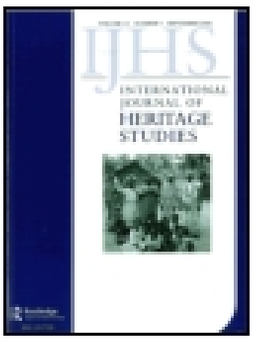

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The meaning of place in the anthracite region of Northeastern Pennsylvania

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ABSTRACT

The Anthracite Heritage Project was founded to uncover one of the most tragic incidents in US labour history, the Lattimer Massacre. Initially, this work complemented the existing commemorative practices found in the anthracite coal region of Northeastern Pennsylvania. The various communities tend to remember a coal heritage that includes the story of migration, labour and survival. Recently, a new immigrant population has entered the region, and they are facing many of the prejudices and xenophobic fears that the European immigrants faced several generations ago. The history of the Lattimer Massacre, as well as other archaeological work that focuses explicitly on issues of immigration, has enabled the Anthracite Heritage Project to use and expand heritage to confront the racist tendencies found in the established community. The use of bridging social capital is one strategy being used to help better integrate the new population in this economically depressed area of Northern Appalachia.

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Introduction

Communities make decisions about the memories and meanings they wish to inscribe upon a heritage landscape. Public memory is frequently about seizing political control of the narrative in which subaltern views are often suppressed or relegated to peripheral positions within the larger narrative. New and more encompassing narratives are usually difficult to negotiate. Understanding the meaning of heritage and knowing the actors involved in the creation of the meaning of heritage is important for situating a heritage project in a community (Brunner 1986, 142–146; Martin and Wodak 2003, 6). Waterton and Smith (2010, 9) call for a more critical practice of community engagement as they recognise the politics behind the negotiation of memory, place, identity and cultural expression. They note the complexity of dealing with communities and recognise that communities are continually in flux, unstable and uncertain. Waterton and Smith (2010, 9) reference Burkett's study (2001, 241) to explain that we need to be careful to not think of communities as homogeneous or to deny differences. Doing so ignores disharmony, power and marginality. The consequence is that some heritage is legitimised, while other heritage is subordinated.

Logan (2012) notes that cultural heritage should also consider cultural diversity and enforcing human rights. He cautions us that official heritage interventions, which may be performed to achieve

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political goals, can also undermine rather than strengthen community identity, cultural diversity and human rights. While it is imperative that we critically think about the ways heritage is created and the political purposes it serves, it is also important to think about how we can mobilise our heritage work and address social justice issues (Shackel 2013; Little and Shackel 2014).

Since 2009, the Anthracite Heritage Project has been performing heritage work in the anthracite region of Northeastern Pennsylvania (NEPA), the northernmost reaches of Appalachia in the United States. The programme is situated within the Centre for Heritage Resource Studies in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Maryland. Members of the Anthracite Heritage Project are working with the local community conducting oral histories, performing historical archaeology, and doing site interpretation while documenting the struggle to control the narrative of the region, which is plagued with high unemployment, poor standard of living, substandard schools and poor health care (Shackel et al. 2011; Shackel and Roller 2012, 2013; Keil and Keil 2015). While the heritage of the region is about the immigration that occurred a century ago, the community is uneasy about accepting the new wave of immigration to the area. The Anthracite Heritage Project is working to illuminate the history and memory of the place and to reveal subordinated heritage. It is also using strategies to bridge the received heritage with the stories of the new immigrants.

Background: NEPA

While anthracite coal in NEPA was initially found in the late eighteenth century, coal extraction became the main source of the region's economy by the 1850s and dominated the region for over a century. The anthracite veins in NEPA cover about 484 square miles and contain most of the known anthracite in the world. They are located in several narrow bands in three fields – southern, middle and northern – which run in a northeasterly direction. Most of the northeastern United States became dependent on this fossil fuel for industry and heating houses, creating a demand that sustained industrial growth in NEPA until after First World War (Wallace 1987).

By the middle of the nineteenth century, German, English, Irish, Scottish and Welsh immigrants comprised the main workforce of the coal industry. However, by the 1880s, immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe began to outnumber their predecessors in many NEPA coal mining communities. The fast-growing immigrant population in the United States led to a national discussion of anti-immigration sentiment in the United States that resulted in legislation, such as the Chinese Exclusion Act (1882) and nation-specific quota laws (1909 and 1924). The anti-immigration sentiment was also widely felt in NEPA where cultural differences and competition for jobs aimed much of this bitterness toward to the newcomers (Turner 1990, 5).

By the turn of the twentieth century, the anthracite coal industry employed about 180,000 workers and was extracting over 100 million tonnes of coal per year. While profitable for the coal operators for many years, the mining industry had the highest mortality rate of any profession in the US. When the boys and men went into the mine in the morning, they did not know if they would see another day. As many as 1500 men a year lost their lives as a result of cave-ins, explosions and flooding (Richards 2002, 7).

