience. Walls instead of bridges are created and guarded among people, work groups, departmental units, large divisions that perform different organizational functions (e.g., shipping and receiving, finance, administration/ management, research and development, manufacturing, benefits). In all these, people experience themselves as working in separate “silos,” disconnected from the rest of the organization.

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Although there are corporation-wide promotional brochures and videos that depict how all these units ideally and supposedly work together “horizontally” among silos, and cooperate as a unified organizational “family,” day-to-day reality is more often characterized by mutual mistrust, conflict, withdrawal, jealousy, and absence of listening to each other. This poem starkly contrasts what individuals and groups actually do with what they claim and perceive themselves as doing.

Caulking the Wall

I speak with you –
I attempt to speak –
You say you are listening;
You say you are speaking.

But all I see
Is a wall of brick.
You spend the time caulking
As we continue talking.

I keep walking
Into a wall;
You insist there is
No obstacle at all.

Learning Pieces. Pittsburgh, PA: Dorrance, 2000. © Howard Stein.

The fourth applied poem, written in the mid-1990s, is presented from the viewpoint of the “survivors” of downsizings and of organizational executives who orchestrate them. It is about emotional withdrawal from and indifference to, the suffering of only recently fired co-workers and friends. The poem tries to describe and evoke – bring to life – both the massive trauma to the people suddenly terminated and disappeared, and also the survivors’ quick denial, banishment from memory, of what happened to those who are gone and to themselves. It becomes as if nothing had ever happened, as if the people fired had never been there in the first place.

Downsizing

What is happening
Has not happened,
And if it has,
We do not want to know.

People I worked with yesterday,
Today are suddenly whisked away;
No one asks where they go –
Or even really wants to know.

There is no blood to show
For all their disappearance;
They just are
Not around anymore.

The signs all
Read the same –
On the highways, in the stores,
On the elevators, in the halls:

What is happening
Has not happened,

And if it has,
We do not want to know.

Harp-Strings Poetry Journal, 18(4), 2007: 18-19.

My fifth and final applied poem is about many executives’ frequent boundary violation, devaluation, often sadistic abuse of power, and treatment of employees as mere objects rather than as full, valued human beings. The emotional violence is experienced as physical assault. The poet then wonders what the experience of this brutality is like from the viewpoint of the target and victim, who asks what terrorizing other people means to the abusive manager or executive.

The Order

You order me not to dream
Except to dream your command;
You do not ask, just demand;
You stomp my dream
Beneath your heavy boots.

For what are you on the frenzied march –
To halt your dreaming, too,
By stomping on my face?
Is my dreaming’s death
The keeper of your place?

Evocations. Pittsburgh, PA: Dorrance, 1997. © Howard Stein.

Conclusion

This commentary has been an experiment in process, in linking by continuous triangulation three seemingly disparate worlds: the practice of applied anthropology, development of theory, and applied workplace poems. The ethnographic and ethnohistorical setting has been the lived experience of toxic workplaces since the early 1980s.

I have suggested a new approach or method and source of data (to complement traditional anthropological forms): *applied workplace poetry*. After exploring the ideally dynamic relationship between practice and theory, I added as the third vertex what applied poetry might contribute to this continuous, creative virtuous upward spiral *built on triangulation*. It is my hope that this might serve as an additional way of approaching the life of applied anthropology.

Note

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A COMMENTARY: POPULATION GROWTH, ACTIVISM, SOCIAL MOVEMENTS, COALITIONS, AND THE FUTURE OF AFRICAN AMERICANS AND LATINAS/OS IN DENVER AND BEYOND

RAMON DEL CASTILLO

ABSTRACT

This commentary is based on a literature review of Chicana/o and African American struggles, augmented by the author's four decades of activism in Colorado and years of experience working with both communities. This experience led the author to be selected as co-facilitator for a group of African American and Chicana/o leaders whose mission was to develop public policy for education. A central issue was the disproportionate number of children from both groups being expelled or chastised in grades K-3 -- ultimately feeding the school-to-prison pipeline. Highlighted in this article are the many common struggles that both groups have confronted, but that have seldom led to them working together. Examined are historical issues like Americanization policy, that preached forced acculturation as an antidote to structural racism, but that in fact kept both groups marginalized. There have been battle cries for equity in education and liberation in communities. There was a time, still seen, when it was the norm that hegemonic forces controlled education curricula throughout the country. This translated into the continuance of micro communities beleaguered by school curricula that excluded historical contributions of both groups, as well as discussions of poverty, structural racism and classism, all issues alive and well today. Also examined are the two groups' respective civil right struggles, one which led to the creation of the Crusade for Justice in Denver, Colorado, a local organization that gained national prominence during the Chicano Movement, and the other which built upon the Black Liberation Movement of the 1960s, reflected today in Black Lives Matter. The author challenges both groups to pick up their banners in a joint struggle, to critically analyze the lessons that were learned, and to reinvigorate both communities by building solidarity that would liberate both communities. The use of authentic dialogue and coalition building are key strategies.

Introduction

The thesis of this paper is twofold. The initial premise is that marginalized groups, in particular Blacks and Chicanas/os/Latinas/os, should never assume as their populations grow that commensurate political power will automatically grow in proportion to the growth of these populations. For the aforementioned groups, political power and social change never come without a struggle whether it is within intragroup or intergroup relations. Without critical analysis of the current social conditions in respective communities, followed by dialogue and praxis or the notion of examining the incongruence between theory and action, it is difficult to determine how successful, if at all, the victories achieved by Blacks and Chicanas/os/Latinas/os during their struggles have been. It appears that their respective movements were not totally successful as reflected in several research projects that reiterate how much ground has been lost. The second premise is that both groups through mutual association and development of a coalition would be able to form a stronger presence and position in Colorado and become a model for other marginalized groups to emulate, learn from, and draw strength, which in the final analysis would benefit both groups. Conversely, both groups may suffer more as the manacles of oppression in areas such education, economics and social justice become more prominent in American society. Focusing on metro Denver, Colorado, both groups may continue to lose more ground as their populations swelter and many families are forced into suburbia, abandoning historical neighborhoods such as Five Points and North Denver, with some moving to more affordable housing in Aurora, Colorado (Meyer 2012).

The African American Experience

One of the goals of the African American/Black Civil Rights Movement was to achieve democratic social and economic justice. During the historical development of American society the Black experience had been left out of the American narrative, leaving the

group in deep despair and perceived powerlessness, with no alternatives to engage in the American way of life. History had been written from the perspective of the oppressor, making the dominant cultural group the sole protagonist in the building of American society at the expense of oppressed groups. African Americans have never healed from the long-term consequences of colonization. Quoting an African revolutionary, "the culture of slavery was never undone for either the master or the slave.... The practice of slavery never stopped over a hundred years ago, but the minds of our citizens have never been freed" (Grier and Cobbs 1968, p. 20). Historical and intergenerational trauma and colonization continued to be barriers to success. Relative to Latino communities historical trauma and the sequelae of racism and slavery have contributed to hypertension and other health problems, as well as psychiatric distress among well-educated and high income African Americans (Williams and Collins 1995). Other research concludes that the physical and emotional health of marginalized individuals is negatively impacted by the burdens of discrimination and racism (McCubbin and Marsell 2009). This commentary captures the failure of movements to change social conditions that would enable full participation in American society. Further analysis might unveil that the long-term consequences of colonialism, laying in the minds and hearts of African Americans, might need additional remedies.

Ghettos developed as ethnic enclaves, serendipitously becoming havens of protection for African Americans suffering from the racism and bigotry of the times. In turn this bred violence, destruction, and eventually decay in African American neighborhoods. Historically, social theorists blamed the victim for the deplorable conditions in African American communities. African Americans responded to this planned oppression through a social movement of Blacks, for Blacks and by Blacks. They created organizations built upon varieties of ideological, political and social theories and developed coalitions between and among themselves to achieve economic equity,

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equal opportunity, and some semblance of social justice. Organizations operated from different political perspectives that included but were not limited to militancy, radicalism, moderate participation, and (for some) the development of a conservative philosophy.

These differences often caused consternation, conflict and stress between and among members of various factions. You cannot liberate people and expect them to think alike. Freedom of thought emanates from individual personalities. The militant and radical organizations were infiltrated and eventually destroyed. According to political scientist Armando Navarro, "The Black Power Movement became extinct by the early 1970s due to internecine power struggles, ideological cleavages, subversion, infiltration, incarceration and murder of its leadership by law enforcement agencies. With the demise of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Black Panther Party, as well, the class for black liberation had all but disappeared" (2005, p. 402). There are countless volumes of research deciphering similarities and differences between and among groups that had developed strategies in how to best organize communities that Blacks occupied during the 1960s social revolution in America. Although not possible in this article, they need to be thoroughly analyzed again in order to decipher why long-term social justice has not been achieved. Perhaps such analyses also can serve as a motivator to continue the struggle.

Framing the Transformation of Social Movements into Acceptable Forms of Resistance

As time has passed, key social movements have been transformed into antiquated memories. Annual marches, celebrations and iconographic images have been created to honor the works and word of Martin Luther King and others that struggled during this period in history to keep King's dream and the thought of Black liberation alive. As previously mentioned, militants were not accepted by the power structure and therefore were obliterated from society. One example was Malcom X, who was murdered. Certainly, his critical analysis of the Black experience angered leaders of the White establishment. Blacks struggled for and won recognition for a national holiday in King's honor as well as claiming the month of February to celebrate the presence of African Americans in American society. However, the substance and the rhetoric for continued activism that drove this movement, was effectively squelched. Beneath this illusion of equity and social justice an underlying grid of high unemployment, growing education gaps, development of a school-to-prison pipeline, police brutality and undue poverty have incessantly grown into civil unrest in African American communities. Scholar Cornell West is explicit in his words, "To talk about the depressing statistics of unemployment, infant mortality, incarceration, teenage pregnancy, and violent crime is one thing. But to face up to the monumental eclipse of hope, the unprecedented collapse of meaning, the incredible disregard for human (especially black life) and property in much of black America is something else" (2001, p. 19).

In what is considered to be a moderate voice in Black political matters, two decades following the movement, Shelby Steel shared the following,

I believe that in the sixties the need for white redemption from racial guilt became the most powerful, yet unspoken, element in America's social-policy-making process, first giving rise to the Great Society and then to a series of programs, policies, and laws that sought to make black equality and restitution a national mission. Once America could no longer deny guilt, it went after redemption, or at least the look for redemption, with a vengeance. Yet [in 1990], some twenty years later, study after study tells us that, by many measures, the gap between blacks and whites in (housing

and education) is widening rather than narrowing (1990, p. 79).

This passage, still relevant today, points out a contradiction that grew as indicators of success towards achieving the American Dream slowly but surely dissipated. Voices continued to be suppressed and African Americans kept losing ground in American economic and political circles. In hindsight, the diminutive victories which did occur were not intended to last forever. They were appeasement techniques used to quiet the multitude of Blacks and their supporters whose rage had been transformed into activism.

Victories can be short lived if hypervigilance and ongoing activism do not continue. The mantra of success painted by dominant forces in American society in reality obscures the truth regarding the plight of the disenfranchised. The well-oiled machine has a proclivity to continue its relentless pursuit of making the rich richer at the expense of the poor with deleterious effects on struggling neighborhoods. This came to fruition again in Black communities. The power structure used its influence, power and control over the economy to dismantle the Black struggle for social justice. Society's utilization of the media had become an effective tool to create myths and illusions. Whatever gains were won during the Black Movement slowly but surely deteriorated as Blacks continued to suffer. Racial violence plagued the streets of many cities in America. Black desires to participate in democracy had gone haywire.

