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Professor Kim Fortun, Ethnographic Methods

Knowledge Economy Incarnate: Gentrification in a New York City Neighborhood

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ABSTRACT

The project advances understanding of how the knowledge economy is embodied in what are deemed “global cities” (New York City), examining how the push for scientific and artistic merit of an institution and city informs legal practices of housing and securitization, potentially at the expense of people living in the city deemed not to fit the scope of such an economy and at risk of displacement from their homes. This project is an extension of research that occurred from 2015-2017, and focuses on how the relationship between Columbia University and the surrounding community, particularly residents in Grant and Manhattanville Houses, has changed in light of the opening of the first building in the Manhattanville Expansion. I examine issues of displacement (an estimated 5,000 people are slated to be displaced) as well as securitization, particularly in light of the mass arrests that occurred in 2014 in the Houses and Columbia’s promise to make the Expansion open to the West Harlem community as a whole.

I map how Columbia sees itself both within West Harlem and within the global knowledge economy, as well as how residents situate themselves and their knowledge in both the former and latter. The primary means of data collection consists of ethnographic interviews and participant-observation in various social/geographic sections of West Harlem, supplemented by analyses of governmental and institutions documentation, archival research, multimodal approaches (photography, film, fiction, digital platforms), media coverage, and any physical materials that can be collected (maps, brochures, remains of buildings, etc.). Building on previous research, I will continue to engage collaboratively with the residents in Grant and Manhattanville and activists (such as those involved with Community Voices Heard), as well as share notes/other materials with them via an online platform (such as PECE). Theoretically, this project seeks to intervene in “traditional” narrations of gentrification, questioning the term gentrification itself, its portrayal as a localized phenomena, and as emerging out of nowhere, and methodologically to push beyond the limits of “traditional,” written ethnographic account to incorporate alternative forms of written work and materialities.

Ultimately, this project examines and contributes to discussions surrounding fundamental issues of urban disenfranchisement of low-income residents by joint efforts of governmental institutions and powerful private interests in U.S. cities, particularly the role of race and the general push by corporations and institutions to perpetuate whiteness in and across city regions.

OVERVIEW

The first aim of this project is to collect empirical data to map the knowledge economy among global cities such as New York City, and to comprehend whether Columbia's Manhattanville Expansion is unique or part of a broader set of phenomena. The main question and sub-questions supporting this aim are:

1. What labor practices, infrastructure, and organizations shape the knowledge economy of city regions?
 - a. What social, economic, and political infrastructures have been built (or dismantled) to support the knowledge economy in various locales?
 - b. What social actors and organizations have supported particular physical manifestations of the knowledge economy, and shaped public discourse about gentrification, "innovation"/progress, and poverty?
 - c. What type of data (historical and present) are collected by these institutions to support gentrification?

The second aim is to develop a theoretical framework to characterize the styles of governance and opposition to that governance that shape the development of cities where the knowledge economy is situated and expanding. The main question and sub-questions supporting this aim are:

2. What historical, social, and cultural factors shape the development of cities, contributing to particular governance and opposition styles?
 - a. What hierarchies have emerged between different segments of city communities, what accounts for these hierarchies, and how does it impact governance and its opposition?
 - b. How have global concerns about knowledge production shaped local research, and the use of research in shaping gentrifying practices?
 - c. What cultural logics have shaped institutional governance and opposition to gentrifying forces?

Three Visualizations



“Pop-up” New York. A pop-up card memorializing New York City, its noted buildings/landmarks, and the American flag. The use of this image is intended to be ironic, the argument centering on the manner in which the city is constructed: what is idolized and what is potentially missing, and how sustainable practices of gentrification are (or are not), the base and its components seemingly flimsy and frail, centered on imagery rather than the substance within. Conveyed as a lone island, yet also the center of the United States and world overall. Open, yet closed in on itself. This image conveys the manner in which imaginary constructs of the city guide, legitimate, and delimit urban development, implicating who has “rights to the city” and informing hegemonic practices of displacement.



From the inside, out. A generated image in the Manhattanville Expansion in New York, depicting the architectural and social desires that Columbia maintains and propagates. An “open” layout, with professional-looking people, only limited pops of color, primarily white demographic, primarily white architecture, with an “authentic” New York view. How does this represent the knowledge economy that Columbia and New York City overall situate themselves in? What audiences is this architectural design intended to appease? What does it say about inclusion/exclusion? What is really happening here that is not overtly stated?



An art piece by Kiyon Williams entitled “**An Accumulation of Things That Refuse to be Discarded.**” Made in 2019, it is about 150 lbs (the weight of a human body) of bricks from a residential building in West Harlem that was demolished by Columbia University in order to build its Manhattanville campus (including in the gallery in which the work is displayed). The bricks are suspended from an entanglement of braids. I find this work to be materially, aesthetically, and socially stunning, invoking a sense of uneasiness, yet a beautiful representation all the same. This work depicts a central theme of the work I seek to engage in: how is gentrification unsuccessful in its attempts to ransack, destabilize, and whiten communities in New York City and other major cities? What happens to the material and social forces that once stood in place of Manhattanville and other such developments? What does “eminent

domain” mean, not just legally but socially? What role do artists in the city have in speaking truth to power in light of shifting demographics and politics? What is it about the aesthetic of this work that is both frightening and upsetting, potentially causing a physical reaction of being caught off-guard?

Striking Data Points

1. According to Dr. David Maurasse, an Associate Research Scholar at Columbia University’s School of International and Public Affairs, Columbia sees itself as a **global institution**, focused internationally and enlisting faculty to work on solutions for issues such as the environment, hunger, and disease. Yet even as many of these manifest locally, the University does not see the “symbiotic nature of a University fulfilling its mission as a knowledge institution and simultaneously serving community needs.” Instead, Columbia’s mindset consists of separating the local from the global--local as parochial and global as higher scholarly enterprise.
2. 40 teenagers and young men were arrested in **one of the largest police raids** in New York City’s history from Grant and Manhattanville Houses, two housing developments near Columbia. The raid, executed shortly before Columbia’s announcement of the Expansion, followed years spent by community activists imploring that Columbia, police officers, and politicians aid residents in defusing the tension among young people in the Houses, for example, by using funds to provide them with programs and community centers.
3. According to an activist I interviewed at Manhattanville House, Columbia only fulfills the **“baseline,”** if even that, of their Community Benefits Agreement (CBA) promises. He theorizes about the relationship between Columbia and the rest of the West Harlem community as a “Junior-Senior relationship.” He depicts it as a hierarchical but mutually-informing, shaping and potentially empowering relationship between the “Senior” (the institution, with ideological and material tools) and the “Junior” (residents of the Houses), asserting that each maintains a responsibility for the other, but that the relationship is largely **unequal**.

