DECONTAMINATING MEMORY: GOVERNMENTALITY, NETWORKS AND RELATIONAL ENACTMENT THROUGH POLICY DEVELOPMENT AT THE BADGER ARMY AMMUNITIONS PLANT, WISCONSIN

By

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Chapter 1: (Re)appropriating and (re)defining contaminated landscapes

"Badger's history of conflict is deep and ongoing. It exists as a focus for dispute because large numbers of Native Americans were driven from their places on the land. It exists because some 80 farm families also suffered forced removal from their places on the land. It exists because it provided tools to help bring the entire country through a time of great pain and sacrifice. And it exists because of the thousands of Wisconsin citizens who accepted that pain and sacrifice so that an idea and an example of how people should live and work together would survive.

The presence of smokestacks, storage tanks, chemical plants and reaction towers, railcars, truck traffic and other expressions of private special interests, however well intentioned, will never be regarded as a comfort or a relief for the pain represented by that history…..Badger's past may be one of pain and conflict, its present may appear nearly empty of everything but potential, but its future must be one of hope, healing and reconciliation" (Robkin, 2/7/01).

In 1997, the US Army announced that the Badger Army Ammunition Plant (BAAP) in Sauk County, Wisconsin would be decommissioned, marking the end of the site's complicated history and sparking extensive debate over proposed land uses. The future of the site is still being considered fourteen years on, but some consensus has now been reached on the types of activities considered appropriate for a site with a history so 'deep and ongoing' (Robkin, 2001). Accepted activities for the site, and the more complex and contentious question of land ownership, reflects a cautious intertwining of memory and landscape which has crystallized materially in the landscape.

Robkin's synthesis of the 'pain and conflict' experienced at the BAAP is indicative of wider narratives about the site[1]. The BAAP was constructed and operated prior to environmental regulations and waste was often dumped into pits and burned, causing chemicals to seep into the ground and water resources in the area. Production of ammunition for the geopolitical wars of the second half of the Twentieth Century is therefore seen to have contaminated the natural environment, destroying and degrading the earth to the point that the land 'must' now be saved through 'healing and reconciliation'. These practices have materialized the history of Army occupation into the land. Longer term historical contamination has thus acted on the policy development process established to bring 'hope' to BAAP.

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[1] The community, campaign representatives, government agencies and the media have predominantly focused on discourses of contamination and the need for environmental cleanup at the site. Less focus has been placed on land uses that do not directly appear to address the need for decontamination.

Analysis of how memory and history crystallize and act on official policy discussions, influencing land uses and ownership has been undervalued in Geography. Research on memory has tended to focus too specifically on memorials, monuments and heritage sites (Till, 2003). Less emphasis has been placed on looking at a broadened definition of sites of memory as well as the materialization of memory within the land and the body (for further discussion of geographical work on memory, see chapter 3). Such an approach provides a useful framework for considering how some memories of history cannot be so easily forgotten and how various campaign representatives must work hard to erase or replace such materialization of memory. Every day practices of policy development play a vital role legitimizing various accepted actants in the process and relationally negotiating traces of the past, present societal tensions and the desired future cultural, economic and political identity. The more official or legal processes involved with land ownership provide an opportunity for investigating how certain memories become erased, how others are prioritized, and how these processes enact the role of 'the state', legitimizing 'the state's' involvement in questions of memory.

This research attempts to investigate these issues through answering the following questions:

1. How has memory influenced the decommissioning of BAAP and the process of reassigning the land?

2. Who/which organizations were the main actors in this process and what were their motivations?

3. What was the formal or official role of 'the state' (federal, state and local government) in this project? How is 'the state' enacted through these official policy discussions?

4. How do the proposals for Western memorialization of the dead (cemeteries) compare with the Native American commemoration (burial mounds)? How are ideas about commemoration influencing land right claims?

In order to effectively answer these questions, there will also be an important theoretical component to my research. Actor Network Theory (ANT) and governmentality will, together, provide a useful lens for considering the role of various government agencies and other interested parties (both human and non-human actants) in the decommissioning process.

This research will therefore highlight that memory is inherently entwined with the notion of land rights at the BAAP and that processes prioritizing memories of history enact an official role for 'the state'. However, 'the state' is not a coherent or consistent 'thing' that exists and acts or imposes its will on citizens. Governmentality should therefore go beyond a focus on government 'ensembles and procedures' and explore the ways that such 'ensembles' develop out of much wider policy/campaign interactions. The relationships and interactions between

both human and non-human actants add an important dimension to an assessment of power relations in the policy development process. This research therefore approaches an understanding of various actors as networks of relations intersecting with a wider network of the BAAP policy development process.

Chapter 2: The Badger Army Ammunitions Plant

The BAAP situated in Sauk Prairie Wisconsin was constructed in 1942 and played a leading role in the production of nitrocellulose-based propellants in World War II, the Korean War, the Vietnam War and the Cold War (Badger History Group)[2]. During the 1940s, this site was the largest ammunitions plant in the world, at over 30km². However, by the 1990s, US Army and federal government officials decided that the BAAP was surplus and no longer an integral component of the US war effort. The official decision to decommission the site came in 1997 but Army and federal government officials continued to be actively involved after significant evidence of contamination was found in the land. The early decommissioning and decontamination efforts were led by Olin industries, which had maintained the BAAP on stand-by status in the interwar periods. In 2004, continued decommissioning and decontamination work was contracted to SpecPro Inc which has managed the process ever since[3].

In 1997 following the announcement that the BAAP would be decommissioned, the federal, state, local and other key actors started to campaign and consider plans for future uses of the BAAP land. While this process remains ongoing, six principle uses have become more prioritized over time and include:

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[2] Badger History Group (http://www.badgerordnancehistory.org)

[3] SpecPro website (http://www.specpro-inc.com/)

1. The USDA dairy forage will receive 9km² to continue grazing and cropping on the land;

2. The Bureau of Indian Affairs will manage 6km² for the Ho-Chunk Nation. This land will be used for grazing bison and holding religious ceremonies;

3. National Park Service and the Wisconsin Department of Natural resources (WDNR) will receive 14km² to extend the Devil's Lake State Park;

4. Town of Sumpter will receive three cemeteries located at BAAP. The Pioneer, Thoelke and Miller cemeteries were acquired with the land in 1942 and have been maintained by the Army in the following years;

5. The Bluffview Sanitary District will receive 0.7 km² of the land it shares with the water and sewerage treatment system it shares with BAAP;

6. Wisconsin Department of Transportation will receive 236,000 m² of land along State Highway 78 which will form part of a highway straightening project.

Sparked by concerns surrounding the contamination of the land within the BAAP and the best ways to clean up the area, the majority of these proposed future uses involve a re-

naturalization of the land, and a memory of a pristine Nature that humans have not contaminated. This research will focus on exploring the various actors in the ongoing process of deciding rights to land use and ownership at BAAP[4]. It will then explore how an environmental conservation narrative emerged, before considering how the development and maintenance of relationships between the various actants have stabilized such a narrative and enacted the role of 'the state' in the policy development process. I will complete this research on the BAAP by exploring how bison grazing has been able to materialize on the land over and above the need to maintain three ceremonies located within the site. The juxtaposition of Native American memory of the landscape and Western, European American memorialization through cemeteries highlights how memory of history is prioritized and how minorities attempt to resurrect memories and position themselves within the formal process of claiming land rights. Such claims continue to be entwined with the notion that contaminated land can be best 'saved' by grazing animals and growing crops that are traditionally sustainable and closer to a more natural state.

[4] Following Latour (1987), this research uses the term "actant" to indicate that agency is relationally produced through interactions between humans and non-humans and is always becoming. This departs from the term "actors" which suggests agency and something that "acts" in its own right.

Chapter 3: Reviewing the past and setting a theoretical context

Memory, actor network theory (ANT) and governmentality will form the main focus of my approach to this process of reassigning contaminated land and therefore this literature review will be divided into three main sections. The final section will indicate how an approach that takes into account memory, ANT and governmentality will be particularly useful in approaching my research questions. Subsequent chapters bring in further theoretical nuances but the overall lens for this research incorporates ANT, governmentality and memory to highlight how different organizations and policies are produced and enacted through policy development processes like those taking place at the BAAP.

Memory of history and history of memory

Collective memory emerged as an object of academic research in the early twentieth century 'contemporaneous with the so-called crisis of historicism' (Klein, 2000: 127). Halbwachs' *The Social Framework of Memory* (1925) argued against Freud, suggesting that memory was not merely "stored" in the unconscious of the individual but was very much a social phenomenon, 'always constructed and located in the social environments of the present' (Till, 2003: 290). Halbwachs therefore emphasized how narratives about the past are constantly in flux and infused with meaning depending on the needs of the present. This, Halbwachs argued, is most effective when there is a 'double focus- a physical object, a material reality

such as a statue, a monument, a place in space and also a symbol or something of spiritual significance, something shared by the group that adheres to and is superimposed upon this physical reality' (Halbwachs, 1992: 204).

However, few scholars took up such discussions until the boom of memory studies in the 1970s and 1980s. This involved a rediscovery of Halbwachs' work and the popularization of Nora's *Between History and Memory* (1989). Although Halbwachs' and Nora's theories largely oppose each other in their specifics, they both suggest a sharp distinction between history and memory. They see history and memory as two polar representations, with history having become the primary way of engaging and representing the past.

More recently, such a split has been challenged and a more fluid transition between history and memory has been proposed (for further discussion, see Burke, 1989 and Samuel, 1994). This notion has influenced the work of geographers since the 1990s, as memory and history are no longer seen as a variant of the binary relationship between Nature and Culture, with memory producing 'unvarnished truths or uncritical tales' in contrast to history's calculated and rational accounts of the past (for further discussion see Davis and Starn, 1989: 2). Poststructuralist critiques in the 1990s collapsed the Nature-Culture distinction, highlighting how memory and history appear to be constructed narratives that do not operate in totally detached ways.

Within the wider memory discipline, there has been a growing literature on memorialization that has focused on the way that monuments and spaces of memory form an important part of the symbolic landscape of 'national, religious, class and gendered identities' (Cooke, 2000: 450). The literature on memory and memorials in geography has often highlighted the way that war has been memorialized, with authors such as Heffernan (1995) and Morris (1997) looking at First World War memorialization and Englishness in World War One cemeteries. Further work has also focused on the construction of memorials to represent the enduring power of the nation state. Atkinson and Cosgrove (1998) have explored the state construction of the Vittoriano Emanuele II monument in Rome, an example of the Italian state constructing and attempting to naturalize the role of the nation state as a fixed and permanent memory.

Geographers have also focused on the preservation of relics and traditions in museums. Such research has also tended to look at how the types of objects on display, and thus prioritized for show, represent the nation (Handler, 1988). Geographical research on museums as memoryscapes has tended to emphasize the role that museums play in representing environmental determinism, race and gendered ideas that were used to naturalize Western science and the colonial project (Clifford, 1988). Rose (2001) highlights how scholars have explored the classification and collecting practices of museums but suggests that they placed less emphasis on archives, laboratories and museum offices where the historical narratives and process of prioritizing memory are produced. Timothy Luke has also considered the way that museums are now seen as 'society's "secular cathedrals", "guardians of shared history",

or “storehouses for national treasures” (2002: xiv). Museums are therefore ‘like neighborhoods, schools, or churches, a place where Americans first learn, and later reassure themselves, about their culture, history environment, or technology’ (2002: xvi). Museums form a space in which contestation over history and memory play out and Luke notes that it is such heated struggles over specific narratives and exhibitions at museums that can have far reaching effects changing wider values, practices and political policies. Museums, narratives, history and exhibitions are therefore inherently social and political.

The production of such inherently social and political spaces has been explored by Till who has examined the role of the public within museum spaces. Through an analysis of the German Historical Museum exhibition entitled *“Chapters of Life, 1900-1993”,* Till suggests that while the museum experts ‘work within institutional constraints, they view the museum as a dialogic, rather than an authoritative, social space’ (2003: 294). Till therefore suggests that museums are moving beyond a top down approach to presenting the past, and instead, are starting to be informed and influenced by the public that visit these memory palaces.

Memory and the urban environment have also been popular areas of study for geographers. Such work has tended to focus on historical shifts in street names and forms a similar argument and framework to the plethora of work on monuments, memorials and museums. Azaryahu and Kellerman have shown how ‘street names reflect and manifest a certain political identity-they are indicators of political identity, while at the same time being part of it’ (1997: 581). This idea has been further explored by Forest and Johnson who show that the

landscape of Moscow has been physically transformed during ‘critical junctures’, reflecting a struggle among political elites, who ‘by co-opting, contesting, ignoring or removing certain types of monuments……. engage in symbolic dialogue with each other and with the public in an attempt to gain prestige, legitimacy and influence’ (2002: 525). This study also indicates how geographers have started to consider how “elites’, or those in power have started to reinterpret and reprioritize history, rather than merely erase the past.

Recent work in Geography has also demonstrated ‘that places of memory are more than monumental stages or sites of important national events’ (Till, 2003: 291). Place is inherently influenced by memory, and imbued with specific meanings and power relations. Till in particular has taken earlier work on power and place (Agnew and Duncan, 1989) and looked at how power relations affect struggles over who controls the past in public space. Young, in close association with Samuels’ “biography of landscape” starts to address the relationship between the state and spaces of memory, “the who behind the image and facts of landscape” (for further discussions see Young, 1993, Samuels, 1979).

Geographers working on memoryscapes have also started to note the importance of understanding the process of erasing, reinterpreting and prioritizing memory. This has been linked with an understanding of resistance and the idea that ‘national places of memory are not simply imposed onto an empty landscape by a seemingly coherent elite’ (Till, 2003: 295). Resistance to elite imposed memory has also been explored through the idea that ‘citizenship groups who wish to give voice and presence to peoples, pasts and places forgotten in national

narratives often establish alternate places of memory' (Till, 2003: 296). This can be seen in the discovery of land in Berlin that was the former headquarters of the Gestapo SS. Citizenship groups campaigned for this site to become a memoryscape within the fabric of the New Berlin and eventually established their own site ("Topography of Terror") outside of state involvement (Till, 1996; Young, 1993). Many studies on resistance to state led sites of memory have followed similar paths to wider resistance work, suggesting that actions to resist dominant memory merely reinforce problematic identity categories (Lewis, 2001).