The coal operators ensured that there was a steady flow of immigration to the area, therefore, the high mortality rate in the coal industry had very little impact on their profits. They considered human labour as interchangeable and expendable. The high levels of unemployment as a result of steady immigration also enabled coal operators to keep wages low. While the anthracite coal mining industry faced its first gradual and steady decline after the First World War due to the increased use of other fossil fuels, the industry deteriorated precipitously after the Second World War. The pervasive physical reminders of this once powerful industry, still visible in the scarred landscape and culm banks scattered throughout the region, invoke a heritage of hard work, tough economic times and the struggle of new immigrants to survive in an unyielding, unsympathetic, largely unregulated capitalist economy (Turner 1977, 1984; Tarone 2004).

Bridging social capital

A recent survey by the National Bureau of Economic Research used national data collected by the Centre for Disease Control and Prevention to discover why people still choose to live in declining cities. The report indicates that United States residents of declining cities appear less happy than other Americans. Newer residents of these cities appear to be as unhappy as longer term residents, and yet people continue to move to these areas. The data indicates that residents are willing to sacrifice more happiness in exchange for relative higher incomes and lower housing costs (Glaeser, Joshi-Ghani, and Ziv 2014). Years of declining coal industry in NEPA and the flight of capital has left this region impoverished and undercapitalised. The survey indicates that NEPA (which includes the cities of Scranton, Wilkes-Barre and Hazleton) is the unhappiest region in the United States (Glaeser, Joshi-Ghani, and Ziv 2014).

The economic decline in the region, along with the lack of satisfaction with present lifeways, probably impacts the way the region's heritage has developed over the past several generations. The official narrative of the region is the glorification of a specific set of immigrants from a specific era. It emphasises a masculine history – men of Southern and Eastern European backgrounds who came here in the nineteenth century, working in coal mines in pursuit of anthracite coal extraction. The narrative includes the hardships that these immigrants endured as newcomers to a relatively unfriendly and xenophobic society. At the time they were chronicled as 'the worst specimens of humanity to be found anywhere in the world' (Greene 1968, 114). Today, however, the European immigrants are commemorated and celebrated in many ways. There are mine tours in several towns in NEPA, as well as a monument to the Molly McGuires (a group of Irish workers who resisted labour exploitation). The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania operates a state site known as Eckley Miners' Village, a preserved and partially recreated 1850s mining town that interprets nineteenth- and early twentieth-century coal mining life. The Anthracite Heritage Museum in Scranton exhibits the history of mining in the region. Many of the heritage celebrations in the area are about overcoming hardships through performing hard work. Eastern Europeans, the most recent historic newcomers from the turn of the twentieth century, continue to celebrate their heritage through local festivals and at church bazaars. Slavic dishes such as pierogis, haluptki and halushki are the mainstay delicacies of most festivities in the region.

The descendants of these celebrated immigrants are now the power brokers of the region, holding political office, owning major businesses, and controlling and staffing the police department. The harsh reality is that many of the newest immigrants of the twenty-first century, the majority of them being of Latino descent, face the same racial prejudices by the established European-descent community with little reflection or sympathy by the established community for the new immigrant.

With this dynamic in mind, one of our goals for the Anthracite Heritage Project is to develop a common meaning on the heritage landscape, which will allow us to connect the narrative of immigration and racialisation in the past to the current social and economic conditions in the region. The emphasis on the heritage of immigration can potentially bridge a common experience between the established European-descent populations with the new Latino immigrants. Therefore, while we are not proposing to reverse the narrative, we are trying to build bridges between disparate communities with the ultimate goal of using heritage to create a bridging social capital in a racially tense and poverty-stricken region. Bridging social capital occurs when we can connect socially heterogeneous groups (Putnam 2000; Little and Shackel 2014).

For Robert Putnam, an American Sociologist, there are different types of social capital – bonding social capital and bridging social capital. Bonding is exclusive and homogenising. It builds internal cohesion within groups, such as self-serving exclusive gangs and hierarchical patronage systems. Conversely, bridging acts to cross social divides and creates networks between socially heterogeneous groups (Putnam 2000). The networking of individuals and groups enhances community productivity and cohesion. Horizontal networks of individual citizens and groups that enhance community productivity and cohesion are positive social capital assets (Little 2007, 149). Bridging social capital is a

way of bringing individuals and communities together, finding a common heritage, and promoting a socially just present and future (Arefi 2003).

The Levine Museum of the New South in Charlotte, North Carolina, responded to a finding in Robert Putnam's report on social capital that identified the city as having a low level of intergroup trust. The museum developed exhibitions specifically around issues of race, racism and trust. In 2004, its first effort to address the issue of trust was an installation entitled 'Courage'. The exhibition addressed the history of school desegregation. Working with a community group, the museum brought in professionals from across the city to develop focused discussions on this topic. Farrell and Medvedeva (2010, 20) identify what made this project engaging:

> The hallmarks of the project are engaging and provocative questions that get people talking about tough issues: Who judges you without knowing you? Who do you judge? What parts of your cultural heritage have you kept? Let go of? What cultural aspects of the South most surprised you?