Three Intersections

1. Global and local: informs knowledge production/knowledge economy, determining who may participate and who is left out. Local is deemed to be less important in the eyes of institutions and the city of New York.
2. Criminalizing and programming: young people residing in Grant and Manhattanville Houses are dually coerced, on the one hand by being encouraged to engage with the knowledge economy, and the other by being criminalized. Many were arrested based on **suspicion** and sent to Rikers Island to await their charges.
3. Glass and brick: both materials used to construct Columbia’s buildings, the old versus the new, fortress-like versus “floating” (as described by one of the architects). These two versions of building design ignore the fact that both are colonial frontiers, imposing and dispossessing nearby, unaffiliated residents. Being able to see into a building more clearly does not necessarily translate into being a more open space.

Understanding “Late Industrialism”

Columbia University purports to be concerned about “late industrialism,” particularly as it is related to the “blight,” the remnants of an industrial past that to the eyes of the University and those it seeks to attract may

regard it as outdated, useless, “empty,” and perhaps even aesthetically displeasing (which is important for narratives of “development”). Columbia sees its Expansion as not only pushing outside the bounds of its current campus, but outside the bounds of older ideas of technological development to pursue “innovation.” Meanwhile, the businesses that once resided in the area were kicked out, many of which were owned by immigrants, dismantling that which they had worked hard for. Residents in the housing developments are more concerned with the dilapidated state of their own housing, what with leaking roofs (that haven’t been replaced since they were first built about 70 years ago), breaking elevators (in a place with many older people and young kids), exposure to asbestos (with particularly harmful effects for young and old people), and limited space for families (if the family grows, they are often denied movement to a more suitably sized space). Dealing with housing that residents claim was once beautiful and now shoddy speaks to the governance challenges at the federal and state levels, or perhaps not challenges, but the intentional neglect and at times silencing of residents speaking against poor living conditions. Nonprofits such as Community Voices Heard seek to engage in the conversation of “late industrialism” and what happens to neighborhoods facing gentrification in areas considered industrial as well as the risks posed to low-income residents residing in public/affordable housing. They strive to push for greater funding from the government to ensure protection of not only the affordable housing option, but the people currently residing in affordable housing who face the brunt of structural neglect.

Eminent domain is a major factor that undergirds late industrialism: by taking the power of the law into their own hands, with the assistance of the state of New York, Columbia asserted its right to expand into Manhattanville for “public purposes,” even as a private institution. Columbia benefits from a wave of “innovation” and “knowledge economy,” playing into the city’s push to join others in the race to the next economic breakthroughs. The innovation economy is regarded as the next logical step (for making a lot of money), and anything outside the purview of the “proper” sciences and arts is relegated to the margins. Via the strengthening of security, including a large number of cameras set up around the Expansion, the mass police raid at Grant and Manhattanville Houses, and generally increased number of security personnel in the area surrounding Columbia and the Houses, Columbia’s use of eminent domain and pursuit of the knowledge economy are fortified. By inexplicitly (and explicitly) policing West Harlem, Columbia establishes itself as a hegemonic figure of sorts in control of the neighborhood’s mechanisms.

The New York City Housing Authority is a prominent actor in tandem with the residents of housing developments. There is a constant push and pull between fulfilling the needs of residents and exclamations that there is not enough funding to support the repairs housing desperately needs due to aging. Local politicians are also participating by providing residents with options such as participant budgeting and spaces to voice their concerns. However, participant budgeting and the Community Benefits Agreement both provide enough funding for such projects as renovating playgrounds and planting trees, as opposed to the lump sum residents affirm are needed to address the real damage to the housing. The office of the Public Advocate also attempts to contribute to the discussion, posting annual lists of the worst landlords in New York City so as to bring attention to those who are attempting to bully low-income residents out of housing in New York City and thus resell the housing at infinitely higher prices. Meanwhile, Columbia University does not engage in dialogue around lack of funding for public/affordable housing and gentrifying practices by themselves and other landlords, choosing to focus instead on the “global” and how their efforts will contribute to the “greater good,” the likes of which appears to outright ignore the influences of late industrialism.

Late industrialism looks like brick buildings torn down and replaced by shiny white metal and glass buildings, the likes of which, according to the architect, are designed to both “appear as if they are floating”

and to be transparent so as to be inviting to the community. However, late industrialism also looks like the housing developments across the street tall, imposing brick buildings that sit across the subway line from Manhattanville. Late industrialism is a built environment intended to be upgraded to a newness that clashes with its surroundings, both aesthetically and structurally. It is built to be environmentally friendly and sustainable. It is designed to be a building that stands for more than itself: transcendent, connected to the global knowledge economy, different from the fortress-like, sturdy aura of the older parts of campus. Late industrialism also looks like taking over waterfronts, “revitalizing” them to encourage wealth and prosperity to be drawn further in while their perceived opposites are labeled unwelcome.

Late industrialism looks like the closing of health centers, laundromats, cheaper grocery stores, and other features that render the neighborhood a place for people of all means to be able to fulfill their needs. It looks like the yearly struggle for heat in the winter and the run-around of bureaucratic agencies whereby individual concerns are often swept by the wayside. Complaints are seen as chatter, residents who complain are seen as being responsible for their own living situation--perhaps if they would only take better care of their dwelling, they wouldn't be facing these issues--that is at least what the superintendent informed me of. Late industrialism looks like **responsibilized citizens and corporatized higher education institutions**, the likes of which manage and control a narrative of “revitalization” via both physical and digital infrastructures (their website, the reports/knowledge they generate, and the Community Benefits Agreement as represented by the West Harlem Development Corporation).

BACKGROUND AND SIGNIFICANCE

This project aims to build from previous research on Columbia's historical and more recent attempts to implement urban renewal and order maintenance to coerce residents of the neighborhood deemed not to fit within their vision of a “Modern Acropolis” and the knowledge economy. Columbia's method of urban renewal was the physical reordering of the city to combat blight, carried out under the principle of “controlled interracialism.” Columbia sought to halt the perceived expansion of black Harlem into Morningside Heights, aligning with city policies aimed at managing low-income communities. These policies sought to integrate young people into the perceived mainstream: the white, middle-class, well-educated, idealized citizens of the city and state. Iron-fisted policing strategies such as broken windows became additional forms of coercion. Such strategies were based on the culture of poverty narrative propagated by social scientists, claimed to be “both an adaptation and a reaction of the poor to their marginal position in a class stratified, highly individuated, capitalistic society” which tends to perpetuate itself generationally. The culture of poverty narrative worked in tandem with “black family pathology,” the notion that black families had inferior family structures to white families. From the early 20th century onward, Columbia implemented both narratives as they sought to establish an “Acropolis on a Hill,” a site of social formation catered to the white upper-class. As Tiffany Willoughby-Herard argued, settler societies used white ethnic particularity and myths about identity to historicize and naturalize white domination. Columbia's localized “Acropolis on a Hill” turned into a “globally”-oriented emphasis on knowledge economy, albeit with the same goal: simultaneously integrate and isolate West Harlem residents from the “white ethnic imagined community,” meanwhile implementing violence to legitimate white supremacist social and geographic claims. In Columbia's attempt to carve a Manhattanville out of Harlem, young residents were subjected to the University's dual coercive mechanisms of gentrification and policing. According to residents, the utilization of eminent domain was emblematic of Columbia's hands-off approach, while the mass raid seized a large group of young people without addressing the underlying structural issues that rendered the moment of crisis. Such was a perpetuation of 20th century urban renewal

and order maintenance tactics exhibited by the University and city. These mechanisms of gentrification spoke more broadly to colonial reenactments on a city-wide level, whereby spaces deemed “blighted” were seen as empty and open for the taking, dismissing the livelihoods of the people already residing there. Comprehending more in-depth the social, political, and economic forces at play in the case of Columbia University’s Expansion and impact on West Harlemites can feed into broader discussions of race (particularly whiteness) as it is constructed in the knowledge economy.