Conversely, what began to occur was a re-awakening of the collective conscience of the Black community and a critical reappraisal. An I-NEWS investigative report by Hubbard and Carnahan (2013) verified this reality. The American Dream, for those hoodwinked by social media specialists, transformed into a nightmare. The reality, now reappraised half a century later, tells the story about the deterioration of those miniscule victories gained during that tumultuous time in American history. Back sliding continued as theorists reverted to reinventing anachronistic paradigms that lacked veracity and/or critical inquiry to explain the modern Black experience. In fact, communities had embraced and opened their eyes to the notion of false generosity, a concept coined by Paulo Freire (1993) that questioned the motivation behind social philanthropy. Freire postulated that in order for the wealthy to give to the disenfranchised, they must first exploit the group in a variety of mechanical and institutional ways. The continued development of a collective critical consciousness regarding the social conditions in Black communities muddled the dream as African Americans began to realize that old myths created by society used to justify the current social arrangement had been revived. Social theorists reintroduced historical concepts that had been used previously, such as the propensity to "blame the victim" as the mantra to explain the continued failure of African Americans. At the extreme this was augmented with a set of rationalizations of intellectual inferiority and the defectiveness of "Black culture," as scapegoats used to further institutionalize racism and classism with the goal of keeping African Americans in perpetual servitude.

According to I-NEWS Rocky Mountain PBS investigators Hubbard and Carnahan (2013), "In 1970, African Americans families earned 73% of White family incomes and Latino families earned 72%." By 2010 [ref. Fact Sheet 2010, p. 1], those numbers had fallen to about 60 percent and 50 percent respectively. The I-NEWS analysis focused on family income, poverty rates, high school and college graduation and home ownership, health and justice. These researchers referred to it as social erosion, as competition for the almighty dollar continued to displace Blacks in American cities while civil rights activism had dissipated, removing African Americans from their rightful space and place in American society. As time passed, other racial incidents, police brutality

ty across the nation, and the continued failure of schools to truly educate the masses of Black people grew in intensity. There were few attempts by the power structure to analyze what was occurring; the media had created another myth that the 1960s had brought forth some type of integration into America for Black Americans, mainly because a Black President had been elected. In reality, there was no sustained motivation to address the root of the problem. This would have caused consternation within the power structure. The victories gained during that tumultuous time in history were no longer visible.

The Continuing Plight of Educating Educators about African Americans

The cautious optimism of being patient that some Black leaders and their supporters preached to their constituents as they sought justice never came to fruition. Asking its populace to wait in abeyance for their dream has correlated with more incarcerations and a system that criminalizes Black and Latino youth, with passports into American prisons. The basic assumption that oppressed people had struggled for and gained some semblance of control over their lives was never fully realized, as this group lost more of its potency while its youth were carted off to prisons.

James (1998), in analyzing revolutionary Angela Davis' history of activism, shares that only through ongoing channels of resistance can Black people be liberated. Historically, after movements have occurred and people regress into complacency, the system turns on the heat of the machine and causes even more oppression. The early revolutionary Nat Turner stated, "Remember that ours is not war for robbery nor to satisfy our passion, it is a struggle for liberation" (Aptheker 1998, p. 43). Only through conscious action aimed at the root of the problem will African Americans regain ground lost because of complacency. Anything short of attacking the root of the problem lends itself to illusions that liberation is near.

The pipeline metaphor describing the school-to-jail track is a social phenomenon that has been occurring in American education for quite some time. Angela Davis (James 1998) argued that the prison pipeline is a well-orchestrated machine that depends on cheap labor and is often in cahoots with big industrialists as they seek out slave-labor to fatten their pocketbooks, while also keeping the class order operational. In the process a modern form of colonization is occurring in Black communities. As Cornell West describes it,

What has led to the weakening of black cultural institutions in asphalt jungles? Corporate market institutions have contributed greatly to their collapse. By corporate market institutions I mean that set of interlocking enterprises that have a disproportionate amount of capital, power, and exercise a disproportionate influence on how society is run and how our culture is shaped... These institutions have helped a seductive way of life, a culture of consumption that capitalizes on every opportunity to make money (2001, pp. 25-26).

Davis went on to argue that those imprisoned see themselves as political prisoners, incarcerated "victims of an oppressive politico-economic order [but] swiftly becoming conscious of the causes underlying their victimization" (James 1998, p. 47). In further analysis of Davis' work, James quotes Davis, "it goes without saying that the police would be unable to set into motion their racist machinery were they not sanctioned and supported by the judicial system" (Ibid, p. 47). Her indictment is toward a judicial system that is supposed to impose the rule of law fairly. Current data demonstrate the unparalleled rates of incarceration of America's Black youth. Data indicate problems beginning in early childhood education continue throughout public school

education. Yet some analysts use outdated concepts such as African Americans coming from a "culture of poverty," in fact caused by the economic racism that exists in American society, to accusing Blacks of possessing a monopoly on criminality, in fact caused by capitalists that continue to manipulate and create stereotypes of African Americans as criminally prone. This structural racism adds fuel to the ongoing debate about race relations. It further racializes African Americans, correlated with deep seated profiling used to keep the group in its intended place.

Rosemarie Allen (2016) utilizes 2014 data in education taken from the U.S. Department of Education, Office for Civil Rights, that reveal an historic pattern of African American children being disproportionately suspended and expelled from public schools (ref. Children's Defense Fund 1975; Skiba et al. 2002; U.S. Department of Education, Office for Civil Rights 2014). In Allen and Elizabeth Steed's 2016 research paper, discussed in a 2017 telephone interview, the authors indicate further support for Rausch and Skiba's contention (2004), that the impacts of suspensions on long-term child outcomes are substantial: In higher dropout rates, on disengagement from the educational process, in multiple suspensions, and in greater risk for entering the juvenile justice system.

The school-to-prison pipeline is well-orchestrated with an agenda that racializes children of color and sets them up for failure. Insensitive and culturally incompetent teachers are not equipped to successfully teach culturally different children. Data demonstrate the disparity between and among Black, Latino and White students. Other data indicate that education gaps keep growing for African Americans who have fallen victim to nonresponsive school districts. In a national context provided in *Lessons in Racial Justice and Movement Building: Dismantling the School-to-Prison Pipeline in Colorado and Nationally* (2004), designed and implemented by the Padres and Jovenes Unidos Organization of Denver, Colorado, researchers stated,

A defining feature of the country's public education system is the massive racial inequality and inequity across states, across communities and within schools. There has simply never been a time in U.S. history in which Blacks, Latino, Asian and indigenous families have not had to contend with systematic denial of education or relatively inequitable educational opportunities for students of color and those of White students have always been preserved.... In Denver, as in most places, the worst racial disparities were for offenses such as "disrespect," "insubordination," and "disorderly conduct." At the schools in which these highly-subjective categories frequently led to harsh disciplinary consequences, we found that it typically indicated far more about the heavily racialized views of respect, hierarchy, and order among educators of that school than it did about the character or conduct of the offending student (pp. 5-6).

The data in Table 1, a decade-and-a-half-old, demonstrated early on the disparity of suspensions between and among Black, Latino and White students in Denver Public Schools. One could easily generalize that similar disparities continue to exist in Denver and other large school districts where there are high numbers of children of color. Children that are suspended and/or expelled at early ages, in some cases from 0-8 ages, become candidates for juvenile activity and eventually prison. The double standard of discipline leads to over-incarceration of children as posited by Angela Davis (James 1998) and other researchers. Further research informs us of the cultural conflict, racism and discrimination that children of color face in American educational systems that lead to stress. For example, research psychologist Yvette Avila states: "If the school context devalues, denigrates or in any way

Table 1

Data Snapshot: School Discipline in Denver Public Schools
2003-2004 School Year
Source: Colorado Department of Education

Enrollment		Out – of – school Sus-pensions	OSS per 100 Students	Expulsion	Expulsion per 100 students	Referrals to Law En-forcement	Refer-rals per 100 Students
All Students	72103	13423	18.6	146	0.2	1399	1.9
Black	13577	4598	51	51	0.38	257	1.9
Latino	41166	7075	83	83	0.2	982	2.4
White	14220	1390	10	10	0.07	129	0.9

Cornell West (2001) stated,

The verdict of the Rodney King Case, which sparked the incidents in Los Angeles, was perceived to be wrong by the vast majority of Americans. But whites have often failed to acknowledge the widespread treatment of black people, especially black men, by law enforcement agencies, which

helped ignite the spark.

The verdict was merely the occasion for deep-seated rage to come to the surface. This rage is fed by the “silent” depression ravaging the country – in which real weekly wages of all American workers since 1973 have declined nearly 20 percent, while at the same time wealth has been upwardly distributed (p. 9).

Per custom, the media blamed this on the continued failure of African Americans. It is not only direct forms of violence by Whites against Blacks that causes collective resentment; there are other forms of violence that are institutionalized and are burning powder kegs. The violence following the Rodney King incident was but a manifestation of the anger and rage buried deep in the collective African American psyche, ready to explode. Manning Marable (2011) supports this contention as he argues that when oppressed groups feel that the accepted avenues for social change are blocked, “they may move to a new level of violence which could be targeted at officials, prominent executives and the police. The next stage of racial violence could become more sophisticated and terrifying for the authorities” (p. 118).

Angela Davis’ earlier analyses bespeak of the uprising through Black Lives Matters, a movement that seeks to expose the racist police state and its uses of incarceration as a form of social control. The untempered deaths that occurred in Black Communities, forcing the development of this organization, was a brewing issue. The continued murdering of Blacks in their communities became rage *ad infinitum*. The first part of an emergent hypothesis is that ongoing violence and the continued high rate of incarceration coalesced with the many recent deaths, bringing life back to what seemed to be a dying earlier movement. The second part is that the criminalization of Black people and the number of White police officers being cleared of homicide in the many deaths comes at a time when other socio-economic pressures such as poverty and lack of education keep growing.

One has to wonder if the colonization construct has found other ways of penetrating the collective conscience of a group. The theory of the internal colonial model developed by African American sociologists and used to explain the African American experience, seems to have taken a modern form. Social media and modern technology can become complicit in this endeavor; they can be double-edged swords, on the one hand awakening the consciousness of a group and on the other reeling youth into a make-believe world. Without the continued pressure upon a system intent on developing its class privilege through any means necessary, African Americans will sink deeper down the pyramidal structure. It was activism that heightened the awareness of the plight of African Americans in American society and it was activism that forced capitalist America to open its closed doors. African American communities are very aware that nothing has ever been given to them. It was through conscious activism that they achieved some semblance of

belittles the culture, language and class of the student, the child will experience psychological distress” (quoted in Hardy and Laszloffy 2006, p.28). These added burdens make it unlikely that graduation rates and eventual matriculation into colleges and universities will increase. Further, children that do not see reflections of themselves in school books and other educational materials in a positive fashion experience self-doubt and begin to question their identities.

Curricula to incorporate the positive contributions made by persons of color in public schools continue to bump heads with the system. A 2006 law likely has been violated as educational hegemony continues in public school districts across Colorado. Stories *cum* narratives, historical accounts, and other data indicating the positive contributions made by persons of color in public school curricula are still lacking. In 2016, Rep. Joe Salazar (who has since left the state legislature due to term limits) introduced amendments to a bill that included Asian Americans and an educational commission, with authority to make recommendations regarding culturally relevant curricula to state educators. Such legislation benefits all groups of color, as well as White students. Through three years of activism and organizing by a people-of-color coalition, the 2019 legislative session passed Colorado School Law 19-1192. In summary, it states that Colorado school districts will,

Concerning the inclusion of matters relating to American minorities in the teaching of social contributions in civil government in public schools, and, in connection therewith, establishing the history, culture, social contributions, and civil government in education commission to make recommendations to include the history, culture, and social contributions of American Indians, Latinos, African Americans, and Asian Americans ... and the intersectionality of significant social and cultural features within these communities, in the teaching and content standards for history and civics....

