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Inhabiting Indianness: Colonial Culs-de-Sac

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This article offers original research on the national use of Indian-themed street names in residential areas, with an analysis of the content and commentary on the spatial implications. In addition to the research on the quality and quantity of such spatial markers, I situate this data in relation to the racial composition of the neighborhoods and communities in which they appear, showing such locations to be exceedingly white spaces.[1] My research and analysis demonstrate that the use of Indianness in street naming is uniquely prolific, extending across state and regional differences, and following a few culturally normative templates. Further, the use of Indianness in street naming is distinctive in referencing racialized peoples while marking white space.

The crafting of Indian-themed, white residential space reveals a historically recent layer of geographic meaning that rearticulates mainstream constructions of Indianness, reasserts an imperial possessiveness over those representations, and reiterates the United States' rightful and ongoing occupation of Native lands. I call this particular spatial manifestation of colonial claims over land and people *inhabiting Indianness.* No matter how mundane, street names partially craft and reflect the meanings given to a place. When those names reference a colonized and racialized group of peoples, they operate within the discursive fields of conquest and white supremacy. The street names reiterate dominant narratives of Indianness, especially those that relegate Native peoples to the past. They draw upon, reproduce, and reauthorize "knowledge" that naturalizes or celebrates colonization and the displacement and dispossession of American Indian peoples, while eliding white violence and historic systems of racial inequality, oppression, and land seizure. That self-identified white residents also heavily populate these sites only furthers the force of these already dominant discourses. Although

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contemporary Native communities, identities, and articulations of Native sovereignty are all still intimately tied to place, these Indian-themed sites work to replace and displace Native geographies.

The geographic abstraction of Native peoples and communities through Indian-themed street names renders contemporary Native geographies and land-based claims to indigeneity as historic artifacts of obliterated times and lost places. Contrary to Native insistence on the recognition of ongoing cultural and political sovereignty, appropriations of Indianness for street-name clusters work to incorporate Native lands and identities symbolically through narratives of inclusion within a multicultural American nation-state. Rather than engaging contemporary Native peoples as members of indigenous, sovereign nations with continued and legitimate claims to specific lands, Indian-themed sites reproduce larger cultural and political efforts to render them either no more than historical and mythological figures or to incorporate them abstractly as ethnic minorities "equally" belonging to every space, and thus having no claims to any particular space.

INHABITING INDIANNESS

During the initial colonization of the Americas, the imposition of new names on the landscape reflected European need and desire for justifiable occupation of Native lands. Renaming and claiming territories delegitimized Native land rights and Native knowledge, as new European-derived names were deemed more appropriate for freshly "civilized" spaces. Many namings were explicit acts of appropriation and statements of individual land claims. Others were chosen to extend European cultures and geographies symbolically (for example, New England, Cambridge, and Virginia). Even where such explicit Europeanizing of the named landscape was not present, however, colonial designations often belied their colonial implications and intent. New York City's Wall Street, for example, originated as a tool for protecting colonial space and actively excluding Native peoples while claiming the land from under their feet. Although the Dutch eventually abandoned their colonial post on the island when driven out by the English in 1664, their fortified, walled street remade a Native landscape into a space that discursively and physically protected invading settlers from Native inhabitants and thus marked Native peoples as dangerous trespassers on European lands.

In contrast to overtly colonial place-naming practices, mid- to late-twentieth-century Indian-themed streets offer an example of seemingly anticolonial naming practices. Whereas New Jersey was named after the British island of Jersey during the seventeenth century, the bucolic streets of Medford Lakes, New Jersey, are now replete with labels like Apache, Cheyenne, Mohawk, and Seminole. Modern residential spaces like Medford Lakes reveal how twentieth-century housing developers have included Native peoples in their spatial projects by marking residential streets using Indian themes. This offers a striking contrast to the early European colonists' need to rename and thereby claim Native spaces through discursive and physical markers of exclusion.

Despite such rhetorical changes, placing Indian names onto the landscape proves a disingenuous and ineffective "reversal" of colonial impositions over geography and epistemology. Such landscapes are most decisively not Native spaces. Further, the towns and cities featuring Indian-themed odonyms (street names) are resolutely disconnected from Native communities, except that their very existence is directly linked to dispossession and the ongoing occupation of the Americas. As gestures of anticonquest, Indian-themed street names function as potent epistemological and ontological signs (literally and figuratively) that articulate and justify the material consequences of (neo)colonialism. I use the term *anticonquest* here as coined by Mary Louise Pratt and more recently applied in RDK Herman's analysis of Hawaiian street-name changes and controversies. Pratt described a postcolonial shift in "strategies of representation whereby European bourgeois subjects seek to secure their innocence in the same moment as they assert European hegemony."[2] Indian-themed street names either locate Native peoples in a distant past or function to incorporate them into a multicultural present. In either case, they presume that those creating the representations are absolved of responsibility for the historic and ongoing occupation of Native lands, as well as the cultural and material consequences of colonization. The force of anticonquest derives not only from its surface truth—that current citizens did not colonize the Americas—but also from its capacity to ignore corresponding cultural and material profits still accruing for all those indirect beneficiaries of anti-Native colonialism. Inhabiting Indianness directs our attention to the deployment of anticonquest in the production of space, that most fundamental medium of colonization.

Given my claims thus far, I need to be clear on three points. First, "inhabiting" is a conceptual frame and does not apply only to those who live on Indian-themed streets. Although certain individuals and families do reside in and claim those places, their experiences point to the larger cultural and symbolic space that allows developers to build and residents to dwell on Indian-themed streets in the first place. Indian-themed spaces, and the notion to create such spaces, implicate a larger cultural realm in which Indians are available for appropriation, purchase, and, in this case, literal occupation. In this way, the specific residents living in these particular neighborhoods matter less than the possibility for anyone and everyone to occupy those places. It should also be stated that my research does not intend to suggest that the residents of these spaces are somehow uniquely racist, rather only that they are most immediately and uniquely positioned in a very real spatial sense to participate in the occupation of spaces constructed through an explicitly Eurocentric imagining of the American landscape. In the larger cultural realm, Indianness is ultimately available to anyone who desires access, yet it is always tied into the constructions of whiteness. Inhabiting Indianness involves laying out the simultaneous recognition and denial of Native peoples in the literal and social construction of these places. My focus on "inhabiting" points to what I argue is the unique spatial articulation of Indianness in the service of such geographic imagining.