The museum used a historical event to develop a deeper understanding of some of the contemporary challenges that face the community. The commitment to community is now an important part of the museum's mission. The Levine Museum of the New South has taken a leadership role in their region for developing civic programmes that address demographic changes.

A prominent example of developing a common heritage of a historic phenomenon and linking the historic to the present and linking it to a group not originally associated with the historic site is the Tenement Museum in New York City. While we often hear how immigrants once toiled in poor working environments, the new immigrant still faces these conditions today. For instance, in New York City in the early twenty-first century, about 75% of those employed in the garment factories are immigrants, and the Labour Department considers approximately three-quarters of these work places to be sweatshops. As soon as one of the sweatshops is closed by the Labour Department, they spring up in other places with a ready workforce. The new immigrant is willing to work in substandard working conditions for below legal minimum wages because these places are the best employment opportunity that they have (Ševcenko 2004; Russell-Ciardi 2008, 42). Much like a century ago, people debate about sweatshops and discuss what should be done about labour abuses. Therefore, the Tenement Museum is an important place that helps visitors recognise and identify with the experiences of immigrants, both historic as well as new. The immigrant experience is one condition that helps unite people across time and culture. Those involved in the museum believe that historical discussions of the immigrants' situation can create a sense of empathy and tolerance for the new immigrants (Russell-Ciardi 2008, 42).

Another example is the story of Lowell National Historical Park. The park was established in 1978 to tell the story of the American Industrial Revolution, immigration and the labour movement. The park is also committed to making its interpretation reflective and applicable to the surrounding community. Lowell now has the largest Cambodian population in the United States, many being refugees of the Khmer Rouge. The minority population has grown from about 6% in 1980 to about 51% in 2013. Since many in the new population did not connect to the National Park they now have community input into programmes and exhibits, which allows Lowell National Historical Park, to be relevant to life and culture today. Community members have a voice in the interpretive directions in the park including more interpretive programmes related to the new immigrant (Bowser 2000, 10–11).

Starting in January 2014, 20 museums and historic sites in the United States launched the National Dialogues on Immigration Project. These programmes are about using historical perspectives to connect the new immigrant populations to places and historical sites where they might not have an obvious connection. The goal is to create a dialogue on immigration and use the past to help address some contemporary issues relevant to the new immigrants. Much like places associated with the International Sites of Conscience, these museums are creating a safe space for open dialogue. The development of these safe places are timely since there are nationwide protests in the United States related to both rejection and acceptance of the migrants into the country (National Dialogues on Immigration 2015).

Over half of the foreign-born population living in the United States today are people coming from Mexico, the Caribbean and South America. The Southeastern United States is now the fastest

growing Latino region. Recently, the Levine Museum of the New South, Atlanta History Centre and Birmingham Civil Rights have developed a project titled 'Latino new south' with the goal of connecting southern museums and Latino audiences by emphasising immigrant history (Levine Museum of the New South 2015).

Much like the above examples, the Anthracite Heritage project is trying to bridge the heritage of the situated community with its most recent immigrants. Our goal is to use the concept of immigration to bridge the Latino immigrant to the long-time resident to help develop a common heritage – immigration – which can lead to greater dialogue and potentially reduced forms of racism in the community.

By illuminating the injustices of the past and the ideologies that created these inequalities, and then connecting this history to the present social, political and economic situation, the project aims to make the community aware of the conditions in which they live today. Revealing these conditions allows the community an opportunity to address contemporary social justice issues and work for change in society. The goal is that archaeologists and all heritage scholars can act with social justice in mind to help change social, political and economic conditions. While our work began several years ago, the reaction to our scholarship has not been uniformly positive, nor has the community become overly sympathetic toward the new immigrant.

One of our first archaeology projects was to perform a survey of the site of a little-known labour massacre in the village of Lattimer, Pennsylvania. The Lattimer Massacre occurred on 10 September 1897 as a result of a month-long strike by immigrant coal miners who sought better wages and safer working conditions. They came to the anthracite region of Pennsylvania in order to escape poverty and oppression in their home country; however, they found themselves in the same or worse living conditions than what they had left in Eastern and Southern Europe. Close to four hundred men marched several miles on a public road with the goal of closing the coal mines in Lattimer. They were stopped by the sheriff and over 100 men from his posse, and members of the coal and iron police. A scuffle ensued, someone yelled fire, and members of the posse and coal and iron police fired into the group of unarmed protesters. Many were shot in the back while trying to escape the incident. The massacre left 25 mine workers dead, and the sheriff and his men were found innocent by a juried court. The incident has nearly been forgotten. Not surprisingly, the event is missing from the official memory of our country and reflects the control capital has over the memory of the industrialisation of America (Novak 1978; Shackel and Roller 2012; 2013; Roller 2013).