Through a deeper look back, one could conclude that multicultural education had been very threatening to the Master Narrative as the power structure continued its pursuit of educational hegemony.

Again looking back, at the apex of the chaos in Black neighborhoods, with spillover effects into many American cities, was the brutal beating of Rodney King in Los Angeles in 1991. This culminated in racial warfare, pitting Blacks and Latinos against urban police departments. The incident reignited the consciousness of Black activists, eventually leading to the founding of the Black Lives Matter Movement.

equity; that is currently dwindling. Somehow, this has gotten lost in the social materialism of the times, where the media is used to control our impulses, desires, and aspirations. It was not American benevolence that caused the upward mobility that some achieved; it was good old-fashioned activism and hard work. However, the dream has dissipated.

The Chicana/o Experience

Latinas/os have become the largest minority in the country. Mexican Americans, often referred to as Chicanas/os and other terms of identification including Hispanics, constitute the largest Latin American/Hispanic group in the country. Social demographers have demonstrated that this group constitutes 54% of the total Latino population in the United States, and the percentage is increasing at a tremendous rate. Mestizas/os (a mixture of two ethnic groups) identify with both their indigenous roots and their Spanish/Mexican roots, and in some cases also with African and other ethnic groups, leading to so-called multiracial/multicultural offspring. From the perspective of the dominant culture, the continued Latino population growth augmented by the continued influx of immigrants from beyond our southern borders, presents society with another level of social control issues and a problem that the power structure believes has gotten out of hand. The current diatribe by President Donald Trump has ignited the passion lying dormant in the collective will of La Raza, as Dreamers, individual supporters, and social justice organizations respond to reveille for La Raza by taking to the streets.

Europeans historically racialized this population and its historical antecedents beginning in the late 15th century, with pernicious consequences. As Maltby (2009; orig. 1968) describes:

In the United States, the collective memory of these silent antecedents remains clouded in remnants of prejudices and stereotypes whose roots go to colonial rivalries in the sixteenth century between Spanish America and English America, and to anti-Spanish propaganda in Protestant Europe and America that build into the *Leyenda Negra* (black legend), now centuries old, whose original intent was to denigrate Catholic Spanish culture and to portray Spaniards as a uniquely cruel and depraved race (p. 18).

Ironically, Mexican Americans faced denigration at the hands of the Spaniards resulting in the racial oppressor/oppressed dichotomy. The manacles of colonization began the process of tearing away this group's culture and language. Spaniards were complicit in developing a racial stratification system (the *casta* system) following the conquest of Mesoamerica, embedding color consciousness in the collective psyche of this group that remains today. Since the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo on February 2, 1848, Chicanas/os have been subjected to various forms of colonization. Mexican Americans were victims of historical illegal land grabbing and cultural invasion, continuing with currently unabashed violence on the lives of immigrants as they cross political borders, experiencing economic oppression and racism, which are but a few of the issues that have kept this group in a perpetual state of oppression. Through policies such as English Only, languages were taken from the group through educational systems instructed only in English. Within school districts, systematic discrimination further racialized Chicanas/os. They were often referred to as the "invisible minority" and an assortment of other demeaning terms as America developed a Black/White racial relations dichotomy.

Other policies and practices assisted in further dismantling of these cultures. For example, in the literature a policy criticized as *Americanization Policy* by Chicana/o scholars was created to acculturate Mexicans into "the American way of life," since historically they had been characterized as "uncivilized." In essence, this concept builds

on historic policies of the United States government (in turn tied to public opinion) that there is a standard set of cultural values that should be held in common by all citizens. Americanization is a term that can be used whenever the United States attempts to subjugate a culture or people in an attempt to westernize them (see www.chacha.com/question/what-is-the-americanization-policy). In theory, proponents of Americanization argue that success can only be obtained by going through this process. Alfredo Mirande (1985) stated, "one consequence of Americanization policy was the initiation of a process that has been termed *barrioization* of the Mexican community, which entailed the formation of residentially and socially segregated Chicano barrios or neighborhoods" (p. 19). Judith LeBlanc Flores and Eugene Garcia (1996) stated:

When immigrant students became shining academic stars, their success is often attributed to the values and habits of their native culture rather than their Americanization. There is some evidence that assimilation may actually inhibit academic success. Studies of Mexican immigrants suggest that those who maintain a strong identification with their native language and culture are more likely to succeed in schools than those who readily adopt American ways (p. xiii).

Wycoff and Del Castillo (2014) stressed:

Following conquest, imperialistic wars and annexation, conquerors destroy the culture, as if vanquishing it terminates the group's existence. However, what emerges is the written word; once it emerges from the conscious and unconscious depths of the oppressed either in written or oral tradition the group awakens and threatens the oppressor's control. Liberating forces that have been squelched throughout history, once rediscovered, become a threatening force that provides avenues for dialogue, creative expression and inspired imagination suppressed by educational hegemony. When this is combined with authentic dialogue whose purpose is to liberate the mind, knowledge is reconstructed for liberation purposes. Conversely, lack of dialogue leaves human beings easy prey to irrationality. When perspectives of the oppressed are transformed into the written word, the status quo feels threatened; therefore, repressive measures are taken to subdue the oppressed even more. This sabotage occurred during the movement as Indigenous, Mexican and Chicana/o cultural gifts had been purposely left out of the American Master Narrative (p. 1).

Similar to their Black counterparts, Latinas/os and Chicanas/os *writ large* have engaged in social revolution since the 15th century against European colonization, resulting in Mexican independence in 1821, followed by colonization after the Mexican - American War. There are distinct similarities as well as differences between the experiences of African Americans and Latinas/os in American society.

The Chicano Movement

The Chicana/o Movement was influenced by the Black Nationalist Movement in areas such as community and economic control in barrios (Chicana/o neighborhoods) and direct action developed through Brown Pride, realizing that youth needed something positive to relate to. Navarro (2005) shares that resistance has always been part of the Mexicana/o and Chicana/o experience, although playing out differently through time. He labels the most radical of Chicana/o politics as the "Epoch of Militant Protest Politics," practiced from 1966-1974 (p.303). During this period, it was dialectical forces that kept the Chicana/o in a perpetual state of oppression in American society; however, it also paved the road for the development of an intense critical

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consciousness spurred by different perspectives from various scholars with the specific intent of transforming the Chicana/o way of life. The four major pieces of the movement produced positive results in labor, land grants, youth education and politics.

There were precursors to this movement based on the civil rights movement. These can be traced back to a time before the momentous "Brown versus Board of Education" decision of 1954. Youth were treated as second-class citizens in public schools, often times being punished for speaking Spanish in the classroom. Similar to their African American counterparts, students were rarely introduced to the many contributions their ancestors made throughout history, essentially being left out of the American narrative. Chicano students were also segregated in public schools. As Muñoz (2007) stresses, Chicano lawyers laid the foundation for "Brown versus Board of Education" through legal means in several cases including but not limited to: *Jesus Salviatierra vs. Independent School District, Del Rio Texas* (1930); *Roberto Alvarez vs. Lemon Grove School District, San Diego, California* (1931); and *Westminster vs. Mendez*, Orange County, California (1947). The Chicana/o Movement pried open some of the doors that had been shut, particularly in the areas of education, youth leadership development, reclaiming ownership of land grants (through Reyes Lopez Tijerina and the Alianza), and political power through La Raza Unida Party, founded by José Angel Gutierrez of Crystal City, Texas.

Families were relegated to the working class for the most part with menial jobs, no benefits, and long hours. Yet their labor was instrumental in building the infrastructure of the Southwest as male and female workers labored in fields, canneries, packing houses and sweat shops. The issue in the agricultural industry was addressed by Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta, two labor activists who founded the United Farm Workers. Chicano valor was demonstrated in all of America's recent wars, defending democracy yet being denied full participation. The struggle that ensued placed La Raza on the government's radar screen only to later be pushed out. *Ya Basta* (Enough) became one of the battle cries as Chicanas/os took to the streets, organized protests and participated in developing progressive organizations during this epoch in American history.

Similar to the Black Movement, this movement encountered oppressive forces whose motivation was termination by any means possible. One philosophy of the movement was that you can destroy people and leaders but you cannot eradicate the experience of the people through their communities. Revolutionists of the Chicano Movement who experienced racism, sexism, classism and homophobia continued to produce

great works in the fields of literature, theatre, poetry and journalism – coupled with activism. In the dialectical struggle an in-between space was created, referred to as *nepantla*, or as Gloria Ansaldua defines it, "a dynamic place of transformation within which American studies and ethnic studies scholars have increasingly positioned themselves."

Leaders of the early Chicana/o Movement, particularly in Denver, Colorado, in 1963 initiated *Los Voluntarios*, a mainstream (not radical) organization, founded to advocate for the Spanish-speaking people of the state (Vigil 1999). Later on the organization changed its name to the *Crusade for Justice*, becoming a nationally known progressive and militant organization led by Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales. Its agenda was multilevel including but not limited to social control of the institutions in the community, the building of political power, support for other activist organizations, and youth leadership development. Eventually, it was infiltrated by several governmental agencies intent on destroying the movement. What was left was *Escuela Tlatelolco* in North Denver, a school dedicated to providing political and cultural education to its students. Recently, this icon in the Chicana/o community was closed.

Navarro (2005) states that the transformation from protest politics into a more "neoconservative epoch" (1975 – 1999) that he calls the *Yo Viva* Hispanic Generation, occurred because of "law enforcement's use of espionage, infiltration, subversion, and judicial litigation against [the Movement's] organizations and leaders (p. 402). A United States initiative referred to as the Counter Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO), referred to by Ernesto Vigil as a war on dissent, assisted in destabilizing the many radical efforts developed for liberation purposes. He uncovered thousands of documents regarding infiltration by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) on the *Crusade for Justice* (Vigil 1999).

Recent Chicana scholarship argues that "Chicana activists of the 1960s and 1970s created a multifaceted vision of liberation that continues to reverberate today as contemporary activists, artists, and intellectuals, both grassroots and academic struggle for, revise and rework the political legacy of Chicana feminism they inspired" (Blackwell 2011, p. 2). Women's contributions initially were left out of the movement but are currently being recaptured by Chicana scholars and the National Association of Chicano and Chicana Studies.

The victories of the Chicana/o Movement and the transformation into more mainstream politics during the Hispanic Era have not brought about sustained social change. As stressed earlier, some conditions have further deteriorated. Youth are incarcerated in prisons in disproportionate numbers, high school graduation rates are extremely low, and no long-term solutions to the immigration questions have emerged. Leaders of the Chicana/o Movement realized that resistance is what changes things. La Raza activists, similar to their African American counterparts, were painfully aware that nothing has ever been given to them. La Raza has had to fight fiercely for what most groups in American society take for granted. You can destroy people but you cannot destroy what has been created from their consciousness and what is etched in their minds and hearts.