Three Relevant News Items

- [“Grant Houses Rolls Out Smart Community Initiative”](#)
 - Grant Houses President of the Resident's Association, Mr. Carlton Davis, "collaborated with Digital Divide Partners to offer Grant Houses technology services, including security cameras in common areas, a broadcast radio station on site for community announcements and streaming, and a pilot to offer wireless internet access to one of its nine buildings on the property." The radio website can be found [here](#).
- [“Harlem Residents: We Asked City for Help, We Got a Raid Instead”](#)
 - Fear of another gruesome death such as that of Tayshana Murphy, a teenage basketball star who lived in Grant Houses, resulted in the perceived justification of mass arrests in 2014. According to the activist and father of Tayshana, Taylonn Murphy, when the young people had nothing to do and the residents of the developments asked for help from Columbia University and the city to implement youth programs and create a community center for the young people, they got a raid instead.
- [“As Columbia University moves into Manhattanville, its industrial past is erased”](#)
 - According to Eric K. Washington, a historian, tour guide, and author of *Manhattanville: Old Heart of West Harlem*, the demolitions in Manhattanville have diminished the soul of the community. This article outlines the shifting social and infrastructural face of Manhattanville, as well as the effects of the Expansion on local business owners. Much of the information provided in this article also ties in to the discussion of “late industrialism” and how it impacts West Harlem.

LITERATURES AND THEORETICAL FRAMING

Literatures

Critical Race Theory

I seek to learn from and build upon this body of work due to its unique approach to studies of whiteness and anti-blackness, as well as Willoughby-Herard’s focus on the knowledge economy. These are two important areas for my research, as I strive to comprehend how institutions such as Columbia University seek to perpetuate whiteness through the actual knowledge that is produced, the increase in securitization, and the physical reshaping of the community. This body of work tends to be very historically grounded, which I hope to do for my own work to comprehend how race relations have been shaped. I also seek to embrace the literary techniques that Hartman uses: her writing is also not linear, but rather flows with the stories and themes of the young women’s lives, portrayed in a more story-like manner than as “official” accounts. She also deeply interprets a variety of materials, including photographs, reading into them stories that would hold true given the context. Rather than focusing solely on difficulties or lack, Hartman conveys the power the young women had to pursue an existence outside the one scripted for them--I hope to build on this in my

own research in order to understand how people shape their lives outside the confines of societal pressures and expectations. Hall's text inspires my work on multiple levels: the degree of collaboration, the scope of materials, and the urgency of the text are all factors that inform how I seek to engage in my own ethnographic work and its eventual publication. I seek to not only learn from, but engage with and build upon Hall's theoretical intervention of "conjuncture." Such calls for a multitude of perspectives, materials, collaborations, and cultural engagements (social, political, economic). His work is inspired by a very specific phenomenon, "mugging," which then turns out to be the product of multiple aspects of British society--I seek to locate the phenomena/phenomenon that exemplifies the tensions in U.S. society, particularly around the areas of race and class. Some of the questions I seek to answer through this literature are as follows: How might an analysis of whiteness and anti-blackness function for understanding power structures in cities? Is the decolonization of anthropology a feasible goal? How might a more "humanely workable geography" (per Katherine McKittrick) be possible in discussions of U.S. cities such as New York?

Texts:

- *Waste of a White Skin: the Carnegie Corporation and the Racial Logic of White Vulnerability* by Tiffany Willoughby-Herard
- *Wayward Lives, Beautiful Experiments: Intimate Histories of Social Upheaval* by Saidiya Hartman
- *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, The State, and Law and Order* by Stuart Hall et al.
- *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition* by Cedric J. Robinson
- *Silencing the Past: Power and Production in History* by Michel-Rolph Trouillot

Anthropology of Ethics

I am very much interested in the debates within this body of work, particularly the discussion surrounding the ethics of anthropology itself: I am interested in how this might inform discussion of anthropology's place within the knowledge economy. In addition, I am interested in the ethics of universities (as institutions seeking knowledge for the sake of knowledge versus serving as corporate enterprises). There seems to be a great number of tensions within academia in terms of ethics and morality, and I seek to understand how these tensions might further inform my work going forward. I would also be interested in seeking out ways to problematize Western notions of ethics, particularly in light of the work of I have been doing in my Theories of Globalization/Global Studies emphasis. I am interested in theories such as the one provided by Zigon regarding the "moral breakdown" (similar to Hall's notion of "moral panic"), which he defines as a moment of moral crisis. I utilize Zigon's approach to the concept of "moral breakdown," as well as borrow from Faubion's model of the "charismatic leader," to consider moments that may be considered a "moral breakdown (Faubion 2011). Through various parties' navigation of ethical dilemmas and engagement with the scene of crisis, residents of cities locate their places in U.S. society as ethical actors. Some of the questions I address through this body of literature include the following: How can an anthropology of ethics speak to issues of race and class? How might it be mobilized to address the silences embedded in historical accounts of sociostructural processes and the manner in which individuals and institutions navigate them? How are laws interpreted by institutions, and in what ways do they enable coercive and oppressive practices? How do people resist these practices?

Texts:

- *History of Sexuality* (3 volumes) by Michel Foucault
- *An Anthropology of Ethics* by James Faubion
- *Morality: An Anthropological Perspective* by Jarrett Zigon
- *Humanitarian Reason: A Moral History of the Present* by Didier Fassin

