

PUBLIC ANTHROPOLOGY

Reviews

Auditing the War on Terror: The Watson Institute's Costs of War Project

Joseph Masco

University of Chicago

Since World War II, a foundational logic of the U.S. national security state has been a resistance to public accountability, most powerfully registered in overt strategies to limit understanding of its true cost and global scope. Consider, for example, that over the last decade the formal U.S. defense budget has not included the costs of actual conflict (the invasions of Iraq and Afghanistan), nor the vast new Homeland Security apparatus, nor the costs of veteran services, nor the production and maintenance of the U.S. nuclear arsenal. So although numbers are publicly announced each year and theatrically debated in congressional hearings, the U.S. "defense" budget remains, at best, an art project. Indeed, any effort to audit the U.S. war machine confronts an accounting calculus designed both to frustrate and misdirect. But today, under the terms of a "global war on terror" that is open ended, multifronted, and only exceeded by World War II in publicly acknowledged dollar costs, the need for a full accounting of U.S. militarism has never been more important.

This is precisely the point of the Watson Institute for International Studies' remarkable "Costs of War" project. Utilizing the Internet as a global publishing platform, the project (<http://costsofwar.org>) is an ambitious effort to think through the consequences of the U.S. invasions of Iraq, Afghanistan, and Pakistan across a wide spectrum of metrics. Launched in June 2011 by project directors Catherine Lutz (a leading voice in the anthropology of militarism) and Neta Crawford (a political scientist with expertise on issues of peace and war), the website brings together a diverse set of authors (with regional, disciplinary, multimedia, and journalistic expertise) tasked with assessing various "costs." Information is presented graphically on summary pages that link to discussions of methodology, sources, connections to other websites, and long critical essays. The results are startling, heartbreaking, and groundbreaking.

The project estimates total U.S. war spending from 2001 to 2011 (including the formal defense budget, the actual wars, medical costs for veterans, Homeland Security, and State Department aid projects) at \$3.2 to \$4 trillion (three times the official estimate). Authors document that nearly 10,000 U.S. military personnel and contractors have

been killed, with 675,000 disability claims posted to Veteran Affairs by September 2011. The project estimates civilian casualties in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Pakistan to be at least 137,000, with over 3.2 million refugees from Iraq alone, most of whom are now displaced throughout the region. These staggering numbers are a major contribution in and of themselves, a nonpartisan effort of accounting that cuts through the lack of reporting, misreporting, and amnesia of both the official and most public media accounting of the past decade of war. However, the Costs of War project is much more ambitious.

In addition to raw budget and casualty numbers, the project considers a wide variety of other costs. Some of these include: (1) the opportunity cost (in terms of GDP and jobs) of spending \$341 billion in new military infrastructure over the last decade rather than on civilian infrastructure in the United States; (2) the ethical costs of establishing a global detention, interrogation, and torture system for those accused of terrorism; (3) the environmental costs (in terms of regional toxicity and climate change) of U.S. military operations; (4) the generational costs of the destruction of the Iraqi university system; and (5) the implications of a radical expansion of military-industrial corporate power and the turn to privatize war. The project strives to be transparent in its method and goals and even acknowledges those aspects of war accounting not formally assessed on the website, including whether or not U.S. citizens are more "secure" today than in 2001, the status of democracy within Iraq and Afghanistan, and the effect of the "war on terror" on global perceptions of the United States.

The real-time auditing of war is a path-breaking project, one that might only be possible in the age of the Internet, combining new information technologies with the dogged work of experts, activists, journalists, and scholars to document real-world effects both in war zones and the United States. The Costs of War project advocates increasing governmental transparency of those aspects of war that can be counted—injuries and deaths, detentions, fuel consumption, the intelligence budget, and obligations to veterans, as well as formal military expenditures—as a basic means of providing the context for a democratic debate about war. This call for transparency is noble, and the contributors to the Costs of War project have both demonstrated the need and offered a vital new model for a constant public accounting

of U.S. militarism. But the very need for the Costs of War project itself—its novelty—reveals how radical a full audit of the departments of Defense and Homeland Security would actually be.