The investigation of the Lattimer Massacre began with a metal detector survey of the massacre site. The survey findings, including bullets related to the battle, stirred many conversations in the community. Our archaeology and subsequent discussions of the massacre began to raise awareness of the importance of working-class heritage and the contributions made by the immigrant labourers. Our work also showed how interested the community is in claiming the history of Lattimer for different political purposes. Hazleton, the largest city near Lattimer, as well as other NEPA communities have recently had a major influx of immigrants and the story of immigrant labourers has been used to justify the way different people view and treat these individuals today. Connecting the community's heritage to pro-immigration and anti-immigration sentiment and policies has led to some lively and important discussions about race and migration in contemporary United States (Roller 2013; Shackel 2013).

Performing oral histories and archaeology in coal towns in NEPA continues to yield stories of hardship and struggle that the miners and their families confronted for several generations. They endured poverty, lacked educational opportunities, faced discrimination and did not live in a healthy environment. Many late nineteenth-century immigrants fled the tyranny of the European feudal system only to find themselves in a type of wage slavery working for coal companies where coal operators controlled the daily lives of the working community, including everything from their work schedule to their access to food, goods, housing and even religion. Cultural differences between the new immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe and the established English-speaking community created barriers and tensions developed because of the growing population and scarcity of employment (Greene 1968).

The Latino situation in NEPA

Recently, many areas of NEPA have experienced a significant increase of Latino immigrants from South America and the Caribbean. They are perceived by the traditional white population as outsiders and invaders who are changing the dominant white European culture of the region. The NEPA community is divided about how to treat the newcomers. Recorded in oral histories and blog posts, some long-time residents believe that the community should reach out to them and help those who are struggling. They claim that their ancestors were rebuffed by the established population and we should use this poor treatment as a lesson to try to help the newcomers. Others claim that the immigrants are here only to collect welfare benefits and, therefore, should not receive any form of public assistance. They claim that the new immigrant should make it on their own. After all, they say, their ancestors faced similar obstacles without any assistance programmes, therefore, the new immigrants should be responsible for bettering their own economic situation.

The arrival of these new immigrants was stimulated by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania offering large tax incentives to attract new businesses starting in the mid-1990s. Companies like Coca-Cola, Hershey, Office Max, Simmons Bedding Company, Michaels, Network Solutions, AutoZone, General Mills, WEIR Minerals, EB Brands, Cargill and Amazon have moved their distribution centres to the Hazleton area because of easy shipping access on nearby interstate highways (Reuters 2008). These incentives created about 5000 unskilled jobs in factories and distribution centres in the region. The majority of people who filled these jobs are of Hispanic descent, with some coming from other US urban areas such as New York and New Jersey. The jobs are strenuous and low-paying, however, the housing in NEPA is also relatively inexpensive and a family can survive with one full-time employee. While Hazleton's population peaked at 38,000 in 1940, it had dropped to about 21,000 in 2000. Five percent of the population was identified as Hispanic in 2000, within five years the city grew to about 31,000 with about 30% of the population identifying as Hispanic. In 2015, the percentage of the Hispanic population has grown to over 40% (Bahadur 2006; Englund 2007, 887). In much the same way as the city's European ancestors, many of the new immigrants coming to NEPA are fleeing from poverty in their homeland and are coming to Hazleton, Pennsylvania, and other places in the region for a new beginning.

These distribution centres brought to NEPA a new people with darker skin, a different language and different customs. In response, Hazleton Mayor Barletta, a descendant of Italian immigrants, and the city council passed the 2005 ordinance titled 'Illegal Immigration Relief Act' because they felt that the federal government was not doing its job to control immigration. The act asserted, 'Illegal immigration leads to higher crime rates, contributes to overcrowded classrooms and failing schools … and burdens public services'. The goal of the ordinance was to 'abate the nuisance of illegal immigration by diligently prohibiting the acts and policies that facilitate [it]' (quoted in Englund 2007, 888). When the mayor was asked to provide data that linked the higher crime rate with undocumented immigrants, the mayor responded:

> I don't need a number … Numbers are important mostly to people from the outside who are trying to understand what's happening. But if you lived in the city of Hazleton and you woke up to morning news such as this [referring to the crimes], you would understand that we have a major immigration problem. (Barletta quoted in Jackson 2006, b5)

In reality, the statistics show a very surprising contradiction in the mayor's impression of crime in Hazleton. While the town's population increased from 21,000 (in 2000) to 31,000 (in 2005), the theft and drug-related crimes rose from 80 incidents in 2000 to 127 in 2005, according to the Pennsylvania Uniform Crime Reporting System. Other crimes like rape, robbery, homicide and assault have decreased. Arrests in Hazleton dropped from 1458 in 2000 to 1263 in 2005 (Bahadur 2006). From 2000 through 2013, the city of Hazleton has had a crime rate lower than the average rate for other cities in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania (Keil and Keil 2015).