Experimental/Multimodal Anthropology

I am interested in both theorizing about the uses of multimodal as well as learning from other multimodal practitioners how to utilize it for my work. I am particularly interested in learning about creative written forms (both fictionalized and nonfiction), film, photography, and other forms of visualization. I see poetry, for example, as a way to not only to think through, but to vitalize the ethnographic material that I find. Based on what I learned in Roxanne Varzi's course, I intend to learn how to use theory as a form of literary criticism that should be used with great care, as it can be dangerous if misapplied. Rather than using theory for theory's sake, Varzi asserts that theory should be applied based on how it fits with the work (same can be said for multimodal work). I am interested in engaging in multimodal work that is informed by critical race theory, particularly Black feminist theory, working outside the frames of "traditional" knowledge production; thus, I must first engage with literature in both critical race theory and multimodal anthropology to learn all that I can before applying it in my own work. I strive to engage in the ethnographic sincerity that John Jackson Jr. writes of, recognizing my own political and personal agency and its interaction with the outer world: "...the anthropologist is always a political actor in the everydayness of her practice...The unit of analysis is not the anthropologist but instead the collision she is a part of—whether intended or not" (Jackson 2010: S284). In addition, I strive to comprehend the ethical implications of my ethnographic work, particularly the way I can contribute to the communities I engage with, as opposed to what I can extract (linking back to my literature on an anthropology of ethics). An additional inspiration for future projects emerged from watching Marjan Sartrapi's film, *Persepolis* as well as reading Sherine Hamdy's *Lissa*. I was enraptured and personally invested in the characters in both stories—animated figurations of real ethnographic experiences—and their struggles and joys resonated. I did not understand why this was the case until I read Scott McCloud's *Understanding Comics*, wherein he asserts the following: "You give the cartoon life by reading the book...If who I am matters less, maybe what I say will matter more...Our constant awareness of self flows outward to include the object of our extended identity" (McCloud 1993: 37-9). I found this concept to be fascinating to think through and with for future projects that might convey stories that resonate with readers and viewers. Through an analysis of multimodal/experimental anthropological works, I seek to answer the following questions: How might multimodal anthropology both contribute novel forms of representing and understanding the collection/managing/presenting of ethnographic data? How might anthropologists go about collaborating more respectfully and comprehensively with interlocutors? How can anthropologists portray inequality in U.S. cities in a multimodal manner that does not perpetuate the "ghettoizing," colonial gaze and culture of poverty-type narratives? How does one capture ethnography in manners that are useful and interesting (and beautiful), without perpetuating colonial practices and the colonial gaze?

Texts:

- *Pilgrim at Tinker Creek* by Annie Dillard
- *Last Scene Underground: An Ethnographic Novel of Iran* by Roxanne Varzi, plus her films
- *Understanding Comics: The Invisible Art* by Scott McCloud
- *Real Black: Adventures in Racial Sincerity* by John L. Jackson Jr., plus his films
- *Persepolis* by Marjan Sartrapi
- Films by Harjant Gill
- *Lissa: A Story about Medical Promise, Friendship, and Revolution* by Sherine Hamdy and Coleman Nye

Theoretical Framing

Stuart Hall's conception of "conjuncture" and "crisis": Hall utilizes conjuncture to discuss how the confluence of social, political, racial, spatial, temporal, and class factors render moments of crisis. I seek to

use this approach to analyze the various crises and protracted struggles which render moments of crisis, as well as periods of slow violence, in cities such as New York City.

David Scott's conception of "problem space": Scott argues that the problem space is the ensemble of questions and answers around which a horizon of identifiable stakes hangs, and what matters are not only the particular problems posed as problems as such, but the questions and answers that seem worth having. Such will prove crucial for my ethnographic and historical inquiries and interpretations.

George Lipsitz's notion of "white social imaginary": According to Lipsitz, the white social imaginary consists of the "unfair gains and unjust enrichments primarily available to whites [that] have created undeserved impediments to upward mobility for communities of color." I am curious to see where the knowledge economy fits within this imaginary.

Anna Tsing's notion of "friction": She affirms that unequal forces do not come from out of nowhere, but rather emerge from "friction," which keeps global power in motion in a grizzly manner, at the expense of peoples' freedoms to pursue prosperity, separating haves and have-nots within local conditions for the enforcement of property rights. This in turn creates ripe ground for the project of the "frontier," the "imaginative project capable of molding both places and processes." Such can prove useful for my analysis of how gentrification in the U.S. fits within global processes.

Dipesh Chakrabarty's notion of History 1 and History 2: History 1 lends itself to the reproduction of capitalist relationships and consists of totalizing thrusts, whereas History 2 calls for histories that exist outside of "capital's life process." I find this to be potentially useful for interpreting archival and ethnographic materials.

Rob Nixon's notion of "uninhabitants," slow violence in the midst of environmental racism: Nixon argues that "uninhabitants" are people deemed to be expendable in the midst of environmental disaster/the slow violence inherent in natural-human disasters. He affirms that such individuals are essential for maintaining dominant narratives of development.

Reece Jones' discussion of borders/hardening of borders: I seek to draw from Jones' discussion of borders, which he affirms seek to preserve privilege and opportunity for some by restricting access to resources and movement for others, placing the interests of 'citizens' above the interests of human beings generally. This is important for comprehending how space and place are negotiated in the city.

Saskia Sassen's discussion of "expulsions": By expulsions, Sassen means the people, enterprises and places that are expelled from core social and economic orders, the likes of which are still within the system, but are ejected from it. I appreciate that she strives to de-theorize and suspend traditional categories through which current trends are interpreted, choosing to focus instead on the conceptually subterranean trends that cut across geopolitical divisions.

S. Loclann Jain's discussion of data/knowledge production/governmentality: I am struck by Jain's discussion of the role of statistics, data, and the scientific in terms of the way populations are managed both physically and mentally, as well as the role of experts in striving to optimize particular populations.

Faye Ginsburg's notion of the "parallax effect"- I would like to mobilize Ginsburg's notion of the "parallax effect," the notion of the "apparent displacement or the difference in apparent direction of an object as seen

from two different points.” I believe this is useful to keep in mind as I seek to collaborate with interlocutors and other academics, as well as to interpret data.

Antonio Gramsci’s notion of hegemony- I seek to utilize Gramsci’s understanding of hegemony as well as Hall’s interpretation for how it might be useful to talk about race. I seek to mobilize his ideas about cultural, moral, and ideological leadership, as based on the equilibrium between consent and coercion.

Michel Trouillot’s discussion of silences in history- I seek to draw from Trouillot’s depiction of historical production, specifically the implicit silences and power structures perpetuated by each generation of both historians (whose perceptions are privileged) and non-historians. Trouillot’s work can be applied not only to historical production, but also to the works produced by anthropologists. I seek to use this framework to both analyze archival materials I engage with and to reflect on my own production.

Michel Trouillot’s discussion of the “Savage slot”- I seek to mobilize Trouillot’s understanding of the “Savage Slot” in order to confront the “Slot” in my own work. He defines it as the undertheorized, empty, yet significant compartment developed to house the “Other” and, inadvertently, the anthropologist within a wider Western symbolic field.

Saidiya Hartman’s “reading against the grain” in archives/the “wayward”: Hartman uses “wayward” as a methodological tool to combat judgement and classification inherent in both written and photographic archival materials produced from 1890-1935 in sociological and psychological accounts, newspapers, case files, and other archival materials.

Katherine McKittrick’s interpretation of poetics of landscape/”demonic grounds”- She argues for a reconceptualization of space and place in order to discover more humanely workable geographies, using the concept of “demonic grounds” to assert black women’s historical-contextual locations within geographic organizations and to show the ways black women contribute to a re-presentation of human geography.

Faye Harrison’s discussion of decolonizing anthropology- She argues for an interrogation of anthropology in academia and beyond, promoting greater diversity and democratization of the field, and decentering Western epistemologies. I seek to mobilize such ideas in my study design.

METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

Interviews

- Interview members of the general assembly (President, secretary, etc.)
 - Will provide insight into how they seek to serve residents and engage in relationships with other institutions
 - Share/exchange knowledge
- Interview other residents in the Houses
 - Get a sense of how they feel about living in the Houses and how they feel about changes in the neighborhood, where they like to go, what they like to do
- Interview staff members at Columbia University
 - Comprehend how they perceive the role of Columbia and its Expansion in the neighborhood, as well as its global reach
- Interview students/faculty at Columbia

- Get a sense of how they perceive the Expansion and its resources
- Understand how they regard the Expansion as it is situated within West Harlem
- Interview artists/scientists
 - Obtain an understanding of how they conceptualize the city of New York, West Harlem, gentrification, etc.: how does one represent these issues in more than just ethnography? What can art capture that ethnography cannot? How might they enhance one another? How can ethnographers collaborate more intensively with artists/scientists?
- Interview government officials (City Council members, Congressmembers, State Assemblymembers, members of Community Board 9)
 - Get a sense of how they perceive the Expansion and its resources
 - Understand their role in addressing issues such as the affordable housing crisis, dilapidating housing conditions in public housing, and effects of the anthropocene (particularly on lower-income people)

Participant Observation

- I will attend the monthly general assembly meetings at Grant and Manhattanville Houses, where residents and the elected assembly meet to discuss various issues impacting residents
 - Will provide insight into how residents perceive their community, West Harlem, and New York City overall
 - Guests who speak at the meeting will provide insight into who is trying to reach out to and/or maintain contact with the community in each of the Houses
 - Will give me an opportunity to meet and get to know more people both from within the Houses and outside
- Attend events held at the Manhattanville Expansion
 - Meet the community members who utilize the resources at the Expansion and learn what they hope to gain from them
- Attend actions held by Community Voices Heard
 - Get a sense of how gentrification in Manhattanville fits within the general housing crisis in New York City
 - Get a sense of how activists perceive the Expansion
 - Share/exchange knowledge with activists

Archival Research

- Visit archives at Columbia University (if I can gain permission)
 - Review documents that were exchanged between core institutions in Morningside Heights (the likes of which are now part of the Morningside Area Alliance) to comprehend how institutions worked in tandem to allocate property for their purposes + reasoning/justifications + their understandings of race/class
 - Review any newspaper articles included in the files as they can provide insight into how mainstream discussions framed understandings of race, class, housing, and the roles of institutions in cities
- Review New York City's Municipal Archives to obtain an understanding of how governmental institutions negotiated expectations and plans for the housing developments, particularly Grant/Manhattanville Houses, as well as how governmental institutions collaborated with elite institutions such as Columbia

Profile of a Text

Waste of a White Skin: The Carnegie Corporation and the Racial Logic of White Vulnerability

Tiffany Willoughby-Herard

This text is about white fragility, white poverty, and the manner in which the Carnegie Corporation sought to both uplift and deny poor Afrikaners in South Africa via the *Poor White Study*. In the process of producing knowledge and providing programs to render whites to their perceived superior positionality due to their whiteness, Carnegie Corporation engaged in antiblackness. The author argues that by injuring white people as collateral damage of antiblackness, treating them like blacks, “white supremacy has limitless possibilities to criminalize, intervene in, and interrupt black radical resistance and to minimize and naturalize black racial suffering.” The author strives to put black feminism in conversation with colonial feminism, civilizing missions, and programs of economic development that structure the making of poor whites and their key role in extending antiblackness. This text utilizes a feminist, critical race theory lenses to engage in a critical examination of global whiteness and its perpetuation of segregationist philanthropy and scientific racism. I am interested in developing a project enlightened by Willoughby-Herard’s bold approach to critical race theory, global studies, and history, as well as the structure of her text, the likes of which does not follow a strict timeline but rather flows smoothly between themes and across scales and materialities. For a more in-depth analysis of her text, [click here](#).

Research, Observation and Interviewing Questions

Theoretical Questions

- How do policing and displacement work in tandem to perpetuate inequality?
- How does the knowledge economy materialize at the local level and what are its effects on labor, housing, and securitization?
- How does the knowledge economy serve to create global ties between places?
- How are narratives of blight and progress repackaged and propagated over time? What potential ties do these have to colonialism?
- How does displacement change the face of a community? How do those who left/were forced out influence the community they left behind? What are the ghosts/hauntings embedded in place?
- How does law produce or exacerbate inequality?
- How do spatial imaginaries and discourses produce and legitimate **inequality**?
- How are inequalities produced across generations? Is the production of inequality across generations intensifying with the advance of late industrialism? What imaginaries, strategies and tactics push against intensifying inequalities across generations?
- How do the design of technologies, art, and other forms of knowledge production reflect, produce, exacerbate and possibly challenge entrenched inequalities?
- How do particular forms of knowledge production serve to perpetuate whiteness and the global white imaginary?
- How do the promises of the “knowledge economy” guide and justify contemporary urban development?
- How is the knowledge economy represented and inscribed in discussions surrounding what counts (and doesn’t count) as the “good city?”
- How is knowledge produced and what qualifies as being “knowledge?” What is the relationship between the knowledge economy and knowledge production, and who gets to participate in either/both?

Empirical Questions

- How have the demographics of Manhattanville changed over the past 10 years?
- How have residents of Grant and Manhattanville Houses navigated the changes in their neighborhood

brought on by Columbia and other businesses?

- Where have those who were displaced by the Expansion moved?
- What plans do those who are at risk of being displaced have in place?
- How do staff members in charge of the Manhattanville Expansion conceive of the impact of this development locally, nationally, and internationally?
- How did New York State work in tandem with Columbia to threaten eminent domain? What were the mutual goals of this partnership?
- How do members of Community Voices Heard conceive of the Expansion, particularly in relation to the work they are conducting around the push for the protection and repair of affordable housing and other campaigns such as the protection of SNAP?
- How do staff members at Columbia and residents of Grant and Manhattanville Houses conceive of the mass arrest that occurred in 2014, and its potential connection to the implementation of the Manhattanville Expansion?
- How have residents greeted back the young people who were arrested and are now returning home?
- How accurate are the narratives propagated by the press surrounding the degree of violence that was occurring in the neighborhood prior to the mass arrests? How do the narratives in Grant/Manhattanville and among staff at Columbia vary?
- Do residents of Grant/Manhattanville feel safe/welcome to visit the facilities that have opened at the Expansion?
- What inspired Kiyon Williams to make the work of art that he did out of the bricks from destroyed buildings in West Harlem?
- How do residents at Grant/Manhattanville work with politicians to ensure their needs are met?
- What do students and professors at Columbia make of the Expansion? Do they find themselves using the resources provided there?
- To what extent has the West Harlem Development Corporation abided by the agreements outlined in the Community Benefits Agreement between Columbia University and Grant/Manhattanville Houses?
- What are the security networks in place in Manhattanville and Morningside Heights? How do various parties conceive of them?
- How has Columbia sought to build or else ignore its relationship with Harlem?
- What is the role of the Empire State Development Corp. in assisting Columbia with the Expansion and their community relations?
- How do different parties associate with and participate in and around Columbia University, Grant/Manhattanville Houses, and West Harlem more generally? How do they situate themselves, their knowledge, and their practices not only in West Harlem, but across a variety of scales (local/city, state, nation-state, global)?