As I write this in August 2012, contemplating the serious work of the Costs of War project and the implication of contributor findings for our age, the U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ) announced the conclusion of its inquiry into U.S. detention policies under the war on terror. Specifically, the DOJ closed without prosecution two cases involving the deaths of “detainees” in CIA custody for interrogation. In effect, this means the U.S. legal system will not prosecute anyone for the widespread use of tactics once universally recognized and prosecuted as torture by the United States, a de facto amnesty for interrogators who violated international (and at one time, U.S.) laws against torture (Miller 2012). This raises an important aspect of the war on terror that resists metrics of accounting: the conversion of the United States into a counterterror state form. Counterterror as a mode of governance is radically antidemocratic and emergent. Today this is most powerfully illustrated by the CIA use of drones to kill individuals in foreign countries (from Pakistan to Yemen to Somalia) by remote control, authorized by a personal directive from the president.

It is difficult to remember a time—really only a few years ago—when such a statement would have been unthinkable, let alone documented material fact. The conversion of U.S. society to counterterror did not happen on September 11, 2001, but rather through the daily adjusting of institutions, corporations, media, publics, laws, and political spaces to a new concept of everyday life. The Costs of War website can thus be read two ways: (1) as an accounting for violence (physical, structural, and conceptual) and (2) as a map of how counterterror has remade both U.S. society and the world in the last decade. The implicit promise of the Costs of War project is that knowledge can produce a new accounting, as well as a new society that thinks security in a radically different—or at least fully aware—manner. As such, it is an essential act of public anthropology, one that strives to document the new terms of U.S. militarism and the wide-ranging global consequences of 21st-century war.

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IDENSITAT: A Hybrid Anthropology of Identity, Creativity, and Intervention in Public Spaces

Gaspar Maza Gutiérrez

Universitat Rovira i Virgili

(Translated by Gary W. McDonogh, Bryn Mawr College)

“ID/IDENSITAT” (hereafter “ID”) defines itself on its web page as “an artistic project that investigates forms of influencing public space through creative proposals related to place and territory in both physical and social dimensions” (<http://www.idensitat.net>).¹ The site also identifies the range of activities that IDENSITAT has promoted: (1) the creation of built projects through open design competitions; (2) civic–educational activities for specific locales (neighborhoods); and (3) documentation and research that cut across and learn from multiple projects. All of these goals, moreover, have been made public through face-to-face engagement, debates, expositions, web presence, Facebook, Vimeo (video access), and publications.

ID has taken shape since 1999 under the directorship of Ramón Parramón, the artist, community activist, and professor. Today, it embodies an interdisciplinary, hybrid project, in the sense of Néstor García Canclini (1989), without a fixed site or territory, working in many spaces at once. Indeed, it functions as a “thirdspace,” within Edward Soja’s (1996) trichotomy of perceived space, lived space, and creative space.

ID acts as a platform for permanent action, fostering and extending its international network, reinforcing processes of collaboration and the shared production of knowledge. It promotes multilevel communication around space, design, and intervention. To achieve these goals, ID collaborates with other entities in developing projects and disseminating results. By working with a network that converges around specific temporal and physical questions yet seeks common threads, ID identifies critical points of connection that link artistic creation with social intervention, architecture, and anthropology.

Anthropologists investigating the social contexts in which artists and designers act have become an important foundation for ID. Artistic activities provide continuity and visualization for anthropological fieldwork. Anthropologists participate in the elaboration of projects that respond to social needs, such as sports centers, skate parks, and videos. Working with artists, anthropologists also have become involved in projects that extend far beyond ID’s two-year cycles, creating new relations and art spaces as well as critiquing urban policy.