The Illegal Immigration Relief Act of Hazleton punished businesses if they hired an undocumented immigrant by suspending the business owner's licence for five years for the first violation and ten years

for each subsequent violation. However, the ordinance did not provide any mechanism for identifying the status of the immigrant. It also required all renters in Hazleton to go to City Hall to prove their citizenship and prohibited landlords from knowingly renting or leasing their property to undocumented immigrant. A fine of $1000 a day was established for renting to an undocumented immigrants. The ordinance used the term 'illegal immigrant' and did not establish a definition for the term. It also established English as Hazleton's official language (Bahadur 2006; Kroft 2006; Englund 2007, 884). The city council refined the ordinance in the fall of 2005 by reducing the penalties for business owners and landlords and defining the term 'illegal alien'; however, the intention of the ordinance remained the same (Englund 2007, 884). Some critics of Barletta's ordinance see it as an affront to the city's immigrant heritage (Englund 2007, 887).

In November 2006, a federal judge granted a temporary restraining order which suspended the implementation of the Illegal Immigration Relief Act. Two weeks later, the judge extended the order by 120 days, allowing enough time for civic and civil rights groups to challenge the act. The trial against Hazleton was brought to court in March 2007 by a coalition that included the American Civil Liberties Union, the Puerto Rican Legal Defence and Education Fund, the US Chamber of Commerce, and the US Council of Catholic Bishops (Englund 2007, 891). On 26 July 2007, the District Court for the Middle District of Pennsylvania ruled that the Illegal Immigration Relief Act was unconstitutional (Baratta July 26, 2007). Since 1875, the Supreme Court has ruled that the power to regulate immigration belongs exclusively to the federal government (Englund 2007, 891). The judge ruled that,

> the nature of the political system of the United States prohibits the city from enacting ordinances that disrupt a carefully drawn federal statutory scheme. Even if federal law did not conflict with Hazleton's measures, the city could not enact an ordinance that violates rights the constitution guarantees to every person in the United States, whether legal resident or not. (Quoted in Dobbs July 27, 2007)

While the decision by the City of Hazleton to prohibit the employment of illegal immigrants does not involve a decision about who may enter the country, such a law can be viewed as an effort to control immigration. In general, once an immigrant has entered the United States lawfully, they are free to move from state to state and jurisdiction to jurisdiction. Municipalities cannot create laws to restrict their movement or justify ordinances because the new immigrant is depleting local resources (Englund 2007, 898–899).

Even though the ordinance was found to be unconstitutional, it had its desired effects. Immigrants began moving out of town when the legislation was first proposed (Jackson 2006, B5). While the city's population grew dramatically in the early 2000s, many Latinos left after the introduction of the anti-immigration ordinances. Today, the population hovers around 25,000 with just over 40% of the population identified as Hispanic. What the Illegal Immigration Relief Act did was to group undocumented immigrants with gangs, drugs and rising crime in the minds of Hazleton's residents. Many of the documented immigrants felt harassed and moved to other municipalities. Many of the statistics related to crime in Hazleton could not be clearly associated with the undocumented immigrant and are, at times, exaggerated by city officials. Some residents refused to be interviewed for their response to the court case because they feared some form of retaliation. Others of Latino descent spoke about how the failed ordinance has begun to dissolve their community as hundreds of people have left the municipality (Gass July 27, 2007).

Mayor Barletta responded to the court's decision on national television by stating that the judgement was, 'an injustice not only to the city, but to those around the country'. He claimed that the city was going to appeal to the 3rd Circuit Court of Philadelphia. He then exclaimed, 'I'm prepared to fight this all the way to the Supreme Court. Today was a slip and not a fall, and this battle is far from over' (quoted in Dobbs July 27, 2007). Mayor Barletta explained that he thought it was 'amusing' that the judge ruled that the City of Hazleton could not enact laws that correct actions that the federal government should be handling. 'If they were doing their job, obviously, I wouldn't have to take a stand' (Barletta quoted in Dobbs July 27, 2007). Rulings by both the US District Court for the Middle District of Pennsylvania in Scranton in 2008, and the 3rd US Circuit Court of Appeals in 2010, deemed the Hazleton law unconstitutional. In June 2011, the Supreme Court asked the Circuit Court

to rehear the case because of the ruling that upheld portions of a similar law in Arizona. After a new hearing in 2012, Circuit Court again ruled Hazleton's law unconstitutional. On 3 March 2014, the US Supreme Court decided not to hear an appeal of the Hazleton law, ending the fight for legislating against undocumented immigrants (Jackson 2014).