Social Movements and Liberation

Social movements created in the 1960s serve as historical reminders to Americans about their rights and commensurate responsibilities to hold their government accountable. Movements seek to create avenues of social justice through activism. A fundamental goal of any liberation movement is to raise oppositional consciousness against the oppressor; then act on it. There are fundamental differences between one-issue movements and movements for liberation. Sometimes, they coalesce and work together, sometimes they act independently; but both types always seek out support and solidarity through intensive organizing,

Salient Antagonisms That Gave Rise to the Chicana/o Movement

Exogenous	Endogenous
Civil Rights Movement	History of Mexicano Resistance
New Left	Change in Socioeconomic Status
War on Poverty	Demographic Growth
Vietnam Antiwar Movement	Tijerina and the Alianza
Black Power Movement	Chavez and the UFW
Foreign Social Movements	Gonzales and the Crusade

Credit: Navarro, Armando. (2005) *Mexicano Political Experience in Occupied Aztlan: Struggles and Change*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield (p. 306).

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outreach, raising political awareness and ultimately activism. Elements coalesce and groups build solidarity during such movements. The culture construct becomes a liberating force as revolutionary writers pick up the pen and create images of oppression and resistance. Lessons crafted by poets and other writers have reinvigorated old discussions on slavery into modern day struggles via the power of the pen. American musical groups representing the oppressed have combined written word with music to create revolutionary lyrics to educate the people.

The dominant power structure has a different view of social movements and generally develops institutional approaches to eradicate revolutionary change. This structure's financial, economic, and material interests are employed as it uses media and an assortment of social mechanisms to reconstruct and negate critical consciousness. Its representatives view activists as dissenters and characterize them in negative ways. Dissent in American society is generally portrayed as disloyalty by the power structure as protesters and movement leaders practice civil disobedience, passive resistance and at times violence. Activists see things differently, beseeching for reconciliation between salient values that American democracy preaches and realities of racism, militarism, and economic exploitation, placing human life second to the almighty dollar. On some occasions, violence is inflicted by the guardians of the system that leads to mass incarceration and other unpleasant outcomes. However, resistance is as American as apple pie.

Liberating literature provides avenues for dialogue, creative expression, and inspired imagination. It emerges from suppression. It is through authentic dialogue – the purpose of which is to liberate the mind – that a process for discovering knowledge is created. Conversely, lack of dialogue leaves human beings easy prey to irrationality. In his classic book, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Brazilian educational liberationist Paulo Freire states, "The great humanistic and historic task of the oppressed is to liberate themselves and their oppressors as well. The oppressors, who oppress, exploit, and rape by virtue of their power, cannot find in this power the strength to liberate either the oppressed or themselves. Only the power that springs from the weakness of the oppressed will be sufficiently strong to free both" (p. 44).

Building Coalitions between Blacks and Browns

Although arguments persist that American society has been cured of racism, some argue that it is "alive and well." The racial paradigm in American society that has traditionally been sold in the marketplace needs to be turned upside down. According to Cornell West in *Race Matters*, "To engage in a serious discussion of race in America, we must begin not with the problems of black people, but with the flaws of American society—flaws rooted in historic inequalities and longstanding cultural stereotypes" (2001, p. 6). In a 2017 interview with the author, Lonnie McCabe made a poignant insight, "At times there is internal bigotry that persons of color manifest against each other. There is also bigotry in intragroup relations. Seldom is there agreement against a common enemy. Wounded spirits cannot act with principle. The historical trauma and pain that is present is released, looking for resolution." Perhaps we are at a critical juncture where we can engage in fruitful dialogue, but we must also be insistent in working out our own prejudices. These often have been fed to us by mainstream institutions and internalized, causing self-hate and violence. They correlate with a belief that what the master is telling us is truth, unquestionable by anyone. Internalized racism is as destructive to the individual as racism is to the group.

Too often oppressed groups are subjected to "divide and conquer" tactics, resulting in tension and division. Too often, oppressed groups get into what I term the, "I am more oppressed than you" syndrome, as the system tosses them a piece of cake and gleefully watch-

es them fight over the crumbs. Although much of the general public believes that there is automatic unity between and among oppressed groups, I disagree. Nicolas Vaca, in *Presumed Alliance: The Unspoken Alliance between Latinos and Blacks and What It Means for America* (2004), through a series of vignettes, outlines how presumed alliances can lead to failure in winning political campaigns. His book reveals how Latino politicians that assumed such alliances were somehow natural, learned that this assumption would end in failure. As stated in a 2004 analysis of Vaca's (ref. Google),

As Latino and African Americans increasingly live side by side in large urban centers, as well as in suburban clusters, the idealized concept of a "Rainbow Coalition" would suggest that these two disenfranchised groups are natural political allies. Indeed, as the number of Latinos has increased dramatically over the last ten years, competition over power and resources between these two groups has led to surprisingly antagonistic and uncooperative interactions. Many African Americans now view Latinos, because of their growth in numbers, as a threat to their social, economic, and political gains.

Although Vaca is extremely critical, he challenges readers to learn from these experiences and come to terms with some of the realities of past social movement coalitions, in order to lift the blinders and engage in authentic dialogue so that healing can occur and future coalitions can be developed. When there is no trust, it is easy to turn against your own brothers and sisters, making them the enemy. Lonnie McCabe told me, "We have been transformed into silos, [independent of each other, instead of interdependent]. The economic systems both private and nonprofit make us compete against each other for the almighty dollar."

Intentionality should be one of the values organizationally and individually internalized when building coalitions; that is, there should be a specific commitment that through the process of dialogue and "agreeing to disagree," we will stay together. The results may reflect solidarity, which has to be built among groups and organizations. O'Brien and Shannon (2001), from a Catholic perspective, describe solidarity as the development of "interdependence among individuals ... sensed as a system determining relationships in the contemporary world, [with] economic, cultural, political, and religious elements, and accepted as a moral category. When interdependence becomes recognized in this way, the correlative response as a moral and social attitude, as a 'virtue,' is solidarity" (p. 421). Cox and Mullan (2001, p.9) describe solidarity as "hidden knowledge of situated social relations, needs and struggles." Solidarity can also entail integration and mutual time spent on other issues that we may not be familiar with. The process of solidarity is supposed to bind human beings together to find the common ground and form a dialogical process with concomitant strategies to change the world.

There are examples that reflect coalition-building between Blacks and Browns with demonstrable success, as outlined in *Black-Brown Solidarity: Racial Politics in the New Gulf South*. In this 2013 book John Marquez, after sharing stories about coalition building, states,

These examples demonstrate how solidarity is a dynamic component of subjectivity, even when it is not acted upon organizationally or in ways that are understood to be politically relevant or successful according to hegemonic conceptualizations of what constitutes politics. Solidarity is far more a practice than a phenomenon to be measured as a failure or a success. Whether it is expressed in an intraminority or interminority framework, solidarity acts more as a verb than a noun. It can vary in individuals as much as it can between groups of individuals. Solidarity is an attrib-

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ute of the daily lives and thoughts of the subaltern, even when he or she voices opposition to it. As it pertains to social movements, [it is] reminiscent in Gramsci's concept of "organic intellectuals" (p.43).

Musical lyricist Gil Scott-Heron, in "The Mind of Gil Scott-Heron," performs a poem accompanied with music entitled "José Campos Torres." Campos Torres was murdered by Houston police officers without reason. His lyrics inform the listeners that death and destruction are always around the corner in Black and Brown communities. Scott-Heron's commitment to social justice crosses borders without constraint as he tells the story of this Viet Nam veteran murdered by police without anyone paying the price for their actions. In people-of-color communities it is well known that police protect property not people. He was joined in resistance by Leo Tanguma, a nationally recognized muralist now residing in Arvada, Colorado, but living in Houston at the time this tragedy occurred. Tanguma's mural depicts the insensitivity of the police department. Within the context of the mural, Tanguma takes the observer to the lake where the police dumped Campos Torres' dead body. Eventually his mural was destroyed but Gil Scott-Heron's music and lyrics remain.

Complete trust must also be established when engaging in coalition development. Without trust, the force that brings and keeps people bonded together, failure is inevitable. In a 2017 interview, Rosemarie Allen, a leading researcher in the area of suspensions and expulsions of African Americans and Latinas/os in public schools, stated: "Coalition building is vital to the success of both groups. We are all oppressed with a common enemy, institutional racism and white supremacy." She reminded this author of the many African slaves that entered Mexico. Mexico outlawed slavery before the United States did, forcing U.S. slaves to come into Mexico where they were protected. Mexican officials refused to send them back to the U.S. In her estimation, this was a strong alliance at a time when slaves were severely oppressed.

Again referencing Lonnie McCabe, she stated in our interview that from her experience, engagement between Blacks and Browns requires "dealing with the real issues that have divided the two groups." She added, "Some folks don't want to air their dirty laundry in public. It also requires sacrifice, a willingness to put ourselves out on the line, stand up for one another, and defend each other." When members of oppressed groups have gotten a taste of heaven, they don't want to go back to hell. She went on, "It takes courage to stand up, especially when you have been involved in a struggle and have gained some kind of status, that can be taken from you." Building organizational collaboration does not always mean that groups have to give up or compromise their most needed concerns. However, it may require placing them on the table to be vetted with other community concerns. The waters get murky when activists pursuing collaboration feel that the issue they are wedded to is "falling down" the hierarchy of needs. When trust, authentic dialogue and solidarity coalesce, it can be a recipe for success.

There are certain conditions that need to be present when initiating a coalition. The following principles regarding authentic dialogue, taken from the 2004 *Regis University Institute for Common Good* conference and dialogue, can be used as the engagement process begins.

- Everyone must be willing to interact as equals;
- All must be capable of empathic listening;
- All must be willing to reveal their underlying assumptions;
- All must be willing to suspend judgment when listening to others;
- All must seek first to understand others, not to debate and persuade;

All must realize the goal is mutual understanding and creating new ways of thinking together;

There should be no rush to deciding – that comes after dialogue is complete.

Conclusion

People of color are experiencing population growth. There are several reasons that justify the building of Black/Brown coalitions. History has not been kind to either group; therefore, the foundation for struggles of liberation were laid, some of which have been successful, others unsuccessful. Blacks and Chicanas/os have similar issues that need to be addressed through concrete action, such as classism, institutionalized racism, homophobia, and sexism. Both groups have an immense amount of experience for cross pollination and analysis. Their combined experience includes skills in building organizations, funding development and leadership, all key to addressing tough social issues.

As suggested in this article, there is some history about Black/Brown coalitions that can provide insight, strategies, and avenues that can be pursued. This should be researched and vetted further. The principle issue is will; people must buy into this process. Current leadership from both groups is needed to re-ignite this arduous process. As stressed earlier, this requires authentic dialogue. Such dialogue does not wallow in past failures. In its essence it is critical and utilized as a tool of liberation, where participants agree to disagree and practice other salient values as they find common ground. I believe that we need to establish trust in ourselves and our abilities, so that together we can make great contributions to our communities and society in general. Commitment and dedication to analyzing cross-group issues is essential to building this coalition. Only we can stop the "divide and conquer tactics" that have confronted us.

However, we need to be existential in our approach. We need to find meaning for ourselves and the value of life on this earth. As activists, sometimes we gravitate to places and spaces where hope is lost, a sense of nihilism. We need to avoid traditional nihilism. As defined by Pence, nihilism is "in ethics, believing that nothing has meaning or value; in politics, believing that governments should be destroyed to create a better future" (2000, p. 37). Such negativity will not produce the results that build solidarity. Learning from the past seems to be a constructive alternative. Perhaps, Cornell West's definition is a start: "Nihilism is to be understood here not as a philosophic doctrine that there are no rational grounds for legitimate standards or authority; it is, far more, the lived experience of coping with life of horrifying meaninglessness, hopelessness, and (most important) lovelessness" (2001, p. 23).