I began to work with Parramón in 2003, as I completed my dissertation (Maza Gutiérrez 2000) but still worked as a youth social worker for the city of Barcelona. I have

continued involvement as a professor at Universitat Rovira i Virgili, bringing in students and colleagues. Thus, this review is itself a hybrid analysis, coming from inside ID while incorporating experiences and critical reflections; this perspective, too, fits ID's vision as a creative space. Although I offer general history notes on recent projects and reflections, the reader can find extensive further documentation, especially visual materials, on the ID website, which also allows for reader feedback.

HISTORIES

ID undertook its first project in 1999–2000 in Calaf, a small, inland market town (3,522 inhabitants) 65 kilometers from Barcelona. *ART PUBLIC CALAF* entailed an international call for sculptures that would impact social dynamics, based on prior field investigation. Three projects were selected and constructed in the second year of the cycle. Calaf has remained an anchor for expanding discussions around metropolitan Barcelona, encompassing themes of identity, density, place, and community. The open international call in conjunction with completion of specific local projects, collaborations, and studies also has become the formula for subsequent cycles. Anthropologists, meanwhile, have analyzed the spaces and processes through which such public arts become points of debate and social interpretation.

In its third edition, 2004–06, ID added the postindustrial city of Manresa (77,000 inhabitants). By this time, ID drew on support from municipal governments, the Barcelona Diputació (Parliamentary Group), and the Generalitat, the government of the Autonomous Community of Catalonia. The inclusion of Manresa allowed ID to debate urban expansion at the height of the Spanish construction boom. Around this time, education became one of its defining features, strengthening the relationship between abstract projects and local communities mediated through anthropologists as fieldworkers and analysts. Through bringing together designers, funding, commentators, experiences, and investigations from other cities in Catalonia and the world, ID has continually sought to balance participation, criticism, and representation.

In ID's fourth cycle (2007–08), "Local-Visitor," Calaf and Manresa were joined by the *comarca* (roughly, county) of the Priorat and the coastal city of Mataró (122,000 inhabitants) north of Barcelona. Rural Priorat, despite the global prestige of its wine denomination, has shrunk to a population of less than ten thousand in the 21st century. Mataró, by contrast, has been an important small city for centuries, the industrial and commercial history of which has been reshaped by exploding coastal resorts and global immigration. In both cases, ID established partnerships with local institutions to foment continuous, diverse collaborations.² In 2007, similarly, artist Josep Maria Martín proposed a *Hivernacle Cultural* (Cultural Winter Garden) for Calaf that would become a forum for the discussion of urbanist ideas among architects, anthropologists, and citizens. Such dialogues fostered plans, based on interviews

with inhabitants, to construct temporary gardens to challenge the relationship of citizens to their everyday environment (<http://www.anoiadiari.cat/noticia/2980/aquest-divendres-presentacio-de-l-hivernacle-cultural-de-calaf>).

By its fifth cycle (2008–10), the ID project had become a network of collaborators in different places, exploring diverse methodologies to understand creativity in its social and cultural context. Begun as a platform for the discussion of the social impact of artistic projects in public spaces, ID itself has become a space of itinerant production, seeking to generate visions, analysis, and new proposals. Anthropologists deal with multiple local networks while working with artists to understand implications of their work in community settings, bringing artists to schools and markets. In the project "Sensing Topography," for example, artists mapped out botanical walks in and around Calaf. The latter, moreover, was presented "at the Market of Calaf with a stall covering different functions, including information point, library, and center of data collection. Advice, stories, recipes, etc., were exchanged" (see <http://www.idensitat.net/topografiasensible>; <http://idensitat.net/id05>). This cycle also hosted an international conference open to the general public in Calaf and Barcelona that brought them together with designers, architects, historians, and anthropologists discussing issues of form and society in neighborhoods (*barris*).

