

Resisting Displacement Through Culture and Care:  
Workplace Immigration Raids and the Loop 202 Freeway on Akimel O'odham Land  
in Phoenix, Arizona, 2012-2014

by  
Margaret Diddams

A Dissertation Presented in Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Doctor of Philosophy

Approved October 2014 by the  
Graduate Supervisory Committee:

Bob Bolin, Chair  
Mary Margaret Fonow  
Wendy Cheng

ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY

December 2014

## ABSTRACT

Low-income communities of color in the U.S. today are often vulnerable to displacement, forced relocation away from the places they call home. Displacement takes many forms, including immigration enforcement, mass incarceration, gentrification, and unwanted development. This dissertation juxtaposes two different examples of displacement, emphasizing similarities in lived experiences. Mixed methods including document-based research, map-making, visual ethnography, participant observation, and interviews were used to examine two case studies in Phoenix, Arizona: (1) workplace immigration raids, which overwhelmingly target Latino migrant workers; and (2) the Loop 202 freeway, which would disproportionately impact Akimel O'odham land. Drawing on critical geography, critical ethnic studies, feminist theory, carceral studies, and decolonial theory, this research considers: the social, economic, and political causes of displacement, its impact on the cultural and social meanings of space, the everyday practices that allow people to survive economically and emotionally, and the strategies used to organize against relocation.

Although raids are often represented as momentary spectacles of danger and containment, from a worker's perspective, raids are long trajectories through multiple sites of domination. Raids' racial geographies reinforce urban segregation, while traumatization in carceral space reduces the power of Latino migrants in the workplace. Expressions of care among raided workers and others in jail and detention make carceral spaces more livable, and contribute to movement building and abolitionist sentiments outside detention.

The Loop 202 would result in a loss of native land and sovereignty, including clean air and a mountain sacred to O'odham people. While the proposal originated with corporate desire for a transnational trade corridor, it has been sustained by local industry, the perceived inevitability of development, and colonial narratives about native people and land. O'odham artists, mothers, and elders counter the freeway's colonial logics through stories that emphasize balance, collective care over individual profit, and historical consciousness.

Both raids and the freeway have been contested by local grassroots movements. Through political education, base-building, advocacy, lawsuits, and protest strategies, community organizations have achieved changes in state practice. These movements have also worked to create alternative spaces of safety and home, rooted in interpersonal care and Latino and O'odham culture.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF FIGURES.....	viii
CHAPTER	
1 INTRODUCTION.....	1
Disturbing Home in Phoenix, Arizona.....	3
Spatial Injustice and the History of Phoenix.....	5
Racialized Displacement: Two Case Studies.....	10
Surviving and Resisting Displacement: Grassroots Movements in Phoenix.....	17
Research Questions.....	23
Methodology and Methods.....	24
Assumptions, Limitations and Scope of the Study.....	28
A Roadmap to the Dissertation.....	32
2 POST-RACIAL FACTORIES, DISAPPEARING WORKERS, AND OTHER MYTHS: RECONSTRUCTING IMMIGRATION RAID GEOGRAPHIES.....	34
Through the Voices of Raided Workers.....	35
Local Context: Work Raids in Phoenix, Arizona.....	39
Part I: What is Not Seen: Four Present Absences.....	41
Nothing Happened at the Factory: The First Present Absence.....	41
After Arrests, the Raid is Over: The Second Present Absence.....	44
All Prisoners Live in Prison, Detainees in Detention: The Third Present Absence.....	48

CHAPTER	Page
Cross the Border and You Disappear: The Fourth Present Absence.....	54
Part II: The Implications of Seeing Raids as Trajectories.....	57
Racial Segregation Enforced through Geographies of Terror.....	57
Experiences in Jail and Detention Influence Power in the Workplace.....	60
“No One Deserves that Nightmare Place”: Abolitionist Sensibilities.....	62
3 SURVIVING JAIL AND DETENTION: FEMINIST PRACTICES OF	
CARE.....	66
Practicing Care: Illustrative Vignettes.....	68
Locked Away: Ideologies Masking Collective War.....	69
Dystopic Nightmares: Isolation through Racialized Trauma.....	72
Heterotopic Spaces of Trauma and Freedom.....	77
Heteropatriarchy as a Tool of Domination, Feminist Collective Care as a	
Tool of Survival.....	81
From Criminalization and Shame, Toward Dignity.....	85
Affective Care beyond the Family: Undoing Carceral Logics.....	91
Connections of Dignity Extend from Jail Outwards.....	95
Politics and the Personal.....	98
4 MOVEMENT AGAINST RAIDS AND DEPORTATIONS: THE PUENTE	
HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT AND SPACES OF DIGNITY.....	102
Where We Stand: An Interruption.....	105
Part I: Freeing One Raid Victim at a Time: <i>Uno por Uno</i> .....	106

CHAPTER	Page
Families Learning Together: Collective Processing and Strategy.....	109
Organized Support for Incarcerated Community Members.....	114
Free Jose! Public Campaigns Bring Our People Home.....	118
Scaling Up: Not One More Deportation Campaign.....	123
Part II: Shifting the Paradigm: Working is Not a Crime.....	125
Nodes of the State: Professional and Prosecutorial Discretion.....	126
Get the Police out of Our Worksite: Justice for Workers.....	129
“We Dropped the Mic on the Prosecutor”: Changing Criminal Charges	130
Bringing Workers Home: Untangling Arpaio-Montgomery-ICE Collaborations.....	134
Emboldening an Abolitionist Dream: Families Belong Together.....	136
Part III: Spaces of Dignity and Home: Building an Alternative.....	140
Community Media, Books, and Dreams.....	140
Taking Care: The Future is Closer than We Thought.....	144
<b>5 COLONIZING AKIMEL O’ODHAM LAND: THE LOOP 202 SOUTH MOUNTAIN FREEWAY.....</b>	<b>147</b>
Neoliberal Utopian Fantasies: NAFTA’s Free Trade Corridors.....	149
Landlocked Capital in Search of New Forms of Wealth.....	153
This was Never Meant to Take So Long: The Inevitability of Progress...157	157
The State’s Environmental Justice Analysis.....	161
Interrogating the ‘Post’ in ‘Post-Colonial’ Phoenix.....	164

CHAPTER	Page
Raping the Land: “What Part of ‘No’ Don’t You Understand?” .....	168
The “Do Nothing” Tribe and “Barren Desert” .....	174
Landowners for the Freeway: Congress and the Gift of “Intelligent Greed” .....	181
“We Could Make Millions”: From Sacred Land to Strip Mall .....	184
Wind Knows No Borders: Premature Death and the Bowl Effect .....	189
Who Says South Mountain is U.S. Land? Illegitimate Treaties and the Problem with Reservations .....	193
Bully Democracy: Steam-Rolling, 3-Minute Comments, and Tentative Forums .....	199
<b>6 DEFENDING THE SACRED: O’ODHAM MOVEMENT AGAINST THE SOUTH MOUNTAIN FREEWAY .....</b>	<b>206</b>
Asserting Our Dignity: Local Sovereignty in the Early Years .....	208
Code-Switching: DEIS, Title VI, and ICERD .....	212
Disrupting Corporate Democracy: The Future Belongs to the People .....	215
Invoking Common Struggle: Indigenous Resistance across Tribes .....	218
Building Coalitions across Race .....	221
Sacred Site, Backyard Beauty: South Mountain as a Rallying Point .....	225
Culture at the Center of Land Struggle .....	229
ADOT is Not the Only Decision-Maker: Self-Determination through Imagination and Care .....	235

CHAPTER	Page
7 CONCLUSION.....	241
Movement Dreams and the Scope of this Research.....	242
Reconfiguring Space: With and Without the State.....	244
Practical Implications of Resistance through Culture and Care.....	248
Recommendations for Future Research.....	253
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	258
APPENDIX	
A: METHODOLOGY AND METHODS.....	294
B: IRB APPROVAL.....	302



## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
2.1 Example of Media Images Depicting Spectacle of Work Raids.....	45
2.2 Map of Raid Trajectory: From Jail to ICE Office to Detention Center to the Border.....	49
2.3 Map of Work Raid Sites, Overlaid on a Map of the Distribution of Latino Population.....	58
4.1 Map of Sites Where Migrant Community Members Show Up to Support Raid Victims.....	117
4.2 Large Puppet of a Latina Woman Held During a Protest to Shut Down Immigration and Customs Enforcement.....	124
4.3 Map of Sites Where Migrant Community Has Organized Political Actions Against Criminalization and Deportation.....	127
5.1 Map of the CANAMEX, Canada-to-Mexico, Trade Corridor that Would Be Completed by the Loop 202 Extension.....	151
5.2 The Current Proposed Route of the Loop 202, Known as Alternative W59.....	158
5.3 Map Depicting Racial Demographics in Areas Adjacent to the Proposed Route.....	164
5.4 Approximate Representation of Original O’odham Nation Territory, Compared to the Gila River Indian Community Reservation Boundaries.	166

Figure	Page
5.5 Sketch of Pangea’s City Concept, a Proposal for Suburban Development Linked to the Freeway.....	186
5.6 Map of Existing Land Uses Surrounding the Freeway.....	190
5.7 Map Depicting Watersheds that Would Be Impacted by the Freeway.....	191
5.8 Map Produced by the Maricopa Association of Governments to Highlight Controversy Surrounding South Mountain Park.....	193
5.9 Construction Worker Examines Informational Displays Produced by the Arizona Department of Transportation.....	200
5.10 Photo from the June 2013 Public Hearing on the Loop 202.....	203
5.11 Community Organizers Meet to Discuss the Loop 202, Days Before the Community-Wide Vote.....	204
6.1 Gila River Against Loop 202 group meets to discuss freeway.....	211
6.2 O’odham Elder Delivers a Letter to HDR Engineering, the Firm Contracted to Design the Loop 202 Extension.....	214
6.3 Young Native Activists Gather Outside a Tribal Council Session.....	216
6.4 Photo Depicting Coalition-Building between O’odham, Diné and White Activists.....	219
6.5 White and O’odham Activists Gather in Ahwatukee to Discuss the Freeway.....	224
6.6 Flyer Distributed by the No South Mountain Freeway Group Depicting the Mountain as a Living Entity.....	227

Figure	Page
6.7 Photo of a Two-Day Spiritual Run Held by O’odham Activists Against the Freeway.....	232
6.8 Graphic Design and a Public Mural Created by O’odham Artists.....	235

## Chapter 1:

### INTRODUCTION

In October 2014, a photography exhibit will open in New York: not in a museum or an uptown gallery, but on the streets, in front of 5 Pointz, a controversial empty warehouse turned graffiti mecca that hosted hundreds of community artists before it was targeted for demolition (5ptz.com; Atkinson, 2014). The exhibit, entitled “Right 2 Remain: Resisting Community Displacement in NYC”, is the strategic and creative vision of “beautiful people fighting for the Right to Remain in their communities”, supported by over a dozen organizations, including Families for Freedom, the Black Alliance for Just Immigration, and Culture is Life<sup>1</sup>. The event’s organizers use *displacement* as a broad concept to connect diverse communities facing issues that are often understood as dissimilar and unrelated. The exhibit demands an end to the forced relocation caused by immigration enforcement, mass incarceration, gentrification, and climate change. Broad community support for the event suggests that displacement is a framework that resonates with many people’s lived experience, with the potential to forge or strengthen coalitions. Whether a person is removed for being poor, Black, native, or undocumented, for looking criminal or living in a flood zone, experiences of being uprooted are similar *enough* to inspire a shared demand for the Right to Remain.

Outreach materials for the event feature an image of a Black drummer sitting in a park, not far from a Black couple relaxing on a bench and a young Black man crouched

---

<sup>1</sup> A description of the exhibit, opening October 5, 2014, can be found at [www.gofundme.com/right2remain](http://www.gofundme.com/right2remain)

over to garden. In the foreground, the drummer's sandalwood bracelets and bright pink shirt convey pride in an African heritage. He is caught in a moment of joy, fingertips poised on the edge of the drum, to the delight of the young Black child sitting on his lap.

The drummer's race, class, documentation status, and place of residence increase the probability that he may be forced out of his home; his relationship to place is precarious. In his own neighborhood, he is likely to be stopped and frisked, profiled and incarcerated, arrested for poverty-related offenses, or deported for being undocumented. More economically valued uses of space may encroach on his home, including industrial facilities or transportation infrastructure that make his children sick, high-end condos or shopping malls that require tearing down his apartment complex, or the gradual influx of white professionals who set new, unattainable economic and cultural standards. These forms of displacement are justified through representations of low-income people, especially low-income people of color, as dangerous, criminal, lazy, backward, or stupid. The photography exhibit, conscious of these pervasive negative representations and concerned about the perpetual possibility of displacement, tells a deliberately contrasting narrative: this is a loving father, an enthusiastic drummer, a proud African migrant, a neighbor, and a member of a vibrant community. However police, politicians, or real estate developers view the place where he lives, as a danger zone, a slum, or a barrier to economic development, artists and organizers make the simple, but powerful assertion that the neighborhood depicted in the image is the man's home.

The photographs channel the "inarticulate mumble of discontent, tears of frustration, [or] scream of rage" that come from living with exploitation, poverty,

oppression, and state violence (Holloway, 2010, p. 2). However, they are also, importantly, a declaration of life, stubborn survival, and brilliance. They depict the intimate joy, loving relationships, and playfulness that help to make threatened places more livable. The exhibit is located on the other side of the country, geographically and culturally far from the desert borderlands where this research is set. Nonetheless, the exhibit's political interventions are remarkably similar to the theoretical implications of this dissertation. Organizers and artists use the lens of displacement to draw parallels in cause and effect among disparate issues impacting multiple racial groups. They prioritize the conservative demands of low-income communities of color fighting, first and foremost, for the right to remain or stay in place. Artists' depictions of resistance in their communities emphasize loving interpersonal care and cultural traditions of working-class, African American, Latino, and Native people.

### **Disturbing Home in Phoenix, Arizona**

The largest city in the Arizona borderlands, Phoenix has a national reputation as a “laboratory of hate”, a place where anti-migrant, anti-poor, and racist policies are piloted, before they are transposed to other parts of the country (Franco, 2010). In one sense, this makes Phoenix a prime location to study racialized displacement. However, it might also be a limitation of the site, if readers assume that problems experienced in Phoenix only reflect the local political climate. It is important not to exaggerate the incomparability of the city. To take the most often cited example of Phoenix exceptionalism, the county's Sheriff Arpaio is known as America's “meanest” sheriff (e.g. Mydans, 1995), even

though Los Angeles actually deports more migrants every day (Rivas, 2012), and New Orleans, not Phoenix, is the nation's incarceration capital (Chang, 2012). It may be easier to see the racist architecture of the state in a place where racism is overtly expressed, but the policies and economic practices in Phoenix are not so different from other parts of the country. Also like many places, Phoenix has a strong history of social movement organizing, including Chicano farmworkers in the 1960s and Black civil rights leaders in the 1970s (Whitaker, 2005). Grassroots community-led movements continue building power in the city today, and present fertile ground for learning about resistance.

My choice to study in Phoenix was most strongly influenced by my personal relationship to the place. I doubt that I would have felt as compelled by the problem of removal from home if I were not thinking of the place where I grew up. Practically speaking, it is easier for me to access and understand the dynamics of displacement in Phoenix because I have lived here most of my life. This is also a city from which I can come and go, stay put or leave, without fear of reprisal, because I am a white middle-class U.S. citizen. Native people in Phoenix, who have more rightful claim to this land, are more likely to see environmental hazards or unwanted development take over their homes. Migrant workers and other people in poverty, who are less able to leave Phoenix and therefore more emotionally and culturally connected to the city, are more vulnerable to removal through gentrification, immigration enforcement, or incarceration. Why are the people who perhaps most need to call Phoenix home also most likely to be removed? What social, economic, and political factors drive this uneven dispossession of land? These questions call my attention more often in Phoenix than in other places.

## **Spatial Injustice and the History of Phoenix**

Social inequality is reinforced by uneven access to use and determine the meaning of space. Studies in human geography demonstrate that space is not merely a container for society, but is produced through and contributes to producing law, economic practices, cultural representations, discourse, and daily habits (Lefebvre, 1974). As Ed Soja (2010) observes, grassroots struggles for justice include the work of reclaiming and repurposing spaces taken from marginalized communities.

Race and class, historically and socially constructed categories related to skin color and one's position in the economic hierarchy (Omi and Winant, 1994; Wright, 2003), are among the most important factors determining one's access to and power in space (Bender, 2010; Davila, 2004; Delaney, 2002; Mitchell, 2003). In Phoenix, Latino workers, inhabiting the area prior to the Gadsen Purchase, have consistently been the largest non-white racial group in Phoenix, with a significant impact on the culture and landscape of the city (Luckingham, 1994). Nonetheless, economic exploitation has kept many Latino residents tethered to poverty and excluded from power. Moon-Kie Jung et al. (2011) defines racism, or white supremacy, as an integral logic of capitalism and the liberal democratic state, which values the "ascendancy of white life" and views harm or death to people of color as sometimes "tragic" but ultimately "tolerable" (p. 74). When Mexican farmworkers were recruited to Phoenix through the Bracero Program in the 1940s, Latino migrant lives were reconfigured as cheap labor, paid low wages in deplorable living conditions (Calavita, 2010). These policies, in Phoenix, like earlier



histories of slavery, colonization, and war in the U.S., contributed to the wealth and power of certain white institutions and families (Smith, 2012). Arrest and deportation of the same recruited farmworkers, in the 1950s, helped to keep migrant labor vulnerable, a profitable strategy for the agricultural industry (Falcon, 1995).

Phoenix today, like most urban areas in the U.S., remains starkly segregated along racial and class lines (Massey and Denton, 1993). In the 1900s, urban developers across the U.S. demarcated certain areas as undesirable for investments like housing, utilities, sanitation, banking, and education (Aalbers, 2011). In Phoenix, race and class privilege protected middle-class white suburbs, while Black and Latino neighborhoods like south and west central Phoenix were subject to inadequate public utilities, disproportionate policing, siting of toxic facilities, and red-lining that limited the areas' access to housing, food, and health care (Bolin, et al., 2005; Sicotte, 2008). Although red-lining is no longer legal, it continues in practice. Businesses like insurance companies, real estate developers, and grocery stores, as well as state agencies planning for green spaces, libraries, and public amenities, discreetly avoid low-income neighborhoods of color (Squires and Kubrin, 2006).

Business in Phoenix, as elsewhere, also invest in uneven ways, what Neil Smith (1984) refers to as the “seesaw of capital”. Capital moves into low-income, racially segregated neighborhoods looking for cheap land and labor, then disinvests when cheaper land and labor become available elsewhere. The consequences of this investment strategy are seen throughout low-income neighborhoods in Phoenix where vacant lots and empty factories abound (Heim, 2001). David Harvey (1989) explains that “organized

abandonment”, the cumulative effect of disinvestment in low-income neighborhoods of color, leaves these areas vulnerable to exploitation (p. 303). The same “forgotten places” (Gilmore, 2008) abandoned by investment and social services are also burdened with disamenities, such as toxic waste facilities and public dumps (Pellow and Sun-Hee Park, 2002; Pulido, 2000; Sze, 2007), and subject to hyper-surveillance through disproportionate policing (Smith, 2012). In Phoenix, clusters of polluting factories are most often found in the same neighborhoods where rates of police violence are higher (Ó Huallacháin and Leslie, 2013; McDowell and Wonders, 2009).

The field of geography has less often dealt with the historical and contemporary consequences of colonization. The U.S. is a settler colonial state, meaning that the country’s geographical expansion and production of urban spaces are intimately entangled with colonization and harm to indigenous people (Lipsitz, 2011, Razack, 2002). U.S. colonization is relatively recent in Phoenix history, compared to the rest of the country. After the Gadsden Purchase of 1854 ended the Mexican-American war, the U.S. paid a scant \$400 per square mile and began sending U.S. citizens to settle the territory of Arizona (Del Castillo, 1990). Shortly thereafter, the District of Arizona Commanding General issued a decree to soldiers throughout the state: “Indian women and children are to be taken captives where possible and reported to these headquarters, but against the men you are to make war and war means killing” (West, 1863). Thousands of Apache people were killed, while O’odham people were spared to the extent that they participated in U.S. wars on Apache people (Colwell-Chanthaphonh, 2007). In the aftermath of genocide, indigenous exclusion was enforced through legal

restrictions on native people entering the city of Phoenix (Luckingham, 1989). Native reservations were established on the outskirts of the metropolis. The construction of reservations, in Phoenix as throughout the U.S., reduced the territorial expanse of native sovereignty, drawing legal boundaries backed by the threat or use of force, writing contracts or verbalizing agreements in which only settlers were freely consenting parties (Pateman and Mills, 2007).

Today, in 2014, Phoenix is a large, rapidly expanding sunbelt metropolis with a population of over 9 million people. The city's dominant tourist and real estate industries drive a suburban growth machine that has brought suburban development to the edges of settler territory (Ross, 2011). Phoenix sprawl abuts three reservations: the Fort McDowell Yavapai Nation, the Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community, and the largest, the Gila River Indian Community, home to the Akimel O'odham people.

These few spaces left to the authority of indigenous people now stand in the way of corporate and state ambitions for perpetual growth. Conflict over native land surrounding Phoenix is part of a trend of encroachment on reservations as industry seeks access to resource-rich native territories across Arizona, including uranium mining near the Grand Canyon, coal mining in Black Mesa, ski resort development in Flagstaff, and border militarization in the south (Begaye, 2005; Lewis, 1995; Wilkinson, 1996). These local development decisions are facilitated by national policies, like the General Allotment Act, and U.S. legal case history, which has rarely favored native land rights (Carpenter, 2004).

Prisons and detention centers are another major geographic feature of the desert landscape surrounding the Phoenix area. These spaces are primarily filled with criminalized, low-income communities of color whose incarceration reaps wealth and power for both private companies, such as the Corrections Corporation of America, and state agencies, like the Arizona Department of Corrections and the Maricopa County Sheriff's Office (Loyd, 2012). For example, the state of Arizona allocates an average of \$1 billion every year to the Arizona Department of Corrections ("The Price of Prisons", 2010). Excluding immigrant detention facilities, which are almost entirely filled with people of color, Arizona incarcerates 1.7 times as many Latinos and 5.6 times as many African Americans as white people (Mauer and King, 2007).

Among the communities targeted for incarceration are an estimated 275-500,000 undocumented migrants living in the Phoenix area (Passel and Cohn, 2011). Although not all undocumented migrants in Phoenix have brown skin, speak Spanish, and come from Latin America, anti-migrant policies in Phoenix are based on anti-Latino race politics (Campbell, 2011). Strategies of attrition, such as denial of in-state tuition, drivers' licenses, health care, and food stamps, aim to make migrant lives miserable, while policies of enforcement, including community and workplace raids, and 'show me your papers' laws like SB1070, aim to detain and deport as many undocumented migrants as possible (Ochoa O'Leary and Sanchez, 2011). Detention quotas of 32,000 beds filled at any one time, and national policies that enable collaboration between police and immigration enforcement, like Secure Communities and 287g, contribute motivation and tools for local anti-migrant policing (Hernandez, 2009).

## **Racialized Displacement: Two Case Studies**

Critical geography studies have often observed spatial exclusion in urban areas, practices that aim to keep people in poverty, especially people of color in poverty, on the margins of society and the city, in what Cheryl Teelucksingh (2006) calls “spaces of otherness”. Ordinances that prohibit sitting on sidewalks, benches designed to prevent homeless people from sleeping in public, gates in suburban neighborhoods that enforce resident-only access, and racially motivated policing in predominantly white neighborhoods all contribute to the exclusivity of privileged spaces (Davis, 2006; Mitchell, 2003). Most notably, in *Geographies of Exclusion*, David Sibley (1995) asserts that the “human landscape can be read as a landscape of exclusion” (p. 1). While exclusion is often unnoticed by people who occupy privileged spaces, especially people who are “white, adult, male, and middle-class”, it is acutely felt by the excluded (p. 2).

Although this body of literature addresses the experience of marginalized social groups upon entering privileged spaces, it does not take into account the socio-spatial experiences of marginalized people in their own neighborhoods and homes. Spaces of development and wealth do not only keep people out, they also expand into, take over, and exert control in less wealthy spaces. Whereas exclusion can be passive – a person does not have to venture into gated communities or upscale shopping districts of Scottsdale or North Phoenix to know they are unwelcome – displacement refers to an active regulation of space in which the state or state-sanctioned actors move people against their will, away from their home spaces. One contribution of this dissertation is a

shift in analytical focus: away from spatial exclusion, with its attendant desires for entry and assimilation, towards displacement, a process occurring outside of privileged spaces, resulting in struggles to stay put and experience places as home, despite the threat of removal.

In this dissertation, I examine two case studies of displacement occurring in Phoenix, Arizona from 2012 to 2014: (1) workplace immigration raids that arrest, jail, detain and deport undocumented Latino migrants; and (2) the Loop 202 freeway that will bring eight lanes of traffic to the homeland of Akimel O’odham people. These case studies were chosen because they are examples of local displacement that affect many people’s lives, and have received widespread local attention, frequently represented in the media, often debated by politicians and public officials. Although they are rarely, if ever, discussed in terms of displacement, and infrequently discussed in juxtaposition, they are both profound examples of the dispossession of land and home spaces from communities of color in poverty. These cases have also been key concerns of two of the largest, local grassroots movements, led by communities of color. While many other local examples of forced displacement could be studied, work raids and the Loop 202 are particularly insightful for their lessons on organized resistance and community power.

People are not equally vulnerable to displacement; only certain communities are forcibly resettled (Clear, 2007). For example, Ruth Wilson Gilmore (2008) explains that low-income neighborhoods of color have less in common with white middle-class suburbs down the street than with prisons and detention centers in faraway rural towns. People taken to prison disproportionately come from low-income neighborhoods of color;

therefore, barrios, ghettos, and prisons are intimately connected spaces, even when they are geographically disparate. Workplace raids in Phoenix, just one of the many ways that undocumented migrants are brought into ICE, Immigration and Customs Enforcement, custody, do not evenly impact all workers, but disproportionately affect working-class undocumented Latino migrants. Similarly, although the Loop 202 freeway would run adjacent to several racially diverse communities, including the wealthy white suburbs of Ahwatukee and the Latino and white liminal zone of Laveen, the siting of the freeway extension has been most influenced by the preponderance of cheap land in and around the Gila River Indian Community reservation.

The racial projects throughout U.S. history, as George Lipsitz (2011) observes, have often been spatial projects as well, and, I contend, have often included forced resettlement and dispossession of land. In the colonization of the Americas and the transatlantic trade in enslaved African people, African and Native American people were forced from their homelands. Other events, including the colonization of Hawai'i, the seizure of Mexican land in the Guadalupe-Hidalgo Treaty, the internment of Japanese-Americans during World War II, and bulldozing of public housing projects in Black and Latino neighborhoods illustrate the long history of racialized displacement in the U.S. (Bhandar et al., 2008). This research examines two examples of the way a long history of displacement of communities of color in poverty is continued today.

The imperialist theft of land and labor that Marx presumed to be unique to the early formative stages of capitalism has, instead, persisted throughout the history of capitalism. While Marx referred to the strategy of acquiring capital through violence and

coercion as “primitive accumulation”, David Harvey (2004) renames the same phenomenon “accumulation by dispossession” to avoid the assumption that this is only a ‘primitive’ or transient characteristic (p. 74). In fact, accumulation by dispossession has become more common under neoliberalism, the dominant political-economic form of the last forty years. The neoliberal state uses “spatial fixes” to mask the crises of capitalism, including moving people in order to acquire cheap labor, land for development, or profit through incarceration (Gilmore, 2008).

In Phoenix, workplace immigration raids, conducted by national ICE and the Maricopa County Sheriff’s Office, have targeted and collaborated with businesses ranging in size from Legacy Custom Doors, with four employees, to large multinational corporations like McDonald’s and Day’s Inn. Since 2008, local officials have conducted 74 raids, resulting the arrest of over 2,000 workers. Multiple factors, including border militarization, mass incarceration, and the contradictions of neoliberal capitalism, drive the increasing frequency of raids. Workers often spend 3-8 months in jail, and anywhere from one week to two years in immigrant detention, and, before the grassroots campaign against raids, were ultimately deported. People who, as a result of organizing, have been able to stay in the U.S., live marginally, with even fewer options for work than before the raid. Punishing and torturous conditions in jail and detention influence the distribution of power between racial groups outside carceral space, including places of employment, where Latino workers are more willing to accept unfair wages and conditions, and public spaces, where Latino residents live in heightened fear of arrest.



The original proposal for the Loop 202 freeway can be traced to public-private partnerships, joined by multinational corporations and state agencies, envisioning the completion of the Canada-to-Mexico trade corridor, a route that would facilitate more rapid truck transit for the exploitative commercial relations of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Regional and local industry associations in transportation, construction, tourism, and real estate sectors also stand to gain approximately \$100 million per mile, plus access to additional future development along the freeway corridor. The truck route, as it is currently proposed, would cut through Muhadag Do'ag (also known as South Mountain), a mountain of spiritual and cultural significance to the O'odham Nation. Pollution from the freeway would damage the water system and crops in adjacent fields, and impact public health in District 6, the native residential area closest to freeway construction. The freeway is also accompanied by plans for further suburban development, including truck stops, malls, and a resort, that would convert sovereign native land into recreation sites for wealthy, primarily non-native customers.

In racial geography literature, contemporary displacement is most frequently discussed in the context of gentrification. This is a socio-economic process in which white middle-class people move into poor neighborhoods of color, and change the political, economic and cultural characteristics of the area in a way that forces out the original residents (Freeman, 2005; Newman and Wyly, 2006; Schaffer and Smith, 2010). Contemporary displacement is also seen in housing foreclosure, renegotiated native territoriality, undemocratic development, eminent domain, mass incarceration, and deportation (e.g. Peutz, 2006; Scholtz, 2006). However, these policies and economic

practices are rarely discussed as displacement because they are known by other terms which mask their geographic effect, including property law, urban development, transportation, mining, agriculture, immigration enforcement, and criminal justice. Nonetheless, they dispossess mostly poor Black, Latino and native people of their property, land, homelands, and home spaces.

Some anthropological studies of migration view native tribes as unlike any other racial group in the U.S., since all other races compose a ‘nation of immigrants’, from Europeans in the 1400s to the migration of Latin Americans today (e.g. Martin, 2011). From this perspective, undocumented Latino migrants and native people are presumed to have opposing interests. By contrast, critical race theorists argue that indigenous and migrant communities in the U.S. are similarly subjected to white supremacy, and have a shared interest in decolonization (e.g. Fortier, 2014; Walia, 2013). Eve Tuck and Wayne Yang (2012) further contend that the U.S. is not a ‘nation of immigrants’, but a territory co-inhabited by European settler colonists, indigenous people, formerly enslaved African people, and people fleeing U.S. economic and military imperialism abroad. In Phoenix, Latino migrants and O’odham people face similarly high rates of poverty, mass incarceration, exclusion from political decision-making, and forced assimilation. Intersections between local native and Latino movements against the Loop 202 and workplace raids also demonstrate the similar subject positions and overlapping political objectives of these two groups.

One could argue that this dissertation does not, in fact, deal with displacement. Since migrants are not from the U.S., deportations simply send people back home.

Likewise, since the freeway does not force any native people to move out of their houses, native people are not displaced. However, many migrants have no intention of returning to their countries of origin, and have made their homes in the U.S. They often live near family and community, and have built affective ties to the residence and neighborhood. Similarly, many native people think of ‘home’ in a broader sense than a house or property. From an indigenous perspective, home often refers to a collectively owned, ancestral homeland. Displacement on the reservation is not removal in the sense of dispossession of a house or property, but rather, forced relocation from an ancestral homeland.

In this dissertation, I define displacement as *the state-sanctioned, involuntary relocation of a group of people away from the places they call home*. Though ‘home’ is a commonplace term, it is a contested cultural and political idea (Marangly George, 1996). For example, the arrest and surveillance of low-income communities of color, marked as illegal, criminal, or terrorist, often enters political discourse as the work of ‘protecting our homes’ (Santa Ana, 1999). The ‘our’ in this rhetoric of course does not refer to the vilified people who are considered a threat; their home spaces are reconfigured as zones of danger. As Chandra Talpade Mohanty (2003) argues, ‘home’ has such compelling moral and affective connotations that it cannot be limited to places that privileged society perceives as desirable. An egalitarian definition of home includes all the places from which people derive identity, community, safety, comfort, and security (Mallet, 2004), as identified by the home dweller, not the entity exercising removal.

## **Surviving and Resisting Displacement: Grassroots Movements in Phoenix**

### *Root Shock, Racialized Trauma, and Survival*

While racialized displacement is frequently studied, as expected, in the fields of critical geography and ethnic studies, it is also, perhaps surprisingly, often considered in the field of community psychology. This is a reflection of the considerable psychological and emotional consequences of displacement. The disruption in one's normal course of life, including dislocation from home and community, causes long-lasting psychological distress, vulnerability, and instability (Fried, 2000; Green, 2009), resulting in what Shelly Feldman et al. (2011) calls a "loss of place" (p. 11) or what Mindy Fullilove (2005) refers to as "root shock": "the traumatic stress reaction to the destruction of all or part of one's emotional ecosystem" (p. 11). The threat of removal undermines people's sense of identity, and creates new spatial meanings: places that once signified comfort and security become reminders of violation (Apfelbaum, 2000; Fullilove, 1996). The emotional and psychological impact of displacement in its other forms, including immigration enforcement and unwanted development, have not been studied in their geographical context. I also consider how these emotional consequences are mapped onto space. bell hooks (1992) describes how she avoided white suburbs as a young Black woman: "I learned as a child that to be 'safe', it was important to recognize the power of whiteness, even to fear it, and to avoid encountering it" (p. 344). When displacement is justified through racist ideologies, the fear and trauma associated with displacement become attached to white or white-dominated spaces.

Physical and emotional survival in the face of displacement requires inventive coping strategies and often depends on supportive interpersonal relationships. In this dissertation, I consider both the everyday forms of survival described by people directly affected by raids or the freeway, as well as the collective, organized movement of communities struggling to stop their own displacement. Everyday survival includes creative forms of legal and economic resistance. Denied access to traditional forms of employment, raided migrant workers must find other ways to survive, including strategies Lipsitz (2011) observes in indigent Black communities, such as “pooling resources” and “bartering services” (Shabazz, 2011, p. 1269). Through informal jailhouse lawyering and more formalized Know Your Rights trainings, migrant workers teach themselves and each other how to prevent or contest criminal charges, detention and deportation. Since the freeway is not yet constructed, the legal and economic effects are yet to hit the community. Although organized movement requires learning how to navigate the complexities of multiple bureaucratic and corporate actors, at an individual level, resistance against the freeway, thus far, has been most closely tied to cultural and emotional labor.

Recovering from the loss of place also means struggling to regain identity and self-concept. Individuals dislocated from culture and place must work hard to sustain or rebuild connections to history and community (Gordon, 2008). This research examines how displaced migrant workers and native residents find ways to grieve what has happened or is happening to them, and to make sense of their experience.

Communication within displaced communities, such as connections made in carceral

space, or spiritual stories about threatened land told by native elders, allow people to reconsider internalized racist narratives that engender racialized self-hate, such as the assumption that people are displaced because they are a problem, illegal, criminal, lazy, or in the way of progress. Shared story-telling about experiences of displacement across racial and tribal groups may also lead to more interracial alliances, abolitionist, and decolonial perspectives.

### *Feminist Care and Decolonial Imagination*

Research participants explain how they survived jail and detention by caring for others, creating moments and micro-spaces of connection, humor, and dignity in an otherwise dehumanizing environment. If white supremacy is the primary social structure filling prisons, patriarchy is its architecture, the primary logic normalizing social domination in carceral space (Smith, 2006; Talvi, 2007; Visions of Abolition, 2011). This shows up in the gendered, trauma-dense, and violent accounts of raid workers' jail and detention experiences. In contrast to more material or legal accounts of resistance, workers' explanations of the strategies they used to survive incarceration emphasize the interpersonal, and most closely resemble descriptions of everyday forms of feminist resistance, or feminist practices of care (e.g. Hinton et al., 2013; Jardine and Smith, 1987; Tong, 2010). Analysis of feminist care has not often been explicitly spatialized. I consider how affects and relationships of nurturing, humor and dignity influence the meanings of carceral space for migrant workers.

The study of everyday forms of resistance against the Loop 202 is more difficult to isolate from organized movement. However, whether people are acting on an individual basis, interacting independently with children, elders, and relatives, or through an organization, teaching in schools or speaking at public forums, there is a strong emphasis on cultural and historical learning. Sovereignty and self-determination, not only in political and economic terms, but also social and cultural sovereignty, the ability to define oneself and one's destiny, are important components of indigenous resistance (e.g. Cornassel, 2012; Said, 1993). Although the Loop 202 is a concrete land struggle, what Aman Sium et al. (2012) contends is at the core of decolonial desire, resistance against the Loop 202 also addresses ways of thinking and being. This research examines the historical and ontological assertions made, in the course of lived resistance to the freeway, about land ownership, reservation boundaries, property rights, and the use of land and governance. Native activists confront identities and cultural knowledge fragmented by colonization, and advance traditional ways of relating to the land and each other through deliberate acts of mentoring, cultural production, and political education.

### *Building Local Grassroots Movements*

These practices of making home even in terrorizing or threatened spaces reinforce affects of collective care that spill over into movement building. Motivated by a desire for places of safety and freedom from fear of removal, social movements present a “collective, organized, sustained and non-institutional challenge” to displacement (Goodwin and Jasper, 2003). As Mark Toney (2007) explains, movements are

distinguished from other forms of social change by the active participation and leadership of people who are directly impacted by the problem, especially, in this case, low-income people of color. The emphasis on the *local* in grassroots organizing arises from the strong place attachment of working-class neighborhoods, who build powerful political constituencies, in part, by engendering a sense of ‘home’ in community (Devine-Wright, 2009; Staples, 2004; Towers, 2000).

Dozens of families impacted by workplace raids lead and participate in collective resistance through the Puente Human Rights Movement, a grassroots base-building organization working for the well-being of migrant community since 2007. Through this organization, raided workers began to challenge each of the state agencies collaborating in enforcement of the raid trajectory. The research documents a complex, dynamic campaign: to stop deportations, bring raided workers home from detention, reduce the criminal charges and jail sentences given to raided workers, stop the practice of work raids, and advocate for economic and political relief for raided workers.

The Loop 202 has been debated for such a long period of time, over 30 years, that organized resistance has taken many different forms. Community members living downwind of the proposed freeway site, anticipating disruption of their air quality, access to natural resources, and spirituality, built local informal assemblies, and succeeded in bringing the freeway to a community vote. They also met with government agencies and development corporations involved in decision-making about the freeway, and organized public demonstrations against the desecration of native land and values. A coalition between Ahwatukee and Akimel O’odham residents formed an advocacy organization,



Protecting Arizona's Resources and Children (PARC), to submit public comments on the Environmental Impact Statement and to file a lawsuit on the basis of environmental harms. Two native environmental organizations, the Gila River Alliance for a Clean Environment (GRACE) and Gila River Environmental Youth (GREY), pressured local politicians, state and local government agencies, and development corporations to shut down the freeway proposal, citing indigenous rights to health and self-determination.

These grassroots organizations have recruited and built the capacity of directly impacted people, gained the support of allies and other organizations and formed campaigns against specific policies and practices (Castells, 1983). These goals are accomplished through story-telling and protest that center the experiences of displaced and marginalized people, pressuring decision-makers at multiple scales of the state, as well as public-private partnerships and corporations (Davis, 2002). This research examines changes in the material conditions and meanings of spaces of terror or loss, including low-income workplaces, jails, detentions, South Mountain, and reservation territory. In the process of demanding change, these grassroots movements also create alternative cultural spaces, in which marginalization has the positive effect of engendering what bell hooks (1990) calls "radical possibility", openness to living and relating to each other differently. This research explores how migrant and native organizations construct alternative spaces – 'other spaces' that have a very different connotation than Teelucksingh's (2006) "spaces of otherness" – deliberately organized around different values and understandings of land, home, and personhood, relative to the dominant order.

## **Research Questions**

This dissertation research, on instances of racialized displacement in Phoenix, Arizona, explores four major questions:

*What social, economic, and political forces drive the displacement of low-income communities of color?* This research limits its scope of inquiry to the displacement of low-income communities of color, to understand how contemporary society and government in the U.S. continue the racial projects of spatial control started in colonization and slavery. Analysis of media representations, state policy and practice, and the economy surrounding immigration raids and the freeway help to identify the motivating factors behind forced displacement. This research also interrogates what representations and rhetoric about particular social groups contribute to their displaceability.

*What is the impact of displacement on the cultural and social meanings of space in contemporary U.S. cities?* As people are forcibly removed from their homes or homeland, their relationship to land, space and geography shifts away from comfort and familiarity, to something else. Research with displaced communities aims to identify these new feelings and meanings brought on by displacement, and to understand how certain everyday public spaces, such as workplaces, bureaucratic offices, mountains, and roads, acquire intensified affective content and specific cultural meanings under state practices of removal.

*How do low-income communities of color survive displacement and make the spaces to which they are forcibly resettled more livable?* As long as state policies permit or enforce displacement, people vulnerable to losing their homes or homelands must find ways to survive. Many of these strategies emerge from or are emboldened by social movement. They can also develop independent of explicitly political, organized action, in the hearts and minds of individuals and small groups of similarly affected people. This research examines the physical, economic and emotional tools used by displaced people to lessen the impact of displacement.

*How do people organize collectively to contest forced displacement?* Through voluntary organizations and associations of directly impacted people in coalition with concerned allies, communities experiencing mass arrests and undemocratic development in Phoenix, have used their collective power to contest the political environment enabling these practices. This research analyzes the spatial, rhetorical, ideological, and cultural strategies used by local movements to support their own community, shift the locus of power, create spaces of safety and dignity, and stop displacement.

## **Methodology and Methods**

The primary objective of this study was to understand the impact of displacement on communities of color and the strategies used to survive and resist. The study's ethnographic methods reflect this objective. Research was conducted with communities of color most directly impacted by displacement: with undocumented Latino workers arrested in raids and their families, and with Akimel O'odham native people living on or

near the Gila River Indian Community. In the case of the Loop 202, I also spoke with a small group of white residents of Ahwatukee, the suburb neighboring the reservation, since they have been organizing against the freeway alongside native leadership.

Activist research, used by a growing community of scholars concerned with the social justice implications of the research process, is an approach to social inquiry that strives to “maintain connections with broader publics and practical work on social issues” (Hale, 2008, p. xvi). My work is grounded in the assumption that inequality and forced displacement are social harms. I aim to amplify the voices of directly affected people who organize against their own removal.

My research conclusions are based on ethnography with people facing displacement, rather than with state officials, development corporations, or disengaged observers, based on an epistemological assumption that people are experts in their own lives. No one knows about raids or the Loop 202 better than people whose lives, homes and homelands are at risk. Of course, there are conflicts and contradictions within the communities I studied. Not all Latino and native residents of Phoenix are opposed to workplace raids or the Loop 202. This research is not meant to elide differences within Latino and native communities, or to ignore the economic benefits that some Latino and native people gain from documented-only workplaces or on-reservation development. I focus my work, instead, on understanding the perspective of members of Latino and native community who are so negatively impacted by displacement that they have devoted a substantial portion of their time to organizing against it.

As Laura Pulido (2008) observes, research in one place often makes it easier to do activist scholarship. I can bike down the street to the office where migrants meet to strategize against deportations, or drive across town to the house of an organizer mobilizing people against the freeway. Because of proximity, I am able to participate in the everyday life of these organizations in a way that I could not if I were studying a social problem in many different localities.

The majority of this research is based on two years of participant observation. In this study, participant observation included attendance at organizational meetings, public demonstrations, community forums, and hearings, as well as volunteer tasks, like writing petitions, running errands, or caring for children.

Despite some level of involvement in the community organizations, my work is still impacted by the often-noted conflict between the demands of academia and the principles of community organizing (Cancian, 1993). Because there is little institutional value placed on accountability to communities mobilizing for their liberation (Hale, 2008), activist research requires learning to balance activist and academic commitments. In future work, I hope lessons learned from this research help me to prioritize long-term relationships with community organizations, a more organic research design initiated by the community, and a more participatory research process.

Consistent participant observation was especially important because many things changed in both case studies over the course of the research, from April 2012 to December 2013. As a result of social movement pressure, the county prosecutor stopped assigning upper-level felony charges to raided workers in late 2013, and the local ICE

office stopping deporting victims of work raids. In the Loop 202, tensions between community and police reached a climax at the community forum on the Environmental Impact Statement in July 2013. Native residents now await the state's final verdict on the Environmental Impact Statement. Two lawsuits and talk of direct action hang in the air.

Participant observation was supplemented by twenty oral history interviews: ten with undocumented raid victims and their families, seven with native Akimel O'odham people who would be affected by the freeway, and three with white residents of Ahwatukee. Interviews ranged greatly in duration, depending on how much participants had to say. For example, one man who I interviewed about workplace raids was very terse and reluctant to divulge much detail about anything with potential emotional content. He was also one of the least involved in activist work, so was not as familiar with the history of organizing against raids. As a result, we talked for only half an hour. On the other extreme, a man I interviewed about the Loop 202 talked for many hours on two different occasions, first telling me about his family history and his personal relationship to the issue, then speaking at length about the history of the movement, and finally pointing out relevant features of the land on the reservation.

During these interviews, my primary objective was to understand how participants remember their personal experiences and think about raids, worksites, freeways, and native land. Rather than entering with a set of pre-formulated questions, I introduced conversations with a little context about my interests, including what happened during the raid, what will happen if the freeway is built, how it affects their daily lives, and how people are organizing to solve the problem. I then aimed to listen,

asking clarifying questions, so that participants would lead the conversation, showing me what is important to them.

Interviews were analyzed as stories, personal narratives that demonstrate how directly affected people are thinking about the problem. Ideas are never formed in a vacuum, but are always part of a social reality. Each narrative is a product of interactions, conversations, disagreements and shared ideas, with the state, media representations, other people similarly affected, and movement organizations. The stories themselves might be read as survival strategies, since they demonstrate how people, whose bodies and lives are disrespected by the state, hold their heads up in tenacious dignity. Interviews were not coded or analyzed quantitatively, but they were compared for common themes and overlapping ideas. Certain quotes were chosen when they exemplified perspectives found elsewhere in the interview. When quoting interviews, names and identifying details are anonymized<sup>2</sup>.

### **Assumptions, Limitations and Scope of the Study**

Forced displacement is a theoretical lens for understanding one social-spatial component of diverse social problems. The similarity between different examples of displacement should not be overstated. To say that slavery, colonization, contemporary development, and immigration enforcement all use spatial tactics of forced resettlement does not mean that these are equivalent forms of oppression. Drawing comparisons between analogous geographies in diverse social contexts can be helpful to see patterns,

---

<sup>2</sup> Additional explanation of the methodology and methods can be found in Appendix A.

common causation, and reasons for solidarity, as long as the specificity of the group and local context is not lost. Similarities between these cases should also not be overstated. The cases are examined in separate chapters, with common themes drawn out in the conclusions, so as not to project the idea that deportations and undemocratic development are one in the same.

While people in both cases feel aggrieved by an injustice, interviews with migrant workers were generally more emotional for participants. Raid victims had, within the year, been arrested, denigrated, isolated from family and friends, and exposed to treatment often classified as torture. Migrants' bodies were directly harmed. The impending threat of the freeway cannot be compared to the actualized trauma caused by raids. Since the freeway has not yet been constructed, sickness from pollution or the consequences of exacerbated poverty have not yet taken place. If the freeway is constructed, illness and loss will happen slowly, over a long period of time, and it will be hard to determine the cause with certainty. On the other hand, the content and details of interviews with native activists often required more sensitivity and care. The freeway's disrespect for native culture, land, and ownership are understood by some native people as damaging to the community's spiritual well-being, cultural autonomy, and sense of identity. The cultural meanings discussed in these interviews are among the ideas belittled in political discourse and mainstream media about the freeway.

Workplace immigration raids and unwanted development on native land are not unique to Phoenix. Large-scale raids conducted by Immigrations and Customs Enforcement (ICE) take place around the country. Likewise, many tribes in the U.S. are



engaged in ongoing struggle against mining projects, oil drilling, pipeline construction, resort development, and transportation corridors on native land. However, immigration raids and development have a particular character in Phoenix, influenced by proximity to the border, an expansion-based urban plan, and a neoconservative political environment that often rewards overt expressions of racism.

Not all racial groups impacted by raids and the freeway are examined in this dissertation. Raids have arrested European, African and Asian undocumented migrants, in addition to Latino migrants. Similarly, the Loop 202 will affect native people, but also white and Latino residents of Laveen and Ahwatukee. The choice to focus on one racial group in each case study was made for several reasons as I explain below, related to my research questions, and the events taking place in Phoenix.

This dissertation examines racialized displacement: relocation of low-income communities of color, connected to racialized narratives about space and who belongs. Latino and Akimel O'odham people are the dominant racial groups impacted by raids and the freeway, and racist narratives about Latino and O'odham people, specifically, are part of the public discourse used to justify these state practices. Future research might compare the impact of the freeway on the economically and racially dissimilar towns of Laveen, Ahwatukee, and the Gila River Indian Community, but this is not addressed here.

Further, this dissertation is motivated by questions about resistance and social movement, so research is limited to the Latino and Akimel O'odham organizations that have built strong grassroots movements against displacement in Phoenix. To my

knowledge, there are no African, Asian, or European raid victims organizing against workplace raids in Phoenix. Likewise, there are no obvious community organizations in Laveen working to stop the freeway. There is one organization in the upper-to-middle-class, predominantly white suburb of Ahwatukee active against the Loop 202. I include a brief analysis of their approach.

Finally, the ethnographic methods that inform this dissertation are not meant to provide a generalizable or representative sample. I consider the how displacement affects individuals through in-depth personal stories: the impact of trauma, changing economic conditions, new spatial meanings, and new interpersonal relationships, including a shift towards social movement activism. The stories found in this dissertation should be taken as personal anecdotes that exemplify some of the ways that individuals make sense of and respond to raids and the freeway. They are not necessarily representative of all members of the organizations or communities of which they are a part. The groups I studied, though strongly embedded in their communities, are also not representative of all Latino migrants, raid victims, or native residents. I focus on how organizations deal with the complexities of social and political reality, and how they mobilize people who have a shared desire for change.

## **A Roadmap to the Dissertation**

In order to avoid confusing explanations or overstated comparisons, the case studies are examined separately.

The first three chapters are devoted to workplace immigration raids. Chapter 2 introduces workplace immigration raids as they are described by workers: a long temporal and spatial path of forced movement from work to jail, detention, and the border. Chapter 3 explores the methods that raided workers in jail and detention used to make carceral spaces less miserable. I refer to these methods as feminist practices of care, and explore why women of color feminism has a central role in undoing the logics of incarceration. Chapter 4 documents social movement organizing to resist workplace immigration raids. The chapter opens with the ‘uno por uno’ (one by one) strategy of advocating for individuals’ release from detention, then examines the multi-faceted ‘Working is Not a Crime’ campaign, and concludes with the organizational strategies that turn inward, to build empowering community spaces of safety and dignity.

The next two chapters discuss the Loop 202 freeway. Chapter 5 examines why a freeway was originally proposed through the southern Phoenix area, and how the proposal has managed to persist for so long. This include analysis of the political economy of the freeway, the historical development of Gila River Indian Community land rights, and racial discourse in debate over the freeway. The chapter also explores some of the effects of the freeway on native land, including air and water pollution, destruction of the mountain, and future suburban development. Chapter 6 documents the

diverse and decentralized organizing efforts against the Loop 202. Many of the resistance strategies have centered around cultural production, including music, art, and spiritual stories. In addition to a history of the campaign against the freeway on and off the reservation, the chapter presents an analysis of some of these cultural texts and their function in grassroots movement.

Finally, the concluding chapter returns to the research questions presented in this introduction. Between the two case studies, I compare: the role of the state and capital in motivating displacement; the impact of displacement on the meaning of spaces in the city; approaches used by raid victims and native residents to survive the daily economic, cultural, and psychological impacts of displacement; and the social movement strategies used to confront the political-economic system causing raids and the freeway. I conclude with the observation that collective care and strategic expressions of Latino and O'odham culture are central to both individual survival and social movement.

## Chapter 2:

### POST-RACIAL FACTORIES, DISAPPEARING WORKERS, AND OTHER MYTHS: RECONSTRUCTING IMMIGRATION RAID GEOGRAPHIES

Every year, workplace immigration raids send thousands of migrant workers from worksites in the U.S. to jails, prisons, detention centers, and, eventually, across the border. This path of forced movement spans months, through multiple spaces of domination. However, the raid is often misconstrued as a single point in time and place. Connections between different nodes of the raid trajectory are erased by state and corporate actors and left out of many media and academic representations of worksites, jails, and detention centers.