This review of the memory literature highlights that for all the focus on governance and the process of memorializing history, geographers have tended to keep a relatively narrow focus, with an over-emphasis on collective national memory, often in post traumatic political regime spaces. However, there has been less emphasis on studying sites that re-negotiate memory through political and legal struggles over land rights. In particular, geographers could focus more on considering how agency emerges as a result of interactions between 'the state' and other actants in policy discussions. Such an approach will go beyond the tendency to essentialize the role of elites in the political process, and instead, suggests that agency is iterative, constructing and enacting an official role for 'the state', while at the same time, prioritizing specific memories of history.

Furthermore, for all the emphasis on elite and state governance of memory, the literature has tended to consider their role in memory projects from a distance (Forest and Johnson, 2002) and less work has been carried out on the specific nature of governance and regulation of

memory. The work of citizen groups again has tended to focus on one actor and their work in resisting and establishing alternate sites of memory. Studies on memory could therefore benefit from a theoretical approach that considers how memoryscapes and the actants involved are relationally produced and naturalized through policy development.

Actors, networks and agency

ANT has been a critical approach in geography 'as it is a useful way of thinking about how spatial relations come to be wrapped up into complex networks….and provide(s) a means of navigating those dualisms, such as nature/society, action/structure, and local/ global' (Murdoch, 1998: 357). More specifically, ANT considers the relationship between heterogeneously assembled actor networks of human and non-human entities (Demeritt, 2002), suggesting that such activities are constantly in formation, constructing the world. Agency is important, particularly 'in relation to actors' definitions of themselves and how agents interpret and utilize knowledge and artifacts in relational settings (Murphy, 2006: 437). Callon (1986, 1999), Latour (1987) and Law (1994) have been instrumental in developing actor network theory while also addressing the "hows" in network formation. Callon notes a 'sociology of translation' through an assessment of the scallops of St. Brieuc Bay and argues that 'fishermen, scallops and scientists are all being domesticated in a process of translation that relates, defines and orders objects, human and otherwise' (Law, 2007: 5). Actors, divided by different goals, interact in pursuit of their interests. Competition can lead to one entity trying to destabilize the other actors in the network in order to interrupt 'all

competing associations to construct a system of alliances' and to create a favorable balance of power (Callon, 1999: 74). It is arguably this process that shapes and consolidates agency and social structures.

Geographers have started to use ANT effectively to consider a variety of issues. Given the focus on both human and non-human actors, ANT has been used to assess the role of different actants in human environment geography, and particularly climate change action (Rutland and Aylett, 2008). However, further work has been carried out within human geography, with researchers using ANT to unpack and understand the material 'wheres' of interactions (Murphy, 2006), as well as exploring how different agents and actors involved in networks act at a distance and the spaces in which relationships become embedded and ordered (Law, 1986; Latour, 1987; Mol and Law, 1994; Murdoch, 1995; 1997; Sheppard, 2002; Hess 2004).

The performance of actors in the network enacts or generates realities, but translation is always insecure and is a process susceptible to failure (Law, 2007). Iteration of the relationships and interactions between actants therefore enacts, maintains and stabilizes agency. While ANT has been used quite successfully in policy development studies, there has been too much focus on looking for nodes in the network where different interactions or relationships developed. This almost descriptive analysis has a tendency to chart the specific instances where actants worked together to construct (directly or indirectly) an emergent policy outcome. This research will therefore take a more analytical approach that considers

how this agency impacts the process and the overall dynamics of power, both in terms of enacting the different actants and prioritizing memory.

Using an ANT approach will therefore elucidate the extent to which the policy of reassigning the BAAP site is enacted or performed into being, the relationship between the different actants in the network and relational way in which the actants are also produced in this process. ANT highlights how actants are also networks that intersect and relationally interact with policy development networks. Such an approach will also indicate potential moments of insecurity in the network and subsequently offer opportunities for reformulating and influencing the network. An ANT approach specifically enables 'the analyst to account for the ways various actants are reshaped by their enlistment in networks of relations' (Rutland and Aylett, 2008: 628-629).

This research will consider ANT in relation to the problems already noted by geographers. Particularly, a discussion of the BAAP must consider that 'there are reasons (intensions) for putting together networks, and the process of circulation (of information, people, etc) is unequal' (Routledge, 2008: 201). Routledge has shown that networks of policy relations in global peasant grass root movements are created where 'power gets centered on certain people and things' and therefore an ANT analysis must look at the way that power emerges from the actions and reactions of people in policy development networks (2008: 201). Actor networks are 'shot through with political determinations, contested social relations and power

inequalities', and are constructed in a specific context that has the effect of enacting or reproducing certain power relations.

Furthermore, while ANT is particularly useful in considering the BAAP policy development process precisely because non-human actants (such as contamination and conservation) appear to have framed debate, this research specifically attempts to depart from the trend in recent ANT work to downplay 'the embodied practices of the human actors in specific places, which are constituted through an asymmetry of powers that work though political practice' (Juris, 2004a). This research will therefore highlight how political associations are generated through grounded encounters or place based, face-to-face moments that have the effect of enacting and naturalizing networks of 'the state' and other 'legitimate' actants in the role of 'stakeholder'.

Through the lens of governmentality

Foucault has been of particular interest to geographers because 'his theorization of modern forms of power gives such a crucial role to space as a tool of social control' (Hannah, 2000:17, Elden, 2001). In particular, Foucault's concept of governmentality is helpful in providing a lens through which to investigate questions of government power and how power is enacted and produced. Governmentality is broadly considered to reflect the 'ensemble formed by institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power' (Hannah, 2000: 22)

and can further be seen as a framework for how practices of 'the state' or 'technologies of government' insinuate specific ways of thinking (Rose, 1992). Such normalizing practices are not achieved by brute force but by iteratively reshaping the values and principles of the subject.

Governmentality has been considered at some length within human geography, with studies on applied governmentality (Dean, 1999), colonial rule (Howell, 2004, Legg, 2005), biopolitics (Duncan, 2007, Hannah, 2000) and has also been used to some extent within the human/environment geography literature, particularly in relation to the construction of agricultural spaces (Murdoch and Ward, 1997) and the construction of Nature (Rutherford, 1999, 2002, Demeritt, 2001, Braun 2000). While Foucault himself spent very little time incorporating Nature into his analyses of power, claims on the land, human/environment interaction and Nature more generally are areas in which the complex politics of representation, articulation, essentialism and construction of discourses are particularly important, making it an interesting site to interrogate the exercise of power (Moore et al, 2003). In fact, production of an environmental conservation narrative is often seen as an 'innocent' project, where power relations are not specifically considered. Such an uncritical understanding of Nature has led to an understanding of the environment and its resources as bounded, consequently producing a 'limits of the earth' discourse, a central tenet of environmental politics (Dobson, 1990).

This idea has been further nuanced through discussions of how conservation narratives and discourse legitimize specific institutional practices, determining how resources should be used. Alatout has focused on narratives of water scarcity and issues of Jewish identity to argue that 'narratives of water scarcity were the result of a specific historical and political struggle (during the 1950s) over the meaning and identity of the Jewish state' (2006: 602). Environmental narratives can therefore represent 'statist narrative(s)' that justify state control over perceived environmental issues, as well as the very processes in which various stakeholders' campaign and fight on environmental concerns. Following Alatout, this research will also treat environmental narratives (such as those surrounding contamination and conservation) as 'effects of power' (2006: 602). Such narratives reflect the dominant power relations in that they are both constituted by and constitutive of power relations.

Furthermore, while geographers have critically engaged with the role of governmentality in knowledge production and the iterative processes/technologies of government, less focus has been placed on the role of non-state actants and organizations in influencing and even using such mechanisms. Rose-Redwood has begun to consider non-state actants and their use of technologies of government in the history of urban house numbering in the United States. This approach calls for geographers to open up studies in governmentality to consider that 'governmentality is not *confined* to the state' (Rose-Redwood, 2006: 471 emphasis in original). This research argues that more work should be carried out on the ways in which technologies of government constitute and are themselves constituted by networks of policy relations, while at the same time enacting a role for both state and non-state actors.

Bringing these approaches together

Foucauldian approaches to government work well within the framework of this study precisely because Foucault emphasizes that the state does not have an essence, and does not own or have power. Instead, Foucault notes that 'the state is nothing else but the effect, the profile, the mobile shape of a perpetual stratification or stratifications, in the sense of incessant transactions which modify, or move, or drastically change, or insidiously shift sources of finance, modes of investment, decision making centers, forms and types of control, relationships between local powers, the central authority and so on' (Foucault, 1997, lecture). This notion of 'the state' therefore complements ANT in that governmentality insinuates specific ways of thinking, it creates or produces society through iterative performativity that sets the context for the development of networks and the interactions between human and non-human actants in policy discussions[5]. An approach that considers both ANT and governmentality is vital in studying policy development precisely because the network of agents and bureaucracies that perform 'the state' can never fully imagine/predict the emergent priorities and actions of society. Instead, an iterative and grounded understanding of governmentality that emphasizes "the encounter" above any abstraction of the state and notes the importance of performativity in producing a society that disciplines itself can work particularly well with an ANT lens that considers the way that various actants

[5] Performativity is introduced in Chapter 5 to further explain how governmentality and ANT will be applied in relation to the BAAP network of human and non-human actants.

negotiate within this performative and iterative context (for further discussion of performativity and the production of social norms see Butler, 1990, 1993). Furthermore, such an approach combining governmentality and ANT highlights how policy development processes enact and produce 'the state' as well as other actants or stakeholders in the process.

An approach to memoryscapes that considers governmentality and ANT in concert can suggest how prioritization of specific memories is a result of interactions between human and non-human actants. Agency is relational rather than possessed and therefore such an approach moves away from the notion of a top down sovereign 'actor' imposing its will on all other subjects. Such a joint approach will highlight how priorities and agencies emerge as actants work together to produce order (Law, 1994). The order that is created as part of this process is temporary and precarious and must be continually worked on to keep it alive.

Geographers have already noted the importance of studying memoryscapes in relation to networks. Kaiser and Nikiforova have emphasized the importance of a 'multiscalar network approach ….as it expands the institutional arena to include not only state scale and transnational actors, but also local-scale social actors engaged in the narration and enactment of place and identity' (2006: 940). Such an approach to commemorative sites begins to consider how processes of commemoration and the multiple and diverse actants involved become part of a network. I argue that a more specific ANT approach incorporating memory will expand this institutional arena even further, allowing an indication of how the site and memory of the land become embedded in the network and even act on the other actants

within the wider network. This process also highlights how priorities emerge over time as actants work together and construct memory out of the site.

While state involvement in the process of prioritizing and re-narrating sites of memory is of significant interest, geographers have also focused too specifically on 'the state' as one entity that governs the same everywhere, leading to calls for geographers to 'take up this analytic of power with the caveat that it is done with attention to ways in which governing is always becoming, necessarily uneven, often contested, and sometimes exercised outside of the state' (Rutherford, 2007: 292). This research will therefore consider how the 'ensemble formed by institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power' are developed and enacted out of relationships between 'the state' and other actants in the network. This research therefore advocates a theoretical approach that considers the ways in which these ensembles develop out of much wider policy/campaign interactions.

Chapter 4: Methodology

Research for this paper was carried out between June 2010 and March 2011. In order to assess the role of different actants in the policy development network, methods included interviews, media and textual analysis.

Interviews

Interviews are a useful way to approach a topic where you do not have a preconceived idea about the types of responses or results you are likely to achieve. Interviews also allow respondents to choose their own identifying categories and terminology and ensure that respondents do not have to confine their responses to set categories. This is very important in this research, as it allows an exploration of how memory has become a key part of the process of reassigning the BAAP land. Interviews were conducted with representatives from a number of organizations and agencies involved in the BAAP decommissioning process. Given the controversy and nature of the comments provided, full discretion and anonymity has been maintained. Interview data referred to throughout this research respects the desire of those interviewed to have their names and organizations remain private. However, references indicate the general campaign areas/or policy aims that the actant is seen to represent. For example, interviews with representatives campaigning for greater protection and preservation of the environment at BAAP are listed as environmental conservation representatives in any reference to interviews.

Given the aim of this research to compliment the way that geographers approach the idea of 'the state', this research makes a distinction, where possible, between the different 'levels' or 'scales' of 'the state', specifically noting where an interview has occurred with federal, state or county level officials. In some instances, the actant interviewed is specifically referenced in this research. There are a number of references to interviews with Ho-Chunk tribal members and these have often been carried out by other researchers and are referenced as the work of their specific projects that publically identified their sources.

Interviews were carried out with respondents and included a number of face to face, telephone and email interviews ranging from a few minutes to a couple of hours. Interviews in person took place in various locations on campus in Madison when recipients were already in town. The interviews were largely open-ended, with around six specific starting questions which asked recipients to explain how they became involved in the BAAP decommissioning process, their relationships with other actants in the process and why they felt that certain actants had been so successful in campaigning for land rights. With each person interviewed, there were also a number of specific questions that reflected significant research prior to meeting. This allowed me to fill in gaps in my understanding of the policy development process. Follow-up and more specific, shorter interviews were conducted later into 2011 to answer outstanding questions and provide further context on issues.

Audio recordings were not taken of the interviews given the nature of the conversations and requests from both the IRB and recipients that their answers remain anonymous. Extensive field notes were taken instead throughout the interviews and these were typed out in full immediately following the interviews to ensure that the pertinent information was listed. Quotations from interviews in this research were recorded in the field notes during the interviews.

Textual analysis

To understand how the project is represented by the different actants and projected across space, a textual analysis of media and various government documents was also conducted. Textual analysis is often associated with a discourse analysis, used in social sciences to determine 'the relationships between sentences and the world in terms of whether or not sentences are used to make statements which can be assigned truth values' (Brown and Yule, 1983: viii). Such an analysis is useful in understanding the types of discourses that circle and potentially become embedded in understandings of the BAAP and actant's rights to memory and the land. Regional newspapers, community meeting minutes and internet sources were analyzed to consider the narratives that are played out and compete in public space for the right to memoryscapes. Analyzing government policy documents and laws indicate the many and varied actants representing 'the state'. A textual analysis highlights that actants involved in the BAAP policy development process are not just human subjects acting in an official

capacity but also include non-human official documents and papers that incorporate and naturalize the state at a variety of scales and within different frameworks.