Thus, ID has evolved from its initial vision to its contemporary diffusion throughout Catalonia and to Madrid and São Paulo, Brazil, with special initiatives in sports, neighborhoods, and culture. Although I have emphasized the dialectic of project and context central to the public anthropologists' role in exploring local issues and encouraging face-to-face, community-based communication, it would be wrong to overlook the number of publications produced under the aegis of ID in addition to its web presence and blogs (http://idensitat.net/id05/index.php?option=com_content&view=category&layout=blog&id=26&Itemid=27). These include general symposia, commentaries and social science discussions, and more specific projects such as *Historias del Priorat* (2004), which uses multiple stories to reimagine the landscape of the *comarca*.

PROJECTS

SK8 + U Arbucies

SK8 + U (we pronounce it "SKATE U") can refer to Skate One (read in Catalan),

Skate + You (read in English), *Skate + Urbanism* (read in various languages), etc.

This project responded to the initiative of rural youths, aged 11 to 15, in Arbucies (Girona) to design, construct, and maintain a skate park in their community (see Figure 1). In the spring of 2011, young people contacted local political parties and the cultural associations HTB (skaters) and Straddle3 (architects), local organizations known for their work in promoting culture and participatory design. These groups recognized a tremendous potential to



FIGURE 1. Building the skater park in Arbucies, 2001. (Photo by author)

integrate youth into local civil society and to construct new public spaces, an emergent urbanism that could exemplify civic access to urban planning in a time of cutbacks. Through ID, we anthropologists helped to develop these needs into a project for social inclusion through creativity and sports that gained national recognition and support.

Through many conversations, this proposal became a laboratory of cultural and urban experimentation where an independent collective (the youths) acted with mediators (cultural associations), while ID articulated finance and its multidisciplinary teams and the local administration saw the value of completion in a village with limited facilities. Working with anthropologists, students, and other experts, youths talked about themes ranging from recycling to the meanings of urban public space, without losing sight of the goal: a sport these youth live with passion, in which successes could also link them to wider circuits and increasing expertise. Anthropologists and interdisciplinary graduate students completing M.A.s in public space directed theoretical and practical workshops on planning and design—how to talk about the process, the search for materials, maintenance, and the use of the installations. Another anthropologist, who had studied skaters in Barcelona, added perspectives on wider social needs, values, and outcomes. YouTube videos documented the process, from meetings with the administration (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ux1mR_gFPcU) to the celebration of the park's opening on September 11, 2012 (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rSQc-O6WNLs>). (See also the municipal interpretation at <http://www.arbucies.cat/ca/6811>.)

Many lessons emerged throughout the project. From Straddle3's initial conversations with the young skaters, they championed recuperation of existing materials. Workshopers found materials as diverse as tunnel casings from Barcelona construction, which were reused to create quarter-pipes or half-pipes, and wooden flooring, concrete molds, and scrap metal framing. Results from this project have helped us plan community participation for other ongoing sports-based interventions as well in cities such as Madrid and Barcelona. One youth participant concluded:

"This is good because with the skate park even more skaters will come and the village will be more lively" (conversation with author, October 27, 2002).

Barri BDN Import/Export

In contrast with the small scale of SK8 + U, ID's decade-long neighborhood initiative has underpinned a larger, dynamic collaboration with neighborhood associations, Barcelona's Goethe Institute, and Tarragona's Universitat Rovira i Virgili to explore changes in Badalona. This mercantile-industrial city has been eclipsed by metropolitan revitalization in its larger neighbor Barcelona, especially after industrial crises in the mid-20th century. Today, Badalona has 218,000 inhabitants and diverse areas of industrial abandonment, beachfront, and immigrant repopulation. Its modern initiatives for reform included the 1992 Olympic basketball stadium, which recognized a long sporting tradition and has been pushed as a symbol for the city. New projects after 1998 entailed construction of a recreational port and gentrification of surrounding areas. In 2006, a massive proposal envisioned excavating the port into the interior of the city, creating a canal surrounded by shops, hotels, and more new residences. Demolition began in 2007, but the project stalled over lawsuits, charges of corruption, and the Spanish economic crisis. Nonetheless, the contiguous 600,000-square-meter Polígono Sur Badalona industrial park has boomed with over 600 businesses, including more than 80 Chinese-owned wholesale warehouses supplying jewelry, clothes, shoes, and household goods to the ubiquitous Chinese general stores of metropolitan Barcelona and beyond—material expressions of the immigration of tens of thousands of Chinese from Qingtian to Spain since the 1990s (Beltrán Antolín 2003).