Oral history interviews with ten raid survivors and their families in Phoenix, Arizona reveal how these erasures become painful silences or what Avery Gordon (2008) calls “present absences.”<sup>3</sup> Workers’ memories disrupt the arrest scene misrepresented as the entire raid geography, disturb the post-raid production site where managers aim to remove traces of police presence, and unsettle carceral spaces where prisoners and detainees are presumed to belong.

Workers’ narration of raids as trajectories might be extended to implications for critical geography, labor organizing, and migrant justice. Interviewees’ trauma-dense accounts suggest that urban segregation is enforced through more than just “geographies of exclusion” (e.g., Sibley, 1995), but rather, geographies of terror. Violence occurring in

---

<sup>3</sup> A more detailed explanation of methods can be found in Appendix A.

jail and detention reinforces Latino migrant vulnerability in the workplace. These observations support the importance of immigrant-led unions and workers centers, and coalition-building between labor and migrant justice movements. Just as many labor unions sought populist support by siding with “a reactionary anti-immigrant backlash” before the rise of the New Labor movement in the 1990s (Ruth et al., 2010, p. 8), some immigrant rights groups have argued for citizenship or relief from deportation by distancing themselves from Blackness and anti-Black mass incarceration. In raids, as in other forms of migrant criminalization, workers’ forced encounter with carceral space more closely links the demands of migrant justice to broader abolitionist visions beyond the ‘innocent migrant’ / ‘criminal (Black) other’ dichotomy.

### **Through the Voices of Raided Workers**

Dehumanizing narratives about the criminality of certain groups of people, including the poor, people of color, LGBTQ people, homeless people, and migrants, represent arrests as justifiable exceptions to democracy and prevent observers from seeing strategies of criminalization as core, constitutive processes shaping human geography. Following the example of critical geographers of race and incarceration (e.g. Gilmore, 2008, Mountz et al., 2013), this chapter sets aside the question of ‘whether criminal,’ proposing that it is an irrelevant distraction from the question of ‘what is happening:’ who is being forcibly moved, from where, to where, by whom, and to what effect.

Workplace immigration raids are one of the many ways that working-class people of color are targeted for displacement. Raids can be understood as a manifestation of several larger trends in the U.S.: growing wealth inequality between races (Mitchell, 2013), increasingly militarized policing (Andreas & Price, 2001), exploding industries of incarceration and detention (Alexander, 2010; Shah, 2011; Welch, 2002), and an accelerating rate of deportations (Golash-Boza & Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2013).

Arrests at work become part of what Cuevas (2008) refers to as the “visual economy of punishment,” (p. 41) the preponderance of television and print media normalizing state violence against racialized bodies. Mainstream media sources reproduce dozens of images of officers cornering workers, then move on from the story of a raid as soon as police, sheriffs, or Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) officers remove unwanted workers and businesses perform compliance. However, raids are not over so quickly for migrant workers and their families. Once arrested, workers are forced along a collective trajectory to jails, court rooms, and detention centers, culminating in post-traumatic stress, unemployment, and poverty either in the U.S. or across the border. Such a long trajectory, including months of cruelty and isolation, is part of what state and corporate actors aim to invisibilize.

This chapter is based on memories from the people most impacted by work raids, people whose lived experiences bring subversive, movement-driving knowledge about barriers to collective liberation (Collins, 2000). Ten raid survivors and their families in Phoenix, Arizona described their ‘raid story’ through extended oral history interviews. Although there are many studies of work raids (e.g., Crouse, 2009; Juby & Kaplan, 2011;

McCarthy, 2010; Thronson, 2008), few are based on interviews with arrested workers (notable exception: Juravich & Williams, 2011), because there are conceptual and practical challenges to this approach. While in jail and detention, workers are more likely to be defined by their environment, as prisoners or detainees, rather than as targets of a particular form of criminalization. Unlike rape survivor or domestic violence victim, raid survivor is not a widely politicized identity. After detention, raided workers do not usually get together in the same place and, until the organizing campaign against raids, were deported to other countries. Finally, being in jail is stigmatized and traumatizing, and there are risks associated with coming out as undocumented, so the researcher and participant must share some level of trust and rapport in order to talk in-depth about one of the worst times in participants' lives.

These conceptual and practical challenges could be overcome in this study because the research was based out of a grassroots community organization, the Puente Human Rights Movement, where undocumented workers are organizing against deportation, policies of attrition, and criminalization, including workplace raids. I knew interviewees as members of the organization and leaders in the campaign against work raids before I knew them as research participants. Workers shared their stories in open-ended, informal conversations. All but one respondent chose to explain their memory of the raid as a chronological, spatial narrative from work to jail and detention. Interviews were supplemented with ethnographic data, or information learned from hanging out during meetings, while running errands with participants, and at court hearings.



Following a brief context about raids in Phoenix, Arizona, the first half of the chapter examines the contradictions between dominant representations of space and the experiences of raided workers. Raid survivors' memories vex simplistic landscapes of criminal justice and production. Avery Gordon (2008) refers to the silences and erasures of dominant narratives as "present absences:" hauntings that, despite repression, continue to inform the way oppressed communities view the world. Four present absences – (1) at the worksite, (2) on the day of arrest, (3) in jail and detention, and (4) in imaginaries of the nation that exclude deportees – suggest the necessity of understanding each point along the trajectory as co-constituted by each of the other spaces.

The second half of this chapter considers theoretical implications of viewing workplace raids as collective trajectories. The trauma named in raid survivors' accounts, coupled with the distribution of raided workplaces throughout the city, suggests that racial segregation is enforced through more than just "geographies of exclusion" (e.g., Sibley, 1995), but also, geographies of terror. Extending Ruth Wilson Gilmore's (2008) idea that ghettos, barrios, and prisons are interconnected "forgotten spaces," raid survivors' experiences point to an intersecting relationship between incarceration and racialized low-wage worksites. In contrast to exclusively economic approaches to spatial justice (e.g., Harvey, 2001; Smith, 1984), the interdependence of worksites, jails, detention centers, and the border supports David Delaney's (2002) idea that everyday spaces are the result of interlocking cultural, political, economic, and racial geographies. Seeing raids, and other collective forms of criminalization, through this intersectional lens exposes the complexity and fragility of the system responsible for incarceration and

deportation. It also suggests points of convergence between: migrant movements against detention and deportation; labor movements, including many unions in demographic transition from white to immigrant base and leadership; and movements against mass incarceration, often supported or led by working-class Black and Chicano families and faith communities.

### **Local Context: Work Raids in Phoenix, Arizona**

Two kinds of workplace immigration raids occur in Phoenix, Arizona: larger investigations conducted by federal ICE and smaller raids conducted by local police through policies that empower police-ICE collaborations, like 287g and Secure Communities (Parrado, 2012; Weinstein, 2012). In 2008, the Legal Arizona Workers Act mandated that businesses in the state use the otherwise optional federal E-Verify program, implicitly legalizing the raid and arrest of workers identified through public tips (Planas, 2012). In 2013, the U.S. District Court released an advisory ruling that the practice of investigating businesses based on reports of brown, Spanish-speaking workers is unconstitutional and racially motivated (*Melendres v. Arpaio*, 2013). Regardless, work raids in Phoenix continue.

Since 2008, the Maricopa County Sheriff's Office (MCSO), under the supervision of Sheriff Joe Arpaio, has conducted 74 workplace raids, arresting nearly 2,000 workers. Although local social movements use Arpaio's notoriety to galvanize public action, there is wide-spread recognition that Arpaio's personal politics are not the cause of anti-immigrant policing in Arizona, as Artistic Reason, a local hip hop group,

explains: “It’s bigger than Arpaio / border patrol for economic control / if you want to stop Joe / recognize the fight is global” (‘Bigger than Hip Hop’, 2011).

Of the 74 raids conducted locally, only two employers have been prosecuted, and were sentenced with fines rather than jail time or deportation. The size of raided businesses range from local employers like Legacy Custom Doors with a staff of four to giant multi-national corporations like McDonald’s and Days Inn Hotel. It is well-known to both media and raided workers that employers are informed about the raid long before the day of arrest, submitting to investigation by MCSO and ICE officers while saying nothing about the danger to workers (Bacon & Hing, 2010).

Forced relocation of raid victims is determined by multiple sites of discretionary decision-making. Local prosecutors have assigned a range of charges for working without documents, including identity theft, criminal impersonation, and forgery. The number and severity of charges range widely from prosecutor to prosecutor, county to county, and across time. In Maricopa County, Prosecutor Bill Montgomery has imposed multiple high-level felony charges for each work contract signed and only recently changed his prosecutorial practices in response to public pressure. Similarly, ICE has the discretion to release, detain, or deport people based on local interpretation of national priorities. Typically, raid victims in Phoenix spend three to eight months in jail and anywhere from one week to two years in detention. With the exception of people who achieve a different outcome through social movement pressure, raided workers in Phoenix are ultimately deported.

## **Part I: What is Not Seen: Four Present Absences**

Work raids are generally interpreted as exceptional measures, brief dramatic events that suspend the neoliberal capitalist order, rather than exposing its paradigms. This perspective erases years of workers' lives and ignores the central role of racial terror in enabling capital accumulation and the expansion of state capacities. In the section that follows, workers' stories are told alongside contrasting dominant narratives about raids, production sites, and carceral facilities. Neither entirely repressed nor fully articulated, workers' memories produce a troubling sense that something critical to the story of each space has been erased.

### **Nothing Happened at the Factory: The First Present Absence**

“Turn here”, Rosa<sup>4</sup>, a 64-year old Latina woman, points to the entrance of the factory parking lot as we approach<sup>5</sup>. U.S. corporations devastated the local economy in Hidalgo, Mexico and sent Rosa trekking across the desert, searching for work to support children she had to leave behind. For twelve years, Rosa worked her sewing machine as an extension of her body. She demonstrates with her hands, “I stay very still around the trim, touch the pedal slowly, just a little, then return and snip, like that.” Her voice fills with pride and nostalgia.

Yet, when we turn into the parking lot, Rosa winces, “Ay, no.” I recognize her tone, one we've heard many times in the weeks since she was released from detention. Her mind has turned from sewing technique to police stations, jail cells, and fear of

---

<sup>4</sup> Pseudonyms used for interview participants throughout. Most quotes are translations from Spanish.

<sup>5</sup> The name of the factory is omitted to protect the anonymity of the workers whose stories I am sharing.

deportation. In a flash of memory, a guard is asking her to undress in a large room; a black woman, who Rosa perceives as addicted to drugs, is asleep on the cement bench; and Rosa is worrying about whether she will have to cross the border again.

I grew up down the street from this factory; I've easily driven by hundreds of times. The production site never called my attention: concrete walls, non-descript business names, a half-empty parking lot, small office windows, manicured desert trees. The space appears politically neutral, one node in a web of capital, insignificant in a post-racial suburban landscape. This is the power of the dominant "white spatial imaginary" (Lipsitz, 2011, p. 13); although this exclusionary white space depends on violent displacement, its exclusivity is made to seem natural, without memory or political content.

Privilege, unearned advantage often invisible to people who have it, allows me, and others like me, to not see what is obvious for Rosa (Pulido, 2000). Workplace immigration raids disproportionately target working-class Latina/o migrants (Ayon et al., 2011). Latina/o workers, with or without documents, are subject to investigation, surveillance, and intimidation. Because of class, race, and citizenship privileges, I can look at this site of terror and violence and see only capital production.

Rosa and I have returned to the worksite to talk with the factory manager about an unpaid check she is owed. Before we enter the front door, she touches my arm and points to the far wall of the building, "Look, that's the stairwell." I feel chills as I remember stories from another arrested worker, Javier, who told me about the rusty metal stairs.

On the day of the arrest, six older Latina workers, *señoras* and *abuelas*, watched police surround the facility in black helmets and bullet-proof vests. The sight provoked panic, causing the women to run up an open-air stairwell leading to a locked second-floor door in a desperate, implausible attempt to escape. A company manager, a documented, professional Latina, moved quickly towards the bottom of the stairs. She is caught in the complexity of capital's racial logic, in which a few people of color, elevated to positions of hierarchical power, help to legitimize the exploitation of the majority of people of color (Fanon, 1967). The manager hopes to have the workers arrested away from the incriminating view of the media. As dozens of officers surround the facility, the desperation in the manager's absurd command is even more apparent than in the women's flight up the stairwell: "Everyone back to your machines. There's nothing happening."

Staring at the stairwell, Rosa and I are lost in memory and moments I can barely imagine. We're interrupted when a car honks its horn, waiting to pull around us out of the parking lot. Business has returned to usual. There are no physical markers of the moment of crisis from months earlier. For the same reason that the crowded production room is located in the back of the factory, away from the view of contractors and customers, the memory of police officers and handcuffs, of dozens of workers removed to an unmentioned elsewhere, is disappeared from the dominant view of the worksite. However, for Rosa and her coworkers, the factory triggers memories that continue to remind them of the terms under which capital operates.

### **After Arrests, the Raid is Over: The Second Present Absence**

“Everybody was in shock,” Isabel recalls the moment officers arrived at the worksite. Often, workers affected by raids have been employed for a decade or more at the same workplace. Although police and ICE are always a lingering threat, the workplace can become comfortable over time; after years in the same business, the space becomes like a home, and coworkers, something of a family. Officers’ arrival disrupts the illusion of comfort, and disregards workers’ expertise and power in the place where they spend 8-10 hours a day. Arrests enforce the border’s exclusionary logic, as Tomás recalls: “They handcuffed us [Latino migrant workers] in one corner to wait for interrogation and let the American [white] workers go.” The day of the raid is only the first of many days, or months, that have the cumulative effect of economically and psychologically distancing arrested workers from civil society.

Rosa refers to her life today, after the raid, after release from detention, as “life after the nightmare.” Night terrors send her flying out of bed; she stands erect, expecting officers to inspect her. Mountz et al. (2013) explains that, even after detainees are no longer behind bars, “detention continues to isolate former detainees, appearing in their dreams as well as curtailing their senses of what could be possible” (p. 529). Francisca’s children, 7 and 9 years old, slept in their mother’s bed for weeks after she returned home, often waking in the middle of the night, asking to look at her temporary work visa again. Tomás’s family is not sure they’ll be able to continue living in Arizona and are physically, economically, and mentally exhausted. Raid survivors overwhelmingly report

fear of police and a sense of alienation from a working world that seeks their exclusion.

“I feel strange,” Rosa mutters innumerable times. “*I feel out of place.*”

These enduring effects, months and years after the day officers arrived at the workplace, appear nowhere in the omnipresent television images of armed police, swiftly containing the problem workers, and correcting employers’ embarrassing disrespect for the law. The titillating drama, suggested in the view of Sheriff’s vehicles surrounding a factory or restaurant, captures public attention. Television and print media have cumulatively published thousands of photos of ICE agents, Homeland Security Investigation teams, and local police officers, interrogating, handcuffing, and directing workers into vans to be carried away (e.g. Chan, 2013; ‘MCSO Still’, 2011; Woodfill, 2013).



**Figure 2.1** Workers forced to sit in wait during the federal ICE raid on Danny’s Car Wash. Police HSI (Homeland Security Investigation) officers prepare to handcuff workers. Source: Nakamura, 2013



In these media images, strict hierarchies of domination are represented by the officers' control of space (e.g. Figure 2.1). Workers are immobilized: handcuffed, locked inside a police van, or forced to sit down under an officer's surveillance. By contrast, officers are free to move around, make decisions, and issue commands, without regard for the workers' familiarity in the space. Instead of producing public concern about militarized police in intimate spaces of daily life, these images tend to reinforce the perception that Latina/o migrants are a dangerous external threat (Chavez, 2008). As Ruth Wilson Gilmore (2008) observes, the expansion of policing depends on a widespread belief about the types of people who are policed: we assume "people are arrested because they are bad, and one knows they are bad because they've been arrested" (p. 148). The carefully managed public spectacle of work raids, a visibly militarized assault on the Latino migrant community, consolidates an enemy that provides the rationale for the growth and development of policing and other state capacities (Kanstroom, 2007).

In 2003, during an era of post-9/11, neoliberal government restructuring, in concert with the invasion of Iraq and Afghanistan and the escalation of the anti-black War on Drugs (Silliman and Davis, 2002), the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) was reconfigured as the Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), a branch of the U.S. Department of Homeland Security. This transition precipitated a more aggressive approach to immigration control. Over the last decade, ICE has overseen a record number of deportations, exponential growth in immigrant detention, and a transformation in the number and scale of workplace raids, from fewer than 500 worksite

arrests per year in 2002 to 3,600 in 2006 (The National Council of La Raza, 2007). Collaborations, like 287g and Secure Communities, between ICE and local police agencies, have also brought more state capacity to the war on immigrants (Shah, 2011).

This escalation of anti-immigrant government bureaucracy depends on contemporary and historical racism: U.S. colonization of Mexico in mid-1800s; U.S. military and economic imperialism in Latin America throughout the 1900s; racial profiling of businesses where Latino/as work; forcible exclusion of migrant families from employment and economic justice; and the ability of a dominant white public to see raids without seeing oppression. Were it not for racist ideas about who deserves mobility, safety and economic security, work raids would be understood as a visibilized example of systemic social injustice. Work raids depend on racism. However, the state's interest in work raids is not only, or even primarily, about racism or the control of immigrant labor. The state is motivated by the "perpetual drive of government to expand its powers" (Lavato, 2008, para 9); racism simply provides the mechanism. The perceived threat of Latino migrant workers helps to justify billion dollar budgets invested in ICE, policing, prisons, and detention (Lavato, 2008: para 9; Silliman et al., 2002; Smith, 2010).

For migrant workers, hyper-representation in the media becomes a form of invisibility. Public debate, inspired by the spectacle of arrest scenes, is narrowed to the question of criminality: Is using a made-up social security number a crime? Are migrant workers criminal? While media outlets and politicians squabble over criminality, the trauma experienced by arrested workers shrinks from view: "the bodies and localities of poor, criminalized people of color are signifiers for those who are ineligible for

personhood” (Cacho, 2012, p. 6). Since the raid’s spectacle depicts workers as foreign, dangerous, and illegal, workers’ lives and experiences after the arrest are read as irrelevant.

### **All Prisoners Live in Prison, Detainees in Detention: The Third Present Absence**

Although the raid most visibly lives in work spaces, a raid is not a moment. Instead, it is a long institutional process with many geographical sites, and a collective experience of loss and terror that stays with and circulates in the community long after it’s happened.

From the work site, people are handcuffed, led into a van together, taken to the Sheriff’s Office for processing and often to the ICE Central Office, then held in 4<sup>th</sup> Avenue Jail for the day or overnight. Although people arrested from the same workplace are often separated by the time they leave 4<sup>th</sup> Ave Jail, the facilities of the state through which they are forced are similar for most raid arrestees (see Figure 2.2).



**Figure 2.2** The forced trajectory of raid victims arrested in Phoenix: processed in 4<sup>th</sup> Avenue jail; incarcerated in Estrella or Durango Jail for 3-12 months; processed through ICE Central Office; sent to Eloy Detention Center, Pinal County Jail, Central Arizona Detention Center, or the Florence Correctional Center, facilities run by or contracted through ICE; held in detention for 1 day - 2+ years; deported across the border.

Estrella and Durango Jail, better known as “Tent City”, are gender segregated jail facilities run by the Maricopa County Sheriffs’ Office. Immigrant detainees in Arizona are held in one of four facilities: Eloy Detention Center, an ICE-run immigrant detention; Central Arizona Detention Center, a private, for-profit facility that contracts with ICE; Pinal County Jail, a public jail facility that contracts with ICE; and the Florence Correctional Center, a public prison that contracts with ICE. Immigrant detention is not only using analogous strategies as jail and prison. Immigrants are often held in jail (and

sometimes prison) for long periods of time before detention, and, detention itself is often housed in jails and prison facilities (Moran et al., 2013).

As Lauren Martin and Matthew Mitchelson (2009) remark, it is somewhat surprising that the field of geography has not dealt more extensively with incarceration and detention because “these social practices of immobilization are fundamentally reliant on *spatial tactics*, or the use of space to control people” (p. 464). Physical separation, geographic distance between home and carceral spaces, allows the public to psychologically distance themselves from the reality of incarceration. Prisoners and detainees live away from family and community, who, despite emotional closeness to incarcerated relatives, often cannot understand what they are enduring. On separate occasions, Tomás and Javier make nearly identical remarks that reflect this cognitive and categorical isolation: “it’s another world” / “inside, you arrive to a different world entirely”. Remote carceral landscapes contribute to the belief that “prisoners” and “detainees” – rather than people in jail or detention – are discrete categories of people, who, as evidenced by their presence in jail or detention, belong behind bars (Mountz et al., 2013; Moran et al., 2013).

Scholars of carceral geography work to correct this exclusion, examining life experiences within prisons and detention centers, an important counterpoint to the prevailing invisibility of prisoners’ lives (e.g., Baer, 2005; Crewe et al., 2014; Dirsuweit, 2007; Moran, 2013). However, these perspectives less frequently connect incarceration to its myriad geographies outside the prison – the places people come from, the sites in which people are arrested, the processes by which they are brought into carceral spaces,

and the individuals, families and communities that live with a worker's absence.

However naturalized incarceration may be to a dominant population in the U.S., for whom jail and prison is seen as a taken-for-granted necessary evil to maintaining social order, for many of the families with loved ones inside, the core logic of incarceration remains consistently shocking. The state's intervention in and separation of family disrupts a presumed common-sense morality they did not expect U.S. governance to violate: "I went to 4<sup>th</sup> Ave jail to kiss my son. They answered me very harshly, they told me I couldn't see him until Monday. I said, *what do you mean I can't kiss my son?*"

Jail or prison, and detention are often read as entirely separate systems. People who are arrested awaiting sentencing or sentenced to less than a year's time are placed in jail. Sentences of more than a year send people to prison. Immigrant detention, on the other hand, is not intended as a punishment, at least according to the official narrative. Undocumented migrants and asylees are held in detention while their migratory status is reviewed and an immigration judge decides whether they will be deported or released to the U.S. As a result, many people assume that detention is a benign holding zone for unlawful migrants, while jail and prison are punishing spaces for criminals. Scholars of incarceration, for example, often study either migrant detention (e.g., Hernandez, 2008; Navarro, 1998), or jail and prison (e.g., Hartnett, 2003; Harer & Steffensmeier, 2006; Jacobson, 2005), as though they were different systems impacting different communities. These assumptions also show up in social movement organizing, in divisions between detainee and prisoner support networks, organizations that fight against criminalization and those that resist deportation.

Raid survivors' narratives demonstrate that this is a false dichotomy. As Moran et al. (2013) notes, incarceration and migrant detention increasingly overlap, "both in terms of the discourses applied to them, the functionality of their institutions, and the experiences of detained individuals" (p. 1; Bosworth & Kaufman, 2011). Debates circulate among raid survivors about which facility is more authoritarian, unlivable, or unjust. For example, raid survivors observe that, in jail, the food is inedible, and the guards are accustomed to a culture of dominance and abuse. This coincides with dominant public perceptions that people in jail are criminal and therefore more deserving of punishing conditions. By contrast, interviewees describe detention as more physically manageable: there is more access to edible food, health care, and freedom from assault. However, indefinite detention gives way to psychological stress. Fernando recalls spells of panic in detention, fearing that he would have to choose between seeing his children and collapsing in the desert. Debates among raid survivors about the relative hardship of each facility demonstrate that jail and detention are understood as part of the same set of experiences.

Tomás reflects on the differences between the two spaces from his perspective: "Here with Arpaio it is very difficult. But everything is very difficult. From there, we went to a detention center, and *the truth is, it's the same, you feel bad.*" However different jail or detention may be in their particulars, Tomás remarks that, ultimately, they cause the same unpleasant feeling. Isabel echoes Tomás's account, demonstrating how these comparisons become a shared, collective experience, not just among a group of

people who have been in jail or detention, but among those who have been moved through both:

“Estrella jail was, ugh, that place was a nightmare. They treat you there like if you were a really bad person. They don’t respect you there. At the detention center, it’s different, you actually get fed three times a day, you’re allowed to go outside for an hour. But you’re still, how do I say? You don’t have your freedom. Jail, detention, it doesn’t really matter, you’re still there in a cell.”

Although Isabel experienced jail as a more physically cruel space, she concludes that jail and detention are not fundamentally different. Although conditions vary, the core logic of each space is the same. Incarceration is often imagined as confinement or immobility, and in many ways, this is reflected in the way people describe the passage of time: “the first days I was held there were an eternity”. However, at the same time, it is also, often, a period of frantic activity, thought, worry and learning, by people inside and family outside, to arrange for family, money and finances, lawyer struggles, and emotional and spiritual survival. Israel remembers: “It’s a deep sadness, mostly because you’re thinking of the family, what are they going to do? Who’s going to help them? Do they have enough money to survive? Your spirit drops.”

For raid survivors, the worst part of incarceration is not the size of the cells, the inedible food, or the humiliating treatment by guards, but the fact of *not* being at home and with family. Without seeing jail and detention as part of the same system, it is easy to advocate against one type of facility by comparing it to expectations set in the other. However, this normalizes the everyday violence of isolation and displacement that both facilities inflict, and ignores the broader consequences that any form of incarceration has on the collective power of racialized communities (Loyd et al., 2012). Instead, detainees



and prisoners should be understood as a common category, people who have been displaced from home.

### **Cross the Border and You Disappear: The Fourth Present Absence**

Yolanda, the mother of a deported young man, explains, two years after her son's deportation: "I go to work and I think about him. I come home from work and I think about him. I don't know if you understand what it is for a mother to lose her child." Deportees remain acutely present in the minds of family and loved ones left behind, and their own life circumstances are significantly defined by expulsion from the U.S. However, deportees themselves rarely appear in national political debate. As long as the border disappears people from political imagination, the U.S. government is able to relieve itself of political accountability for suffering caused in the aftermath of deportation. The importance of this erasure for the perceived legitimacy of U.S. migratory policy is nowhere more evident than in controversy elicited by the National Immigrant Youth Alliance (NIYA)'s campaign to 'Bring Home' 9 deported DREAMers (Huffington Post, 2013). ICE's unusually repressive response to the 'DREAM 9' reflects the fear of seeing more deported family members and workers demanding their 'right to return'. Raid survivors and their families echo these political longings, and describe deportees' absence as a persistent, often painful presence.

In detention, raided workers watch as their cellmates are deported, often suddenly and without explanation. Israel explains that ICE officers would fill buses late at night or early in the morning. He never knew when he or his friends would be escorted onto the

bus and couldn't tell which buses were headed back to Phoenix and which were taking a direct route to Nogales to the border. This uncertainty becomes the water and air of detention: When will deportation happen? Who will be taken? Who has already disappeared?

Deportation produces cumulative losses for immigrant families who are impacted more than once by incarceration and the border. During the first year after migration, Josefina, a resilient single mother of three, worked three jobs and lived with her sons on the streets of Phoenix. I met Josefina much later, after her youngest son, Jon, was arrested for working. His incarceration raised painful memories of another son, Pablo, lost to deportation. As we interviewed about Jon's arrest, Josefina couldn't help talking about Pablo:

They locked him up for a week, I don't know where. Later, he told me how they punished him. From there, my son never returned, he stayed in Mexico. It took many months for me to find out where he was, he walked the streets of Mexico. Thank God, he's still alive, he has a place to live now. It's very hard for me [long pause] to think about him. But, he has a place to live. He calls me and it hurts, because he's not with me.

Josefina's words are inconsistent, at once hopeful ('thank god', 'he has a place to live') and despairing ('it hurts, because he's not with me'). The oscillation is how she sustains her life. She moves on, works to make ends meet, struggles for her youngest son in detention, walks with friends and community in Phoenix, and laughs, but always feels Pablo's absence, thinking of where he might be.

Outside of the Latina/o migrant community, deportees are easily invisibilized through perceived Other-ness, spatial distance, and national borders. If deportation were

an indiscriminate practice of involuntary displacement, forcibly removing 400,000 randomly selected individuals per year – a white fifth grade teacher from Massachusetts, an elderly black man from Georgia, a wealthy young entrepreneur from Washington – the authoritarian and violent nature of the policy would be readily apparent. Instead, deportation works as a mechanism of white supremacy, predisposing people to displacement based on race and class, and normalizing the process through racialized narratives of illegality and criminality (Buff, 2008; Manuel Hernandez, 2008).

Nonetheless, deportation leave traces. Workers encounter revised employee lists and new employees hired to replace raid victims; detainees and prisoners watch cellmates disappear; families live with empty bank accounts, empty chairs at kitchen tables, and broken routines, bedtime without goodnight kisses, dinner without a prayer leader. Despite U.S. legal and discursive efforts to erase deportees and refuse political memory or accountability, these traces sustain an active community memory and embolden politicized desires for the ‘right to return’.

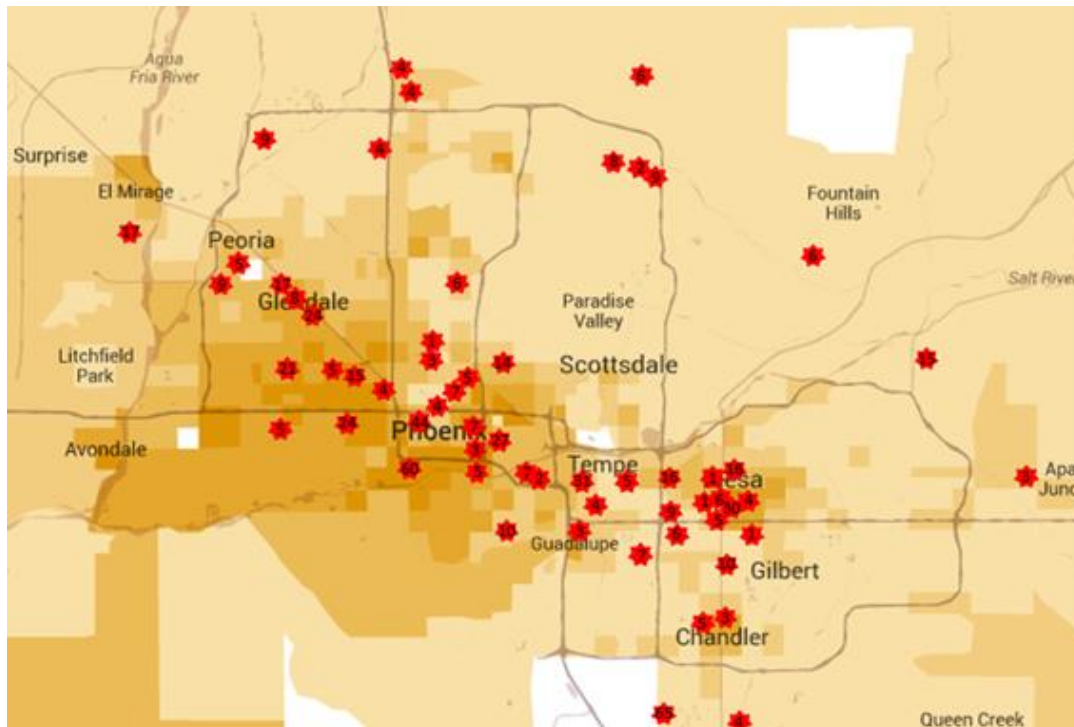
## **Part II: The Implications of Seeing Raids as Trajectories**

Whereas dominant narratives portray work, jail, detention, and the border as independent, unrelated spaces, workers themselves experience raids as a trajectories through interdependent sites. As Morales (1998) offers, the histories of oppressed communities are powerful tools for collective healing. Workers' epistemological lens is important for documenting experience from the perspective of the most impacted, and has theoretical and strategic implications for critical geography, as well as labor and migrant movements. This chapter concludes with a few of the implications of seeing raids as interconnected racial and economic geographies spanning multiple sites.

### **Racial Segregation Enforced through Geographies of Terror**

Michel De Certeau (1980), Jamie Gough et al. (2006), Douglas Massey and Zoltan Hajnal (1995), and David Sibley (1995), among others, describe economic and racial segregation as “geographies of exclusion,” areas of the city where poor people, especially poor people of color, are not allowed to enter. It is logical to observe the homogeneity of predominantly white or predominantly wealthy spaces and conclude that working-class people of color have been excluded, banned, or never permitted to enter. However, this conclusion is a symptom of capital's labor to invisibilize violence in the production of privileged landscapes (Mitchell, 1996). “Geographies of exclusion” fail to account for the more active, expulsive processes, evident in workers' experience of raids, by which homogeneity is often achieved. Based on raid workers' disturbed stories, I

conclude that ‘geographies of terror’ more accurately describe racialization of the city as it is experienced by most impacted communities.



**Figure 2.3** Workplace immigration raids conducted by Maricopa County Sheriffs’ Office (MCSO) since 2007. Raids are represented by red stars, with numbers indicating how many workers were arrested. Map is overlaid on 2005-9 Census American Community Survey data of Latino population (Bloch et al., 2013). Darker colors represent a higher proportion Latino population.

Mapping the 74 raids the Maricopa County Sheriff’s Office conducted in the past five years, on a Census map of the distribution of Latina/o residents, confirms a commonplace assumption about where raids take place (Figure 2.3). Raids occur rarely in predominantly Latino neighborhoods (Census tracts where over 80% of residents are Latino), and rarely in predominantly white neighborhoods (Census tracts where over 80% of residents are white), but often take place in mixed race neighborhoods (where the

Latino population is between 40-50% of the demographic). Since work raids are triggered by calls from the public, investigations are generally initiated because someone thought workers ‘looked illegal’, meaning they spoke Spanish or had brown skin (Durkin, 2009). In mixed race neighborhoods, white customers and residents can exercise control over the racialization of their area by reporting workplaces to the Sheriff’s office.

Raids, then, functionally enforce segregation, pushing Latina/o workers out of mixed race neighborhoods, relying on threats of incarceration or deportation. Work raids produce racial terror. For example, Liliana, an undocumented worker who has not yet been arrested but lives with the possibility, explains that the day a raid is announced, she and her coworkers send a flurry of text messages and scour the news to determine where it is taking place so they can avoid the area. These fears affect how undocumented people navigate the city. Rosa avoids getting off the bus at businesses where she remembers seeing raids on the news. Raids are certainly not the only form of racial profiling and criminalization that migrants in Phoenix face, but they are dramatic and visible reminders of the community’s vulnerability. Raid sites, in mixed race areas of the city, become geographies of terror, spaces that produce exclusion through active removal and remind Latina/o workers of their expendability. Whereas “geographies of exclusion” implies the need for inclusion and diversity, ‘geographies of terror’ demands deeper, more systemic changes than practices that welcome difference. Undoing ‘geographies of terror’ requires challenging policies of removal, and responding to the consequences of violent displacement in the past, including loss of cultural and economic power, and collective fear, anger, and trauma in white spaces.

## **Experiences in Jail and Detention Influence Power in the Workplace**

It is not uncommon to hear Marxist-influenced scholars and activists critique migrant movement against deportations and raids as a divisive distraction from the unity of the working-class. For example, Mike Davis (2006) proposes that struggles related to immigration policy should be reconfigured into a single “labor struggle with a consistent progressive program” (p. xviii). This perspective ignores the pervasive impact of jail and detention on the material conditions and quality of life of migrant workers. Migrant organizing for wages, overtime pay, and workplace safety are constrained by the continuous possibility of incarceration. Starting in the 1990s, a growing New Labor movement, driven by immigrant, often undocumented labor, has demonstrated the political power of workplace and labor organizing that incorporates or alliances with immigrant rights advocacy (Soja, 2010).

Fear of raids shapes Latino/a migrant workers’ power in the workplace, particularly in low-wage employment where raids are focused. In a music video by La Santa Cecilia, undocumented actors depict the impact of raids on the everyday lives of undocumented workers, whose terror drives them to accept higher expectations from their boss: “Eva passes the cloth over the table / she makes sure everything shines like a pearl. / When the boss arrives, she doesn’t want him to complain / and accuse her of being illegal” (La Santa Cecilia, 2013).

Interviews with raid survivors echo this reality. Rosa recalls that she was earning \$6 an hour when she began working for the company. Eleven years later, her wage was

only \$2.50 higher. She saw other undocumented employees making the same \$8.50 an hour, while “American” (white) employees were paid \$14 and \$16 an hour. Javier describes how his boss would excuse documented employees after 8 hours and ask undocumented employees to stay for 10 or 12 hours a day to finish the work: “We practically forgot about staying for the minimum time.”

Although the exploitation of undocumented labor is rarely connected to an explicit threat about calling the Sheriff’s office or ICE, the possibility of raids and the scarcity of employment makes an explicit threat unnecessary. Liliana explains, throughout her employment, she and her coworkers frequently answered phone calls from the public or from MCSO declaring that someone had reported their business. She describes the daily terror she experienced at work: “You’d leave your house every day and be immediately praying to God, please help me survive this day. Every day we leave work, we’re like, ‘Ah! We made it out!’”

Gilmore (2008) proposes that the places prisoners come from, usually low-income black and brown neighborhoods, and the places prisons are built, however geographically disparate, are intimately connected through the contradictory abandonment and hyper-surveillance of neoliberal state reorganization. Similarly, workplace raids, as well as individuals arrested for working, connect carceral spaces and low-income, racialized Latina/o work spaces. Punitive jail conditions and mass deportations make migrant workers more fearful, and therefore, more exploitable and less powerful in the workplace.

While unions like the United Farm Workers (UFW), the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) and UNITE HERE have increasingly taken up migrant justice



issues and immigrant organizing, depending on the place, workers' centers have been at the forefront of bridging labor and migrant movements (Ruth et al., 2010). This is especially true in Phoenix, where the Workers Rights' Center has been the most visible hub for low-wage migrant workers faced with unpaid wages or unlawful working conditions. Workers centers have increasingly combined advocacy against labor law violations with explicit opposition to deportations, inhumane jail conditions, or the criminalization of migration, and often work in partnership with migrant justice organizations. If unions in Phoenix follow the same path, it would become harder for employers to pit undocumented workers against unionized labor, and the gap in the relative power of migrant and non-migrant workers would shrink.

### **“No One Deserves that Nightmare Place”: Abolitionist Sensibilities**

Raids depend on multiple actors: capital owners and business managers; police, prosecutors, guards, and policy makers; ICE agents and immigrant judges; and Border Patrol. The investment and collaboration of so many different bureaucratic agencies makes work raids at once backed by enormous state power and resources, and very fragile, because the discretion of any one of the participating agencies can dismantle the trajectory of displacement. The Puente Human Rights Movement has used prosecutorial discretion to pressure actors at different points along the trajectory in a “Working is Not a Crime!” campaign. Years of organizing against Arpaio gave the community political clout to demand that County Prosecutor Bill Montgomery and local ICE litigators stop collaborating with Arpaio's racially motivated raids, to drop criminal charges, on the one

hand, and release people from immigrant detention, on the other. Both the County Prosecutor and local ICE proved pliable to public pressure, resulting in lasting changes in state practice for arrested workers in Phoenix.

Raid trajectories are not only governed by capital and state power, but rather, consist of what David Delaney (2002) refers to as “embedded geographies”: intersectional spaces constructed by interlocking racial, economic and political power. As many scholars of race and incarceration have observed, jail and prison spaces are coded as spaces of Blackness. The modern prison system emerged and expanded based on the incarceration of Black people: first through Black codes that re-enslaved freed Black slaves by casting them as criminal, and later through the criminalization of poverty-related offenses and racialized drug use (Davis, 2007; Gilmore & Gilmore, 2008; Escobar, 2009). Today, Black people in the U.S. are incarcerated at eight times the rate of white people, an institution often identified as a new manifestation of slavery (Blackmon, 2008; Davis, 2003; Forman, 2010). The mass incarceration of poor Black people is not only a matter of racial bias in the criminal justice system, but the systematic production of a racial caste, a permanent category of people deemed unfit for social investment like housing and education, destined for jail or prison, and barred from mainstream society (Alexander, 2012; Wacquant, 2009).

Whereas immigrant rights movements have often gained political traction by distancing themselves from Blackness (Escobar, 2009; Wilderson, 2003), carceral experiences of arrested migrant workers force migrant communities to wrestle with the anti-black racism at the root of U.S. democracy. When Javier and Rafael, workers

arrested in a raid, were first locked in jail, they conformed to a dominant view about carceral spaces: “I never thought I would be in a prison”, “we’re living like criminals”. Their comments imply that prisons are intended for other people, namely Black people; value is defined relatively, in contrast to a negative, devalued other (Cacho, 2012). However, as Javier and Rafael endure incarceration, live apart from their own families, and connect with the stories of other people in jail, there is a noticeable shift in the way they talk about themselves, the space, and the people with them in jail. Similarly, Rosa’s early stories about jail emphasized Black people as “drug addicts and prostitutes,” drawn in contradistinction to herself. However, as Rosa reflected on her personal experience with incarceration during her first months of freedom, her tone changed. This reflects not only a shift in beliefs about the use of incarceration, but also, in how human value is assigned. During a protest in front of the prosecutor’s office, she declared, “No one deserves to be in that nightmare place”. More important than her characterization of jails as nightmare is her assertion that all people, regardless of identity or behavior, *deserve* personhood and rights.

While the Phoenix “Working is Not a Crime!” campaign might seem, on its face, to imply the correct ascription of criminality to people other than migrants, the campaign’s framing has been taken up by other marginalized groups fighting to keep members of their community out of prison. Local sex worker rights organizing, most publicly led by Monica Jones, a Black trans woman (e.g., Hickey, 2014), have used the framework “working is not a crime” to confront raids that target women of color in poverty. Similarly, members of Prisoners are People, local prisoner support organization,

Black, Chicana, and white women with family in prison, have used “working is not a crime” as a discourse within the group to understand the street drug trade in the context of constrained conditions of poverty and oppression. Instead of juxtaposing the innocence of migrants against the criminality of working-class Black people, the “Working is Not a Crime!” campaign has contributed framing to broader abolitionist demands.

The durability of white supremacy depends on divisions between communities of color. Latina/o communities, positioned between white and Black people on the U.S. racial hierarchy, are encouraged to struggle against oppression not by working in coalition with Black communities to disrupt white monopoly on wealth and power, but by proving that Latino migrants are more like white people, and less like Black people (Davila, 2008; Escobar, 2008; Howard, 2011). This is a durable agenda, a core organizing principle of race in the U.S. Puente’s “Working is Not a Crime!” campaign is not a seamlessly multiracial movement. However, application of the campaign’s framework to advance political space for predominantly Black movements represents a small, significant point of convergence and coalition between Latina/o migrant and Black organizing.

Chapter 3:  
SURVIVING JAIL AND DETENTION:  
FEMINIST PRACTICES OF CARE

For survivors remembering raids, incarceration is often the most defining point in the raid trajectory, representing authoritarian control over home and body. The experience of incarceration has been increasingly addressed from a geographical perspective (Martin and Mitchelson, 2009), to understand how control over space is used to produce domination, and how people resist and survive dehumanizing spaces. However, the epistemological lens of body and space tends to contribute individual, state-centered or utilitarian perspectives on survival in detention (Jewkes, 2013).

More than physical health, personal well-being, or legal outcomes, stories from oral history interviews with raid victims disproportionately connect survival in jail and detention to spirit, humor, and collective care. Interviewees recount instances of love practiced broadly, outside the nuclear family, beyond the barriers of community erected by the imaginaries of white privilege, and across the geographical distance created by borders and prisons.

Chapter 4 examines the organizing work happening in Phoenix to end violent practices of displacement and create alternative spaces of security and safety. This chapter considers a more mundane but similarly critical struggle: making daily life in incarceration more livable. The two scales of struggle are connected: the affects of

kindness and practices of care that help people survive also ground and empower more explicitly political organizing.

In order to justify the systematic displacement of racial groups, mass incarceration and detention reinforce vilifying narratives about the personhood of detainable people. These narratives are easily internalized, exacerbate the trauma of displacement, and become vehicles for racialized self-hate. Practices of care within criminalized communities of color help to shake loose these dehumanizing narratives and reclaim dignity and personhood.

Other accounts of daily resistance to incarceration have emphasized outward communication: connection with people outside prison, and communication to rehumanize prisoners and detainees to a dominant public (Michelle Lawston, 2008). Interviewees instead describe a healing process turned inward, care and affection among raid survivors and incarcerated communities, echoing the Black womanist vision of radical self-love as tool of transformation (Bartlow, 2009).

These practices of care as counterpoint to incarceration are rooted in and a response to the gendered violence of incarceration and the gendered distribution of the labor of care. More than resisting state power, these feminist practices center collective healing that confers spiritual, emotional and imaginative power.

## **Practicing Care: Illustrative Vignettes**

### *Snapshot 1:*

Jail was especially hard for Marco. Arrest represented the last straw in a series of struggles with economic survival and racism, and the consecutive experience of separation, first from his family in Mexico and then from his sister in Phoenix, made him feel too alone. Eventually, as he lost contact with his family, he lost hope.

Fernando explains why he was drawn to Marco, “he was a good comrade, a kind man who liked people”. Throughout months in detention, Marco became sicker, increasingly affected by incarceration and loneliness. Fernando joined Marco as he sat motionless, staring into space on the yard. As a religious man, Fernando prayed with Marco in his cell. He brought him food, and urged the guards to get him medical attention. During one of their weekly 20-minute phone conversations from jail, Fernando asked his wife to contact Marco’s family. Once Fernando got out of detention, he continued communicating with Marco’s family and connected them with community support. When ICE finally declared, after months of detention, that Marco could leave, he refused to move from his cell, with no desire left for living. Fernando and Marco’s sister worked together to convince a devastated heart to return home.

### *Snapshot 2:*

Isabel, a young woman, expresses her artistic passion on the body, doing hair, nails, and make-up for herself and her friends. Before she was arrested for working, she

was saving money to apply for a work permit through Deferred Action<sup>6</sup> with the dream of attending cosmetology school. When Isabel recounts her experience in jail, her voice breaks for the first time as she describes deliberately humiliating treatment by guards: “They had us eat on benches, but with our hands cuffed. How are you supposed to eat like that?” Jail stripped Isabel of expression in and authority over her own body.

Although Isabel was separated from her coworkers, she met Rosa and Valeria in jail. Both women had also been arrested in work raids, and bonded around this common experience. Months later, Isabel and Rosa, reconnecting after release from detention, reminisced about their days in jail together. For many mornings, Isabel did Rosa and Valeria’s hair. There wasn’t much to work with, but Isabel learned new ways of tying fancy braids and ponytails. Touch released some of the accumulated stress of arrest and incarceration, and hairstyles connected the women to their lives and identities outside of prison. As Isabel worked, Rosa invented lyrics to the tune of popular songs in Hidalgo, Mexico, singing about spiritual survival in jail.

### **Locked Away: Ideologies Masking Collective War**

These anecdotes, the connectedness, purpose and joy expressed in the long-term relationships between Fernando and Marco, and Isabel, Valeria and Rosa, illustrate a counterpoint to the dominant experience of incarceration. Jails and prisons are designed as spaces of punishment and social domination. Incarceration removes people who are visible reminders of the failures and crises of capitalism: undocumented migrants, single

---

<sup>6</sup> DACA, Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals



mothers on the edges of the economy, marginal workers, and the unemployed, disproportionately represented by Black and Chicano youth in the wake of “organized abandonment” (Harvey, 1989; Gilmore, 2008). David Gilbert (2008) explains these practices of incarceration as a domestic manifestation of global profiteering that produces poverty and inequality and violently represses dissent:

Since most people won't accept living in squalor amid plenty, imperialism entails both the most sophisticated and most brutal forms of social control. Its most salient feature is war, war after war after war, mainly against the peoples of the South. The domestic front-line of such repression is a truly violent and harmful prison industrial complex. (p. 32)

The domestic war of policing, criminalization and incarceration produces and disables an enemy. Jails, prisons, and the lives lived within, are not visible in brick and flesh: multiple barbed wire fences obscure the view into windowless buildings; jails are often unmarked, tucked into areas zoned for industry; and prisons and detention facilities are often in rural areas, far from the highway. Carceral spaces are, then, visible only through controlled hyper-representation as violent, punishing spaces to contain and neutralize dangerous criminality, images that legitimize systematic removal of the poor, and reinforce consent with rule by the elite.

Community, the kind of social relationship that would recognize incarceration as a collective warfare, is systematically displaced by the neoliberal market and the private nuclear family (Loyd et al., 2012). The ideologies of individual competition under capitalism, and segregation of the biological and heteronormative family, relegate concern and care to the individual and the family (Polanyi, 1944). Collective experiences and political ideas are mediated by the state, and the neoliberal retreat of the state's social

services has generated a growing nonprofit industry of professionalized care (Hasenfeld and Garrow, 2012). These institutions produce relations of representative and voter, service provider and consumer, and bring us no closer to the kind of horizontal communities through which collective assault becomes evident.

Within this dominant social formation, incarceration is a period of social death, incapacitation, a holding zone away from the domain of the state, the market, or the family (Wacquant, 2011). The state, mediated by guards and officers, governs prisoners' mobility through space. Carceral spaces are for waiting, doing time. Incarcerated people are reconstituted as 'criminals' who can be redeemed only through an endless performance of penance to the dominant public. Incarceration is not meant to be a place where people recognize one another's humanness, find common ground, or live complex and meaningful lives.

Social control is used at multiple scales to produce and reinforce isolation. Geographic segregation, ideologies of competitive individualism, and racialized vilification of a certain class of people contribute to a collective denial of the social harms of incarceration. As Jenna Loyd et al. (2012) observe, "were it not for the effort of loved ones and friends, prisons and detention facilities could become a void where people are forgotten" (p. 2).

Within jail, raid victims are deliberately separated from coworkers arrested in the same raid. Solitary confinement and lock down are frequent tactics of individual and group punishment that separate prisoners and detainees from others. Francisca remembers a particularly torturous experience of group punishment: "When some women

fought, they would lock us all up, without being able to shower or walk around. Once, this lasted two months, we leave to shower once a week.” During this extended period of group punishment, detainees were in cells with only one or two other women, unable to congregate on the yard. Social control within carceral spaces mirrors the larger scalar logic of incarceration: separation, exclusion, and isolation.

### **Dystopic Nightmares: Isolation through Racialized Trauma**

Jail and detention are not only isolating because of public denial or practical living conditions. As raid survivors explain, incarceration is also overwhelmingly isolating because it is a trauma, a sudden and unexpected event that breaks the “mind’s experience of time, self, and the world” and “creates a division between the subject and the social world”. (Caruth, 1996, p. 23).

Within the U.S., forced displacement is readily understood as a trauma in foreign civil wars (Grabska and Mehta, 2008; Adelman, 2008; Holtzman and Nezam, 2004). Of the Colombian civil war, Nora Segura Escobar (2000) writes, “by definition, violent displacement is an extremely traumatic experience, both individually and collectively, because of the series of disruptions, discontinuities, losses, and deep wounds that accompany it” (p. 109). The United Nations and the International Red Cross, international and nongovernmental bodies dominated by the U.S., identify trauma as a critical characteristic of the experience of internally displaced peoples (Birkeland, 2009). However, mirroring the imperial occupations of the U.S., displacement, domestic warfare, and its traumas are visibilized only in poorer countries, primarily in the global

South. U.S. exceptionalism precludes naming displacement perpetrated by the U.S. government or recognizing the collective, cumulative traumas that result (Libal and Hertel, 2011).

However, the memories of raid survivors demonstrate that incarceration is lived as trauma, a violent disruption in the narrative former workers tell about themselves and their lives, overturning their sense of time, place and personhood. Forced displacement, regardless of its destination, represents a violent and disorienting disruption from ordinary life, from work, family, sexuality (Rippl et al., 2013). Displacement to jail, interviewees explain, means removal to dystopic space, a nightmare of domination, conditioned by uncertainty, humiliation, a lack of autonomy, and deep loneliness.

The state exerts control over basic bodily functions. Gabriel and Isabel both describe the intensity of hunger and exhaustion introduced from the first few days in Fourth Avenue jail, “The whole time you know everyone is feeling tired because there’s no good way to lie down, you go to see the judge on no sleep, you fight with all kinds of inadequate food, many people look anemic, fallen.” Exhaustion, confusion, and hunger become background noise over which significant legal decisions, horrifying violence, and mundane daily life are conducted. This kind of biopolitical control, power exercised through disciplinary regulation of the body, aims to produce “docile bodies” (Agamben, 1995).

The incarcerated body is often treated with a flippancy that reflects a lack of concern or interest in detainees’ well-being. Francisca recalls, “One time, they left me for three days alone in a trailer. I think they forgot.” The threat of death is real in a space

where people regularly die from malnutrition, cold, lack of medical care, and suicide, introducing early and repeatedly that while in jail, life is disposable, can “be killed without committing homicide” (Agamben, 1995, p. 83).

Prisoners and detainees are also denied access to basic information about what is happening to them. Interviewees describe being moved frequently without knowing where they are going, finding out only once they reach a yard and ask other detainees. Guards called Gabriel in the middle of the night to get in a van with no explanation. He arrived at the ICE Central Office where, for reason apparent to Gabriel, he was offered a \$2,000 bond if he could get someone to bring the money within two hours. The unexplained, spontaneous movements put detainees at constant disease; they could be awoken at any hour of the night, removed to a new yard, facility or state at any time.