Second, this particular spatial mode of appropriation—inhabiting Indianness—can be located historically. Indian-themed street-name usage

stretches across the national landscape and spans the twentieth century, yet the vast majority of locations were built and named between the 1950s and 1980s. This rather narrow time frame marks a period of conscious and intentional efforts by developers to represent Indianness in economically driven projects aimed at crafting attractive new domestic spaces. Building on a long and successful tradition of commercialized Indianness, city builders clearly deemed Indian themes marketable to would-be (overwhelmingly or entirely Euro-American) homeowners. The use of Indian-themed street names stands as a phenomenon distinct from that of more generalized place names, which are typically localized, bound to more distant cultural and historical moments, and less directly tied up with commercial interests. There can be no argument that many place names carry lineage from Native vocabularies, and that those names have been either actively or unwittingly passed along into everyday and modern usage. For the purposes of this research, however, I am less interested in the undeniable fact that numerous places such as Miami, Lake Tahoe, Oklahoma, and the Walla Walla River bear names rooted in Native-language origins.[3] I am more interested in the fact that mid- to late-twentieth-century developers with substantial commercial interests consciously tagged residential streets across the nation with names like Apache, Cherokee, and Tomahawk, and then packaged these names together into thematic spaces that abstracted American Indian cultures, geographies, and histories. Although I will offer only suggestive explanations of the impetus for this phenomenon, the data I have compiled clearly locates and confirms its historical specificity.

Third, I am especially interested in the fact that such developments reveal a unique, spatial element to the cultural ownership over Indianness. As opposed to the highly visible and admittedly political battles fought over street names that are explicitly racialized, such as Martin Luther King Jr. boulevards, Indian-themed street names are quietly apolitical and only implicitly racialized because they operate as articulations of white space. Spaces crafted through Indianness are widely acceptable in ways that those crafted by blackness are not. Most white Americans are comfortable with the idea of Martin Luther King Jr., yet few seem comfortable with being associated with (supposedly black) spaces that are marked by his name. In the discursive intersection between race and space Martin Luther King streets invariably mark locations commonly accepted as black geographies, just as the ever-increasing Cesar Chavez–named streets always indicate a significant Latino population and cultural presence.[4] As Derek Alderman and colleagues have documented, white Americans actively resist naming "their" streets after African Americans for fear of the presumed economic and social repercussions of being identified as a black space.[5] To some extent this explains why, despite what "common sense" might suggest, American city builders have produced absolutely no significant street-name clusters using African American, Latino, or Asian American themes.[6] Streets dedicated to Martin Luther King Jr. offer the largest aggregate of a single street name referencing a racialized population. Yet such hard-earned memorial naming is isolated to the degree that the nearly eight hundred King-named streets and boulevards are rarely clustered together with additional African American–themed street

names. In contrast, Indian-themed clusters—which regularly encompass from forty to one hundred fifty streets each and combine to a nationwide grand total exceeding ten thousand streets—dwarf the few African American–themed clusters that exist.[7] Black space is contained by singular street names that grant official geographic recognition. Indianness finds no such limits.

In sum, street names using references to African Americans, Latinos, and Asian/Asian Americans are rare (except King), never produced in substantial clusters, and typically involve renaming efforts that replace a single street name located in areas determined to be black, Latino, and Asian American spaces. In contrast, Indian-themed street names are abundant, frequently lumped into significant clusters, and consistently mark spaces that were intended for and remain predominantly occupied by white residents.

SCALING AND SPATIALIZING INDIANNESS

I turn now to the data collected on the Indian-themed street-name phenomenon. My foray into the cultural phenomenon of Indian-themed street-name clusters literally began on the ground. After months of passing by Manitou Street in San Diego, California, I steered my vehicle down this road to see where it might take me and, after unexpectedly finding an enormous cluster, turned my attention toward documenting and investigating the national extent of the practice. The 2003 (and 2009) version of the commercial travel software *Streets and Trips* allowed me to display simultaneously the total number of street-name "hits" nationally for any single requested name.[8] I began by searching with the word *Cherokee*, expecting this to be a highly recognizable tribe with historical resonance for even the most unfamiliar with American Indian history and culture. This search term proved immensely successful. I found nearly five hundred examples of streets named Cherokee, most of which were adjacent to other Indian street names. I conducted a second search using the term *Apache*, which revealed a handful of new sites, as well as underscored most of my initial results. I then looked for outlying examples by using a series of targeted searches with terms like *Blackfoot*, *Iroquois*, *Pueblo*, *Sioux*, and *Seminole*. These searches offered few new substantial clusters but did serve to implicate every single US state with at least one substantial cluster, with the exceptions of Hawaii and the District of Columbia.[9]

Using these core terms, I sorted targeted cities or towns based on the number of Indian-themed streets found and grouped them according to four cluster sizes: small, medium, large, or super (see table 1). In a limited research effort, I located nearly ninety clusters of at least ten Indian-themed streets. More than thirty-five of these municipalities contained small clusters, those comprised of between ten and twenty Indian-themed streets. I counted twenty-seven municipalities that contained medium clusters, or areas with between twenty-one and forty streets. As I conducted only preliminary research on these sites, I speculate that the actual total number of small and medium clusters is slightly greater than the already sizable sixty-two sites verified here. I located twenty cities or towns that are home to large clusters comprised of between forty-one and ninety-nine streets. Along with these

large clusters, I found five examples of cities or towns containing what I term *super clusters*, or areas exceeding one hundred Indian-themed street names. In sum, my inquiries revealed twenty-five towns or cities that contain at least forty Indian-themed streets.[10] This research concentrates on the twenty-five large and super cluster locations (see fig. 1).