Barri BDN Import/Export sought to combine investigation and intervention around artistic practices and ethnographies of globalization, focusing on ID's years of engagement, ethnography, and conversations about neighborhoods understood as a space of work and commercial exchange and exploring the reconversion of a territory once circumscribed by local production but now replaced by decentralized production and local distribution. We looked at gentrification driven by the success of the "Barcelona model" as well as transnational movements and their linkages through local populations. We began with multiple interdisciplinary projects, including a proposal for artistic intervention in public space led by the collective KUNSTrePUBLIK, who constructed the temporary Arc de Gorg during German Week in Barcelona in September 2011 (<http://www.kunstrepublik.de/en/projects/arc-de-gorg>; see Figure 2). Playing with both Chinese gates and container-port machinery, this project incorporated discarded cartons into a ceremonial gate that also invited Barcelonins to comment and visit Gorg (http://www.idensitat.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=693:kunstrepublik-proyecto-dintervencio-a-lespai-public&catid=118:idbarrio-bdn-importexport&Itemid=197). Meanwhile, ethnographic



FIGURE 2. *The Arch of Gorg as urban project, June 4, 2011. (Photo by author)*

investigations including faculty and students have gathered testimonies from those in and around these sites of change, both in the port and industrial park. As anthropologists, we have sought to clarify the physical spaces and transformations in their wider context, understanding associations of space and imagery especially in terms of Chinese globalization. This has resulted in a video project with documentarian Guillermo Cruz that sets forth multiple claims for the space, including representatives of neighborhood associations and other stakeholders, work that we can take back to Badalona for further discussion. Here, dislocated space itself has articulated artistic possibilities (and community reactions), local discussions, and wider questions in Catalonia, where anthropologists act as both community scribes and interpreters and participants in academic debate.

REFLECTIONS

Even this rapid mapping of the growth and projects of ID underscores the vast, diverse involvement of this network over the past decade and the complexities of trying to talk about visionary projects, short- and long-term outcomes, anthropological parameters of research and analysis, and citizen participation and evaluation.

Difficulties remain in attracting and developing the widest possible participation from citizens outside the interdisciplinary ID network. Projects have been announced locally with varied fanfare, including newspaper coverage, municipal news, and other venues; ID has encouraged not only art in public space but also discussions and movements. Collaborations over time in specific cities such as Calaf also provide continuities. Still, for many projects, we draw on the active participation of limited and transient groups; local interested parties do not often cross from one context to another (e.g., Arbucies to Madrid). The sports projects, with their youth focus, have actually generated wider impact and continuing use by varied communities. In ongoing other projects in Badalona, by contrast, there seemed to be less ac-

tive discussion of public space, and many *vecinos* (neighbors) have watched us rather than participate.

Some lack of participation underscores the limits of disciplines and productions ID works to bridge. Projects by artists and architects, however public, entail expertise, authorship, and power within erudite global dialogues that are not immediately present to a passerby who sees (and may dislike) a sculpture in a square. Architectural questions of authorship clash with grassroots collaboration. Although anthropologists help groups to talk and challenge their own positions, anthropological writings also can be abstract and distant from both architects and citizens, especially when we act in academic worlds as well.