Gabriel explains how these movements are used as a tactic to sustain isolation and repress rebellion, “They move you around a lot, so you don’t get too close to anyone. You never know who you’re going to end up with, with people of color, with chicanos, with mexicanos, with gringos, o qué”. Javier attempted to pre-empt this, trying throughout his first month in jail to avoid attracting attention and experiencing unnecessary movement by keeping to himself and talking to no one.

Verbal and physical abuse are a regular experience, often incorporated into routine part of prisoner and detainee management. Waking hours are often enforced by the screams of guards, Rosa recounts, screams that can come at any time. When Rosa arrived in detention, she explains, ICE agents would “yell at you, they say, you’re going to be deported”, a tactic of intimidation used to coerce detainees into signing voluntary

deportation papers. Fernando describes similar intimidation tactics, often involving physical force and lies, “Many people told me, if you don’t sign, you’re going to be here for another two or three years.” There is tension in Rosa’s voice as she recalls the internal conflict roused by abuse in such a closed and dominated space:

Oh, the scream of the guards. Every time that it’s your turn, you tell yourself, I’m not going to accept any more of their screams, I’m not going to put up with it anymore. But you do.

Her words express shame and self-recrimination for her inability to stand up to the guards. The guards’ abuses come to signify shrunken personhood, the grief of a strong and dignified woman made small.

The narrated accounts of jail and detention are thoroughly interspersed with similar expressions of grief, depression and sadness. Gabriel and Francisca link their despondency to mundaneness, the endless empty time: “More than anything, jail makes you very depressed, because you don’t know what to do. You can’t even walk much, the space is very small.” / “It requires so much patience. Sometimes you’re held in a tiny room without knowing the time.”

With nothing to keep the mind or hands occupied, the mind wanders, encountering every available source of anxiety. Especially for people with family outside jail, incarceration feeds a monkey mind, as Tomás, father of three, remembers:

You can’t do anything with your desperation there. You think about so many things, people who you left behind, your family out there, your little one crying there, it makes you more and more and more sad. I’ve never experienced something so sad in my life.

The sense that incarceration is the most shocking, deeply disruptive trauma of the workers' lives is present throughout the interviews. Fernando trails off when he begins talking about how he maintained his faith, "pués...," and later explains that he lost faith, no longer believed that freedom was possible, that he would ever be with his family again. He internalizes this harshly, expresses that he feels he let down his family, holds his chest and furrows his brows. The usually gregarious young father shakes his head and waits for his children in the car immediately after the interview, struggling with shame and grief still too raw to be freely expressed.

The lack of hope and feeling of defeat are, of course, not unique to Fernando, however aggressively jail impresses on each detainee that this fear is an individual failure. Francisca also remembers, "I didn't know what to do, I sat on my bed, I started to cry. I felt unprotected. I didn't know how long I would be there. I didn't know if I could wait." She doesn't explain what being 'unable to wait' would mean: signing deportation, attempting escape, death? As she continued, it didn't seem that she knew either, only that she hadn't believed she could possibly endure the indefinite agony of incarceration.

The stressors of incarceration are not only contained in dramatic incidences of violence, but in the regularity of domination, the exceptionally everyday nature of control against which it becomes difficult to maintain a sense of self, to prove oneself to oneself. The fact that physical control, abuse and violence experienced in jail is state-sanctioned and overwhelmingly invisible to the public makes the experience of incarceration even harder to assimilate. The violence is normalized and justified, explained as a problem with the abused, rather than the abuser. The structural violence of incarceration is

concentrated with people whose lives are already most marginal and constrained, people who carry intergenerational traumas of racist history (Ho Ming Yit, 2013) and a lifetime of exposure to oppression.

The cumulative effects of this violence and the stakes of incarceration's traumas are not trivial, as Javier's description most starkly suggests:

Sadness invades you. It's frightening. It's a kind of stress you wonder if you might need to be hospitalized. You have to find something to sustain your faith, or else the sadness will kill you.

The intensity of stress, shock and suffering expressed in these accounts may represent psychological barriers to interpersonal connection, further distancing the traumatized subject from herself and others (Bernet, 2000). However, Judith Butler proposes an alternative outcome of grief as a "tie that binds", a source of connection between people whose experience of disruption and orientation towards melancholy is unifying (De Alwis, 2009; Butler, 2004). The shock of the raid and the overbearing sadness and violence of incarceration isolate, but also suggest an opening, the possibility of stretching beyond dominant ideologies of capitalism and the normative family, finding meaning outside of isolation and nightmare.

### **Heterotopic Spaces of Trauma and Freedom**

Jail and detention, as described by raid survivors, represents repression in the world at large concentrated in one place. Carceral spaces are not anomalous spaces of domination. Raid survivors remember jail as a uniquely horrifying dystopia ("I've never experienced something so sad in my life") not because it ruptures an otherwise idyllic



existence, but because it mirrors and exaggerates positions of subordination and control experienced every day (Rodriguez, 2006).

As an exceptional case, the prison, one manifestation of the war-making needed to sustain the contemporary order, “comes more and more to foreground as the fundamental political structure” (Agamben, 1995, p. 20). Domination that “may kill you”, control that impresses upon the dominated the disposability of their life to the state, produces sufficiently docile bodies to perpetuate elite wealth consolidation, even as the global poor starve.

However, as an exceptional case, carceral spaces do not produce *only* the dystopian. They also ignite openings to other ways of living, the raw materials and affects of utopian possibility. Carceral spaces, as raid survivors remember them, are best described as heterotopia: “heterogeneous space that juxtaposes in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible” (Foucault, 1984, p. 6). If jails were hegemonic spaces of domination, dystopia would be the only social experience. But carceral spaces are not hegemonic; as heterotopias, they contain both an intensification of the dominant culture and its inversion.

The fact that incarceration is described and experienced as the most disruptive and traumatizing period of the raid trajectory is also the reason it is the site of most possibility for fomenting something else. The something else exists, of course, in innumerable spaces outside the prison, and, once ignited behind bars, it is unlikely to remain consigned to carceral spaces. However, the desperation with which *something else* is needed in jail makes carceral spaces especially fertile ground for an alternative. Javier’s

statement names an imperative: “*You have to find something* to sustain your faith, or else the sadness will kill you.”

Mason McWatters (2013) explores the heterotopic nature of life in carceral space through the poetry written by prisoners about life behind bars. His analysis of prison poetry argues against “conceptualizations of prison as totalizing spaces of absolute incarceration, containment and dispossession” (p. 200). This is captured in poems of dreaming and remembering, other worlds of jazz and “greasy bars” present in imagination. McWatters contrasts these heterotopic poems with topic poems that ascribe only one, oppressive meaning to prison, as for example in the first lines of ‘Real Deal Revelation’ by Raymond Ringo Fernandez: “Aqui / you can’t loosen up / you can’t say / certain things / or look at people / like you care...” (p. 203).

“You can’t” might be interpreted as a closure, a concession to hegemony governing the meaning of incarceration. However, it could also signify the author’s struggle and desire to do the very thing he names as impossible, to “look at people like you care”. Although dream worlds dominate McWatters’ observation of heterotopic carceral spaces, the second to last lines of a poem by Jimmy Santiago Baca intimates the present and real alternative discussed by raid survivors: “thinking all the time, this is life / even in prison, respecting each other, helping each other” (p. 209).

Examining everyday survival within seemingly hegemonic spaces, Michel De Certeau (1980) identifies tactics of the “ordinary man”: workers who sabotage, take small material for themselves from the factory, ‘rip off’ time. If ‘strategies’ are the formal plans of authority, ‘tactics’ are the opportunistic practices of the weak. Strategies are assumed

to be rational, to fit into a grand schema; tactics do not have a master plan, and rely on “cracks, glints and slippages” within the established order. Yet, tactics have cumulative impact, and significantly alter freedom and possibility within unequal space.

Don Mitchell (1980) documents examples of creative, unauthorized, but materially necessary uses of public space for everyday survival by the urban poor. Robin D. G. Kelley (1994) describes similar tactics of the Black working-class to oppose racism and exploitation. Workers’ resistance often takes forms unseen by a traditional Left anticipating only formal organizing for wages or break times. Instead, “what [they] fought for was cultural, centering identity, dignity and fun”: struggling over what radio stations to play, how you do your hair. Resistance to racist busing in the 1940s ranged from more masculine and public sabotage, disengaging trolley cars and releasing stink bombs, to Black women’s “resistive, profane noise” which, however subtle, demonstrated a rejection of racist state power and incited the ire of Birmingham police (p. 71).

Tactics of the oppressed, as De Certeau, Mitchell and Kelley describe, transform unlivable spaces of totalitarian domination into spaces with some connection to freedom, livability or dignity. They are not always, or even primarily, about physical survival, as Kelley (1994) notes, “the poor developed their own strategies of resistance which, in some cases, placed as much emphasis on issues of personal dignity and / or state-sanctioned violence as on material needs” (p. 79).

However, these practices still center a particular kind of freedom. Opposition to state-sanctioned violence and the pursuit of personal, as opposed to collective, dignity imply value placed on the relationship between the individual and the state. These

practices most clearly connote masculine confrontation, such as Kelley's account of young Black zoot suiters for whom "opposition to racist oppression was often mediated by masculinity" (p. 66).

The narratives of raid survivors suggest multiple forms of resistance, some of which refer to individual gain or opportunistic tactics against a dominating state apparatus. For example, Javier suggests that he was not entirely distraught by the fact of the raid because he hoped, however difficult it may be, that the arrest could be used as an opportunity to apply for a work permit. Nonetheless, most instances in which raid survivors recall alternatives to desperation and trauma, they do not describe "tactics", opportunistic resistance to the state. Instead, they narrate practices similar to what feminist scholars like Karen Sacks (1993) have noted in alternative women's working-class culture: *relational* acts rooted in spirit, humor, and interpersonal care.

### **Heteropatriarchy as a Tool of Domination, Feminist Collective Care as a Tool of Survival**

The affects of care and principles of relationality that color raid survivors' stories of jail reflect feminist ethics, broadly defined (Koehn, 1998). Feminist collective care is an inversion of the relationships of domination through which violent displacement to carceral space is exercised and normalized. Although white supremacy, and specifically, anti-Black racism, determine the logic of incarceration (Escobar, 2009), heteropatriarchy is its architecture, as Andrea Smith observes, "the building block of the nation-state form of governance" (Smith, 2006, p. 71).

The prevalence of the private, heteronormative family as the dominant social unit centers care and concern with a spouse and biological children, and weakens social connections outside the family. Social phenomena, including collective trauma and struggle against criminalization, are easily dismissed as the concern of individuals and their families. Patriarchy, dominance of men over women, and its expression through gender violence, normalizes social hierarchy (Smith, 2010). When violence and social control are naturalized in the most intimate spaces, its expression through the state is more readily accepted.

Although jail and prison disproportionately target men, women are today the fastest growing prison population in the U.S. (Talvi, 2007). The war on drugs and the war on immigrants have exponentially grown the number of women behind bars since 1970. When women are arrested, questions about the well-being of their children often intensify the stresses of incarceration. Francisca remembers, when police came to arrest her at home based on the investigation in the aftermath of the raid, she asked armed officers to wait in her driveway because she didn't know how would take care of her children: "I called my sister, and fortunately she answered, came quickly. But my angel saw them handcuff me, and he can't forget that."

Women also disproportionately carry the struggle of incarceration on the outside, caring for kids, paying the bills, and navigating a long and complex legal and political battle against incarceration (Visions of Abolition, 2011). Paula and Estefani's husbands were both arrested in work raids. For months, they met with lawyers about their husbands' cases, talked with state representatives, spoke at public rallies, took their

children to visit their fathers, and worried every day, about dwindling financial resources, the future of deportation, and their children's questions. These are not unfamiliar stories.

Within jail, dominance is frequently enforced through sexual assault and gendered violence. Rosa recalls how guards "pushed us through one door, then told us to undress." This is not simply a practical order. The humiliation of publicly undressing is reiterated by most interviewees. The levity with which guards command prisoners to undress, a cultivated lack of concern, reflects a deliberate exercise of power, a demonstration that the woman's body is no longer her own, but the property of the state. This lesson is reinforced by body searches by police and prison guards. Francisca grimaces as she explains her first experience with body search, what would become routine for her, every time her children visited:

They pushed us in the police van violently. Then, when they transferred us to Fourth Avenue, they came to check us over. But they abused us. They touched every part of our body, including inside. It's a violation. You feel uncomfortable. This was very difficult for me.

Although these 'searches' are ostensibly for security, "their excessive frequency, intrusiveness and lack of a functional purpose lend credence to the belief of many prisoners and arrestees that the goal is one of control and terror, rather than safety" (Silliman, 2002, p. 23). The difference between internal body searches and state-sanctioned rape is fuzzy, and viscerally demonstrates the use of patriarchal violence to enforce social hierarchy in carceral spaces.

If heteropatriarchy is the mode by which racist incarceration is naturalized, then carceral spaces must be transformed by something other than masculinist resistance: "the

master's tools will never dismantle the master's house" (Lorde, 1984). Everyday opposition to incarceration, at least according to the accounts of ten raid survivors, draws on feminist practices.

Collective care is not the same affective relationship as charitable service. Collective or horizontal care, among people who see themselves as equal<sup>7</sup>, is often reciprocal and always rooted in a mutual recognition of humanness. The act of sharing tangible and emotional resources, of exchanging lightness and friendship, communicates solidarity and becomes a way of seeing and understanding one another's stories. Interpersonal care shifts detainees towards a shared epistemology that doubts the explanations of the state and tends to trust the lived experience of people similarly enduring incarceration (Collins, 2000).

These practices of care, whether enacted by men or women, extend from nurturing roles most frequently delegated in society to women. Friendship and kindness alter dystopian spaces, fostering emotional, spiritual and cultural resilience from within the criminalized communities that enable survival. Against the deliberate indifference of prison's regime, kindness between prisoners is a significant counterpoint, and breaks from the dominant isolation of care to the heteronormative family.

---

<sup>7</sup> For this reason, it is significant that this chapter examines relationships among people similarly positioned: arrested and incarcerated working-class people of color. Although collective care can be practiced within any diverse communities, care across difference touches on mediating considerations of privilege and internalized superiority that are not addressed here.

## **From Criminalization and Shame, Toward Dignity**

State-sanctioned white supremacy erects barriers to relations of care among people in prison, jail and detention, not only through spatial isolation, but also through criminalization that is internalized as shame and racialized self-hate, and externalized as Other-ing and animosity. ‘Criminal’, like the more widely critiqued term, ‘illegal’, is a dehumanizing word that denies the person it modifies of complex personhood. It is easier to fear, distance oneself from, or hate ‘criminals’ than people. Working through internalized stigmas of criminalization and participating in relations of care with other incarcerated people are dialectical processes: people are more able to connect with one another as they unlearn their own shame; and criminalizing beliefs about oneself and others are most readily unlearned as people connect across shared humanness.

Criminalization, the ascription of criminality to a person, is not only achieved through a judge’s decision in court or a police officer’s decision to arrest. Many of the disciplinary regulations of body and space in jail function to recriminalize. Francisca, Isabel, Gabriel, and Fernando described with detail and agony their first instance of being handcuffed. Although not physically painful, the handcuffs convey the power of the officer over the arrestee, and the arrestee’s presumed wrongdoing. Isabel texted her mother to let her know about the raid, but didn’t expect her to come. This is the first point during the interview that Isabel starts crying, “It was just sad to see [my mom] there because she saw me handcuffed when I was put in the van.” For others, the condemning gaze of the media during the arrest similarly roused self-doubt and embarrassment.



Physical markers of criminalization complicate family visits as people grapple with the meaning of their lack of bodily autonomy. Francisca asked her husband, who could not enter the jail because he is undocumented, to bring their children for a visit: “I didn’t realize I would be chained up when they saw me”. For the children, the screening process to proceed past the waiting room, the metal detectors, and armed security guards were frightening and foreign, but moreover, represented their mother’s lack of control, implied that their mother was dangerous, and made them confused. When Francisca returned from the visit, her bunky asked if the visit was good: “I said, yes, beautiful, but it hurt a bit. My children asked about my outfit, they said, ‘Mami, why are you dressed like that?’” These questions of criminalization are emotion-laden. Francisca laughs and wipes a tear at the same time as she describes her children’s alarm about their mother’s apparent wrongdoing, “Sometimes it’s the big things, but really, most of the emotion comes from the small things, from having my children see me like that.”

Paula, Fernando’s wife, describes a similar struggle of explaining her husband’s incarceration to her children, a question that is fundamentally about jail and criminalization. Paula and Fernando had taught their children to believe that the state protects. Their youngest son, a toddler, said he wanted to become a police officer, until his father was arrested. Before the arrest, the boy was taught a normative view of criminality: good people follow the law and stay out of jail, bad people break the law and go to jail. When his father went to jail, he was confused and, at least in the early days of the arrest, Paula couldn’t help him: “Honestly, I didn’t know what to tell him because

he's not going to understand why, for the simple act of going to work, [the police] took his dad".

Paula's admission exhibits a common struggle for those raid victims who previously believed in a benign state. How do you explain yourself to your toddler who aspires to be a police officer? Within the state's narrative – bad people go to jail and we know people in jail are bad because they are in jail – there is no redeeming explanation, only self-condemnation and powerlessness. The space and things that mark a prisoner as criminal reinforce Fernando's powerlessness and self-denigration: the bars, the clothes, the handcuffs, the guards, *the other prisoners*.

Raid victims like Fernando searched for a narrative other than the state's condemnation. The most accessible response for people arrested for working is to refute the criminalization of work. Reyna's 24-year old son, arrested for working to pay rent for himself, his 2-year old son, and his mother, called his mother from jail and begged her understanding, "I'm not a criminal, I didn't do anything. The only thing I did was work to make a better life for you and my son." The fact that Reyna's son called from jail to refute the condemnation of criminality to his own mother demonstrates the extent to which criminalization is internalized, and the importance of statements like "working is not a crime" for helping raid survivors cope with the meaning of being in carceral space.

The fact that judges declare working as an undocumented immigrant "identity theft" or "forgery" is not as significant to the way raid survivors experience incarceration as the fact that dominant social norms imagine jail as a space of definitive criminality. Standing by the assertion that "working is not a crime" takes courage against the state's

powerful (but not hegemonic) narrative. Although officers deliberately separate coworkers from the same raid, finding other migrants in jail also arrested for working strengthens raid victims' analysis that arrest for working is a systematic, wrongful attack, rather than a personal failing. Isabel explains her first discovery that other people in jail had also been arrested for working:

I met two girls who were there for identity theft for working. I thought we were the only ones, then we started talking to people. And actually a lot of people were from raids. One from GNC, a couple of people from Sportex. Another from a restaurant, I don't remember which one. Another from telemarketing. There were so many different places, it wasn't just us, it was a lot.

Learning that other prisoners had been arrested for working was not a passive act. Isabel and another friend she met in jail actively sought out other raid victims. It is clear from her voice that this process brought relief and new awareness. As she remembers all the businesses from which other prisoners had been raided, she speaks faster, animated. Finding common experience with other raid victims allowed her to release the belief that she was alone and at fault for being in jail. Recognizing the dignity and injustice in other raid victims' stories gave her access to reclaiming dignity in her own story.

However, Isabel's early explanation of her relationship to jail and the people in jail draws a bright line between people arrested for working and people arrested for other charges, the "real criminals": "I mean, it's sad because you're there for just wanting to work. You're not in there because you're stealing or any of that. I mean, in there you meet all kinds of people." Javier is more explicit, filling out Isabel's ambiguous phrase, "all kinds of people": "They put you with drug addicts, people who commit armed robbery, murderers, sick people, everyone together." His list describes people he sees as

distinctly Other than himself. He implies shock that he was moved to the same space as these people, these dangerous, dirty, sick people, the people who really belong in jail.

Criminalization and forced displacement to prison spaces is connected to a history of anti-blackness in the U.S. Angela Davis (2003) traces the historical origins of prisons and jails in a post-slavery, pre-reconstruction era through the convict leasing system. Christian Parenti (1999), Michelle Alexander (2010) and Jerome Miller (2011), among others, examine the more recent forms of anti-Black mass incarceration initiated in the 1960s and 70s. Blackness continues to serve as distinguishing marker of criminality, the basis on which the forced displacement and dehumanization of incarceration are extended to other groups.

In negotiating the white supremacist social order of the U.S., Latino/a migrants take up a contested middle-ground between whiteness and blackness. Migrants, like the Isabel and Javier, often pitch a tent in the terrain of white supremacy. The claim “we are not criminal” is an effort to position Latino/a migrants closer to whiteness and further from blackness and presumed criminality. Without fundamentally challenge the violence of incarceration, it suggests that incarcerating migrants *instead* of the imagined (black) Other is a misdirected use of carceral spaces.

Long-term incarceration, and as discussed in the next chapter, movement building with other migrants whose charges for drugs or assault cannot be so easily reframed in the normative white paradigm, shifts the way raid survivors think about displacement to jail as a social practice. For example, during a two-hour interview, Rosa initially expresses that she didn’t deserve to be in jail because she wasn’t like the ‘real criminals’,

she hadn't used drugs or stolen or prostituted. When she first arrives in jail, seeing a Black woman passed out from drug overdose exemplifies the Other whose presumed vileness represents the difference against which she claims her own humanity. However, later in the interview, Rosa recalls friendships with other, non-migrant women in jail, and her tone shifts, becomes more humanizing and less constrained by the nearly hegemonic explanations of white supremacy: "I spent time with people who committed big felonies. I saw how they have good spirits still." This is only a realization because prisoners are denied humanity, or, in Rosa's terms, "spiritual wholeness". Displacement to jail depends on the assumption that people in jail are less than human. "They should have the right to remake their lives," Rosa continues, "to be with their families." Her statement presents a critical opening, naming an alternative future dream ("to be with their families"), rejecting the violence of incarceration.

The shame associated with criminalization encourages prisoners to isolate themselves from others. However, relations of care between prisoners contributes to undoing criminalization and personal shame. Finding other raid victims in jail helped Isabel identify a systematic practice of violence in raids and arrests for working. Connecting with other prisoners in jail, the "drug users" and "sick people" of Javier's account, allowed Rosa to see incarceration itself as a violent social practice and move from "working is not a crime" to a statement more like Martha Escobar's proposal, "no one is criminal" (Escobar, 2008). Relations of care across racial lines in jail give Rosa and others access to an abolitionist vision and hints at an alternative world of dignity and freedom from forced displacement for everyone.

### **Affective Care beyond the Family: Undoing Carceral Logics**

The trauma and dehumanizing experience of incarceration raise complex and significant barriers to dignity, interpersonal connection and community. Paula's confusion about justifying incarceration to her son, Reyna's son's call from jail begging for his mother's understanding, and Isabel's shame about her mother seeing her handcuffed all point to the ways that incarceration disrupts even the most intimate and taken-for-granted relations, compounding the isolation created by geographical distance and displacement.

Nonetheless, raid survivors remember significant acts of compassion, gentleness and care practiced against the logic of incarceration. Visits to jail and detention from family and friends are more remarkable than mundane given the psychological and physical obstacles to remaining connected across the distance of incarceration. Isabel remembers, "what really helped me not to fall into depression was that my parents were there since day one". Undocumented family and friends are restricted, by policy, from visiting loved ones in Estrella and Durango jail, another strategy of attrition for undocumented migrants, and only recently won the right to visit family in immigrant detention. Visiting hours are intermittent and irregular, and require drives from Phoenix to Florence and Eloy, rural areas an hour outside of town. Over months of incarceration with no known end, it is far easier to give up on family or friends detained, especially

when visits are time- and resource-intensive, difficult for people navigating work and poverty, scary, and stigmatized.

The effort of family, friends, and community on the outside, struggling to sustain connection with incarcerated people, lessens the violence of displacement, temporarily bringing home and family into spaces of nightmare and control. However, even the most audacious labor of family and friends has to confront the limits placed on visits, mail, and phone calls, the physical reality of distance, and exhaustion. While visits reality check the confined, insular universe of the jail, vast time passes between contacts with people outside. Many people also do not have family to visit, distanced by documentation status, the stigma of criminalization, homophobia, poverty, or the border. Incarceration for many people represents a disruption in the heteronormative family unit that usually buffers the need for deep connections and care outside the family. In a new way, many raid survivors find that they need friendships and community with other prisoners in order to endure incarceration.

Collective care among prisoners and detainees makes the mundane hours of incarceration less miserable. Fernando's comradeship with Marco through his spiral into darkness, and Rosa, Isabel, and Valeria's braids and songs exemplify affection and lightness built between people enduring the same stigma and displacement.

Rosa, Isabel and Fernando describe a ritualized communication they experienced and practiced in both jail and detention. Before court, people helped each other to prepare and feel hopeful, then asked about the outcome upon return. People often know and

follow each other's cases. For example, Isabel describes the rollercoaster of Tina's legal battle, one Isabel lived through Tina's stories:

Tina had already been there for a year, she was there for working. Talking to her, she said it was really hard, every time she'd go to court, they didn't want to let her go. They said that what she had done was really bad and she needed to be deported. One day she had court and when she came back, she told me they had given her the bond, she was finally going to get to go home.

Detainees often prepare each other in advance of interrogations by police and ICE officials. Impromptu 'know your rights' lessons strengthen detainees' resolve to refuse to sign self-deportation papers or give unnecessary information during criminal proceedings. Rosa remembers one interview in which the ICE official asked only for her name and age but continued "writing, writing, writing. And me, watching, watching, watching." Rosa giggles. "I said, is there a problem? I was ready to stay quiet, but they didn't ask me anything I could refuse to answer. When I told the others, they laughed and laughed. What did she write so much?" The humor in the interaction comes from irreconcilable difference between the state's rigid bureaucracy, involving forms and "writing, writing, writing", and migrant workers' flexible, relational way of living. Shared laughter allows people in detention to distance themselves from the demeaning effect of constant interrogation and flip its meaning, from a marker of criminality or inferiority, to an example of the state's absurdity.

In many instances, small acts of compassion enter raid survivors' narratives as common sense. For example, Gabriel remembers that the bathrooms of the jail were in the open, deliberately designed to deny prisoners privacy. In his yard, when someone had use the bathroom, others would stand around with their backs to the toilet, creating a



human wall where a concrete wall should have been. However simplistic, prisoners' decision to grant one another this dignity denied by the prison speaks to a different affect cohering connection between prisoners.

Tomás and Javier, arguably more invested in masculinity and 'manning up' to 'do the time', initially propose that keeping to yourself is a necessary protection against group punishment or drama in jail. However, their attitudes change over months of incarceration, as Javier explains, "you have to have friends there, talk to people, because if not, then, you don't survive there." For Tomás, Fernando, Gabriel, and Rosa, religious spirituality was a more accessible medium through which to connect to other prisoners. For example, Tomás sat with other men in jail and shared words of prayer out loud, "We prayed a lot to God, that he would give us a chance to be free, and that he gives us the strength to overcome all this." Interviewees tend to refer to Christian beliefs when describing spirituality because they are, like many migrants from Latin America, socialized in a Christian culture. However, religious specificity is not necessary for understanding the desires and interpersonal relations expressed through this spiritual practice. Praying together is one of the ways people in jail acknowledge and honor one another's hopes and longings.

These connections between incarcerated people, even when prisoners share the same race, faith or criminal charges, are not predisposed, but instead require intentional connection against the barriers of physical isolation, racialized self-hate, internalized criminalization, and trauma. Capitalism's imagined individual and the dominance of the isolated family unit make association outside the family a challenging proposal,

especially among men with learned fear of homosocial relationships and among women with learned opposition to self-love. With few alternatives, jail and detention become spaces of social learning, where people reach across these boundaries, often from a deep need to reassert humanity and personhood.

These relationships and daily practices of care, spirit and humor disassemble the logics of incarceration, isolation, trauma, shame, stigma, and dehumanization. Remembering a knowing glance exchanged with a former celly while in transport from one facility to another, Rosa sighs: “these details, tan chiquitas, but so valuable, right?” Connection and affection between raid survivors and other prisoners, often poor of color, are healing and transformative.

Fernando, self-deprecating and disheartened throughout his recollection of incarceration, lightens as he recalls his friendship with Marco. Paula intervenes, enthusiastic about expanding on a topic that reframes her husband’s relationship to incarceration, from victim to fighter and healer: “But Marco is not the only person he helped...”

### **Connections of Dignity Extend from Jail Outwards**

When people talk about the formerly incarcerated returning from jail, prison or detention, there is often recognition of brokenness. Statistics about recidivism rates and domestic violence in families of the formerly incarcerated point to the social and individual traumas of prison that leave the formerly incarcerated, their families and

communities wounded (Western and Pettit, 2010). Prison releases victims of torture back to families devastated by loss with few resources for coping or moving forward.

Like slavery, if the practice of forced displacement through incarceration were to end tomorrow, there would still be centuries of healing and restitution in order. Prison inflicts economic, social, psychological, emotional, and spiritual damage on the individual, family and community without any restitution or recourse. One hundred and fifty years after the end of slavery, its legacy includes a country structured around the dehumanization of Blackness, a culture of white supremacist violence, and deep, intergenerational trauma (Eyerman, 2001). However, neither incarceration nor slavery leave only a legacy of damage. People who figured out how to survive, *despite* the conditions of slavery, cultivated fierce and enduring cultural weapons, apparent in call and response spirituals, Black womanist culture, and the traditions of oral histories (Levine, 1977). The most oppressive social conditions awaken, incite, demand the most transformative social alternatives. People who figure out how to cope with the torture, shame, and isolation of forced displacement to carceral spaces often develop powerful social and emotional tools, resources, affects, and vision to survive.

In at least two instances, families of workers from the same raided businesses sought each other out for information and support. Nicole, Fernando's teenage daughter, remembers how families of Fernando's coworkers showed up at her house on the day of the raid, bringing food, asking questions, staying to worry together. Juan, Francisca's husband, explains how he connected with families of his wife's coworkers at the worksite on the day of the raid and later in court, "We shared this pain, so much pain."

Although many of the interactions of care between people in detention were fleeting, leaving only an affect and way of being in the body, some of the relationships built through incarceration were sustained beyond jail, reconstituting community. Perhaps the most incredible example of this comes from Gabriel, who was brought from Durango Jail to the ICE Central office at 2 am and offered to be released on bond if he could produce \$2,000 in two hours. It is difficult to imagine an explanation for the mandate other than sadistic manipulation, and the decision was certainly not explained to Gabriel. Having come to the U.S. on his own, Gabriel had no family to contact. He knew only his coworkers, all of whom were, to his knowledge, still in jail and unable to support. At 2 am, he called a friend he had met in Durango Jail, neither a migrant nor someone arrested in a raid, but someone with whom he had shared space and friendship. The man, the former jail celly, answered, agreed to scrounge up as much money from friends and family as he could manage, and ultimately appeared at the Central Office before 4 am with \$2,000, ready to drive his friend away from the ICE office. Although Gabriel's story is an unusual account of monumental and serendipitous support from a formerly incarcerated friend, the fact that Gabriel and the man from jail continued to support each other against the whims and violence of the state beyond jail is not unique.

Fernando's effort to support other detainees and facilitate communication between detainees and their families continued beyond his duration in jail and extended to his wife. While in jail, Fernando would give Paula telephone numbers. "He said, talk to this person's family, they're in Mexico." Paula called six or seven families, in Mexico, Honduras and El Salvador, to let them know that their loved ones were in detention, and

later, to give them updates their loved one's health and their legal case. She called one family in Florida, and another, in Phoenix, too scared to visit. Communicating with other families experiencing the same uncertainty and loss gave Paula and Fernando community and purpose outside of themselves. Fernando laughs, "I almost didn't ask about her any more, how are you doing, nothing". Paula remarks, "I am still in contact with some of the women." The relations of care between Fernando and other people in detention led to supportive relations between Paula and other women holding space for the absence of their loved ones. They established a network of care, based on resistance to and survival of the incarceration-deportation dragnet, across the walls of detention and the nation's borders.

### **Politics and the Personal**

Visible, organized social movements change policy, and present a public alternative to the exclusionary and dehumanizing ways of thinking about space embodied in the state practice of workplace raids. However, less visible, less explicitly organized, daily acts also mitigate and transform the impact of raids on workers' lives and personhood. Scholars like Michel De Certeau, Don Mitchell and Robin Kelley make the case for everyday tactics, "weapons of the weak" (Scott, 1998), that have a cumulative effect on how space is lived.

However, unlike these scholars' account of opportunistic individual acts of clever redistribution, and more in line with women of color feminists, like Audre Lorde, Toni Cade Bambara, and bell hooks, raid survivors narrate practices of collective care

that transform space through relationships. The politically transformative relations are epistemologically opposed to the violent practices of displacement, as evidenced in the notions of ‘common sense’ and humor described by formerly incarcerated narrators. The relations are not charitable, from a place of privilege reaching downward, but rooted in equality and mutual concern.

Affect, “a level of experience that cannot be translated into words without doing violence”, and ontology, a way of being in the world, best characterize these practices of collective care (Conran, 2012). Deepened into daily habit and taken-for-granted leanings toward others, an affect or ontology of care becomes a strong basis for community-building, for example, in the network of mutual aid between Paula and other women of incarcerated loved ones.

These affective relationships are unusual in that they exist between people displaced without their consent to a space that marks them, by the state and dominant society, as less than human, and outside the nuclear family. To connect with others in jail and detention requires working against the logic of carceral isolation, internalized racism, and stigma. People in jail and detention, through processes of victim-blaming, are typically denied the claim to trauma and the need for healing. The politics of healing justice (e.g. Shigematsu et al., 2008), whether articulated through practice or more explicitly, in speech, empowers and offers space for the collective work of recognizing social traumas and healing, for all, not just for decriminalized communities. Relations of care in jail also operate against the normative locus of care, with parents, children, or a spouse. It has been observed elsewhere that, as a form of social control, romantic love

and the family “hide the everyday violence and the militarization of the city” (Johnson, 2011). Because they geographically disrupt the family unit, jail and detention create the conditions for love practiced broadly.

Why are these interpersonal relationships significant to the understanding of a multi-billion dollar state practice? Power is not exercised only through the contestation with the state. Dominant representations of space, such as raids as national security or jails as zones of totalitarian control, tells us “nothing about what [the space] means for its users” (De Certeau, 1984, p. xiv). Although raid survivors are not describing accounts of completely and formally repurposing the jail for education, worship or health care – not yet – they do describe practices that create the space for imaginative possibilities. Psychologists have documented the relationship between the “positive affective space” of “loving-kindness” and “psychological flexibility”, an adaptive mode of thought that sustains openness to multiple truths and futures (Hinton et al., 2013). Affects of care heal and lessen the burden of people displaced to jail, and also, inspire the mental space that makes imagining something else possible.

The affect of kindness as a political act has been an undercurrent of feminist principles for many decades (e.g. Tong, 2010; Jardine and Smith, 1987) and is more specifically politicized with an awareness to race and class in the critical interventions of women of color activists and scholars (e.g. Hernandez and Rehman, 2002). In *This Bridge Called My Back*, Cherrie Moraga and Gloria Anzuldúa (1981) argue that women of color are always put in the position of explaining themselves, bridging coalitions between a white feminists and men of color. Tired of being the bridge, women of color in

the anthology narrate struggles of deliberate healing connections with other women of color, with mothers, sisters, lovers, friends, in community. These connections are not simple or easy; like the connections among people in jail, they demand courage and imagination. In the same way, Isabel's hairstyles, Rosa's songs or Fernando's prayers represent struggle to express care in spite of the trauma and dehumanizing effects of racialized incarceration.



## Chapter 4:

### MOVEMENT AGAINST RAIDS AND DEPORTATIONS:

#### THE PUENTE HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT AND SPACES OF DIGNITY

An uncomplicated, unchallenged execution of work raids depends on raid victims individualizing their experience. Workers avert their eyes from coworkers to hide their shame when police officers arrive, hyper-aware that they are undocumented, too brown, too foreign, a problem. Prisoners and detainees keep their heads down, avoid trouble, fear the criminals near them, and feel dirty themselves. Family members, humiliated or exhausted, stop visiting. Documented coworkers, neighbors and friends don't ask questions. Ultimately, the migrant, once a worker and family member, now a criminal detainee, defeated and alone, signs her deportation papers and retreats across the border.

Chapter 3 has already demonstrated that this state fantasy is rarely, if ever, the reality. Everyday, people redefine their experience of displacement along the incarceration-deportation trajectory by reaching out to each other. Raid survivors and their families find common ground with other workers, arrestees, prisoners, and detainees at all points along the trajectory, and offer one another dignity, care, humor, and spirit. Carceral spaces, characterized by trauma and nightmare, are also a breeding ground for relations of freedom and possibility.

This chapter examines a social movement organization that is built from this foundation of loving care in a criminalized migrant community. The Puente Human Rights Movement in Phoenix, Arizona is one example of an alternative social formation

made possible when collective care is combined with astute political analysis and deliberate collective action. Puente, a grassroots organization led by displaced and displaceable undocumented migrants, and rooted in Chicano/Latino race politics, has been organizing against neighborhood and workplace raids, police and ICE collaborations, and anti-immigrant policies like SB1070 and Secure Communities for the past seven years.

Much could be and has been said about this large base-building organization, responsible for organizing marches attended by over 100,000 people and with a current active membership of over 250 undocumented workers (e.g. Ross, 2011; Flaherty, 2010; Fernandez, 2011). In partnership with the local workers' center and other local migrant support networks, in collaboration with similar grassroots migrant organizations across the country, and inspired by movements for human rights and autonomy around the world, Puente represents a tidal wave emerging in the cracks and shadows of the state. This chapter does not aim to assess the organization or the broader migrant movement context in entirety, but instead focuses on Puente's work as it impacts the lives of raid survivors.

Puente's work against raids, or, more accurately, for the dignity and freedom of raided communities, has taken three main forms.

Over the past year, Puente has developed a strategy, shared by other migrant justice organizations around the country, for untangling individual community members from the detention-deportation trap, an approach known as *uno por uno*, or one by one. Through a combination of legal advocacy, public pressure, political lobbying, protests,

and social media, Puente has convinced ICE to cancel the deportation of over 70 mothers, fathers, children and workers. This strategy has also involved intentional and evolving space for families of detainees to strategize together, support one another, practically and emotionally, and find ways to make sense of their experience. The stop deportation work has also been scaled up, in collaboration with the National Day Laborers' Organizing Network, to a Not One More Deportation campaign that extends the demand of ending individual deportations to the 11+ million undocumented residents of the U.S.

On another level, Puente has been working to roll back the criminalization of work that ensnares undocumented workers in the first place. The "Working is Not a Crime!" campaign lifts the stories of criminalized workers, reframing arrests as family separation and work as economic necessity. The success of this campaign relies on discretion exercised at many nodes of the state. Organizers have targeted the Maricopa County Sheriff to stop the raids, the Maricopa County Attorney to drop prosecutorial charges, and the ICE Director and Phoenix ICE Advocate to stop deporting people for working. Although raids continue, the way they are conducted and prosecuted, and their impact on immigration proceedings, have changed as a result of Puente's organizing.

Finally, Puente sustains programs and space for developing community well-being through preventive health education, literacy and English classes, know your rights trainings, community media, and cultural events. This work is based on ideas of mutual assistance, dignity and empowerment, fostering pride in Chicano/Latino racial and cultural identity, and coalescing community in an *alternative space* where the logics of capitalist competition and white supremacy are inverted.

I analyze Puente's work - and reproduce analysis developed by Puente members - less as a model of migrant justice, and more as an example of fertile possibility, a glimpse into one of the many alternative futures being created in the present tense (Kelley, 2002). The strategies described here, influenced by a history of Third World Marxist organizing and Zapatista autonomous movement building, are neither fixed, nor developed with a certain understanding of where they will lead. Instead, these strategies and relations are the consequence of a community, living under assault, in complex and complicated movement toward freedom and dignity, discovering what is possible and "making the road as they walk" (Horton and Freire, 1990).

### **Where We Stand: An Interruption**

In the summer of 2012, four undocumented adults from Phoenix, ineligible for Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals, without the safety net of precedence, took arrest in a civil disobedience amplifying the cry, "undocumented and unafraid". Dozens of undocumented activists from around the country converged in Puente's parking lot to kick off a cross-country journey, inspired by Black Freedom Rides of the 1960s (Chen, 2012). The "Undocubus" was intended to represent the hopes of freedom from fear and silence for thousands of immigrants living "in the shadows" (Calderon, 2012).

During the preparatory week leading up to these events, I ran errands with some of the visiting activists. Two undocumented migrants, an organizer from Chicago and a filmmaker from New Jersey, needed to make an unusual stop: they wanted to offer prayers to the desert. We squatted in the heat of the mid-day by a trail on South

Mountain. One of the men burned sage and called out to the dead whose bodies have never been found, whose traces are only barely visible in footsteps and t-shirts left beneath mesquite trees. The prayer mourned lives rendered “ungrievable” by the mundane and legitimized violence of white supremacy (Alarcon, 1990; Butler, 2009).

Although I often think of Phoenix as far from the border and its militarized desert, for many people in the migrant justice movement around the country, Phoenix is seen as part of the borderlands. Touching the dry dirt, activists pled for the safety and success of the Undocubus journey.

### **Part I: Freeing One Raid Victim at a Time: *Uno por uno***

Grace Lee Boggs suggests that local place-based activism must be at the heart of movements for justice. Global capitalism, she argues, “doesn’t give a damn about the people or the natural environment of any particular place because it can always move on to other people and other places” (Boggs, 2000). When P.F. Changs or McDonalds cooperated in the investigation and raid of workers in their workplace, the trauma, suffering and material costs of the raid to the workers was of no concern to these businesses because they could always find other impoverished populations driven to low-wage work. Place-based activism “is the radical other of global capitalism” (ibid). Even when movements work across scales, through translocal or transnational connections, a place-consciousness grounds activists in a critical understanding of the lived reality, and creates more space for the most marginalized to lead.

As a grassroots, local community organization, Puente aims to root itself in mutual concern and care among undocumented residents of the Phoenix area. When advocacy organizations “scale up”, working at regional or national levels without connection to local communities, policy proposals are often based on imagined representations of the immigrant community that exclude the most marginalized (Spade, 2011; Pero and Solomos, 2010). Puente, like other local grassroots migrant organizations, contends with the daily lived experience. Immigrants’ lives look messier at this scale. It is from this vantage that criminalization through policing, profiling, and raids, and mass displacement through the deportation-detention dragnet come into focus.

Local groundedness is why Puente first began working on individual deportation cases. One of Puente’s members, Edi Arma, was pulled over and detained on his way to drop his 11-year old son at school. Edi had been a member of the Puente community for years and his story galvanized community action. Not knowing where the campaign would go, Puente members gathered outside the ICE Central Office in downtown Phoenix where Edi was being held, showing support for their brother on the inside while airing their grievances with ICE officials in the same building. The rally was attended by over 40 community members and emphasized the suffering caused by deportations for children and families. A photograph from the rally depicts six toddlers and young children, holding candles and a banner with their handprints that reads: “Don’t Separate Families”.

During the following three weeks, activists from Puente, the Arizona Dream Act Coalition (ADAC), and Team Awesome began strategizing and moving to bring Edi

home. They posted an online petition targeting the Arizona ICE Field Director, the federal Director of ICE, and Janet Napolitano, requesting Edi's immediate release. Edi's wife and 11-year old son, supported by activists, held a press conference at Congressman Ed Pastor's office, calling on the self-proclaimed immigrant-friendly politician to support Edi's case. Undocumented immigrants and activists crowded into the lobby of the Congressman's office. In a photograph from this sit-in, Edi Arma's wife is surrounded by media cameras and microphones, as she explains what happened to her husband. In the background, a large painting of Cesar Chavez hangs in Pastor's office, directly behind the Latino migrants whom Pastor refused to meet.

Although the Congressman denied the activists' request for a meeting and called the police to escort them out, the media took the family's statements and the encounter laid the ground for an ongoing strategic relationship with the politician. One organizer explains, "We didn't know what would work. One night, we stayed up until past midnight trying to figure out how to fight this." Their local collaboration was supported by the National Day Labor Organizing Network and the Georgia Latino Alliance for Human Rights, organizations that had also recently started taking up individual deportation cases.

Ultimately, Edi's campaign gained national attention when a video of his son, speaking through sobs at a protest for his father's release, went viral ("Stop Edi's Deportation!", 2013). The video, combined with public pressure in mainstream and social media, the public petition, strategic relations with political leaders, and activist's presence outside of ICE secured Edi's release. What made the community think they could tell

ICE, a federal agency with billions of dollars in the business of mass displacement, who not to deport? The tactics that activists used to free Edi were not developed in advance, nor was the outcome certain. Yet, creative experimentation expanded the “universe of what is possible” and, through shared experience of struggle, desire, surprise, and victory, strengthened the unity and power of the community (Horton and Freire, 1990, p. 234). Although the campaign to free Edi had been an urgent and ad hoc reaction to imminent deportation of a friend, new strategies would be needed as more and more families facing through deportation began seeking support through Puente.

### **Families Learning Together: Collective Processing and Strategy**

The stories of raid survivors documented in previous chapters are not unusual. With thirty people deported from Phoenix every day, there are thousands of people directly affected by the imminent threat of deportation in the city at any one time. Families living, coping with, and struggling against jail, detention and deportation can be found in every poor neighborhood in Phoenix. As word spread about Edi’s successful release, through Puente’s existing membership, in Spanish media, among jailed migrants and detainees, and between raided workers, a growing number of people in this vast network of deportable migrants began contacting Puente for help.

There were few models coming from other grassroots organizations fighting deportations across the country. In general, there were more questions than answers. Could this tactic be sustained, would people continue signing petitions and showing up for individual detainees, would ICE continue to respond? How does Puente prioritize



which families to support? What types of cases can Puente take on and expect to win: only people charged for working, or people with prior deportations, people with drug or assault charges? How far could the petitions stray from the dominant narrative of the American Dream and still gain public support? How could the organization continue to build consensus, political education, and leadership while strategizing to accomplish such an ambitious goal: contesting deportations that lawyers had already declared hopeless? That Puente and its growing community pursued the strategy anyway, coming up with evolving answers in process, is testament to the gravity of deportations and the bravery of a community organized against its disposability.

Activists in Puente and other, smaller grassroots migrant organizations in Phoenix had been meeting to strategize around the possibility of continuing stop deportation work. These weekly meetings continued, but they were no longer small. Mothers, sisters, daughters, wives, and, less often, fathers, uncles, and husbands sat together in a room barely big enough for everyone. Conducted in Spanish, the meetings are most attended by low-income or working-class immigrant workers. Primarily facilitated by female leaders and most attended by women, the meetings tend to be grounded in mothering and a deep yearning for family unity. In Puente, as in the California abolitionist organization, Mothers Reclaiming Our Children, “the mothers transform their reproductive labor as primary caregivers into activism; the activism expands into the greater project to reclaim all children” from the prison and detention industrial complex (Gilmore, 1999).

A lot of thought and conversation has gone into making these meetings more democratic. In a lawyer’s office, the expert tells people how to solve their problems. In

spite of the disillusionment and distrust many families feel toward lawyers as a result of financial extortion and failure to diligently pursue cases, people generally have no other reference point for understanding what Puente does. Families fearing deportation approach this community space looking for answers, expecting to find *abogados del pueblo*, less expensive and more helpful experts. Leaders in Puente work to shift this expectation, a constant negotiation of space, power, and turn-taking. Families sign an agreement: they are not paying money for a service, instead, they are joining a community, where the only obligation is to support others. Family of detained people and Puente organizers sit together in a circle, in a big open office space surrounded by posters of Zapatistas and indigenous women, with paint splattered on the floor. Rather than meeting privately, all the legal details of the case are discussed collectively. Everyone is encouraged to participate in conversation, and to see themselves as active participants in one another's cases. Over time, the sophistication of legal knowledge built in the community, even among some people who cannot read or write, demystifies the ideology of professional knowledge separating migrants from decisions about the fate of their loved ones.

These weekly strategy sessions are carved out of the everyday lives of busy families, whose emotional and psychological well-being is torn asunder by detention, but who must continue working, sometimes taking on extra jobs to make up for the absence of a breadwinner, and raising their children. The presence of children in every meeting speaks to the normalized trauma of displacement against which families construct their everyday lives. Children listen, do homework, chase each other around the building, or

sleep in their mothers' laps. They are not oblivious to the meaning of the space. This was most evident when 6-year old Patricia spontaneously doodled fake petitions adorned with hearts and flowers, and approached everyone in the room collecting signatures in crayon so that she, too, could help bring her mother home.

The meetings teeter in difficult balance between lightness, laughter and tragedy. Sometimes this process involves champurrado or coffee, sometimes speeches from Rosa or jokes from Antonia. Tears, stress and exhaustion are never far from the surface, just as traces of detained or deported people are always in the room, entering as a question, a heartache, or a demand (Gordon, 1997). Once, Elena was not ready for the news when Alma explained that, even with the full weight of the community, it could still be another 2 years before she could hold her daughter again. Elena broke into inconsolable sobs, in raw shock and fear. Alma responded to the woman's pain, "We're going to keep working the case, we're going to fight this, but you have to be patient. Everyone here is going through the same thing, all waiting, fighting." People glanced at a Marivel, a mother engaged in two years of struggle against ICE for caging her son, in spite of his precarious medical condition. Gabriel, the uncle of a 20-year old man who has been in jail and detention for a year, dropped his head to his hands, knowing too well the reality of Alma's words. Antonio looked at Elena with empathetic eyes, "Don't cry. You have to keep your faith. We're all in this together." He moved across the room to offer Elena a hug. Mariana, whose son attended a deportation hearing earlier that week, added, "Just make sure your daughter knows not to sign anything. As long as she doesn't sign any papers, we can keep fighting this."

When people break down, the meetings take longer as participants pause from the flow of legal updates and case summaries to process painful emotions. If Puente were formulated around more capitalist-influenced or masculinist conceptions of social transformation, the time dedicated to collective emotional processing might be seen as a deterrent to productivity and progress. There are certainly differing opinions on this issue. However, organizers have ultimately agreed to prioritize and create supportive conditions for these conversations. People heal speaking in a place where, unlike jail visitation rooms or lawyers' offices, their words are honored for the struggle and strength they represent. In a video documenting Maru's many months fighting to stop her son's deportation, Maru identifies the significance of this safe space for her ability to cope with the tragedy:

When my son was arrested, I got sick. I told my husband that I couldn't endure this. I thought of taking my life. Through some people, I learned of the Puente Movement. There, I found a light after so much darkness. When I arrived there, I felt taken care of. I realized that I was not alone, that there are so many others going through the same thing. ("Maru is fighting...", 2014)

Like Maru, many people enduring criminalization or deportation proceedings find common ground in one another's experiences and grow in their confidence and commitment as defenders of human rights. In addition to strategizing about individual cases, families of incarcerated migrants make invocations to each other to stand their ground, to tell their detained loved one not to sign voluntary deportation, or to take on leadership and grow their vision. Their suggestions generate political analysis. Some basic understandings, over time, become shared tenets of the community: deportations

happen every day and represent a systematic attack on the Latino population; raids and deportations are excused by racism; police, judges, prosecutors, and officials are empowered by a racist society; and, importantly, these representatives of the state are not the only people with power.

About ten months after Puente had been organizing to free people from detention, attendees began sharing advice repeated often in these Stop Deportation meetings: “when you visit your family in Eloy or when they call from detention, don’t mention Puente”. Sometimes this entreaty is unpacked: detention officers and ICE agents know that Puente is the organization circulating petitions, generating protest outside the detention center, and rousing public concern about otherwise unnoticed state decisions. The suggestion is very practical: “if they know you’re part of Puente, they will make life hard for your loved one”. Detainees who have known associations with Puente have been denied visitation privileges or the ability to go outside. However, the advice also alludes to the muscle built through organizing: association with the Puente Movement is threatening and repressed because ICE has had to acquiesce to demands of the community, reuniting families that the state agency intended to deport.

### **Organized Support for Incarcerated Community Members**

Since undocumented individuals have no legal standing and cannot file suit when their human rights are violated, Puente, as an organization, is bringing a claim against Sheriff Arpaio and the Maricopa County Sheriff’s Office (MCSO) for workplace immigration raids. This is not the first time people have contested the constitutionality of

workplace raids in court. In *Arpaio v. Melendres* (Ortega, 2013), a federal judge declared the sheriffs' raids racially motivated and unconstitutional. Nonetheless, MCSO conducted another work raid less than a month later ("Maricopa County...", 2013). More interesting than the fact of the new lawsuit is the claim used to justify Puente's legal standing in the case: work raids have taken time and resources from the organization that would otherwise have gone towards strengthening the community.

The claim is a strategic mode of engaging with the state, but it also reflects a truth about the relationship of the organization and raids. Although it may appear to outside observers that Puente is organized for the purpose of contesting raids, police-ICE collaborations, or deportations, the organization names as its first objective the well-being of the migrant and Latina/o community. State practices of racial profiling and forced displacement harm the community, creating terror and tragedy to which the organization must respond.