Table 1
Cluster Categories Summary

Cluster Category	Number of Streets	Number of Clusters
Small cluster	10–20	35+
Medium cluster	21–40	27
Large cluster	41–99	20
Super cluster	100+	5
TOTAL		87+

FIGURE 1. *Locations of top twenty-five clusters. Copyright* ©*2009 Microsoft Streets and Trips.*

1. Cherokee Village, AR
2. Lake Tansi, TN
3. Ahwatukee, AZ
4. Lake Royale, NC
5. Lake George, CO
6. Big River, CA
7. South Lake Tahoe, CA
8. Killeen, TX
9. Lake Havasu, AZ
10. Medford, NJ
11. Apple Valley, CA
12. Spotsylvania, VA
13. Albrightsville, PA
14. Tobyhanna, PA
15. Enchanted Oaks, TX
16. Lake Waynoka, OH
17. Boulder, CO
18. Carol Stream, IL
19. Country Lake Estates, NJ
20. Fort Myers Beach, FL
21. Bridgewater Center, OH
22. Clairemont Mesa, CA
23. Satanta, KS
24. Oakland/Franklin Lakes, NJ
25. Sandy Valley, NV

In mapping the geography of the twenty-five largest Indian-themed street-name clusters it is clear that, as one might expect, they are used extensively in western states (hosting eleven in all).[11] Yet eastern and southern cities host substantial examples (see table 2). Dividing the clusters by region reveals five representatives from the Southwest (Arizona, Nevada, and Texas), the South (Arkansas, Florida, North Carolina, Virginia, and Tennessee), and the East (New Jersey and Pennsylvania). The Midwest (Kansas, Ohio, and Illinois) and California each offer four examples. Colorado contributes two clusters.

Table 2
Regional Locations of Twenty-Five Largest Cluster Cities

Region	States	Number of Clusters
South	AR, FL, NC, VA, TN	5
East	NJ, PA	5
Southwest	AZ, NV, TX	5
Midwest	KS, OH, IL	4
California	CA	4
Colorado	CO	2

The cluster sizes seem to vary without strict regard to city size or regional location. Consider the demographics and sites of two super clusters: 1) the Ahwatukee suburb of Phoenix, Arizona, and 2) the recreational community of Cherokee Village, Arkansas.[12] Ahwatukee boasts more than 120 Indian-themed streets. Cherokee Village offers more than 150, as well as numerous Indian-named parks and lakes (see figs. 2 and 3). Although the neighborhoods share the trait of containing Indian-themed community and street names, Ahwatukee and Cherokee Village differ in most every other characteristic. Phoenix is the nation's fifth-largest city with more than 1.5 million residents. The rural, leisure community of Cherokee Village is home to less than five thousand permanent residents. Native communities located

FIGURE 2. *Overview map of Cherokee Village, Arkansas, with detail box for figure 3. Nearly every road in this super cluster community is named using the Indian theme. Copyright ©2010 Google Maps.*
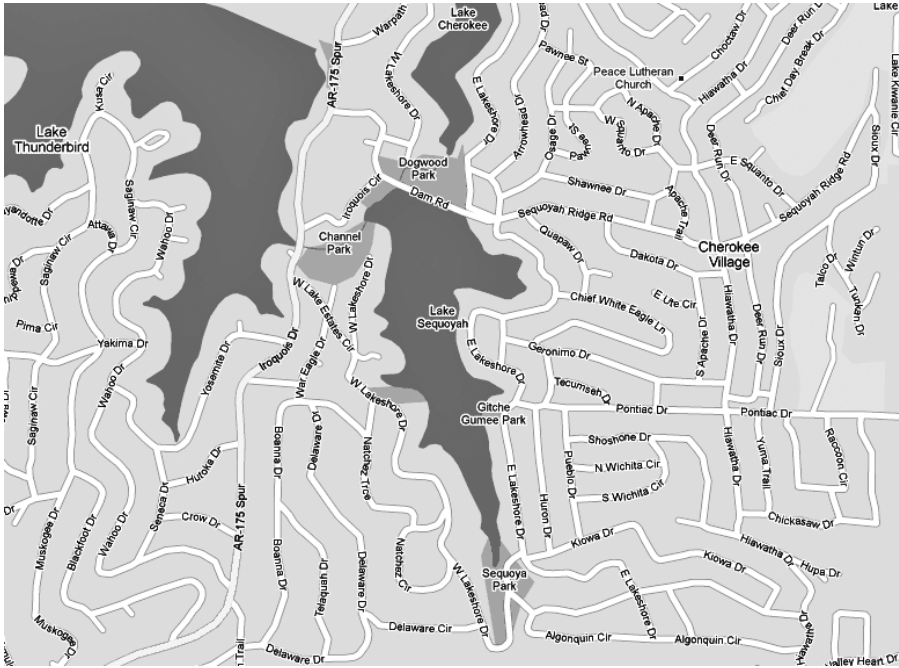
FIGURE 3. *Detail of Cherokee Village, Arkansas, street name cluster. Copyright* ©2010 Google Maps.

on four reservations (Fort McDowell Yavapai, Ak Chin, Gila River, and Salt River Pima-Maricopa) and in a larger Phoenix area that is home to numerous urban American Indian peoples flank Ahwatukee. Arkansas is still home to many Native people and communities, yet the state hosts no federally recognized reservations, and almost no Native individuals live in the larger region around Cherokee Village. Different in most every other characteristic, these neighborhoods share an extensive usage of Indian-themed street names and a demographic reality shaped by the relative whiteness of their residents.