ID remains a work in progress, but it is also a catalyst for change. ID, for example, was invited to an international conference of activist architects in Seville in December of 2012, where we helped bring human dimensions to their concerns by showing how to rethink vacant and abandoned spaces amid the ongoing financial crisis in Spain and Catalonia, which has gutted both arts and academic institutions. Although ID has grown as a public network linking arts, ethnographies, public spaces, and civic participation for more than a decade, the challenges and opportunities of this moment and the years ahead still demand new dimensions for action, analysis, and imagination.

NOTES

1. The name *ID/IDENSITAT* derives from the synthesis of two words, *IDENTIDAD* (identity) and *DENSIDAD* (density). This initial synthesis also suggests other combinations such as *Investigar* (investigate) + *Desarrollar* (development), *Inventar* (invent) + *Describir* (discover), *Interrogar* (interrogate) + *Debatir* (debate), and so on.
2. The local institutions included the Priorat Center of the Arts and Can Xalant Center for Creativity and Contemporary Thought in Mataró.

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A Historical Archaeology of Labor and Social Justice

Paul A. Shackel

University of Maryland

Since the 1980s, the right of collective bargaining has been under attack in the United States. In 2012 alone, Republican-controlled legislatures in three Midwestern states have challenged and weakened union representation. As an increasing number of people are now bound to make lower wages and have fewer benefits, it becomes a challenge to think about how historical archaeology can be relevant to working-class people, nationally and globally.

Historical archaeology can recover a past as a way to help illuminate the roots of contemporary social, economic, and political injustices. Understanding these historical conditions allows us to explain how many of these social inequities developed and to show how they operate in the contemporary world and might be dismantled. More histories of marginalized peoples are becoming part of the public memory through international efforts by UNESCO's World Heritage programs, as well as by individual governments. Some of these stories are difficult histories, and their inclusion often meets resistance when they counter the long-held beliefs of a society. As practitioners, we have a choice to support either an uncritical perspective of the past, reinforcing a single system of moral values, or a different perspective that allows for cultural differences and an alternative past (Meskell 2005). Archaeology is about examining the material conditions of life, and an archaeology of traditionally marginalized groups, such as the poor, women, and undocumented workers, allows our discipline to be visible, relevant, and potentially transformational.

Labor archaeologists are connecting the past and making it relevant to the present with the idea that archaeology can help instigate social action and help social justice causes. For instance, Stacey Camp's (2011) study shows the marginalization of tourism workers in southern California in the late 1800s and early 1900s and demonstrates how workers today continue to face discrimination, low wages, and dangerous and environmentally hazardous job conditions. Blair Mountain in West Virginia, the site of the largest armed labor insurrection in U.S. history in 1921, has become a battlefield once again. There is a strong coalition that has developed between labor, environmental groups, and archaeologists who are working for national recognition of the battlefield and fighting against a ruling that allows mountain top removal of Blair Mountain (Nida and Adkins 2011). David Gadsby and Robert Chidester's (2011) work in labor archaeology engages the community to make working-class history part of the public memory of a postindustrial community in Baltimore. At Ludlow, Colorado, archaeologists are working at a place where more than 12 thousand miners went on strike in September of 1913, which led to 26 people

dead, including a dozen women and children. Archaeology at Ludlow brought publicity to the place and made public the conditions labor unions fought for in the past and are working for in the present (Larkin and McGuire 2001; Ludlow Collective 2009; McGuire and Reckner 2003; Saitta 2007; Walker 2000).

CONNECTING THE PAST TO THE PRESENT ACROSS GEOGRAPHY

In what follows, I detail an example in which the story of labor is connected through time, even though geography separates the incidents. However, the historical connection is clear. The same type of labor injustice that occurred at the turn of the 20th century continues to take place today. Although labor laws were weak in the United States, causing significant injury and death because of the lack of safety regulations, these conditions have been exported to other countries, only to have the same results.