Existing literature and research on BAAP

Existing literature exploring the BAAP was also studied to develop a picture of emerging policy priorities. In particular, most existing work has tended to come from ecology and environmental sciences and has considered the best land uses for decontaminating the landscape. Very little work has been carried out on the social, political and historical processes being negotiated at the BAAP. Sharon Hausam's PhD dissertation is one example of a more socio-cultural analysis of the policy development process from the Ho-Chunk Nation perspective and formed an important part of the research for this thesis. A number of Hausam's interviews have been quoted in this research as they provide more information regarding the early policy development process between 1997 and 2003. This has been vital as the Ho-Chunk Nation did not grant permission for further interviews[6]. Hausam's research keeps a dualistic approach; comparing 'native' verses 'non-native' efforts and concludes that greater cooperation is required in policy development processes. Therefore, while this PhD dissertation was useful in informing and supporting this research, our end goals are very different.

[6] Interviews with other actants suggest that one of the reasons why tribal members of the Ho-Chunk Nation have been reluctant to be interviewed further was their experience working with researchers in the past. This information, while taken within the campaign context, should be considered and it should be noted that the Ho-Chunk Nation tribal members have not contributed to this research.

Chapter 5: The aporia of power; enacting human actants in networks

This chapter introduces an understanding of the various human actants involved in the process of decommissioning the BAAP. My approach offers an assessment of the way that the different organizations and actants have been constructed and enacted, and do not exist outside the everyday discursive practices and people that comprise the network of policy relations for the BAAP site.

This chapter will therefore look at the various ways in which actants materialized in the process and suggest ways in which such materializations have actually enacted environmental conservation campaigns, 'the state' and Indian tribes. In enacting the various "stakeholders", this policy development process is aporetic, full of contradictions that can never be permanently resolved and has the effect of naturalizing a policy development process that is focused on a role for 'the state'.

This chapter will also address the researcher's role in construction and enactment of actants and explain the way that these 'stakeholders' will be discussed throughout the rest of this thesis, accepting that some construction and enactment of these organizations is necessary and unavoidable in my discussion.

Performativity

My understanding of the way that various human actants materialized uses the wider theoretical framework introduced around networks, memory and power. However, following Mountz (2003, 2004) and Kaiser (forthcoming), this approach also draws on performativity to highlight that 'the state' and other human actants are produced in regulated spaces. An approach to governmentality that focuses on the "encounter" as iteratively and performatively producing governable subjects accepts that 'the state' does not 'have' or 'own' power, but rather such technologies of government are enacted relationally in the process. Furthermore, work on 'eventful' geographies offers an important contribution, indicating the 'transitivity' of events that performatively spread through networks 'into offices and homes, across interstate borders etc' (Kaiser, forthcoming: 28). While, I focus more on the performative enactment of 'the state' and different campaign workers through networks of power relations, Kaiser's work on eventful geographies offers important insights into understanding the sedimentation or crystallization of various actants. Kaiser notes that the event leads to both 'de-territorialization' and 're-territorialization', therefore 'the forward-feeding opening up potential of the event, creating difference performatively through the gaps, fissures and ruptures produced' (Dewsbury, 2009 in Kaiser, forthcoming). Yet, events also expand backwards, 'closing off alternative potentialities…through efforts to capture, contain and convert the power unleashed by the event' (Kaiser, forthcoming: 28). This illustrates how an event such as the decision to decommission the BAAP can be

performatively enacted by actants to naturalize (not only their involvement in the policy discussion, but also) their very existence.

This chapter focuses on the socio-spatial production of the human actants in the BAAP policy development network. Subsequent chapters will take a more holistic approach considering the role of both the human and non-human actants in influencing the emergence of land use priorities. Starting with an analysis of human actants illustrates how they become publically naturalized as integral to the policy development process.

Aporia

While a performative approach to governmentality and the enactment of agency will be used to argue that actants are produced and enacted in a process that continues to naturalize a role for 'the state', this chapter will go further to argue that there is a distinct aporetic moment in this network of relations. Identifying moments of aporia in networks of relations not only highlights how iterative and relational interactions enact specific material realities but also indicates how difference and marginalization are produced. Furthermore, such an approach suggests that actants produced as an "Other" through practices of policy development iteratively perform their "Other" to enact their own role in the process. In this way, such iterative performances produce an aporia, a contradiction that cannot be resolved. An approach that considers the aporia of power in policy development processes adds a specific political dimension to this analysis and questions whether marginalized actants in the

network can escape a network of iterative enactment and production of the very conditions that continue to "other" them.

The theme of aporia is common in many of Derrida's texts. Aporia, coming from Greek is an impasse, nonpassage or logical contradiction that can never be permanently resolved, 'there is seemingly no exit, an intrinsic undecidability' (Murray, 2009: 11). In critical theory, Derrida has defined aporia as 'the nonpassage, or rather…the experience of the nonpassage, the experience of what happens [se passé] and is fascinating [passionne] in this nonpassage, paralyzing us in this separation in a way that is not necessarily negative: before a door, a threshold, a border, a line, or simply the edge or the approach of the other as such' (Derrida, 1993: 309-38). Passage across such borders therefore 'becomes the (im)possible question of translation and of translatability' (Murray, 2009: 11).

Derrida defines three different types of borders. The first is an ''anthropological border,'' therefore separating territories, languages, or cultures, whose edge is artificially determined. The second is termed a ''problematic closure,'' dividing domains of discourse such as academic disciplines, 'where the unity of a certain inquiry is assured' (Wang, 2005). The third is a ''conceptual demarcation,'' the borderline separating concepts or terms, and which arguably has the most concrete and materialized effects (Murray, 2009).

Following these definitions, juridical-political borders contained by traditions, society, and law can be seen as unsettled and displaced. In the movement of displacement, 'identity and

nonidentity connect, intertwine, but do not coincide' (Wang, 2005). Therefore the border zone in legal and political decision making processes can be seen as aporetic, significantly influenced by this third type of border limit- 'the overdetermining manner in which our concepts or terms are put to work (a term Derrida borrows from Freud, for whom "overdetermination" signifies the way that many unconscious elements are at work in a symptom, thus complicating the symptom's aetiology)' (Murray, 2009: 11).

Identity of the various different 'types' of actants and policy aims emerge from within a tangled web including numerous networks of stakeholders or actants. In a policy development process like BAAP, this takes place within a framework of neoliberal governance, 'where the economy and free market capitalism form the dominant grid of intelligibility for every form of life (and death)-a neofascism deploying vocabulary of 'excellence', 'evidence-based', 'key performance indicators', 'accountability practices', 'outcomes' and the like' (Murray, 2009: 12). Such naturalized discourse in the policy development process papers over the way that iterative technologies of government constitute and reshape various actants and outcomes but always in relation to 'the state'. In this way, actants like the Ho-Chunk Nation are positioned in a network that continues to produce them as an "Other", a marginalized actant in relation to 'the state'. Their own enactment and naturalization in the BAAP policy development process produces the conditions that continue to keep the Ho-Chunk Nation marginalized, an "Other" to the US state.

Furthermore, this discussion seeks to address the tendency to refer to organizations as homogenous and coherent entities without addressing the many discursive and material ways that they are produced. Unfortunately, in order to deconstruct the various public organizations in the BAAP process and to highlight the complexities of the different actants, I am also partially enacting their existence. I have therefore chosen publically accepted campaign workers that have been involved in the BAAP decommissioning process throughout. There has been some geographic focus on the everyday discursive practices that produce an 'embodied nation-state' (Mountz, 2003: 627), and I will therefore begin by considering how 'the state' as an actant has been naturalized in the BAAP decommissioning process and the ways that it is enacted as a key political and legal authority. From there, I will move on to a wider discussion of the other actants, to highlight how their enactment is relational, always contingent on the continued enactment of 'the state'.

'The State'

Geographers have grappled with questions surrounding definitions of 'the state' and even whether it is worth trying to define 'the state' at all. For all the focus on 'the state' in political geography, studies have tended to represent 'ghost-like' qualities and an entity that mythically exists 'out there' (Mitchell, 1991; Mountz, 2003; Taussig, 1997). The concept is therefore notoriously slippery (Pierson, 1996). In general, discussions have treated 'the state' 'either as an organizational actor in its own right or as a set of organizational resources through which other agents (such as classes or elites) act' (Painter, 2006: 756). The focus on

an institutional view of ‘the state’ largely reflects Weber’s classic organization definition (1968). Characterization of ‘the state’ has therefore fallen into three main categories, including ‘the state’s’ distinctive functions, mechanisms or spatiality.

Painter has argued against these three main characterizations, suggesting that ‘it is impossible to identify any function that belongs exclusively to the state’ (2006: 756) and that other actors ultimately become intrinsically tied up with state functions. Furthermore, in responding to Poulantzas’ argument that the state is distinctive because of its monopoly on legitimate physical violence, Painter also shows that violence is not always considered legitimate. While state theorists have often focused on the role of territoriality in defining ‘the state’, more recently, geographers have argued that ‘instead of treating territory as a fundamental basis of statehood, it should rather be seen as itself a product of social and material practices that are marked by uneven development and all kinds of imperfections’ (Painter, 2006: 757).

Mitchell has been an important advocate for suggesting that the concept of ‘the state’ should not be abandoned (1991). He does however suggest that geographers should avoid bringing back the concept of ‘the state’ as an institutional reality. Instead, ‘the state’ should be analyzed more as a structural effect, ‘not as an actual structure, but as the powerful metaphysical effect of practices that make such structures appear to exist’ (Mitchell, 1991: 94).

Using Mitchell's interpretations as well as Painter's argument that 'it makes sense to define 'the state' as an imagined collective actor in whose name individuals are interpolated as citizens or subjects, aliens or foreigners and which is imagined as the source of central political authority for a national territory' (2006: 757), it is clear that more work should be carried out on the way that 'the state' becomes imagined or enacted.

As Kirby has argued, this tendency to represent an elusive state largely reflects the fact that 'academics do not understand the state because they fail to "know it" through personal experience' (Kirby, 1997: 5 in Mountz, 2003: 625). While there have been some attempts to re-situate discussion of the state by looking at the role that people and everyday practices play in its construction and enactment (Herbert, 1997; Mountz, 2003), more work should be carried out on the incredibly complex web of relations with further exploration of the multiple so-called actants that constitute and undermine this more official idea of the state.

This research therefore challenges this tendency to essentialize 'the state' as existing out there, at a higher level in space and acting consistently and coherently on other actors and subjects. My approach to this study also responds directly to Kirby's critique of political geographers and has been significantly informed by my personal experience working as a policy advisor in the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs for the UK government. Although the UK state is not involved in the BAAP, my general experience working in a large state organization has highlighted the role that individuals play in (re)acting to different 'state issues' in an everyday setting to construct and naturalize 'the

state'. The role of the individual, often out of sight, civil servant is very important in understanding the ways that 'the state' becomes enacted through multiple "encounters".

Inherent in the call for geographers to know 'the state' through personal experience and to recognize the role of the everyday people or individuals who comprise 'the state', is the deconstruction of scale. While debates surrounding the role of scale and the way it is used in geography have been hotly debated (for further discussion see Marston, 2000; Marston et al, 2005 and Kaiser and Nikiforova, 2008), this discussion is beyond the scope of this study. However, a deconstruction of the scale of 'the state' is necessary to foreground discussion of power and agency. Such post-structural approaches that locate exercises of power at the level of the body can be used to inform broader debates about the power of the nation state. Furthermore, 'given that power moves through institutional practices at various scales, a shift in scales of analysis of the nation state, from the national to global scales to the finer scale of the body reveals processes, relationships and experiences otherwise obscured' (Mountz, 2004: 325).

In focusing research and analysis on the level of the individual, this does not necessarily imply that local actors "have" more agency and a larger, more important role in the policy development processes (Reed and Bruyneel, 2010). In fact Norman and Bakker have shown how water governance across the US/Canadian border specifically challenges this idea, suggesting that the role of 'the state' is still very important in more local environmental policy development discussions (2009). Power or agency is 'continually emergent in social

processes that can never be completely controlled or circumscribed by state-oriented or supervised apparatuses or practices' (Kapferer, 2010: 131). Using Foucault, it is evident that the actions of agents and agencies of the state are themselves situated within a framework of governmentality, a product and part of the distribution of disciplinary practices involving education, the household, family and the work environment. In fact, such an approach highlights precisely why and how 'the state' continues to be enacted.

The agency and enactment of 'the state' can be seen to emerge out of an imagined idea of power in the policy development process. The announcement that the BAAP would be decommissioned through a federal-led process constructed a network around the idea of 'the state'. Actants were keen to position themselves and develop networks with representatives of 'the state'. When asked who/which organizations is/are the most important for actants in this process, all interview respondents said 'the federal government'. This highlights that scale and the idea of the power of 'the state' creates and reinforces a network funneled towards an all important relationship, with the 'highest' or most 'politically important' organization, perceived to control the outcome and ability for other actants to achieve their aims. While campaigns and narratives are constructed around the idea of an all powerful state, there was also evidence of a paradox, or a gap between this imagined network and the way that campaign workers sought to interact and develop a relationship with 'the state'.

First and foremost, while other stakeholders wanted to achieve their policy aims in the BAAP decommissioning process and admitted that they were 'nervous of what different state

and federal agencies might do' (interviews with conservation representatives, 2010-2011), the actants became enlisted in a network of relations that continues to produce a role for 'the state'. Attempting to develop a relationship with 'state' officials, environmental campaign representatives at the same time also noted the difficulty of working with the complex set of organizations and procedures involved in 'the state' apparatus. One interview respondent specifically suggested that there had been 'hundreds of federal and state agencies over the years' making it very difficult to 'have an effective dialogue and achieve (their) aims' (interview with a representative from environmental campaign actant, July 2010). The interview highlights how this desire to develop a relationship with the various complex 'state' agencies was both helped and hindered by the individual policy officials enacting 'the state'. Developing a good working relationship with 'the state' was subject to continued reiteration and reframing, as different personalities and officials took on the role of 'the state'. This process of performing the network becomes harder when the different scales of 'the state' have very disparate mandates that intersect with the campaign aims of the actants involved.