Interview Questions

Staff members at Columbia:

- How long have you worked for Columbia?
- Are you from New York City? If not, what brought you to work in this city?
- Do you see New York City as being your home?
- Does most of your family live here, or do they live elsewhere?
- What motivated you to join in the work of producing the Manhattanville Expansion?
- What do you see as being the main goals for the Expansion to achieve at various scales (locally, nationally, globally)?
- How does Columbia intend to work with the community to address their needs/concerns? How does Columbia intend to integrate West Harlem into the Expansion?

- How has the culture at Columbia and in West Harlem more generally changed since you first started working here?
- What do you make of the changes that have occurred in the neighborhood thus far?
- Which individuals and/or institutions aside from Columbia are invested in the success of Manhattanville?
- What do you make of how the Community Benefits Agreement has been implemented thus far?
- How does Columbia work with the people living in the housing developments nearby (Grant and Manhattanville)? What has been Columbia's involvement with the young people residing there, in particular?
- What other institutions has Columbia modeled its approach for the Expansion after?
- How has Columbia sought to change its expansion practices since the university's earlier days? Do you think the university has been successful thus far?

Residents at Grant/Manhattanville Houses:

- Are you from New York City? If not, what brought you to live and work in this city?
- How long have you lived here?
- Do you see New York City as being your home?
- How has your home and the neighborhood in general changed since you first moved here?
- What do you see as being Columbia's role in the neighborhood?
- How active are you with the general assembly?
- Do you visit Columbia University's main campus and the new Manhattanville Expansion?
- What other places do you like to frequent in the neighborhood?
- How have things changed here since the mass raid in 2014?
- Do you currently work or go to school? How do you like to spend your time?
- Does most of your family live here or are they living elsewhere?
- Are you involved with Grant Houses' radio station? If so, what is the goal of the station?
- Have you heard about the Community Benefits Agreement that Columbia made? If so, how do you feel about the way it's been implemented thus far?
- How could Columbia improve its relationship with unaffiliated people in the neighborhood?
- Are you affiliated and active with any organizations (religious, volunteering, etc.)? If so, what does it do for you to be involved with them?

Students/professors at Columbia:

- Are you from New York City? If not, what brought you to study/work in this city?
- How long have you lived here?
- Do you see New York City as being your home?
- What is your area of focus/expertise?
- What do you see as being Columbia's role in the neighborhood?
- Have you visited the new Manhattanville Expansion? If so, what was your impression of it?
- How has the neighborhood changed since you first moved here?
- Did you hear about the mass arrests that were made in 2014 in the nearby housing developments? If so, what was your impression of them?
- Are you active with any organizations (religious, volunteering, etc.)? If so, what does it do for you to be involved with them?
- Does most of your family live here or do they live elsewhere?

Artists (could be revised a bit to interview scientists working at the Expansion):

- Are you from New York City? If not, what brought you to work in this city?

- How long have you lived here?
- Do you see New York City as being your home?
- What is your preferred mode of artistic expression? Any particular areas of focus/expertise?
- What do you see as being Columbia's role in West Harlem?
- Have you visited the new Manhattanville Expansion? If so, what was your impression of it?
- How has the neighborhood changed since you first moved here?
- Are you active with any organizations (religious, volunteering, etc.)? If so, what does it do for you to be involved with them?
- Does most of your family live here or do they live elsewhere?

Members of Community Voices Heard (could be revised and used for other grassroots activist groups/organizations):

- Are you from New York City? If not, what brought you to study/work in this city?
- What neighborhood do you live in?
- How long have you lived there?
- Do you see New York City as being your home?
- What do you see as being Columbia's role in West Harlem?
- What do you make of the Manhattanville Expansion? How does this expansion possibly compare to others across New York City?
- Have you visited the Manhattanville Expansion? If so, what was your impression of it?
- How has Harlem changed since you first moved to New York?
- What led you to want to join Community Voices Heard? Which of their primary issues do you feel most passionate about/are most active in?

City Council Members (could reword slightly to use for Congressmembers):

- How has New York City and its distinctive neighborhoods changed over the time since you began working as a Councilman? How has it changed physically and socially?
- What kinds of social, economic, and political resources do you see as being available to and particularly useful for residents at Grant and Manhattanville Houses, or any other housing developments? How are these resources used if they are?
- What do you see as being Columbia University's and New York City Housing Authority's roles in the Morningside Heights neighborhood? What have been their influences on residents and the neighborhood?
- What is the nature of the relationship between Columbia, the residents living in Morningside who are not affiliated with the University, and the city government?
- What do you see as the role of affordable housing in the midst of New York City's various physical and social transformations? How can affordable housing be maintained and remain as a major component of the city?
- What steps are you and your office taking to address the various issues surrounding affordable housing?
- How is the progress on the Manhattanville Expansion? How has it impacted the residents and businesses in the area surrounding it?

Community Board 9 Members:

- According to your website, "The purpose of Manhattan Community Board 9 (MCB9) is to ensure that City services are accessible and responsive to the needs of all residents, organizations, businesses, and institutions in West Harlem." What does this look like on a daily basis? What services are deemed to be accessible/need to be accessible?
- How is the progress on the Manhattanville Expansion? How has it impacted the residents and businesses in

the area surrounding it?

-What was the process of discussing potential uses for the Manhattanville area like? What came of the mixed-used development plan that members of the MCB9 designed? Was it discarded or integrated to an extent into Columbia's Expansion plan?

-How has West Harlem changed over the last 10-15 years? How has it changed physically and socially?

-What kinds of social, economic, and political resources do you see as being available to and particularly useful for residents at Grant and Manhattanville Houses, or any other housing developments? How are these resources used if they are?

-What do you see as being Columbia University's and New York City Housing Authority's roles in the Morningside Heights neighborhood? What have been their influences on residents and the neighborhood?

-What is the nature of the relationship between Columbia, the residents living in Morningside who are not affiliated with the University, and the city government?

-What do you see as the role of affordable housing in the midst of New York City's various physical and social transformations? How can affordable housing be maintained and remain as a major component of the city?

Plan of Work

Year 2: Read literature related to major areas of interest (legal/political anthropology, critical race theory, urban/global studies)

Year 2 summer: Visit New York City for 2-3 months. Visit archives, take photos/notes. Attend general assembly meetings and other events at Grant/Manhattanville Houses. Schedule interviews with staff members at Columbia University, with activists at the Houses/in Community Voices Heard. Attend actions with Community Voices Heard. Work on building connections with local politicians (Councilmembers, Congressmen, Assembly members, etc.). Reach out to guests who attend General Assembly meetings. Take photos/film footage.

Year 3, 5, 7 (including some summers): Attend law school with a focus on housing/civil law. Intern for pro bono lawyers focused on housing disparity issues.