Statistics show that the new immigration has had a clear economic benefit for the City of Hazleton. While the population has increased significantly, the city's budget has consistently shown a surplus since 2000. About 50–60 new businesses opened in Hazleton and many of the home values increased 125%. In 2005, Mayor Barletta claimed that Hazleton has reached its 'healthiest state in decades' (Englund 2007, 888). All these data allow proponents and opponents of immigration the necessary data for their positions. Those supporting the rights of immigrants point to the positive economic growth; those opposed to immigration claim that the new immigrant is a drain on the local social services.

While the coal industry has significantly diminished, the modern corporations with their distribution centres in NEPA have metaphorically taken their place. In general, these large distribution centres have developed in suburban and semi-rural areas in the US where the average wage is low and unemployment is relatively high. In NEPA, these companies control a vast amount of the region's capital, much like the coal operators did a century before, thereby controlling the lives and livelihood of the area's residents, including the new immigrant. Many people work on short-term contracts through temp agencies with few or no benefits.

For example, in 2008, Amazon opened a distribution centre in Hazleton with the goal of employing 1000 workers. In exchange for this new distribution centre, Amazon received $1.75 million in incentives from the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania (Pocono Record 2008). Amazon keeps a fully staffed warehouse with the entirety of the workforce hired and employed by a temporary employment agency for 120 day terms. Keeping employees in short-term contracts on the payroll of a temp agency keeps expenses such as raises, benefits and unemployment insurance at a minimum. Additionally, since workers do not work for Amazon directly, the company also limits its liability. The use of temporary employees also reduces the chances that workers would unionise to demand better working conditions. This strategy has helped to make Amazon's founder and CEO, Jeffrey Bezos, one of the wealthiest people in the world (Soper 2011).

In 2011, *The Morning Call* reported that many of these distribution centres do not have adequate climate control. During a 2011 summer heat wave, a distribution centre for Amazon in NEPA arranged to have Cetronia Ambulance Corps supply ambulances and paramedics outside of its warehouses in order to treat workers for dehydration and other forms of heat stress. Workers who could not recover quickly were transported to the hospital. New applicants for the $11 per hour jobs were ready to begin work and fill vacancies immediately (Soper 2011). The *Business Insider* also reported on other conditions in these distribution centres. The article noted how the temporary employees have sometimes had to withstand freezing conditions. Lunch and break times disappear because the warehouses are so big that it takes too long to get to the break room (Edwards 2013). In 2013, workers argued that the daily 10–20 minute mandatory security checks when exiting the distribution centre after the end of their shift is part of their job and they require compensation; however, the Supreme Court ruled in favour of temp agency (Hall 2013; Liptak 2014). The workers in these distribution plants are interchangeable and disposable, much like the miners of European descent were several generations earlier.

Bridging traditional and new heritage in NEPA

I am hopeful that the tragic history associated with the Lattimer Massacre can serve to remind us all about what it is like to be a newcomer in a foreign land with a different language and different customs. Recently, there seems to be a growing awareness of the events of Lattimer in NEPA as citizens in the coal region use the incident as a way to remind us today about the issues related to immigration. Editorials in newspapers in Scranton, Hazleton and Wilkes-Barre have responded to the anti-immigrant attitudes being reinforced by government officials by calling upon the memory of Lattimer to teach about tolerance and justice. People write about their Eastern European ancestry

who met prejudice and resentment about a hundred years ago. One editorial writer stated: 'Read what happened to your ancestors in the Lattimer Massacre. "Those who do not learn from history are condemned to repeat it." Accept all people of Hazleton as one people' (Klemlow 2009). Another writer to the editorial section of the *Standard Speaker* (Wittig 1993) connects the racism that their grandparents faced at the turn of the century.

> Haven't we learned anything since 1897? Wake up Hazleton. … Learn from the past. Remember how you and your neighbour's grandparents felt and stop treating immigrants to our town as criminals just because their skin is a different shade. Let's correct the mistakes of the past instead of repeating them. (Wittig 1993)

These editorials show that there is some support for the new immigrant, and that using the past, including the incident surrounding the Lattimer Massacre, makes a call for the support of the new immigrant even more powerful.

Engaging communities has become an important part of many research designs that seek to develop a more inclusive heritage. Inclusivity is about bridging and developing a more complex narrative that includes many voices and a variety of interest groups. One strategy for creating a more inclusive narrative is to develop a common meaning(s) whereby various groups of different backgrounds can identify with the meaning of a particular heritage. Therefore, the important decision in NEPA is whether to emphasise its unique historical characteristics or to highlight heritage that focuses on values that connects disparate groups. One of the important issues is that bridging the meaning of heritage among various groups allows us to not only connect many different interest groups, but it also allows us to make links between the past and the present that can facilitate an exploration of both historic and contemporary concerns related to social justice (AAM 2002). While the outcomes of exploring a common heritage may be quite productive, these results are neither automatic nor guaranteed.