Many of the twenty-five-largest clusters can be characterized as suburban spaces, although some have become thoroughly incorporated by the ever-expanding boundaries of large, urban regions, as is the case with Ahwatukee (see fig. 4). Other clusters are unambiguously rural or small town in nature, closer to the Cherokee Village model. Whether part of a larger city or a smaller community, all of the street clusters are exclusively residential. Although regional location does not significantly impact the particular names used within the clusters, the use of an Indian theme does appear to be correlated to the environmental setting of the housing development or community. Clusters located in larger population areas tend to be comprised of single-family, suburban homes with ample spatial buffers like parks and natural features around the home or subdivision. The cluster in Clairemont, California, for example, sits on a network of undulating, discontinuous mesas separated by the undeveloped "fingers" of Tecolote Canyon Regional Park.
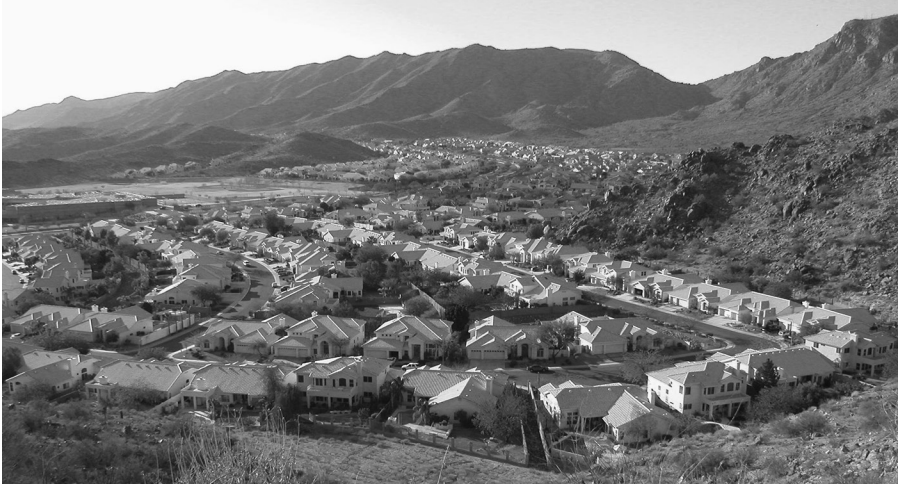
FIGURE 4. *Detail of photograph overlooking portion of Ahwatukee, Arizona. Public domain, Wikipedia.com.*

In suburban and rural contexts, these clusters are frequently located near golf courses, bodies of water (usually lakes), and other (sometimes fabricated) idyllic settings. Most of the large and super clusters provide excellent examples of this practice, including Lake Havasu City (Nevada), Cherokee Village, South Lake Tahoe (California), Country Lake Estates (New Jersey), and Lake Royale (North Carolina). The streets constituting the neighboring communities of Enchanted Oaks and Payne Springs (Texas) straddle the 32,000-acre Cedar Creek Reservoir. The mobile home park cluster in Fort Myers, Florida, is situated only minutes from the Gulf of Mexico.

The tendency to associate Indians with natural and environmental features is doubly emphasized by the frequent use of the street-name qualifier *trail*. Numerous street clusters are entirely constituted by streets with names like Iroquois Trail and Shawnee Trail. Country Lake Estates (see fig. 5) and the roads in the Lake George region of Colorado epitomize this practice. Fort Myers Beach offers fifteen parallel one-way trails. Although some trails may coincidentally reference a historical relationship between the current street location and the traditional travel routes of Native peoples, most are purely decorative. The Indian-themed mobile home park in Fort Myers Beach, for instance, offers no "trails" for the Seminole or Calusa Native nations from Florida. They do, however, include "trails" for geographic outsiders like the Apache (from Arizona), Blackfoot (from Montana), and Seneca (from New York).

Although the street names make persistent links between Native people and idyllic representations of "nature," they also reliably generate links between Native nations without substantial geographic or historical connections. The community around Towamensing Lake, near Albrightsville, Pennsylvania, for example, hosts a bevy of trails that bring together such unlikely historic

Figure 5. *Detail from map of Country Lake Estates, New Jersey, super cluster use of "trails."*
Copyright ©2010 Google Maps.

intersections as Chinook and Cochise, or Piute and Narragansett. Historian Robert Alotta noted the same discrepancies in his local study of the street names of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Tracing the street-name selections and changes, he was left no choice but to argue that his city's Indian names must have been selected simply because "they sounded good," because there was an extreme lack of either "local significance" or "geographic similarities."[13]

Indian-themed street clusters range widely across the national landscape yet contain a standardized set of "contents." Every cluster is constituted by street names from these eight basic categories: tribes, historical figures, fictional figures, cultural items, "Red English," site names, Native-language vocabulary, and derogatory terms.

By far the most common category is "tribes." In many clusters, the majority of the streets are named after tribal communities (for example, Dakota and Haida).[14] Not only do clusters draw heavily on tribal community names, but also they tend to draw from a core group of predetermined or prepackaged tribes, often with no attention to regional connection as discussed in terms of the usage of *trails*. Commonly used historical figures include examples like Lakota war leader Crazy Horse and the pilgrim-greeting Samoset. Fictional figures are regularly spliced into the clusters alongside tribes and historical figures; consider Cherokee Village's inclusion of Chief Day Break and the ever-present Tonto of *Lone Ranger* fame. Most clusters contain a sprinkling of streets named for stereotypical cultural items or words, such as *teepee* and *powwow*. A few locations incorporate simulated versions of "Red English," or supposed "broken English" terms such as *Laughingwater* or *Big Look*.[15] Occasionally, historic sites such as Wounded Knee receive recognition. Names derived from Native vocabularies are even less common, presumably

because the terms are unknown to developers and their potential residents, and the work of translation proves demanding. Rare among the cluster cities, Cherokee Village displays more than thirty examples that are clearly derived from or intended to be derived from Cherokee words and names (for example, Hotamitanio, Tonganoxie, and Weekiwachee).[16] Lastly, a few communities stubbornly continue to maintain street names by using terms that are now commonly recognized as derogatory, such as *squaw* and *redskin*.