I believe that the time has come to work together, to move toward meaningfulness. Healing has to be at the core of this new social change paradigm: Healing the many wounded spirits that roam urban jungles and rural landscapes, wondering what the next seven generations hold for its offspring. As activists we need to further reclaim cultural ceremonies and rituals of the past, as we heal from the many battles we have engaged in for social justice while also building a better world for our children.

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NEW VOICES IN OLD LANDS: NATIVE AMERICAN MUSEUM
CONSULTATIONS IN ARCHES, CANYONLANDS, AND
HOVENWEEP NATIONAL PARKS

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ABSTRACT

In the United States, Native peoples are reconnecting with traditional lands, resources, and objects and influencing how these are interpreted in museums. The National Park Service (NPS) interprets Native resources and then educates millions of visitors through museums, brochures, outdoor displays, and ranger-guided tours. This paper is about three studies in Utah conducted by our research team for Arches National Park, Canyonlands National Park, and Hovenweep National Monument. The analysis is based on 696 interviews with representatives of 9 tribes/pueblos. As part of these interviews, there were 349 recommendations made to the NPS, most of which focused on the content of museums and outdoor displays. Discussed here are recommendations that potentially influence how the NPS understands and interprets the cultural resources of these tribes and pueblos.

KEY WORDS: New heritage voices in museums, Native Americans, Colorado heritage, Utah heritage, post-colonial museums, applied cultural anthropology

The National Park Service (NPS) was established as an agency of the United States of America by the Congress in 1916 through the Organic Act. The NPS was charged by its establishment legislation to manage all national parklands and resources that had been set aside by Congress beginning in the late 1800s, as well as all new parklands declared from this time forward. The primary dual mandate of the new NPS agency was to preserve natural and cultural resources within specific parks and to provide public access. Indeed, when the NPS agency mission was updated in 2000, the new statement emphasized working with partner organizations and communities to extend the benefits of conservation. NPS work on interpretation and education has grown to reflect this.

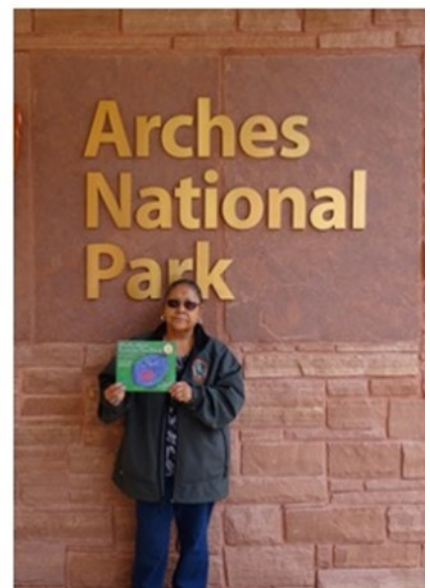
Public education has become a primary means of accomplishing both preservation and public access. The NPS today educates tens of millions of people annually through museums,

pamphlets, outdoor displays, and ranger-guided tours (Figure 1). Each NPS unit has one or more tourist visitor centers where a free interpretative video explains the most charismatic components of the park. Nearby is a museum that provides further information. At the bookshop, hundreds of educational materials are sold, from maps, to postcards, to children's and technical books. Beyond the visitor center are dozens of trails lined with interpretative signage and displays.

Park rangers provide guided educa-

Figure 1: Public education display and Paiute woman whose book is sold in visitor center

Interpretation for Millions



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New Voices in Old Lands...

tional tours at key locations. Tourists come to parks to be educated, wowed by their natural splendor and cultural interest, and cautioned about how to preserve these national treasures.

Our understandings of park interpretations are connected to the broader issue of how museums have represented Native peoples. Many museum displays have celebrated colonial progress narratives. This essay in contrast, considers how museums might reflect diverse, intersecting, and transforming identities. American anthropologists since Boas have engaged with museums as sites for arguments against social evolutionist frameworks and for an accurate interpretation of the cultures and values of Native American and other indigenous peoples (Stocking 1988). Native American peoples and scholars of American culture have led efforts to decolonize national and tribal museums (Clifford 1997; Lonetree 2012).

This essay considers the new museum in two ways by reframing the conventional boundaries of the museum to examine a spectrum of educational and interpretive contexts from displays situated “inside” at the visitor center to “outside” displays and signage that guide and educate visitors throughout the park. While there is no hard line marking the division between “inside” and “outside” domains, we aim to understand the different functions of interpretation as visitors move through various park spaces. Second, the essay discussed how research can provide a range of “Native voices,” which the NPS is increasingly trying to understand. We examine the actual process by which antiquated conceptions are challenged and rewritten in contemporary displays and signage.

Today, Native Americans own only a fraction of their aboriginal lands as reservation lands. Southern Paiutes, for example, have lost 99% of their aboriginal lands to encroachment (Stoffle, Arnold and Bullets 2016). Native Americans and other indigenous peoples stipulate that their aboriginal connections to homelands that derive from Creation have bound peoples and their ancestral lands in reciprocal obligations of nurturance and care (Pleshet 2018). Despite being removed, Native Americans continue to desire to strengthen their connections with aboriginal lands.

The Studies

Native peoples share cultural perspectives in order to influence interpretation and management as they strive to reconnect with aboriginal lands, resources, and objects (Stoffle and Arnold 2003, Stoffle et al. 2015). The NPS conducts formal consultation on a government-to-government basis to collect new information to be used in museums, brochures, outdoor displays, and ranger-guided tours. One type of official study is the park-funded Ethnographic

Overview and Assessment (EOA).

This analysis is based on three EOAs: Arches National Park (Arch) (Stoffle et al. 2016); Canyonlands National Park (Canyonlands) (Stoffle et al. 2017a); and Hovenweep National Monument (Hovenweep) (Stoffle et al. 2019) (Figure 2). Researchers conducted formal and informal EOA interviews with representatives of the following nine tribes and pueblos who participated in one or more of these studies: (1) Acoma Pueblo, (2) Ute Indian Tribe of the Uintah and Ouray Reservation, (3) Southern Ute Indian Tribe, (4) Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah, (5) Kaibab Band of Paiute Indians, (6) Navajo Nation, (7) Hopi Tribe, (8) Zuni Pueblo – A:shiwi, and (9) Santa Clara Pueblo. The analysis is based on 696 ethnographic interviews (168 at Arches, 316 at Canyonlands, and 212 at Hovenweep).

Tribal and pueblo representatives shared common perspectives, thus providing a clear and unified story about these parklands, natural resources, and objects. Overall these constitute a *Native American perspective*, though certain differences do exist. These perspectives enrich what was already being told in park interpretations or being practiced in land management. They provide new ideas about Native American history, the cultural meaning of the land, the cultural centrality of natural resources, and the traditional use of objects. In general, the participating tribal and pueblo representatives are supportive of park museums and their management. The representatives also agreed that the traditional people of these areas each have valid alternative voices.

New Voices for Old Issues

The following cases illustrate new Native American park resource identifications and interpretations, which differ in important ways from current park interpretations. It is important to understand that these recommendations do not obligate the NPS to change or add to interpretive displays, however in recent years these parks have demonstrated an interest in changing their educational materials to reflect Native American voices. Today many of these

Figure 2: Arches, Canyonlands, and Hovenweep parks in Utah and Colorado



recommendations are being implemented.

The phrase “contribute a voice to a discussion” is commonly understood. Here the technical concept of “voice” is used to design the studies, frame the analysis, and assess the impacts of recommendations. Anthropologists have studied “voice” as a set of relationships of agency or power, that of the speaker and the listener, all in the context within which speech is produced and received. Keane (2001:268) notes, “Research on voice directs attention to the diverse processes through which social identities are represented, performed, transformed, evaluated and contested.” Scholars working with Native American narratives as verbal art maintain that voice involves both content and form of speech; that is, how something is said on the one hand and what is said on the other (Hymes 1981; Basso 1996). Finally, the concept of voice necessarily raises questions of who has the authority to claim a voice for a social group or community. This authenticity issue was often raised during EOA interviews by displays that quote a Native American without there being clear evidence of tribal approval. The notion of voice signals the possibility of convergent and divergent perspectives both between and within communities. So multivocality is expected to emerge from consultations between the NPS and tribes and pueblos.

The concept of voice authenticity raises the question of who is it that the speech represents. Clearly, in studies of the relationships between tribes/pueblos and parks, the voices incorporated in any report should represent, with some level of confidence, the ethnic groups involved. A methodology has been developed and utilized in these studies that involves (1) tribes/pueblo governments agreeing to participate in the study; (2) official representatives being chosen by their tribal/pueblo government and their participation supported; (3) confidential interview situations provided by the ethnographic research team and the park; (4) all report text being first reviewed by the representatives, their cultural departments, and if required their tribal/pueblo councils; and (5) the NPS agreeing not to modify either tribal/pueblo interpretations or recommendations.

Representatives made 349 recommendations, which are cross-tabulated in Table 1 by type of recommendation made and the park where it was made. Recommendation by park were 103 at Arches, 150 at Canyonlands, and 96 at Hovenweep.

Figure 3: AICC Map; Canyonlands and Green River

Arches and Canyonlands centered on Traditional Crossing of the Colorado River



Table 1. Recommendations by Park and Type

Park	Signage/ Museum	Site Management	Teaching/ Visiting	Resource Collection	Total
Arches	33	31	30	9	103
Canyonlands	78	47	19	6	150
Hovenweep	76	8	12	0	96
Total	187	86	61	15	349