Year 3 summer: Complete review of primary literature. Visit New York City and continue interviewing/participant observation. Locate other scholars/activists working on housing issues in New York City.

Year 4, 6 of fieldwork: Stay in New York City for part of the year, do write-ups of findings, engage in theoretical and empirical mindmaps, on my own and with interlocutors. Determine manners of collaboration with them, share data using PECE platform, engage in activist actions. Potentially write op-eds regarding findings. Start looking into employment opportunities. Attend conferences.

Expected Challenges and Limits

- Ensure that I work on not engaging in extractive practices, actively seeking out ways to contribute and share the information I collect with interlocutors and seek out their feedback. Ensure that I share in credit for the work that is put in.

- Protect personal information and ensure that I complete an IRB before interviewing people. Make sure to ask for consent and have interlocutors sign the form. Be transparent about my motives and goals with every interlocutor I work with.
- I anticipate possible access issues with the Columbia University library since it is very selective of who it lets in. I may not be able to access the materials there due to not being an affiliate of Columbia any longer.
- I anticipate potentially high costs of living, and may have to live outside the city.

VALIDITY AND EVALUATION

- Share my data with interlocutors for their evaluation before I attempt to print any materials. This includes photos and other modes of ethnographic data collection. Take their input into account.
- Collaborate with other anthropologists and social scientists, lawyers, activists, politicians, and other actors to compare my own research and interpretation of data with their knowledge on particular relevant topics.
- Work closely with advisors and other mentors at UCI to look over written materials.
- Keep notes aside from field notes to keep track of overall atmosphere, emotions, and scope of project.

PREPARATION AND WORK THUS FAR

I conducted initial research in New York City while working on my Master's program at Columbia University in anthropology and wrote an MA thesis. I conducted interviews with several staff members at Columbia, attended general assembly meetings at Grant Houses for about a year, interviewed staff members at Morningside Area Alliance, engaged in some archival work in Columbia's library, participated in several actions/attended events with Community Voices Heard, and interned for Congressman Hakeem Jeffries to learn more about housing issues in South Brooklyn. I also engaged with some critical race theory, feminist, anti-colonial, and subaltern studies materials to inform my research. In addition, I took some photos and collected some primary materials while engaging in research there.

DISSEMINATION

Audiences for this research

- Four different audiences: 1) Academics in critical race theory, law, urban studies, and global studies; 2) Policymakers/governmental officials; 3) Nonprofits; 4) Grassroots activists
- Three journals: 1) PoLAR (Political and Legal Anthropology Review); 2) City & Society; 3) American Anthropologist
- Two conferences: 1) AAA annual conference; 2) American Ethnological Society conference
- Book series: *Theorizing Ethnography* (Routledge)

Sample Course Module

Space/place in the city: a critical, global, and multimodal approach to anthropology

Main learning outcome desired: To encourage students to learn how to engage with and study an urban environment, the likes of which engages intensely all of the senses, contains many ideas and perspectives,

and moves at a fast and yet sometimes very slow pace (students can select a large city they wish to work with, preferably either Los Angeles or San Diego). I also wish to challenge their ideas of space and place, and how it works at multiple scales/levels, using a global studies and critical geography approach to help them grasp these concepts. By the end of the course (a 10-week course that meets once a week, 3 hours long), I expect them to have completed a multimodal project, the likes of which implements “traditional” ethnographic skills while simultaneously pushing the traditional bounds of the field. This course is for students who have taken the basic intro to anthropology courses and likely have at least a vague idea of what anthropology is and what it does. Each week will engage a particular method of data collection that is tied in to a particular aspect of urban anthropology/global studies/geography and is largely informed by critical race theory.

Due each week: a brief outline of the texts read and their theoretical/empirical significance (one page long, double-space)

Due by end: a project that implements all 9 methods, via whatever mode the students prefer, to be presented the 10th week of class. Plus submission of all 10 text outlines. Also require fieldnotes/drawings from various methods.

Before Week 1: read Michel Rolph-Trouillot’s *Silencing the Past* and the first chapter of John L. Jackson Jr.’s *Real Black: Adventures in Racial Sincerity*

Week 1: Introduction to the methods we will be using (interview, participant observation, photography, drawing/comics, sensory exercise, film, creative ethnography, poetry, materiality)

Terms: “race,” “racial sincerity,” urban anthropology, global studies, participant observation, historical anthropology (how history is made and reproduced by those in power- plus the role of anthropology in history), Anthroman

Lecture topic: Race and history

Before Week 2: read Harry F. Wolcott’s article “Fieldwork: The Basic Arts” and Katherine McKittrick’s *Demonic Grounds: Black Women and the Cartographies of Struggle* + find one person to interview for the final project (begin to make efforts to reach out)

Week 2: Discussion of interviewing techniques and McKittrick’s text

Terms: “demonic grounds,” “naturalized” knowledge, placelessness, humanely workable geographies, poetics of landscape, multiscalar

Lecture topic: Interviewing, participant observation, and geographies of space/place

Activity: Engage in a 10-minute interview with a fellow classmate. Develop a list of questions to get at their conceptions of space/place based on where they grew up, a favorite memory, or a favorite place to go for vacation. Take notes while interviewing and create follow-up questions as you go to get at the more rich details.

Before Week 3: Should have a sense of your field site and start collecting data for the final project. Can begin to think about a particular event/place/space where people will be gathering to discuss/engage in issues interesting to you that will be useful for the final project (for example, a townhall meeting) (this can be a potential site for the photography/sensory aspect of the final project) + read “The Parallax Effect: The Impact of Aboriginal Media on Ethnographic Film” by Faye Ginsburg and *Outside Within: Reworking Anthropology in the Global Age* by Faye V. Harrison

Week 3: Discussion of photography (brief history of photography in anthropology/debates around representation + perspective) and Harrison’s text

Terms: “parallax effect,” “decolonizing anthropology,” representation, holism, interdisciplinarity, labor of

love

Activity: 1. Develop a list of potential sites for your participant observation, 2. Discuss with partner the issue of representation and how to engage in photography that is ethical and doesn't perpetuate the colonial gaze.

Before Week 4: Read Scott McCloud's *Understanding Comics: The Invisible Art* and Steven Gregory's article "The Radiant University: Space, Urban Redevelopment, and the Public Good." If you have time, watch *Persepolis* by Marjane Satrapi.

Week 4: Discussion of Gregory's article, followed by discussion of drawing as a useful for both planning research and representing ethnographic material (in reference to McCloud's book, as well as my own experience with mind-mapping)

Terms: Eminent domain, knowledge economy, "transparency," blight, gentrification, "composite characters"

Activity: Create a mindmap based on Gregory's text about the Manhattanville Expansion, paying close attention to the power structures that appear to be at play and how different parties within West Harlem define them.

Before Week 5: Should have started collecting data/set up an interview by now. Read/listen to "The Whole World Blind" by Roxanne Varzi, "Doing Sensory Ethnography- Situating Sensory Ethnography: From Academia to Intervention" by Sarah Pink, and Aimee Merdith Cox's *Shapeshifters: Black Girls and the Choreography of Citizenship*.