CRAFTING WHITE SPACE

Although Indian-themed clusters were constructed exclusively in residential areas, and relatively widely across the different regions of the nation, it is clear that they have not been evenly distributed in terms of the racial composition of their residents. White residents heavily populate these spaces, while they host almost no Native residents. Although explicit discrimination may have been actively practiced during the peopling of these communities, the racial composition reflects general housing segregation patterns, as well as the wide acceptability of Indianness in crafting white spaces. Such cannot be said for blackness, Latinidad, or Asianness. Indianness was and is uniquely acceptable and available for appropriation as a symbol for white claims to the American landscape.[17]

Philip Deloria has skillfully documented that white Americans (men especially) have engaged in various forms of "playing Indian" as an attempt to resolve tensions in national, collective, and individual identities.[18] Since the Boston Tea Party—what Deloria points to as a symbolic moment of national birth—appropriations of Indianness have remained culturally powerful and even marketable tools for crafting white identity in the United States. The various "Indian performance options" available have helped give "meaning to Americans lost in a (post)modern freefall" and enabled them to "meet the circumstances of their times."[19] Despite the history of conquest, genocide, and assimilation aimed at destroying Native peoples and wrenching Native lands away from tribal control, Indianness regularly proves useful for negotiating white identities and a sense of belonging on this continent. Whereas Deloria focuses on literal acts of "play," whereby white Americans physically or symbolically masqueraded as Indians, the placement of Indian-themed street names represents a spatial variation of "play" that still presumes ownership over Indian identities but relocates that ownership in the colonized land. I argue that precisely in light of that history of appropriation, and the relative demographic absence of Native peoples in Indian-themed neighborhoods, inhabiting Indianness proves uniquely capable of providing the kind of spatial reconciliation (or disavowal of colonization) that marks and reaffirms contemporary white space.

The creation of such space is symbolic and material, and likely linked to the kinds of tensions that led to counterculture movements, Boy Scout troops, and New Ageism. Although housing and homeownership opportunities were being massively expanded post–World War II, for example, that expansion was also characterized by institutionally supported racial discrimination and exclusion. Between the 1940s and 1970s, desegregation, civil rights,

and global military campaigns all presented a palpable challenge to white hegemony over the American cultural landscape. Policy shifts starting in 1965 dramatically changed the patterns of immigration, increasing the numbers of entrants from Asia and the Americas south of the US-Mexico border. So at a time when new generations of white Americans were gaining access to property and a chance to build equity for the first time, the redeployment of the Indian hardly seems surprising. Indianness offered the comfort of a connection "to the very beginnings of the mythological structure called America" and thus likely soothed white apprehensions about losing a previously secured sense of place and notion of belonging.[20]

As African Americans, Latinos, and Asian Americans seemed to pose cultural, political, social, and geographic "threats" to a newly middle America, Indian-themed streets proliferated. Only Satanta, Kansas, was built prior to the 1950s, with this site owing its creation to Atchison Topeka and Santa Fe Railway development and tourism efforts in 1912.[21] The remainder of the largest street-name clusters were constructed during or after the 1950s, when non-Native citizenry had far less volatile opinions of Native people than did the early Dutch colonists who built their walled street. Between the 1950s and 1980s Western films were hugely popular, the American Indian activism and counterculture movements repositioned Native cultures and peoples as victims of oppression, Native peoples came to symbolize a growing environmental consciousness, and Native peoples were the least demographically significant "minority" group being figured into a developing national consciousness toward multiculturalism. In short, Indians had never been more popular. Indianness, it seems, could not have been more useful in negotiating the politics of racial identity and unprecedented challenges to dominant whiteness. During these key decades, housing developers extensively applied Indian themes to their residential creations.

According to the 2000 US Census, the self-identified white population (alone or in combination) comprised 77.1 percent of the total national population.[22] In comparison, the white population of the largest twenty-four clusters averaged precisely 91 percent in 2000 (see table 3, and notes explaining exclusion of one site). The nation's largest Indian-themed cluster sites house an average of 14 percent higher white residents than the national average. Further, many of these sites host a relatively higher rate of white residents than even the immediately surrounding communities, which average just 87.9 percent white residents.

Most of the largest clusters are located in counties in which the vast majority of the people self-identify as white and are likewise predominantly populated by white residents. Sixteen of the twenty-five largest clusters follow the model of Cherokee Village, proving statistically "whiter" than the average for the counties where they are located. Dubbed the "Jewel of the Ozarks," Cherokee Village overlaps the boundary between two extremely white counties (Nash, 98.1% and Sharp, 97%). Yet the village is even "whiter," reporting a Euro-American population of 98.7 percent. Clusters located in more urban areas understandably contain a relatively higher percentage of nonwhite residents, although, like Cherokee Village, these areas still present a higher