The difficulties environmental conservation workers noted in striving to position themselves in relation to 'the state' highlights how 'the state' is not a homogenous unit that acts in a unified and coherent manner. Mountz has begun to question this tendency for geographers to treat 'the state' as a whole through her discussion of Canadian government responses to migration and human smuggling. This migration case 'accentuates the reality that 'the state' does not contain or enact a unified series of agendas, objectives or actors. State practices

encompass, rather, a series of diverse interests and bodies that are often themselves in conflict' (Mountz, 2004: 325). The sheer size and scope of government that tends to be associated with 'the state' often leads to competing or disrupting narratives that undermine intended governance. Part of the reasons for the existence of disruptive narratives stems from the fact that 'the state comprises a set of institutions operating at different levels across disparate geographies, comprised of individuals working within diverse mandates and frameworks' (Mountz, 2003: 633).

The BAAP decommissioning process therefore highlights the important role of various individuals in the campaign process. While Mountz noted that different state agencies may be working with disparate policy aims, deconstruction of 'the state' needs to go further and consider how even different policy officials/representatives within the same agency and working with the same mandate have differing effects on a network of policy development. An environmental conservation worker involved throughout the BAAP decommissioning process highlighted the problems with having several policy officials involved. 'The GSA has had a number of different representatives with very different personalities that have really affected the success of the discussions and our relationship with the government' (interview with environmental campaign worker, December 2010). The campaign representative went on to suggest that dealing with individual personalities is extremely important in their campaign process and securing their overall aims. 'The former GSA representative really gave the impression that he cared about our concerns and the BAAP land, but (the current representative) just gives an impression of arrogance. He comes up from Chicago and doesn't

even appear to care. We invited him to a potluck, but the problem is that even if we develop a good relationship with this person, the turnover in representatives is so high that we will just have to start forging a relationship with another very soon'.

The interview with the environmental campaign representative clearly highlights that changing representatives within the same federal organization (the GSA in this case) threatens their aims and the success of the policy development network. Campaign workers must actively seek to secure the network and forge advantageous working relationships with the new representatives and this can be difficult depending on different personalities.

There is thus a rupture between an idea of 'the state' as a homogenous totality "with power" in a policy development process (encouraging other actants to develop a network of relations precisely in relation to 'the state'), and the ways in which this remains a moving and difficult task. The performative enactment of 'the state' relies on these inconsistencies. Campaign workers therefore attempt to forge 'good working relationships' with 'an endless stream of state representatives' (interview with county representative Feb 2011) and this iterative process performatively happens in everyday policy discussions like BAAP. While 'the state' clearly relies on a performative enactment through stakeholder events, meetings, committees and policy development itself, this process also enacts the role of 'non-state' actants as well. Such 'stakeholders' naturalize their involvement in relation to 'the state', many acting as if their involvement in the policy development process "empowers" them. The involvement of 'stakeholders' or 'non-state' actants in the policy development process has become a

dominant way of thinking, ‘a way of life that threatens to eclipse all other ways of thinking, concealing from us that there is in fact a crisis…the terms of a discourse constrain not only the outcomes of debate but also what it is possible to argue at all’ (Segal in Murray, 2009: 12).

The Ho-Chunk Nation

There has been a tendency in the limited literature on the BAAP policy development process to represent discussions as a dualism between native and non-native representatives (for further information see Hausam, 2006). Such an approach merely reinforces and constructs so called differences between the actants and undermines the way that actants work together and performatively construct and enact each other.

The Ho-Chunk Nation has been enacted through iterative narratives and practices that developed relationally between the various actants. This is evident in the way that Ho-Chunk Nation tribal members have been accused of not behaving in the accepted policy discussion format. Accusations of difference and failure to comply with state-led stakeholder projects reinforce and enact a specific idea of the Ho-Chunk Nation. Furthermore, such behaviors and actions are not that different from the general approach by the other actants, but Ho-Chunk Nation tribal members appear to be more willing to admit to issues of representation, unmasking their own internal structure and the way that they make decisions as a unit.

The differences in the policy 'behavior' are also constructed by persistent challenges to the Ho-Chunk Nation's degree of perceived authority or rank as an actant in the network. Both inform and construct each other which enacts the Ho-Chunk Nation as a number of tribal members unwilling to formally represent the Ho-Chunk Nation and make decisions at policy meetings.

As indicated, understanding the Ho-Chunk Nation as an actant revolves around two particularly important issues that inform, construct and reinforce perceptions of the Ho-Chunk Nation both within and without the tribe. The first is the issue of representation, who acts for (or on behalf of) the actant and who is being represented. A state representative noted in 2003 that:

> *'It's not always clear who you're talking to or who's actually speaking for a particular tribe. In this case (name deleted) came to the table in good faith and represented the Ho-Chunk very, very well, but at the end of the day, he doesn't speak for them and he doesn't make decisions for them. I did. When I sat at the table, I represented the State of Wisconsin and what I said, I can back up. And the state's full commitment was behind what I decided.' (From Hausam, 2006 (3/22/03))*

This quote highlights that the issue of representation for the Ho-Chunk Nation appears to be different from wider American and Western notions of how policy discussions should work. Tribal members have also noted that:

> *'If there was a major, major decision, I would always bring it back to my boss and then my boss would take it to the legislators. I would initiate resolutions and all of these resolutions would be taken to our tribal government whereby they would discuss it in legislative meetings and say, yeah we need to do this, we need to do that. I could have said many, many things publically because of my personal opinion but I kept those at bay because I was representing the Ho-Chunk Nation to the best of my ability…We know when we can make the call and we know when we can't. It's just something we know'. (From Hausam, 2006 (3/22/03))*

Tribal members were clear that they could not always speak on behalf of the Ho-Chunk Nation and would often take decisions away from the BAAP policy discussion table. While other actants complained about this, suggesting that this slowed the process and meant that they could never be sure if they were speaking with a tribal member that could 'actually make a decision' (interview with county representative, February 2011), the issue of representation was not limited to the Ho-Chunk Nation. While other actants were prepared to make decisions on behalf of their organizations, many were also one person. The Ho-Chunk Nation as an actant appears to be a wider network of people, expertise and interests.

At times, the network producing the Ho-Chunk Nation as an actant refocused towards representation by a legal expert. The naturalization of Western law as a way to achieve rights stabilized a legal focus for Ho-Chunk Nation tribal members in approaching the BAAP policy discussions. This transformed the network of relations shifting Ho-Chunk Nation tribal members towards promoting a link between their memory and attachment to the land while at the same time opening themselves to their 'Other', a Western concept of 'the state', the law and land rights that denied them this memory in the first place. Tribal members were forced into adopting Western legal practices to win land rights. This process (discussed in further detail in chapters 6, 7 and 8) merely reinforces their 'Other', the US government and ensures that tribal members cannot escape a system that continues to naturalize their 'Other', and in so doing, keep them 'othered' or 'marginalized' in relation to Western conceptions of the US government. This highlights how tribal members become caught in two contradictory practices. Each aporia 'is concerned with the "double concept of the border": the border between one and an oppositional other, and the border between one and an other that is no longer its other' (Wang, 2005). In engaging and developing a network of policy relations, Ho-Chunk Nation tribal members must exceed this border in policy relations, but it is slippery and elusive, disappearing out of sight. Furthermore, the Ho-Chunk Nation as an actant in the policy development process is a product of agents and bureaucracies of 'the state' 'forc(ing) the abstract as the real' (Kapferer, 2010: 131). 'The state' has thus invented or constructed a community that freezes an identity in place and consequently 'can generate a resistance that itself frequently engages the same categorical logic of the imposed

bureaucratic dynamic' (Kapferer, 2010: 131). The identity and understanding of the Ho-Chunk Nation as an interested and involved actant constructs, deconstructs and re-creates itself.

Actants involved throughout the policy development process further constructed an idea of the Ho-Chunk Nation in relation to Western conceptions of state government. Interviewees talked of the Ho-Chunk government structure as being 'chaotic'. Furthermore, Sharon Hausam has noted that some local community members became particularly disparaging about the Ho-Chunk Nation when they learned that the government was composed of 'only eleven people' (Hausam, 2006). This concern about what should constitute a government actant highlights how other actants in the network appeared to hold the Ho-Chunk Nation to the standard of the US federal government or at least expect similar actions. This expectation effectively constructed an idea of the Ho-Chunk Nation that surrounded an inability to make decisions, never being able to represent the Ho-Chunk Nation as a coherent actant and not being committed to the timeline that other actants were. This construction of an actant that was always failing in relation to the US state, and always compared to the 'Other' (in this case, Western conceptions of stakeholders, and actants naturalized as having a role in policy development) played a major role in constructing actants but also in derailing the process.

Furthermore, this aporia most importantly exposes the ways that iterative technologies of government enlist actants in networks that continue to produce difference and marginalization in the network. In this way, the network of relations constituting the Ho-

Chunk Nation is enlisted in the BAAP policy discussions, relationally interacting in a network that continues to construct them as marginalized, always in relation to 'the state'. This iterative reproduction of difference constructs and maintains networks of actants that are shot through with social and political inequalities. Exposing and questioning this aporia suggests that the Ho-Chunk Nation cannot escape the practices and conditions that continue to enact and reproduce the very processes that "Other" them.

In subsequent chapters, references to the Ho-Chunk Nation therefore accept that the actant is a network including tribal members and lawyers who represented the Nation at the BAAP policy discussions. The inherent complexities of the actant played a role in influencing the network of relations and policy outcome.

Conservation workers

There have been two major actants working as conservation representatives in the process. Citizens for Safe Water Around Badger and the Sauk County Conservation Alliance have both played a major role in the policy discussions and have worked in relation to each other quite successfully to enact a specific narrative and conservation policy for the BAAP site (for further discussion see chapter 6). In a similar way to 'the state' and Ho Chunk Nation, the conservation workers enact the very institutions and stakeholders they are competing with and against in attempts to naturalize their own role in the policy development process.

The researcher

The process of interviewing and even considering the role of 'the state' in policy development and implementation immediately works towards enacting the idea of 'the state' and a national scale above the body. By beginning the research process with a prominent environmental conservation actant and working backwards and outwards, it is much easier to determine the individuals and activities that have been important in the process without essentializing their power and agency. While the researcher is therefore able to approach interview recipients at the level of the individual, this methodological process is still very much reliant on how actants involved in the BAAP decommissioning process view the important players. Therefore, this rests on whether actants have positioned themselves in situations or networks precisely because 'the state' is there and perceived as having the agency to listen and act on the main campaign points of the different interested parties.

In establishing and deconstructing the various actants involved in the BAAP policy development process, the researcher is also naturalizing certain categories and reinforcing the acceptance of certain organizations and actants in the process. This chapter therefore acknowledges the indirect effects of this research but suggests that such a process was necessary to establish the way that the various actants will be discussed in the subsequent analysis. Specifically, this means that while the actant name may be used in the following chapters, this is with the understanding that such naming suggests a more holistic and

coherently networked actant than appears to be the case. Furthermore, this approach also accepts that there are several issues and controversies with exactly who is representing whom/who speaks for the actant, and most importantly indicates that 'the state' and all other human actants exist within a social context, the people who comprise the community and their local relationships. Actants are performatively constructed and naturalized relationally as they try to achieve their policy aims. It is this struggle over BAAP land use and ownership that will now be discussed.

This chapter has focused specifically on the production of human actants. The next three chapters will explore the enrollment of non-human actants such as contaminant, laws, cemeteries, bodies, bison and prairie grasses and the production of a specific conservation focus for the future BAAP site.

Summary

This chapter argues that the actants involved in the policy development process over rights to BAAP land are both constructed and construct themselves in the network of relations. Through an approach that considers ANT and governmentality, the identity and role of actants in policy development networks can be seen as 'enduringly emergent' (Kapferer, 2010: 131). Furthermore, such an approach suggests that actants produced as an "Other" through practices of policy development iteratively perform their "Other" to enact their own role in the process. In this way, such iterative performances produce an aporia, a contradiction that cannot be resolved. An approach that considers the aporia of power in policy development processes adds a specific political dimension to this analysis and questions whether marginalized actants in the network can escape a network of iterative enactment and production of the very conditions that continue to "other" them.

Chapter 6: Enacting policy outcomes

Towards the end of the 1990s, it was becoming clear that the BAAP was unlikely to remain a necessary and important part of the US's ongoing war effort. The plant was simply becoming 'superfluous' (interview with a representative from Sauk County (02/08/2011)) and there was real interest from local people on what would happen to the site. The early period (from 1997 until around 2001/2002) of developing a network of policy relations was fueled by a number of concerns about who would be involved in policy discussions and how the land would be managed. The network of policy discussions was therefore in flux, with actants vying over rights to even access the policy discussion table. This period is therefore marked by a shift in actants involved as relationships developed and stabilized, setting up later discussions on land ownership. Key actants and concerns in the late 1990s focused the BAAP network of policy discussions around the Ho-Chunk Nation, their intended purposes for the site, history, memory and taxation. These concerns manifested as a product of specific relations that effectively erased the Ho-Chunk Nation as an actant from the policy discussion. Yet, by the end of this period, the Ho-Chunk Nation had emerged as a main contender for owning and operating the BAAP site.

This chapter therefore details the key actants at the start of the decommissioning process, identifies how their involvement in the process was performatively stabilized and specifically assesses how the need for environmental conservation was able to materialize over and above

the desires of industrial private enterprise and the concerns about how the Ho-Chunk Nation tribal members would use the site. While the network focused towards members from the Ho-Chunk Nation, other non-human actants associated with the Ho-Chunk Nation continue to be part of the process and have not been erased from the network. This project therefore highlights that networks are dynamic, constantly need to be enacted, and are reinforced relationally in a way that centers the role of 'the state'. The emergence of a conservation narrative does not therefore bury or erase concerns about industrialization or the Ho-Chunk Nation, it simply sediments in place as actants iteratively (re)-crystallize the policy over and above erosion by other actants. This materialization reinforces and enacts this conservation narrative in the process.