Since the Maricopa County jails deny undocumented families visitation rights, documented members of Puente have often gone to visit community members in jail. These visits help to include incarcerated people in strategizing about their own legal and public campaigns, and offer emotional and practical support. For example, Leo was concerned that his wife, Clara, was not receiving the diabetes medicine she needs to survive while in jail. When members of Puente went to visit Clara, they asked about her medication and were able to pressure MCSO to provide Clara's basic health care. When organizers visit people in jail, they do a brief know-your-rights training, remind people

not to sign forms, orient people to the movement, and give people hope to continue enduring incarceration.

Visitation to people in immigrant detention has been more involved. In response to demands from the national immigrant rights' movement, immigrant detention centers recently reopened visitation rights to undocumented families. However, visitation rights do not make ICE detention centers and contracted prison spaces less terrifying or logistically challenging to reach. The threat of arrest and geographic isolation of prison and detention still makes it hard for families of detainees to visit on their own. For this reason, members of Puente often drive together to Eloy Detention Center.

Support is organized for people along the raid trajectory based on practical and emotional needs of the people attending “stop deportations” strategy sessions. This support work extends from a question that presupposes community and mutual obligation: where are our people ensnared, to where have they been displaced, and what can we do to keep them alive and bring them home? On a number of occasions, members of Puente, including people who are not themselves directly affected by incarceration, have gone to show support for people in court. The contrast between the banal procedures of the judge and the passionate emotional investment of the attendees was not lost on lawyers, whose tone shifted in response to community squeezed shoulder-to-shoulder in the three rows of benches in the back of the room. Several mothers and daughters of the arrested were crying, while Leticia rocked her baby. The court session, usually a boring, quick, and bureaucratic process, was disrupted when the community brought their everyday lives, children, and collective strength into the courtroom.



**Figure 4.1** Map depicting sites of organized support for raid victims. Members of Puente and other local community support networks visit people in jail and detention, attend court dates, and meet detainees released at the Greyhound Station. When people have been deported, Puente members have also traveled to the border in Nogales to reconnect community members and their loved ones, or support deportees’ right to return home. The Puente office in Phoenix and the comité in Mesa serve as the hubs for community support, deliberately located in low-income, predominantly Latino neighborhoods.

Figure 4.1 depicts “geographies of resistance”, sites of oppression transformed into sites of transgression, opposition, and survival (Keith, 1997). Importantly, these are not “micro-geographies of racialized social interactions” (Winders, 2005, p. 689), but collective geographies at the scale of a local community. These are also not ‘Other spaces’, utopian sites outside the domain of the state. Resistance is built where people are living: in the low-income Latina/o neighborhoods abandoned by capital and the authoritarian spaces of the state to which Latina/os are displaced.

When activists and families show up in support at raided worksites, jail, court, and detention, they bring disruptive, liberatory values, such as community, dignity and wholeness into these spaces. Whereas “geographies of resistance” refers to spaces of opposition to or negation of state and capital power, these mobilizations might also be



understood as forming “geographies of liberation”, a term that comes, in one genealogy, from the studies of “border thinking and decolonization” in critical ethnic studies (Lubin, 2014, p. 8). For example, Alex Lubin (2014) describes how disparate geographical locations, like New Orleans and the Gaza Strip, are drawn together into “geographies of liberation” through a shared histories of Afro-Arab transnational resistance that help to envision freedom beyond the colonized imaginaries of the nation-state.

Similarly, Puente’s effort to show up for incarcerated and detained people in the spaces where they are displaced chips away at the geographical barriers to a more unified community of struggle. The Latina/o migrants to which local movement commits itself are increasingly seen not only in neighborhoods, but also jails, prisons, and detention centers. By expressing resistance in these spaces, the exclusions and removals of the state become less relevant to the borders of the social and political collective. When carceral spaces are part of the imagined terrain of Latina/o struggle, local migrant movement more easily incorporates the demands of other racial groups. Local protests to shut down Estrella, Durango, and Pinal County Jails, in solidarity with poor black and homeless residents of Phoenix, are one example of how the practice of organized support at sites of displacement creates spaces of possibility for multiracial political visions.

### **Free Jose! Public Campaigns Bring Our People Home**

While organized support for raid victims in jail, court, and detention has helped to sustain community ties despite displacement, since the ‘stop deportations’ campaigns began, the work to bring people home has been the primary mobilizing force drawing a

growing number of families to Puente. Through legal processes, public petitions, protests, political lobbying, and social media campaigns, people have broadcasted their stories of imminent deportation in public space and dramatized their demand for family reunification.

The success of these campaigns depends in large part on brave public advocacy of families of detainees. There are many barriers to their speech: internalized shame for the family member's arrest; fear of coming out as undocumented; the possibility of arrest for protest, especially for undocumented people; embarrassment about making demands; and nervousness about speaking to people with more institutional power, including congresspeople and the media. However, dozens of undocumented families have found their voice against ICE. Paula's memory of rallying strength, through community, to demand the release of her husband, Fernando, invokes Audre Lorde's "Litany for Survival": "for it is better to speak, knowing we were never meant to survive" (Lorde, 1995). Paula recalls how other Puente members encouraged her voice, "Jovana took me places to ask for letters for support. And she would say, tell them, tell them, tell them. She said, if you don't speak, your petition is not going to come true." Speaking is frightening, disrupts the naturalized distribution of power, presents real risks, and offers no promises, but remaining silence would have been worse, as it would have guaranteed Fernando's deportation.

Family in these politicized demands for migrant "family unity" looks quite different than family conceived as a self-contained neoliberal institution (Mendez, 2005; Tronto, 2001). Intimate activities normatively experienced in the private home are

deliberately brought into community spaces and publicized in media. This is especially clear in videos before and after Jose's release from detention. In the first video, Jose's 3-year old son, Brian, is seen clutching a plastic bag containing party hats intended for his father's birthday party. The sadness and yearning apparent in the boy's refusal to release the bag illustrated the pain of Jose's absence. In the second video, filmed just after Jose's release, Brian is sitting through a meeting at Puente when his father enters. They are reunited for the first time since the day of the work raid, Brian cries, the room is buoyed with the elation of unexpected reunification, and everyone joins in a long awaited birthday party for Jose.

There is nothing inherently political about a family birthday party. However, because the party took place just after Jose's release from detention, in the Puente building, during a Puente meeting, as a communal activity, it assumed a very specific political meaning. Especially for other families of detainees present, the party represented a collective celebration of victory against detention and deportation, a joyful, public refusal of the racist social order that naturalizes displacement of Latino/a workers, and allusion to a future of dignified family unity.

These victories instill confidence in the knowledge and capacity of the community as an organized movement. After months in jail and detention, Francisca was released on bond, but ICE mandated that she self-deport on a specific date. With Puente's help, Francisca decided to refuse to show up for self-deportation. She worked with others to prepare the legal paperwork for a work permit to be filed the day after self-deportation. On the day of the mandated self-deportation, Puente members were on call in case ICE

showed up at Francisca's door. She explains, "That day, well, I didn't feel afraid. I felt safe, peaceful. Something in me had calmed. I felt secure in what we were doing."

Inspired by collective power, she names a remarkable peace in refusing an order of displacement, acting in defiance of the government that has just incarcerated her for months.

When people are released from detention, even when their deportation orders are canceled, they are still left to contend with the legal and economic realities of living in a felonized community with little access to resources or employment (Morales, 1993).

Informal connections among members of Puente have provided opportunity for some raid survivors: Rosa and Gabriel work together to sew small items to sell; Javier helped Fernando find contract labor with a construction company. However, in general, release from detention only marks the beginning of an increasingly constrained life.

Freedom from deportation does not mean freedom from racial terror any more than it ensures economic justice, education, or health. However, it does give people a strong sense of their capacity to influence their collective future. When people are released from detention, even after ICE officers and lawyers, professionals and representatives of the state who 'ought to know' declare the case hopeless, freed detainees and the loved ones who fought for them tend to speak differently about political power. For example, Paula remarks,

Everything seemed impossible because it had been nearly eight months and none of the lawyers could help. When I found Puente, I said, I think they [Puente members] are more lawyers than the lawyers who are actually lawyers.

In the phrase “more lawyers” (*más abogados*), Paula is not referring to someone with a J.D. or someone who speaks in court, since no Puente members have law degrees and their platform depends on a public, not legal audience. Instead, Paula is using “lawyer” as a referent for the type of people with the ability to bring the incarcerated home from detention. From Paula’s perspective, the majority un-credentialed, working-class Latina/o community members in Puente have been more successful than credentialed professionals: “more lawyers than the lawyers”. The fumbling language reflects a shift in thinking about professional expertise and how people get in and out of carceral spaces, towards a different paradigm not adequately articulated in grammars that mask the mechanisms of white supremacy (Chang, 2000).

Isabel expresses a similar shift in her thinking as she reflects on her detention two months after release: “You know, you go to courts and they tell you you’re being deported. And I just think... wow, why? Why do they have that power over us?” While deportation is legally justified through simplistic explanations about criminality and foreignness, to answer Isabel’s question from a historical and structural perspective requires a far more complicated analysis of the formation of the white supremacist nation-state, the economic and political consequences of colonization, and dominant norms about institutional authority and political citizenship. Isabel’s question is “rendered thinkable” (Freire, 2005) because she has seen, as a participant in movement, that the state’s authority to displace is not hegemonic or beyond the realm of contestation.

## **Scaling Up: Not One More Deportation Campaign**

The last three years, 2011-2013, were arguably the first years in the recent history of the U.S. migrant justice movement that organizations on the Left could call for an end to deportations and be taken seriously by mainstream media at a national scale (Ludwig, 2014). While immigration reform died in Congress, activists connected through a national movement led by undocumented families and youth, have called on President Obama to pass an executive order to stop deportations.

The transition from demands for immigration reform to an end to deportations has been well-received by raid survivors, felonized workers for whom immigration reform, as outlined in any of the federal proposals, would not mean a change in the ability to work or freedom from fear of future arrest. After Tomás's wife spent all her savings and emotional energy on lawyers and bonds trying to free her husband, Tomás emerged from 13 months of jail and detention exhausted, in debt, and with no certain future: no guarantee that the next day Tomás would not go right back to jail. Tomás muses, "We're here, enduring, like everyone. But for what? We suffer under the illusion that reform will help us work and survive."

The demand "Not One More" – "not one more deportation", but also, implicitly, "not one more raid", "not one more family separated", "not one more death" – has been elevated through direct action in Washington D.C., but also in cities around the country, in Phoenix, Tucson, Chicago, Los Angeles, New Orleans, and New York, locking down Border Patrol vehicles and shutting down ICE detention and processing centers (Figure 4.2; Bogado, 2013). This coordinated but decentralized campaign is part of a deliberate

“politics of scale” (Towers, 2000). The strategy aims to redirect national political power back to local communities, where mass displacement is not just a statistic or rhetoric, but an everyday practice, connected to militarized policing and prisons, terrorizing real people with families and personal stories.



**Figure 4.2** A large puppet of a Latina mother, held up by the crowd on the day that Puente, joined by groups from around the country, shut down the Central ICE Office in downtown Phoenix. The puppet’s chest reads: “Stop ICE”. The puppet’s brown skin tone, flower, and long braided hair represent Latina women, specifically, as defenders of the community. *Source:* Lemons, “Phoenix ICE Building...”, 2013

This national campaign, a loose coalition between Puente and dozens of similar grassroots migrant justice organizations and networks, aims to connect the most traumatizing issue in the community with a visionary demand. In his song about the movement to stop deportations, hip hop artist Olmecca narrates the story of Bertha Avila, a Puente member who first began trying to stop deportations while in Eloy Detention center, before she encountered Puente: “Inside the centers of terror, I helped more than a hundred women with their cases because it hurt me to see others in the same situation” (Olmecca, 2014). Now, Bertha and her daughters are active in the local struggle,

connected to the national movement, to stop deportations across the country. What gives this undocumented mother of five the power to demand an end to the mass displacement of her community or the belief that her voice will be heard? As Nyers (2010) observes, this is the nature of a campaign to shut down the state's capacity to physically remove people from its borders: it problematizes old ways of thinking about political action and "reformulates the terms of political community" (p. 1070).

## **Part II: Shifting the Paradigm: Working is Not a Crime**

The individual, *uno por uno* work of freeing people from detention and deportation has run in parallel, building and built by, a campaign to decriminalize work. While migrants with felony charges are systematically deported, migrant justice organizations on the Left have called for an end to all deportations, including of people with felonies. A second approach interrogates the process by which people are given felonies in the first place.

Several months after Rosa was released from detention, after several months of working and building with Puente and other grassroots organizations from other parts of the country, Rosa recalled her experience of being raided. By that point, part of her narrative of raid arrest was a declaration: "I have the right to work". In this case, she's speaking about an inalienable human right, a vision of the world she believes ought to be, rather than the legal right. Without work, without employment and some means of income, she literally cannot survive, cannot find housing or food. She values her life, her



children, her community, so it is not a question, there is no other option; she works, and she defends that action as her right to survive.

A rights framework creates more space for making claims about work (Mitchell, 2003), that is, about livelihood and economic justice, than a criminal justice framework, in which a “veil of ignorance” presumes white middle-class subjects who do not have to negotiate their survival around economic and military imperialism, and xenophobic immigration policies (Pateman and Mills, 2007). However, neither framework guarantees a disruption to practice of denying Latina/o workers the ability to work free of fear of displacement. Instead, both frameworks (“work is a human right” and “working is not a crime”) are used to persuade the public and pressure individual employees of the state to disrupt raid trajectories at multiple points. Slowly, these claims, when made by undocumented workers telling emotional stories about their work and arrest, change the way people understand migrant labor and foster public discontent with the impact of prison and deportation on the workplace.

### **Nodes of the State: Professional and Prosecutorial Discretion**

The diffuse local movement to decriminalize work and defend working as a right has used multiple tactics, working in diverse and shifting coalitions, and relies on the multiple sites of professional and prosecutorial discretion within the state. The trajectory of a raid is as complex as it is long, encountering numerous individuals, employed by the state in different sites of bureaucracy. Figure 4.3 depicts eight local sites and two sites outside the city where Puente and organizational allies in local coalition have pressured

specific local officials: Sheriff Arpaio and the various state agencies that oversee his office; numerous judges in criminal and immigration courts; the Maricopa County Prosecutor Bill Montgomery; and local ICE advocates.



**Figure 4.3** Map of sites where Puente and the migrant community have organized political actions in response to the criminalization of work and the displacement of workers. The many sites and geographic distance between sites speaks to the strategy of creating space for criminalized workers through discretion at multiple nodes of the state.

In 1963, after observing the trial of Adolf Eichmann, a Nazi bureaucrat who coordinated the logistics of mass deportation to extermination camps, Hannah Arendt (1963) argued that evil is perpetuated less often by malice than by mundane bureaucracy. Although white supremacy and anti-Latina/o xenophobia are fueled, in part, by hate and wrath, the most powerful motor of anti-immigrant violence is a banal, disinterested pursuit of capital accumulation and state reproduction. Workers are moved by thousands of hands, each simply doing their job – from the worksite to police van, to jail, to court, to jail, to ICE van, to ICE processing center, to detention center, to court, to detention

center. The strategy of the “working is not a crime” campaign has been to create a dilemma of moral persuasion and public pressure for decision-makers in each of these local bureaucratic agencies to move towards justice for raided workers.

The target, location, relationship to the state, and types of demands have shifted consistently throughout the multi-year course of the campaign: at once refusing to exceptionalize Arpaio and using Arpaio’s weight as a political pariah; laying blame with Montgomery while condemning the complicity of ICE; demanding that the jail and detention centers are shut down while carving out exceptions for individual families; toeing the boundaries between “working is not a crime” and “no one is criminal”. This fluid terrain is characteristic of the political flexibility necessary for the “oppositional consciousness” of Third World workers for whom the ideal of a unitary political vision is constrained by the need to negotiate and survive everyday violence (Du Bois, 1983; Moraga, 2011; Sandoval, 1991).

Components of the campaign to dismantle the local system displacing workers have not taken place in sequence, but at the same time. Power from pushing one angle builds momentum, unity, and political pressure for the others. In each instance, the stories and voices of raided workers and their families serve as the primary disruptive force, changing popular and local narratives about economic security and safety in the workplace (Polletta, 2009).

## **Get the Police Out of Our Worksites: Justice for Workers**

Members and organizers with Puente have, at times, shown up outside worksites during raids. While the state spectacle of militarized policing consolidates migrant workers in public imagination as a threat to be removed, the presence of activists and family members introduces a more human counter-narrative: arrestees are workers, family, and community members. Protest presence also communicates, to the public and to workers themselves, that there is an alternative to silent resignation, a possibility to disrupt the state's violent repression of workers. When Ana received the call that her husband was arrested, she rushed to the worksite, "I felt disappointed, disillusioned. But there, activists started to arrive, they gave us doors to *la lucha*."

The narratives shared at the worksite by workers' families, retold and re-remembered in months of struggle, eventually articulated by raid survivors themselves, include instances of wage theft, unpaid work hours, abusive employer relations, unemployment, homelessness, and poverty. Economic justice emerges as a central theme in workers' demands to stop racially motivated raids and the criminalization of migrant labor.

Movement organizing against workplace immigration raids is, on one level, a response to one of the most visible and disruptive attacks on the community. However, it also creates an opportunity to build connections among people as dignified workers. The demand to end workplace raids is not only about the trauma of displacement and imminent deportation, but also a motion towards reclaiming the workplace from

corporate owners and police, a reform that, once set in motion, can expand the power of the migrant working-class (Harvey, 2012).

When raid survivors argue against the criminalization of work, they often speak beyond the rationale that work is an economic necessity, that they are “only doing what they must to survive”. Narratives invoke honor and self-determination. For example, it was important to Rosa, when advocating in D.C., to explain that, not only is she “not criminal”, but she is a talented and proud seamstress. Invoking histories of struggle of Third World workers throughout Latin America, raid survivors demand survival, but also, dignity in the workplace and respect for their labor (Fonesca, 1999; Kelley, 1994).

### **“We Dropped the Mic on the Prosecutor”: Changing Criminal Charges**

Unlike Sheriff Arpaio, MCSO, and the Phoenix Police Department, accustomed to being the target of political protest, County Prosecutor Bill Montgomery is more often shielded from democratic engagement and public intervention. For this reason, a big part of the rhetorical labor of pressuring the prosecutor’s office to drop the criminal charges on raided workers involved making the case for Montgomery’s political responsibility and capacity to act.

Within the criminal justice system, there is a “diffusion of responsibility, a myriad of elected and appointed officials who often act independently of one another” (Misner, 1996; Atkins and Pogrebin, 1982). The decision-making of any one official is often more autonomous than totalizing rhetoric about ‘the law’ or ‘the government’ implies. The campaign targeting Montgomery relies on “prosecutorial discretion”, the legal authority

of any agency charged with enforcing the law to selectively enforce those laws (“Prosecutorial Discretion”, 2012). This is a regular part of daily activity, discretion usually exercised without conscious thought or public oversight, and most often leading to racially discriminatory enforcement practices (Baradaran, 2013; Alexander, 2010).

The public tug-of-war between Montgomery and raided workers has less to do with the question of prosecutorial discretion and more to do with political power. When Puente and other, neighborhood-based organizations called for a series of community forums with the Prosecutor and the Police Chief, dominant power relations were disturbed: the criminal justice system is set up to scrutinize and issue orders to the people, not the other way around.

The first of these meetings made clear Montgomery’s discomfort with political heat, while the second ended in a strong expression of the community’s power. During the latter forum, held at Sunnyslope High School in north Phoenix, members of four families of people arrested for working shared their stories with the County Prosecutor. Administrators and other city employees arranged the room in advance of the meeting to establish the officials’ control over the course of the meeting. A table “invited” members of the public to request to speak, the order of which would be determined by representatives of the prosecutor’s office. Officials sat at the front of the room while members of the public were instructed to speak into a mic at the back of the room. A Spanish interpreter was arranged only ad hoc, half way through the meeting.

Standing before the mic, David Collin, son of Luciana, a 65-year old woman in detention for working, spoke with humble authority,

My mother brought us here because we are trying to make a living, trying to become something better than we had in Mexico. We didn't have a house there, we lived on the streets with our family. We don't have anywhere else to go. Do you think it's right for someone to take your mother away from you? Let her go.<sup>8</sup>

Judith, Luciana's strong and vocal daughter, mother of two girls, spoke after David, petitioning the Prosecutor to think with his heart, then sat in the front row, less than two feet from Montgomery, not dropping her gaze, as though daring him to speak ill of her elderly mother.

Despite his tough-on-crime public image ("Maricopa County Attorney...", 2014), in front of these families, Montgomery professed concern, shifting the blame to the 'invisible hand' of the market and anti-immigrant policies outside his control. "Go to your congressmen", he commanded. The third time Montgomery repeated this response, a Puente organizer interrupted, "We're not going anywhere, Bill. We're right here. These cases are in your hands, what are you going to do?" Montgomery initially attempted to quell the interruption, raising his hand to command silence. However, when it was clear he had no further response and could not regain control of the space, he sat down. The interruption represented another affront on Montgomery's unquestioned professional authority.

Not everyone in the audience was from Puente. Media personnel held cameras in the back and a few rows of chairs were occupied by various members of the public, mostly middle-age and white. One woman commended Montgomery for his work to "fight crime". However, the numerical majority of the room came in support of the raided workers. Interruptions were not planned in advance, but were taken by a few of the

---

<sup>8</sup> Quotes from this public meeting were captured on video and later transcribed.

leaders the organization following the pulse of the group, or in the words of Zapatistas, “leading by obeying” (*mandar obedeciendo*) (Aguierre and Antonio, 2009).

A Puente member and Chicano ally spoke to the issue from a theoretical perspective. His style and tone of voice invoked hip hop culture as he cited Malcolm X, followed by the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights: “Article 13 states that migration is a human right. Article 23 states that work is a human right. You have a moral obligation to respect these rights.” When Montgomery responded by avoiding the question and again asserting his inability to act, Puente members and families, nearly three-quarters of the room, stood up and walked out, leaving Montgomery stuttering to regain composure.

Even in a space as regulated as this community forum, voices of workers’ families and their allies unsettled the dominance of the County Prosecutor. The event is a poignant example of the way collective action, narratives of the oppressed, and cultural expressions from below challenge the devaluation of working-class knowledge and repression of the migrant poor (Maciel and Ortiz, 2000; Sandoval, 2000).

Over 2013, Montgomery changed the way he prosecuted work-related charges. For the same act of signing a labor contract, Montgomery initially assigned felony 3 and 4 charges, but now assigns the lesser charge of felony 6. This change is significant in that it confirms the discretionary power of the prosecutor, demonstrates the impact of community pressure, and makes it a little easier for felonized workers to dispute their deportation. However, a felony 6 still disqualifies raid victims from a work permit or any outcomes of immigration reform. The night that Clara learned, during a Puente meeting,



that the much-touted Immigration Reform proposals of Congress in 2013 would still not allow her to work because of her felony 6 charge for working, she asked a long series of questions, increasingly troubled and disillusioned.

### **Bringing Workers Home: Untangling Arpaio-Montgomery-ICE Collaborations**

Taking advantage of the broad discretionary apparatus of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (Jordan, 2011; Mannion, 2012), grassroots organizations mobilizing for migrant justice in the U.S. have become increasingly proficient in campaigns to free people held in detention and deportation. These campaigns depend on the hearts and minds changed when migrants tell their own stories, amplified by a movement. They also use the victories of local organizing efforts to untangle inter-agency collaborations. In addition to federal and state-level policies, like Secure Communities, 287g, and SB1070, that formalize police-ICE (*polimigra*) collaborations, Puente is exposing the informal connections between criminal and immigration law enforcement agencies that set people on a fast-track to displacement.

Members of the migrant community, outside the legal profession, have played pivotal roles in strategy and preparation for the trials of Sheriff Arpaio for racially motivated policing. However, the primary role of migrant grassroots organizing has not been to target Arpaio himself, since he is already a polarizing and static figure in the court of public opinion, but to pressure other agencies who eschew public association with Arpaio's police work. After the deportation of Katie Figueroa's parents was canceled, an organizing victory for dozens of organizations in Arizona, and national news

that hit the New York Times (Lemons, 2013), Arpaio conducted a retaliatory work raid on Uncle Sam's. In response, a local coalition of Puente members and legal advocates began working to hold accountable the monitoring body responsible for enforcing the constitutionality of Arpaio's policing.

Puente organizers have also used the federal court decision about Arpaio's raids to demand that ICE "free Arpaio's victims", all workers brought to detention through unlawful racial profiling. Latina/o workers arrested in raids would not have reached immigrant detention if Arpaio and MCSO were not conducting work raids that have now been declared unconstitutional. The fear of association with Arpaio is as compelling as the federal court decision, since Arpaio's overt white supremacy clashes with the carefully managed colorblind image intended by ICE.

While Montgomery does not have the same political vilification as Arpaio, his unusually punitive prosecution has been used to persuade ICE to dismiss the felony charges he assigns for working. In the Morton Memo, an informal policy-setting document issued in 2011, John Morton, former director of federal ICE, outlined ICE priorities, excluding low-profile migrants without criminal charges from priority deportation cases (Morton, 2011). This is another basis on which organizers with Puente gain traction in ending the deportation of workers: if the Morton Memo instructs ICE to release non-criminal migrants, and workers arrested in raids are wrongfully criminalized by an over-zealous prosecutor, then ICE should release raid victims.

## **Emboldening an Abolitionist Dream: Families Belong Together**

Some immigrant rights groups seek congressional policy change for the imagined model migrant without addressing the realities of criminalization and incarceration of the community. The DREAMer, a young, high-school graduate with no criminal record, epitomizes the representation of the ‘good immigrant’ exploited by the conservative right in a ‘good immigrant’ / ‘bad immigrant’ binary. Deferred Action makes one category eligible for work permits, while the other, larger category of people are increasingly jailed, detained, and deported (Chavez, 2013). Adults arrested and felonized for working are most often excluded from the mainstream immigration reforms and proposals.

In one sense, “working is not a crime” campaign might be seen as replicating this strategy, only widening the category of ‘good immigrants’ to include workers, while leaving the ‘good’ / ‘bad’ binary intact and, by consequence, the violent structures of racially motivated policing, incarceration, and deportation (Lawston and Escobar, 2009).

This concern is always present, and comes up whenever raided workers, speaking during meetings or rallies, make spur-of-the-moment claims about their personhood and right to freedom from displacement on the basis of being “not a drug addict or prostitute”, “not a real criminal”. By distinguishing between criminal charges for work from charges for drug use or sex work, between themselves and the “real criminals”, these claims strengthen the state’s rationale for policing and incarcerating communities of color, especially Chicana/o (as opposed to Latina/o), Black, and Native communities.

However, with the exception of these off-the-cuff explanations, the campaign to decriminalize work might be seen as fitting within an abolitionist framework in at least four ways.

A drawing sketched during a brainstorming session with Puente Vision, Puente's youth media collective, demonstrates one way Puente members are imagining the bigger picture meaning of their work. In the image, the "detention-deportation monster", a giant mechanical beast full of jail cells and ICE officers, is snatching people up, stuffing them in its mouth, while "The People", a crowd of brown-skinned men and women, link arms, surround the most vulnerable to protect them, and struggle to pull people back from the grasp of the monster. Although the monster engulfs far more than The People are able to bring back, The People are engaged in a tug-of-war. While the state builds more prisons, jails, and detention centers, expanding the carceral population exponentially (Barlow, 2005), the "working is not a crime" campaign aims to abolish one of the many tools of criminalization used to facilitate this expansion. The goal is not to refine the monster, but to disentangle people, one group at a time, from the reach of the carceral state (Davis, 2012).

The campaign also anticipates other demands that contribute to the abolition of the border as a defining geographical feature determining the social and economic freedom of people on either side (Anzuldúa, 1987). In the "Arizona Proposal", a list of federal reforms desired by the Left in Arizona, outlined during the height of Comprehensive Immigration Reform debates in the summer of 2013, Puente and other migrant organizations called for the "right to return for Arpaio's victims". Again, Arpaio

is used as the vilified face of racist policing, though his tactics are not significantly different from work raids around the country. The subtext of the petition refers to the right to return for all people deported for working, with implications for migrant and mixed status families across the country. Protests in Mexico City, including many deportees of the United States are elevating this plea. Perhaps foreshadowing a demand on the political horizon in the U.S., a petition discussed on the Left but not yet taken seriously by the mainstream, deportees are fighting for “the ‘right to return’ for those who have been deported and have children who are citizens or close family in the United States” (Movimiento Migrante Meosamericana, 2013). Work raids displace family and community members across the border; fighting against these processes includes the work to bring back the already displaced, people easily excluded from imagination of the “local” community, but for whom home remains far away, and justice, an urgent and unserved ideal.

Third, Puente’s *uno por uno* individual work does not only include people arrested for working, but also people arrested for loitering on the street corner, panhandling, hunting without a license, driving under the influence of alcohol, or possessing marijuana. There are many ways Latina/o migrants are roped into the criminal system, not all so easy to rationalize within the framework of a dominant American narrative. While work is more easily incorporated into capitalist values, coping mechanisms like drugs or alcohol are less readily accepted (Maschi, 2008). However, for families of people arrested with DUIs or marijuana, incarceration is no less traumatizing or frightening. Families of people arrested for working and families of people arrested for

other charges share the fears and struggles, attend the same meetings and the same rallies, and all shed tears when their loved ones finally make it home. Like integration of black and white people at Highlander School, the stigmas associated with other criminal charges are rarely discussed explicitly. Myles Horton of the Highlander School explains, “We had another status quo at Highlander, so long as we didn’t talk about it, it was very little problem. Then later on, participants started talking about it from another point of view, the point of view of experience.” (Horton and Freire, 1990, p. 135). Space shared in Puente with multiple criminalized groups expands the collective imagination of the category of people who deserve dignity and freedom.

Finally, the demand, “working is not a crime”, visibilized by Puente’s grassroots movement, has been picked up by other smaller, local grassroots collectives, including the Phoenix Sex Workers’ Outreach Project (SWOP) (“About SWOP”, 2014), contesting the criminalization of sex work, and, on a less public scale, Prisoners Are People (PRP), rejecting the criminalization of small-scale drug sales. This builds rhetorical and organizational links between migrant justice and local abolitionist work in trans\* and Black communities and street economies (Richie, 2012). Since the organizing slogan names work as the action to be reclaimed in dignity rather than criminality, “working is not a crime” exposes the many ways economically marginalized communities under capitalism are criminalized for finding ways to survive. Collaboration between these communities aims for collective freedom from incarceration, the right to work, free of threat, and also, implicitly, the right to economic justice, to “livable lives” (Butler, 2004).

### **Part III: Spaces of Dignity and Home: Building an Alternative**

#### **Community Media, Books, and Dreams**

As a grassroots community-based movement, Puente struggles to improve the conditions of the working-class, combatting the policies and practices of criminalization and attrition that terrorize and oppress the migrant poor. The organizations' principles include a recognition of dignity in work, and struggles for economic justice (Sarlin, 2013). However, Puente's vision and organizing framework cannot be only reduced to class struggle.

The genealogy of movement that inspires Puente's political analysis is different from the European revolutionary history invoked in white anarchist and socialist organizing. For example, when David Harvey names significant moments in a "history of urban-based class struggle" he includes the "revolution in Paris from 1789 to 1830", "the Petrograd Soviet and Shanghai Communes of 1927 and 1967", "the Seattle General strike of 1919", and "the role of Barcelona in the Spanish Civil War" (Harvey, 2012, p. 115). From the history Harvey invokes, it would seem that the capacity to resist originated in the West (Rabaka, 2009). By contrast, Puente's art invokes Black abolition, including Harriet Tubman, as well as the U.S. Civil Rights movements, including Leonard Peltier, Malcolm X, and Martin Luther King Jr. Ongoing connections and learning with the Zapatistas in Mexico build a vision of indigenous autonomy and female leadership. Puente members also make sense of the organization in the larger context of Third World socialist movement, especially throughout Latin America.

Puente is also rooted in contemporary Latina/o and Chicana/o race-based politics. Puente members work to build a culture that rejects white supremacy and celebrates Latina/o history, identity and ways of life. This is different from a multicultural ideology of diversity and respect for all cultures, since the white supremacy on which white culture is based is not a value the organization hopes to recreate. Instead, the movement aims to draw out positive values of Latina/o and Chicana/o cultural practices, including space to *convivir* (or spend time together), respect for women, ancestors, elders and the earth, and a history of endurance and survival.

Understood as a social, as well as political, space, Puente works to cultivate a different status quo, a different, evolving set of taken-for-granted norms that inspire people to imagine and understand their lives differently. In a community that takes for granted the dignity of migrant workers and families, the inequality and violence of dominant society are no longer accepted as the natural order of things. Since “racism is the ordinary means through which dehumanization achieves ideological normality” (Gilmore, 2007, p. 243), when a community rejects the supremacy of whiteness, dehumanizing conditions no longer seem normal, natural, or even aberrant, but rather, violent and systemic. For example, after several months of attending community meetings, protests, and events with Puente, Maru narrates her son’s arrest as an example of the fact that “there is so much racism against us”. Instead of internalizing guilt or fear for the arrest, she understands the issue as a collective, systemic problem of domination and injustice, and believes things will only change if “we take the risk to fight”.



Another aspect of this alternative culture is self-determination and respect for the expertise of lived experience (Collins, 2000): members of the community are their own media, their own educators, and their own leaders. Cultural work of the organization includes three small cooperative organizations: Puente Visión, the youth media collective producing short films to stop deportations and support the community; Puente Ink, a screen-printing cooperative, making movement and protest art; and the Puente Underground Library (Chance, 2012) housing books about Latina/o history and contemporary issues banned in Arizona public schools. These cooperatives create anti-racist media, by and for the people, with the goal of pushing back against the dehumanizing lens of corporate media and narrating stories of the community themselves (Paredes, 2012).

Horizontal leadership, however messy and complicated in reality, is a process that includes unlearning dominant epistemological assumptions about what sort of people have the knowledge and capacity to lead (Pizarro, 1998). Some people have more experience organizing, building coalitions, strategizing about collective liberation, and synthesizing the ideas of a multitude of people. Other people have lived experience with the problem, in enduring the terror of police raids, the humiliation and trauma of jail and detention the fear of deportation, or everyday encounters with racism. These two kinds of knowledge, often overlapping, are both important and lead to different but, ideally, equally valued skills and roles in the organization (Bernal, 2006). While these two kinds of knowledge can be difficult to balance, neither represent the sorts of qualifications that

elevate people to positions of power in dominant society, including degree credentials, professional status, or job titles.

The significance of this norm is most evident when Puente works in collaboration with other organizations that are not grassroots, but based on a more professional model of advocacy and social change. For example, one afternoon, more than forty people, including perhaps a dozen lawyers, gathered at Puente to discuss the “Arizona Proposal”. Facilitators, including Puente leadership, emphasized that personal experiences of the migrant community were the best guidance for writing policy proposals. However, with so many conventionally identified experts and authority figures in the room, it was easy to slip into deference for expert, technical knowledge. At one point, Clara, a Puente member who spent months in detention, spoke, clearly distressed: “Sometimes, they don’t even give us water to drink.” At first, one of the facilitators made a note about detention conditions, and turned to the rest of the group for continued brainstorming, but Clara intervened again. Perhaps she felt the group had not fully acknowledged the gravity of the demand, perhaps this was the first time she had publicly shared a horrifying experience that, until this moment, had neither name nor outlet. The mood in the room shifted. Her insistence broke the professional conventions of the conversation, as people sat with her sadness, some having experienced the same, and others recognizing that they *did not know*.

## **Taking Care: The Future is Closer than We Thought**

Geographically, Puente works to transform power in the spaces of migrant's everyday lives, wherever they are: to mitigate the threat of prisons and detention centers at home and in the workspace; to shrink the distance created by displacement to jail or detention; and to bring people home before they are forced across the border. Raids and the subsequent raid trajectory create terror and trauma that linger in work and home long after the arrest has subsided, leaving the intimate spaces of daily life more uncanny than home (Gordon, 1997). As Chandra Talpade Mohanty (2003) observes, “both leftists and feminists have realized the importance of not handing over notions of home and community to the Right” (p. 85). Collective home-making, in a social group accustomed to the always present potential of violent forced displacement, is a radically political choice. Against the daily practice of forced removal, Puente struggles to create “geographies of liberation”, spaces of collective safety, healing and autonomy.

The community work returns full circle to the affective relations of care, described in chapter 3, practiced on an individual basis in jail and detention. The “pocket of hope” found in Puente begins from a foundation of care and is most transformative in the ways that people grow in their ability to take care of each other as a community (Horton and Freire, 1990, p. 95). One of the earlier strategies of Puente's movement building, Comites de Defensa del Barrio (Committees for Neighborhood Defense), started in 2010 (Loewe, 2012). Small groups of residents met in community centers and public parks to learn their rights and strategize about how to defend themselves against community raids. These Comites have evolved into 6-week Know Your Rights trainings

that continue the work of preparing people for interacting with the police, fighting deportation cases, and bringing more people into the movement. Puente a la Salud (Puente Health) is a collective of *promotoras*, health promoters, mostly Latina women, who educate the community about preventive health practices to confront the disparities in environmental hazards, access to healthy food, and health care, and to sustain the bodies of people taking care of their communities for the long haul. Finally, the organization deliberately incorporates time to spend special days together with the community, creating art, music, and food to celebrate, including Dia de las Madres, Dia de los Muertos and Christmas Pachada. Celebrating holidays as a community contributes to a broadened understanding of family and home as emotional experiences that can take place in public space.

From these deliberate community building strategies, informal friendships and relations of care are built in the context of rejection of criminalization, shame, and inhumane suffering. Care is constructed from an awareness of common experience, but also mutually entangled interests, the sense that “my liberation is bound up in yours” (Watson, 2013). For example, when Camila’s son broke his leg, members of Puente brought him get well soon wishes. After Rosa’s apartment manager took her apartment out from under her during her months in detention, Rosa was offered a place to stay at Puente. This is not care in the sense of service-provision, but mutual, emotional concern for one another. Sometimes, as Rosa explains, having others who need you is as significant as having your own needs meet, “I felt like I mattered to someone, you know? This gave me strength, I have to fight, because it’s not just about me and my struggle. It’s

for all of us.” Taking care of each other empowers individuals to take more risks and to value bodies and selves to sustain risk-taking and movement building in the long-term, but it is also an end in itself.

Grassroots organizations, as interconnected sites of political imagination, form the basis for social movement. Puente, in coalition with other grassroots migrant justice organizations, is mobilizing for a particular freedom dream: specific to the community from which it is born, from Latina/o migrant community in the heart of white supremacist oppression in post-SB1070 times. The “freedom dreams” and “cognitive maps of the future” expressed in Puente are diverse; rather than a single organizational vision, Puente aims to house the possibility for liberation imagined in many different ways, “a world where many worlds fit” (Kelley, 2002; Blaser, 2010).

Latina/o workers are still raided and arrested for supporting their families, and the industry of prison continues to expand, engulfing a growing proportion of the migrant community. Although momentum from years of movement has grown a large base of the organization, community continues to be “the product of [ongoing] work, of struggle; it is inherently unstable, contextual; it has to be constantly reevaluated in relation to critical political priorities.” (Mohanty, 2003, p. 104) The future of Puente and other organizations engaged in similar struggle, the people who make up its community and their political strategies, are figured out in an ongoing process that cannot be separated from everyday survival. The movement towards Latina/o freedom from the daily threat of violent displacement is nurtured by collective dreams of care, autonomy, and home (Kelley, 2002).

## Chapter 5:

### COLONIZING AKIMEL O'ODHAM LAND: THE LOOP 202 SOUTH MOUNTAIN FREEWAY

When the sun sets to the west of Muhadag Do'ag (South Mountain), light refracts on pollution, among the worst in any major Metropolitan area in the country (McKinnon, 2011). After dusk, a series of radio towers over 300 feet tall, used by “nearly all the TV and major FM stations in Phoenix”, become sea of flashing red signal lights on the mountain (“Phoenix 2009”, 2010). Even as a Milgahn (white person), these are signs that I am, in a certain colloquial sense, home. However, these familiar sights are also artifacts of colonization, of emissions from the automobile culture brought by white settlers, and of a steady trend of encroachment on Akimel O'odham people and their land.

The Arizona Department of Transportation (ADOT) and the Maricopa Association of Governments (MAG) have, since 1983, proposed to construct a major truck bypass through this area. This, as yet disputed, South Mountain Freeway (also known as ‘the Loop 202’) is best understood as one example of ongoing processes of colonization that characterize contemporary settler-indigenous relations in the U.S.

Freeway construction, in and of itself, is not uncommon. ADOT plans to initiate or continue 14 major freeway projects across the state in 2014 alone, including the South Mountain route, if organized resistance does not stop it (“Major Arizona Transportation...”, 2014). Unlike a raid, deliberately theatrical to defend its state of

exception, freeway construction hides in the mundane. A product of the larger U.S. colonial system and a consequence of neoliberalism's pervasive ideology of developmentalism, the freeway is an almost unremarkable addition to the Phoenix-Metro urban landscape.

However, for O'odham elders, youth, and community organizers who oppose the freeway, the stakes of the issue are not trivial. The freeway would result in the loss of culture and land, and is likely to cause water and air pollution. Many O'odham residents worry about the health of their children, and the spiritual and cultural survival of the next generation.

Akimel O'odham, better known to settlers as Pima Indians, are a federally recognized tribe on the Gila River Indian Reservation. The last time the Gila River Indian Community (GRIC) voted against the Loop 202 in 2012, ADOT finally concluded, after more than two decades of negotiations, that the freeway route would be sited adjacent to, but not on, reservation land. For many non-Native observers, this signaled an end to the legitimate concerns and voice of the indigenous community on the issue.

This analysis is part of a historical amnesia about the terms under which reservation boundaries were drawn. ADOT now plans to cite the freeway through South Mountain, a region officially excluded from O'odham territory based on a settler contract which only settlers can be said to have signed (Pateman and Mills, 2007). Although the mountain is the property of the City of Phoenix Parks under U.S. law, Muhadag Do'ag is critical to the origins and identity of O'odham people, used as a site of burial and prayer, and a source of medicinal plants and food. The geographical reach of the freeway is also

not limited to its automobile lanes. Emissions from vehicles will not stop at the border but flow southward in toxic plumes, while bulldozers cut into O’odham desert land to construct retail development adjacent to the freeway, disrupting O’odham Himdag, or way of life, reinventing O’odham sovereignty as a question of private landownership, rather than collective future.

The processes by which ADOT, MAG, and an agglomeration of capital interests at multiple scales designed and pursued the Loop 202 are emblematic of anti-democratic developmentalism, based on ideologies of inevitable ‘progress’ that can only be met with technocratic solutions. Exploiting a history of colonial oppression – including a series of laws that have eroded the sovereignty of Indian nations, and racist contemporary conceptions of indigenous civilization as inefficient and backwards – local and transnational capital interests have used the Loop 202 as an opportunity to expand, creating new global markets by displacing an indigenous community.

### **Neoliberal Utopian Fantasies: NAFTA’s Free Trade Corridors**

Although the Loop 202 is most often discussed in mainstream media as a solution to local traffic congestion, longitudinal studies by traffic engineers and air quality analysts project neither alleviated traffic conditions nor improved air quality, compared to a future without the Loop 202 (Thurston, 2013). Adding an 8-to-10 lane freeway promotes personal vehicle use, as well as interstate and international truck transport, and contributes to tourism and relocation to Phoenix, all of which would exacerbate, not lessen traffic and pollution problems.



Instead, one significant driver of the freeway is a long-term federal strategy to create transnational free trade corridors that facilitate the free movement of products to countries bordering the U.S., capitalizing on the benefits of NAFTA, the North American Free Trade Agreement. Through economic and political imperialism (Ronald, 2011; Wise and Ortega Brena, 2006; West, 2004), NAFTA has eliminated tariffs, trade and investment controls across North America, and revised the Mexican constitution, including changes to workplace regulation and the distribution of rural land. U.S.-based multinationals sell produce and other goods at prices that undercut local farmers, creating rural poverty that leads to urbanization and vulnerability in Mexico. Meanwhile, corporations have taken advantage of the cheap surplus labor and lax workplace regulations, “nearshoring” production to Maquiladoras just south of the U.S.-Mexico border (Overby, 2011; Herrera, 1997). U.S. and Mexican elites benefit and the U.S. gains traction in its attempt to reassert a position of global economic hegemony (Ciccantell, 2001), while the rural poor of both countries have experienced unemployment and famine. Winona LaDuke (2014) remarks, “I have come to the conclusion that NAFTA, free trade, and the self-government deal are the current political and economic tools of genocide against indigenous peoples. Both agreements are primarily designed to continue the dispossession of indigenous peoples from their homelands and exploit their resources.”

The processes that displace and threaten indigenous people in Mexico are also tied to colonizing development in the U.S. The CANAMEX Trade Corridor (Figure 5.1), one of the best known interstate trade corridors, establishes a virtual conveyer belt to

expedite NAFTA-based trade, linking the U.S.-Mexico border, Arizona, Nevada, Utah, Idaho, Montana, and the U.S.-Canadian border (Blank, 2006). Since the vision of a CANAMEX corridor was formalized in the 1995 National Highway Systems Designation Act, collaboration between Departments of Transportation in the five states has sought to coordinate construction of the remaining interstate freeway segments.



**Figure 5.1** The CANAMEX trade corridor is an interstate route from Mexico to Canada. The South Mountain Freeway would complete one segment of the trade corridor, amplifying the capacity of U.S.-based multinational corporations to trade with Canada and Mexico without regulations or geographical barriers<sup>9</sup>. *Source:* (left) Arizona Department of Transportation, June 2005; (right) Transportation and Trade Corridor Alliance, 2012, [http://www.azttca.org/Trade\\_Corridors.aspx](http://www.azttca.org/Trade_Corridors.aspx)

Direction for the completion of the CANAMEX trade corridor through Arizona comes from public-private partnerships, including the Arizona International Development Authority (AIDA) and the Arizona Transportation and Trade Corridor Alliance (TTCA).

<sup>9</sup> The actual route of the CANAMEX trade corridor has been contested. ADOT argues that the South Mountain Freeway is not part of the trade corridor in response to concern from Ahwatukee about foreign diesel trucking emissions. ADOT claims that the CANAMEX route will be constructed from the I-8 to the I-10 from Gila Bend to Wickenburg. However, this route remains unfunded. Maps from the Arizona International Development Authority and the Transportation and Trade Corridor Alliance confirm that the 202 is part of the officially proposed route identified by strategic plans for the CANAMEX route.

The alliances include participation from the Arizona Department of Transportation and the Arizona Commerce Authority, as well as major corporations including UPS, APL, Sky Harbor Airport, and the Arizona Trucking Association, among others (“Minutes of the Maricopa...”, 2012). Public-private partnerships are perhaps the most explicit evidence of the “modern capitalist state in the twenty-first century, [characterized] as primarily a nanny apparatus, caring for the moneyed class and providing a range of social services to private enterprise” (Quan, 2012). The associations outline their goals: developing “strategic roadmaps” to “strengthen the Arizona brand as an investment location, particularly for foreign direct investment” and “double Arizona’s exports to Mexico by 2050” (“Transportation and Trade Corridor...”, 2013). The alliances aim to redesign Arizona’s policy environment, infrastructure, and development future to create conditions most conducive to a competitive corporate environment in the globalized economy.

These utopian plans for unfettered corporate trade across transnational freeways are made from what James Scott calls the “bird’s eye view of the state”, without regard for life as it is lived on the ground (Scott, 1998). The *places* that make up the trade corridor – this river, that desert, this home, that burial site – are reduced to abstract *spaces*, generic and interchangeable square miles of property available for the neoliberal fantasies of the public-private conglomerate (Smith, 2008). The specific use value, ecology, history, or people living in the places to be developed, are addressed only after the money-making plans have been drafted behind closed doors.

## **Landlocked Capital in Search of New Forms of Wealth**

Economic development, especially multi-billion dollar infrastructure projects like the South Mountain Freeway, are driven by competing and collaborative actors at multiple, nested geographic and capital scales. As William Robinson (2012) notes, “capitalist globalization is an ongoing, unfinished and open-ended process, one that is contradictory and conflict-ridden” (p. 405). Trade corridor alliances between state agencies and multinational corporations markedly reduce the likelihood that a democratic process will be used to decide whether the freeway is constructed. However, smaller local and regional business interests have also played a role in perpetuating the freeway proposal.

Regional and local industry associations in transportation, construction, tourism, and real estate sectors stand to gain approximately \$100 million per mile, plus access to additional development futures (Brittle, 2013). Such an enormous project requires “a centralized state-backed capitalist oligopoly of oil, highway, automotive manufacturing, and real estate control over transportation policy” (Conley and Tigar, 2009, p. 148). The Maricopa Association of Governments (MAG) Transportation Policy Committee, one of the local government agencies making decisions about the freeway route, includes corporate representation such as Swift Transportation, FNF Construction, and Total Transit. Individual businesses, especially those with contracts for development or those geographically placed to benefit from freeway access, have aggressively pursued the freeway proposal, in MAG meetings and through public media statements.

As in the public-private partnerships of the Trade Corridor Alliances, the lines between state representation and private corporate interests are blurry. Most notoriously, Phoenix City Councilman Sal DiCiccio in 2009 “promised to be a ‘forceful voice’ in the ongoing controversy” (Fenske, 2009), advocating for the freeway (“DiCiccio Must...”, 2009). DiCiccio’s real estate development company has a lease on 150 acres of reservation land near the area of freeway that could become a lucrative site for retail development once the freeway construction is completed (Fenske, 2009).

Investment in fixed capital, such as warehouses, sewers, canals, power stations, and freeways can create a safety net for capitalism in its inevitable crises (Smith, 2008). Since local and regional capital interests benefit from infrastructure developments like the South Mountain Freeway without bearing the costs, the infrastructure functions as a subsidy for waning capital, especially during times of recession, including the last decade. The late 1990s and early 2000s saw a marked economic decline, especially in construction and tourism in Arizona (Gallen, 2013); the upsurge in ADOT-funded freeway development projects over last five years is laying the ground for new phases of capital growth in these sectors, regardless of whether additional freeways are socially necessary or part of a democratic vision for the future.

David Harvey (2001) refers to these temporary stop-gaps for the crises of capitalism as “spatial fixes”: surpluses in capital, finance or labor, caused when capital accumulation no longer generates a steady growth in the rate of profit, requiring geographical expansion into new, underdeveloped territories. Phoenix, one of the most sprawling metropolitan areas in the country and only very recently the product of white

resettlement from the Eastern U.S., knows well the political and economic value of spatial fixing. One of the problems with capitalism's spatial fixing is that people are often already living in the spaces that capital has targeted for development and profit (Harvey, 2003).

Settler colonialism, the removal of existing people to make way for new settlement, is as Tuhiwai Smith notes, only one form of imperialism (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). Imperialism is also an ideology, a profitable Euro-centric way of viewing the world that sees in all places "new worlds, new wealth and new possessions [to] be discovered and controlled" (p. 22). Historically and today, capitalist entrepreneurs in search of new forms of wealth have been horrifyingly creative about solutions to the presence of people already living in discovered territories: from killing people en masse, and 're-appropriating' land, to displacing existing residents, enlisting existing residents as labor, restructuring the indigenous culture and economy to name the colonized as inferior or create internal divisions, and overthrowing or undermining preexisting forms of governance. In the past four decades, the globalized neoliberal economy has seen a proliferation of economic, social and political imperialisms that create informal semi-colonies of the Third World, including Third Worlds in the U.S. (Prashad, 2007).

The area that is now Phoenix was originally inhabited by multiple O'odham speaking peoples - the Keli Akimel O'odham, On'k Akimel O'odham, Ak-Chin O'odham – as well as many Apache, Navajo, Yavapai, Hualapai, and Paiute tribes, most of whom were pursued to northern Arizona ("Early Apache Contact...", 2014). These initial encounters, in the mid-to-late 1800s, were not primarily relations of strategic

political-economic interventionism, but of mass killing. Although the form of imperialism in Metro Phoenix today is significantly different and less overt, economic development does not necessarily produce fewer human costs. As H.L.T. Quan (2012) argues, “To call the combination of finance and order ‘savage developmentalism’ is to pay attention the cruel and premature deaths that are the price of economic growth and modern progress” (p. 12).

The processes of capital “accumulation by dispossession” dominant in today’s neoliberal economy (Harvey, 2007) have resulted in a series of encroachments on Indian Reservations surrounding the Phoenix Metro Area. In 1911, dams and reservoirs along the Salt River used for settler agriculture dried up the water on the Salt River reservation, “threatening the existence of” On’k Akimel O’odham people (Frantz, 2012, para 4). The Interstate-10, built through the Gila River Indian Reservation by 1967, increasingly brings noise and pollution into heart of the reservation (“The History of the I-10”, 2013). By the late 1900s, urban sprawl caught up with the borders of these once remote territories.