In 1897, a little-remembered coal strike occurred in northeastern Pennsylvania, and the result was one of the bloodiest labor massacres in U.S. history (Beik 2002). The Lattimer massacre was the result of a conflict between immigrant laborers and coal operators in the anthracite region of northeastern Pennsylvania. Living in poverty in scattered shantytowns, with inadequate housing, no sanitation, and none of the comforts found among the working class, the miners struck for equal pay and better living conditions. A conflict with the sheriff and his posse left 25 immigrant men of eastern European descent dead and nearly forgotten. The majority of them died of wounds from being shot in the back as they fled the scene. Not surprisingly, the event is missing from the official memory of our country, and it reflects the control capital has over the memory of the industrialization of America (Novak 1978; Shackel and Roller 2012).

Although the massacre has been erased from national attention, local community historians, clergy, community leaders, families, and a handful of academics have kept the story alive. In 2009, the anthropology program at the University of Maryland committed itself to helping to raise the profile of the event with the goal of making it part of the national public memory. In 2010, an archaeological survey in the area located the massacre site, finding fired bullets dating to the era. The archaeological survey was undertaken with the collaboration of the Battlefield Restoration & Archaeological Volunteer Organization. Locating bullets and shell casings related to the massacre provides concrete evidence of the event, which was highly contested for over a century. The sheriff and his posse shot into the line of strikers at about the same place where oral histories suggest that the initial

confrontation occurred. Although some of the posse argued at the court trial that the miners began the altercation, it is now clear that the miners were fired upon (Shackel and Roller 2012; Shackel et al. 2011).

More recently, a similar event occurred where mineworkers struck in South Africa at Lonmin's Marikana platinum mine. The strike began on August 10, 2012, when three thousand mineworkers walked off the job because they were concerned with living conditions, wage inequality, and poverty. Frustrated from a lack of economic progress, the workers initially rejected the long-term leadership of the National Union of Mineworkers for the militant Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union (AMCU). The beginning of the strike led to ten deaths, including miners, police officers, and mine security staff (De Wet 2012; Laing 2012; Tabane 2012).

On August 16, 2012, the police could not control the crowd with tear gas, water cannons, and barbed wire. The police fired live rounds into the crowd of miners for three minutes. Reports indicate that this was the deadliest force used in South Africa since the end of apartheid in 1994. The police killed 34 strikers, and a postmortem examination of the dead indicates that the majority of the strikers were shot in the back while fleeing the confrontation. The autopsy report contradicts the police account that they fired on an attacking mob. Those miners who were captured and imprisoned later filed over 150 complaints that they were tortured while in police custody (De Wit 2012; Laing 2012; Tabane 2012). By the end of September of 2012, the company and the workers solved their wage dispute. With the help of the South African Council of Churches along with the moderate union, and the exclusion of the AMCU, a minimum entry wage was set and is to be enacted within two years (De Wet 2012).

REMEMBERING SITES OF LABOR STRUGGLE

One of the most powerful tools we have to address inequalities today is the example of the past, which can be used to illuminate connections to current social, political, and economic issues. Many of the social injustices that existed in the United States over a hundred years ago still exist and have been exported to other parts of the world. Most large-scale corporations work to make labor inequity invisible, keeping workers and their concerns at the periphery of any discussion related to issues of social justice in the work place. By bringing to light the conditions of the past and connecting these issues to the present, we can make some of these difficult histories a platform from which to discuss the continued prevalence of these inequities. If you can change the memory of an event, you change what is important in the public memory.

The Lattimer massacre is not part of the national public memory, and the event at Lonmin's Marikana platinum mine has been quickly forgotten. As capital and labor struggle for control over the public memory of any event, forgetting

becomes an effective strategy to subvert the memory of marginalized groups. Michel-Rolph Trouillot (1995) notes that the dominant narrative often means that there is a process of selective remembering that leaves some accounts out of the story. The history that is not silenced is what the general narrative of the past becomes. Not all sources are valued the same throughout a community, and to some extent the dominant narrative often has components of a fictitious story. Trouillot (1995) cautions us to be aware of the silenced past.