This chapter will be broadly divided into three main sections reflecting the early stages of the BAAP decommissioning process. Central questions at the time focused on who should be publicly involved, industrial narratives and the emergence of a conservation focus for the site. The late 1990s and the early process of deciding actant involvement and land use priorities has been defined as a 'federal project' (interview with a representative from Sauk County (02/08/2011). The role of government is therefore a key part of how the BAAP decommissioning discussions emerged. This is unsurprising given the legal and political normative processes that naturalize policy development. A naturalized process of "stakeholder engagement" precisely sediments 'the state', crystallizing a 'lead' role that involves listening to the concerns of any non-state organizations and judging/regulating any proposed outcomes. Technologies of government that naturalize and sediment a state-led

policy development process are also iteratively performed in the policy development process itself further normalizing and enacting the role of 'the state'.

While ensuring not to give undue agency to the role of the different factions of 'the state' in this process, this chapter will seek to look at the emergence of the network of relations with a focus on the policy outcomes and how 'the state' facilitated and coordinated the process and outcomes, enacting its own role in the process. Such mechanisms (or moments in what Matthew Hannah has described as the cycle of social control: observation/categorization, judgment and regulation) construct memory and identity for the site, while at the same time enacting or naturalizing 'the state'. This chapter will also argue that governmentality or technologies of government in the decommissioning of BAAP actually refocused the network of human and non-human actants. Specific legal and political processes therefore shifted tribal members of the Ho-Chunk Nation towards (re)appropriating problematic discourses of nature to achieve their land right claims.

Categorizing who belongs in the policy discussion

Early processes established to think through land use and ownership questions were perhaps even more importantly about establishing a network of who belongs in these discussions. There were particular and specific concerns from different state agencies about abilities to effectively achieve their aims. Representatives from the US Army established the Badger Board of Environmental Advisors in 1997 inviting government and local interested people to

be part of the process. Tribal members from the Ho-Chunk Nation were, however, 'prevented from joining' (Hausam, 2006).

The representative from Sauk County noted that this process of categorizing the land enabled them to 'leverage what power (they did) have to influence the decision process' (interview with a representative from Sauk County (02/08/2011). The scale of the project and the scale of government, as well as the legal rights associated with scale played a major role in creating and constructing a network of relations around the Badger Reuse Committee. The designation of the BAAP as surplus by the army legally allowed the federal level of government to 'have first crack at the land'. Therefore, federal agencies have rights to bid for ownership over and above the state and local government. The representative from Sauk County noted that the legal system effectively rendered the local community powerless:

> *'Well the problem is that everyone else was getting a crack at the land before us. The USDA got first crack at the land and then the Ho-Chunk Nation went in through the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The state then went in through the National Park Service. You see, the county does not have any power, per se. We have to leverage what power we do have to influence any decisions. We can only really do this by discussing zoning'. (Interview with a representative from Sauk County (02/08/2011)*

The desire to leverage power and create a forum where the county could facilitate proceedings and discussions about land developed out of official and legal processes that prioritize the role of 'the state' (in this case, the federal government). These practices (evident in the scalar structuring of government and associated legal framework in which agencies and officials operate) encouraged the county representatives to set up and run a series of meetings which attempted to destabilize the normative power relations and promote their own authority and involvement in the issue of ownership, both of which were inherently intertwined during this early period. The zoning and policy discussion processes however, merely indicate how technologies of government that enact a scalar conception of 'the state' continue to produce and maintain such perceived hierarchies. Attempts by the county government representatives to transform the network of relations were therefore relatively unsuccessful.

However, the quote above also highlights a more nuanced scalar issue that plagued the BAAP policy discussions and acted on the county officials throughout this period. The place of the Ho-Chunk Nation in the policy discussions and their rights to own and even bid for the land at BAAP has continually acted on the network of policy relations, threatening at times to destabilize the network. An interview with a county government representative highlighted that they accepted the way that law enacted the federal government over and above the county. However, at the same time, the county representative also hinted that they felt that their power had been eroded precisely because the Ho-Chunk Nation tribal members were able to cheat their place in the scale.

> *'You know, the most important thing in this is the law. The Ho-Chunk came in as a federal entity to have first crack. There is no way then for us to freeze them out without special legislation. I mean we tried, but we just couldn't get it going (referring to special legislation)' (Interview with a representative from Sauk County (02/08/2011))*

Despite the Ho-Chunk Nation tribal members seemingly able to jump up the scale of government through their legal rights, they were not invited into the early policy discussion process and were not categorized as a legitimate actant in the policy discussions. This attempt to erase their involvement actually hints more at their continued presence in the region and their role as an actant in the network. The exact reason for the lack of Ho-Chunk Nation involvement during the first couple of years is unknown. The county official interviewed distanced his involvement and suggested that his notes on the time period did not explain why the Ho-Chunk tribal members had not been involved or even whether this had been controversial. However, the representative did suggest that the development of a policy network cannot be understood without considering history, and most importantly, 'our history with the Ho-Chunk Nation' (interview with a representative from Sauk County (02/08/2011).

History and memory of ongoing struggles between the Ho-Chunk Nation and the county government provide important context highlighting how ideas and material relations manifest out of specific practices. The county representative interviewed for this research project

began the interview with a history of the Ho-Chunk Nation in the area, noting that 'you probably know all this, but this explains where we are today and why we are making certain decisions' (interview with a representative from Sauk County (02/08/2011).

In fact, the mid 1990s was marked by a period of Ho-Chunk Nation land claims prior to the BAAP. Ho-Chunk Nation tribal members requested 724 acres of land between highway 12 and the town of Delton which was vehemently opposed by the town, Sauk County and Governor Tommy Thompson. Officially and, therefore, legally the request was denied on the grounds of only a small number of Ho-Chunk members living in the Sauk County area. Two further requests were later denied in 1997 and again in 1999 with Sauk County representatives claiming that the Ho-Chunk Nation was merely reducing acreage requests to temporarily reduce opposition (Hausam, 2006). However, while legally these land claims were linked to the number of Ho-Chunk members currently and historically in place on the landscape, this actually reflected a general policy at the county level against Ho-Chunk Nation gaining trust land.

> ***Sauk County representative****: 'there was a period, particularly in the 1990s when the county was very much against Indian trust land and would fight the Ho-Chunk Nation on everything. This has changed, I would say in the last ten years….(long pause)……. I would say that the County didn't want to have to keep taking land claims to court every time the Ho-Chunk asked for more trust land and got tired fighting them on everything'.*

> ***Interviewer**: 'Why did the county policy towards the Ho-Chunk Nation change?'*
>
> ***Sauk County representative**: 'Well, I would say that is a difficult question, it was definitely a distinct policy change with a very different attitude from before. People changed and the board had a very different type of representative. They were less negative about the Ho-Chunk Nation. I suppose you could say it is a generational thing'.*

This interview indicates that history and memory transformed the network of policy relations, effectively erasing the Ho-Chunk Nation tribal members from early involvement in the policy discussions. Yet, their shadow and the county representatives' attempts to leverage their 'own power' by bypassing the Ho-Chunk Nation performatively enacted the hierarchical or scalar "power dynamics" in the policy network. The Ho-Chunk Nation tribal members (in failing to be invited to the policy discussion table) merely petitioned the Department of Defense in July 1998, who judged that legally, under the protocol for Restoration Advisory Boards, the actant should be part of the process and regulated this involvement.

Members and representatives from the Ho-Chunk Nation have spoken throughout about their frustration at being undermined and erased from policy discussions and have noted that they

are rarely recognized as a government. In an interview conducted by Sharon Hausam for her PhD, a tribal interviewee suggested that

> *'What we lack with state and local communities is the same level of respect given to our government as a sovereign. When they look at us, they feel like, well you're not bigger than the county, so you must be smaller than the county. The state takes the same approach' (Hausam, 2006, interview with tribal representative)*

Categorizing an early network was not merely a result of history and memory of relations between the Ho-Chunk Nation and the local government. The network was also inherently bound up with the issues of proposed land use and ownership. The Ho-Chunk Nation became tied to ideas about industrial and conservation priorities for the site.

Construction of an identity or land use for the BAAP site is very much consistent with Foucauldian notions of power and particularly theories of biopower and governmentality 'wherein the state manages populations by producing identities discursively through practices of classification and categorization' (Mountz, 2003: 633). The desired land use is consistent with notions of identity precisely because the BAAP land became intertwined with memory and belonging in the process of decommissioning the site. Land use and ownership policy struggles largely reflected discussions about the identity, memory and history of the land, how to categorize an identity on the land and manage it effectively.

Industrialization

Early ideas about what to do with the BAAP site focused around US Army funded projects aimed at determining potential future uses for the site. In 1997, the Army Retooling and Manufacturing Support Program hired Deloitte Touche Tohmatsu International to prepare a strategic plan categorizing the state of the land and suggesting potential uses that would be consistent with "the type of site that the BAAP was at that time" (interview with a representative from Sauk County (02/08/2011). This study reported in May 1998 noting that the land within the BAAP site had potential for chemical industries, storage, agriculture and warehousing. A further study to gauge an environmental baseline for the site completed by Daylor Consulting Group and Fay, Spofford and Thorndike also recommended using 'core commercial areas for commercial/retail, office, industrial and research (purposes, and) connecting the northern portion of Badger to Devil's Lake State Park and using the southern portion for cropland and pasture' (Hausam, 2006).

Early focus on industrial uses for the BAAP reflected an Army led process which acted in line with the current conditions at the BAAP site. Army officials continued to promote the possibilities of industrial uses at the site. It was concerns about an Army led process that 'really mobilized interested (actants) from the area and brought people together' (interview with a representative from Sauk County (02/08/2011). This was an opportunity to ensure that further 'destruction and degradation of the land was not allowed to take place and that the community had a say in what was happening to the BAAP' (interview with representative

from an environmental actant, December 2010). This mobilization of 'the community' and 'interested people' is perhaps a little vague as interviews with government and environmental representatives highlight that these early consultation projects had the effect of acting on conservation focused actants that did not want industrialization of the site. Further questioning of a local government representative and minutes from early meetings about the BAAP indicate that stakeholders involved at the beginning of the process included the Army, local county representatives and environmental campaign representatives. The Ho-Chunk Nation tribal members and some federal and state government representatives were not involved from the start.

The fear that industrialization and use of chemicals would be prioritized and judged as appropriate for the BAAP land influenced the various human actants in this scoping period. During 1997 and into 1998, concern that the loss of the BAAP would mean a corresponding loss of jobs and income for Sauk County acted on the county representatives, encouraging support for further industrial uses at the site (interview with a representative from Sauk County (02/08/2011). However, this was very much in contrast to the environmental actants, where representatives linked the idea of community preservation with environmental remediation and cleanup, rather than the need to preserve local jobs and economic livelihood. The representative from Sauk County suggested that the level of interest in the BAAP lands encouraged them to set up and facilitate the Badger Reuse Committee in order 'to develop a list of values for the future of the Badger Plant on which all could agree' (Hausam, 2006).

Representatives from Sauk County were no doubt influenced by the level of support and particularly, the presence of the environmental conservation representatives, the desire to preserve local livelihoods and the creation of jobs, but, by 1998, the county board was showing some mixed support for both industrial and conservation land uses at the site. This faction in policy aims quickly shifted and stabilized Sauk County's overall approach towards conserving the site. This shift in aims reflected new 'land-use concerns….centered on protecting the Baraboo Bluffs from development pressures, especially from adjacent Dane County, the location of the state capital and the University of Madison, Wisconsin' (Hausam, 2006 quoting Kriegl to Mayer 3/26/98; Shanks to Mayer 3/26/98). Sauk County was becoming linked with an image of suburbia which encouraged policies of conservation and protection of non-developed land (Goc, 1990: 133).

The materialization of a conservation narrative

The Klug Task Force and resulting concerns about who would be able to influence the policy discussion processes had categorized the BAAP with potential for industrial and some conservation or recreation uses, propelled through a top down legal approach that favored or enacted federal and then state government practices above the local level. The Badger Reuse Committee therefore provided a way for the local community to become involved in the process and thus enacted Sauk county region, at the same time shifting the network of policy relations towards a conservation focus for the site.

All interview respondents representing the various human actants in the policy development network noted that conservation quickly became the agreed focus for the land and suggested a narrative of long term commitment from the very beginning of the process. It was only when questioned more specifically about the early industrial focus that a more nuanced account surrounding the rise of a conservation narrative came to the fore. The prominence of conservation in the discussions can perhaps be seen most effectively through Ho-Chunk Nation land claim bids for the site between 1998 and 2001. The relationship between tribal members and representatives on the Badger Reuse Committee constructed their bid around conservation and briefly stabilized their role in the process.

Members of the Ho-Chunk Nation considered continuing industrial uses in 1998 but realized early on that the local people and other actants in the network were, in general adamantly opposed to such uses. By the end of 1998, the Ho-Chunk Nation tribal members developed a position that there should be no heavy industry on the site. This did not however exclude housing and some other commercial uses that would help the Ho-Chunk Nation provide services and facilities for tribal members. In an application to the Department of Interior in 1998, the Ho-Chunk Nation tribal members requested land at BAAP with the purpose of combating problems of ‘persistently high levels of unemployment, poverty, lack of adequate housing and lack of education attainment’. The request went on to suggest that such uses would ‘enhance tribal self determination by, inter alia, acquiring facilities by which to provide municipal services, potential opportunities for on-site employment and economic

development'[7]. And yet, these requests for more human or commercial uses at the BAAP did not materialize into the official land claim request that the Department of Interior sent the General Services Administration (Form 1334, dated Dec 22 1998).

Without the commercial requests, the bid for land reflected a proposed conservation focus for the site. This emerged as a result of the relationship between the Ho-Chunk Nation tribal members and the federal government officials through the Department of Interior, the Bureau of Indian Affairs as well as the law. Conservation policy in the Ho-Chunk Nation land claim bid was therefore able to materialize precisely because more industrial or commercial uses had legal ramifications that threatened to erase the Ho-Chunk Nation from eligibility all together. Legally, the Ho-Chunk Nation tribal members could not propose commercial development on land granted to them by the federal government 'at no cost' (interview with a representative from Sauk County, 02/08/2011). Furthermore, the Bureau of Indian Affairs could not officially/legally accept any land for commercial development that was already considered contaminated. The legality of the links between land, contamination and commercial development acted on the network, removing any lingering proposals for a more industrial focus.