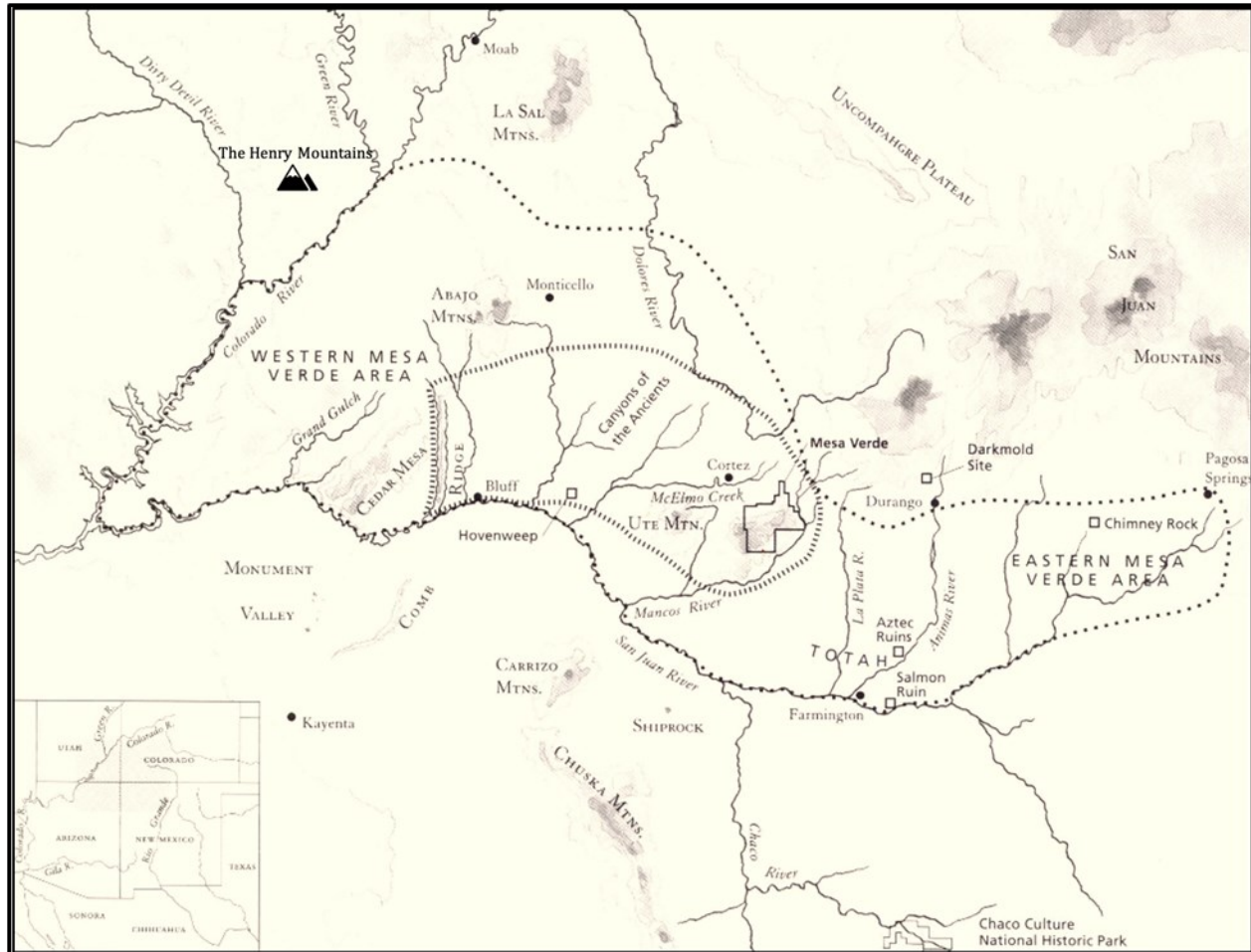
In each study, park recommendations broadly fell into one of four categories. First, they were about changing signage or updating museum information at both visitor centers and at interpreted sites along trails. Second, they were about how archaeology sites could be better managed. Third, they were about bringing groups of tribal/pueblo youth and other members into the park for camping, teaching, and ceremony. Fourth, they were about gaining permission to collect traditional plants and natural resources like clay and paint pigments.

Large Scale Interpretive Themes

Parks define the large-scale interpretative themes related to the history and meaning of the region, as well as cultural and natural features found with the park. These themes usually are defined in the official interpretative movie, which the park presents to situate the visitor.

Three themes posed as questions help us to situate the parks studied: (1) Where is this park in space and time; (2) What is this place, and by implication why did the US Congress set it aside for protection and use by the public; and (3) What can we actually know about this place, especially both its contemporary meaning to and use in the distant past by Native Americans?

Figure 4: The Mesa Verde World, adapted from Noble (2014: viii)



Where is This Region?

Management focuses on lands and resources within an officially defined boundary specially identified by the US Congress when the park was established; however these boundaries isolate the park from a broader Native American landscape. As such, while management often excludes discussions of resources located outside the park boundary, it remains the case that these parklands and cultural features cannot be fully understood without reference to an interconnected cultural landscape.

Two of the three parks are part of a much larger regional landscape integrated by functionally interdependent natural and cultural resources. The aboriginal cultural landscape within which these two parks are situated is called the American Indian Crossing of the Colorado River (AICC) (Figure 3). Moab, Utah, is a place aboriginally used to cross the Colorado River because there are no massive canyon walls, which elsewhere make getting down to and up from the river channel very difficult. This landscape is bounded by three topographically large Sky Islands (US Forest Service 2020) or massifs: the La Sal Mountains to the north, the Abajo Mountains to the south, and the Henry Mountains to the west. The region is dissected by the Colorado River and the Green River, which unite in Canyonlands. In addition, there are

a variety of medium-sized creeks and rivers, all of which flow from these massifs into the Colorado River.

The traditional crossing of the Colorado River, at what is now Moab, Utah, is the lifeline of social interaction and place of ceremonial activity that is centered on a traditional trail that connects the entire region. For about 3000 years, Indian life at and near this trail crossing involved residential communities primarily supported by irrigated agriculture. In addition, the people had diverse hunting and gathering areas in the surrounding mountains. These activities often involved hundreds of people who participated together over months at a time. This way of life was maintained by a complex system of functionally integrated ceremonies and local communities. Native American stories cannot be fully understood without reference to this river crossing and the cultural resources and places located elsewhere.

Another regional system of residential and cultural places has been termed the Mesa Verde World (Noble 2014), which defines the setting of Hovenweep. This region—named for the charismatic, Mesa Verde National Park—is defined by archaeologists as an integrated complex of common cultural forms and architectural styles, occurring from the junction of the Colorado and San Juan Rivers to the flats on the southwest edges of the San Juan Mountains (Figure 4). This region

was developed over a span of 800 years, from approximately AD 500 to AD 1300, after which construction and ceremony within the entire area largely abruptly ceased.

According to representatives, Hovenweep is a ceremonial complex constructed for the purpose of revitalizing the land and balancing life through spiritual practice. These ceremonies and religious structures served the people of the Mesa Verde World. Therefore, in order to interpret places located inside the park, Hovenweep must be understood as part of regional cultural landscapes.

What is this Place?

The Native American EOA participants define each of the three parks as a particular kind of place containing specific cultural resources. Arches is a place abundant with stone arches that were made at Creation as portals to other dimensions (Stoffle et al. 2020). The Arches area is not a place of residence. These portals are considered powerful and potentially dangerous when used by untrained individuals, thus making this an exclusive use zone for spiritual leaders.

Canyonlands is at the junction of two major rivers where water has always provided riparian habitat, including the potential for many irrigated farming settlements in the lowlands and ceremony in the highlands. Locations within the southern district of Canyonlands, called the Needles District, contain relatively flat riparian zones developed for farming using runoff from the Abajo Mountains. One example is Salt Creek, which was a center of village life and agriculture. Throughout Canyonlands there are special use areas designated at Creation to be used for ceremony. These are often marked by paintings and peckings.

Hovenweep, at the time its structures were constructed and utilized (AD 1100 -1200s), was a place situated away from the major communities which are located far away in the dry farming regions to the north and west and irrigated agricultural areas to the south. At Hovenweep, religious and ceremonial leaders came from great distances to collectively understand time from the stars, sun, and moon; to get guidance from each other regarding the frequently reoccurring climate changes. Religious leaders sent prayers for rain and weather stabilization to the mountains through the springs at the canyon heads. The carefully made structures both measured time with passing light and they elevated religious leaders for views of the stars and surrounding sky islands.

Can We Actually Know the Past?

"We May Never Know" is the title of an interpretive sign at the visitor's center in Hovenweep. From the tribal/pueblo perspective, this statement exemplifies a significant issue. Signs such as this, which have been made without adequate consultation, rely heavily on scientific findings thus they focus on what is deemed to be known or "proven." Interpretations shared with park visitors often present the meaning of park features as somehow un-

knowable and cloaked in mystery. Yet that mystery and uncertainty is actually a product of limited scientific and archaeological knowledge, which do not adequately incorporate traditional knowledge that has been transmitted orally over generations. Native traditions have moved forward through space and time. In many respects, the practices and the knowledge held by the people who inhabited the parks from AD 900-1300 continue today as living traditions. One representative expressed the following:

It says 'many questions may never be answered.' That is totally wrong. Something else needs to be put here because this is wrong off the start. We know!

According to representatives, such a statement wrongly suggests to park visitors that the people who once inhabited and used the park no longer exist. Representatives affirm that to know the past, the park managers need to consult with them, the descendants of its original inhabitants.

The meaning and function of Hovenweep structures is another point of discussion between archaeologists and tribal/pueblo representatives (Figure 5). For most of the last 100 years, archaeologists have described the structures as strangely located residential homes, perhaps built for "defensive" purposes. In our EOA studies, tribal and pueblo representatives offered a distinctly different interpretation, which is best exemplified by this statement from a pueblo representative:

These [structures] had a very unique function, cosmological observation, it was a place for the seclusion of rain priests, and religious leaders to carry on praying for the people. Some of our medicine songs are not intended to be heard by anybody but the leaders so they were sung in a confined space.

These structures were not meant for family living. You would not see children playing around here because of that angle. And it is not a defensive structure. It was for prayers, to do the songs and prayers that ordinary people are not allowed to hear.

Clearly, the interpretation and management of a set of special ceremonial structures—ones built to support astronomers and climatol-

Figure 5: Hovenweep ceremonial structures



What is the Purpose of Hovenweep Structures?



ogists, who interact with the earth's climate and stars—would make this a different kind of place, when compared with the idea that Hovenweep structures were simply old homes, that were built in isolated canyons away from the primary large farming villages of the time.

Indoor Interpretative Displays

All of the three parks have indoor interpretative displays to orientate the visitor and explain the park. The following are three examples of Native American recommendations regarding changing, expanding, or even adding to displays.

That is Not a Ute family.

In the interpretative museum at Arches, only one panel discusses Native Americans. Dominating this panel is a large old photo (probably from the late 1890s) of what appears to be a family in front of their summer dwelling, which is a wooden structure. The panel is labeled "A Ute Family;" representatives interpreted this to be a photo of a Navajo and not a Ute family. Also, the home structure was that of a type that Navajo families would construct in the summer in contrast with the Utes, whose dwellings were deer-hide tents.

From one perspective, this is an easy correction; however, it was deemed to be important because there are few images of late 1800s Native lifestyles in this area and so mislabeling one of the few photographs is especially problematic. The park missed an important opportunity to portray and interpret local Native peoples. The misinterpretation of clothing, housing, and lifestyle was perceived to potentially have a significant impact on visitor perceptions.

Who Lived in Canyonlands First?

Some interpretative signs were either wrong from an Indian perspective or were misleading (Figure 6). In Canyonlands, one of the displays contained the following text: "Even though American Indians had passed through the area, the cowboys were the first permanent settlers." Representatives maintain that they had permanently lived along the waterways within the park while using the surrounding uplands and mountains since time immemorial. They pointed out that Native Americans were in these lands when the Europeans first arrived and continue to live here today.

The social construction of cowboys was disputed by representatives, who pointed out that many of the cowboys in the area were Utes,

Paiutes, and Navajos (Figure 7). This observation not only elaborates on the adaptive economic roles of Native people in the late 1800s and early 1900s, but also directly challenges the US national distinction between Indians and cowboys, and raises the national narrative of Indian extinction (Dobyns 1998). These observations made by representatives have the potential to stimulate a formal discussion of cultural adaptations of Native people to new frontier technologies, economies, and occupations.

Mimura (2010), for example, uses early twentieth-century photographs of the Nez Perce to reframe a US national narrative of Indian extinction, drawing attention to examples of successful adaptation of Indian people living near Colville, Washington. Nez Perce successfully adapted to new and challenging circumstances and to most aspects of frontier society. One of their adaptations, beginning in the 1860s, was to the cattle-ranching economy, which they contributed to as working cowboys (Mimura 2010: 701). They adopted cowboy dress, such as angora chaps, and sought horses like the selectively bred Appaloosa. Styles of work of all cowboys in the area were heavily influenced by Native American culture. These signs of cultural hybridity document the adaptive versatility of the Indian people in this frontier society. Similar adaptations exist in southeastern Utah and can become a theme in park displays.

What Kind of Stick Is on Display?

One interpretative display at Canyonlands contains a range of items, including a long stick identified in the display as a farming tool, pieces of dried corn, and a pot (Figure 8). This display documents how the people along the permanent stream known today as Salt Creek were corn farmers and pot makers. The long stick was identified as a digging stick that was used to make holes in the ground in which seeds could be planted.