Table 3
Racial Composition of Largest Indian Cluster Cities/Towns

Cluster Location	Street Count	% White	% White, City	% White, County	Earliest Year Found
1. Cherokee Village, AR	150[a]	98.7	NA	98.1, 97.0[c]	1954
2. Lake Tansi, TN	130	99	NA	98.4	1961
3. Ahwatukee, AZ (Phoenix)	121	88.0[b]	73.8	89.0	1971
4. Lake Royale, NC	111	70	NA	70.7	1972
5. Lake George, CO (Trump area)	100	97	NA	96.6	1949
6. Big River, CA	91[a]	88	87.6	80.6	1978
7. South Lake Tahoe, CA	76	96.0[b]	79.1	92.5	1981
8. Killeen, TX (Fort Hood)	68	54.1	49.7	72.0	1980
9. Lake Havasu, AZ	68	96.5[b]	95.7	94.2	1972
10. Medford Lakes, NJ	64	99	98.8	77.6	1967
11. Apple Valley, CA	63	79.9[b]	80.3	80.6	1978
12. Spotsylvania, VA (Indian Acres)	63	82	NA	81.6	1969
13. Albrightsville, PA (Towamensing Trails)	58	94	NA	97.9	1971
14. Tobyhanna, PA (Pocono Peak Lake)	50	92.8[b]	NA	89.7	1971
15. Enchanted Oaks (area), TX	50	99.2[d]	NA	91.8	1973
16. Lake Waynoka, OH	47	98.5	NA	98.0	1970
17. Boulder, CO	45	89.9[b]	88.3	92.9	1962
18. Carol Stream, IL	45	86.3[b]	80.2	84.8	1971
19. Country Lake Estates, NJ	44	74	NA	77.6	1979
20. Fort Myers Beach, FL (Indian Creek)	43	99	98.2	90.0	1973
21. Bridgewater Center, OH	43	96	NA	97.9	1967
22. Clairemont Mesa, CA	42	85.6[b]	63.9	79.8	1953
23. Satanta, KS	41	85	NA	97.8	1912
24. Oakland/Franklin Lakes, NJ	40	95.4[b]	92.0	79.2	1970
25. Sandy Valley, NV	40	94	94.4	78.9	1991
Averages	67.7	91[e]		87.9	1967

[a] Additional streets with apparent Native-language terms that could not be verified.

[b] Cluster data calculated from more than one census tract.

[c] Incorporated across two counties (Nash and Sharp).

[d] Data drawn from larger area (smallest available using the census).

[e] This percentage was calculated by excluding the data from Fort Hood, as it presents a unique residential condition. Including that data would result in an average of 89.5%.

Source: 2000 US Census.

percentage of white residents relative to the surrounding community. The three census-tract areas constituting the Clairemont Mesa neighborhoods of San Diego, for example, showed a white population of 85.6 percent.[23] In contrast, white residents make up only 79.8 percent of the county population, and only 63.9 percent of the city of San Diego. Although subdivisions like Clairemont can still boast higher interethnic statistics than towns like Albrightsville or Fort Myers Beach, such suburban clusters almost invariably began as exclusively white areas. When suburbs are eventually subsumed by expanding cities, white residents have historically relocated to newer and typically "whiter" housing developments farther from the core of the city; this is the well-documented phenomenon of white flight.

Although the data is not complete, it appears that urban clusters have increased their populations of color only in the decades since their inception, and thus only after their white residents likely left for whiter pastures. In 1990 (more than a decade after its beginnings), the four census tracts comprising the super cluster suburb of Ahwatukee reported an aggregate of 94.5 percent white residents.[24] This percentage finally dipped to 86 percent by the time of the 2000 Census, following the subdivision's incorporation as one of Phoenix's "local villages." The population explosion in the Phoenix area, along with the incorporation of the subdivision between 1978 and 1987, helped to facilitate Ahwatukee's subtle but steady demographic changes. By June 2001, the demographic changes were finally noticeable enough for some residents to feel encouraged by the changing face of what they had unofficially dubbed "All-White-Tukee."[25] In spaces that remain less urban than San Diego and Phoenix, such white flight may never occur, allowing those communities to retain stable (mostly white) racial demographics.

In contrast to the sites that have experienced a demographic shift in the ethnic backgrounds of its residents and still have not matched the national average, two large and one super cluster provide a higher nonwhite population than the national average. The populations of Country Lake Estates and Lake Royale are notable in that they host substantial African American populations, flouting a legacy of especially vicious exclusions of African Americans from predominantly white spaces.

African Americans comprised 22 percent of the residents in Country Lake Estates in 2000, whereas they made up only 16.7 percent of the county and 14.5 percent of the state population. The African American population of Country Lake Estates is not only larger than the surrounding community, but also seems to be growing, as the census indicates that African Americans comprised just 14.9 percent of the population of Country Lake Estates in the previous decade.

The Lake Royale community is comprised of 30 percent African American residents. This ratio is nearly identical to the countywide statistics and represents a higher percentage of African Americans than are found in North Carolina as a whole (21.8%). Census data for 1990 are too broad for accurate comparison, but the larger census-tract information suggests the possibility of a dramatic decrease in the African American population, which previously registered 43.3 percent of the tract. In contrast to most every other

Indian-themed street cluster, such data may offer evidence that this location is undergoing a rural version of gentrification, in which white residents are displacing, replacing, or simply outnumbering black residents.

Although the Fort Hood, Texas, site likewise hosts a substantial African American population, it also offers the most significant outlier in my research. In contrast to all of the other sites, Fort Hood represents the least-white Indian-themed street cluster. Serving as an exclusive residential sector for the Fort Hood army base, the relatively higher percentage of nonwhite residents there clearly reflects the general overrepresentation of soldiers of color (and their families) serving in the US armed forces. Fort Hood has maintained an incredible stability in its white population percentage since at least 1990. The percentage of white residents did not change much between 1990 and 2000, decreasing slightly from 54.9 to 54.1 percent. African American residents decreased from 33.9 to 30 percent, with Latino residents covering the difference by increasing from 12.4 to 16 percent.

Regardless of the documented shifts in the ethnic and racial makeup of these neighborhoods and towns, none of the largest twenty-five Indian-themed street clusters house any substantial American Indian population. This reiterates the availability of the Indian for commercial and symbolic usage and its construction largely outside of the purview of Native peoples and communities. According to the 2000 Census, one thousand residents from the Indian-themed cluster in Apple Valley, California, identified themselves as American Indian.[26] This relatively large number still represents a mere 2.3 percent of the cluster's total population of nearly forty-three thousand residents. Big River, California, which is actually located within the boundaries of the Colorado River Indian Reservation (which stretches over the river from eastern Arizona), boasts the largest percentage of American Indian residents, yet those residents still only comprise 3.9 percent of the total population for the Indian-themed cluster. Despite the percentage spike, this statistic represents a raw number total of only thirty-two American Indian–identified individuals.