Furthermore, the shifting power relations in the network illustrate how the Ho-Chunk Nation are continually fixed in an aporia or an impossible contradiction. In attempting to reclaim

[7] Letter from Jacob Lone Tree (President of the Ho-Chunk Nation) to Bruce Babbitt (Secretary U.S Department of Interior) and Kevin Gover (Assistant Secretary of Indian Affairs U.S Department of Interior), March 2, 1998.

land that they believe rightfully belongs to their people, members of the Ho-Chunk Nation are forced to interact and develop allegiance with representatives from the federal government (through the Bureau of Indian Affairs and Department of the Interior). This developing relation shifts the network away from the local/county government, but in so doing, forces members of the Ho-Chunk Nation to performatively enact identification practices that both constrain and enable the Ho-Chunk Nation as being 'close to nature' or 'part of nature'.

While calls for industrialization at the BAAP diminished in the late 1990s, industrial enterprise has continued to act on the network of policy relations, instead stabilizing a conservation focus. This is perhaps best evident in the continued presence of (an imaginary) casino implanted into the network. Despite continued attempts by members of the Ho-Chunk Nation to de-materialize the casino, this idea has firmly materialized over the last fourteen years. Interviews with representatives from two conservation actants involved in the process in July and December 2010 noted that most local people still fear that if the BAAP is owned or managed by the Ho-Chunk Nation, the site will inevitably become a casino. This therefore highlights that local residents and representatives involved in the policy discussions can only imagine the Ho-Chunk Nation linked inextricably with casinos. Ho-Chunk Nation members become trapped once again in an aporia, where it becomes impossible for members of the Ho-Chunk Nation to dematerialize this imaginary.

Members from the Ho-Chunk Nation were relatively quick to gauge an emerging actant in the policy development network that threatened to destabilize their land claim bid. Minutes from public meetings suggest that they began to make public statements about their plans for the site not including a casino as early as May 1998 (Hausam, 2006, Committee meeting minutes for May 1998). Furthermore, Ho-Chunk Nation members admitted that they would often attend public meetings precisely to defuse the idea of a casino being placed on the BAAP site. A Ho-Chunk Nation member noted:

> *'right away the misconception (is that) the reason (we) want the property is because (we) want to build a casino….you know we have the flagship right there, you know, about ten miles from there, and we're going to…go down there and try to claim that area for a casino? I don't think so, but those were the kind of rumors' (Tribal Member interview from Hausam, 2006).*

The campaign by members of the Ho-Chunk Nation to erase or weaken the idea of a casino appears to have largely failed. Sharon Hausam, in interviewing the Badger Reuse Committee members in 2001 regarding relations between Native and Non-Native representatives, specifically noted that Non-Native members continued to be concerned about a casino and that the idea of a casino was still being listed as one of the "worst possible outcomes" (Hausam, 2006). The constant threat of a casino at BAAP has continued to act on the network, stabilizing the network towards a conservation focus and keeping tribal

members in a constant struggle to de-materialize this actant faster than it could materialize again.

Members from the Ho-Chunk Nation attempted to down play the idea of a casino by stressing the importance of prairie restoration and bison grazing as a way of conserving and restoring the land at BAAP. This involved a narrative that stressed that:

> *'If (the Ho-Chunk Nation) get any of that property we're going to let it go back to Mother Earth. It's going to become natural. That whole area if it was given back to the Ho-Chunk people like originally belonged to them would be able to revive itself, it would be able to live again, would be able to breathe again, would be able to house this wildlife and the plants and the herbs, the medicines. All would have been able to come back.' (Hausam, 2006 Interview with Tribal member (12/4/03).*

This approach, in part was also heavily supported by conservation representatives who were focused around 'restoration' and the idea that 'successful restoration of the Badger lands relies on (the) ability to restore once healthy soils and waters' (Hausam, 2006 Interview with Tribal member (12/4/03)).

Summary

Members of the Ho-Chunk Nation, motivated by memory of their historical presence on the land and using legal mechanisms established to stabilize a role for 'the state' may well have lost out on being able to use the BAAP land for commercial development, but were able to (re)appropriate discourses of the Ho-Chunk Nation as environmental stewards, protecting and conserving a Nature contaminated by Europeans and military action. It was therefore the legal mechanisms of governmentality that keep the Ho-Chunk Nation from sovereign land ownership in the United States that also constructed their campaign and repositioned them in the network as a conservation narrative was stabilizing. This enactment fixed members of the Ho-Chunk Nation in an aporia, an impossible contradiction where members were forced to performatively enact a very specific identity and idea of Indian-ness as a pre-modern part of Nature.

Chapter 7: Securing and maintaining the network

> *'Like all meetings, or groups like that, they have, supposedly goals and objectives, but they, somewhere in the midst of that they deviated from that. And when it all started, is when the ownership issue came up. That's when things turned bad and real bad. Lines started being drawn that made no sense at all. After that it just degraded to pretty much a fist fight, is where it's at right now…It wasn't resolving anything so I just turned it over to the attorneys and walked out. That's what they're paid for, to get beat up' (Hausam, 2006 interview with tribal member (12/4/03)).*

> *'Here you are, you're squabbling over this piece of property that really actually you have nothing to say about and shouldn't have anything to say about it but because of this gentleman from GSA is being nice to you and listening to the public, you're here squabbling' (Hausam, 2006.)*

The research thus far has focused on introducing the various actants and exploring the way that various non-human actants and policy priorities emerged in the first few years of the BAAP discussions. This chapter charts the attempts to maintain and secure the network of policy relations, focusing specifically on the relationships between the various actants and

argues that the connections and attempts to undermine various actants constructed a very specific focus for the decommissioning process.

This chapter perhaps overemphasizes the relationship between the Ho-Chunk Nation tribal members and all other actants. This reflects the nature of the network itself, where actants and agency seem to have emerged in relation to the Ho-Chunk Nation. Sometimes this agency is merely in relation to perceived ideas of the Ho-Chunk Nation that manifest and materialize through normalizing discourses that act on the network and other times, actants have specifically fought to destabilize the Ho-Chunk Nation. In so doing, these actants are enacting Western conceptions of 'the state'.

Given this overwhelming focus and development of relationships in relation to ideas of the Ho-Chunk Nation, I will start this chapter with an analysis of the emerging relationships involving the Ho-Chunk Nation tribal members and various human and non-human actants that have influenced the nature of the policy discussions.

There has been some discussion regarding the difficult relationship that developed between the Ho-Chunk Nation tribal members and other actants in the early process of the BAAP site. Part of this no doubt resulted from their erasure from the Klug Task Force and early discussions (for further information see chapter 6) and their subsequent involvement following federal intervention. Yet, relations deteriorated following a series of disagreements

about the nature of Ho-Chunk Nation tribal member involvement in later policy discussions. A tribal member noted that:

> *'There was a statement made public by one of the interested parties about them Indians don't need nothing. After that statement was made, the moderator…never even told that man to apologize, never even recognized the fact that the Ho-Chunk Nation was an interested party and had every right to be at that meeting to make their opinion known. It was an insult. So I thought, okay, if that's their opinion and the moderator who is the kingpin of this whole thing, put the meeting together, if you cannot see how disrespectful that comment was, then you're probably in the same category. I'm out of here. I never went back' (Hausam, 2006).*

The quote highlights that problems with maintaining the network and developing policy goals were partly because the Ho-Chunk Nation were recognized as participants but were not fully accepted into the process. Tribal members from the Ho-Chunk Nation appeared less interested in developing good relations with the human actants in the network, seeing the law as their main opportunity for achieving their goals. In this way, tribal members appropriated processes and procedures established to enact and naturalize 'the state' in order to crystallize their own presence and agency in obtaining the land. During the first few years of policy discussions, a Ho-Chunk Nation attorney represented the actant at the Badger Reuse Committee which angered other actants, who felt that lawyers 'did not promote

collaboration' (interview with a representative from Sauk County, February 2011) and encouraged a view that the Ho-Chunk Nation tribal members were simply waiting out the Badger Reuse Committee and that their participation was merely a favor to political allies in the federal government (Hausam, 2006). These disagreements between human actants in the network highlight the very different approaches to campaign politics. Representatives from the two main environmental actants believed that achieving their aims was directly related to the type of relationship they developed and were particularly focused on developing a good relationship with federal government officials (interviews with representatives from environmental actants, July and December 2010). However, Ho-Chunk Nation tribal members developed their position and agency in relation to the law (a non-human actant) enabling them to bid for the land through the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Department of Interior. They appear to have been less interested in developing relationships with other human actants in the network. This action though has perhaps had long lasting effects on the network and encouraged the emergence of other actants that threaten to derail their aims.

This is best seen through the emergence of a potential casino at the BAAP. While this has been discussed in some detail in chapter 6, the decision not to prioritize relationship building with the other human actants in the process created confusion surrounding the plans for a casino. Both representatives from the conservation actants and the members of the Badger Reuse Committee expressed interest in learning about the Ho-Chunk Nation's historical connections to the BAAP and set up a presentation 'to develop an understanding between the different groups involved' (interview with representative from Sauk County, February 2011)

but the Ho-Chunk Nation representatives did not attend and when this presentation was re-scheduled, the tribal member spoke about the Ho-Chunk Nation aims but did not give a formal presentation (Hausam, 2006). This example highlights how relationship building threatened to destabilize the network. Sharon Hausam noted in her PhD dissertation that the lack of commitment to the policy discussion process and the seeming lack of interest in developing relationships with the other human actants were persistently bemoaned by other actants. This likely set the tone for face to face meetings, whereby tribal members of the Ho-Chunk Nation were forced to persistently erase certain actants (like the non-existent casino) and reduce misinformation, that had been constructed in the absence of a close and trusting working relationship.

The law also acted on other environmental actants and various government officials in several complex ways. Despite some coherence in approaches that developed following the Badger Reuse Committee and agreement that the BAAP should be restored and conserved, all actants seemed unwilling to support any type of plan/policy that had the words “legally binding” in any document. The fear of an official, fixed notion of what could and could not be achieved at the site affected the negotiations. Ultimately, the idea of the law was juxtaposed against the idea of trust and honesty, which appears to have been lacking from the policy discussions. Ironically, both the representatives interviewed (from the main environmental conservation actants involved) suggested that “trust”, “honesty” and “the community” were the reasons why the BAAP policy discussions have been so successful, and yet when it came to putting trust in legal document form, actants were unwilling. The

fear of legal processes and procedures acting over and above what actants had negotiated threatened to destabilize the network. In the end, the Badger Reuse Committee members agreed that their hopes for the site could be formally materialized in written format through the wording “negotiated written agreement”. The power of the law normalized in governmental processes such as policy development highlight how emerging outcomes and relationships rework such technologies of government and further strengthens the notion that stakeholders continue to enact official practices of ‘the state’ while at the same time attempting to work outside an official and “constraining” legal framework (interview with representative from a conservation actant, July 2010).

Tribal members representing the Ho-Chunk Nation appeared to develop a good working relationship with the representative from Citizens for Safe Water Around Badger (CSWAB), one of the main environmental conservation actants involved in the BAAP decommissioning process. This relationship was particularly important in helping both actants achieve their aims. While the Ho-Chunk Nation members aimed to acquire land from the BAAP site, the land use claim was focused on bison grazing and restoration. This commitment, despite complementing the conservation focus a number of other actants desired, was challenged by interested individuals who questioned whether the bison would transmit brucellosis and other diseases to cattle. Once again, the network was destabilized by concerns surrounding how the Ho-Chunk Nation tribal members would manage the site. In this case, the representative from CSWAB prepared a fact sheet describing the efforts to vaccinate the bison herd and control the grazing area for the bison.

The representative from CSWAB was most likely motivated by the emerging network of relations forcing the Ho-Chunk Nation tribal members to commit to conservation above other more industrial or recreational land uses for the site. The Ho-Chunk Nation land claim bid and success in the process was critical to ensuring decontamination of the site precisely because the Bureau of Indian Affairs legally could not accept trust land that would financially jeopardize the Nation in any way. Developing aims alongside the Ho-Chunk Nation was perhaps the best way in which the representative from CSWAB could fully achieve a conservation focus, which was made clear through numerous letters and public statements about the level of progress in decontaminating the site and even the benchmarks for when this decontamination process could be considered complete.

Secondly, the success of the relationship between CSWAB and the Ho-Chunk Nation also surrounded common links, heritage and an understanding of tribal politics, aims and life. A tribal representative noted the links between understanding, heritage and a love for the environment and enacted an identity, once again fixing the Ho-Chunk Nation members in identifying with the discourse that Native Americans as a part of nature:

> *'Conservationists that really truly have Mother Earth in mind, I support them 100% because they are more sensitive to the Native American thought and are a lot closer to us spiritually than these other people. They have an understanding, not a full, full understanding, but at least an understanding of*

some sort and I can respect them' (Hausam, 2006, Interview with tribal member (12/4/03)).

Yet, even a more coherent approach (whereby Ho-Chunk Nation tribal members developed a position in line with the representative from one of the conservation actants) did not alleviate or erase concerns about the bison. In this instance, questions remained to the point that a state appointed veterinarian was brought in to speak to the Badger Reuse Committee noting that 'the state' would ensure that all bison grazed on the land would be quarantined and would receive vaccinations before entering Wisconsin. This example highlights how a more official state sponsored scientist was able to stabilize the network and allay fears about further contamination of the landscape at BAAP. Ironically, while many actants supported the Ho-Chunk Nation members in their conservation focused bids for the land precisely because history suggested that they were less destructive at the site than European settlers, support for this prairie restoration only crystallized through the discourse of Western science which was seen to contaminate the site in the first place.