For capital investors to continue accumulating profit through land development, south or westward geographic expansion now requires displacing indigenous sovereignty. This has taken place quite rapidly on the Salt River Indian Reservation, abutting Scottsdale, one of the wealthiest neighborhoods of the metro area. Through manipulation of the private leasing system on the reservation, ADOT constructed a portion of the Loop 101 on Salt River Indian Reservation land. In the years following its completion in 2001, the Salt River Indian Community saw a large-scale conversion of desert land into

Scottsdale-driven development (Frantz, 2012). The proposal to construct the Loop 202 on the Gila River Indian Reservation is part of the same trajectory of expansion against sovereignty. The reservation lines drawn by U.S. military and political officials in the late 1800s no longer serve the needs of local capital in crisis. As a result, capital interests, assisted by and co-mingled with the state, are increasingly seeking to draw back the reservation borders through economic development.

### **This was Never Meant to Take So Long: The Inevitability of Progress**

As early as 1983, ADOT representatives first began exploratory studies, and, in 1987, approached the Gila River Indian Community about a toll road or highway on GRIC land. At the time, GRIC hesitantly agreed to consider the impacts of the freeway, a consideration that grew into sharp divisions, heated debates, and ultimately, majority disapproval. Some thirty years later, the projected freeway route is still within a half-mile of the initial proposal (Figure 5.2). As an article in the Arizona Republic observed, “the extension of Loop 202 has been controversial since regional traffic planners penciled it on the map 30 years ago.” (Holstege, 2013)





**Figure 5.2** The current proposed freeway route, known as “alternative W59”. The southern portion of the route (in green) abuts the boundary of the Gila River Indian Community and cuts through South Mountain. The western portion of the route (in purple) passes through Laveen on 59<sup>th</sup> Avenue. This map, produced by ADOT for the Draft Environmental Impact Statement, downplays sources of geographic conflict. GRIC is predominantly excluded from the map, and the label for South Mountain is far from the freeway, making it seem as though South Mountain is mostly unaffected.

Why, after 30 years of public discontent, is ADOT still pursuing the South Mountain Freeway? Of course, for transnational alliances and local capital owners, the Loop 202 extension is only one component of bigger, get-rich plans that cannot afford democratic refusal. The state, in a position to expand its legitimacy and collect federal highway funds, also has incentives to pursue the freeway. Debates about the freeway – questions of land use, human health, social values, and collective futures – are reframed in terms of technical discussions about funding sources and traffic engineering. MAG and ADOT decision-making meetings are held during weekday mornings when few members of the public are able to attend, and often call on professionals in engineering, city planning, or financial management to make statements. Even the GRIC committee assembled to discuss the freeway is known as the ‘Transportation Technical Team’.

These are *epistemological* strategies of invested interests: as Aihwa Ong observes, “neoliberalism can be conceptualized as a new relationship between government and knowledge through which governing activities are recast as nonpolitical and non-ideological problems that need technical solutions” (Ong, 2006, p. 3).

ADOT has also attempted to buy off communities otherwise opposed to the freeway, linking the freeway to short-time material benefits. For example, a complex proposal has muffled resistance in Laveen. A liminal zone in transition from agriculture to suburb, the town of Laveen does not yet have its own hospital, a point of concern for many residents. The Laveen Community Council, ADOT and local representatives of the district have linked the possibility of a hospital to the construction of the freeway. A resident of Laveen explains how this affects him:

I’m against the 202 extension. But I’m sick, so I have to drive to St. Joe’s<sup>10</sup>. We need a full trauma hospital in Laveen, and they won’t give it to us without the freeway. I feel held hostage.

Through this linking of two major development projects, the freeway has become reframed in Laveen as progress in the safety, health and independence of the town. These tactics function like omnibus legislation: for people affected by lack of access to health care in Laveen, decision-making about the freeway is impaired by the promise of a hospital.

The long history of deliberation is itself used as accumulating evidence of the need to construct the freeway. For example, the Editorial Board of the Arizona Republic wrote in 2013,

---

<sup>10</sup> St. Joseph’s is the nearest trauma hospital in Central Phoenix.

One of these centuries the South Mountain Freeway will be built. Yes, you may see this view as naïve, considering that nations have risen and fallen since the road first appeared on planning maps back in the last century. It's been 30 years, to be precise. And that's long enough for a decision to be made. The state Department of Transportation would be foolish to continue waiting much longer for a clear pro-freeway sentiment to emerge. ("Time to Decide Freeway's Path", 2013).

This argument echoes a common sentiment in Phoenix, at least among residents sited away from the freeway: by 2014, almost three decades into planning, the freeway is inevitable, and further deliberation is a waste of taxpayer money. These are not statements about desire for the freeway, per se, but about exhaustion with uncertainty and the conquest of bureaucratic momentum. The City of Phoenix and the City of Laveen has proceeded with development plans presuming that the Loop 202 would be constructed along the proposed Pecos-59<sup>th</sup> Avenue route. This fact is included in the Draft Environmental Impact Statement (DEIS) as a reason for the route (Arizona Department of Transportation, 2013, p. S-36). By July 2009, four years before the release of the DEIS, ADOT had already spent more than \$70 million "for parcels throughout the corridor's 22.9 miles" (Maricopa Association of Governments, 2009). While this is less than 3% of the total \$2.472 billion projected total cost for the freeway, it has been enough to convince a number of officials and members of the public that initial investment could not be undone. Representatives of ADOT presenting at the May 2013 Public Hearing on the Loop 202 cited the \$70 million investment as an indication of the inevitability of the Pecos Road alternative.

Finally, the pervasive ideology of developmentalism, what Quan (2012) refers to as "savage developmentalism" for its "dissociative anesthesia" against its dehumanizing

consequences, renders opposition to economic development unthinkable within civil society (p. 4). Capitalism needs to expand in order to continue producing an accelerating rate of profit. As a result, expansionism and construction for the sake of economic development has become part of the increasingly invisibilized ideology of capitalism, a taken-for-granted, background condition of everyday life (Smith, 2008). The “great promise of and faith in progress” through development is accepted as our “collective destiny” (Quan, 2012, p. 4), with its accompanying “inevitable social hierarchies” and gross inequalities (Ong, 2006, p. 12).

Many local politicians have attempted to strategically reframe debate over the freeway as a NIMBY (Not In My Backyard) conflict between Ahwatukee and the O’odham nation. In 2012, DiCiccio argued against the *possibility of questioning* the freeway, the local equivalent of Thatcher’s triumphalist declaration that “there is no alternative” to capitalism (Munch, 2003). After the Gila River Indian Community voted for the ‘no build’ alternative, DiCiccio notoriously remarked, “the ‘no’ option was never a real proposal” (DiCiccio, 2012). Such a dictatorial position does not create shock because residents of the U.S. have been inundated with messages about the inevitability of progress and the necessity of perpetual capitalist growth.

### **The State’s Environmental Justice Analysis**

Freeways in the U.S. have been historically connected to military planning and economic development. When President Eisenhower initiated the 1956 System of Interstate and Defense Highways, the project articulated a vision of transcontinental

transportation, creating wide thoroughfares for industry trucks and military vehicles. In its first forty years, this freeway system, one of the “largest public-works projects in history, dwarfing the construction of the Roman road system and the Great Wall of China” (“Construction: March of the Monsters”, 1957), came to be known as “the backbone of the world’s strongest economy” (Weingroff, 1996). At a federal level, freeways have for decades been connected to desire for U.S. dominance as a global economic and military power.

More recently, freeways have been a source of raging controversy over environmental injustice. Freeways are emblematic state structures because their geography only matters at a macro-scale; they are planned from above, often literally, scoped out from helicopters to find the path of least resistance (“Construction...”, 1957). Impoverished areas of cities and rural communities have always been the most targeted sites of freeways because the land is cheapest (Blas, 2010).

Freeways have also been closely linked to race and racism. To see how the interstate highway system has been racist, it is necessary to understand racism as a structural, institutional process. Integral to Euroamerican conceptions of the modern city, highways have contributed to consolidating white wealth (Lipsitz, 2006). Freeways are built for the disproportionately mobile white middle-class, enable the expansion of segregated suburban white neighborhoods, and overwhelmingly depend on the displacement of working-class people of color (Kuswa, 2002).

Although dispossession from land, finance and housing have been crucial economic impacts of freeways’ racist construction, it is the environmental impacts of

HAZMAT and air pollution destroying Black ghettos and Latina/o barrios that have been most contested through Environmental Justice (EJ) frameworks (e.g. Jacobson et al., 2005). The framework of disproportionate exposure to hazards has been an important strategy for communities of color organizing against freeways. Unfortunately, the Environmental Justice (EJ) framework has often been watered down when applied by the state into what Melamed (2011) would call “neoliberal multiculturalism”: appropriation of anti-racist language by the state, in the service of global capitalism, obfuscating harms against communities of color (p. 138).

In the Loop 202 Draft Environmental Impact Statement, ADOT evaluates EJ claims as a question of demography in the areas surrounding the potential freeway (Arizona Department of Transportation, 2013, p. 4-29). This statistical review of Census data reveals that the residents living adjacent to the proposed freeway corridor are disproportionately people in poverty and people of color, compared to the average demography of Maricopa County (Figure 5.3). ADOT acknowledges that the freeway, like many freeways of its kind, relies on cheap land through poor neighborhoods of color, stating that “all action alternatives and options would have an adverse effect on environmental justice populations”, meaning, communities of color (Arizona Department of Transportation, 2013, 4-38). However, ADOT argues that the impacts of the freeway are insufficient to cause reasonable concern, because the freeway ostensibly brings enough economic or transportation benefit to offset hazards. This conclusion is based on a presumptive cost-benefit analysis that works only if residents’ desire for a freeway outweighs their desire for public health.



**Figure 5.3** A map produced by the Arizona Department of Transportation depicting race demographics adjacent to the proposed freeway. Tan-colored regions on the map correspond to areas where the percentage of residents who are “minority” or of color is 50-100% higher than the county average. Residents of the Gila River Indian Community are almost exclusively non-white. While Laveen is mixed and in transition demographically, many of the apartment renters of the town are working-class Latina/o. *Source:* “Title IV and Environmental Justice” 2013.

What is perhaps most notable about ADOT’s section on Environmental Justice is that it reduces a structural analysis of land dispossession, cultural destruction, and the perversion of democracy to a calculation of demography. While EJ remains a powerful discourse for marginalized communities contesting toxic development (Pulido, 1996), EJ as an analytical tool in ADOT’s hands provides no real buffer to the vulnerability of communities in poverty and communities of color impacted by the Loop 202.

### **Interrogating the ‘Post’ in ‘Post-Colonial’ Phoenix**

So far, this chapter has dealt with the ways that corporate and state interests in the Loop 202 have operated contrary to democratic processes and to the interests of all residents adjacent to the freeway site. The rest of the chapter considers the ways that the

Loop 202 undermines the autonomy of the Akimel O’odham people, in particular. Post-colonial scholars examine the cultural legacies of Modern European colonization in formerly colonized states (e.g. Said, 1978; Dirlik, 2002). This wave of thought emphasizes that, despite decolonization at the level of government, culture in the aftermath of colonization continues to reproduce colonial social hierarchies and colonial structures of thought (e.g. Spivak, 1988; Carr and Thesee, 2012). Others have argued that more of the colonial apparatus remains intact than ways of thinking: the drive for economic imperialism and the militarized institutions of the state responsible for early colonial genocide continue to *act* on indigenous peoples (e.g. Quijano, 2007; Martinez Salazar, 2012). The proposal that the U.S. is a post-colonial nation, Trask (1999) argues, is as misguided as the more popular mantra that we live in a post-racial society:

Indigenous peoples *by definition* lack autonomy and independence. In the modern, post-war world, we are surrounded by other, more powerful nations that desperately want our lands and resources. (p. 103, emphasis hers)

The O’odham Nation, including the four distinct tribes – the Akimel O’odham, the Onk Akimel O’odham, the Tohono O’odham, and the Achit O’odham – were present in Phoenix before Spanish, or, later, U.S. settlers. Prior to colonization, the O’odham tribes were more pastoral and nomadic, ranging from as far north as the Mogollon Rim, as far east as Silver City, New Mexico, and at least as far south as Porto Peñasco, Mexico (Figure 5.4).<sup>11</sup> The presence of still-existing Hohokam sites, ancestors to the O’odham people, are used by Gila River Community members as evidence of their history in the region.

---

<sup>11</sup> According to another account, the O’odham people lived much farther south, extending into Durango, Mexico, nearly 1000 miles south of Phoenix.





**Figure 5.4** An approximate representation of the original territory of the O’odham Nation (in light orange), compared to the Gila River Indian Reservation, when it was first created (in red checkers). These parameters are based on the oral accounts of O’odham community organizers and elders. The contemporary boundaries of the Gila River reservation demarcate an even smaller area.

In the early 1700s, the O’odham people were conquered by the Mexican government. When the Mexican territory was taken by the U.S. in the 1853 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Akimel O’odham fell under U.S. governance. In 1857, the United States brought the Akimel O’odham tribe under the jurisdiction of federal Indian policy, appointing an Indian agent “without negotiating a treaty” (Obibwa, 2010). The Gila River Indian Reservation, first established in 1859, has varied in size over the past 150 years.

As a Gila River Community member explained at a public gathering,

Somebody today said that our reservation used to only extend up to Baseline road. That’s not true. I have elders that tell me that Adams and Van Buren, this is where our boundary line used to be. But they don’t want us to remember that they took all that land from us. (Riddle, 2012)

O’odham residents mourn a loss of land and resources, not only in the moment of Spanish colonization, or later during U.S. colonization, but as a gradual process over the

last 150 years as well. When the Gila River was dammed, it limited access to water for agriculture on the reservation (Brown, 2009; DeJong, 2009; “The Water Assets of ‘The River People’”, 1999), and negatively impacted the tribal economy. An interviewee names this as one of many accumulating wounds: “We’ve suffered so many defeats in our community, including the loss of our river. It’s not just not being able to farm or subsist like we used to, but it also affects the morale of our community, our inner health.” The damming of the river, the shrinking of federally recognized reservation territory, the construction of the I-10 through the reservation, and the lease of reservation land to private owners has gradually slipped land out from under Akimel feet. One Community elder explains, from his perspective,

Since the Europeans have come across the land, they have stolen, cheated, jilted. ‘Just give us your land’. That’s what the Europeans have always been saying. Ever since the time of the pilgrims, ever since the Spanish first came. Oh give us just a little bit of land, we won’t bother you anymore. But it’s never been like that. They keep asking for more and more and more.

The proposal to construct the Loop 202 extension ought to be considered with the understanding that this is not the first intrusion on O’odham land. Rather, it is one instance in a series of losses of autonomy, water, clean air, and land. The state infrastructure that has produced threatened O’odham well-being and self-determination has a different form than 150 years ago, but is no less powerful or determined to “secure a market by force” (Lorrain, 1989, p. 5). In the sections that follow, I outline aspects of the South Mountain Freeway proposal and process that evidence colonial relations between the settler state, mainstream media, and O’odham people.

## **Raping the Land: “What Part of No Don’t You Understand?”**

Freeway development on the reservation is cheaper and, in many ways, less politically complicated for ADOT and MAG than development on Phoenix land. The property values of the reservation’s rural agricultural fields are not as high as the expensive new housing projects of Ahwatukee and Laveen. Despite their quasi-independent legal status, native tribes also do not have the same political clout as business and wealthy property owners in other parts of Phoenix. As a result, Akimel O’odham face the same pressure for expropriation as many other tribes in the U.S., whose land, originally marked for indigenous use because of its poor quality, has become increasingly attractive to mining, logging, and development interests (Grinde and Johansen, 1995).

While ADOT and MAG are perceived as showing concern for indigenous sovereignty, the pursuit of a freeway on reservation land has continued from 1986 to 2013, against the will of Gila River Indian Community (GRIC). When MAG first proposed the 202 route in 1983, the toll road was considered for placement on reservation land. As an O’odham elder recalls,

They [native residents near the freeway path] made a motion at the meeting that said District 6<sup>12</sup> doesn’t want anything to do with the State of Arizona having a freeway or toll road here. That’s when it began. They kept coming out here, about three or four more times. And then finally, around 2000, we just said, ‘no, okay?’

The Community’s stance at the time, based on accounts from two elders and the Gila River against Loop 202 blog, was not only opposed to a freeway on the reservation, but opposed to a freeway near the reservation, including through South Mountain.

---

<sup>12</sup> District 6 refers to the area on the Gila River Indian Reservation closest to the proposed freeway.

Nonetheless, MAG continued advancing the project. In 1988, the State Transportation Board approved the South Mountain Freeway as it is now, along Pecos Road. Then, for eight years, talks about the freeway stalled due to lack of funding. A Gila River Community member recalls, “We forgot about it, because we had already said no, so we thought it was over.” However, by 1999, the Arizona State Legislature passed a bill providing state funding for the Regional Freeway Program, including the South Mountain Freeway. The legislation outlined plans to complete the Freeway by the end of 2007 (“Current Issue”, 2014).

In the following year, ADOT returned to District 6 on the reservation. An O’odham Community member explains, “They came back and said they really wanted to do this, this bypass. They had this whole resolution.” In response, District 6 drafted a formal statement, brought to the Community Council, the larger governing body over all seven reservation districts. From this draft, GRIC adopted a resolution against the proposed South Mountain Freeway. This resolution, an official declaration of a sovereign nation, should have stopped freeway plans. In 2001, ADOT purchased land in Laveen along the proposed freeway corridor, the first concrete move towards construction (“Timeline”, 2014). By this point, GRIC had still not approved the freeway proposal, the Citizen’s Advisory Committee was still years from formation, and ADOT had not released any studies about the impacts of the freeway.

In 2004, MAG publicized the Regional Transportation Plan, including the South Mountain Freeway, for Maricopa County voters to consider. The next year, GRIC, concerned that the freeway was still under consideration despite its resolution in 2000,

passed a second resolution against the freeway and sent a letter to ADOT opposing the freeway. “A resolution is our law, it’s binding,” a Community member explains. What does a vote in the Gila River Indian Community mean if it does not change U.S. action that directly impacts the community? In what sense are Native tribes sovereign nations if they do not have the capacity to govern the use of land, air and water in their territory? As plans for the freeway continued despite GRIC opposition, these questions stirred some Community members to anger.

This anti-democratic volley between GRIC and ADOT continued over subsequent years. In 2006, an ADOT consultant hired Councilman DiCiccio to generate pro-freeway sentiment on the reservation and convince GRIC to permit an “on reservation” route (Holstege and Wong, 2010). This direct involvement in reservation affairs drew conflict and questions, as DiCiccio negotiated a possible land swap, offering the tribe territory near the Estrella Mountains in exchange for an on-reservation route. This effort was not immediately fruitful. ADOT and MAG maintained public statements that the possibility of a route “on reservation” was closed, and pushed forward on the Pecos Road / 59<sup>th</sup> Avenue alternative. This route cuts through South Mountain, which is a central geographic feature in O’odham cultural history and spirituality. In 2007, the GRIC Council worked with the U.S. federal government to establish South Mountain as a formally designated sacred site and traditional cultural property vital to the Akimel O’odham people.

Despite clear and official articulations of opposition from GRIC, including two resolutions against the freeway “on reservation” and this designation of South Mountain

as an inviolable sacred site, ADOT continued to buy land along the freeway corridor in Laveen in 2008. In 2009, MAG approved a \$1.9 billion budget for the freeway. These were two major signals to the public that the freeway was already a finalized decision, awaiting only formal procedures and construction.

This concerned many residents of Phoenix, especially in Ahwatukee, who by this time, had moved into a residential suburb built up to the edge of the reservation. The freeway would knock out more than 100 houses in the suburb, valued at \$150,000 - \$600,000 each (Arizona Department of Transportation, 2013, p. 4-40). Ahwatukee began pressuring for a reconsideration of an ‘on reservation’ route. At the same time, Pangea, a landowners’ association in Gila River began mobilizing for the freeway. In 2009, Arizona state Governor Jan Brewer, House Majority Leader John McComish, Congressman Harry Mitchell, and Councilman DiCiccio sent letters to Governor Rhodes of GRIC urging yet another vote before the Gila River Indian Community about the Loop 202 (“DiCiccio and the Loop 202...”, 2009). A new phase of native organizing against the freeway began, including a motion for three options on the ballot: ‘on reservation’, ‘off reservation’, and ‘no build’.

Many sources of internal and external pressure urged voters to accept an on-reservation route. Whether true or not, rumors, often articulated by the Landowner’s Association, circulated that ADOT had promised \$2000 payouts per household for a freeway built on tribal land. Pangea worked to convince landowners that they would profit from development made possible by the freeway. Flyers were distributed, on doorsteps and at community centers, urging native voters to “Save South Mountain and

the environment” by accepting an on-reservation route (Holstege, 2013). These flyers implied that the best way to protect the landmark most cherished by O’odham people would be to allow ADOT to build the freeway around the mountain, on the reservation. Of course, the mountain could also be saved by not building the freeway at all. However, politicians, MAG, and Pangea had argued for the inevitability of the freeway often enough that a vote for ‘no build’ was widely understood as equivalent to a third party vote in a two-party system.

Nonetheless, a majority of O’odham voters concluded that refusing the freeway altogether was worth the risk. The vote resulted in 720 for the “no build” option, 603 for the “on tribal land” option, demonstrative of concern about a freeway on South Mountain, and 158 for the “off tribal land” option. GRIC Governor Gregory Mendoza announced,

Tonight we have a clear direction from the Community; our voters don’t want to see this freeway built – not on tribal land or off tribal land. (“Gila River Voters...”, 2012)

As though this vote had not taken place, ADOT continued purchasing land along the Pecos-59<sup>th</sup> Avenue route, finalizing the Draft Environmental Impact Statement, and scheduling a public hearing and comment period, the last formal steps of the legal process to construct a freeway that the Akimel O’odham people had repeatedly indicated they did not want.

This violation of Akimel O’odham land, in spite of decades of refusal, parallels the history of sexual violation of native women by non-native men. Rape and sexual assault are frequently used as allegorical phrases to describe the impact of the Loop 202

on the O’odham community. In addition to the perception that “ADOT is raping the land”, people have also expressed that the repeated intrusion of ADOT and MAG, despite decades of saying “no”, invokes the feeling of violation and impotence. The Loop 202 is emotionally traumatizing, in part, because of its similarities in feeling and affect to rape, which native women disproportionately experience, 2 ½ times as often as non-native women (Weaver, 2009; Smith, 1005).

It is not merely coincidental that many of the most vocal advocates against the freeway are women. The seemingly benign relationships of paternalism that sustain patriarchy are analogous to the relationship of the U.S. state to “quasi-sovereign” tribes, what the U.S. Supreme Court has termed “domestic dependent nations”, infantile, unable to fully govern themselves (Guerrero, 2003). Euroamerican settlers have historically refused to deal with native women, reinforcing the dominance of men in native governing structures (Guerrero, 2003). Mainstream media in Phoenix disproportionately cite certain men, especially former GRIC Governor William Rhodes and GRIC landowner association leaders Nathaniel Pachero and Joseph Perez, for GRIC perspectives on the freeway. This a familiar tactic of U.S. relations with native tribes: the appearance of consent is constructed through the communication with and representation of “those Indian ‘representatives’ willing to compromise rather than those expressing political uncomfortable demands” (Kuletz, 1998, p. 172). For this reason, when an elderly native woman interrupted a MAG presenter, her forceful voice was shocking and remembered by several activists:



The last time they [MAG] came to the Community, one these little elders got up, she raised her hand, stood up in front of that director, she said, ‘When you came out here, you didn’t realize. You thought it would be just a sleepy little village here. Tell me something. Five times you’ve come before us. Five times we’ve told you no. Now tell me, what part of ‘no’ don’t you understand? ‘No’ is your language, ‘no is your word, what part of ‘no’ don’t you understand?’

### **The “Do Nothing” Tribe and “Barren Desert”**

Planning for the Loop 202 has not exclusively taken place behind closed doors and without public consent. Transnational corporate alliances and multi-scalar state interests were responsible for the freeway proposal and its perceived inevitability. However, the complicity of dominant voices in the public, organized around assumptions of the superiority of Euroamerican culture and the unquestionable desirability of development, have helped to justify state agencies’ denial of indigenous sovereignty.

Articles in *The Arizona Republic*, *The Ahwatukee Foothill News*, and the *East Valley Tribune*, written by residents of the Phoenix Metro Area, argue that the Gila River Indian Community should allow the freeway on its land. As late as 2009, *Arizona Republic* editors wrote:

We want to get excited about this week’s news that the Gila River Indian Community finally appears ready to at least talk about a westward expansion of Loop 202 across tribal land. But state and Valley leaders have a long way to go to convince Gila River officials to accept the freeway. (Editors’ Opinion, 2009).

The editors imply that ADOT and MAG should work towards convincing the Gila River Indian Community to accept the freeway, against the self-determination of the O’odham nation. A resident of west Ahwatukee, suggests, “I think a half mile south of Pecos Road is a good and reasonable compromise” (Creno, 2010). All land south of Pecos Road legally belongs to the Gila River Indian Reservation. There is not much ‘compromise’ in

displacing the burden of the freeway, a project designed by U.S. government agencies, benefiting U.S.-based corporations, entirely onto tribal land.

Various racist and colonial ideologies render thinkable this explicit, public advocacy for a proposal to undermine native self-governance and shift the environmental hazards of capitalist expansion onto a historically oppressed people. Discourses that legitimize non-native advocacy for an “on reservation” Loop 202 route circulate around four major, interconnected tropes: the myth of bare land or *terra nullius*; the superiority of white culture, coupled with a rejection of O’odham cultural values; deliberate historical amnesia; and dehumanizing rhetoric about O’odham people as a race.

Throughout colonial history, when European settlers encountered territories where people were already living, social acceptance of the decision to displace native residents, settle the land, and claim ownership over the territory depended on the social and political concept of *terra nullius*, or vacant land. In British law, *terra nullius* is a “very capacious concept” (Pateman and Mills, 2007, p. 37). It can refer to land that is “empty, vacant, deserted, uninhabited”: when settlers report that virtually no one lives there, the population is described as very small, too small to be significant. In other circumstances, native peoples are not so easily invisibilized. In these instances, the people living there are described as existing in a state of nature, without civilization or social order, and the land is “waste, uncultivated, virgin, desert, wilderness” (ibid).

Today, federally recognized tribal land is often conceived through a “tempered logic” of *terra nullius* (Pateman and Mills, 2007, p. 40). U.S. Indian law has structured native reservations in the likeness of modern states, with boundaries and government, so

the land is understood as belonging to something resembling a civil society. However, to the extent that indigenous people retain traditional practices and relations to the land, tribal territory is still often seen as an uninhabited wasteland that rightfully belongs to whoever will make better use of it.

The area in question, the so-called “compromise” half a mile south of Pecos Road, includes a school, a Boys and Girls Club, a health center, a fire station, several small houses, and cotton fields. There are also hundreds of acres of ecologically rich desert land, used for food and medicine, animal habitat, recreation, and peace. In the “tempered logic” of *terra nullius*, no one questions the fact that this area is the legal property of GRIC, but many argue that GRIC is not really using the land, that it is only right to repurpose the vacant territory for more profitable uses. For example, Lindsey Nedra in *The Arizona Republic* writes, “Now that Ahwatukee’s population has rocketed to 80,000, residents are happy to see officials considering a path through a *desolate* area well south of their homes” (Nedra, 2004). The term “residents” refers only to the non-native inhabitants of Ahwatukee; “residents” of Gila River who live, work and play on and near the “desolate” area intended for the freeway are not included in Nedra’s totalizing declaration that “residents are happy”. Lori Riddle, O’odham organizer, cites another instance of rhetorical erasure of indigenous presence on the land: “Central Arizona.com did a recent poll on whether people are for or against the freeway, and a lot of the Milghan [white people] were saying, ‘Have you seen that area? That land, it’s barren, there’s nothing there.’” (Riddle, 2012).

While land on the Gila River Indian Reservation is described as “desolate” and “barren”, neighborhoods in Ahwatukee are extolled as “cozy housing tracts” and “subdivisions of new semi-custom homes” (Purtill, 2005). Why should the environmentally unsustainable practice of constructing large, expensive houses for a small number of privileged individuals evince a higher level of civilization than preserving land for collective and future use? Why is desert land belonging to the O’odham people construed as less important than houses in Ahwatukee? Part of the explanation can be attributed to the brute calculations of capitalism: undeveloped desert land has little to no exchange value, in comparison to houses valued at hundreds of thousands of dollars each. However, there is also an explanation in dominant cultural assumptions, namely, the inevitability and goodness of development and modernity, the universal desire for fast-paced suburban lifestyles, and the superiority of white culture.

When Ahwatukee residents disparage O’odham land as “barren”, the implication is that O’odham residents should have done something with it, or rather, done what Euroamerican society does with land: develop it. As Quan (2012) notes, “development as an organizing principle has demarcated the world between the civilized and the uncivilized, between the primitive and the modern, between the intelligent and the unintelligent” (p. 27). Within the dominant social frame, it is not possible for a group of people, belonging to a civil society, to intelligently choose not to pursue development. Dominant conceptions of civil society do not allow for different indigenous ontologies, or ways of being in relationship with land. For example, Danielle Spring, O’odham

community organizer, explains a difference in orientation: “They call it undeveloped; we call it pristine” (Tempe Guy, 2012).

The active desire for unprofitable, but spiritually valuable desert land is unrecognizable to many dominant observers as a possibility because, “by definition, conquest is an extermination, not a recognition of aboriginal peoples and their familial relationship with the earth.” (Trask, 1999, p. 25). For example, Ahwatukee resident David Girona writes in *The Arizona Republic*, speaking about O’odham people, “I cannot believe that by this day and age some have not realized that to ‘do nothing’ will mean to ‘have nothing’” (Girona, 2006, p. 19). The statement enacts ontological violence (Venn, 2006): it rejects indigenous ways of caring for and being with land as ‘doing nothing’; implies that native poverty (‘having nothing’), the consequence of colonial theft, is instead caused by native laziness (‘doing nothing’); and it postulates a teleology of intellectual progress (‘by this day and age’ people should ‘realize’), in which native cultural beliefs are inferior or backwards.

In order to propose that O’odham people ‘compromise’ on the use of their own land, observers must operate from false and simplifying assumptions about humans as all essentially the same, all essentially Euroamerican, erasing difference, indigenous ontologies and experiences of colonization. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) contends, since the 1800s, the discourses of dehumanization that make possible colonial expansion were “clothed in an ideology of humanism and liberalism.” (p. 26). This is exemplified in the patronizing and difference-blind remarks of *Arizona Republic* Editorial Board in 2006:

If the Gila Community truly sits at the negotiating table with ADOT, perhaps everyone's concerns can be mitigated. Perhaps there is a route far enough from Ahwatukee homes and tribal homes that would still provide relief for Interstate 10 through Chandler, Tempe and Ahwatukee. Though the tribe has plenty of border land it can develop, a freeway also brings traffic to such development. It brings high visibility and easy access to stores and businesses. It brings cash and jobs. And though no one wants a freeway in their backyard, we all drive freeways. We all need good transportation routes. And we all benefit from government and communities working together to find the best solution all around. ("Tribe Opens Door...")

The editors' sweeping statements about all people – "everyone's concerns", "we all drive freeways", "we all benefit" – imagine away crucial differences in cultural beliefs, historical experiences, and access to resources. Tribal houses are not the only structures that demarcate 'home' for Akimel O'odham people. Distancing the freeway from tribal houses would not solve the problem of destroying "pristine desert" used and enjoyed on the reservation. The assertion that "we all drive freeways" ignores the fact that 25% of residents on the reservation do not a vehicle at all, and more than half of Gila River households have only one car (U.S. Department of Commerce, 2014). Freeways provide fast commutes to segregated suburbs and easy connections for interstate trade; these functions of the freeway do not benefit O'odham Community members. Finally, the suggestion that everyone, including native tribes, "benefit from government and communities working together", ignores centuries of U.S. history, in which native people have not only not benefited from negotiations with the U.S. government, but have often been killed or relocated.

Of the occupation of Hawai'i by Euroamerican and Asian settlers, Haunani-Kay Trask (1999) argues, "As a racist argument, the position that the American life is

somehow the ‘best’ in the world, and therefore, Hawaiians should be grateful for the ‘opportunity’ to enjoy it, flies in the face of historical evidence to the contrary” (p. 31). The oft-repeated assertion that Gila River would be foolish not to negotiate an on-reservation freeway route demonstrates the same arrogance and historical amnesia. Gila River Governor Richard Narcia met with *The Arizona Republic* in 2005 to explain that GRIC refusal to engage in negotiations about the 202 were not the dawdling of a ‘do nothing’ tribe, but a response to very recent histories of deception and exploitation: “He cited cases in which Phoenix, Arizona Department of Transportation and other entities have broken deals or treated the community disrespectfully or failed to consult it ahead of time” (Beard, 2005). Rather than listening to Narcia’s explanation for insight to the wrongs sustained by the O’odham people and the historical wounds that require collective attention, freeway proponents have advocated that “Gila River officials [look] beyond past history and any personal animosity that might exist toward the state or Phoenix” (U.S. Department of Commerce, 2014).

In interviews with Akimel O’odham organizers, versions of the refrain “we’re not stupid” were often repeated while narrating the history of Loop 202 planning: “I’m not stupid”, “O’odham people are not stupid”, “our elders are not stupid”. This assertion is made so frequently because it is a response to the way O’odham people are made to feel - excluded, uninvited, unwelcome, and deceived - in debates and public forums surrounding the freeway. Community member Starla Zeek responds to a newspaper article that demonstrates one of the many socially acceptable ways that Phoenix residents call O’odham people ‘stupid’ without saying the word; Zeek writes:

I found this article to be extremely offensive and its presentation to be undeniably biased against our community, making a statement about it being a ‘no brainer’ without once reviewing the extensive negative impacts that this freeway would have on our lives, our land, or our community. (Beard, 2005).

The term ‘Gila’ is also used as a racist epithet, akin to ‘nigger’, to deauthorize and discredit O’odham perspectives. The term only ever appears in opinion articles criticizing the choices of the Gila River Indian Community, for example: “Shame on Gilas for not studying Freeway” (Editors’ Opinion, 2009), and “I think the Gilas need to decide if they are going to move forward” (Zeek, 2012). Riddle expresses her disapproval of the racist and dehumanizing attitude implied by the term:

They were even calling us Gilas. As if Pima isn’t disrespectful enough, they’re calling us Gilas. They don’t know nothing about us, they don’t want to know nothing about us. They’d just rather take over our land, take over our peace. (Riddle, 2012)

### **Landowners for the Freeway: Congress and the Gift of “Intelligent Greed”**

Not all Gila River Indian Community members are opposed to the freeway. The 2012 Community-wide vote on the freeway is one possible indicator for the distribution of opinion. Although the majority of voting enrolled tribal members supported a “no build” option, 603 people supported building the freeway “on tribal land”, in part due to a well-funded campaign for the “on reservation” route, led by the Gila River Landowners Association. The influence of Gila River-based real estate developers has been critical to the state’s capacity to sustain plans for the freeway, and complicates clear lines between capitalist and O’odham interests.



Pangea Development Co., LLC, a Tempe-based land development corporation, and the Pecos Landowners Association (PLA), led by Joseph Perez and Nathaniel Percharo, respectively, have been negotiating with ADOT, gathering land leasing rights to property on the reservation, and stirring public support for the Loop 202 “on reservation” (“Pangea Continues...”, 2012). Local newspapers, the *Arizona Republic* and the *Ahwatukee Foothill Times*, cite the perspectives of Perez and Percharo more than any other Gila River members (at least until the Republic’s expose on Perez). It is important not to overestimate the proportion of the O’odham Community that Pangea and the PLA represent. By 2013, Pangea had gathered paperwork from 1,500 individuals (Holstege, 2013) out of 11,712 residents of the Gila River (Arizona Rural Policy Institute, 2010). It is a small but vocal contingent of Gila River that has banked on revenue from freeway development.

The possibility of constructing a freeway, either on or adjacent to the reservation, was only ever imaginable because of the redistribution of native reservations from collective, tribal ownership to private property. Of the area studied by ADOT for an “on reservation” route, the majority is divided into 10-acre parcels owned by individuals or groups of people assigned to land parcels by the U.S. government (Nedra, 1997). As an interviewee explains, for some elders who have struggled all their lives, especially in an increasingly economically assimilated Community, the prospect of alleviating poverty or even inheriting wealth to their descendants is alluring. However, historical analysis of other similar cases demonstrates that the construction of private property on reservations

and the transfers of native property to government agencies has more often exacerbated native poverty than it has alleviated it.

Throughout most of O’odham history, land has been collectively owned. People had access to land for personal use, but not to gain rents or expropriate resources. This changed in 1887 when the U.S. Congress passed the General Allotment Act (GAA). The GAA outlined procedures to divide Native American lands throughout the country. Plots of land, belonging to native groups based on the treaties that established the reservations, previously owned as tribal common spaces or shared lands among large extended families, were redistributed as allotments of private property to individuals and households.

The General Allotment Act, drafted in the language of capitalist good intentions, to promote “healthy egoism” and “intelligent greed”, had the long-term effect of undermining native sovereignty and increasing native poverty (Frantz, 2012). Once private property was established on native reservations, it became much easier to transfer land from native to Euroamerican ownership through “purchase, fraud, mortgage foreclosures, and tax sales” (“General Allotment Act...”, 1997). The effect of allotment over time, as President Theodore Roosevelt observed, was a “mighty pulverizing engine to break up the tribal mass” (Morgan, 1997).

The conversion of O’odham land into a freeway depends on the terms set out in the GAA. By promising to purchase native allotments, Pangea has cultivated native support for the transfer of O’odham reservation land to ADOT and real estate developer

ownership. If history is a predictor of the future, the freeway is more likely to shift wealth away from the tribe than to result in a net profit.

### **“We Could Make Millions”: From Sacred Land to Strip Mall**

By 2014, the possibility of an ‘on reservation’ route has almost certainly closed. Nonetheless, the Loop 202, as it is currently proposed, along the Pecos to 59<sup>th</sup> Avenue route, would still displace collective tribal landownership and sovereignty if constructed. The following three sections consider the implications for native well-being and sovereignty of the ‘off reservation’ route, adjacent to reservation and on South Mountain.

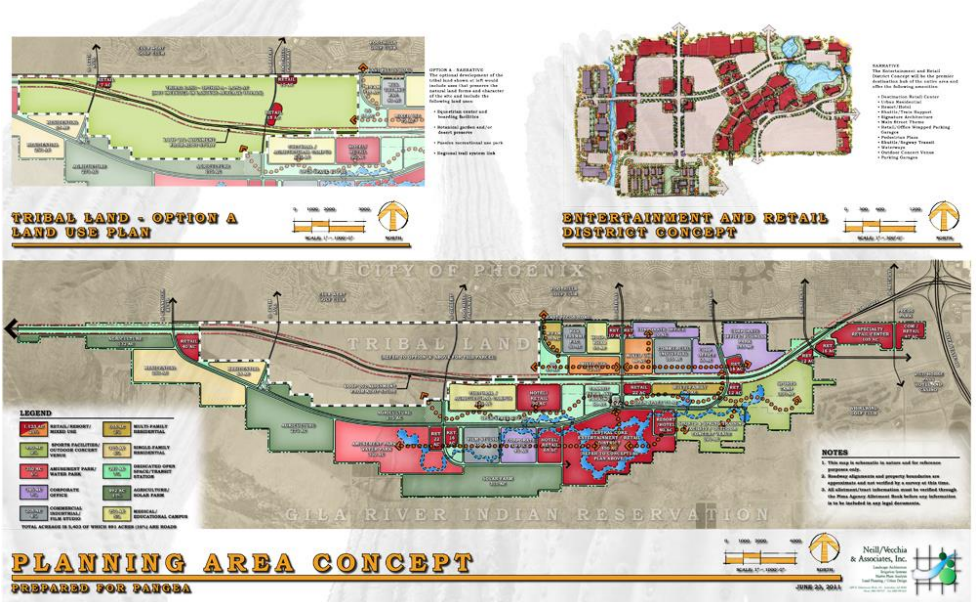
While the Pecos Landowners’ Association has more explicitly focused on generating support for the freeway, Pangea Development Co. has pioneered a “City Concept”, “the full Master Planning of an entire city” on 6,000 acres of reservation land (“The City Concept”, 2014). An off reservation, Pecos-59<sup>th</sup> Avenue, route would connect what is currently more remote reservation territory to downtown Phoenix. Pangea acclaims the site proposed for its City Concept on its website: “Just south of Phoenix and ten minutes from the international airport, the project is beyond prime location” (“The City Concept”, 2014). Without the Loop 202 freeway (either on or off reservation), the City Concept would not be feasible, since its profitability depends on access by residents of Phoenix and visiting tourists.

The “sustainability” of the City Concept (Holstege, 2013) is often used as evidence of its respect for native traditions and values. For example, Pangea’s representatives have explained that the City Concept will include farmers’ markets and a

large stadium, housing an indoor forest and lake for simulated camping in the desert. Like this fabricated gesture towards sustainability, Pangea's marketing emphasizes its authentic representation of the native community. Joseph Perez is the face of the company because he has tribal membership. However, most of the business partners of the development corporation are non-native (e.g. Roger Owens, attorney; Paul Vecchia, architect and resort specialist; Jason Rose, PR consultant). The Pangea website features stories and faces of O'odham elders to convey a commitment to the betterment of the Gila River Community.

Despite its self-representation, this "new city in the desert" (Holstege, 2013) is not primarily intended for O'odham tribal members. Pangea's design, an example of "colonial occupation [justified] through a utilitarian discourse of happiness", includes an outdoor shopping mall, a retail and entertainment district, an amusement park, a golf course, two resort destinations, and upscale housing, comparable to Ahwatukee Foothills developments (Ahmed, 2010, p. 167; Figure 5.5). An O'odham community organizer reflects,

Who on the reservation can afford to live in a house like the houses in the Foothills? [Joey Perez] says it can be opened to non-Gila River people, other tribes or anyone else interested. And I was like, you're saying white people, you're trying to say that white people can live on the rez.



**Figure 5.5** A sketch of Pangea’s “City Concept”. The master planned “city” would span 6,000 acres of what is currently tribal owned reservation land, just south of what is now known as Laveen and South Phoenix. *Source:* [pangealand.com/the-city-concept.html](http://pangealand.com/the-city-concept.html)

Pangea downplays the role of non-native residents and businesses in the City Concept, but the expensive housing and exclusive resorts demonstrate that development will target a different demographic than most people currently living on the reservation. Although there have been accusations that it is against GRIC policy to allow non-native residents to live on the reservation, the issue has not been clarified. Regardless of whether wealthy, primarily non-native people would only be customers or also residents, the plan represents 6,000 acres of native land that is designed for use and consumption by non-natives, a process of gentrification and displacement of the original residents.

A somewhat clandestine but prosperous industry has formed around the expropriation of native land for development throughout the U.S. Pangea’s co-founder and financier, Stephen Drake, has built his career for the past two decades around this

industry. He previously worked with the Santa Ynez Band of Cumash Indians in California where he was later sued by the U.S. Justice Department for tax fraud. Drake was convicted of “helping – for a fee – tribal members underreport casino income” (Holstege, 2013). For a number of O’odham people, this raises concerns about Pangea as a self-interested firm specializing in profit off the transfiguration of native land.

Pangea has often used its significant financial power to influence the outcome of the freeway. Allottees, or inheritors of GAA property, were given a \$50 one-time payment in exchange for allowing Pangea to appraise their land and negotiate with ADOT about the freeway (Holstege, 2013). In door to door conversations with landowners, PLA and Pangea representatives also promised that ADOT would disburse \$2000 per individual allottee if the freeway were constructed on reservation (“Pangea Continues...”, 2012). ADOT spokesman Tim Tait responded that “the agency was aware that pro-freeway forces were making promises on behalf of the state but said it would be inappropriate to intervene” (Holstege, 2013). Many have argued that these practices represent fraud and bribery, although they can also be construed as the normal procedure to market land for development.

More explicitly unlawful tactics have resulted in police investigations and a temporary hold on Pangea’s business license. After the 2012 Community-wide vote in favor of the “no build” alternative, Pangea hired people at \$2 per signature for an initiative to bring the freeway back to a vote. A community member and organizer recalls an instance of fraud that has become a poignant collective memory for tribal members trying to make sense of Pangea and its intent:

The one thing that really ticked me off the most is that they went to my aunt. My aunt is in the beginning stages of dementia. When they went over there, they called my aunt to come out. When she went back inside, my cousin asked, 'Mom, where'd you get that money?' She said, 'Oh, they had me sign some papers, something about protecting South Mountain.'

Police investigations have since found that many of the signatures on the initiative are duplicated, belong to people who could not be found, some who had never spoken with a Pangea representative, or others who had signed the initiative themselves, but without knowing that it pertained to a Loop 202 re-vote (Holstege, "Gila River...", 2013). The consequences of the police investigation and discovery of forgery are still being debated in Community Council meetings. While investigations are conducted, Pangea's influence on the freeway debate hangs in limbo.

Pangea's City Concept is not the only development plan for the reservation. As mentioned above, many of the allotments distributed to Gila River members have been sold as leases to non-native people. Although less explicitly disclosed, there are often rumors and references to an unknown but anticipated future of development adjacent to the Loop 202 extension, including strip malls, gas stations, and truck stops. The impact of the Loop 202 on Gila River land is not limited to 22 miles of 8-lane freeway, but represents and enables a large-scale conversion of native reservation land into white suburbia.

## **Wind Knows No Borders: Premature Death and the Bowl Effect**

Just as upscale development promises to cross the O’odham border, pollution from the freeway would, inevitably, flow southward, darkening the air and water on the reservation with toxins. Many of the O’odham organizers against the freeway have become conversant in toxic chemicals. A community member recites: “There are five substances that are most concerning to us: dioxin, which is the number one cancer-causing carcinogen, nitrogen oxides, particulate matter, tin, and hydrocarbons.” Like countless communities impacted by environmental injustice, many O’odham residents have developed self-taught literacy in toxicology to advocate against the incidental casualties of the freeway (Corburn, 2005).

South Mountain, a site of sacred prayer and life-giving, is transformed by the freeway into a geographic barrier funneling toxic air and water onto the reservation. The terrain of Komakee, one of the oldest traditional villages on the reservation, was once considered a desirable location, nestled in a low valley between South Mountain and the Estrellas (Figure 5.6). These mountain ranges now create what is known as the ‘bowl effect’: toxic air from the freeway would collect between the mountains, producing a static cloud of toxic air over the village, within range of O’odham homes, three schools, a Boys and Girls Club, and a health clinic. The freeway also intersects the flow of water: between the Salt and Gila River (Figure 5.7) and off the southern side of South Mountain, downhill into the reservation. A Community member explains, “The rain is going to come down off the mountain and take that pollution, it’s going to go into the soil and the water system, into our drinking water. It’s going to impact our homes and our bodies.”



The freeway’s violation of indigenous sovereignty extends to violation of bodily sovereignty, impacting physical health even in the most intimate home spaces (Pulido, 2002).



**Figure 5.6** As in most maps produced in the Draft Environmental Impact Statement, Gila River reservation land (to the south of the freeway) is excluded from the map. ADOT has no visual representation of the “bowl effect” discussed by Gila River and Ahwatukee residents. I adapted this map from ADOT’s depiction of existing land uses. The area inside the blue box is the village of Komakee, which includes single-family residential housing. The Estrella Mountains and South Mountain, circled in black, are located to the east and west of the Komakee village, and together buttress the low-lying valley on reservation.



**Figure 5.7.** A map of the Loop 202 proposed routes depicts watersheds that would be affected by the freeway. The freeway would cross the Salt River, depositing toxins that would make their way into the Gila River. *Source: South Mountain Freeway (Loop 202) DEIS and Section 4(f) Evaluation. P. 4-94.*

In addition to the toxic emissions of routine freeway traffic, the Loop 202 extension would bring a higher concentration of hazardous materials into the area since it is a transnational truck route. The physical geography of the terrain means that an accident involving chlorine gas could lead to mass fatalities, the most hazardous potential of the freeway, frequently cited by O’odham and Ahwatukee activists. The freeway would also carry a “disproportionate number of gasoline tankers” that could lead to explosions or spills (“Freeway Toxic Zone!”, 2014).

These are not new threats to the Gila River reservation. An O’odham activist asserts that the Community has “seen our share of hazardous incidents, by way of the Interstate 10 freeway”. Elevated levels of pollution surrounding South Mountain caused by suburban development and vehicle traffic have already affected the natural flora of the

desert, as another activist describes: “If you look at this foukoy (shrub) here, this color, they say it is from pollution. You’ll see this on the osham (cactus) when you get to the top of the mountain. We know that these signs are important.” Another tribal member points to an image they took from their home, “You go outside and can barely see the mountain through the pollution.” With added traffic from the South Mountain Freeway, “experts are saying we may see up to nine times more pollution in the area” (Riddle, 2012).

These predictions are distressing to some observers. In a presentation to MAG, Danielle Spring asks the panel:

If you follow through on your projections, what do they say in the long run? Our people are going to be sick from cancer and strokes. And then? Our people are going to be extinct. (Spring, 2012)

For many vocal O’odham members, the stakes of the freeway are not only about the life of the individuals living near the freeway, but about the future of the Akimel O’odham people. Another tribal member reiterates Danielle’s fears, “That pollution will kill us off”. The District Six Early Head Start, a preschool program for O’odham toddlers, is located in the carcinogenic ‘bowl’, a fact that has brought some O’odham activists to ask: Just how prematurely will our children die? What kind of future do O’odham people really have?

## Who Says South Mountain is U.S. Land? Illegitimate Treaties and the Problem with Reservations

While development and pollution spread south from the freeway onto reservation land, the ‘off tribal’ route is still planned on land that is territorially and culturally understood as belonging to O’odham people, through South Mountain (Figure 5.8). No one disputes that Muhadog Do’ag is sacred to O’odham people, especially after GRIC formally designated the mountain as a “sacred place and traditional cultural property in 2007 (“Timeline”, 2014). However, U.S. legal boundaries identify South Mountain as City of Phoenix property.



**Figure 5.8** A map produced by the Maricopa Association of Governments to highlight controversy surrounding the South Mountain Park. *Source:* Maricopa Association of Governments, reproduced in the Arizona Republic (2010).

O’odham activists explain that there are numerous ways of understanding the mountain. Many tribal members recognize Muhadag Do’ag as the resting place of Se-eh-ha, the Elder Brother, “the star of our legends, our hero, part of our histories”, or in another Community member’s words, “our guider through life, through this maze of life”. In one understanding, to disturb the mountain would be to awaken Elder Brother;

“he will come and be angry”. In another interpretation, the mountain should not be disturbed because it is a gravesite of an important ancestor: “you don’t disturb a grave, you don’t break in, you don’t demolish it or do anything to it but leave blessings”.

Ofelia Rivas, a member of Tohono O’odham tribe, to whom the mountain is also sacred, describes Muhadag Do’ag as “the keeper of the stories of the sacred bear in O’odham history” (Rivas, 2011). She remembers approaching the base of the mountain with her grandfather and learning the stories and songs of the mountain: “Muhadag Do’ag stands there to teach the O’odham about the region and the history of the O’odham”. As a way of honoring and remembering O’odham history and identity, the mountain tells “medicine stories”, strengthening community resilience and spirit (Morales, 1998, p. 23).

The South Mountain Freeway, as it is currently planned, would run through 31.3 acres of Muhadag Do’ag (Arizona Department of Transportation, 2013, p. 4-130). A Community member attempts to translate, through analogy to Christian spirituality, why the impact of this construction would not be lessened by mitigation strategies:

For prayer, you need to have quiet, it needs to be a serene atmosphere. This rupture, if there’s a freeway through your church, you can’t pray. You can’t gather traditional foods or traditional medicines because there’s a freeway through your natural area, through your pharmacy.

The mountain is not interchangeable. Desert land in another territory or prayer space on another part of the mountain would not negate the loss that would be suffered if the mountain were disturbed. In one activist’s words, “Once you disrupt the mountain, you destroy a part of us”.

Since tribal members have frequently explained the history and inviolability of South Mountain in public forums and at ADOT and MAG meetings, the DEIS includes a lengthy section addressing the mountain as a cultural resource. ADOT notes that South Mountain is protected under the National Historic Preservation Act and the American Indian Religious Freedom Act, observing:

The Akimel O’odham and Pee Posh tribes, and other Native American entities – including the Colorado River Indian tribes, and three O’odham groups: the Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community, the Ak-Chin Community, and the Tohono O’odham Nation – consider the South Mountains to play a role in their cultures, identities, histories, and oral traditions. (Arizona Department of Transportation, 2013, p. 4-129)

ADOT even reiterates the concerns of many tribal members that reserving a portion of the mountain does not satisfy the Community or its Himdag (way of life): “From the perspective of the Akimel O’odham and Pee Posh, the South Mountains are part of a continuum of life and not an individual entity that can be isolated and analyzed. The South Mountains’ TCP [Traditional Cultural Property] extends beyond the SMPP [South Mountain Park / Preserve].” (Arizona Department of Transportation, 2013, p. 5-26)

However, because Muhadag Do’ag is not owned by GRIC according to U.S. federal law, tribal members were only “consulted” about the freeway’s destruction of the mountain (ibid). The tribes’ responses to consultation are documented in the DEIS, but without any commentary from ADOT about the implication of these statements for decision-making about the freeway. The Phoenix Parks and Recreation Board also voted unanimously against the freeway on South Mountain Park, and the City of Phoenix followed suit, rejecting any ADOT alignment that passes through the mountain.