Connecting and creating a civil discourse between established and new immigrant communities has been a major issue in Hazleton. Since the city discouraged activities that involved the new immigrants, programmes to welcome and include them are developing through grassroots efforts. In 2011, Joe Maddon, the current baseball manager of the Chicago Cubs and a former resident of Hazleton, along with others, founded the Hazleton Integration Project (HIP). It is a nonprofit community organisation dedicated to bringing together the many different ethnic groups in and around Hazleton. Its mission is to create an opportunity for economically challenged children to participate in a variety of educational, cultural and athletic activities. Its mission statement proclaims, 'We endeavour to help create and maintain an atmosphere that will serve to unify the varied cultures of the City of Hazleton, and thus keep our area vibrant and relevant' (The Mission of HIP 2015). Through a series of fund-raising activities led by Maddon, the HIP purchased the former Most Precious Blood Catholic School building in downtown Hazleton. The Hazleton One Community Centre opened its doors in June 2013 to provide a space for various community activities (ActiveRain 2013). Despite these efforts, Maddon is now seen by some long-time residents as an outsider. Even though he grew up in Hazleton, his critics say that he really does not know the current situation in Hazleton. The former mayor of Hazleton said that there are some who call him an enabler. 'He is enabling [the undocumented Hispanic community] to stay. He is giving them reason to be here and hope. They (some of the local residents) don't like that' (Hazleton One Community Centre 2015).

Our focus on developing a programme on immigration allowed us to recruit area high school students, many of whom self-identified as Latino, to work on our project. The recruitment of high school students became a critical part of our community outreach. The Hazleton Area School District is ranked in the bottom 20% of the state's school districts. High school students' scores in math, reading and writing show a steady decline over the past five years (*Pittsburgh Business Times* 2012).

The Anthracite Heritage Project sponsors a six-week college-level archaeology field school. During the fourth week, high school students join the programme and are mentored by the college-aged field school students. The high school students quickly learn to excavate, take notes and curate artefacts. While the programme focuses on issues related to immigration, the partnering of college students with high school students leads to many other discussions mostly surrounding issues related to higher

education. There are discussions about Grade Point Averages and taking seriously the SATs (Scholastic Aptitude Test), which would help these students get into good schools and increase their chances of earning scholarships. In many ways, this mentorship programme between the high school students and the college students may serve as a better experience and a freer exchange of information than with a high school guidance counsellor.

With every newspaper and television news interview, we are prepared with a message and ensure that that we connect our historical work to contemporary immigrants. For instance, The CitizenVoice.com (Jackson 2015) reported,

> As Westmont and Shackel study the difficulties that immigrants faced in the coal towns around Hazleton, they are aware of the similarities to immigrant life in Hazleton today. Westmont said the Irish immigrant miners living at Eckley with a dozen other people in a half-double home aren't much different from Latinos earning low wages and sharing an apartment to save money today. 'The social scorn, the legal isolation that existed 150 years ago is exactly what people today are going through.'

Then, a recent article in the local Spanish language newspaper that serves the Hazleton region had quotes from us explaining that, 'Exploring the history of immigrant life is important for this region's heritage', he (Shackel) said, 'because immigration is still part of the community's contemporary identity'. The news release also noted that the archaeology focused on Back Street, where new immigrants tended to settle and live as they pursued economic stability. In the same Spanish language newspaper, Camille Westmont, a PhD student at the University of Maryland, explained,

> People today talk a lot about the hardships of men when they first arrived, but women experienced many of the same setbacks as men: they didn't always speak the native language when they got to Pennsylvania, they were cut off from their families back home, and people literally attacked them, but they still want the best for their children and their community. I see a lot of parallels between those women and immigrant women today. (Poder 2015)

Engaging descendants, communities and other stakeholders can lead to a more inclusive narrative and provide a broader understanding of past and present social and economic inequities. As described in the Tenement Museum, one of the most powerful tools of engagement is to use the past to illuminate the important social, political and economic issues that we face today. Heritage sites can serve as significant places where we learn about communities and ourselves. The work of the Anthracite Heritage Project will continue to connect with the HIP, continue to reach out to the Latino community and continue to make immigration heritage a focus of the project where we can connect the past to the present and help bring attention to and address the inequalities that are embedded in the community.

Conclusion

The concept of heritage changes according to contemporary societal needs and its relationship to power and identity (Harvey 2001, 335). Crooke (2010, 18) acknowledges that heritage research can be about creating a cohesive, integrated or regenerated society, and that it is worthy of pursuit; however, it is also important to think about power relations and the authorities involved in reaching this goal. She notes that heritage is not only malleable: it is also emotive, closely guarded and used to define authority (Crooke 2010, 27). In the case of NEPA, it is important to think about what the community chooses to remember, and we should also think hard about what histories are being ignored. We can also think of ways to use heritage to address social justice issues. It is important that citizens appreciate the worthiness of all people's histories and become aware of historical roots and present-day manifestations of contemporary social justice issues. A socially useful heritage can stimulate and empower both local community members and visitors to make historically informed judgements about heritage and the ways that we use it in the present.