Furthermore, this highlights how tribal members representing the Ho-Chunk Nation (in (re)appropriating a specific racist discourse of 'natives' being closer to Nature) were able to bypass developing good relationships with the other actants in the network. Nature, contamination and the law became non-human actants in the network of policy development and were contextualized through history of European and military destruction of a natural environment. This environmental history discourse normalized to promote conservation

policies further empowered Ho-Chunk Nation tribal members to speak in the name of Nature and to use their memory of the landscape prior to European destruction to legitimate their claim. Once again, non-human actants such as contaminants, bison and discourses of environmental history linking Native Americans to a more pristine Nature, repositioned the network in favor of the Ho-Chunk Nation. Members representing the Ho-Chunk Nation consequently used such narratives to stabilize their role in the network and their ultimate goal of achieving land ownership. Whilst their agency emerged in relation to non-human actants and Western discourses surrounding history of the site, the enactment of the Ho-Chunk Nation as a real contender for the land emerged through, and in relation to, a policy development process designed to enact 'the state'. This process however was not merely enabling, but also constraining. Tribal members enacted a specific identity for the Ho-Chunk Nation which borders Indian-ness as pre-modern, a part of Nature which separates Indian-ness from the enactment of more "developed" Western, European immigrant population that has apart or separate from Nature. In this way, the emerging network of relations forced members of the Ho-Chunk Nation into an aporia, an impossible contradiction where tribal representatives must re-enact a very specific identity in order to achieve land rights.

The idea that some actants had forged good working relationships and were likely to succeed in their aims was a key actant in negotiations. Representatives from the Ho-Chunk Nation noted concern that representatives from the environmental conservation actants had developed a particularly strong relationship with the County representatives, which directly materialized a planning process aimed at erasing the Ho-Chunk Nation tribal members from

the policy discussions. The idea of a good working relationship was largely more influential in the policy process than any more concrete relationship. A Sauk County representative interviewed for this research, and who had been involved throughout the BAAP decommissioning process, could not name the two main environmental conservation actants and declared that 'they (the environmental conservation representatives) may have tried to work with us and get us on board, but we just tried to stay away from them and keep focused on dealing with the Ho-Chunk Nation' (interview with a representative from Sauk County, February 2011). In this instance the idea of what other actants were doing was significantly more influential in the policy network than anything that was actually taking place.

The lack of progress and deteriorating relationships between actants in the network was also a key concern that acted on representatives encouraging new networks and further destabilizing any connections/relations. Hausam notes that the Community Conservation Coalition for the Sauk Prairie which is now the Sauk Prairie Conservation Alliance can take much of the credit for the on-the-ground environmental restoration at the BAAP site (Hausam, 2006). Ultimately, a number of representatives attempted to rally community volunteers to go into the fenced off site and remove various forms of contamination. This motivation for more localized decontamination appears to have resulted from concerns about the deteriorating relations at the policy discussions and a fear that time was acting on the land, only making the contamination worse. One interviewee involved in the Sauk Prairie Conservation Alliance's Prairie Festival in November 2003 declared 'I know that the invasive species are overtaking the remnants at Badger as we speak'.

Following the Badger Reuse Committee, the network became focused on maintaining a relational role for 'the state' and the Ho-Chunk Nation. The Badger Intergovernmental Group appeared to be a way for representatives from 'the state' or governing organizations to work together and develop a memorandum of agreement on collective management. But by August 2001, officials from 'the state' and tribal members from the Ho-Chunk Nation were conducting negotiations outside this group. In particular, the relations between actants in the network destabilized due to the various state and federal agencies breaking down in communications. While there was a break down in communications particularly between the networks of the General Services Administration and the Bureau of Indian Affairs, this largely materialized as a result of concerns about finances. Neither agency wanted to take financial responsibility for the contamination of the site.

This destabilization of the network of relations between state actants and the Ho-Chunk Nation deepened when officials from the General Services Administration switched to working directly with officials from the Bureau of Indian Affairs, effectively erasing tribal members from the discussions all together. An official from the General Services Administration explained that tribal members from the Ho-Chunk Nation were just too difficult to work with, refused to return calls and the network of the federal government (in the form of officials in the Bureau of Indian Affairs) was more reliable, and an agency that would offer definitive answers. A General Services Administration representative described the Ho-Chunk Nation as a 'moving target…(with tribal representatives being) excellent

negotiators as far as one can tolerate insanity' (From Hausam, 2006, Interview with GSA official (4/18/03)).

Summary

Once again, the process of enacting the BAAP network of relations was threatened by practices and actants that were 'unpredictable', failing to follow set procedures. Interacting with other government agency officials may entail conflicts over policy aims, but ensures a process that develops in relation to a set of standardized procedures that maintain a fluid iterative enactment of 'the state'. Tribal members from the Ho-Chunk Nation therefore appeared to performatively enact a specific identity or idea of Indian-ness counter to this accepted process. Furthermore, tribal members also appeared to undervalue the importance of relationship building in the policy network. This highlights that technologies of government performed in the policy development process enlisted the Ho-Chunk Nation in a system that enacts 'the state'. However, tribal members representing the Ho-Chunk Nation consolidated agency through relationships with non-human actants and seemingly did not behave in a way that other actants expected. This unpredictability 'was in excess of anything that the agents of the state order might imagine' (Kapferer, 2010: 131), highlighting how emergent agency between human and non-human actants can disrupt normalizing practices that enact 'the state'.

Chapter 8: Negotiating history and memorialization at BAAP

> "*If no state agency wants the cemeteries (in the BAAP) the next step would be to sell them in a public auction….It seems like the cemeteries could complicate the transfer of the entire Badger land" (Dave Tremble, Sauk County Department of Planning and Zoning, 2008)*[8]

A secondary concern at the BAAP surrounds the fate of three cemeteries located within the 7,000 acres of land and thought to date back to around the 1850s[9]. Largely perceived as outside the overarching focus on decontamination and prairie restoration, the debate over the fate of the cemeteries highlights how specific narratives of history and memory have become prioritized through the BAAP decommissioning process. This secondary issue has received surprisingly little interest from the campaign representatives and local people, and decidedly less interest from the various government officials representing the federal, state and local 'levels'. The chapter will therefore argue that while tribal members representing the Ho-Chunk Nation constructed their claim for rights to the BAAP land around history and their historical/physical link to the land, a more official memorialization (through cemeteries) of the history of the last century appears to be less important. Furthermore, while the fate of the cemeteries may appear to be outside the scope of decontamination, these two issues are actually inextricably linked. A conservation narrative emerged precisely because

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[8] Quoted in media article from Madison.com

[9] Interment.net cemetery records online (http://www.interment.net)

representatives from the Ho-Chunk Nation (re)appropriated discourses of nature that placed Native Americans closer to Nature and as stewards of a more pristine Nature that was destroyed by European and military occupation of the land. In this way, the bodies of local families (and descendents of European colonizers) have also come to 'occupy' the land in the same way that invasive species are seen to be contaminating the 'natural prairie landscape' (interview with representative from an environmental conservation actant, July 2010). The production of this discourse (discussed in chapters 5-7) shifted power flows in the network towards the Ho-Chunk Nation, forcing tribal members to produce a very specific and constrained identity. Performative enactment of Indian-ness as Nature's protector refocused the network away from other narratives, memories and histories inscribed into the BAAP landscape. Competing narratives surrounding how preservation of the cemeteries fits within the conservation narrative has led to an impasse over the last two years that may actually undermine the prairie restoration process altogether.

In this chapter, I will first introduce the three cemeteries in the BAAP and explore why actants have not become more actively involved on this issue. The chapter will then go on to explore why the cemeteries (and memorialization of a particular history of the site) are currently being erased from the landscape and offer broader conclusions about how historical priorities for memorialization are contingent on the agency of both human and non-human actors, and most importantly the interaction between the two. For the BAAP decommissioning process, this interaction between human and non-human actants has ultimately been focused primarily on environmental conservation, with the network

stabilizing and reinforcing policies of decontamination and prairie restoration to the extent that preserving the memory of Nineteenth Century local families (and former European immigrants) has not been prioritized. In fact, contamination has transformed the network of relations so that the bodies of these former European immigrants have been treated as if they are also invasive species, contaminants and ultimately unnatural to the area. In this way, these bodies represent the exteriorized interior, the border or 'Other' that performatively and relationally enacts/constructs an identity for the future BAAP. Furthermore, the emerging priorities from human and non-human interactions in the policy development network further highlights how symbols of conservation and prairie restoration (for example, bison and grasses) are able to materialize on the landscape over and above the memory of specific human attachment to landscape.

Three cemeteries are located inside the BAAP site but very little is actually known about the history of their development and the people buried in each (interview with a representative from the Badger History Group, December 2010). Collectively, the cemeteries are thought to be the resting place for the families who worked and owned the land in the period between 1850 and the 1942. The largest of the three is the Pioneer Cemetery which dates back to at least 1864 and is the burial site for 234 local people[10]. Thoelke Cemetery is much smaller consisting of around 37 burial sites and was first developed around 1854 when land was put aside on the Thoelke farm primarily for the local Thoelke, Waffenschmidt, and Pretsch

[10] Interment.net cemetery records online (http://www.interment.net)

families[11]. The Immanuel Church Evangelical Association acquired the land and maintained the cemetery before the army purchased the site in 1942. The Miller Family Cemetery is thought to comprise of just three burial sites of Miller family members. The entire land, including the three cemeteries, was purchased by the army in the 1940s for the construction of the BAAP. During the subsequent period (up until 1997), army policy was to leave the cemeteries intact, using federal funds to maintain the sites but no further burials were allowed. The last person to be buried in the area was Christian Waffenschmidt in the Thoelke cemetery in 1934[12]. These cemeteries therefore represent a distinct period in Wisconsin history.

"When the army first announced that the BAAP would be decommissioned in 1997, the cemeteries were not high up on the agenda" explains a local interview recipient (interview with Baraboo resident and member of the Sauk Prairie Conservation Alliance, December 2010). Actants appeared more interested in promoting the need for conservation and remediation of the land and to encourage any land right claims to have strong ties to conservation criteria. "It was expected that the surrounding towns would take the cemeteries" (interview with Baraboo resident and member of the Sauk Prairie Conservation Alliance, December 2010), but by 2008, it was clear that the issue of the BAAP cemeteries was a lot more complicated than first expected with different state and federal agencies claiming other people and agencies should be responsible for preserving the sites. From the

[11] Interment.net cemetery records online (http://www.interment.net)

[12] Interment.net cemetery records online (http://www.interment.net)

outset, the cemeteries were framed as an unnatural obstacle preventing a holistic return to Nature for the site.

The legal and political practices that enacted a conservation priority transformed the network of power relations tying memory and history to specific actants and policy outcomes. The memorialization of the dead has been constructed as alien or unnatural for the land, preventing the material effects of contaminants in the soil from breaking down, changing in composition and returning to a more natural state. The practices that produced this apparent contradiction will be explored throughout the rest of this chapter, but this has effectively meant that bison have come to be seen as more natural than the bodies of deceased local inhabitants.

Bison have played a complex role in the production and prioritization of a specific memory of history for the BAAP site. While bison have emerged from the policy development process as an inherently natural species that can return the contaminated landscape to Nature, there has been some discussion as to whether bison even were a 'natural' or 'historical' part of the Baraboo landscape:

> *"I don't think there's ever been in anything recorded, of anybody finding any buffalo remains anywhere around Sauk Prairie. Now I do not blame the Ho-Chunk,…because they, Native Americans, and bison are going to be linked with the American West the same way John Wayne always will be. It's our culture. But from a historical*

> *standpoint, this was never big buffalo country…..and I think it's not realistic that there's ever going to be a natural bison population anytime in the near future" (Local resident speaking at a committee meeting 2/6/01).*

Yet, bison have emerged as an actant in the network and have been able to materialize as legitimate and rightfully belonging on the land. This attachment to the BAAP land has crystallized to the point that bodies that have arguably already returned to Nature and no longer exist in material flesh form do not belong and should be forcibly removed to another more appropriate location. This has led to bison being conceived as closer to Nature despite the bodies of local families already arguably being a part of Nature.

The local town of Sumpter has been named consistently as the authority that "should" be responsible for the cemeteries. Sauk County representatives, the Department of Natural Resources (DNR) officials and a number of journalists have reported that the cemeteries 'were originally supposed to go to the town of Sumpter'[13]. However, officials from the town of Sumpter have been less willing to take on this responsibility, publically claiming on several occasions that they cannot afford the annual maintenance cost of $6,000[14]. The Chairman of Sumpter, Brian Kindschi, defended Sumpter's position to the media in 2008, stating that "it's kind of too bad. But our little town is broke from all the flooding". The framing of the issue in terms of scale, cost and associated (arguably natural) priorities is

[13] Chen, 2008 in article on Madison.com

[14] Chen, 2008 in article on Madison.com as well as in the Oversight Management Commission meeting minutes for May 2010 and July 2010.

interesting as it immediately set up a dualism between state agencies and the local towns that enacted or repositioned this discussion in terms of finance and access to federal money. A representative (a local resident involved throughout the BAAP decommissioning process) watched this dualism emerge and was "quite surprised by the public discussions on the cemeteries issue which immediately led to a strained relationship between the local towns and state and federal government" (interview with Baraboo resident and member of the Sauk Prairie Conservation Alliance, December 2010). The interviewee further implied that a number of people involved in the Oversight Management Commission meetings (held every few months to discuss ongoing decommissioning efforts) felt on the margins of this discussion and were astonished that the government representatives were so public about their lack of desire to take on the historical preservation (and associated costs) of the cemeteries. "It's kind of disrespectful to the cemeteries and to the history of the site" (interview with Baraboo resident and member of the Sauk Prairie Conservation Alliance, December 2010). In this way, cost transformed the network to construct relations around deciding priorities. Furthermore, this process enacts a role for 'the state' and other actants around observing, judging and regulating priorities. Wider policy discussions surrounding the decommissioning of the BAAP had already produced conservation policy outcomes (as discussed in chapters 5, 6 and 7) and therefore budgetary constraints acted to (re)stabilize the network once again in relation to conservation.