Representatives interpreted the stick as one used in the common traditional game often called *shinny*, which is a form of Native American field hockey. The shinny stick was an item of personal property

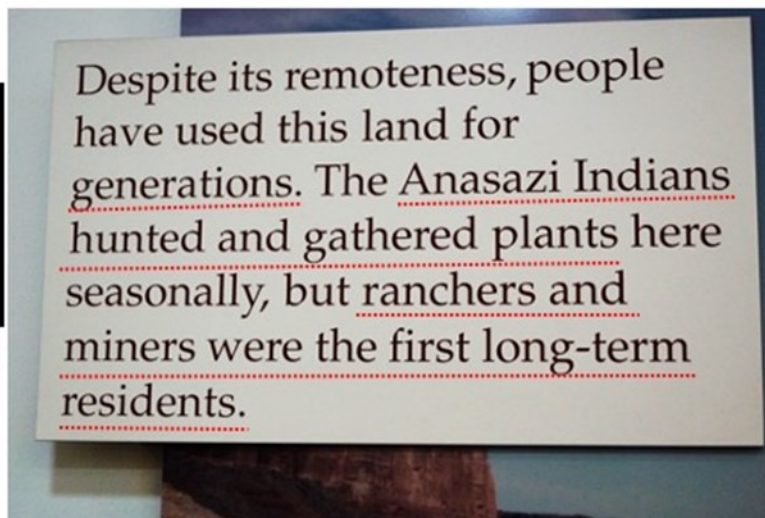
Figure 6: First Residents

Who Resided Here?

Clovis Point dating back 13,000 years.



Farming was practiced for hundreds of years in the Moab Valley... (Smithsonian Insider 2012)



"Anasazi" is not an appropriate term...

The first long-term residents were the American Indian people that lived in this region since time immemorial...

Figure 7: Indian Cowboys and Charlie Redd (Schenck and the Museum of Moab 2013)



Charlie Redd became a successful rancher in San Juan County and often employed Native Americans as cowboys, as shown in this photograph. Born in Bluff, Utah, Redd later attended high school in Provo before returning to San Juan County to manage the newly formed La Sal Livestock Company around 1915. Eventually becoming full owner of the company, Redd also opened a store in La Sal and served as postmaster for many years. Active in politics and promoting the cattle industry, Redd was also named to the Order of the British Empire by Queen Elizabeth II for his services and friendship with Great Britain.

owned by women for use in the game. One female representative stated:

This almost looks like a shinny stick [at the Needles Visitor Center]. There is that shinny game, and you get a whole bunch of those sticks and go out and play. My sister has got a whole bunch of those sticks in a bag, we use them for those games. It looks just like it.

Other representatives who recognized it as a game stick noted that similar sticks are used today, and the game of shinny continues to be played among various tribes/pueblos.

Evidence supports these identifications of the shinny stick. In *Games of the North American Indians*, Culin (1992) includes a drawing of a shinny stick in the Brooklyn Institute Museum associated with the Zuni Pueblo. The shinny stick in the image is 35 inches long and appears straight before curving and flattening out at the bottom (Culins 1992).

The stick in the Canyonlands display case was found cached with two similar sticks, which are between 35 and 37 inches long and display a shape identical to that in the Culins' drawing. Thus, it is highly likely that all three of these sticks are shinny sticks, not farming tools as

the sign interprets.

The question about the cultural meaning of the shinny game to the Native American women is more difficult to address. Where the sticks were found suggest they were ceremonially deposited and this implies a cultural significance for the game beyond recreation. The stick in the display case, was found with two other sticks high in the back of a small overhang. Immediately above them is a charismatic painting called "The All American Man." Rock paintings are long known to be signifiers of ceremonial activity and importance. By implication, placing three shinny game sticks just below this image suggest they too were ceremonially important and that the game itself involved women's ceremonies. Furthermore, this could have implications regarding the vernacular name of the painting in the overhang; considering the gendered construct of this specific game, it may be more appropriate to identify the painting as the "All American Woman." Also, the legs and feet of the painted figure appear to be shinny sticks. Ultimately, changing the name and interpretation of such a famous painting would require extensive consultation with Native peoples who are associated with the area.

The new interpretation of this shinny stick does not take away from the observations that these people were successful corn farmers

Figure 8: Shinny game and Shinny sticks



What Kind of Stick is on Display?



(Southwest Folklife Alliance 2014)

and pot makers, but instead now adds to the interpretation that women played shinny here. Somewhere, in what is now Canyonlands along Salt Creek, women had a large playing field devoted to their game of shinny. According to Walker's document-based analysis of Indian women in Utah in the late 1890s:

The contest of 'shinny' was also popular. This was a soccer-like game, played on a two or three hundred-foot field with a four-inch buckskin ball stuffed with deer hair. Two teams of ten to twenty-five women competed, each wielding a three and a half or four foot, curved-at-the-bottom, hockey-like stick. The goal of the game was to move the ball across the opponents' goal line. The activity might consume an afternoon (Walker 1992:110).

There is now an opportunity for park museum managers to talk more about women and their roles in society because the shinny stick greatly broadens interpretations that have limited female gendered roles to grinding corn and making pottery. Women now can be understood as having a more complex life where competition with other women is desired, and they collectively engaged in ceremonies. These new interpretations shift the stick in the display from a simple agricultural implement used by men for farming to a game piece that illustrates the complexity of women's life in society.

Outdoor Interpretative Displays

Outdoor interpretation in the form of signs, guidebooks, and guided-ranger tours occur in all parks. This section presents Native American recommendations regarding three outdoor interpretative displays.

The Ute Pecking Panel

In Arches, there is a prominent rock face near one of the few permanent springs. On a major portion of the rock panel are peckings of Indian people riding horses and surrounded by peckings of moun-

tain sheep (Figure 9). Even without consultation, this panel was interpreted by the park as Ute people hunting sheep from horseback. The area and panel were entitled by the park as the "Ute Panel." A wheelchair access trail was made from the parking lot to the location, obviously a highlight of a park that otherwise is largely devoid of Native cultural materials.

The Ute and Paiute tribal representatives largely agreed with the park's interpretation and approved of it being celebrated as one of their cultural places. Two interpretative issues, however, were raised. First, the mountain sheep live in rugged terrain, so they were hunted on foot not horseback. Second, mountain sheep are a spirit helper who normally works with rain shaman. So the peckings of sheep may not represent hunting activity but instead a more important ceremony conducted for individual, community, or world balancing and health.

Elsewhere Paiute elders identified a similar pecking during the Old Spanish Trail ethnographic study for the NPS (Stoffle et al. 2008: 235). At a point where the trail crossed Meadow Valley Wash in Nevada, there is a pecking interpreted by elders as the Spanish travelers who were dangerous had harmed Paiute people. The mountain sheep on the pecking panel were placed there as a part of ceremonies to protect the Indian people from Spanish intrusion and diseases (Figure 10). It is not a hunting scene.

Other representatives generally agreed these peckings depicting Ute or Paiute activities; however some representatives talked about other dimensions of the panel including the nearby spring and viewscapes from the area. Spring water and horizon views were perceived as components of why ceremonial activities were conducted at this location.

Representatives of the Zuni Pueblo, for example, paid almost no attention to the peckings of horse riders and mountain sheep but instead focused nearby on what appeared to be an abstract pecking that was not interpreted by the park, Ute, Paiute nor other pueblo representatives. After a long discussion in the Zuni language, the rep-

Figure 9: Ute or Paiute pecking panel



representatives decided to explain the pecking as a sign of their emergence from the third world into the present world. This movement between worlds was accomplished by climbing up a plant that grows in springs, and this pecking was of that plant (Figure 11). Clearly, to the Zuni representatives, a celebration of emergence occurred (perhaps many times) at this location and was commemorated by the single pecking of the sacred plant. At a nearby spring, Zuni representatives moved down to the water and extracted a number of these emergence plants, which they identified as *Phragmites* (Figure 12). They then further explained emergence and the special role—including specific ceremonial uses—of the plant.

Though this case includes accurate park interpretations and subsequent public celebration of the location as a component of Ute culture, the meaning of the pecking panel was greatly expanded by the Zuni interpretation of their emergence plant. This illustrates the importance of multiples voices in parks and how consultation can expand the meaning

of a place and surrounding resources.

Aztec Butte Granaries

Aztec Butte and Lower Butte are located in the northern regions of Canyonlands, approximately five miles southwest of the Island in the Sky Visitor's Center. These buttes contain built structures under their rims, which have been identified by archaeologists as ancient Puebloan "granaries" (Figures 13, 14). However, visiting representatives expressed the culture-based interpretation that these structures were not "granaries" and that such a description leaves out vital information about the origin and complex uses of the butte and these structures. All participating tribes and pueblos identified multiple other uses for the structures. No one agreed with the use of the name Aztec which is a EuroAmerican place name,

The buttes are at a higher elevation and spatially distant from the major agricultural communities

Figure 10: Meadow Valley, Nevada, panel on Old Spanish Trail



Figure 11: Zuni origin pecking



found thousands of feet lower and miles away in the park. At 6300 feet elevation, Aztec Butte is 2370 feet above villages located along the nearby portion of the Green River, which is at 3930 feet in elevation. The mesa on which the butte is located is without surface water, and as such, the mesa area is not prime land for farming.

The high elevation is, however, conducive to other activities where storage would be necessary. Located near the buttes are the remnants of a scarred ponderosa pine with evidence of bow and staff removal. Analysis of the scars places the wood removal around 1818-1819, several decades before Euro-American presence in the region (Welsh and Olsen 1969:151). This use of the tree would have ceremonial significance, requiring the storage of specific tools in a nearby location.

Zuni interpreted the buttes as a place for medicine men. The fine grain river sand found inside the small structures had to have been carried up high vertical cliffs to the location. River sand is connected with

the powerful water of the Green River and thus would be integral to healing ceremonies.

Representatives talked about the importance of storing ceremonial items away from where uninitiated people and children reside. Since ceremonial items contain power they may only be handled by certain members of a tribe/pueblo. Items used in ceremonies have the ability to harm people not trained in their handling and use. Structures such as the buttes are reminiscent of ones pueblo representatives have on their reservation for storage of ceremonial effects.

Navajo representatives provided an additional interpretation that focused on small eroded stone structures located on the top of the butte. These they maintained are associated with the Eagle Catching. The eagle is a sacred species with ceremonial involvement. The height of the butte would be integral to Eagle Catching practices, and the structures under the rim could serve as storage for the items used in this process. Ute representatives indicated that

Figure 12: A Zuni representative holding a phragmites plant



Figure 13: Aztec Buttes with structures built below rims



the panoramic viewscapes were important for vision questing, as well as contributing to cultural value of the place for the activities by religious elites (Figure 15). The height of the buttes is important because three distant snowcapped sky islands, the La Sal massif, the Abajo massif, and the Henry Mountains, are all visible from the buttes.

Signage at the structures defines them as an "Ancestral Puebloan Pantry." Such an interpretation simplifies the complexity of the area and range of cultural practices associated with the butte and surrounding areas. Representatives maintain that their interpretations more accurately define how Native Americans used these high dry buttes and highlight the styles of their own cultural uses.