However, neither of these local governing bodies have the legal authority to stop the freeway. Business and state actors have rhetorically dismissed the authority of the City of Phoenix and the Parks Board to weigh in on the freeway. For example, Roc Arnett, president of the East Valley Partnership, a coalition of business and government elite, belittles the vote by the park board and reaffirms capital development as universal destiny: “I understand the parks board, they are basically environmentalists – and I say that in the most positive way I can. But at some point there has to be a decision for the public good.” (“Panel: No Freeway in Park...”, 2005) Since neither the Parks and Recreation Board nor the Gila River Indian Community have the legal authority to make decisions about South Mountain, their opposition is noted but over-ruled.

A Gila River Community member poses a series of questions, exposing the taken-for-granted assumption that Muhadag Do’ag is U.S. land:

The City of Phoenix, the state of Arizona, they’re saying they own this land, they have the title and deed. Where did it come from? Were the O’odham aware of this title? Did they sign off on it? Was there free, prior and informed consent? It goes back to executive decisions establishing our reservations.

The questions are rather tongue-in-cheek: “title and deed” are Euroamerican ways of conceptualizing land rights. The fact that there is a deed to the land at all is a settler invention, a product of the capitalist nation-state that took over O’odham land.

Indigenous sovereignty on reservation lands in the U.S. is frequently violated, such that native tribes have often used the treaties establishing reservations in their defense: if you repay nothing of what you have taken, at least let us govern the few lands we have left (Biolsi, 2005). This is a strategy of survival, creating political space for

indigenous claims within the terms established by settlers. In support of reservation boundaries as the minimum geography over which native tribes should have sovereignty, Frank Pommersheim (1989) argues that:

Treaties represent a bargained-for exchange and it is important to understand what the exchange was. The Indians usually agreed to make peace and cede land – often vast amounts of it – to the federal government in exchange for a cessation of hostilities, the provision of some services, and most importantly, the establishment and recognition of a reservation homeland free from the incursion of both the state and non-Indian settlers. (p. 254)

However, other native activists contest the terms under which native people were confined to reservation spaces in the first place. Treaties were signed – in cases in which there are treaties, Akimel O’odham never entered into treaty agreements with the U.S. – under the threat of military intervention or forced relocation. Tribes agreed to “cede land” because they were forced to do so “in exchange for a cessation of hostilities”. Indigenous land rights, in a socio-historical sense, cannot be limited to reservation boundaries, since “settlers alone (can be said to) conclude the original pact”; native peoples “were never part of the settler contract” under which reservations were drawn (Pateman and Mills, 2007). As a Community elder reflects:

This is just what the United State government put us on. They put us on this land and called us a federally recognized Indian Community. But for us, all of this, from where the Gila River starts outside Silver City, down into Mexico, up to the Mogollon Rim, this is all our land.

Some O’odham activists argue that the arrangement established unilaterally by the U.S. could not be used to determine the total geographic area in which O’odham people have a voice in how land is used.



Despite ADOT's lengthy analysis on the significance of South Mountain to Akimel O'odham, Pee Posh and other O'odham tribes, and the mandates of policy designed to protecting religious freedoms, including indigenous sacred sites, ADOT ultimately concludes that the best solution is mitigation. This is unsurprising, given the presumed inevitability cultivated over 28 years of development towards the freeway. In a brief 'no build' alternative section, ADOT acknowledges that building no freeway would, of course, resolve the problem of disturbing South Mountain, and fulfill compliance with the National Historic Preservation Act, the American Indian Religious Freedom Act, and the sovereign rights of native peoples. However, ADOT quickly disregards this alternative, returning again to the inevitability of 'progress' and development: "Because of the growth of the Phoenix metropolitan area as it is currently placed and as it is projected to occur, cultural resource properties and sites in areas zoned for development may eventually be disturbed", with or without the freeway. (Arizona Department of Transportation, 2013, p. 4-146). Of course, this does not have to be the case; desecration of sacred indigenous sites and disrespect for indigenous cultural sovereignty is not the only possible future. The fact that ADOT presented a public document in which the only justification for destroying the mountain is the inevitability of destruction demonstrates the deep-rooted nature of the ideology of continual progress.

ADOT's mitigation strategies for the impact on South Mountain, another example of "neoliberal multiculturalism", include 'pedestrian crossings' under the freeway, fences to restrict non-tribal members from accessing designated prayer sites, and native-inspired designs on the freeway walls (Melamed, 2011; Arizona Department of Transportation, 4-

149). A Community member reacts to the proposal: “They talked about ‘providing’ places for us to offer blessings and prayers. They can’t tell us where to do that!” This individual rejects the idea that anyone outside the Community can designate where and how O’odham people will pray, or dictate the terms under which O’odham people relate to their own spirituality, history and identity. Many Community members have expressed aversion to the idea that ADOT might construct designated prayer sites, in fumbled bureaucratic misrepresentations of O’odham spirituality, to present the transportation department as multicultural and respectful of native wishes, while destroying one of the most important geographic features in O’odham spiritual life.

### **Bully Democracy: Steam-Rolling, 3-Minute Comments, and Tentative Forums**

After 28 years spent pursuing the freeway, negotiating corporate contracts, securing state budgets, buying up land, coercing GRIC, ignoring a ‘no build’ vote, and designing the details of the route down to insignia on the freeway walls, the last year before projected construction involved a performance of democracy, including public input sessions and a citizens’ advisory committee. The long over-due Draft Environmental Impact Statement (released in 2013), a 10 hour in-person Public Hearing, and a half-hearted attempt to inform GRIC about the DEIS results are not brought under greater scrutiny because there is a dominant assumption that decisions about urban development are technocratic in nature and best left to bureaucrats who work with public good in mind. As Douglas Lummis (1991) observes,

The fact that economic development is antidemocratic, though written in large letters on the face of history, is hard to see. We have been taught just the opposite: that democracy and development go together. (p. 31)

Since many bureaucrats and public observers operate from this assumption, ADOT does not have to work especially hard to portray itself as an agent of democracy. It might be reasonably argued that 2012, the final GRIC vote against an ‘on reservation’ route, was the last time ADOT approached the freeway as anything other than a *fait accompli*. After the vote, it was clear that the Pecos-59<sup>th</sup> Avenue route was the only possible path forward – and ADOT and MAG were certainly not going to willingly turn down billions of dollars of funds for a project 28 years in the making. *Arizona Republic* Editors note:

Both state and regional transportation officials have not disguised their *impatience with this controversy*, which has dragged on for more than two decades. They finally have the \$1.9 billion to build the freeway and have made it clear that preparations to begin construction *will move forward*. (“DiCiccio Must...”, 2009; emphasis mine)

If bureaucrats pressured by big money were exhausted with controversy by 2009, four years before the process of eliciting public opinion began, there was little reason to expect a legitimately democratic deliberation by the time the public comment period opened in 2013.

When the DEIS was released, a hard copy of the document was placed for public viewing in six locations across the valley; none of the locations were on the Gila River reservation (Figure 5.9). When Gila River Community members inquired about how to access a copy of the DEIS, they were told they would have to pay \$50-125 each (personal communication, confirmed here: Arizona Department of Transportation, 2013, cover

page 4). Many Community members have neither access to a computer with internet nor 50 expendable dollars, and were not able to view the report.

**Figure 5.9** The flyer distributed by ADOT about the Loop 202 Public Hearing on May 21<sup>st</sup>, 2013. The flyer is part of a necessary demonstration of democracy: “you’re invited!”  
*Source:* <[https://www.azdot.gov/docs/default-source/environmental-planning-library/public\\_meeting\\_notice\\_loop202-south-mountain-freeway-project.pdf?sfvrsn=2](https://www.azdot.gov/docs/default-source/environmental-planning-library/public_meeting_notice_loop202-south-mountain-freeway-project.pdf?sfvrsn=2)>

Thirty days after the DEIS was released, ADOT arranged to meet with various GRIC members about upcoming Public Hearing in Phoenix. The date, time and location of the Public Hearing were already fixed. As one community organizer recalls, “At the beginning of the meeting, the ground rules were set... We were not allowed to speak about anything else but what the process was going to be.” Open air dialogue about the Community’s real concerns and pain around the possibility of the freeway was foreclosed. ADOT reported that a free ride service would be provided, but gave no further details. Members of GRIC made an organized effort to call multiple times for further information to distribute to their community about transportation to the forum but

calls were not returned. On the day of the Public Hearing, one GRIC organizer asked Bob Hazlett, a MAG representative, why the number provided for questions about transportation to the hearing was always full:

His response, yes, we found out today that it only holds so many new messages. So I told him that they needed to empty it a few times a day. We could have gotten more tribal members present. He shrugged his shoulders and said, well, it's too late now.

The representative's apathy about the exclusion of GRIC members through failure to provide access to transportation reinforces the idea that the Public Hearing was a primarily symbolic event, rather than a forum for open dialogue. Another Phoenix-based activist expressed concern about the time and location: "They're having this meeting during the middle of the work week, during the middle of the day, in the middle of downtown Phoenix. Who do they think can come?" During the entire day, only 650 people passed through the convention center, and 117 formal comments were made (Hurtado, 2013). A substantial number of attendees were bused in by the We Build Arizona Coalition, a group of businesses and contractors, who gave construction and business employees the day off in exchange for attendance (Jovanelly, 2014). Coalition supporters were marked by "bright green shirts that said 'Build Loop 202'" (Figure 5.10).



**Figure 5.10** A member of the ‘We Build Arizona Coalition’, wearing one of the bright green ‘Build Loop 202’ shirts seen everywhere on that day, reads through panels of information set up by ADOT, arranged throughout the room. The panels invite a passive consumption of information and portray the Loop 202 as a technical issue, requiring a large budget and professional expertise to understand. *Source:* Hurtado, 2013

Members of the public were permitted to speak for 3 minutes before a panel of ADOT representatives and a court recorder, transcribing the 3-minute speeches for publication in the Final Environmental Impact Statement. ADOT will respond to the public comments by genre. Members of the public were not permitted to ask questions or engage in dialogue with the panel. After three minutes, a buzzer would sound to indicate that the opportunity to express fear of losing homeland, health, history and way of life was over (Figure 5.11).



**Figure 5.11** A microphone was set up for public comment. The room could have fit 100 people, but never saw more than thirty at a time. At the front of the room, three panelists sat at a table, on a stage, and said nothing. To the left, a court recorder transcribes the public comments. A timer in the lower right hand corner of the stage indicated to speakers their remaining time. The arrangement creates a hyper-controlled environment that discourages interpersonal connection and dialogue about the freeway. *Source:* Hurtado, 2013

At the Public Hearing, participants received a booklet listing upcoming community forums to respond to questions about the results of the Environmental Impact Study. The booklet “listed only one GRIC forum and listed it as tentative”, according to an O’odham activist. Community members pushed for an on-reservation forum, but flyers informing Community members about the event were only distributed days before, and MAG agreed to offer transportation only if community organizers delivered a list of community members who needed help in advance. A GRIC organizer explains, “It was too short of notice to gather all that information.” Ultimately, few Community members were able to find a way to access the meeting.

The strong-armed ‘democracy’ of the Loop 202 public comment period excluded, whether through apathy or avoidance, the participation of O’odham tribal members. Perhaps this is because O’odham Himdag represents another possible future, another way

of being in relation to the Earth that does not require ceaseless growth and profit regardless of the human cost. The repression of this perspective demonstrates “just how threatening it can be to imagine alternatives to a system that survives by grounding itself in inevitability” (Ahmed, 2010, p. 165). While ADOT, MAG, corporate investors, and transnational corporate alliances depend on public faith in the predetermined, indisputable nature of the freeway, O’odham Community members and freeway resisters stand by the uncertainty of the future. The Loop 202, and the destruction of O’odham sovereignty that it represents, is not irreversible until the concrete is poured.



## Chapter 6:

### DEFENDING THE SACRED:

#### O'ODHAM MOVEMENT AGAINST THE SOUTH MOUNTAIN FREEWAY

The Loop 202 extension, as examined in chapter 5, would forcibly displace Akimel O'odham people from their land, "land / water / air / subterranean earth (land, for shorthand)" (Tuck and Young, 2012). Gila River would lose breathable air and potable water, desert free from commercial development, and a mountain sacred to the community, that some activists argue gives O'odham people identity, history and strength. This proposal is particularly painful for some tribal members who see the freeway as a continuation of historical traumas and collective erasure.

Throughout U.S. history, displacement has been one of the primary mechanisms of settler colonialism, "both because settlers make indigenous land their new home and a source of capital, and also because the disruption of indigenous relationships to land represents a profound epistemic, ontological, and cosmological violence" (Tuck and Young, 2012). Decolonization will never be complete as long as settlers remain on native land, but it cannot begin in native and settler communities that do not come to terms with this effects of ontological violence.

Where colonization cannot eradicate the native, it seeks to assimilate: to break up tribal loyalties, dismantle indigenous governance, erode indigenous spirituality, and cultivate faith in U.S. colonial governance and capitalist development. When O'odham

organizers against the freeway demonstrate concern for the future of their people and a respect for the integrity of the land, they are not speaking from some inherent, indestructible ‘native-ness’. Rather, these articulations represent years of collective struggle to remember and nurture indigenous values.

Resistance to the Loop 202 is strategic, engaging diverse and complicated coalitions across tribe and race, and confronting multiple scales of the state. However, this movement is also cultural, imaginative, and personal. Organizers, artists, musicians, and community elders invoke teachings and stories that emphasize collective care over individual profit, celebrate *vehsig* (balance), honor elders and the earth, and refuse the further erosion of the dignity and autonomy of O’odham people.

This chapter begins from narratives of resistance to the freeway within the Gila River Indian Community, as early as the 1990s, where residents of District 6 confronted profit interests of tribal members associated with Pangea Development Co., LLC. Since 2012, O’odham organizers and non-native allies have pressured various agencies of the U.S. government, including ADOT, MAG, the Citizens Transportation Advisory Committee, and the Federal Highway Administration to stop the freeway. Native residents impacted by the freeway have become conversant in the technical jargon of state transportation policy, contesting DEIS and seeking support through the UN. In meetings where political and corporate representatives regularly convene without public intervention, native youth, wearing breath masks and talking about sacred land, disrupted business as usual.

The movement against the Loop 202 has built strong coalitions between multiple native tribes and with non-native organizations. These coalitions have resulted in diverse movement frames, as a continuation of the American Indian Movement, an extension of Idle No More, a consequence of indigenizing the (Un)Occupy Movement, an environmental justice or environmental concern, and a means to protect residential neighborhoods. Within these coalitions, organizers often drawn on South Mountain as a shared point of concern. Diverse opponents of the freeway have sought to defend the mountain as a feature of cultural and ecological significance.

Finally, this chapter concludes with an introduction to the many expressions of native culture that have emerged in response to the threat of the Loop 202. Murals, songs, graphic designs, paintings, stories, and teachings have reinvigorated interest in native ontologies across generations. This is perhaps an instance of the “resurgence” that indigenous scholar Jeff Corntassel (2012) implores. Ahwatukee residents and the GRIC tribal council have plans to file lawsuits against GRIC this year, in 2014; however, ADOT and the U.S. federal courts are not the only decision-makers in this case. Through everyday practices of care, prayer, memory, and imagination, O’odham community members work to build balanced and decolonizing alternatives to “savage developmentalism” (Quan, 2012).

### **Asserting Our Dignity: Local O’odham Sovereignty in the Early Years**

As one community organizer remembers, tribal members were leery when MAG first came to the Gila River Indian Community in 1986, inquiring about the possibility of

a toll road. By the time MAG returned more than a decade later with a concrete proposal, residents of the villages most directly affected were adamant that an eight-lane freeway would not be the trajectory of their community. The villages of Lone Butte, Santa Cruz, Gila Crossing, Komatke, and Co-op drafted a resolution against the freeway that defined the terms of struggle for years to come.

This resolution, passed by District 6 and approved by GRIC tribal council, called on the “Government of the State of Arizona” to “stop the project” and halt investigation into the proposal (“Akimel O’odham Statement...”, 2011). The language of the resolution is clear in rejecting a freeway anywhere in the region that would have a “detrimental and injurious effect on the human and biological environment”, not just on GRIC land. Authors explain that a Loop 202 extension would directly conflict with the ongoing efforts of Akimel O’odham people to:

Maintain their lands through oral history and sacred sites, the teachings of Se-eh-ha [Elder Brother], maintain their inherent way of life including conducting ceremonies, making offerings to the land, waterways and mountains, as well as using all the biological and environmental resources of the region as food and medicinal sources (ibid).

In this formative document, O’odham people define the freeway as a threat to their *way of life*, that is, as an ontological assault. By asserting spirituality, cultural history, and traditional medicine as the rationale for dissent, members of the authoring villages identify the values at stake in conflict between the Arizona government and the O’odham Community. The resolution asserts that the Community is not engaging in negotiations over technical details surrounding their removal: the magnitude of acceptable pollution impacts, native designs on the side of the freeway, or monetary

compensation for the land. Rather, the resolution petitions against any U.S. encroachment on the reservation.

Because Pangea Development Co. had advocated for the state's proposal, for many years, organizing against the freeway on Gila River land meant confronting Pangea and urging fellow tribal members to choose tribal well-being over personal profit. This has meant a more complicated and nuanced internal struggle. Community elder Jivik Siiki (2012) argued, in a column published on a Gila River against the Loop 202 blog, that colonization brings Pi Vehsig (imbalance), and with it, the desire to accept "bribes waved in our faces". He rejects claims by supporters of the freeway that "[O'odham] culture is dead", proposes that Vehsig (balance) could be recovered. Kanien'kehaka scholar Taiaike Alfred (2009) suggests,

Territorial losses and political disempowerment are secondary conquests compared to the first, spiritual cause of discontent. The challenge is to find a way to regenerate ourselves, and take back our dignity. (p. 38)

An O'odham organizer echoes Alfred's sentiments, demonstrating how resistance to the freeway has become linked for some Community members to ideas of native autonomy and pride: "We're either going to lay down, let Milgahn [white people / institutions] rub our belly, give us a treat for our land and culture, or we're going to stand up and fight."

When the Loop 202 began to emerge as an issue up for Community-wide vote, opponents of the freeway met in District 6 to discuss the absence of a "no build" option. One attendee narrates tears and rage in that room, as people felt ignored and silenced. In August 2011, tribal council agreed to hold a special meeting to consider including the "no build" alternative on the ballot. On Friday night before the meeting, O'odham opposed to

the freeway met in the park, held vigil overnight, and walked to the council meeting the morning, in prayer and song. Freeway opponents were buoyed by the energy of the journey and excitement upon seeing the tribal council room full of people. A resident of District 6 recalls speaking before the council during a long and heated meeting, “We don’t want the 202. District 6 has always said that, and we’ll continue to say that.”

In the months leading up to the vote, once “no build” became an option on the ballot, organizers focused on educating the community about the impacts of the freeway. An organizer recalls the words she used to speak to a group of Community members about the issue, “Think, 600 acres of land going to these people that we’re never going to get back!” Opponents to the freeway asked questions during public forums with elected politicians, talked to Community members door-to-door, and held their own educational forums about the proposal (Figure 6.1).



**Figure 6.1** Gila River Against Loop 202 group elders meet to discuss the Loop 202 in days leading up to the Community-wide vote. *Source:* “Reminder...”, 2012

When the vote finally concluded in favor of the “no build” option, organizers recognized the outcome as a “major battle won”. While some Gila River members expected that the vote would finally shut down the freeway, MAG Chair Hugh Hallman

observed the vote as a moment of transition to “focus our efforts now exclusively on the Pecos Road alignment”. For the original O’odham inhabitants, this conclusion meant a new phase of struggle. Over thirty years, resistance has required incredible flexibility, working simultaneously in native and U.S. governance structures, adapting to different bureaucratic language, procedures, and ways of conceptualizing native sovereignty.

### **Code-Switching: DEIS, Title VI, and ICERD**

As seen in chapter 5, the language and epistemologies of the Department of Transportation are incompatible with traditional native epistemologies. O’odham communication about South Mountain and the freeway are “mediated by their cultural heritage”, by fragmented but still existing values about the intersubjectivity of humans and the earth (Kuletz, 1998, p. 209). As a young O’odham organizer reflects, “If you’re talking to an O’odham elder, you can’t talk about MOUs, freeway alignments and Draft Environmental Impact Statements. You talk about the story and spirit of the land.”

Whereas traditional indigenous diplomacy might include gift giving, prayer, or long, unstructured talking circles (Simpson, 2013), ADOT meetings are often structured with speakers identified in advance, and short, timed periods allowing for public comment.

Nonetheless, to prevent the freeway’s impact on culture, land, and well-being, O’odham organizers have strategically engaged with state institutions governing the freeway. As Trask (1999) observes, “surviving as an indigenous person in any colonial situation is a strange mix of refusal, creation, and assertion” (Trask, 1999, p. 38).

Organizers have confronted ADOT, MAG, and the Citizens Transportation Advisory

Committee established by ADOT, as well as companies associated with the construction and design of the freeway. Freeway opponents have also sought support with other bureaucratic agencies at multiple scales, including the Environmental Protection Agency, the U.S. Department of Justice, and the International Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.

Two lawsuits have been prepared against the freeway, drafted, funded, and supported by several lawyers, ready to be brought as soon the Final Environmental Impact Statement is released. One, prepared by Ahwatukee residents, addresses the environmental impacts of the freeway. The other, led by GRIC tribal council, will contest the destruction of an O’odham sacred site as religious discrimination.

In the meantime, tribal members have filed a Title VI Complaint with the U.S. Department of Justice against the Federal Highway Administration and the U.S. Department of Transportation, based on the statute “prohibiting discrimination on the basis of race, color and national origin in programs and activities receiving federal financial assistance” (“Overview of Title VI...”, 2013). Many tribal members submitted letters substantiating the claim that the process governing the freeway has been discriminatory. For example, one letter reads, “I’m tired of fighting this monster of a freeway being pushed onto our community. I’m tired of reading blogs, comments to news articles, and discussion forums, of people with a bullying attitude, telling people what ‘you Indians’ need to do.”

Similar demands were taken to HDR Engineering Inc., a company best known for their work constructing U.S. military bases, arsenal packaging plants, and “tactical



infrastructure along the United States southwestern border” (“Federal Planning Portfolio”, 2014). The company has a history of development intended for military force against people of color, or as its website reads, against “illegal entrants and terrorists”. The first letter O’odham organizers delivered to HDR was ignored. The second time, freeway opponents brought cameras and more people. As a recognized leader, Lori Riddle delivered the letter (Figure 6.2) informing HDR of the significance of South Mountain to O’odham people. The letter petitions the company: “We demand that you and ADOT be transparent about GRIC’s opportunity to choose ‘no build’ as an option” (“Lori Riddle Redelivers...”, 2011).



**Figure 6.2** Lori Riddle, O’odham elder, delivers a letter to HDR Engineering, Inc., the firm contracted by ADOT to design the Loop 202 extension. *Source:* “O’odham Elder...”, 2011

Members of the Community have also brought their concerns to international bodies. The International Indian Treaty Council, a non-governmental organization with representation from indigenous peoples across the Americas, submitted a shadow report to the United Nations Human Rights Commission on behalf of GRACE, the Gila River Alliance for a Clean Environment. A tribal member also filed a report with the International Committee on Eliminating Racial Discrimination (ICERD), detailing the

discriminatory process and the fear of extinction through health and cultural impacts of the freeway.

### **Disrupting Corporate Democracy: The Future Belongs to the People**

Locally, O’odham youth have been the most vocal in ongoing meetings held by ADOT and MAG. With the support of GRACE (Gila River Alliance for a Clean Environment), O’odham high school students and young adults formed GREY, Gila River Environmental Youth. Other youth have worked in collaboration with Gila River Against the Loop 202 through the Akimel O’odham Youth against the Freeway. Together, these youth organizations have been the most visible and vocal presence at local transportation forums about the freeway. As an O’odham elder reflects, “For young folks, they really stepped up and started fighting, organizing, campaigning, taking it to the council, standing up in council, standing up in MAG meetings, letting their voices be heard.”

A symbol of tribal members’ concern about environmental health, youth have often demonstrated at ADOT and MAG meetings wearing breath masks (Figure 6.3). A young activist explains that the masks represent the dystopian future they fear: “Mountains will hold in polluted air. We’re going to have to wear these masks for real.” The youth represent a warning about the future, not only because they are the generation that will inherit the consequences of the freeway, but also because they render comprehensible what statistics about air pollution obscure. Youth presence encourages ADOT representatives to consider the impact of the freeway on future generations.



**Figure 6.3** Gila River against Loop 202 members stand together outside a Gila River Indian Community (GRIC) Tribal Council session. Youth wore “caution biohazard” t-shirts and breath masks to represent the toxic pollution of the freeway. *Source:* “Under the Watchful Eye...”, 2012.

As Edward Said (1993) observes, “Decolonization is a very complex battle over the course of different political destinies” (p. 219). When O’odham organizers and youth confront the freeway in ADOT and MAG meetings, they challenge thirty years of momentum towards development, but also, different paradigms for understanding progress and the outcomes of the future. One organizer reflects:

This western idea of development, it’s not sustainable. We know that the rich keep getting richer, multinational corporations continue to remove indigenous peoples and our ideas of culture and spirituality. We’re at the bottom of the ladder. So we say, you can’t keep doing this.

This difference in worldview, between the ceaseless pursuit of development, on one hand, and ideals of respect for land, on the other, explains much of the repression and controversy surrounding vocal O’odham youth.

At the Citizens Transportation Oversight Committee (CTOC), members of Akimel Youth and Gila River Against the Loop 202 spoke out against environmental hazards in their homeland, the destruction of sacred land, and the continued development

of the freeway proposal in spite of formal tribal opposition. Without addressing the content of the speakers' claims, the Chairman of the CTOC explained that he "understood there were a lot of *emotions* about the proposed freeway" ("Dear CTOC...", 2012, emphasis mine). By reducing grievances to sentiments, he implies that the activists' legitimacy is undermined by emotional investment. On two other occasions, O'odham youth have been confronted by police at meetings, and during the ADOT Public Hearing, a member of the Akimel O'odham Youth Collective was escorted out of the convention center by officers ("Andrew on Getting...", 2013).

Why are these transportation officials demonstrably uncomfortable with the activists' presence? Often this has been explained as a characteristic of the activists, rather than the transportation officials, attributed to the activists' age or presumed naïveté. This is an easy descriptor to invalidate and dismiss the content of the activists' concerns. It is also characteristic of Western thought. As Lily Mendoza (2013) observes, native opposition to the dominant Western worldview is often dismissed by accusations of 'immaturity', set in contrast to the more mature or realistic acceptance of the neoliberal order:

Defining humanity in terms of a rationality characterized by individualism, aggressive pursuit of material wealth, commitment to mastery and control of nature, and a social organization premised on the values of utilitarianism and private ownership, liberalism as a worldview has the effect of casting every other way of life that differs from its vision as 'savage', 'primitive', or in the least, 'immature'. (p. 12)

If O'odham activist presence in ADOT and MAG meetings, intended for political figures, bureaucrats and business associates, creates disruption and discomfort, then

perhaps it can be described as a decolonizing moment, an opportunity for the settler to see himself. Decolonization requires both a cultural process within native communities and contestation against “colonial relations of power that threaten indigenous ways of being.” (Sium et al., 2013) An O’odham elder describes his disinterest in the conventions and restraint governing public comment in ADOT decisions, traditions that inhibit truth telling:

I told them, do you want to go down in history? Do you want our people to tell stories, our children and our children’s children, that you removed us from this land? Is that what you want your legacy to be? They didn’t like it. But I was just being honest, I speak as a native man.

By refusing the conventions of corporate democracy, in which corporations have more political personhood than native people, O’odham youth and organizers speaking out during ADOT meetings assert their right to participate in imagining the future.

### **Invoking Common Struggle: Indigenous Resistance across Tribes**

While O’odham community works to shut down the freeway, Diné (Navajo) community have been threatened by a comparable form of encroaching development. The construction of the Snowbowl Ski Resort in northern Arizona brings waste water and tourists to the San Francisco Peaks, a mountain sacred to Diné people and 12 other tribes (ICTMN Staff, 2012). Similarities between the struggles, including the threat of development, the destruction of sacred mountains, and youth-led indigenous resistance has motivated strong connections between O’odham and Diné activists. In May 2013, O’odham tribal members from Phoenix and Diné natives from Flagstaff gathered for a

protest, drum, circle and speak-back against ADOT's Five Year Transportation Plan (Figure 6.4). Diné activists spoke to the importance of working in solidarity across indigenous movement.



**Figure 6.4** Akimel O’odham youth (front left), Diné from the Taala Hogue Infoshop in Flagstaff (right), and white allies protest ADOT’s Five-Year Transportation Plan on May 10, 2013. *Source:* “Last Week...”, 2013

As Akimel O’odham opponents to the freeway work in coalition across tribes - within the larger O’odham Nation, including Tohono O’odham sisters to the south, as well as across tribes, with Diné people to the north, a lot of rhetorical and interpersonal work goes into building these connections. This framework of unified indigenous struggle was asserted most powerfully during the American Indian Movement (AIM) (Hill, 2009, p. 58). In the late 1960s, AIM organized for the recovery of land lost to forced displacement, and against police violence, racism and poverty affected low-income urban and reservation areas. This history of pan-tribal American Indian resistance, more recently reinvigorated by Idle No More, is a critical point of reference for Akimel O’odham, Tohono O’odham, and Diné natives in coalition against the 202. Notably, a quote from Leonard Peltier, leading organizer of AIM, has appeared on many

of the materials produced about the Loop 202 extension: “I only know that without respect for all of Earth’s inhabitants, none of us will survive – nor will we deserve to.”

Because of its similarity as a legal struggle over a sacred site, movements to save the San Francisco Peaks and South Mountain have been more interconnected than other movements across the state. Flagstaff organizers have hosted activist gatherings on protecting sacred land that have included forums on both Snowbowl and the Loop 202. The same lawyer, Howard Shanker, one of the few local attorneys specializing in environmental impacts on indigenous land, has been a lead litigator in both cases.

Connections to other indigenous struggles in Arizona are not as seamless; as Kapoor (2009) remarks, native resistance is not “some pure monolithic and homogenized oppositional essence” (p. 3). Deliberately juxtaposed story-telling, such as the pairing of militarization of the Tohono O’odham nation on the southern Arizona border with the Loop 202, is one strategy that has been used in activist meetings to represent these dissimilar threats as part of the same type of problem. A member of the O’odham Solidarity across Borders Collective uses spatial displacement and segregation as a way of drawing an analogy in types of colonization impacting the two O’odham tribes: “This freeway also represents a border wall, separating us from the rest of our land” (“Occupy Phoenix Loop 202...”, 2012). He compares the 8-lane freeway separating the Gila River reservation from Muhadag Do’ag (South Mountain) to the Arizona-Sonora border wall, separating one half of Tohono O’odham from the other. Although the comparison is apt and important for helping diverse groups identify common struggle, there are also crucial

differences between the freeway's environmental toxins and the border's militarization that make Akimel O'odham and Tohono O'odham struggles distinct.

These differences both strengthen coalition, and make connections more challenging to sustain. O'odham organizers against the Loop 202 cite other native struggles with which they share a common vision. The frequency with which other native histories are invoked suggests both the difficulty of and value placed on forging cross-tribal struggle, as well as the challenges of framing the Loop 202 as problem of native sovereignty, rather than residents' rights. For instance, an O'odham organizer reflects,

To fight, as our people did, as indigenous people always have, to keep things as they should be, is going to be difficult. We see it happening all over, we see it with the Keystone XL Pipeline, we see it in New Brunswick with the Mikmal and the fracking. People are dying because they want to protect the land, because it's that important to them, because it's ancestral territory.

When these organizers cite examples of other native struggles, they are not only providing context to their work against the Loop 202, but also invoking common struggle, drawing themselves and other native communities under attack into community. This rhetorical work is not trivial, as Aman Sium et al. (2013) observe,

We must also recognize that, in this struggle for decolonization, alliances and solidarity are not a given; it takes hard work to ensure that tentative connections between indigenous communities, between non-Indigenous and Indigenous peoples exist and thrive. Community must be built, not assumed. (p. 11)

### **Building Coalitions across Race**

Ahwatukee's perspective has been the dominant narrative about the freeway in mainstream media, from early vocal Ahwatukee advocacy for an on-reservation route, to the community's more recent opposition to the freeway. The specter of demolished up-



scale homes and the displacement of otherwise privileged white middle-class residents is more compelling to corporate media than the loss of desert land, even if that land belongs to an ostensibly sovereign nation. The disproportionate representation of Ahwatukee concerns have contributed to the public perception that Ahwatukee is the leading site of anti-freeway resistance. Nonetheless, non-native organizations have played a significant role in building multiracial public opposition to the freeway, especially in the last three or four years. The group, Protecting Arizona's Resources and Children (PARC) in Ahwatukee, along with the No South Mountain group, Occupy Phoenix, and the Sierra Club have primarily used discourses of public and environmental health to challenge the desirability of the freeway.

The No South Mountain Freeway group is a collective that grew out of conversations on decolonization that took place in Occupy, or UnOccupy Phoenix. The group works from conscious allyship with indigenous people, mobilizing mostly white supporters for actions led by O'odham organizations, and educating non-native people about freeway impacts, including cultural imperialism, environmental damage and housing buy-outs. In (Un)Occupy Phoenix, this has meant conversations about the role of corporations and the 1% in transportation planning through MAG. (Un)Occupy also hosted teach-ins about decolonization. Jezz Putnam of No South Mountain Freeway urged other occupiers to join movement against the 202: "We need people from all aspects of life, confronting colonization, confronting destruction of the earth, working to undo what's being done by capitalism" ("Occupy Phoenix Loop 202...", 2012).

The No South Mountain Freeway group hosted a concert to raise awareness and fundraise for resistance to the Loop 202 at Lawn Gnome, a radical bookstore in the arts district. The store owner, Aaron Johnson, asserted that “Native American rights and sustainability” should be everyone’s concern (Kutzler, 2013). At Chandler Gilbert Community College, No South Mountain Freeway members joined O’odham tribal members and a sustainability professor on a panel about the Loop 202 Extension. These issue-based connections with schools and businesses concerned about human rights and the environment have been more successful than geographically-based organizing with people living in the path of the 202. A community forum held in Laveen by the No South Mountain Freeway group was met by lukewarm response from upper-income Laveen residents who attended, who seemed convinced by the inevitability of the freeway and were only looking for detailed information about buy-outs.

Ahwatukee’s neighborhood-based organization, Protecting Arizona’s Resources and Children (PARC), has worked to educate Ahwatukee residents about the consequences of the freeway and fundraise for expert response to the DEIS and the pending environmental lawsuit. In Ahwatukee, the freeway has been most effectively framed as an assault on children’s health. A total of 13 public schools are within a half-mile of the freeway, what PARC is referring to as “the hot zone” (“Freeway Toxic Zone!”, 2014). PARC members posted signs one-half mile from the freeway site to mark what would become an area of high incidences of asthma and cardiovascular disease. Compelling and strategic presentations at school board meetings have convinced both the Kyrene School District and the Tempe Union School District to pass resolutions against

the Loop 202 freeway extension. Although initially concerned about making a political statement, the school board ultimately concluded that environmental hazards that threaten student health are within the jurisdiction of the school district. These significant victories represent the power of PARC's framing around children's health.



**Figure 6.5** Members of Gila River against Loop 202 attend a meeting in Ahwatukee about Pangea and the future of the freeway. The Gila River against Loop 202 members' age, skin color, class, and 'caution: biohazard' t-shirts mark them as visibly different from the white middle-class residents of Ahwatukee. Nonetheless, Justin Webb of Gila River remarks, "I was happy to see youth from the community come out to the city for this demonstration against Pangea and the Loop 202. But I was really happy that the PARC were also in attendance speaking against Pangea and the 202 with us." *Source:* "Gila River Youth...", 2012

The collaboration between PARC and O'odham activists is an example of alliance between native and predominantly white environmental groups (Figure 6.5). As both Ahwatukee and O'odham people struggle to defend home spaces against the threat of development, the two communities find themselves working in political allegiance. Chandra Talpade Mohanty reminds us, by nature, political homes, homes in movement, are not easy, but fraught with conflict (Mohanty, 2003). Tensions are not deterrents to decolonization, but can be productive and active sites of complexity. Especially as PARC prepares for a lawsuit with a ticket of \$500,000, this alliance is improving the possibility of freedom from freeway development for people on either side of Pecos Road.

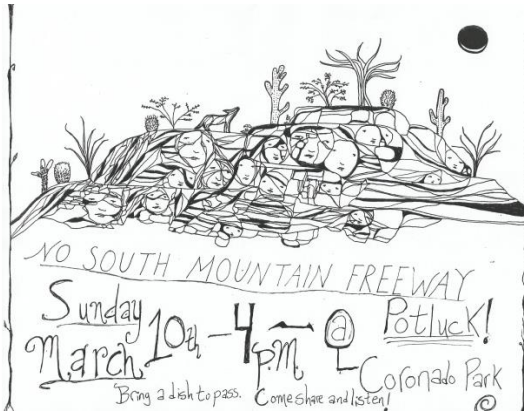
### **Sacred Site, Backyard Beauty: South Mountain as a Rallying Point**

Throughout years of movement against the Loop 202, Muhadag Do'ag (South Mountain) has been the most consistent and unifying concern across diverse groups in opposition to the freeway. Other impacts of the truck bypass have long-term consequences, including air pollution, related land development, and loss of sovereignty; the struggle against the freeway is not reducible to the struggle over South Mountain. However, widespread concern for South Mountain is emblematic of conflicting values between arguments for and against the freeway. In contrast to the ideology of capitalist development driving the freeway, in which local land represents empty space ripe for expropriation by transnational capital, local environmentalists, Phoenix and Ahwatukee residents, and indigenous community members observe the mountain as a sacred space and place of beauty. Both native and settler organizations contesting the Loop 202 share the belief, articulated in different ways, that South Mountain has inherent value as an inviolable home space, greater than its value as capital.

For non-native groups organizing against the freeway, many of the events planned to build public awareness and support for the 'no build' alternative have centered on *experiencing* the mountain, to understand, on a personal, emotional and spiritual level, what would be lost. The Phoenix Mountain Preservation Council has led hikes to a peak overlooking the ridges that would be impacted by the freeway alignment (Hurtado, 2014), a strategy that contributed to formal freeway opposition from the South Mountain Park and Preserve and the City of Phoenix. PARC in Ahwatukee has organized several hikes

on the mountain through 2012-2014, encouraging people to reflect on the mountain as recreation space and natural beauty in Ahwatukee's backyard. A PARC member explains, "You're talking about these beautiful mountains, with these hiking trails. Right now, if you look out your window, you see nature. What is our neighborhood going to be like with an eight lane freeway? What will be the quality of life for people who enjoy parks and recreation? This is a jewel in my opinion for Phoenix that should be protected."

Both PARC and the No South Mountain Freeway group have observed that non-native organizations have something to learn from the values of respect for the earth that native activists promote. The No South Mountain Freeway group has worked to include this perspective in public awareness about the threatened mountain. On a hike the group organized in April 2013, a month before the DEIS release, an O'odham elder spoke about the story of the man in the maze and the significance of the mountain to the O'odham people. Members of the group have also explored other ways of communicating the experience of being with the mountain, in addition to O'odham spiritual significance. Photographs of tiny, fragile spring flowers express both ecological complexity and joyful surprise in the richness of the natural environment ("Hike Planned...", 2013). Meditations, posted on blog sites, on being with the mountain through sunrise and sunset describe the terrain as a steadfast and grounding constant in a fluctuating and violent world. Artistic representations of South Mountain depict the mountain range as rocks where many spirits live (Figure 6.6).



**Figure 6.6** A flyer distributed by the No South Mountain Freeway group publicizing an upcoming potluck to discuss the Loop 202. The mountain’s many plants, animals, and faces in the rocks represent the author’s imagination of the mountain as a place vibrant and alive. *Source:* “Media Coverage from our Benefit Show a Few Weeks Ago.” *No South Mountain Freeway*. 5 March 2013. <<http://nosouthmountainfreeway.wordpress.com/2013/03/05/media-coverage-from-our-benefit-show-a-few-weeks-ago/>>

Recent legal history has shown that environmental ethics are more easily incorporated into settler law and culture than indigenous spirituality (e.g. Tsosie, 1996). Preserving nature for recreation does not fundamentally challenge the settler-native hierarchy, utilitarian conceptions of land value, or the erasure of native relations to the land. By contrast, protecting sacred sites requires conceptions of land value that are not reducible to either exchange or use value, and requires placing limits on the expansion and accumulation of non-native wealth, power, and land.

Although many freeway opponents have referred to South Mountain as an indigenous ‘church’ as a way of communicating native spirituality in terms comprehensible to Christians, an O’odham organizer reflects, “We recognize there is a vast difference between an understanding of religion and spirituality.” Some native

people argue that the fight to save sacred sites is a narrow conception of indigeneity and decolonization since indigenous people traditionally hold all land as sacred. However, protecting sacred sites, places that are especially significant to a tribe's spirituality, history or culture, is a significant ongoing struggle for many communities across the U.S. Jerry Flute of the Association on American Indian Affairs estimates that there are at least seventy-seven current sacred land disputes in the country, disturbed through resource extraction and development (Baumann, 1992; Ross, 2005).

Despite formal legal procedures that allow a tribe to declare a site as sacred, there is little legal precedence that enables indigenous communities to protect sacred places. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled in 1998 that First Amendment's protections of religious freedom "don't apply to Indians when it comes to destruction of their land" (Baumann, 1992; Carpenter, 2004). Sacred land disputes have since attempted to challenge this ruling, but it has not yet been overturned. As GRIC prepares to file a lawsuit on the basis of racial and religious discrimination in the coming year, it will have to contend with the failure of U.S. law to make sense of or protect indigenous spirituality. O'odham activists have invoked the UN Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which specifically addresses the rights of indigenous people to access sacred sites, as a source of rhetorical pressure to persuade decision-makers and the public about protecting South Mountain before the Loop 202 extension reaches a courtroom.

One of the reasons the struggle to reclaim sacred sites has been so difficult is because most contested sacred sites are not on federally designated reservation lands. This is the problem with the U.S. reservation system for understanding native land

ownership. In contrast to reservation boundaries, which demarcate the edges of colonial conquest, O’odham activists assert broader territorial rights, based on historical residence before U.S. occupation: “All the way down to Mexico, all the way up to the Mogollon Rim, and then even around the Silver Springs area, through to Mexico down to the Colorado River. That’s our territorial land.” Recuperating stolen land, native territories designated as settler property, has been a primary focus of indigenous movements throughout the Americas, a difficult, but sometimes necessary argument to make when O’odham residents are told they do not have jurisdiction in decisions about the mountain (Hill, 2009, p. 28). Unlike many native sacred sites, geographically distanced from reservation land (Keller, 2014), GRIC abuts Muhadag Do’ag, and O’odham people continue to use the mountain for food, medicine and prayer. This eases the claim of O’odham land ownership in this case, since the mountain figures in daily practice and has visible, material, rather than only spiritual, value to O’odham people.

### **Culture at the Center of Land Struggle**

Perhaps the most powerful consequence of organizing against the Loop 202 has been the resurgence of interest in indigenous culture. Many indigenous scholars have observed the process of cultural and political homogenization that takes place through imperialism (e.g. Alfred, 2009; Perdue, 2012; Sium et al., 2013). Native people are re-educated, made to forget traditional ways. Tuck and Young (2012) argue, “Everything within a settler colonial society strains to destroy or assimilate the Native in order to disappear them from the land” (p. 9). This process occurs in both big, tragic and small,



everyday ways, from forced assimilation through boarding schools to living in a society where white culture is dominant. The power of liberal discourse “lies in shaping not only conscious belief but, more importantly, unconscious desire” (Mendoza, 2013). An O’odham woman describes the painful experience of trying to grapple with the force of unconscious acceptance of white values as a native person:

The definition of Milgahn [white] success is very different than the definition of O’odham success. You have a happy family, you take care of yourself, your health is okay. In Ahwatukee, it’s like, big house, three cars, Ivy League schools. So when you’re O’odham, especially when you grew up on the rez, you have a conflict.

Cultural expectations of personal wealth and professional success, rather than humility and collective or tribal well-being, underlie a desire for the freeway, both for corporate developers and for O’odham landowners working with Pangea. Resistance to the Loop 202, a political struggle between capitalist development and indigenous cultural survival, has required an unlearning of dominant U.S. capitalist values and a reinvigoration of O’odham Himdag. An O’odham organizer against the freeway explains:

You can’t go up there and say I don’t want this freeway because of my culture if you don’t know anything about your culture. That’s what’s happened, that’s what’s good. A lot of our elders didn’t even remember stories about the mountain. But when one of them starts talking about a story, then they start remembering, then they start sharing more stories, then all of a sudden, you just sit back and watch. They start singing songs, songs everyone forgot about. You wouldn’t have that happening if you didn’t have people saying we need to get here and talk about the 202.

Celebration, oral storytelling, and teachings across generations sustain indigenous ontologies, ways of being and relating that colonization has worked hard to erase and destroy. In response to the threat of the Loop 202, and the trauma and fear of uncertain

futures, community members share stories and songs that heal. These memories replace racist narratives circulating in media discourse about the freeway with pride in native identity (Lawrence, 2005; Alfred, 2009). Rather than trying to become more like the settler society, O’odham people, through cultural practice, turn toward their own people, seeing strength and dignity in native ways of being.

The deliberate resurgence of native cultural beliefs was especially evident during the 2-day run against the Loop 202, held in honor of Muhadag Do’ag (Figure 6.7). The villages most directly affected by the freeway - Lone Butte, Santa Cruz, Gila Crossing, Komatke, and Co-op – invited O’odham and non-native people to participate in a traditional gathering and run (“Support Needed for...”, 2011). The event represented a form of “imaginative storytelling”; through being with the beauty, silences, and teachings of the land: “we disrupt the assumption that land is a possession, can be owned, that it is merely a place to make history” (Sium and Ritskes, 2013). Akimel O’odham ‘no build’ supporters were joined by Tohono O’odham, Onk Akimel O’odham (Salt River), Diné, Pee Posh (Maricopa), Apache, and Hopi tribes, as well as non-native residents of Phoenix, for a 51-mile run from Blackwater through Sacaton, ending at the base of Mohadag Do’ag (“Gila River Sacrifices...”, 2012).



**Figure 6.7** Five young O’odham children run ahead of the crowd in part of the O’odham spiritual two-day run “Sacrificing against the Freeway”. Community members and supporters began from Komatke village on the Gila River Indian Community reservation. The children run surrounded by village houses and intact desert land, a different landscape entirely from the terrain ADOT and associated developers hope to construct on the freeway. Ridges of South Mountain can be seen in the background, visible here as they are all from all points on the reservation. *Source: Siiki, 2012*

The event, known as “Sacrificing against the Freeway”, was held in order to show both native and non-native observers that “[O’odham] Himthag, [O’odham] culture, has a major place in the decision” about the freeway (Siiki, 2012). GRIC member, Summer Blackwater of Sacaton, explains, “One of the many reasons I ran was to help strengthen and unite the community to fight for our land, just as our ancestors did” (“Gila River Sacrifices...”, 2012). Runners called on native people to respect the sacrifices of their ancestors who fought so that O’odham people today would still have land and culture.

As community members and supporters refuse displacement through development, they assert an alternative rooted in interconnectedness and care. Jeff Corntassel (2012) proposes that indigenous self-determination means “belonging to each other”, being “accountable and responsible to each other and the natural world” (p. 91). During the run, O’odham elder Jivik Siiki expresses a similar idea that he argues is at the

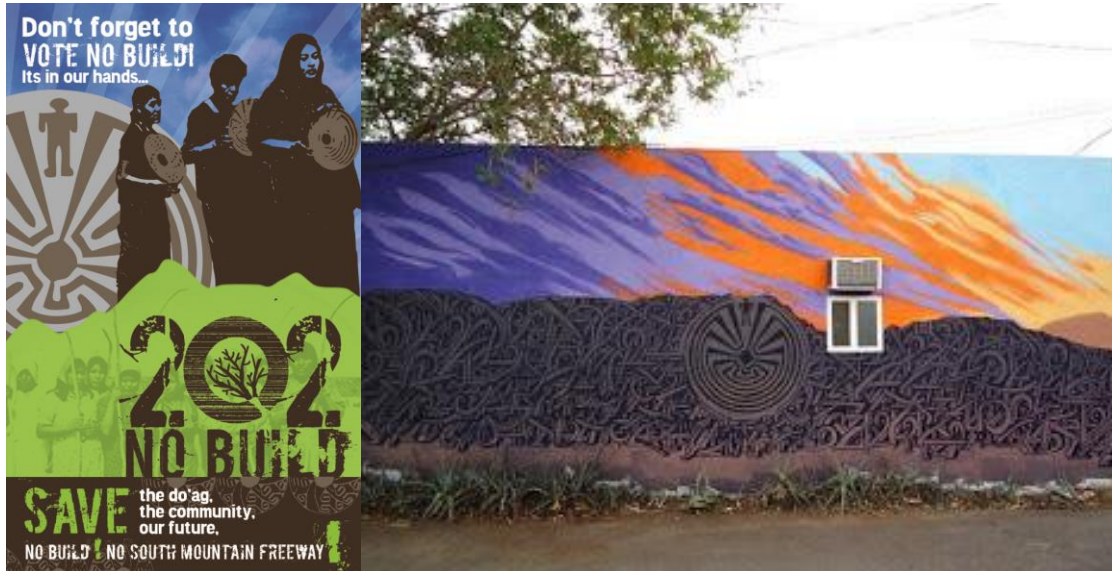
heart of resistance to the Loop 202: “This is another obligation we are born with; to think about everyone rather than ourselves.” (Siiki, 2012)

Participants in the run attempted to model the relationships between native and non-native people as they would like them to be, based on mutual respect and initiated on native invitation, rather than the adversarial, exploitative and exclusionary relationships O’odham people have encountered through engagement with ADOT. During the run, native activists hoped to encourage multiracial coalitions: “Go’ol Hemajkam (the Other People) [non-native people] were invited, cared for, fed, provided warmth of the fire and handshakes because they care for us so much to come and help us stop this disrespect” (Siiki, 2012).

Music, murals and other public art has contributed to a dissemination of O’odham traditional culture, especially among younger people. In an awareness and benefit show organized by Gila River Against the Loop 202 in Santan, Akimel O’ohdam, Onk Akimel O’odham, Tohono O’odham, Diné, and non-native Phoenix residents performed songs about colonization, the freeway, native life, and the environment. In a style similar to the urban protest culture of the American Indian Movement, the performance featured ska, hip hop, and punk music, intersecting traditional O’odham values with contemporary youth cultures. Andrew Pedro of Sacaton notes, “The older generation is more aware, but youth in Gila River have little idea what is going on. In a sense, the concert was about getting youth to learn about the issues in their community.” (“Anti-Loop 202...”, 2012)

Colonization exacts a mental, spiritual and emotional toll which makes the colonized tired and fearful, willing to accept subordination and displacement. Culture

rebuilds the people: reconnects people to themselves, reinvigorates pride and community around indigenous ways of being. It is no coincidence that “many of the insurgent indigenous movements around the globe have been sustained by poets, musicians, and artists” (Sium and Ritskes, 2013). Art, photography, public murals, and graphic designs, as in Figure 6.8, have been an important way that people have expressed native culture, identity and resistance to the freeway. These images often include the spiritual image of a man in the maze, reminding both native and non-native people about the significance and meaning of the mountain. In contrast to the view of multinational corporations envisioning transnational trade, for whom the mountain is undeveloped acreage, this traditional story about Muhadog Do’ag represents a conviction “that the people are inseparable from the specific geographical space in which they now live” (Masco, 2006, p. 103). The story, told again and again at ADOT and MAG meetings, public hearings, teach-ins, and O’odham gatherings, might be understood as an “archive of collective pain, suffering, and resistance” (Sium and Ritskes, 2013) that acknowledges the imbalance and confusion caused by colonization, and remembers the guiding spirit in the mountain that helps native people heal, individually, and as a community.



**Figure 6.8** Left: a design created by O’odham artist Chandra Narcia, published in the Gila River Indian News (GRIN) before the 2011 GRIC vote against the freeway. Right: a mural of Muhadag Do’ag (South Mountain) on Roosevelt Avenue in downtown phoenix, painted by O’odham muralist Brez One. Both artistic representations feature an O’odham spiritual image: Elder Brother is the man inside the maze who guides the O’odham people “from his home on top of Muhadag”. *Source:* (left) [http://www.gilariver.org/pdfs/grin/JAN\\_GRIN\\_2012.pdf](http://www.gilariver.org/pdfs/grin/JAN_GRIN_2012.pdf); (right) Brez One, 2011.