The Anthracite Heritage Project recognises the traditional NEPA narrative and reactions to creating a new narrative have certainly stirred emotions in the region. For instance, one person sent me an email thanking the project for bringing the Lattimer back to the public stage, and then asked that the project not to rush and describe Hazleton as xenophobic. The mayor, she said, was just trying to protect the interests of the citizens and standing up for the community's rights. A blog post comment

noted that the author was disturbed that we were excavating the recent past and making connections to the new immigrants. An archaeologist for the Pennsylvania Department of Transportation wrote me to express his displeasure for a recent newspaper article in which I connected the Lattimer massacre to the larger landscape of Hazleton. The archaeologist claimed that there was a lack of architectural integrity in the community, and therefore the place has no historical significance.

The project is not necessarily changing the narrative of mining in NEPA; instead, it is taking the existing narrative and broadening its meaning to be more inclusive so that the narrative can be applicable to a new population. It is a work in progress.

The community of Hazleton, Pennsylvania, and many other places in NEPA have a long and proud industrial heritage. The history of the region is about immigration and climbing the ladder of success. Each set of newcomers have faced xenophobia because they spoke a different language, observed different customs and/or dressed differently from the local population. They were also challenged with harsh working conditions, infrequent work and substandard living conditions.

The new Latino immigrants are facing the same types of discrimination that the Eastern and Southern Europeans experienced several generations earlier. They have the lowest paying jobs, the worst access to health care, are demonised as criminals and are accused of not wanting to assimilate into American culture. The strategy of how Hazleton was dealing with the new immigrants aired on the CBS broadcast of 60 Minutes in 2006. Mayor Lou Barletta, Senator Rick Santorum and Minutemen Civil Defence Corp leader Chris Simcox rallied in Hazleton against the new immigrant. Mayor Barletta's position was that undocumented immigrants are overwhelming the city's resources and ruining the quality of life of its citizens (Kroft 2006).

The Latino population is here to stay in Hazleton and there are efforts underway to ease their transition into the community. There has been a long discussion that recognises the complicated relationship between heritage and communities (Smith 2006). Increasingly important is the discussion about how crucial the development of heritage is to the survival of displaced communities (Oliver-Smith 2006). Uprooted communities, like new immigrants, draw upon their heritage of their new communities. Bridging social capital, which crosses geography, ethnic groups, class and age, brings people together from different communities to find common ground. New links create new concepts of community and boundaries that traditionally separated communities become blurred. The HIP is making some strides by promoting community activities in downtown Hazleton. The goal is to develop programmes so that both the traditional and new communities can participate (ActiveRain 2013). In much the same way, our heritage programme is working with local groups to bridge the meaning of heritage among dissimilar groups that will enable the linking of these two communities.

Logan (2012) points out that heritage professionals need to think about the broader social, economic and political context of their work. Professionals working at historically significant places need to understand how their work can potentially impact local communities, Indigenous peoples and ethnic communities. The development of heritage and the promotion of heritage sites are essentially political acts. Heritage connotes authenticity, although the way it is developed and negotiated is often about a group's relationship to power. Decisions are made to promote one form of heritage over another, and academics, politicians or community leaders often influence and support these decisions.

Glover (2008, 117) writes that the struggle over the control of a place's meaning often comes down to the issue of authority versus authenticity. The concept of authority is connected to a form of education, critical thinking and the globalising uses of heritage. Authenticity, Glover (2008) notes, is linked to the local dimension of the site. With this in mind, the real challenge becomes how to develop a heritage of NEPA that will also allow us to include the history and struggles of new immigrants to the region. They are, after all, facing the same challenges of the ancestors of the local population. Can we use the history of the local population to address contemporary social issues? Following the lead of the growing movement in the museum world, encouraged by the AAM (2002) (also see Crooke 2010), we need to continue the movement to engage communities. Framing contemporary concerns, such as the environment, resource extraction, health, labour, race, class and gender, amongst others,

within a historical context will help make our discipline more relevant as we use heritage to challenge these contemporary issues.

Note on Contributor

Paul A Shackel is a Professor of Anthropology at the University of Maryland. His research projects have focused on the role of archaeology in civic engagement projects. He co-edited with Barbara Little a book related to this topic titled Archaeoology as a Tool of Civic Engagement (AltaMira Press, 2007) and co-authored with Barbara Little – Archaeology, Heritage and Civic Engagement: Working Toward the Public Good (Left Coast Press, 2014). He is currently engaged in a project that focuses on labour and immigration in North-eastern Pennsylvania. This work focuses on issues related to class, race and labour and the foundation for this project can be found in his book – The Archaeology of Labor and Working Class Life (Florida, 2009).

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