States with relatively large American Indian populations (for example, Montana, New Mexico, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Oklahoma) host few major clusters, and none are in the top twenty-five.[27] Arizona, which ranks seventh in American Indian population percentage (reporting 4.5%), provides the only example of a large or super cluster located in a state with a significant American Indian demographic presence. In the other states with large American Indian populations, it seems Indianness must contend with the concrete presence of American Indian peoples and substantial Native communities.[28] In such spaces, "inhabiting" likely becomes a much more contestable practice, perhaps partially explaining the higher number of street-name clusters located in the eastern and southern regions. Further, in current Native spaces—reservations and other Native-dominated areas—such naming practices are almost nonexistent and instead feature tribally specific or culturally significant names.[29]

These demographic statistics document a correlation between Indian-themed street clusters and self-identified white residents. The correlation reflects the continued relevance of Indianness as a tool in the construction of

white American identities and, ultimately, in the production of white space. As demographics have shifted since the creation of these Indian-themed spaces, other racial and ethnic populations have come to occupy the sites, although the data make clear that the appropriation of Indianness was initially reserved for spaces that were overwhelmingly occupied by whites.

Yet these sites do more than simply host predominantly white residents. Because they have been crafted with the use of Indian themes, they produce space that is explicitly informed by a Eurocentric imagination, regardless of the ethnic makeup of the residents. The Indian-themed street-name cluster phenomenon marks the historic intersection of a moment of concentrated residential construction (the "housing boom") with the "national pastime" of appropriating Indianness. Certainly each of the clusters offers a distinct demographic and cultural story, and the meaning of these spaces can always be recrafted with different sets of meanings. Such recrafting is the intent of this article. Yet the shared use of Indianness in a neocolonial nation in which indigeneity remains strategically ignored in discussions of social justice and indigenous rights largely precludes generating authoritative geographic reimaginings for these sites.[30] They reproduce and locate Indians, while dislocating and erasing Native peoples and space.

CONCLUSION

Although the scale of Indian-themed street names and the scope of their usage are quite astounding, they must also be read in the context of their cultural and political significance. I would suggest that these naming practices ultimately create another cultural sphere against which Native peoples must negotiate in order to prove and protect their tribal identities and sovereignty. Laying claim to citizenship in the Mohawk Nation is quite a different political and spatial assertion than laying claim to Mohawk Street. Yet Mohawk Street represents an important means by which non-Native peoples simultaneously (re)claim and produce Indianness through the simultaneous occupation of colonized Native spaces and displacement of Native geographies, even as it represents the (likely well-intentioned) rhetoric of inclusion and multiculturalism. The power of these dominant cultural and spatial productions rests on their banality. As mundane spatial markers, street names remain unquestioned as modes of hegemonic cultural production that operate at the intersection of colonialism, identity, race, and space.

Far from being a random or unique phenomenon, Indian-themed street names stand alone in the sheer quantity of usage and the intentional clustering of streets names referencing a racialized population. Whether the residents of these clusters remain vastly white or are now relatively multiethnic and/or multiracial, they are decisively non-Native spaces that are invariably constructed through the logics of Eurocentrism and manifest destiny. The appropriation and marketing of Indianness for street names locates it within a much larger realm of consuming the Other and ultimately serves to reinscribe Eurocentric geographies by exploding the critical and intimate linkages between indigeneity and place.

NOTES

1. In this article, I use the terms *Indian* and *Indianness* to refer to the imaginary and imposed meanings applied to the indigenous peoples of North America, especially the United States. I do not place these terms in quotes but do intend for them to signal such appropriated and symbolic usage. I refer to indigenous peoples collectively as Native or American Indian in order to differentiate from popular constructions. Likewise, it should be noted that I use the term *white* for an immense and diverse set of peoples with a variety of intersectional identities but do so consciously in order to signal the continued investments in, privileges accrued from, and social recognition enjoyed by those able to claim such distinctively experienced racial identities. Thus, I use *white* as it is commonly understood and simplified in contemporary American society and to retain consistency with its usage as a self-designated racial category in the US Census.

2. Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 7; RDK Herman, "The Aloha State: Place Names and the Anti-Conquest of Hawai'i," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 89, no. 1 (1999): 76–102.

3. For those interested in Native place names, William Bright's *Native American Placenames of the United States* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004) and the two-volume set by Sandy Nestor, *Indian Placenames in America* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2003) are handy starting points.

4. The practice of naming streets after César Chavez has increased in recent years, but that growth still accounts for less than thirty roadways nationally. No Asian or Asian American themes exist, period. A handful of urban, ethnic enclaves feature non-English characters (Chinese, Korean) on street signs, yet these names function only as supplemental cultural-spatial markers that never replace formal, official street names.

It should also be noted that I am aware and sensitive to the dual nature of American Indian existence as a racialized group and as sovereign entities. Although American Indian nations must and should emphasize sovereignty, this cultural and political stance does not and should not exclude the impact and consequences of racialization as it has been imposed on and thereby experienced by Native peoples.

5. Derek H. Alderman, "Street Names and the Scaling of Memory: The Politics of Commemorating Martin Luther King, Jr. within the African American Community," *Area* 35, no. 2 (2003): 163–73; Derek H. Alderman, "A Street Fit for a King: Naming Places and Commemoration in the American South," *The Professional Geographer* 52, no. 4 (2000): 672–84; Matthew L. Mitchelson, Derek H. Alderman, and E. Jeffrey Popke, "Branded: The Economic Geographies of Streets Named in Honor of Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.," *Social Science Quarterly* 88, no. 1 (2007): 120–45.