Week 5: Discuss sensory ethnography first then shift discussion to Cox's text and the manner in which the interlocutors engage in "choreography" to shift the shape of spaces to rewrite socially constructed meanings.

Terms: Sensory ethnography, postindustrial, neoliberal, "shapeshifters," "infrapolitics," "choreography," Moynihan Report, Fordism, "color-blind," normalization, collective liberation

Activity: 1. Based on the readings, discuss with a group of 3-5 the various senses that can be engaged in ethnographic research. 2. Discuss how Cox incorporates sensory data to develop her ethnography and convey the lives of the young women she is working with as they pursue self-affirming possibilities.

Before Week 6: Watch at least one of Harjant Gill's films (*Sent Away Boys*, *Mardistan*, etc.). Experiment with filming short clips from your field site to capture space/place. Read Rob Nixon's *Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the Poor*.

Week 6: Discuss Gill's films, focusing on what stood out to the students and what they would be interested in replicating for their own work/possible ways to visualize their work. The focus will be specifically on how to visualize toxicity (social and environmental and both) and the quotidian anthropocene.

Terms: Toxicity, quotidian anthropocene, "uninhabitants," slow violence, "disaster," "bewilderers," environmental racism

Activity: 1. Watch Tim Schutz's films from the Disaster STS Anthropocene Field Camps, including from St. Louis and New Orleans. 2. Have students discuss with one another what aspects of their site exemplify toxicity, the anthropocene, and how each can be visualized through film.

Before Week 7: Read *Barracoon* by Zora Neale Hurston and Akhil Gupta James Ferguson's article "Discipline and practice: 'The field' as site, method, and location in anthropology." Write down 3 paragraph-length ideas for potential ethnographic creative works that you could write based on the research you have done thus far (make sure that these are thoroughly informed by your ethnographic work).

Week 7: Discuss *Barracoon*: what students found useful, interesting, etc. What they make of a work that some deem to be at least partially fictionalized but conveys fieldwork, and how they might try to incorporate such practice in their own work. Will touch a bit on the history of ethnographic works where there was debate whether they were fiction or not (ex.: Zora Neale Hurston's book *Barracoon* and her positionality in

relation to Franz Boas), and the raced, gendered, and classed aspects informing this issue. We will refer specifically to the debates presented at the back of the book.

Terms: “methodological values,” “the field,” “discipline,” “virtuality”

Activity: Discuss with partner/group--What is “real ethnography?” What are considered “legitimate” forms of knowledge and which are discounted? Is anthropology a “science?”

Before Week 8: Read *Pilgrim at Tinker Creek* by Annie Dillard, “Kindred Tools: An Interview with Nomi Stone” by Michelle Hagman and Katherine Sacco, and Catherine Lutz’s “The Gender of Theory.” Either write a poem or locate a poem that speaks to your research interests, and/or that exemplifies the style of thought/writing that you wish to exemplify.

Week 8: Discuss the articles, beginning with the poetry articles and then moving on to the argument laid out by Lutz/discussing the *Writing Culture* movement and its various contributions/contentions/issues.

Terms: Phenomenological experience, “hyperprofessionalism,” “writing culture,” “writing against culture,” feminist anthropology

Activity: 1. Share your poem with the class, then discuss why you selected/wrote that particular poem., 2. Discuss with a partner how you regard Lutz’s arguments against the “writing culture” movement.

Before Week 9: Read *Policing the Crisis* by Stuart Hall. Consider what kind of materialities you might draw from/incorporate into your own work based on the methodologies carried out by Hall and his co-authors. Bring one item/material to share with the class.

Week 9: Discuss Stuart Hall’s text (his theoretical and empirical approaches), the cultural studies movement, and what we might take away from it. Watch Hall’s 2012 interview with Sut Jhally.

Terms: “moment of the mugger,” conjuncture, social formation, “multiple deprivation,” ideological state apparatus, “moral panic,” “Thatcherism”

Before Week 10: Finish the final project that combines all of the methods utilized throughout the quarter. If time permits, read first three chapters of Eve Darian-Smith’s text *The Global Turn: Theories, Research Designs, and Methods of Global Studies*.

Week 10: Presentations (10 minutes each, 5 minutes for feedback from class). Brief concluding discussion on global studies and the local-global continuum, as well as its importance for the pursuit of cognitive and hence social justice. Included in the discussion will be the crucial role of critical race theory for this pursuit.

Terms: Local-global continuum, cognitive justice, holism, World’s Fair, globalization versus global studies, critical thinking, non-Western epistemologies, “decentering” the West, transdisciplinarity

Concluding Activity: Discuss as a class~ What are your major takeaways from this course? How will it inform your future research?

Taking research off campus

I would collaborate with a comics writer, as well as other academics from anthropology, sociology, various area studies, urban studies, critical race theory, law, history, global studies, etc. to create a monthly, internet-based comic strip page that approaches the city from an anthropological, counter-hegemonic perspective. Each comic would approach a different aspect of the city and the manners in which they are transforming. The main character would be an anthropologist, and each comic would engage with the legal, cultural, social, economic, architectural, and geologic (basically all levels of scales/systems, as informed by transdisciplinary expertise). There would be little to no jargon, as this comic will be intended primarily for high schoolers. Included will be a brief and straight-forward activity related to either anthropological method or theory, the likes of which seeks

to engage students and encourage them to see the world in a different light, making the “normal” strange and the strange “normal.” The activity can range from encouraging students to read and analyze newspaper archives for a particular aspect of city political structure/crucial event in the city’s history, to engaging in participant observation in a local town-hall to understand both local events as well as attempting to understand how to outline the players involved. It will encourage students to see the social sciences as a crucial and compelling tool for comprehending power structures/dynamics, the likes of which can help explain why cities are shaped and placed in the manner that they are. I could visit schools myself (inviting other experts to visit with me) and engage with students, using the comic as an entryway into a group activity/discussion that can further deepen their understanding of the material. I would gain this access by sharing my material with high school teachers focused on teaching history, social studies, politics, etc. Each comic would also include a set of footnotes that depict the various texts, articles, and fieldwork upon which the particular comic is based. Eventually, enough comics could be accumulated to create a book that could be split up by various themes/forms of expertise, or even posing the possibility of blurring the lines of expertise. In this way, I would seek to make research from those in academia more accessible/understandable to young people, and encourage them to want to participate in the discussion.

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DATA MANAGEMENT PLAN

Interviews will be recorded initially onto portable digital audio (mp3) or video recorders (wfp). I will delete any portions of the recording which the interviewee has asked to be considered "off the record" before finalizing the file. I may upload these materials as soon as possible to the PECE platform, where they would be given the initial status of "private" (accessible only to the original contributor). Once the file has been uploaded to the central platform I will delete the copy on the portable recorder. When appropriate consent has been obtained, the initial encoding of the audio or video file on the platform as "private" is changed to allow for the designated access. I will also store the majority of materials (interviews, participant observation notes/photos, archives) on hard drive/solid state drive, as well as store in a paper notebook.