When doing an archaeology of labor, the challenge is to redefine the way people think about class, conflict, human rights, and representation. In 1997, I attended the centennial commemoration of the Lattimer massacre. What is interesting to me is that although this event is one of the bloodiest labor massacres in U.S. history, it is absent from the Pennsylvania school curriculum. The site is not on the National Register of Historic Places, although, only with strong agitation from several citizens interested in labor history, there is a state marker commemorating the event close to the massacre site. The local community is quite aware of the events of the massacre, and they continue to pass the story down from one generation to the next.

So, an important question is, how do we make Lattimer part of U.S. public memory? And if we make these sites of labor and conflict known on a global scale, can we heighten attention to similar events and avoid the conflict that just occurred in South Africa? I consulted the American Battlefield Protection Program (ABPP), a program administered by the U.S. National Park Service (NPS), to see whether we could get support for the Lattimer project. Researchers and communities embrace the ABPP program because it can provide assistance to communities to help preserve and interpret battlefield sites. These additional resources assist interpretive and infrastructure improvements to help keep battlefield events in the national public memory.

I wanted to see whether we could compete for ABPP funding to do a survey of the Lattimer massacre site. The NPS website indicates that "battlefield land" is defined as "sites where armed conflict, fighting, or warfare occurred between two opposing military organizations or forces recognized as such by their respective cultures (not civil unrest)" (ABPP 2012). The words "not civil unrest" are neither part of the original legislation nor part of the regulations that guide the program. Thus, an interesting question is posed: How do you get these places of labor unrest recognized as battlefields? Places such as Ludlow, Blair Mountain, and Lattimer are battlefields. They are places of class warfare. We need not pretend that class warfare does not exist today. After speaking with staff members at the ABPP, it became clear that NPS staff developed the definition of "battlefield" in the early stages of the program's existence. As scholars and organizations such as the NPS strive to become more inclusive of the diversity of histories that make up this

country and place them under one umbrella—“American” history—then perhaps it is time for the NPS to rethink its view of what can and should be included in the American Battlefield Protection Program. It can be a way of creating a more inclusive narrative of the past and the present.

Using commemorative mechanisms such as UNESCO World Heritage programs and the National Park Service, which oversees the National Register of Historic Places and the National Historic Landmarks programs, as well as the ABPP, we can attract the attention of a larger audience and focus it on work and the working class. Many places that have the ability to foster the memory of working-class life are sometimes valued only on the local level, where ceremonies and traditions reinforce the community’s values. Other times, working-class heritage is recognized by the state when land is set aside or when monuments are erected to remember and commemorate the struggles of the labor movement. In a few instances, working-class heritage has been indirectly commemorated on an international level. For instance, although UNESCO’s World Heritage program recognizes over 800 sites, only 33 are related to industrial heritage; a few of these interpret working-class life (UNESCO 2012).

In the United States, the control and struggle over the memory of labor persists. As capital continues to weaken unions and labor, there is also a concerted effort to weaken the memory of labor; thus, the control over the memory of past labor events becomes important for the way labor and working-class life are perceived today. For instance, in January of 2009, the site of the Ludlow massacre was designated a National Historic Landmark with the support of historians, archaeologists, and the United Mine Workers of America. However, the Battle of Blair Mountain was placed on the National Register of Historic Places only to be delisted because of pressure from the coal industry and the support of the West Virginia governor (Nida and Adkins 2011). The act of delisting shows the power of capital at the expense of commemorating working-class history.

As practitioners and citizens, we can make a conscientious effort to support alternative perspectives that allow for cultural differences and an alternative past. Making labor sites important to a larger constituency can help shape the collective memory and perhaps help us view labor in the present in a different way. Providing a narrative of those who have been silenced should be an important goal for our archaeology, and whether it is about addressing issues related to race, gender, class, or labor, we can make a difference.

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