Concluding Assessment

Aboriginally, Native American people resided and adapted to traditional lands for more than 13,000 years. Their adaptations were deep, complex, and largely sustainable (Stoffle, Toupal, and Zedeno 2003). During this time the natural resources of traditional lands were understood, modified, and adapted to, thus creating what is today called Traditional Ecological

Knowledge (TEK). Events of importance happened and were incorporated into oral history and added to the people's knowledge of the world. Climate changed, old crops diminished and new ones were used, droughts came followed by floods, all of these changes became further foundations for environmental adaptations and stability. The lands, resources, and people of the Americas were co-adapted during this phase. The people and the land began to "talk with each other" (Stoffle, Arnold, and Bullettts 2016).

European conquest and colonialization resulted in the removal of Native Americans from their lands either through mass relocations (Decker 2004), settler encroachments (Hansen 2013), or up to 90% depopulation from diseases (Dobyns 1983). The process of removal was justified by the colonial society as a rights-based action, grounded in irreconcilable differences in culture and lifestyle and the divine impetus of civilization (Jennings 1976; Stoffle et al. 2017b). Colonial heritage

museums were designed to publically display colonial justifications for separation (Decker 2004; Cummins, Farmer, and Russell 2013).

In the current post-colonial world Native American people are

Figure 14: Structure below rim of butte, river sand inside





Figure 15: Panoramic view from top of butte, Henry Mountains on skyline



being invited to return to aboriginal lands currently held and managed by US federal and state agencies. These consultations occur through formal government-to-government protocols and they can result in the co-management of traditional lands, resources, and heritage. One argument for the return of Native people has been to re/establish a new balance of ideas and actions in order to increase land and cultural (heritage) sustainability. Another reason is to get better interpretations of the past. Museums are helping agencies to move beyond their colonial roots by listening and responding to the voices of Native Americans. Applied cultural anthropologists are facilitating this process by conducting ethnographic studies in partnership with tribes/pueblos and agencies.

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THE CASE FOR ETHNOGRAPHY AND COMMUNITY-LED APPROACHES IN AFFORDABLE HOUSING AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

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ABSTRACT

In keeping with the theme of this issue of *The Applied Anthropologist*, this article reflects on the application of theory to applied research. Specifically, it examines a past affordable housing research project conducted by the co-authors. The authors look at the ways that work undertaken for that project did and did not align with community-led theoretical approaches, particularly Merrill Singer's theory of community-centered praxis (1994). Singer proposes that an anthropologist's role should be to use their research skills to help self-defined communities and target groups decide on the best course of action for their communities, and to aid them in realizing their goals. In addition, this article examines the impact and significance of incorporating qualitative ethnographic research in the affordable housing sector early on in the research process. The theoretical importance of holism in applied anthropological research, a concept which is pervasive and fundamental throughout anthropology and discussed in detail by authors such as Parkin and Ulijaszek (2007), is also emphasized. The article features an example of a contemporary project which incorporates these elements and advocates for including them in future research projects.

KEY WORDS: affordable housing; community development; community-centered praxis; ethnographic research; holism; qualitative research

Introduction

In the fall of 2017, Max Mattisson and Saniego Sanchez, along with fellow graduate students in the University of North Texas MA/MS in Applied Anthropology program, co-created a research paper under the supervision of Dr. Andrew Nelson. This article takes a retrospective approach to look back at the Nelson et al. project and evaluates how well it aligned with Merrill Singer's theory of community-centered praxis (1994). The authors go on to use this example to illustrate the importance of incorporating qualitative, community-centered ethnographic research early on in the research/program or policy development process, as well as the importance of taking a holistic approach to challenges in the affordable housing sector.

The Nelson et al. (2017) project centered around understanding the experience of people across the United States who were either living in affordable housing or seeking affordable housing assistance. The research was conducted for a narrowly defined purpose at the request of our client, the National Housing Conference, and consisted of interviews conducted with affordable housing recipients/seekers. These interviews allowed us to understand their distinct experiences and produced a large amount of valuable qualitative data that could potentially inform public policy. For the aforementioned Nelson et al. (2017) project, our client was seeking to confirm their understanding of the existing housing landscape by gathering concrete qualitative data. Our client also wanted this data to inform a marketing strategy for one of their affordable housing advocacy programs (National Housing Conference n.d.). However, through the use of semi-structured interviews asking open-ended and unbiased questions, our research team was also able to gain an in-depth understanding into some of the pervasive struggles and barriers that the participants faced in relation to seeking and/or living in affordable housing.

The Importance of Ethnography in Affordable Housing

In many cases, as with the Nelson et al. (2017) project, organizations gather qualitative ethnographic data about housing and community development after the main quantitative research has

been analyzed (often this quantitative research is based on data from standardized national measures such as the U.S. Census). In these cases, qualitative ethnographic data is often used for illustrative and marketing purposes that create an emotional connection between a new program and the actual people participating in the program. This data is also often used to confirm findings from the earlier quantitative analysis. While these forms of qualitative research are important, there is also potential for greater impact through qualitative ethnographic research if that research is done earlier in the program development process and recognized as essential data. As stated by LeCompte and Schensul (2010, p. 2), "ethnography assumes that researchers must first discover what people actually do and the reasons they give for doing it before trying to interpret their experience or theories derived from professional and academic disciplines." By gathering this data early on, qualitative ethnographic research can be exploratory, inductive, and descriptive, favoring validity (LeCompte and Schensul 2010, p. 22); whereas subsequent iterative quantitative research can be better targeted and more explanatory and deductive. In this way, quantitative research can be used to confirm theories and information uncovered in qualitative ethnographic research with standardized measures to test the reliability and generalizability of the ethnographic research conducted (LeCompte and Schensul 2010, p. 22).

Incorporating Singer's Theory of Community-Centered Praxis

By using Merrill Singer's theory of community-centered praxis to inform qualitative ethnographic research, the impact of ethnographic research can be even further amplified. Singer posits that the best way to conduct meaningful research is to consult directly with the community seeking change and to aid them in developing solutions and identifying issues (Singer 1994, pp. 340-341). The theory states that this method of empowering the community can lead to collaborative development of theories that can explain "the nature of the problems that are of central concern to the community." This can, in turn, lead to the development of meaningful solutions to these problems (Singer 1994, p. 341).

While the project mentioned above does not completely fit within Singer's theoretical framework, certain aspects do. In particular, the data collection process shows parallels to Singer's framework in two ways. First, many of the interviews in our section of the Nelson et al. (2017) paper were secured by working through a community-based organization which provides transitional and affordable housing along with support services in the Denver metro area. Secondly, our research began without a particular premise in mind for a specific problem that needed to be solved. The semi-structured interviews allowed our research team to first understand the unique experience of the participants while giving them wide latitude over all aspects of how to address their situation, including the ability to frame which prominent issues need to be addressed.

Taking a Holistic Approach

Furthermore, this research revealed the myriad connections that branch out from surface level affordable housing issues and showed the importance of utilizing a holistic theoretical approach when looking at affordable housing. These issues, as described by interviewees, included lack of health care and limited-to-no disposable income to treat medical/health problems. In one case, this forced a research participant to choose between following through with necessary surgeries to alleviate pain and discomfort, and losing employment while they recovered, thereby risking homelessness by not meeting a transitional housing program's employment requirements (Nelson et al. 2017, p. 22). Other research participants lacked access to an affordable and convenient location for childcare or were left to rely on family/extended family for short-term housing during difficult transitional periods (Nelson et al. 2017, pp. 23-24).

In the affordable housing sector, as with most public sector issues, there is a strong pull to view affordable housing issues in isolation and not in connection with the issues listed above, in contrast to the holistic viewpoint. This position is common in all sectors as organizations are generally formed for specific purposes and may have limited funding and capacity for research and program development for projects to address issues which, at first glance, may appear to be outside the scope of the organization's mission. Despite this, in recent years, it has become more common for organizations in the affordable housing sector to recognize the interconnected nature of the issues that affect affordable housing. As such, some organizations have shifted their research policy and program development approach to be more holistic. In Colorado, such organizations include Housing Colorado, the Colorado Health Foundation, and the Colorado Housing and Finance Authority. To some extent, these organizations have even begun to reframe housing challenges by recognizing affordable housing as an issue connected to public health (Housing Colorado 2020; Colorado Health Foundation n.d.).

In addition to taking a holistic approach to addressing affordable housing issues, Singer's theory dictates that organizations should be continually involved in gathering direct community level ethnographic data, and that organizations should use this data to inform their actions. It is equally as important that they allow the community to define the areas where they are seeking change. Furthermore, organizations should not only be involved in community level data collection and outreach but also in working collaboratively with the community in the development of affordable housing solutions as early in the research/program or policy development process as possible.

Barriers to Implementation

There are many barriers to taking this approach such as the amount of time, labor cost, and resources a community-centered ap-

proach requires. Additionally, increased community engagement holds externally placed organizations like National Housing Conference accountable to communities and community-based organizations. This may put organizations like the National Housing Conference in a position where they do not feel like they are able to assist with what the community is advocating for. An organization may also find itself in a position where it believes there are better and more feasible solutions available than the ones offered by the community. Another barrier to this approach is that it can be seen as subjective, valuing input from community members who are the most engaged in the process over the needs of others in the community who did not speak up, participate in an interview session, or who do not speak the same primary language as the ethnographer. However, applied anthropologists bring to the table skills in technical research and stakeholder engagement which can aid communities and community-based organizations in navigating many of these potential barriers (Singer 1994, p. 341).

A Contemporary Example of Community-Centered Praxis

There are examples of research taking place today that are fairly well-aligned with Singer's concept of community-centered praxis, such as the current collaborative research among the Denver Housing Authority (DHA), academic researchers, and the Sun Valley community in Denver, Colorado, regarding the redevelopment of the Sun Valley affordable housing complex. This collaborative research project utilized exploratory quantitative and qualitative data collection to influence the direction of future research and to push for changes that benefit the community (Auerbach, Carter, and Dickson 2020). It also heavily focused on the relationship between housing and public health by involving the community in both data collection and data analysis processes (Auerbach, Carter, and Dickson 2020). For example, Sun Valley residents were hired to aid in the analysis of their annual 13-page survey. One direct outcome of this engagement was that the residents indicated a need for more child-care facilities onsite, which led to a redraft of the project final design plan to meet this need (Auerbach, Carter, and Dickson 2020). This insight by the researchers and community participants at Sun Valley directly connects with a need that arose during the interviews in our research project, that of parents highlighting the importance of access to an affordable and convenient location for childcare (Nelson et al. 2017, pp. 23-24). Researchers on this project are also utilizing innovative qualitative research approaches such as distributing cameras to residents so that they can document their experiences living in Sun Valley and provide their feedback on the redevelopment process. The researchers are then following up with subsequent interviews to discuss what residents have documented (Auerbach, Carter, and Dickson, 2020). This collaborative research project aptly reflects Singer's community-centered praxis ideals by involving the community in the decision-making process and implementing the identified needs into the redevelopment of the affordable housing complex.

Conclusion

In conclusion, our previous experience conducting ethnographic research on affordable housing has demonstrated to us the importance of ethnographic work in this sector, and shown the interconnections among the socioeconomic barriers to qualifying for, securing, and maintaining affordable housing. While the Nelson et al. (2017) research project overall did not live up to Singer's ideals of community-centered praxis, some aspects did, such as the open-ended nature of the questions asked during interviews, working through community-based organizations to set up interviews, and the focus on the interviewees' experiences which allows interviewees to guide the discussion. Therefore, based on this experience and the application of Singer's theory, we

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believe that future affordable housing research that incorporates ethnography into the early stages of program development, is community led, and that views affordable housing issues holistically has the potential to be highly impactful. We are excited about the prospect of similar research projects emerging which are aligned with this approach and hope to see more in the future.

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