## **ADOT is not the only Decision-Maker: Self-Determination through Imagination and Care**

Indigenous movements for decolonization have a long historical relationship with demands for sovereignty and self-determination. While this is more recognizable to non-native observers in mid-20<sup>th</sup> century struggles for independence from colonial governments, the American Indian Movement and many native struggles in the U.S. have also placed self-determination at the center of their vision of liberation. For example, in the 1970s, AIM organized cross-country journeys from coast-to-coast known as ‘Trails of Self-Determination’, calling on the U.S. government to answer the petition for restoration of native autonomy over native land (Hill, 2009, p. 62). For most people living in

colonial situations, as in the U.S., “decolonization is defined by the urgency of land struggle” (Sium et al., 2012), by the material work to recover stolen land and prevent further encroachment. A crucial component of this struggle, several indigenous scholars contend, is the daily practice of relating to land *as if it had already been returned* (e.g. Alfred 2009; Corntassel, 2012). As Tuck and Young (2012) observe, while reservation land makes up less than 3% of U.S. territory, 100% of U.S. land rightfully belongs to native people.

A similar approach is taken by O’odham community members who assert that, regardless of the reservation boundaries drawn by the U.S. government or the privatization of land ownership in the General Allotment Act, “all of us [O’odham people] take care of all of our lands”, including South Mountain (Siiki, 2012). O’odham activists explain that they do not need state authorization to call this place home. For example, one O’odham elder remarks, “I’m told I can’t even come here [to the mountain] and build a fire. I have to ask permission. But who do I ask permission from? Why should I ask permission? I do not.” Through “everyday acts of indigenous resistance”, native people practice self-determination, “decolonizing our [native] way, or risk being transformed into that which we [native people] are struggling against” (Sium et al., 2012). Against accusations that O’odham culture is “dead” and no longer relevant for development policy decisions, O’odham traditional practices have become increasingly politicized. While O’odham people have always sustained tradition and ceremony, rituals like running at the base of the mountain in song and prayer, have been reinvigorated and strengthened. Siiki Jivik explains that these traditions remind O’odham people of the

spiritual teachings, “which center on respect and being caretakers of our lands, all O’ottham lads, not just the lands of the Gila River Indian Community’s current boundaries” (Siiki, 2012).

These refusals – to ask permission to use ancestral land, to accept U.S. reservation boundaries as the edges of O’odham territory, or to concede the irrelevance of O’odham culture – represent acts of autonomy. While public media and legal debates continue over U.S. development displacing and disrupting native land, neither settler opinion nor the U.S. government dictate land ownership and sovereignty as O’odham people understand and live it. This does not lessen the culpability of ADOT, MAG, or the larger colonial structure for the loss of land and sovereignty that would result if the freeway was built. As Amilcar Cabral (2009) observes, decolonization cannot be interpreted as *only* liberation of the mind; this obscures the material consequences of colonization, an embodied struggle for land, resources, health, and survival. However, it is also true that O’odham agency in resistance against the Loop 202 is not achieved only through engagement with the state: “Whether through ceremony or through other ways that Indigenous peoples (re)connect to the natural world, processes of resurgence are often contentious and reflect the spiritual, cultural, economic, social and political scope of the struggle” (Corntassel, 2012, p. 98).

The threat of the Loop 202 has influenced the way many O’odham parents, and especially mothers, raise their children. In a colonial imagination, activism has a “certain masculine bravado”, obscuring the critical daily political work of mothering (Sium et al., 2013). One O’odham mother explains how she encourages her children to imagine, to



dream, see and remember beyond the colonial borders of the reservation and the current colonial development:

We [O’odham people] often don’t look past our federal borders, the land that the Gila River Indian Community has. We see our border and that’s where we stop seeing our land. I teach my children, you have to dismantle all this. [She gestures to the Ahwatukee residential development and mountain signal towers]. You have to get rid of it in your mind. It doesn’t exist. Think about what it must have looked like so many years before. Then you can see the mountain, you see how big it is, you see why, in our culture, in our Himdag, it had so much significance.

By teaching her children to imagine the mountain before encroachment, she inspires them to denaturalize the development that has become a taken-for-granted landscape and destiny. Encouraging her children to “get rid of it in [their] mind” allows them to envision what native repatriation might look like, roll back the clock of colonization, and live with reverence for the mountain regardless of what is built on it. These lessons passed between mothers and children strengthen O’odham culture despite racist disregard for O’odham spirituality and way of life in the settler society at large: “Within a colonial context, acts of remembrance are resurgence.” (Corntassel, 2012)

Another O’odham activist emphasizes her role as a mother and mentor to youth as an important part of her work against the 202. She explains, “I tasked my daughter to complete a study on the time it takes animals to learn their new crossings.” The research project and other conversations with her mother about the freeway’s environmental impacts led her to organize the Gila River Environmental Youth. Another O’odham elder visits schools on the Community land to teach the children about their history and identity as Akimel O’odham people, a labor of love he sees as a direct response to assaults like the Loop 202: “I don’t want to lose this land. I don’t want to see the children

grow up with nothing, not knowing who they are.” These stories “affirm the subjectivity” (Sium and Ritskes, 2013) of O’odham children as indigenous people, and invigorate ongoing struggle, as one mother remarks, “Hopefully I can teach my children and their children that they can stand against any proposed freeway, any destruction in the future of GRIC.”

Children, the future, and the next seven generations are heavy on the mind of people organizing against the South Mountain Freeway. Activists assert that home is at stake in the threat of the freeway: “I hope my children will still be buried on my land, our land, the land where I buried my mother and father, my brother, my aunts and uncles, where I will lay to rest.” Calls to action against the freeway urge people to take pride their homeland, to stand with “our land, our people, our future” (Pedro, 2012). Knowing home as native people, Mallory Whiteduck (2013) argues, is the first and last step toward decolonization (Whiteduck, 2013). Yet, Mary Kelly (2014) reflects with fear about the onslaught of development and inevitability of indigenous displacement: “How can we both be at home? Is there room for sacred land in a world of global capital?” (Keller, 2014) Her question echoes the doubts of many observers watching the Loop 202 steamroll through anti-democratic process.

Nonetheless, O’odham organizers against the South Mountain Freeway maintain hope and resilience. One native woman remarks, “I don’t believe it will ever get built. But I will still be standing here as long as I have energy in my body still opposing this freeway.” Colonization functions on the “illusion of permanence and inevitability” (Sium et al., 2013), and is dismantled by the people whose courageous and necessary

“unjustifiable optimism” (Gordon, 2004, p. xi) inspires them to refuse to accept extermination and displacement.

## Chapter 7:

### CONCLUSION

This study has examined two examples of forced displacement in Phoenix, Arizona. One of the goals of this research was to identify how and why low-income communities of color are displaced. Analysis of the political economy and public discourses surrounding workplace immigration raids and the freeway demonstrate that displacement is motivated by the accumulation of capital and state capacities, but justified through racist and colonial ideologies.

Raids and the freeway are the result of complex and sometimes contradictory desires of the multidimensional state and numerous local, regional and transnational capitals. Raids lend capacity and legitimacy to local sheriff and police agencies as well as federal ICE, through public narratives and a constructed spectacle that convey a threat. Raids also fill carceral space, profitable for both private corporations like CCA and state agencies like MCSO and ICE. Raids themselves produce fear in the workplace, and make it easier for corporate managers to pay low wages and shirk adequate working conditions. Similarly, the freeway results in self-perpetuating legitimacy and federal funds for ADOT and MAG. The Loop 202 extension facilitates transnational trade through the CANAMEX trade corridor, making it easier for U.S. corporates to accumulate wealth through extraction of resources and cheap labor in Mexico. The freeway subsidizes recession-struck local construction and transportation industries and creates an enabling environment for real estate developers and land owners.

Although capital and state interests are the root cause of displacement, racism and coloniality naturalize the process. People who are displaced, and the land from which they are removed, are constructed in policy and public discourse as displaceable and disposable. U.S. economic imperialism, migration policy, and property regimes imposed on native reservations create the conditions for the state agencies to claim that migrants and native residents do not have legal right to the land in question. Racist narratives reinforce the sense that displacement is necessary and good. Latino migrant workers are construed as illegal and dangerous, while O’odham people are portrayed as too lazy to properly use their land.

### **Movement Dreams and the Scope of this Research**

The rest of this dissertation has considered the many strategies of survival and resistance expressed by Latino migrant workers and O’odham residents living in fear of work raids or in the path of the freeway. These movements are forced to contend with and contest the racist ideologies that normalize their removal. Disseminating their own, human stories of suffering, struggle, resilience and hope offer a counter-narrative to the racist dominant discourse, and render their displacement violent and absurd.

These movements also work with questions of possibility and futurity, questions whose answers are only found through trial and error, and cannot be answered in advance. What would it take for the Phoenix ICE Office to release everyone detained on charges of working, for the Maricopa County Prosecutor’s Office to drop criminal charges against migrant workers, for the Sheriff to declare an end to raids? What will it

take for ADOT, MAG, and the conglomerate of interested corporations to abandoned the Loop 202, sell off land in Laveen, cut their losses, and acquiescence to indigenous sovereignty and democracy? How would Phoenix look differently if it stopped terrorizing migrant workers, cut back on jail and detention contracts, and enforced labor laws with equity? What would it look like for Phoenix to slow down its frantic pace of development, acknowledge the self-determination of native nations, and accept legal boundaries of native reservations and ecological limits to expansion? These are, in a certain sense, conservative visions: that the state would leave the most marginalized groups in the city alone.

The theoretical intervention of an organization in Phoenix, mentioned in Chapter 2, helped me to imagine the boundaries of inquiry in this research. The group consists of prisoners and their families working to cope with and challenge the suffering their loved ones experience in prison. They initially called the organization “Prisoners are People, Too”, but later, the “Too” was dropped. Members decided that non-prisoners – especially the mostly white, mostly class-privileged communities excluded from systematic criminalization – are not the standard by which everyone else’s humanity should be evaluated. Prisoners are not people *because* they have the same dreams and desires as non-prisoners. Rather, members asserted, people in prison are human in their own right, without need for comparison, without re-centering whiteness as the pivot of humanity.

In the same way, this dissertation does not say much about what white, documented, settler or class-privileged observers and concerned community members have done or should do – except to stop raiding, detaining, deporting, and exploiting

migrant workers, shut down the Loop 202 freeway proposal and future development unwanted on O’odham land, and support the migrant and native organizations that are already organizing doing this work. There many texts on the role of allyship across class and race (e.g. Brander Rasmussen et al., 2001; Crass, 2013; Evans, 2000; Grogan Brown, 2003; Leonardo, 2010) and the role of allyship in Phoenix could be another dissertation entirely.

Instead, this dissertation has sought to document what low-income, marginalized communities of color are already doing to defend themselves. The criminalization and deportation of Latino workers and anti-democratic development on native land are entrenched and resilient social problems. Migrant and O’odham communities have built strong movements in Phoenix to disrupt their own displacement; there is much that can be learned by directing attention to this effort.

### **Reconfiguring Space: With and Without the State**

Raided workers and O’odham residents are changing the meaning and function of the spaces from which they are displaced in at least three ways. Interpersonal relationships – especially among people most directly affected by displacement, in jail or detention, in District 6 along the freeway corridor – transform spaces of isolation and individual loss, into spaces of collective grievance and care. Organized campaigns harness these collective concerns to pressure specific state actors to end deportation, criminalization, or to speak against the freeway. Finally, through the course of struggle

with the state, displaced communities create alternative spaces that center the dignity and autonomy of migrant workers and native residents.

When raided workers talked about how they survived jail and detention, their stories less often mentioned strategies that might improve material conditions, such as shirking rules, bartering for food, or filing legal complaints about inhumane conditions. Instead, workers described offering prayer, songs, laughter, and comfort to the people around them, other people in jail and detention. Through laughter, often at the state's expense, traumatizing situations and internalized racist self-hate could be flipped. By helping others in jail and detention, raided workers faced with dehumanizing conditions found ways to express their own humanity, resulting in heterotopic spaces of both trauma and liberation.

The same feminist practices of care emerged as common threads of resistance among O'odham organizers. Several organizers, who are also mothers, talked about helping their children to understand the value of the mountain, its spiritual history, the animals that live there, and the medical plants that can be cultivated. In response to the threatened loss of the mountain, many elders began sharing traditional stories and songs more often, as a way of taking care of spiritual health of the people. Of course, these personal choices were influenced by the organizing events that stirred public awareness, but they were more spontaneous and intimate than organizational decisions.

It might be said that these affects of care, humor, and spirit nourish the organizations that build explicitly political movement against displacement. Organizing to stop workplace raids or the Loop 202 seem like single-issue demands at first, but in



practice, these campaigns are complex, working on multiple fronts, and constantly adapting. Raids result in workers' displacement not only because Sheriff Arpaio decides to raid a workplace, but also because citizens make racist reports, businesses comply with investigations, county prosecutors charge workers, state and private detention facilities hold workers, and ICE processes people for deportation. Similarly, neither the Arizona Department of Transportation nor the Maricopa Association of Government are the sole drivers of the Loop 202 Freeway. Transnational corporate interests driving the CANAMEZ trade corridor, local corporate actors capitalizing on a large-scale construction project, and local financiers interested in future development on the reservation all have a stake in the freeway's completion, while the Gila River Indian Community (GRIC) Council and other local Phoenix governing bodies are used to gauge official public views.

Over seven and thirty years, respectively, campaigns against workplace raids and the freeway have navigated diverse targets, and sought any points of fragility to pry migrant workers and native land free of the grip of the state. These organizations have seen concrete wins. Protests against Sheriff Arpaio led the Prosecutor and ICE to fear political association with his tactics, giving organizers leverage. They also helped to lay the groundwork for a class action lawsuit that ruled raids unconstitutional. The County Prosecutor's Office reduced charges assigned for working from a high to low class felony, making it less likely that workers would be deported. Finally, many raided workers were released from detention through the *uno-por-uno* strategy, setting a precedent to release anyone in detention with criminal charges for working. Since the

freeway is not a *fait accompli*, wins are a little harder to measure, but the tide of public actors coming out against the freeway indicate progress. Organizers informed and mobilized community members in two GRIC votes, resulting in majority siding with ‘no build’. They advanced a now-widespread public understanding that South Mountain is a sacred native place, achieved formal recognition of the mountain as a sacred place, and worked with international human rights bodies to identify the freeway as a violation of indigenous rights. Where once there was silence, the town of Ahwatukee, several school districts, the Phoenix City Parks, and the Phoenix City Mayor have joined in vocal opposition to the freeway. The economic capacity and research have been gathered to file two lawsuits against the freeway as soon as the final Environment Impact Statement is released. Of course, these campaigns are conducted alongside other work by the same organizations to rollback other assaults on the community, such as mass detention, policies of attrition, disturbed gravesites, and water rerouted away from the community.

As migrant and O’odham community organizations gain local political power, workplaces are still turned into spaces of terror, enforcing segregation and exploitation. People are still jailed, detained, deported, and separated their families. The threat of an 8-lane truck bypass still causes instability and fear of loss to O’odham people, creating strife within the Community and triggering memories of previous acts of colonization. In between now and the moment that displacement ends, migrant and O’odham communities find ways to survive and be well. Organizations create alternative spaces, community spaces beyond home, work, or the market, spaces dedicated to intentional values, like care, dignity, pride, humility, Latino and O’odham culture. Events like the

two-day spiritual run, hikes on the mountain, or organized prayers in the park cultivate *a way of being* that is desecrated by the freeway. O’odham organizers work to remind each other, through experience and community, that they belong to each other, and to the land. Alternative spaces in migrant community celebrate the personal triumphs and mourn the personal losses of members, honor Mexican, Zapatista and indigenous traditions, and finding dignity in being undocumented through organizing slogans like “no papers, no fear”. Decolonization is not abstract: it is a concrete land-based struggle. However, reclaiming land and space from colonization is not only about pressuring the state to respect Latino or native space. These grassroots organizations, led by people who know the fear of forced removal from homes and homelands, also experiment through daily practice with answers to the question: What does it look like to create home, the feeling of safety and belonging, in public?

### **Practical Implications of Resistance through Culture and Care**

#### *Impacts of displacement on culture*

Removing people from their land does not only have the effect of relocating human bodies from one space to another. Displacement also disrupts the relationships and cultural expressions of complex human lives. When certain racial groups are systematically relocated, certain cultures and ways of being are removed, diminished, or destabilized. Raids and the freeway negatively impact Latino and O’odham culture in at least three ways. Most directly, Latino and O’odham people are physically removed.

Latino residents are arrested and deported one by one; sometimes these individual deportations lead families to self-deport to avoid separation. Likewise, Gila River tribal members are projected to lose access to and sovereignty over mountain and desert territory. Secondly, expressions of Latino and O’odham culture are punished: for instance, speaking Spanish in the workplace has triggered work raids, while O’odham environmental values leads some observers to conclude that reservation land is empty and therefore open to development. Finally, explicitly racist narratives about Latino and O’odham people – “illegal”, “criminal”, “do nothing”, “Gilas” – do not only justify displacement to outside observers, but can also cause internalized self-hate and inferiority.

### *Thinking and imagining differently*

Some of the significant accomplishments of social movements in Phoenix are not state policies or legal decisions, but changes in thought and imagination in communities who face displacement. New ways of thinking are inspired by – and inspire – social relationships and relationships to the land that the dominant order proposes are undesirable or impossible.

Perhaps the most significant example of this is the mother and organizer who teaches her children to imagine and look upon the Phoenix landscape as though suburban development had not been constructed, as the mountain may have been when O’odham elders and ancestors first sat in awe of South Mountain. The suburban landscape itself reinforces the logics of coloniality: white wealth, development, and expansion. Against

the backdrop of large Ahwatukee houses and new Laveen apartments, a freeway is not so shocking. Juxtaposed to fragile and commanding desert mountain ecosystems, the harm of development is more evident. From this mental space, it is more possible to remember humility in relationship with the land, to see its intrinsic or spiritual value, to remember and honor ancestors who fought for or culled the land, to respect the future generations who will live with the decisions made today, and to honor what it means to be native.

Teaching one's children about how to imagine is a different kind of resistance than going to a meeting or protest. One does not preclude the other; imagining is not more or less important than protesting. But imagining, it might be argued, provides the cognitive orientation, and emotional and spiritual resources to sustain ongoing struggling.

Decolonizing, then, in the literal sense of reclaiming land and space from colonizing institutions, is practiced through the loving act of preparing the next generation to value and remember one's own people. During the two-day spiritual run, and the concert held for O'odham youth about the Loop 202, through public art installations and presentations in schools, O'odham organizers are working to help O'odham residents and youth identify with their traditional spirituality, history, and ways of being.

One of the logics sustaining raids, jail, and detention is the lens of the individual: an individual migrated without documents, and failed to conform to whiteness in the workplace; an individual is punished in jail, then held in detention while judges figure out what to do with this particular case. Migrant workers talked about unlearning the individualization of displacement and seeing the way each of these events are collective experiences. Connecting with or taking care of other people in jail and detention helped

workers to make sense of their own traumatic experiences. Migrant families talk about people in deportation proceedings or people who have been deported: this names deportation as a collective harm. When migrants talk about the conditions they came from – In countries devastated by free trade agreements that undercut local farmers and international development policies that chipped away at welfare protections – it becomes more evident that migration is a socio-historical phenomenon and an expression of resilience.

### *Grassroots organizations of color*

Through oral history interviews and participant observation, I found that feminist practices of care and Latino / O’odham culture are important tools of survival and resistance in communities facing displacement. This conclusion has at least two practical implications for people working for liberation.

First, this means that the goals of movement are not only the demands explicitly stated in the public arena. Stopping migrant criminalization and shutting down the freeway proposal are certainly among the organizations’ primary objectives, but these policy changes are not what raided workers and native residents name as most critical to imminent survival and healing. Policy change is necessary but not sufficient. Survival, as respondents and community organizations demonstrate, is at least partially dependent on finding new ways of imagining and seeing oneself and one’s community. How much of survival is connected to feelings of belonging and identity, beliefs that we belong in this space, our home is here, our history is attached to this land, our way of relating to each

other and to space is worth recovering? While an advocacy organization fighting displacement might bring an end to policies and state practices of displacement, an important and necessary accomplishment, it would not achieve the other equally important goal of creating healing relations, knowledge, power, and pride among the people who have been displaced.

Further, if Latino and O’odham culture are important to the survival and well-being of displaceable people, community organizations working to stop displacement cannot be merely neutral on race and culture. Since displacement is so devastating to the cultures of displaced people, naming Latino and native people and culture as inferior and disposable, organizations must (and do) actively lift up Latino and O’odham culture. Culture is not only a set of traditions or practices, but a “materializing social process, productive of relatively permanent forms of value, economy, meaning, and distributions of goods and resources” (Melamed, 2011, p. 94). Expressions of Latino and O’odham culture include more obvious markers of difference, such as speaking Spanish or O’odham, celebrating Latino and O’odham holidays, and planting seeds and cooking Latin American and O’odham foods. However, cultural difference also includes different ways of thinking and being: deliberately remembering the history of Latino and O’odham people; grieving memories of colonization and talking about people who are not present either because of detention, deportation, or death; sharing O’odham spiritual stories including tales that reflect the intersubjectivity of humans and the earth; respecting the knowledge of and caring for community and elders; valuing collective care over profit; encouraging *vehsig* or balance; and creating space to *convivir* or spend time together.

This is not the same approach as multicultural diversity, the idea that all cultures are equally valuable in guiding behavior and thought, including cultures of capitalism or white supremacy. It is also different from assimilation narratives that encourage the poor of color to achieve economic and social mobility through accommodation to the dominant social values. Instead, the meanings and values expressed by people and organizations resisting displacement represent a deliberate effort to maintain and express the more liberatory of Latino and O’odham cultural values and practices, against the threat of loss, assimilation, and removal.

### **Recommendations for Future Research**

#### *The future of raids and the freeway in Phoenix*

Writing about current events has no clean end point. This is especially true of social problems that are the priority of large, active community organizations. After I stopped field research, while writing, several things happened that I ultimately decided not to address in this dissertation. Most significantly, seven workers arrested in workplace raids brought their own class action lawsuit against Sheriff Arpaio and the Maricopa County Sheriff’s Office for an unconstitutional application of identity theft laws (AP; 2014). The Arizona Department of Transportation was also supposed to produce its final Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) this spring. However, perhaps influenced by the magnitude of public controversy surrounding the freeway, the EIS has been delayed.



Future research could explore the future of both social problems. Although raids conducted by the Sheriff's Office seem to have stopped for now, the workers' lawsuit could ensure a future without local raids, and may also bring some compensation to workers for harms incurred. However, federal raids, mass detention, and deportations continue. Workplaces remain segregated, and it may take a long time before undocumented workers in Phoenix feel safe enough at work to dispute unjust labor conditions. Many formerly deported people are currently organizing in Nogales and Mexico City for the right to return; the right to return of raided workers seems like the most likely of reform on the horizon, on the tails of legal decisions that raids are unconstitutional. Based on the sentiments expressed by many activists about the Loop 202, if construction proceeds as planned, Phoenix is likely to see a new wave of protest and public controversy. More likely than not, lawsuits will delay the Loop 202 construction for many more years. If the Loop 202 is stopped altogether, particularly if it is through accusations of the violation of civil and religious rights, the conclusion will be a significant landmark for native land rights.

#### *Addressing limitations of this design*

As mentioned in the introduction, this research only dealt with the impacts of work raids and the Loop 202 freeway on the most directly impacted racial group. Important future research could examine the impact of raids and the Loop 202 on non-Latino and non-native communities. Some of this research is already gathered in the many studies and counter-studies circulating around the freeway EIS, but these technical

studies on pollution, traffic, and housing could also be supplemented with ethnographic research in Laveen and Ahwatukee.

Another practical limitation of the research is my race and class position, which influences how I relate to people, the way I ask questions, and how I make sense of what I learn. This dissertation functions, I hope, as something of a translation, from my understanding of Latino and O'odham community organizations to other people who are not directly affected by displacement. The conclusions may help to assess the qualitative significance of organizations' work from the outside, but they are not rooted in the standpoint that would generate knowledge useful for anyone trying to survive displacement. The same research would likely look quite different if conducted by people directly impacted by work raids or the freeway, and would be more valuable to directly impacted communities.

#### *Further theoretical investigation*

One line of analysis begun in this dissertation that could be followed more closely is the cumulative impact of historical wrongs on the experience of contemporary displacement. For instance, O'odham activists often mention the historical damming of the river when talking about the Loop 202, and migrant workers' experience of work raids is certainly affected by anti-immigrant policies of attrition that create more vulnerable impoverishment among migrant workers. These observations suggest that oppressive social conditions have to be understood within the context of collective, historical harms sustained by specific communities. A more systematic ethnographic

analysis might assess the impact of one near-term historical trauma on the lived experience of contemporary displacement.

Another theoretical point of interest that came up in the course of ethnographic study which I had not anticipated at the outset is the significance of ‘home’ in destabilized communities. Expressions of culture and care in interpersonal relationships and alternative spaces that undergird movement building against displacement suggest different, more public meanings of home spaces in dislocated communities. More rigorous ethnographic research could examine the varying practices of deliberate or political home-making in displaced communities, and the impact of this practices on perceptions of place and the strength of community ties.

#### *Examining displacement in the broad view*

Workplace raids and the Loop 202 freeway were chosen as case studies because they are the most prominent, contemporary and controversial examples of forced displacement in the city where I am living. However, the dislocation of low-income communities of color is taking place around the country. Other communities face displacement in Phoenix today, including mass incarceration of low-income Black, Chicano, native, and white communities; gentrification of South Phoenix, resulting in the relocation of low-income Latino and Black residents; and suburban sprawl onto the Salt River Indian Reservation.

A broader geographic analysis could help to understand the aggregated consequences of displacement, a common experience under the neoliberal racial state in

the 21<sup>st</sup> century. How is dispossession impacting the demography and cultural landscape of U.S. cities? How are low-income neighborhoods, neighborhoods of color, and native reservations changing in size, population, and degree of self-governance? What are the cumulative effects of forced relocation on the distribution of land, wealth, and power?

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aalbers, Manuel. *Place, Exclusion and Mortgage Markets*. West Sussex, UK: Blackwell Publishing, 2011.

“About SWOP.” Accessed 29 January 2014. <[http://www.swopphoenix.org/?page\\_id=9](http://www.swopphoenix.org/?page_id=9)>

Adelman, Howard. *Protracted Displacement in Asia: No Place to Call Home*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008.

Agamben, Giorgio. *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995.

Aguirre Rojas, Carlos Antonio. *Mandar Obedeciendo: Las Lecciones Políticas del Neozapatismo Mexicano*. Rosario, Argentina: Prohistoria, 2009.

Ahmed, Sara. *The Promise of Happiness*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2010.

“Akimel O’odham Statement against the South Mountain Loop 202 Freeway Extension.” *Gila River against Loop 202*. 21 September 2011.  
<<http://gilariveragainstloop202.wordpress.com/2011/09/21/hello-world/>>

Alarcon, Norma. “Chicana Feminism: In the Tracks of the Native Woman.” *Cultural Studies*. 4.3 (1990): 248-256.

Alexander, Michelle. *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*. New York: The New Press, 2010.

Alfred, Taiaiake. *Wasa’sse: Indigenous Pathways of Action and Freedom*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009.

Andreas, Peter and Richard Price. “From War Fighting to Crime Fighting: Transforming the American National Security State.” *The International Studies Review*. 3.3 (2001): 31-52.

“Andrew on Getting Kicked Out of the Loop 202 Hearing.” 21 May 2013.  
<[http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J\\_Abxt6R0js](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J_Abxt6R0js)>

“Anti-Loop 202 Freeway Awareness Concert Held in Santan.” *Gila River against Loop 202*. 4 December 2012. <<https://gilariveragainstloop202.wordpress.com/2012/12/04/anti-loop-202-freeway-awareness-concert-held-in-santan/>>

Anzaldúa, Gloria. *Borderlands / La Frontera: The New Mestiza*. San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 1987.

Apfelbaum, Erika. "And Now What, After Such Tribulations? Memory and Dislocation in the Era of Uprooting." *American Psychologist*. 55.9 (2000): 1008-1013.

AP. "Lawsuit Challenges Arizona Sheriff Joe Arpaio's Business Raids." *ABC15.com*. 18 June 2014. <<http://www.abc15.com/news/region-phoenix-metro/central-phoenix/lawsuit-challenges-arizona-sheriff-joe-arpaio-s-business-raids>>

Arendt, Hannah. *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*. New York: Viking Press, 1963.

Arizona Department of Transportation. *South Mountain Freeway (Loop 202) DEIS and Section 4(f) Evaluation*. July 2013.

"Arizona Pioneer Cemetery Research Project." Accessed 3 March 2014. <[http://www.apcrp.org/SWILLING,%20Jack/jack\\_of\\_all\\_trades\\_master.htm](http://www.apcrp.org/SWILLING,%20Jack/jack_of_all_trades_master.htm)>

Arizona Rural Policy Institute, Center for Business Outreach, W.A. Franke College of Business and Northern Arizona University. *Demographic Analysis of the Gila River Indian Community Using 2010 Census and 2010 American Community Survey Estimates*. <<http://azcia.gov/Documents/Links/DemoProfiles/Gila%20River%20Indian%20Community.pdf>>

Atkins, Burton and Marc Pogrebin. "The Invisible Justice System: Discretion and the Law." *Critical Justice Studies*. Cincinnati, OH: Anderson Publication Co., 1982.

Atkinson, Sam. "This is What Graffiti Haven 5 Pointz Looks Like Days into Demo." *NY Curbed*. 25 August 2014. <<http://ny.curbed.com/tags/5-pointz>>

Ayon, Cecilia, Maria Gurrola, Lorraine Moya Salas, David Andross, and Judy Krysik. "Intended and Unintended Consequences of the Employer Sanction Law on Latino Families." *Qualitative Social Work*. 11.6 (2011): 587-603.

Bacon, David and Bill Ong Hing. "The Rise and Fall of Employer Sanctions." *Fordham Urban Law Journal*. 38.1 (2010): 77-106.

Baer, Leonard. "Visual Imprints on the Prison Landscape: A Study on the Decorations in Prison Cells." *Tijdschrift Voor Economische En Sociale Geografie*. 96.2 (2005): 196-205.

Baradaran, Shima. "Race, Prediction, and Discretion." *The George Washington Law Review*. 81 (2013): 157-222.

- Barlow, Andrew. "Globalization, Racism, and the Expansion of the American Penal System." *African Americans in the U.S. Economy*. Ed. Cecilia Conrad. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2005. Pp. 223-229.
- Bartlow, Susannah Rose. *'Vulnerability as Armor': Embodied Spiritual Commitments of Alice Walker, Audre Lorde, and Toni Cade Bambara*. Dissertation: State University of New York at Buffalo, 2009.
- Baumann, Dao. "Sacred Places." *Mother Jones*. 17.2 (1992)
- Beard, Betty. "Distrust Fuels Freeway Opposition." *Arizona Republic*. 23 Dec 2005: B12.
- Begaye, Enei. "The Black Mesa Controversy." *Cultural Survival*. 29.4 (2005)
- Bender, Steven. *Tierra y Libertad: Land, Liberty and Latino Housing*. New York: New York University Press, 2010.
- Bernal, Dolores Delgado, Alejandra Elenes, Francisca Godinez, and Sofia Villenas. *Chicana / Latina Education in Everyday Life: Feminist Perspectives on Pedagogy and Epistemology*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2006.
- Bernet, Rudolf. "The Traumatized Subject." *Research in Phenomenology*. 30.1 (2000): 160-181.
- Bhandar, Davina, Doreen Fumia, and Zoe Newman. "Decolonizing Spaces/ Espaces decolonisants." *Resources for Feminist Research*. 33.1 (2008): 7-17.
- "Bigger than Hip Hop." *Artistic Reason AZ*. 1 April 2011.  
<<http://artisticreasonaz.bandcamp.com/track/its-bigger-than-hip-hop>>
- Biolsi, Thomas. "Imagined Geographies: Sovereignty, Indigenous Space, and American Indian Struggle." *American Ethnologist*. 32.2 (2005): 239-259.
- Birkeland, Nina. "Internal Displacement: Global Trends in Conflict-Induced Displacement." *International Review of the Red Cross*. 91.875 (2009): 491-508.
- Blackmon, Douglas. *Slavery by Another Name: The Re-Enslavement of Black Americans from the Civil War to World War II*. New York, NY: Doubleday, 2008.
- Blank, Stephen. "North American Trade Corridors: An Initial Exploration." *Faculty Working Papers: Pace University*. 50 (2006): 1-12.

Blas, Elisheva. "The Dwight D. Eisenhower National System of Interstate and Defense Highways: The Road to Success?" *The History Teacher*. 44.1 (2010): 127-142.

Blaser, Mario, Ravi de Costa, Deborah McGregor, and William Coleman. *Indigenous Peoples and Autonomy: Insights for a Global Age*. Vancouver, BC: The University of British Columbia Press, 2010.

Bloch, Matthew, Shan Carter, and Alan McLean. "Mapping Every City, Every Block." *The New York Times*. 2005-9 American Community Survey, Census Bureau. Accessed November 2013. <<http://projects.nytimes.com/census/2010/explorer?ref=us>>

Bogado, Aura. "A Group of Immigration Activists Disrupt ICE." *ColorLines: News for Action*. 16 October 2013. <[www.colorlines.com/archives/2013/10/shutting\\_down\\_ice.html](http://www.colorlines.com/archives/2013/10/shutting_down_ice.html)>

Boggs, Grace Lee. "A Question of Place." *Monthly Review: An Independent Socialist Magazine*. 52.2 (2000): 19.

Bolin, Bob, Sara Grineski, and Timothy Collins. "The Geography of Despair: Environmental Racism and the Making of South Phoenix, Arizona, USA." *Research in Human Ecology*. 12.2 (2005): 152-168.

Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. "The Invisible Weight of Whiteness: The Racial Grammar of Everyday Life in Contemporary America." *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 35.2 (2012): 173-194.

Bosworth, Mary and Emma Kaufman. "Foreigners in a Carceral Age: Immigration and Imprisonment in the United States." *Stanford Law and Policy Review*. 22.2 (2011): 429-451.

Brander Rasmussen, Birgit, Eric Klineberg, Irene Nexica, and Matt Wray, Eds. *The Making and Unmaking of Whiteness*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001.

Brez One. "'Moadak' Mural on Roosevelt." *Breeze*. 25 Oct 2011. <<http://brezone.blogspot.com/2011/10/moadak-mural-on-roosevelt.html>>

Brittle, Steve. "Experts Conclude that the South Mountain Freeway Should Not be Built." *Arizona Community Press*. 8 August 2013. <<http://azcommunitypress.org/2013/08/08/experts-conclude-that-the-south-mountain-freeway-should-not-be-built/>>



Brown, Jovana. "When Our Water Returns: Gila River Indian Community and Diabetes." *The Evergreen State College*. 2009. <<http://www.evergreen.edu/tribal/docs/Brown%20Gil%20River%20Case%20When%20Our%20Water%20returns%2012%2030%2009.pdf>>

Buff, Rachel Ida. "The Deportation Terror." *American Quarterly*. 60.3 (2008): 523-551.

Butler, Judith. *Frames of War: When is Life Grievable?* London: Verso, 2009.

Butler, Judith. *Undoing Gender*. New York, NY: Routledge, 2004.

Cabral, Amilcar. "The Weapon of Theory." *The Journal of Pan African Studies*. 3.5 (2009): 1-16.

Cacho, Lisa Marie. *Social Death: Racialized Rightlessness and the Criminalization of the Unprotected*. New York: New York University Press, 2012.

Calavita, Kitty. *Inside the State: The Bracero Program, Immigration and the I.N.S.* New York: Routledge, 2010.

Calderon, Sara Ines. "No Papers, No Fear: Undocubus Immigration Activists Take Freedom Ride." *Politic 365*. 30 July 2012. <<http://politic365.com/2012/07/30/no-papers-no-fear-undocubus-immigration-activists-take-freedom-ride/>>

Campbell, Kristina. "The Road to S.B.1070: How Arizona Became Ground Zero for the Immigrants' Rights Movement and the Continuing Struggle for Latino Civil Rights in America." *Harvard Latino Law Review*. 14 (2011): 1-21.

Cancian, Francesca. "Conflicts between Activist Research and Academic Success: Participatory Research and Alternative Strategies." *The American Sociologist*. 24.1 (1993): 92-106.

Carpenter, Kristen. "A Property Rights Approach to Sacred Sites Cases: Asserting a Place for Indians as Nonowners." *UCLA Law Review*. 52.4 (2004): 1061.

Carr, Paul and Gina Thesee. "Discursive Epistemologies By, For and About the De-Colonizing Project." *Decolonizing Philosophies of Education*. (2012): 15-28.

Caruth, Cathy. *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative, and History*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1996.

Castells, Manuel. *The City and the Grassroots: A Cross-Cultural Theory of Urban Social Movements*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983.

Chan, Cecilia. "MCSO Deputies Arrest 11 in Raid of America's Taco Shop." *Arizona Republic*. 14 March 2013.  
<[www.azcentral.com/community/phoenix/articles/20130314mcs0-deputies-arrest-raid-americas-taco-shop-brk.html](http://www.azcentral.com/community/phoenix/articles/20130314mcs0-deputies-arrest-raid-americas-taco-shop-brk.html)>

Chance, Michelle. "Banned books find home with human rights group." *Mesa Legend*. 5 September 2012. <<http://www.mesalegend.com/banned-books-find-home-with-human-rights-group-1.2892956#.UtWsxYZBmtw>>

Chang, Cindy. "Louisiana is the World's Prison Capital." *The Times-Picayune*. 13 May 2012.  
<[http://www.nola.com/crime/index.ssf/2012/05/louisiana\\_is\\_the\\_worlds\\_prison.html](http://www.nola.com/crime/index.ssf/2012/05/louisiana_is_the_worlds_prison.html)>

Chang, Grace. *Disposable Domestic: Immigrant Women Workers in the Global Economy*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2000.

Chatterton, Paul. "The Urban Impossible: A Eulogy for the Unfinished City." *City*. 14.3 (2010): 422-427.

Chavez, Leo. *The Latino Threat: Constructing Immigrants, Citizens and the Nation*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008.

Chen, Michelle. "Get On the Undocubus." *CultureStrike*. 21 July 2012.  
<<http://culturestrike.net/get-on-the-undocubus>>

Ciccantell, Paul. "NAFTA and the Reconstruction of U.S. Hegemony: The Raw Materials Foundations of Economic Competitiveness." *Canadian Journal of Sociology*. 26.1 (2001): 57-87.

Clear, Todd. *Imprisoning Communities: How Mass Incarceration Makes Disadvantaged Neighborhoods Worse*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Collins, Patricia Hill. *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*. Routledge: London, 2000.

Colwell-Chanthaphonh, Chip. *Massacre at Camp Grant: Forgetting and Remembering Apache History*. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2007.

Congress of the People. *The Freedom Charter*. African National Congress. Kliptown, South Africa: 1995.

Conley, Jim and Arlene Tigar. *Car Troubles: Critical Studies of Automobility and Auto-Mobility*. Surrey, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2009.

Conrad, Todd. "The Aesthetic Politics of Affect." *Radical Philosophy*. 17.2 (2012): 51-53.

"Construction: March of the Monsters." *Time Magazine*. 24 June 1957.  
<<http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,330009,825062,00.html>>

Corburn, Jason. *Street Science: Community Knowledge and Environmental Health Justice*. Boston: MIT Press, 2005.

Cornstassel, Jeff. "Re-Envisioning Resurgence: Indigenous Pathways to Decolonization and Sustainable Self-Determination." *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*. 1.1 (2012): 86-101.

Crass, Chris. *Towards Collective Liberation: Anti-Racist Organizing, Feminist Praxis, and Movement Building Strategy*. Oakland, CA: PM Press, 2013.

Creno, Cathryn. "Gila River Tribe Nears Decision on South Mountain Freeway." *Arizona Republic*. 10 Dec 2010: 4.

Crewe, Ben, Jason Warr, Peter Bennett, and Alan Smith. "The Emotional Geography of Prison Life." *Theoretical Criminology*. 18.1 (2014): 56-74.

Crouse, Benjamin. "Worksite Raids and Immigration Norms: A 'Sticky' Problem." *Marquette Law Review*. 92.3 (2009): 591-615.

Cuevas, Ofelia Ortiz. "COPS and the Visual Economy of Punishment." *Abolition Now! Ten Years of Strategy and Struggle against the Prison Industrial Complex*. Oakland: AK Press, 2008.

"Current Issue." *Gila River against Loop 202*. Accessed 4 Feb 2014.  
<<http://www.gilariveragainstloop202.wordpress.com/current-issue/>>

Davila, Arlene. *Barrio Dreams: Puerto Ricans, Latinos, and the Neoliberal City*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.

Davila, Arlene. *Latino Spin: Public Image and the Whitewashing of Race*. New York: New York University Press, 2008.

- Davis, Angela. *Are Prisons Obsolete?* Toronto: Publishers Group Canada, 2003.
- Davis, Angela Yvonne. *The Meaning of Freedom: And Other Difficult Dialogues*. San Francisco: City Light Books, 2012.
- Davis, Joseph. *Stories of Change: Narrative and Social Movements*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2002.
- Davis, Mike. *City of Quartz: Examining the Future in Los Angeles*. London: Verso, 2006.
- De Alwis, Malathi. "'Disappearance' and 'Displacement' in Sri Lanka." *Journal of Refugee Studies*. 22.3 (2009): 378-391.
- "Dear CTOC, What Part of Sacred Don't You Understand?" *No South Mountain Freeway*. 8 February 2012.  
<<http://nosouthmountainfreeway.wordpress.com/2012/02/08/dear-ctoc-what-part-of-sacred-dont-you-understand/>>
- De Certeau, Michel. "On the Oppositional Practices of Everyday Life." *Social Text*. 3 (1980): 3-43.
- De Certeau, Michel. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1984.
- DeJong, David. *Stealing the Gila: The Pima Agricultural Economy and Water Deprivation, 1848-1921*. Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 2009.
- Del Castillo, Richard Griswold. *The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo: A Legacy of Conflict*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990.
- Delaney, David. "The Space that Race Makes." *Professional Geographer*. 54.1 (2002): 6-14.
- "DiCiccio and the Loop 202: Is There a Story here?" *Our Live in Laveen*. 23 Dec 2009.  
<<http://www.ourlifeinlaveen.com/2009/12/diciccio-and-loop-202-is-there-story.html>>
- "DiCiccio Must Be Involved in Freeway Meetings." *Arizona Republic*. 20 Nov 2009: 13.
- DiCiccio, Sal qtd. in Seliman, Allie. "700 Signatures Needed for Freeway Referendum on New Reservation Route." *Arizona Republic*. 14 March 2012: 5.
- Dirlik, Arif. "Whither History? Encounters with Historicism, Postmodernism, Postcolonialism." *Futures*. 34.1 (2002): 75-90.

Dirsuweit, Teresa. "Bodies, Discipline, and the Performance of Gender in a South African Women's Prison." *A Companion to Feminist Geography*. Eds. Lise Nelson and Joni Saeger. Oxford: Blackwell, 2007. Pp. 350-362.

Du Bois, W. E. B. *The Souls of Black Folk*. New York: Gramercy Books, 1994.

Durkin, Sandra. "The Legal Arizona Workers Act and Preemption Doctrine." *Michigan Journal of Race and Law*. 15.2 (2009): 417-444.

"Early Apache Contact with European-Americans (1848-1865)." Accessed 13 January 2014. <<http://www.chiricahua-apache.com/chiricahua-apache-pow-history/who-are-the-chiricahua-apes/early-apache-contact-with-european-americans/>>

Editors' Opinion. "Gila River Opens Crack in Door to Loop 202." *East Valley Tribune*. 17 Dec 2009. <[http://www.eastvalleytribune.com/opinion/article\\_6df622ae-b032-5fdc-83d4-1d235d0aea6b.html?mode=story](http://www.eastvalleytribune.com/opinion/article_6df622ae-b032-5fdc-83d4-1d235d0aea6b.html?mode=story)>

Escobar, Martha. "The Roots of Latina Migrants' Captivity." *Social Justice*. 36.2 (2009): 7-20.

Escobar, Martha. "No One is Criminal." *Abolition Now! Ten Years of Strategy and Struggle against the Prison Industrial Complex*. Eds. The CR10 Publications Collective. Oakland: AK Press, 2008. Pp. 57-70.

Escobar, Nora Segura. "Colombia: A New Century, an Old War, and More Internal Displacement." *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society*. 14.1 (2000): 107-127.

Evans, Linda. "Alliance Building: Looking Forward, Looking Back." *John Brown 2000*. May 2000. <[http://www.csworkshop.org/pdfs/SIS/Perspectives/3\\_Alliance\\_Building.PDF](http://www.csworkshop.org/pdfs/SIS/Perspectives/3_Alliance_Building.PDF)>

Eyerman, Ron. *Cultural Trauma: Slavery and the Formation of African American Identity*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Falcon, Priscilla Lujan. "The Doorkeepers: Education and Internal Settler Colonial Experience, the Mexican Experience." *Beyond Comfort Zones in Multiculturalism: Confronting the Politics of Privilege*. Eds. Sandra Jackson and Jose Solis. Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey, 1995.

Fanon, Frantz. *Black Skin, White Masks*. Grove Press, 1967.

“Federal Planning Portfolio.” *HDR, Inc.* 2014.

<<http://www.hdrinc.com/markets/federal/federal-planning/portfolio>>

Feldman, Shelley, Charles Geisler, and Gayatri Menon, Eds. *Accumulating Insecurity: Violence and Dispossession in the Making of Everyday Life*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2011.

Fernandez, Valeria. “2011 Saw Gains for Arizona’s Pro-Immigrant Movement.” *Feet in 2 Worlds*. 29 December 2011. <<http://fi2w.org/2011/12/29/2011-saw-gains-for-arizonas-pro-immigrant-movement/>>

Flaherty, Jordan. “In Arizona, a Human Rights Summer.” *Yes! Powerful Ideas, Powerful Actions*. 30 July 2010. <<http://www.yesmagazine.org/people-power/in-arizona-a-human-rights-summer>>

Fonesca, Roberta. “Work, Yes – But with Dignity!” *UNESCO Courier*. 52.11 (1999): 39.

Forman, James. “The Black Poor, Black Elites, and America’s Prisons.” *Cardozo Law Review*. 32.3 (2010): 791-806.

Fortier, Craig. “Undoing Borders, Building Solidarities: Anti-State Migrant Justice Struggles and their Relations to Indigenous Solidarity.” *Affinities*. 8.1 (2014)

Foucault, Michel. “Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias.” *Architecture / Mouvement / Continuite*. (1984) 1-9.

Franco, Marisa. “The State of Hate.” *Organizing Upgrade: Engaging Left Organizers in Strategic Dialogue*. 1 May 2010.

<<http://www.organizingupgrade.com/index.php/component/k2/item/98-marisa-franco-the-state-of-hate><http://www.organizingupgrade.com/index.php/component/k2/item/98-marisa-franco-the-state-of-hate>>

“Freeway Toxic Zone!” *Protecting Arizona’s Resources and Children*. 20 Feb 2014.

<<http://protectazchildren.org/freeway-toxic-zone/>>

Frenske, Sarah. “Councilman Sal DiCiccio Could Make a Mint if a Freeway Extension Goes Through – But His Neighborhood Hates the Idea.” *The Phoenix New Times*. 22 Oct 2009. <<http://www.phoenixnewtimes.com/2009-10-22/news/councilman-sal-diciccio-could-make-a-mint-if-a-freeway-extension-goes-through-but-his-neighborhood-hates-the-idea/>>

Fenske, Sarah. "Sal DiCiccio's Loop 202 Problem: Phoenix Councilman Would Benefit from Reviled Ahwatukee Freeway Extension." *The Phoenix New Times*. 15 Oct 2009. <<http://www.phoenixnewtimes.com/2009-10-15/news/sal-diciccio-s-loop-202-problem-phoenix-councilman-would-benefit-from-reviled-ahwatukee-freeway-extension/>>

Frantz, Klaus. "The Salt River Indian Reservation: Land Use Conflicts and Aspects of Socioeconomic Change on the Outskirts of Metro-Phoenix, Arizona." *GeoJournal*. 77.6 (2012): 777-790.

Freeman, Lance. "Displacement or Succession? Residential Mobility in Gentrifying Neighborhoods." *Urban Affairs Review*. 40.4 (2005): 464-491.

"Freeway Toxic Zone!" *Protecting Arizona's Resources and Children*. 12 March 2014. <<http://protectazchildren.org/freeway-toxic-zone/>>

Freire, Paulo. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. London, UK: Bloomsbury Academic, 2000.

Fried, Marc. "Continuities and Discontinuities of Place" *Journal of Environmental Psychology*. 20.3 (2000): 193-205.

Fullilove, Mindy Thompson. "Psychiatric Implications of Displacement: Contributions from the Psychology of Place." *The American Journal of Psychiatry*. 153.12 (1996): 1516-1523.

Fullilove, Mindy Thompson. *Root Shock: How Tearing Up City Neighborhoods Hurts America, and What We Can Do About It*. New York: Random House, Inc., 2005.

Gallen, Tim. "Arizona's Tourism Sector Rebounds to Pre-Recession Levels." *Phoenix Business Journal*. 11 Jul 2013. <<http://www.bizjournals.com/phoenix/news/2013/07/11/arizonas-tourism-sector-rebounds-to.html>>

"General Allotment Act of 1887 (Dawes Act)." *Native Americas*. 31 March 1997: 20.

"Gila River Sacrifices Against Loop 202 on Two Day Run and March." *Gila River against Loop 202*. 12 December 2012. <<https://gilariveragainstloop202.wordpress.com/>>

"Gila River Voters Say No to Loop 202 Extension." *The Official Homepage of the Gila River Indian Community*. Jan 2012. <<http://www.gilariver.org/index.php/january-2012-grin/2552-gila-river-voters-say-no-to-loop-202-extension>>

"Gila River Youth Stand against Pangea and the Loop 202 in Ahwatukee." *Gila River against Loop 202*. 7 December 2012.

<<https://gilariveragainstloop202.wordpress.com/2012/12/07/gila-river-youth-stand-against-pangea-and-the-loop-202-in-ahwatukee/>>

Gilbert, David. "A System within the System: The Prison Industrial Complex and Imperialism." *Abolition Now!: Ten Years of Strategy and Struggle against the Prison Industrial Complex*. Eds. The CR10 Publications Collective. Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2008.

Gilmore, Ruth Wilson. "Beyond the Prison Industrial Complex." September 2011. <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sTPjC-7EDkc>>

Gilmore, Ruth Wilson. "Forgotten Spaces and the Seeds of Grassroots Planning." *Engaging Contradictions: Theory, Politics and Methods of Activist Scholarship*. Ed. Charles Hale. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008.

Gilmore, Ruth Wilson. *Golden Gulag: Prisons, Surplus, Crisis, and Opposition in Globalizing California*. Melissa Wright. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2008.

Gilmore, Ruth Wilson and Craig Gilmore. "Restating the Obvious." *Indefensible Space: The Architecture of the National Insecurity State*. Ed. Michael Sorkin. New York, NY: Routledge, 2008.

Gilmore, Ruth Wilson. "You Have Dislodged a Boulder: Mothers and Prisoners in the Post-Keynesian Landscape." *Transforming Anthropology*. 8.1 (1999): 12-38.

Gironda, David. "Shame on Gilas for Not Studying Freeway Impact." *Arizona Republic*. 19 May 2006: 19.

Golash-Boza, Tanya and Hondagneu-Sotelo, Pierrette. "Latino Immigrant Men and the Deportation Crisis: A Gendered Racial Removal Program." *Latino Studies*. 11.3 (2013): 271-292.

Goodwin, Jess and James Jasper. *The Social Movements Reader: Cases and Concepts*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2003.

Gordon, Avery. *Keeping Good Time: Reflections on Knowledge, Power and People*. Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2004.

Gordon, Avery. *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2008.

Gough, Jamie, Aram Eisenschitz, and Andrew McCulloch. *Spaces of Social Exclusion*. New York, NY: Routledge, 2006.



Grabska, Katarzyna and Lyla Mehta. *Forced Displacement: Why Rights Matter*. New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008.

Green, Linda. "The Fear of No Future: Guatemalan Migrants, Dispossession and Dislocation." *Anthropologica*. 51.2 (2009): 327-341.

Grinde, Donald and Bruce Johansen. *Ecocide of Native America: Environmental Destruction of Indian Lands and Peoples*. Santa Fe, NM: Clear Light, 1995.