This dualistic relationship on the issue of what to do with the cemeteries has been reinforced over the last two years and is perhaps most evident in the current and ongoing 'threat' set out

at the beginning of this chapter. A representative from Sauk County Department of Planning and Zoning publically stated that 'if no state agency wants the cemeteries, the next step would be to sell them in a public auction' and to "dig the bodies up and move them so that there is a bigger more attractive parcel of land for auction" (interview with Baraboo resident and member of the Sauk Prairie Conservation Alliance, December 2010). Whether an auction of the cemeteries site would actually take place is debatable. "While there appears to be fighting between the different government representatives, this ultimately comes back to general land use. The idea is to minimize the number of landowners; it has always been the idea, because this is the only way to ensure effective conservation of the site" (interview with Baraboo resident and member of the Sauk Prairie Conservation Alliance, December 2010). Decontamination and conservation of the BAAP land is therefore dependent on constructing future ownership around a small number of people or actants with strict requirements about how they can use this land. The conservation narrative that was so important in focusing campaigns around rights to land became inextricably linked to ensuring public sector preservation of the cemeteries.

While it may appear that the conservation narrative could encourage one of the government agencies to take on the cemeteries in a bid to reduce the number of landowners and consequently ensure decontamination and prairie restoration, such a narrative has also been used as a way of justifying why 'the state' should not manage and maintain the cemeteries. One of the three cemeteries is located on the land proposed for Department of Natural Resources (DNR) management, but representatives for the DNR have been extremely

reluctant to take the cemetery. DNR officials suggested at committee meetings that their portion of the BAAP land would be converted to a recreation area that will be conserved and maintained in a more natural, prairie-like state and "a cemetery doesn't seem to fit with that"[15]. Just as the network of power relations shifted towards enacting a role for the state government in managing the cemeteries, this networked was transformed by cost, conservation and land use consistency. In this instance the interactions of the various networks of 'the state' threatened to destabilize the BAAP network of policy discussions.

The discourse surrounding the preservation of the cemeteries has therefore been framed in relation to cost and, most importantly, whether or not the cemeteries fit within a conservation narrative that emerged and crystallized in the policy development process. While cost certainly features as a key concern for officials, the emergence of the "issue of the cemeteries" highlights a deeper, more nuanced set of aims for preserving a specific history and memory of the land that has become intertwined and materialized through the discourse of cost. Ultimately, the emerging outcomes of the network and the campaign points reiterated by actants have ensured that the limited finances available in 'the state' budgets are channeled towards priorities. The cemeteries have not emerged as a priority in the decommissioning process and therefore represent an erasure of a specific history and memory of local people.

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[15] Craig Karr, Program and Planning analyst for the DNR quoted in article on Madison.com, 2008.

Cost and budgetary constraints therefore became interlinked with two additional issues that have acted on the network. The first issue surrounds whose memory is to be preserved and is itself tied to the second issue of which historical period is to be prioritized through the process of decommissioning the BAAP land. The bodies in the cemeteries are local landowners from the period between 1850 and 1940 when the US Army purchased the site and began mass production of war weaponry. The memory of local landowners from this period has consequently become intimately tied to an association of war, violence and destruction of the landscape. A representative from a local conservation actant supported this by noting the importance of the Badger History Group, who have played a unique role in the decommissioning discussions as "they highlight the patriotic aspects of the BAAP" precisely because there is a "tendency to get rid of any associations with the war period. After all, this is exactly why the whole site is now contaminated" (interview with Baraboo resident and member of the Sauk Prairie Conservation Alliance, December 2010). While a representative from the Badger History Group indicated that they have only been involved at the edges of the cemetery discussions in an informational manner, they remain interested in ensuring that the different histories of the site are not completely forgotten and that the role the area played in the wars of the Twentieth Century is not entirely erased.

Furthermore, a comparison between the fate of the cemeteries and Ho-Chunk Nation land claim provides an interesting assessment of how memory and history become prioritized in networks of policy relations. The Ho-Chunk Nation tribal members successfully intertwined historical land rights with an environmental discourse of restoring the area to the state it once

was, in an historical period when the Ho-Chunk people were materially situated on the land, "before landowners and the army destroyed and contaminated the area" (interview with a representative from a conservation campaign actant, December 2010). The Ho-Chunk Nation campaign position published in the article *"The Bison Will Return to Sauk Prairie"* highlights how tribal members produced a very specific identity, linking their tribe to the land historically while also showing that a return to what is historically rightfully theirs, will also return the land historically to what it rightfully should be, a more natural site free from the pollutants of the last two hundred years:

> *'Long before the arrival of European Americans, the Ho-Chunk people inhabited Sauk Prairie, the fourteen hundred acres situated between the Baraboo Bluffs and the Wisconsin River. Ho-Chunk villages on Sauk Prairie were surrounded by a variety of wildlife, including elk, bison, moose, lynx, bear and wolves….A major portion of Sauk Prairie was turned into the Badger Army Ammunitions Plant in 1942, creating an industrial center where once prairie grasses had swayed in the wind….The Ho-Chunk Nation is working cooperatively with federal, state and local officials and groups to acquire a portion of the land comprising the Badger Army Ammunitions Plant with the intent of reintroducing Bison*

and restoring prairie grasses-plans compatible with those of many of the local groups and neighboring property owners'.[16]

As argued in Chapter 6, history and memory have become intertwined with environmental history and discourses of modernity bringing destruction, violence and contamination. If a history outside the modern industrial world can be prioritized then the landscape can also recover and be restored to prominence. As tribal members from the Ho-Chunk Nation suggests in this campaign position, the link between history and a more natural environment has been instrumental for many of the local representatives and was appropriated by the Ho-Chunk Nation members as a result of relational interactions with the network of actants. The emergence of conservation policy outcomes enacts a role for 'the state' but this also highlights how practices of 'the state' are disciplined through the network of relations that take place within a neoliberal context. Policy officials at various scales of government noted that limited budgets in which to carry out the overall decommissioning specifically prevented them from taking on additional management and governing over the BAAP territory. "$6,000 annual fee for maintaining the cemeteries may not sound like much, but Sumpter really didn't seem to have a very big budget for all their work" remarked one interview respondent. "I was really surprised when they mentioned their annual budget for all their work in one of the Oversight Management Commission meetings and it was maybe double that estimated maintenance cost, although I cannot remember the exact amount, I do remember that it was

[16] From "The Bison Will Return to Sauk Prairie" written by members of the Ho-Chunk and available through the Citizens for Safe Water Around Badger website (http://www.cswab.org/)

surprisingly small. This would be a big cost for them without supplementary federal funding". Both agents of 'the state' network, as well as other networks of the various actants naturalize discourses of cost as well as an approach to policy discussions where "tough choices" regarding history and memory must be made.

Summary

While 'it looks like the cemeteries could complicate the transfer of the entire Badger land'[17], this ongoing complication represents a complex interplay of history, memory, cost and conservation. In a period of cut backs and austerity, cost and budgets refocused the network to encourage a prioritization of a specific period of history/type of people and environment. Such a prioritization has become intimately linked with the conservation narratives that have been (re)appropriated and narrated by tribal members from the Ho-Chunk Nation, who have been forced to enact a specific identity where Indian-ness equates to being a part of Nature, in a pre-modern period prior to European American immigrant destruction of the land. This has meant that the network has shifted away from memories of those European American landowners buried at the BAAP site in the Pioneer, Thoelke and Miller Family cemeteries. While the fact that the cemeteries have not been prioritized for preservation already highlights erasure, this could go even further. The bodies in the earth represent a materialization of history and memory, their link to the landscape. However, if the bodies are dug up and moved so the site can be sold, not only is history being forcibly and materially erased, but the tools for preserving and understanding our past are also being lost.

[17] Dave Tremble from the Sauk County Department of Planning and Zoning as quoted in a media article on Madison.com

Chapter 9: Conclusion

The network of policy relations that developed in the 1990s to discuss appropriate uses and ownership for the land at the Badger Army Ammunitions Plant represents a complex interplay between human and non-human actants that relationally enacts priorities and policy outcomes. These policy discussions established through political and legal technologies of government naturalize a policy development process that is always in relation to 'the state'. Such normalizing practices are iteratively performed and (re)constituted through the dynamic and always emergent ways in which actants in the network interact. This highlights how governmentality and technologies of government can be seen as performatively produced through encounters such as policy and stakeholder engagement processes.

Policy development processes like the discussions surrounding land rights to the BAAP also highlight how actants are also networks of relations. These networks constituting actants interact in wider policy development networks, constructing and enacting both emerging outcomes and their own role in the network. While the institutions, agents and bureaucracies associated with 'the state' can be conceived of acting to 'overcome the crisis of power by constituting the social order upon which their power feeds, this is ultimately an impossibility (Kapferer, 2010: 131). The impossibility of overcoming or capturing emerging social identities performatively enacted through networked relationships highlights the aporia of

power and that ‘the state’ is contingent on constructed stakeholders, a relationship that iteratively performs and always enacts an official legal role for ‘the state’.

‘The state’ however is not merely a homogenous and consistent actant in networks of policy relations. The BAAP discussions surrounding rights to the land and what to do with the cemeteries indicate that ‘the state’ is a complex web of relations, and ‘comprises a set of institutions operating at different levels across disparate geographies, comprised of individuals working within diverse mandates and frameworks’ (Mountz, 2003: 633). Such competition between different levels and agencies can threaten to destabilize networks of relations and the technologies of government that continue to naturalize a role for ‘the state’. However, the process of negotiating the various levels, agencies, bureaucracies and individuals representing ‘the state’ produces a legal and official framework for ‘the state’. More work should be carried out in geography to examine the various techniques of power that produce the different ‘scales’ of ‘the state’ and government. Further research could also focus on the ways that different elements of ‘the state’ (in relation with other stakeholders) enact technologies of government.

Policy discussions at the BAAP not only enacted the various actants in the network, relationally naturalizing a role for ‘the state’, but also produced a conservation policy outcome and repositioned the network in favor of the Ho-Chunk Nation tribal members

gaining land rights or ownership. The issues of use and ownership emerged as actants negotiated memory and history of the site. The network of relations constrained the construction of a 'Ho-Chunk Nation' identity, forcing tribal members to performatively enact an idea of Indian-ness linked with memory of their historical presence on the Baraboo land. This process crystallized a discourse of Native Americans as environmental stewards, protecting and conserving a Nature contaminated by Europeans and military destruction. However, this produced a Native American identity that is pre-modern, pre-urban, pre-industrial, less developed and still a part of Nature. Using Western stereotypes that construct Native Americans as less developed and more natural, closer to Nature, the Ho-Chunk Nation tribal members enacted their sovereign right to the land through Western conceptions of land rights. In this way, the emerging network of relations forced Ho-Chunk Nation tribal members into an aporia, an impossible contradiction where representatives are forced to performatively enact the very conditions that keep them marginalized. An approach that considers the aporia of power in policy development processes adds a specific political dimension to this analysis and questions whether marginalized actants in the network can escape a network of iterative enactment and production of the very conditions that continue to "other" them.

Even though the network of relations stabilized in favor of the Ho-Chunk Nation using memory and history as evidence of their 'right' or natural belonging in the Baraboo landscape, Western official commemoration (through cemeteries) continues to be erased.

Failure to agree on management of the cemeteries at the BAAP not only indicates how prioritization of a specific memory of history can (re)inscribe the landscape, but also suggests that it is easier for some actants to materialize than others to dematerialize in policy development networks. The desire for bison on the landscape has become a symbol of decontamination and of returning a contaminated landscape to Nature. Bodies that have arguably started to decompose are still seen as an obstacle to the (re)naturalization process. The materialization of discussions and potential action of moving bones to make way for bison therefore highlights that decontamination is actively produced through networks of policy relations. Furthermore, this also suggests that Western legal processes of land rights and determining belonging are merely a product of countless processes of erasure and (re)inscription on the landscape. The network of policy relations produced ownership, stabilizing around Ho-Chunk Nation attachment to the land, while various government officials accepted this legal claim at the same time as erasing Western memory to the same place.

Questions of memory and policy development provide an important framework for studying how ‘the state’ is enacted. Governmentality and Actor Network Theory together can offer a useful lens for exploring how technologies of government constitute and are themselves constituted by networks of policy relations that relationally always construct actants (or stakeholders) in relation to ‘the state’. While representatives for the Ho-Chunk Nation and conservation actants appear to have achieved their aims in producing a prairie restoration

focus for the BAAP land which will be largely managed by the Ho-Chunk Nation, the process of enacting these aims does nothing more than naturalize and center a role for 'the state'. Looking at policy development events and considering how technologies of government work to naturalize and normalize such legal and political processes, at the same time that emerging agency between human and non-human actants seeks to destabilize and (re)constitute such outcomes can uncover the aporia of power. Actants become trapped at juridical-political borders and passage across 'becomes the (im)possible question of translation and of translatability' (Murray, 2009: 11). In enacting their own aims, actants cannot step outside the system that enacts their 'other', in this instance, 'the state'. To achieve sovereignty, the Ho-Chunk Nation relies on removing sovereignty from its 'other', the US state and yet the process of achieving this merely enacts a role for their 'other' and ensures that they will continue to be trapped in such policy development processes in the future. The multiple ways in which such an aporia is produced can be seen in the emerging network of relations produced through the BAAP discussions. The Ho-Chunk Nation tribal members were forced to produce a land rights claim around conservation criteria as the law prevented the federal government from assigning contaminated land to Native Americans for industrial use. Furthermore, in order to stabilize a role in the policy development network, Ho-Chunk Nation tribal members seemingly 'jumped' up the scale of government, petitioning the federal government for the BAAP land before the local and county representatives had a chance to apply for the land. These processes fixed the Ho-Chunk Nation tribal members into a network in which they were forced to performatively enact an

identity that constrains them as pre-modern, pre-industrial and less developed than their 'Other', European American immigrant socio-spatial practices.

The Badger Army Ammunitions Plant continues to be a site of considerable controversy fourteen years into the policy development process. While some consensus has now been reached favoring a conservation focus for the site and Ho-Chunk Nation ownership, the process of dealing with invasive species (both plants and European immigrant bodies) still threatens to destabilize the network today. Long term discussions and encounters between various actants provide an excellent example of how relations are produced, stabilized and negotiated in an everyday setting that prioritizes, erases and enacts specific memories of history. Geographers could look to consider these broader discussions of memory that produce environmental, economic and political policies and consider more specifically how prioritizing memory enacts a complex and scalar conception of 'the state'.

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