6. No clusters exist that explicitly thematize (ethnic or racial) European identities either.

7. Shreveport, LA, hosts one of a handful of street clusters with an African American theme, recognizing the likes of Booker T. Washington, Jackie Robinson, and Jesse Owens in one swoop. In Harlem, NY, streets named Malcolm X and Martin Luther King Jr. contribute to one of the rare mini-clusters honoring African Americans. As these examples also demonstrate, such themes always celebrate individuals (usually historic) rather than representing group identities or making cultural references.

8. *Streets and Trips* (Microsoft Corporation, 2003, 2009). The use of a commercial travel software as a research tool may seem an odd, if not spurious choice, yet I found that it offered the kind of data flexibility and speed not available through other archives, databases, or geographic software.

9. Hawaii presents a unique case in that public and private spaces now actively use Native Hawaiian names and words as part of the state's concentration and reliance on tourism. I did not include these as part of my study but recognize the parallel in practices and the shared experiences with mainland Native peoples. For more about the history, use, and politics of Hawaiian-language street names, see Herman, n. 2.

10. I have not set out to document all of the instances of such clusters thoroughly. Thus the quantitative findings of my research are limited by at least two factors. The first is the limitations of my term selections. Although *Cherokee* and *Apache* were productive search terms, further research may prove that terms reveal additional undocumented instances. An updated search with the 2009 version did not immediately reveal any additional street clusters being constructed since 2003. Despite the limitations of my primary research tool (mapping software), and my term selections, I am confident that I have compiled sufficient evidence to make substantiated claims.

11. I have decided to include Texas in the Southwest, reflecting its common history of Spanish colonization, Mexican territory status, and Mexican-Latino demographics.

12. Local officials and oral tradition circulate this translation widely, although local journalist Geri Koeppel recently determined that the closest and most appropriate translation would be either "land on the other side of the hill" or "land in the next valley." Geri Koeppel, "It's Ahwa-what-kee?" *The Arizona Republic*, 10 January 2006. She notes that although William Bright reported the translation as "flat land, prairie," Bright's source (a non-Crow linguist and priest) told Koeppel that upon further reflection, he thought the term was probably "something that's made up." Bright, *Native American Placenames*, 26. Per Koeppel, according to George Reed, Crow minister of culture, the translation of "house of dreams" into Crow would be "Ashe ammeewiawe."

13. Robert Alotta, *Street Names of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1975), 84.

14. It should be noted that the terms used are not always consistent with tribal community names. Many Cherokee, for example, would prefer *Tsalagi* as their more accurate tribal and linguistic designation.

15. Kenneth Lincoln, *Indi'n Humor: Bicultural Play in Native America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).

16. I did not fully count street names using Native-language derivatives, as I was not effectively able to determine which were examples of a Native language and which were intended to be included with clusters.

17. It is widely understood that developers must formulate street names for their housing clusters that will meet public-safety requirements (i.e., not cause confusion for police or fire departments responding to emergencies) as well as appeal to everyday citizens. The practical safety consideration is commonly included in developers' guides and might also be proposed as an explanation for the selection of Indian-themed street names, as was suggested to me by one of the original developers of the Clairemont cluster in San Diego (Kasia Dane, interview by author, San Diego, CA, 8–10

July 2007). An Indian theme does offer developers a vast pool of names from which to generate thematic marketing tools. Issues of public safety alone, however, do not account for the vast popularity of such street names, nor do they sufficiently explain the consistent correlation between such names and heavily white spaces.

18. Philip Joseph Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998).

19. Ibid., 7.

20. Rayna Green, "The Tribe Called Wannabee: Playing Indian in America and Europe," *Folklore* 99, no. 1 (1988): 48.

21. The railway company founded Satanta, naming the town after the Kiowa warrior, Set-Tainte (White Bear). I have only confirmed one Indian-themed street in the Lake George area before the 1950s. It appears that this expansive and sparsely populated area was constructed in stages that started in the late 1940s but expanded in later years.

22. US Census Bureau, "American Factfinder, 2000," http://factfinder.census .gov (accessed 20 August 2009). All of my research statistics use the data reported for those self-identifying as "White, alone or in combination" with other racial identities rather than the data for those reporting as "White alone" (those claiming monoraciality). This choice results in a slightly higher white count and overall percentage but avoids the dangers of excluding self-reported multiracial individuals from claims of (at least partial) white identity.

23. The individual tract breakdown is 81% (tract 85.02), 87% (tract 85.03), and 90% (tract 85.01).

24. US Census Bureau, "American Factfinder, 1990," http://factfinder.census. gov (accessed 28 February 2010). The tracts reported white population to be 1,167.07 (92.9%), 1,167.08 (96.3%), 1,167.10 (94.1%), and 1,167.11 (93.9%).

25. Patricia Biggs, "No Longer 'All White Tukee': Minorities up 348% since 1990," *Arizona Republic*, 21 January 2001.

26. The Apple Valley cluster is comprised of 8 census tracts (tracts 97.10–97.17).

27. Alaska topped the list with 13.1% of its residents identifying at American Indian/Alaska Native. New Mexico reported 9.7%, South Dakota 8.6%, Oklahoma 6.8%, Montana 6.3%, and North Dakota 5.2%.

28. In many places where American Indians and non-Natives share space, Indianness is commonly constructed along much less romantic lines, even to the extreme of being replaced by overtly racist constructions of alcoholic, stupid, or lazy Indian figures decidedly unworthy of appropriation. Clearly, such social constructions do not easily lend themselves to effective marketing toward prospective homebuyers.

29. Several sites in Oklahoma feature small collections or clusters of what might appear to be Indian-themed streets, except that they focus on tribally specific names and the numerous neighboring tribes also relocated to Oklahoma Territory, thus marking a specific shared historical experience.

30. Consider the United States' rejection of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in 2007. The United States was joined by the other English settler colonies of Australia, Canada, and New Zealand.