Grogan Brown, Alicia. "Linking Our Struggles: Strengthening Solidarity Work with Roots in Anti-Racism." *Committee Bay Area CISPES*. June 2003.  
<[http://www.cswsworkshop.org/pdfs/SIS/Perspectives/4\\_Linking\\_Struggles.PDF](http://www.cswsworkshop.org/pdfs/SIS/Perspectives/4_Linking_Struggles.PDF)>

Guerrero, Marie Anna Jaimes. "Civil Rights Versus Sovereignty: Native American Women in Life and Land Struggles." *Feminist Genealogies, Colonial Legacies, Democratic Futures*. Eds. Jacqui Alexander and Chandra Talpade Mohanty. New York, NY: Routledge, 1997. Pp. 101-124.

Guerrero, Marie Anna Jaimes. "'Patriarchal Colonialism' and Indigenism: Implications for Native Feminist Spirituality and Native Womanism." *Hypatia*. 18.2 (2003): 65.

Hale, Charles. *Engaging Contradictions: Theory, Politics, and Methods of Activist Scholarship*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008.

Harer, Miles and Darrell Steffensmeier. "Race and Prison Violence." *Criminology*. 34.3 (1996): 323-355.

Hartnett, Stephen John. *Incarceration Nation: Investigative Prison Poems of Hope and Terror*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2003.

Harvey, David. *The Limits to Capital*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.

Harvey, David. "The New Imperialism: Accumulation by Dispossession." *Socialist Register*. 40 (2004): 63-87.

Harvey, David. *The New Imperialism*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Harvey, David. "Neoliberalism as Creative Destruction." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. 610.1 (2007): 22-44.

Harvey, David. *Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to Urban Revolution*. London: Verso, 2012.

Harvey, David. *Spaces of Capital: Towards a Critical Geography*. New York, NY: Taylor and Francis Group, 2001.

Hasenfeld, Yeheskel and Eve Garrow. "Nonprofit Human-Service Organizations, Social Rights, and Advocacy in a Neoliberal Welfare State." *Social Service Review*. 86.2 (2012): 295-322.

Heim, Carol. "Leapfrogging, Urban Sprawl, and Growth Management: Phoenix, 1950-2000." *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*. 60 (2001): 245-283.

Hernandez, Daisy and Bushra Rehman. *Colonize This!: Young Women of Color and Today's Feminism*. Emeryville, CA: Seal Press, 2002.

Hernandez, David Manuel. "Pursuant to Deportation: Latinos and Immigrant Detention." *Latino Studies*. 6 (2008): 35-63.

Hernandez, David Manuel. "Pursuant to Deportation: Latinos and Immigrant Detention." *Behind Bars: Latino/as and Prison in the United States*. Ed. Suzanne Oboler. Hampshire, England: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009.

Herrera, Eduardo. "The U.S.-Mexico Border as a Paradigm of Post-NAFTA Mexico." *Organization*. 4.4 (1997): 487-495.

Hickey, Darby. "Monica Jones and the Fight against Racial and Gender Police Profiling." *Huffpost Gay Voices*. 12 March 2014. <[http://www.huffingtonpost.com/darby-hickey/monica-jones\\_b\\_4937899.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/darby-hickey/monica-jones_b_4937899.html)>

"Hike Planned for Area of South Mountain Threatened by Loop 202." *No South Mountain Freeway*. 18 April 2013. <<http://nosouthmountainfreeway.wordpress.com/2013/04/18/hike-planned-for-area-of-south-mountain-threatened-by-loop-202>>

Hill, Gord. *500 Years of Indigenous Resistance*. Oakland, CA: PM Press, 2009.

Hinton, Devon, Rebecca Ojserkis, Baland Jalal, Sonith Peou, and Stefan Hofmann. "Loving-Kindness in the Treatment of Traumatized Refugees and Minority Groups: A Typology of Mindfulness and the Nodal Network Model of Affect and Affect Regulation." *Journal of Clinical Psychology*. 69.8 (2013): 817-828.

"The History of the I-10." *I-10Accidents.com*. Accessed 10 March 2013. <<http://www.i10accidents.com/2012/03/history-of-i-10.html>>

Holloway, John. *Change the World without Taking Power: The Meaning of Revolution Today*. London: Pluto Press, 2010.

Holstege, Sean. "Gila River Member Pushes Controversial South Mountain Freeway." *The Arizona Republic*. 23 Mar 2013.  
<<http://www.azcentral.com/news/articles/20130304gila-river-south-mountain-freeway-controversy.html>>

Holstege, Sean. "Environmental Study Touts Freeway." *Arizona Republic*. 27 Apr 2013: A1.

Holstege, Sean. "Selling a Freeway and a Dream." *The Arizona Republic*. 24 Mar 2013: A1.

Holstege, Sean. "This is Tribal Land." *Arizona Republic*. 6 Feb 2013: A1.

Holstege, Sean and Scott Wong. "Some Question Sal DiCiccio's Stake in South Mountain Freeway Plan." *The Arizona Republic*. 31 Jan 2010.  
<<http://www.azcentral.com/arizonarepublic/local/articles/2010/01/31/20100131diciccio0131.html>>

Holtzman, Steven and Taies Nezam. *Living in Limbo: Conflict-Induced Displacement in Europe and Central Asia*. Washington, D.C.: The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 2004.

Ho Ming Yit, Hannah. "Depathologising Racial Melancholia in Intergenerational Herstories." *Trauma Narratives and Herstory*. Eds. Sonya Andermahr and Silvia Pellicer-Ortin. New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan, 2013. Pp. 153-168.

hooks, bell. *All About Love*. New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 2000.

hooks, bell. *Yearnings: Race, Gender and Cultural Politics*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 1990.

hooks, bell. "Representing Whiteness in Black Imagination." *Cultural Studies*. New York, NY: Routledge, 1992.

Horton, Myles and Paulo Freire. *We Make the Road by Walking: Conversations on Education and Social Change*. Eds. Brenda Bell, John Gaventa, and John Peters. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990.

Howard, Natasha. *Black in the Non-Black Imagination: How Anti-Black Ideology Shapes Non-Black Discourses*. Dissertation, University of New Mexico. Albuquerque, NM: 2011.

Huffington Post. "Does Dream 9 Protest Help or Hinder Immigration Reform?" *Huff Post Latino Politics*. 31 July 2013. <[http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/07/31/dream-9-immigration-reform\\_n\\_3684844.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/07/31/dream-9-immigration-reform_n_3684844.html)>

Hurtado, Allison. "Hike Planned to View South Mountain Freeway Path." *Ahwatukee Foothills News*. 17 January 2014. <[http://www.ahwatukee.com/news/article\\_47b848c2-7f86-11e3-a2f9-001a4bcf887a.html](http://www.ahwatukee.com/news/article_47b848c2-7f86-11e3-a2f9-001a4bcf887a.html)>

Hurtado, Allison. "Hundreds Show Up to Loop 202 Freeway Public Hearing." *Ahwatukee Foothill News*. 27 May 2013. <[http://www.ahwatukee.com/news/article\\_54512cf0-c59d-11e2-b8bf-0019bb2963f4.html](http://www.ahwatukee.com/news/article_54512cf0-c59d-11e2-b8bf-0019bb2963f4.html)>

ICTMN Staff. "Sacred Sites: Groups Continue to Call for Action on San Francisco Peaks." *Indian Country Today Media Network*. 12 June 2012. <<http://indiancountrytodaymedianetwork.com/2012/06/17/sacred-sites-groups-continue-call-action-san-francisco-peaks-118830>>

Jacobson, Jerry, Nicolas Hengartner, and Thomas Louis. "Inequity Measures for Evaluations of Environmental Justice: A Case Study of Close Proximity to Highways in New York City." *Environment and Planning*. 37 (2005): 21-43.

Jacobson, Michael. *Downsizing Prisons: How to Reduce Crime and End Mass Incarceration*. New York: New York University Press, 2005.

Jardine, Alice and Paul Smith. *Men in Feminism*. London: Routledge, 1987.

Jewkes, Yvonne. "On Carceral Space and Agency." *Carceral Spaces: Mobility and Agency in Imprisonment and Migrant Detention*. Moran, Dominique, Nick Gill and Deirdre Conlon, Eds. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2013. Pp. 127-132.

Johnson, Jennifer. "Non-Representational Theory: Space, Politics, Affect." *Emotions, Space and Society*. 4.3 (2011): 195-196.

Jones, William Powell. *The March on Washington: Jobs, Freedom, and the Forgotten History of Civil Rights*. New York: W. W. Horton & Company, 2013.

Jordan, Miriam. "More Discretion in Deportations." *Wall Street Journal*. 18 November 2011.

- Jovanelly, Joshua. "Loop 202 Draft EIS Public Hearing." Accessed 20 Feb 2014. <<http://www.gilariver.org/index.php/news/3743-loop-202-draft-eis-public-hearing>>
- Jung, Moon-Kie, Joao Costa Vargas, and Eduardo Bonilla-Silva. *The State of White Supremacy: Racism, Governance and the United States*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011.
- Juby, Cindy and Laura Kaplan. "Postville: The Effects of an Immigration Raid." *Families in Society*. 92.2 (2011): 147-153.
- Juravich, Tom and Corinn Williams. "After the Immigration Raid: Evaluating the Campaign to Support Undocumented Workers in New Bedford, Massachusetts." *WorkingUSA*. 14.2 (2011): 201-224.
- Kanstroom, Daniel. "Reaping the Harvest: The Long, Complicated, Crucial Rhetorical Struggle over Deportation." *Connecticut Law Review*. 39.1 (2007): 1911-1922.
- Kapoor, Dip. *Education, Decolonization and Development: Perspectives from Asia, Africa, and the Americas*. Rotterdam: Sense, 2009.
- Keith, Michael and Pile, Steve, Eds. *Geographies of Resistance*. London: Routledge, 1997.
- Keller, Mary. "Indigenous Studies and 'the Sacred'." *American Indian Quarterly*. 38.1 (2014): 100.
- Kelley, Robin D. G. *Freedom Dreams: The Black Radical Imagination*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2002.
- Kelley, Robin D. G. *Race Rebels: Culture, Politics and the Black Working Class*. New York: The Free Press, 1994.
- Koehn, Daryl. *Rethinking Feminist Ethics: Care, Trust and Empathy*. London: Routledge, 1998.
- Kuletz, Valerie. *The Tainted Desert: Environmental Ruin in the American West*. New York, NY: Routledge, 1998.
- Kuswa, Kevin Douglas. "Suburbification, Segregation, and the Consolidation of the Highway Machine." *Journal of Law and Society*. 3 (2002): 31-66.

Kutzler, Brandon. "Concert Held at Lawn Gnome to Protest Proposed Expansion of Loop 202." *Downtown Devil*. 27 Feb 2013.

<<http://downtowndevil.com/2013/02/27/40846/loop-202-protest-show/>>

LaDuke, Winona, qtd. in Walia, Harsha and Stefan Christoff. "Resistance without Reservation!" *Colors of Resistance Archive!* Accessed 8 February 2014.

<<http://www.coloursofresistance.org/368/resistance-without-reservation/>>

La Santa Cecilia. "ICE El Hielo." 8 April 2013.

<<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0INJviuYUEQ>>

"Last Week to Comment on ADOT's Five Year Transportation Plan!" 12 May 2013.

<<http://nosouthmountainfreeway.wordpress.com/2013/05/12/last-week-to-comment-on-adots-5-year-transportation-plan/>>

Lawrence, Bonita and Dua Enakshi. "Decolonizing antiracism." *Social Justice*. 32.4 (2005): 12-143.

Lawston, Jodie Michelle and Martha Escobar. "Policing, Detention, Deportation, and Resistance: Situating Immigrant Justice and Carcerality in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century." *Social Justice*. 36.2 (2009): 1-6.

Lavato, Roberto. "One Raid at a Time: How Immigrant Crackdowns Build the National Security State." *The Huffington Post*. 25 March 2008.

<<http://www.huffingtonpost.com/roberto-lovato/one-raid-at-a-time-how-im-b-93317.html>>

Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1974.

Lemons, Stephen. "Joe Arpaio Retaliates against Katherine Figueroa, Hits Uncle Sam's with Immigration Raid." *Phoenix New Times*. 18 July 2013.

<[blogs.phoenixnewtimes.com/bastard/2013/07/joe\\_arpaio\\_lawyers\\_big\\_fat\\_ca.php](http://blogs.phoenixnewtimes.com/bastard/2013/07/joe_arpaio_lawyers_big_fat_ca.php)>

Lemons, Stephen. "Phoenix ICE Building Turns into Party Zone for Protestors." *Phoenix New Times Blog*. 15 October 2013.

<[http://blogs.phoenixnewtimes.com/valleyfever/2013/10/phoenix\\_ice\\_building\\_becomes\\_p.php](http://blogs.phoenixnewtimes.com/valleyfever/2013/10/phoenix_ice_building_becomes_p.php)>

Leonardo, Zeus. "The Souls of White Folk: Critical Pedagogy, Whiteness Studies, and Globalization Discourse." *Race, Ethnicity and Education*. 5.1 (2002): 29-50.

Levine, Lawrence. *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought from Slavery to Freedom*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977.

Lewis, David Rich. "Native Americans and the Environment: A Survey of Twentieth Century Issues." *American Indian Quarterly*. 19.3 (1995): 423-450.

Libal, Kathryn and Shareen Hertel, Eds. *Human Rights in the United States: Beyond Exceptionalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Lipsitz, George. *How Racism Takes Place*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2011.

Lipsitz, George. *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness: How White People Profit from Identity Politics*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006.

Lipsitz, George. "The Racialization of Space and the Spatialization of Race: Theorizing the Hidden Architecture of Landscape." *Landscape Journal*. 26 (2007): 10-23.

Loewe, B. "Barrio Defense: How Arizona's Immigrants are Standing Up to SB 1070." *Yes! Powerful Ideas, Practical Actions*. 21 June 2012.  
<<http://www.yesmagazine.org/peace-justice/barrio-defense-how-arizonas-immigrants-are-standing-up-to-sb-1070>>

Lorde, Audre. "A Litany for Survival." *The Black Unicorn*. New York City: W. W. Norton & Company Incorporated, 1995.

Lorde, Audre. "The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House." *Sister Outsider*. Berkeley: Crossing Press, 1984.

"Lori Riddle Redelivers Letter of Demands to HDR against Loop 202." *No South Mountain Freeway*. 3 October 2011.  
<<http://nosouthmountainfreeway.wordpress.com/2011/10/03/lori-riddel-redelivers-letter-of-demands-to-hdr-against-loop-202/>>

Lorrain, Jorge. *Theories of Development: Capitalism, Colonialism, and Dependency*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1989.

Loyd, Jenna, Matt Mitchelson, and Andrew Burrird. *Beyond Walls and Cages: Prisons, Borders, and Global Crisis*. University of Georgia Press, 2012.

Lubin, Alex. *Geographies of Liberation: The Making of an Afro-Arab Political Imaginary*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014.

Luckingham, Bradford. *The History of a Southwestern Metropolis*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989.

Luckingham, Bradford. *Minorities in Phoenix: A Profile of Mexican American, Chinese American, and African American Communities, 1860-1992*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1994.

Ludwig, Mike. "The Year of the Immigrant Rights Movement." *Truthout*. 6 January 2014. <[www.truth-out.org/news/item/21006-the-year-of-the-immigrant-rights-movement](http://www.truth-out.org/news/item/21006-the-year-of-the-immigrant-rights-movement)>

Lummis, Douglas. "Development Against Democracy." *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*. 16.1 (1991): 31.

Maciel, David and Isidro Ortiz, Eds. *Chicano Resistance: Contemporary Cultural Trends*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2000.

MacLeod, Gordon. "From Urban Entrepreneurialism to a 'Revanchist City'? On the Spatial Injustices of Glasgow's Renaissance." *Antipode*. 34.3 (2002): 602-624.

"Major Arizona Transportation Projects to Begin this Year." *KTAR.com*. 17 Jan 2014. <<http://ktar.com/22/1692642/Major-Arizona-transportation-projects-to-begin-this-year>>

Maldonado, Angeles. *Raids, Race and Lessons of Fear and Resistance: Narratives and Discourse in the Immigration Movement in Arizona*. Dissertation. Arizona State University, 2013.

Mallet, Shelley. "Understanding Home: A Critical Review of the Literature." *The Sociological Review*. 52.1 (2004): 62-89.

Mannion, Kelly. "International Law, Federal Courts, and Executive Discretion: The Interplay in Immigration Detention." *Georgetown Journal of International Law*. 44 (2012): 1217-1248.

Manuel Hernandez, David. "Pursuant to Deportation: Latinos and Immigrant Detention." *Latino Studies*. 6.1 (2008): 35-63.

Maricopa Association of Governments. "Tentative Scenario Summary." *Tentative Scenario for the MAG Regional Freeway and Highway Program*. July 2009. <[http://www.azmag.gov/Documents/pdf/cms.resource/TPC\\_TentativeScenario-RTP-RFHP41766.pdf](http://www.azmag.gov/Documents/pdf/cms.resource/TPC_TentativeScenario-RTP-RFHP41766.pdf)>



“Maricopa County Attorney Bill Montgomery.” *Maricopa County Attorney’s Office*. 2014. <[www.maricopacountyattorney.com/about-us/maricopa-county-attorney-bill-montgomery.html](http://www.maricopacountyattorney.com/about-us/maricopa-county-attorney-bill-montgomery.html)>

“Maricopa County Sheriff’s Office raids Valley Uncle Sam’s Restaurants.” *ABC15.com*. 17 July 2013. <[www.abc15.com/dpp/news/region\\_phoenix\\_metro/north\\_phoenix/maricopa-county-sheriffs-office-raids-valley-uncle-sams-restaurants](http://www.abc15.com/dpp/news/region_phoenix_metro/north_phoenix/maricopa-county-sheriffs-office-raids-valley-uncle-sams-restaurants)>

Martin, Lauren and Matthew Mitchelson. “Geographies of Detention and Imprisonment: Interrogating Spatial Practices of Confinement, Discipline, Law, and State Power.” *Geography Compass*. 1 (2009): 459-477.

Martin, Susan. *A Nation of Immigrants*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Martinez Salazar, Eglá. *Global Coloniality of Power in Guatemala: Racism, Genocide, Citizenship*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2012.

Mauer, Marc and Ryan King. “Uneven Justice: State Rates of Incarceration by Race and Ethnicity.” *The Sentencing Project*. July 2007. <[http://www.sentencingproject.org/doc/publications/rd\\_stateratesofincbyraceandethnicity.pdf](http://www.sentencingproject.org/doc/publications/rd_stateratesofincbyraceandethnicity.pdf)>

“Maru is fighting to bring her ‘big bear’ home. Will you join her?” *Youtube.com*. 8 January 2014. <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Teae0GjZa8U&feature=youtu.be>>

Maschi, Pilar. “Surviving Warfare, Practicing Resistance.” *Abolition Now! Ten Years of Strategy and Struggle against the Prison Industrial Complex*. Oakland: The CR10 Publications Collective, 2008.

Masco, Joseph. *The Nuclear Borderlands: The Manhattan Project in Post-Cold War New Mexico*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006.

Massey, Douglas and Nancy Denton. *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass*. Boston, MA: President and Fellows of Harvard College, 1993.

Massey, Douglas and Zoltan Hajnal. “The Changing Geographic Structure of Black-White Segregation in the United States.” *Social Science Quarterly*. 76.3 (1995): 527-542.

McCarthy, Allison. “The May 12, 2008 Postville, Iowa Immigration Raid: A Human Rights Perspective.” *Transnational Law and Contemporary Problems*. 19.1 (2010): 293-316.

- McDowell, Meghan and Nancy Wonders. "Keeping Migrants in their Place: Technologies of Control and Racialized Public Space in Arizona." *Social Justice*. 36.2 (2009): 54-72.
- McKinnon, Shaun. "Metro Phoenix Air Now Rated 2<sup>nd</sup>-Worst in U.S." *The Arizona Republic*. 27 April 2011. <<http://www.azcentral.com/arizonarepublic/news/articles/2011/04/27/20110427phoenix-air-quality-2nd-worst-in-us.html>>
- "MCSO Still Looks for Identity Theft Suspects at Pei Wei Restaurants." *ABC15*. 3 May 2011. <[http://www.abc15.com/dpp/news/region\\_phoenix\\_metro/central\\_phoenix/mcso-still-looks-for-identity-theft-suspects-at-pei-wei-restaurants](http://www.abc15.com/dpp/news/region_phoenix_metro/central_phoenix/mcso-still-looks-for-identity-theft-suspects-at-pei-wei-restaurants)>
- McWatters, Mason. "Poetic Testimonies of Incarceration: Towards a Vision of Prison as Manifold Space." *Carceral Spaces: Mobility and Agency in Imprisonment and Migrant Detention*. Moran, Dominique, Nick Gill and Deirdre Conlon, Eds. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2013. Pp. 199-208.
- Melamed, Jodi. *Represent and Destroy: Rationalizing Violence in the New Racial Capitalism*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2011.
- Melendres v. Arpaio*. 2013 U.S. District Court. Lexis 73869. (D. Ariz., May 24, 2013).
- Mendez, Jennifer Bickham. *From the Revolution to the Maquiladoras: Gender, Labor and Globalization in Nicaragua*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005.
- Mendoza, Lily. "Savage Representations in the Discourse of Modernity: Liberal Ideology and the Impossibility of Nativist Longing." *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*. 2.1 (2013): 12.
- Michelle Lawston, Jodie. "Women, the Criminal Justice System, and Incarceration: Processes of Power, Silence, and Resistance." *NWSA Journal*. 20.2 (2008): 1-18.
- Miller, Jerome. *Search and Destroy: African-American Males in the Criminal Justice System*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- "Minutes of the Maricopa Association of Governments: Regional Council Meeting." 25 July 2012. <[http://www.azmag.gov/Documents/RC\\_2012-07-25\\_MIN.pdf](http://www.azmag.gov/Documents/RC_2012-07-25_MIN.pdf)>
- Misner, Robert. "Recasting Prosecutorial Discretion." *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*. 86.3 (1996): 717-777.

- Mitchell, Don. *The Lie of the Land: Migrant Workers and the California Landscape*. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1996.
- Mitchell, Don. *The Right to the City: Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space*. New York: The Guilford Press, 2003.
- Mitchell, Thomas. "Growing Inequality and Racial Economic Gaps." *Howard Law Journal*. 56.3 (2013): 849-890.
- Mize, Ronald. *Consuming Mexican Labor: From the Bracero Program to NAFTA*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011.
- Mohanty, Chandra Talpade. *Feminism without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2003.
- Moraga, Cherrie and Gloria Anzuldúa. *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color*. Watertown, MA: Persephone Press, 1981.
- Moraga, Cherrie. *A Xicana Code of Changing Consciousness*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011.
- Morales, Aurora. "Historian as Curandera." *Medicine Stories: History, Culture and the Politics of Integrity*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 1998.
- Morales, Rebecca and Frank Bonilla, Eds. *Latinos in a Changing U.S. Economy: Comparative Perspectives on Growing Inequality*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, Inc., 1993.
- Moran, Dominique. "Between Outside and Inside? Prison Visiting Rooms as Liminal Carceral Sapces." *Geojournal*. 78.2 (2013): 339-351.
- Moran, Dominique, Laura Piacentini, and Judith Pallot. "Disciplined Mobility and Carceral Geography: Prisoner Transport in Russia." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*. 37.3 (2012): 446-460.
- Moran, Dominique, Nick Gill and Deirdre Conlon, Eds. *Carceral Spaces: Mobility and Agency in Imprisonment and Migrant Detention*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2013.
- Morgan, Henry Lewis qtd. in "General Allotment Act of 1887 (Dawes Act)." *Native Americas*. 31 March 1997: 20.

Morton, John. "Exercising Prosecutorial Discretion Consistent with the Civil Immigration Enforcement Priorities of the Agency for the Apprehension, Detention, and Removal of Aliens." *U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement*. 17 June 2011. <[www.ice.gov/doclib/secure-communities/pdf/prosecutorial-discretion-memo.pdf](http://www.ice.gov/doclib/secure-communities/pdf/prosecutorial-discretion-memo.pdf)>

Mountz, Alison, Kate Coddington, Tina Catina, and Jenna Loyd. "Conceptualizing Detention: Mobility, Containment, Bordering and Exclusion." *Progress in Human Geography*. 37.4 (2013): 522-541.

Movimiento Migrante Mesoamericana. "Obama Visit Sparks Binational Protests of Migrants." *Americas Program: A New World of Action and Communication for Social Change*. 23 May 2013. <[www.cipamericas.org/archives/9547](http://www.cipamericas.org/archives/9547)>

Munch, Ronaldo. "Neoliberalism, Necessitarianism, and Alternatives in Latin America: There is no Alternative (TINA)?" *Third World Quarterly*. 24.3 (2003): 495-511.

Mydans, Seth. "Taking No Prisoners, In a Manner of Speaking." *The New York Times*. 4 March 1995. <<http://www.nytimes.com/1995/03/04/us/taking-no-prisoners-in-manner-of-speaking.html>>

Nakamura, David. "Catholic Church Turns Up Support for Immigration Reform." *The Washington Post*. 21 August 2013. <[http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/post-politics/wp/2013/08/21/catholic-church-turns-up-support-for-immigration-reform/?tid=up\\_next](http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/post-politics/wp/2013/08/21/catholic-church-turns-up-support-for-immigration-reform/?tid=up_next)>

Navarro, Lisa Rodriguez. "An Analysis of Treatment of Unaccompanied Immigrant and Refugee Children in INS Detention and Other Forms of Institutionalized Custody." *Chicano-Latino Law Review*. 589 (1998): 589-612.

Nayak, Anoop. "Geography, Race, and Emotions: Social and Cultural Intersections." *Social and Cultural Geography*. 12.6 (2011): 548-562.

Nedra, Lindsey. "Freeway Route Could Extend into Reservation." *Arizona Republic*. 23 June 2004: B1.

Nedra, Lindsey. "Tribe May Vote on Freeway: S. Mtn Segment Could be Put on Reservation." *Arizona Republic*. 26 Feb 2005: A1.

Newman, Kathe and Elvin Wyly. "The Right to Stay Put, Revisited: Gentrification and Resistance to Displacement in New York City." *Urban Studies*. 43.1 (2006): 23-57.

Nyers, Peter. "Abject Cosmopolitanism: The Politics of Protection in the Antideportation Movement." *Third World Quarterly*. 24.6 (2003): 1070.

Ó Huallacháin, Brendán and Timothy Leslie. "Postindustrial Manufacturing in a Sunbelt Metropolis: Where are Factories Located in Phoenix?" *Urban Geography*. 30.8 (2009): 898-926.

Obibwa. "O'odham." *Native American Netroots*. 30 Dec 2010.  
<<http://nativeamericannetroots.net/diary/817>>

"Occupy Phoenix Loop 202 Teach-In 1-14-12." *Youtube.com*. 20 Jan 2012.  
<<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9516jQbZ5D0>>

Ochoa O'Leary, Anna and Azucena Sanchez. "Anti-Immigrant Arizona: Ripple Effects and Mixed Immigration Status Households under 'Policies of Attrition' Considered." *Journal of Borderland Studies*. 26.1 (2011): 115-133.

Olmecca. "En Mi Nombre." *Border Songs*. 2014.

Omi, Michael and Howard Winant. *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s*. New York: Routledge, 1994.

Ong, Aihwa. *Neoliberalism as Exception: Mutations in Citizenship and Sovereignty*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006.

"O'odham Elder and a group of supporters deliver letter demanding HDR Engineering firm do not move forward on Loop 202 until Gila River Indian Community voice is heard." *No South Mountain Freeway*. 27 April 2011.  
<<http://nosouthmountainfreeway.wordpress.com/2011/04/27/oodham-elder-and-a-group-of-supporters-deliver-letter-demanding-hdr-engineering-firm-do-not-move-forward-on-loop-202-until-gila-river-indian-community-voice-is-heard/>>

*Ortega Melendres, et al. v. Arpaio, et al.* 695 U.S. 990. Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. *LexisNexis Academic*. 29 Dec. 2013.

Overby, Stephanie. "For Nearby Offshoring, Try Mexico: A New Quarterly Ranking of Latin American Countries Rates Mexico, Chile, Costa Rica, and Argentina among the best locations for nearshore outsourcing." *CIO*. 25.3 (2011)

"Overview of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964." *The United States Department of Justice*. 31 Oct 2013. <<http://www.justice.gov/crt/about/cor/coord/titlevi.php>>

"Panel: No Freeway in Park: Board Unanimous on S. Mtn. Alignment." *Arizona Republic*. 24 Sep 2005: 1.

“Pangea Continues to Push for Loop 202, while GRIC Leadership Sits on the Sidelines – Community Members Wonder Why No Build Vote is Being Ignored.” *Gila River Against Loop 202*. 17 Oct 2012.

<<https://gilariveragainstloop202.wordpress.com/2012/10/17/pangea-continues-to-push-for-loop-202-while-gric-leadership-sits-on-the-sidelines-community-members-wonder-why-no-build-vote-is-being-ignored/>>

Paredes Jr., Miguel. *Spatial Practices of Soul Rebel Radio in Los Angeles' Third World Left*. Master's Thesis. California State University North Ridge, 2012.

Parenti, Christian. *Lockdown America: Police and Prisons in the Age of Crisis*. London: Verso, 1999.

Parrado, Emilio. “Immigration Enforcement Policies, the Economic Recession, and the Size of Local Mexican Immigrant Populations.” *The Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science*. 641.1 (2012): 16-37.

Passel, Jeffrey and D’Vera Cohn. “State Settlement Patterns.” *Pew Research Hispanic Trends Project*. 2011. <<http://www.pewhispanic.org/2011/02/01/iv-state-settlement-patterns/>>

Pateman, Carole and Charles Mills. *Contract and Domination*. Cambridge, UK: 2007.

Pedro, Andrew. “Gila River Indian Community: Benefit Show to Stop Mountain Loop 202.” *Censored News*. 26 November 2012. <<http://bsnorrell.blogspot.com/2012/11/gila-river-indian-community-benefit.html>>

Pellow, David and Lisa Sun-Hee Park. *The Silicon Valley of Dreams: Environmental Injustice, Immigrant Workers, and the High-Tech Global Economy*. New York: New York University Press, 2002.

Perdue, Theda. “The Legacy of Indian Removal.” *Journal of Southern History*. 78.1 (2012): 3-36.

Pero, David and John Solomos. “Migrant Politics and Mobilization: Exclusion, Engagements, Incorporation.” *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 33.1 (2010): 1-18.

Peutz, Nathalie. “Embarking on an Anthropology of Removal.” *Current Anthropology*. 47.2 (2006): 217-241.

“Phoenix 2009.” *Tower Site of the Week*. 30 July 2010. <<http://www.fybush.com/sites/2010/site-100730.html>> Para 3.

Pizarro, Marc. "'Chicana/o Power!' Epistemology and Methodology for Social Justice and Empowerment in Chicana/o Communities." *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*. 11.1 (1998): 57-80.

Planas, Roque. "Arizona E-Verify Law Proves Ineffective with Less than Half of Businesses Complying." *The Huffington Post*. 31 December 2012.  
<<http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/12/31/arizona-e-verify-law-ineffective-n-2387896.html>>

Polanyi, Karl. *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1944.

Polletta, Francesca. *It was like a Fever: Storytelling in Protest and Politics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009.

Pommersheim, Frank. "The Reservation as Place: A South Dakota Essay." *South Dakota School of Law*. 34 (1989): 254.

Prashad, Vijay. *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World*. New York: The New Press, 2007.

"Prosecutorial Discretion: Alto a la Polimigra." *National Day Labor Organizing Network*. 2012. <[www.ndlon.org/en/resources/item/516-prosecutorial-discretion-alto-a-la-polimigra](http://www.ndlon.org/en/resources/item/516-prosecutorial-discretion-alto-a-la-polimigra)>

Pulido, Laura. *Environmentalism and Economic Justice: Two Chicano Struggles in the Southwest*. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1996.

Pulido, Laura. "FAQs: Frequently (Un)Asked Questions about Being a Scholar Activist." *Engaging Contradictions: Theory, Politics, and Methods of Activist Scholarship*. Ed. Charles Hale. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008. Pp. 341-366.

Pulido, Laura. "Rethinking Environmental Racism: White Privilege and Urban Development in Southern California." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*. 90.1 (2000): 12-40.

Purtill, Corinne. "Freeway Plan Stirs Emotions: Some Residents Surprised Homes in Path." *Arizona Republic*. 25 Oct 2005: 1.

Quan, H. L. T. *Growth against Democracy: Savage Developmentalism in the Modern World*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2012.

Quijano, Anibal. "Coloniality and Modernity / Rationality." *Cultural Studies*. 21.2 (2007): 168-178.

Rabaka, Reiland. *Africana Political Theory: Reconstructing the Black Radical Tradition, from W.E.B. Du Bois and C.L.R. James to Frantz Fanon and Amilcar Cabral*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Book, 2009.

Razack, Sherene. *Race, Space, and the Law: Unmapping a White Settler Society*. Toronto: Between the Lines, 2002.

Reinharz, Shulamit. *Feminist Methods in Social Research*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.

"Reminder: Second Forum on Loop 202 Tomorrow at D6 Komatke Boys and Girls Club – 9 am." *Gila River Against Loop 202*. 20 January 2012.  
<<https://gilariveragainstloop202.wordpress.com/2012/01/20/reminder-second-forum-on-loop-202-tomorrow-at-d6-komatke-boys-and-girls-club-9am/>>

Richie, Beth. *Arrested Justice: Black Women, Violence, and America's Prison Nation*. New York: New York University, 2012.

Riddle, Lori, qtd. in "Occupy Phoenix Loop 202 Teach-In 1-1-12." *Youtube.com*. 20 Jan 2012. <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9516jQbZ5D0>>

Rippl, Gabriele, Philipp Schwichhauser, Tiina Kirss, Margit Sutrop, and Therese Steffen. *Haunted Narratives: Life Writing in an Age of Trauma*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013.

Rivas, Jorge. "Los Angeles Sheriff Will No Longer Turn Over Low-Level Offenders to Immigration." *ColorLines: News for Action*. 5 December 2012.  
<[http://colorlines.com/archives/2012/12/los\\_angeles\\_sheriff\\_will\\_no\\_longer\\_turn\\_over\\_low-level\\_offenders\\_to\\_immigration.html](http://colorlines.com/archives/2012/12/los_angeles_sheriff_will_no_longer_turn_over_low-level_offenders_to_immigration.html)>

Rivas, Ofelia. "Declaration for the Ancestors and Descendants of O'odham Lands and O'odham Sacred (Holy) Places." *Censored News*. 26 May 2011.  
<<http://bsnorrell.blogspot.com/2011/06/oodham-ofelia-rivas-halt-freeway-202.html>>

Robinson, William. "Capitalist Globalization in World-Historic Context: A Response." *Critical Sociology*. 38.3 (2012): 405-415.

Rodriguez, Dylan. *Forced Passages: Imprisoned Radical Intellectuals and the U.S. Prison Regime*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006.



Rodriguez, Dylan. *Suspended Apocalypse: White Supremacy, Genocide, and the Filipino Condition*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010.

Ross, Andrew. *Bird on Fire: Lessons from the World's Least Sustainable City*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Ross, Michelle Lee. *First Nations Sacred Sites in Canada's Courts*. Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2005.

Ruth, Milkman, Joshua Bloom, and Victor Narro. *Working for Justice: The L.A. Model of Organizing and Advocacy*. New York: Cornell University Press, 2010.

Sacks, Karen Brodtkin. "Euro-Ethnic Working-Class Women's Community Culture." *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*. 14.1 (1993): 1ff.

Said, Edward. *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Knopf: Random House, 1993.

Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. New York: Random House, Inc., 1978.

Sandoval, Chela. *Methodology of the Oppressed*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2000.

Sandoval, Chela. "U.S. Third World Feminism: The Theory and Method of Oppositional Consciousness in the Postmodern World." *Genders*. 10 (1991).

Santa Ana, Otto. "'Like an Animal I was Treated': Anti-Immigrant Metaphor in US Public Discourse." *Discourse Society*. 10.2 (1999): 191-224.

Sarlin, Benjy. "Poll reveals immigrants' most pressing issue." *MSNBC.com*. 19 December 2013. <<http://www.msnbc.com/hardball/poll-reveals-immigrants-most-pressing-issue>>

Schaffer, Richard and Neil Smith. "The Gentrification of Harlem?" *Annals of the Association of Geographers*. 76.3 (1986): 347-365.

Scholtz, Christa. *Negotiating Claims: The Emergence of Indigenous Land Claim Negotiation Policies in Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the United States*. New York: Routledge, 2006.

Scott, James. *Seeing like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998.

Shabazz, Rashad. "George Lipsitz's *How Racism takes Places*." *Urban Geography*. 32 (2011): 1238-1239.

Shah, Silky. "A Decade of Detention: The Post 9/11 Immigrant Dragnet." *South Asian Magazine for Action and Reflection*. 37 (2011)

Shigematsu, Setsu, Gwen D'Arcangelis, and Melissa Burch. "Prison Abolition in Practice: The LEAD Project, the Politics of Healing, and 'A New Way of Life'." *Abolition Now! Ten Years of Strategy and Struggle against the Prison Industrial Complex*. Eds. The CR10 Publication Collective. Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2008.

Sibley, David. *Geographies of Exclusion: Society and Difference in the West*. New York: Routledge, 1995.

Sicotte, Diane. "Dealing in Toxins on the Wrong Side of the Tracks: Lessons from a Hazardous Waste Controversy in Phoenix." *Social Science Quarterly*. 89.5 (2008): 1136-1152.

Siiki, Jivik. "Jivik Siiki: O'othham March Against Pi Vehsig (Imbalance)." *Gila River against Loop 202*. 13 December 2012.  
<<https://gilariveragainstloop202.wordpress.com/2012/12/13/jivik-siiki-oothham-march-against-pi-vehsig-imbalance/>>

Silliman, Jael, Anannya Bhattacharjee, and Angela Yvonne Davis, Eds. *Policing the National Body: Race, Gender and Criminalization in the United States*. Boston: South End, 2002.

Simpson, Leanne. "Politics based on Justice, Diplomacy based on Love: What Indigenous Diplomatic Traditions Can Teach Us." *Briarpatch Magazine*. May 2013.  
<<http://briarpatchmagazine.com/articles/view/politics-based-on-justice-diplomacy-based-on-love>>

Sium, Aman, Chandi Desai, and Eric Ritskes. "Towards the 'Tangible Unknown': Decolonization and the Indigenous Future." *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*. 1.1 (2013): 3.

Sium, Aman and Eric Ritskes. "Speaking Truth to Power: Indigenous Storytelling as an Act of Living Resistance." *Indigeneity, Education & Society*. 2.1 (2013): 7.

Smith, Andrea. *Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide*. Brooklyn, NY: South End Press, 2005.

Smith, Andrea. "Dismantling Hierarchy, Queering Society." *Tikkun: To Heal, Repair, and Transform the World*. August 2010. <<http://www.tikkun.org/nextgen/dismantling-hierarchy-queering-society>>

Smith, Andrea. "Heteropatriarchy and the Three Pillars of White Supremacy: Rethinking Women of Color Organizing." *Color of Violence: The INCITE! Anthology*. Eds. Andrea Lee Smith, Beth Richie, Julia Sudbury, Janelle White, Incite! Women of Color Against Violence. Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2006.

Smith, Andrea. "Indigeneity, Settler Colonialism, White Supremacy." *Global Dialogue*. 12.2 (2010): 1-13.

Smith, Andrea. "Indigeneity, Settler Colonialism, White Supremacy." *Racial Formation in the Twenty-First Century*. Eds. Daniel Martinez HoSang, Onekka LaBennett, and Laura Pulido. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012.

Smith, Justin. "Maintaining Racial Inequality through Crime Control: Mass Incarceration and Residential Segregation." *Contemporary Justice Review: Issues in Criminal, Social and Restorative Justice*. 15.4 (2012): 469-484.

Smith, Neil. *Uneven Development: Nature, Capital and the Production of Space*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1984.

Soja, Edward. *Seeking Spatial Justice*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2010.

Spade, Dean. *Normal Life: Administrative Violence, Critical Trans Politics, and the Limits of Law*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2011.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. "Can the Subaltern Speak?" *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*. Eds. Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988. Pp. 271-313.

Spring, Danielle. "Danielle Spring at Loop 202 Public Hearing." *Youtube.com*. 21 May 2012. <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=10YtDD09Okw>>

Squires, Gregory and Charis Kubrin. *Privileged Places: Race, Residence, and the Structure of Opportunity*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2006.

Staples, Lee. *Roots to Power: A Manual for Grassroots Organizing*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, Inc., 2004.

“Stop Edi’s Deportation!” *Youtube.com*. 20 January 2013.  
<<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zVk2zdwoBiw>>

Stravopoulou, Maria. “The Right Not to be Displaced.” *American University Journal of International Law and Policy*. 9 (1993): 689-723.

“Support Needed for Traditional Gathering and Run Planned for this Weekend.” *No South Mountain Freeway*. 28 September 2011.  
<<http://nosouthmountainfreeway.wordpress.com/2011/10/03/lori-riddel-redelivers-letter-of-demands-to-hdr-against-loop-202/>>

Swift, Nigel. *Non-Representational Theory: Space, Politics and Affect*. New York: Routledge, 2008.

Sze, Julie. *Noxious New York: The Racial Politics of Urban Health and Environmental Injustice*. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2007.

Talvi, Silja. *Women Behind Bars: The Crisis of Women in the U.S. Prison System*. Emeryville, CA: Seal Press, 2007.

Teelucksingh, Cheryl. “Toward Claiming Space: Theorizing Racialized Spaces in Canadian Cities.” *Claiming Space: Racialization in Canadian Cities*. Ontario, Canada: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2006.

Tempe Guy. “No Build: GRIC Residents Want No Loop 202 Expansion.” *Tempe in Motion*. 6 Feb 2012. <<http://tempeinmotion.com/2012/02/no-build-gric-residents-want-no-loop-202-expansion/>>

“The City Concept.” *Pangea*. Accessed 20 Feb 2014. <<http://pangealand.com/the-city-concept.html>>

The National Council of La Raza. *Paying the Price: The Impact of Immigration Raids on America’s Children*. Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute, 2007.

“The Price of Prisons: Arizona.” *Vera Institute of Justice*. 2010.  
<<http://www.vera.org/files/price-of-prisons-arizona-fact-sheet.pdf>>

“The Water Assets of ‘The River People’: A Case Study of the Gila River Indian Community.” *Camel Climate Change Education*. 1999.  
<[http://www.camelclimatechange.org/files/204101\\_204200/204114/naaw-gric-case-study-1.pdf](http://www.camelclimatechange.org/files/204101_204200/204114/naaw-gric-case-study-1.pdf)>

Thronson, David. "Creating Crisis: Immigration Raids and the Destabilization of Immigrant Families." *Wake Forest Law Review*. 43.2 (2008): 391-418.

Thurston, George. "The Adverse Human Health Effects of Air Pollution that Result from Traffic-Related Air Pollution." *Submitted on Behalf of PARC et al. in Response to ADOT Draft Environmental Impact Statement (DEIS) Regarding the South Mountain Freeway*. 18 July 2013.  
<<https://docs.google.com/file/d/1EHKwy0bW9IT4VpSXAdHidUMvjJQ4MTBJ77vgzbOcLCUynRM3vkPBACebgft1/edit>>

"Time to Decide Freeway's Path." *Arizona Republic*. 18 Feb 2013: B6.

"Timeline." *Gila River against Loop 202*. Accessed 4 Feb 2014.  
<<https://gilariveragainstop202.wordpress.com/timeline/>>

Toney, Mark Warren. *A Second Chance – for the First Time: Movement Formation among Formerly Incarcerated People*. Dissertation: University of California, Berkeley. Berkeley, 2007.

Tong, Rosemarie. "The Ethics of Care: A Feminist Virtue Ethics of Care for Healthcare Practitioners." *Journal of Medicine and Philosophy: A Forum for Bioethics and Philosophy of Medicine*. 23.2 (1998): 131-152.

Towers, George. "Applying the Political Geography of Scale: Grassroots Strategies and Environmental Justice." *The Professional Geographer*. 52.1 (2000): 23-36.

Transportation and Trade Corridor Alliance Strategic Road Map near Completion: Steering Committee Focuses on Job Growth, Trade, Economic Development." *Transportation and Trade Corridor Alliance*. 15 December 2013.  
<<http://www.azttca.org/20131215-feature.aspx>>

Trask, Haunani-Kay. *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999.

"Tribe Opens Door Slightly for Freeway Solution." *Arizona Republic*. 24 Nov 2006: 38.

Tronto, Joan. "Who Cares? Public and Private Caring and the Rethinking of Citizenship." *Women and Welfare: Theory and Practice in the United States and Europe*. Eds. Nancy Hirschmann and Ulrike Liebert. Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2001, p. 65-83.

Tsosie, Rebecca. "Tribal Environmental Policy in an Era of Self-Determination: The Role of Ethics, Economic, and Traditional Ecological Knowledge." *Vermont Law Review*. 21 (1996): 225-262.

Tuck, Eve and Wayne Yang. "Decolonization is not a Metaphor." *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education and Society*. 1.1 (2012): 1-40.

Tuhiwai Smith, Linda. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. London: Zed Books, 1999.

"Under the Watchful Eye of Engaged Youth and Concerned GRIC members, Pangea and the PLA's 'City Concept' plan was halted by tribal council." *Gila River against Loop 202*. 19 October 2012.

<<https://gilariveragainstloop202.wordpress.com/2012/10/19/under-the-watchful-eye-of-engaged-youth-and-concerned-gric-members-pangea-and-the-plas-city-concept-plan-was-halted-by-tribal-council/>>

U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, AmericanFactFinder2010.

"Household Size by Vehicles Available: Gila River Indian Reservation, AZ." *United States Census Bureau*. Accessed 8 Feb 2014.

<[http://factfinder2.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?pid=ACS\\_10\\_5YR\\_B08201&prodType=table](http://factfinder2.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?pid=ACS_10_5YR_B08201&prodType=table)>

Venn, Couze. *The Postcolonial Challenge: Towards Alternative Worlds*. London: Sage, 2006.

*Visions of Abolition: From Critical Resistance to A New Way of Life*. Dir. Setsu Shigematsu. Ed. Cameron Granadino and Jolie Chea. 2011.

Wacquant, Loic. "From Slavery to Mass Incarceration: Rethinking the 'Race Question' in the U.S." *Why Punish? How Much? A Reader on Punishment*. Ed. Michael Tonry. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011. Pp. 387-402.

Wacquant, Loic. *Punishing the Poor: The Neoliberal Government of Social Insecurity*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009.

Walia, Harsha. *Undoing Border Imperialism*. Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2013.

Watson, Lila, qtd. in "An Open Letter to Occupy Wall Street on the Occasion of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Anniversary of S17, from (un)Occupy Albuquerque." Accessed 10 December 2013.

<<https://unoccupyabq.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/unOccupy-letter-to-OWS-S17-2013.pdf>>

- Weaver, Hilary. "Colonial Context of Violence: Reflections on Violence in the Lives of Native American Women." *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*. 24.9 (2009): 1557.
- Weingroff, Richard. "Engineering Marvels." *Public Roads*. 60.1 (1996): 28.
- Weinstein, Hannah. "S-Comm: Shattering Communities." *Cardozo Public Law, Policy & Ethics Journal*. 10.2 (2012): 395-399.
- Whitaker, Matthew. *Race Work: The Rise of Civil Rights in the Urban West*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005.
- Witherow, Judith. "Review: Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide." *Off Our Backs*. 35.11 (2005): 47.
- Welch, Michael. *Detained: Immigration Laws and the Expanding I.N.S. Jail Complex*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2002.
- West, Cornel. *Democracy Matters: Winning the Fight against Imperialism*. New York: The Penguin Press, 2004.
- West, Joseph: 1863. Qtd in: Scott, Robert Nicholson, Henry Martyn Lazelle, George Breckenridge Davis, Leslie Perry, Joseph William Kirkley, Fred Crayton Ainsworth, and John Sheldon Moodey. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union*. United States War Department. Gettysburg, PA: The National Historical Society, 1972. P. 339.
- Western, Bruce and Becky Pettit. "Incarceration and Social Inequality." *Daedalus*. 139.3 (2010): 8-19.
- Whiteduck, Mallory. "'But it's our story. Read it.': Stories My Grandfather Told Me and Writing for Continuance." *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*. 2.1 (2013): 81.
- Wilderson III, Frank B. "The Prison Slave as Hegemony's (Silent) Scandal." *Social Justice*. 30.2 (2003): 18-27.
- Wilkinson, Charles. "Home Dance, the Hopi, and Black Mesa Coal: Conquest and Endurance in the American Southwest." *Birmingham Young University Law Review*. (1996): 449-502.
- Winders, Jamie. "Changing Politics of Race and Region: Latino Migration to the US South." *Progress in Human Geography*. 29.6 (2005): 689.

Wise, Raul Delgado and Mariana Ortega Brena. "Migration and Imperialism: The Mexican Workforce in the Context of NAFTA." *Latin American Perspectives*. 33.2 (2006): 33-45.

Woo, Merle. "Letter to Ma." *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color*. Eds. Cherrie Moraga and Gloria Anzuldúa. Watertown, MA: Persephone Press, 1981.

Woodfill, D. S. "Federal Agents Raid Phoenix-Area Danny's Car Wash Locations." *The Arizona Republic*. 18 August 2013.  
<<http://www.azcentral.com/news/politics/articles/20130817arizona-dannys-car-wash-ice-immigration-raids-phoenix-brk.html>>

Wright, Erik Olin. "Social Class." *Encyclopedia of Social Theory*. Ed. George Ritzer. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2003.

Zeek, Starla. "GRIC member Starla Zeek Responds to the AZ Republic Article: 'Gila River tribe Should Vote to Allow Freeway on its Land.'" *Gila River Against Loop 202*. 25 Jan 2012. <<https://gilariveragainstloop202.wordpress.com/2012/01/25/gric-member-starla-zeek-responds-to-the-AZ-Republic-article-gila-river-tribe-should-vote-to-allow-freeway-on-its-land/#comments>>



APPENDIX A:  
ADDITIONAL NOTES ON  
METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

This appendix provides supplementary details on the methodology and methods used in this research.

### *How I chose the case studies*

My goal in defining a topic was to select local issues that are important to a large number of working class or unemployed people of color, and that have been the focus of sustained grassroots movement led by directly affected people. In Arizona, Latinos are the biggest non-white racial group, followed by Native or American Indian people, then Black, or African American and African, people. Although I could have studied hazardous facilities in Black neighborhoods or mass incarceration of Black people, since they are often discussed issues facing Black Phoenix, I was not aware of a conspicuous, long-standing campaign in the Black community at the time.

I ultimately landed with work raids and the Loop 202 because, when I started research in 2012, they were the most prominent issue-based campaigns of community of color led movements in Phoenix. Around that time, Puente, the largest base-building migrant organization in Phoenix, had recently shifted from responding to community sweeps and organizing against Arpaio to organizing against workplace raids through the framework, “Working is not a crime!” O’odham organizers at the time were in a phase of galvanizing non-native support against the freeway. O’odham activists drew on momentum from Occupy Phoenix to bring more non-native supporters to rallies against ADOT and MAG, and were visible speaking at concerts, community colleges, public forums, and school board meetings.

In these cases, a large number of directly impacted people were moving and shaking, naming these issues as a problem for their communities. Activists tended to mention raids and the freeway as examples of anti-racist and decolonial movement in Phoenix. The subject frequently appeared in the media, eliciting much debate and controversy. Although grassroots communities had formulated the cases as issues, they are not necessarily the worst problems affecting each community. The cases may also have been lifted up because they were concrete problems, already made visible by politicians and the media, that organizations felt they could tackle.

Since raids and the Loop 202 are hyper-represented, there are already fixed ideas and social meanings about these phenomena. For example, Angeles Maldonado (2013) explains how work raids as a public spectacle reinforce the perceived connection between race and crime. For some people who hold anti-immigrant beliefs, raids represent migrant criminality, while some people who are or support migrants see raids as anti-immigrant threat. Similarly, the Loop 202 freeway has come to represent the divide between development and environmental protection, between economic growth and native sovereignty. These ideas and already sharp divisions in public opinion influence how I engage with the issues as a researcher.

### *Interviews*

I interviewed people who were directly affected by raids and the freeway, that is, people who are being or will be displaced from homes or homelands. Specifically, I interviewed ten Latino migrant workers arrested in raids and their families; seven

O’odham residents affected by the Loop 202; and three white residents of Ahwatukee. All of the people I interviewed are activists, meaning they participate in one or more community organizations, attend rallies and public events about the issues, and speak publicly against raids and the freeway. The people I interviewed are not a representative sample of Latino migrant workers and O’odham residents, but instead reflect the unique perspectives of people who use grassroots organizing as one strategy for survival.

There is no particular strategy to how I chose interview participants, except that they are all activists, people who are engaged in their communities and frequently talk about these issues in public. Interviewees were either people I already knew, or people introduced to me by an organization or another activist. I chose to interview a small number of people for several reasons: there are not that many people who are active community leaders and directly affected by the issues; after a few interviews, I began to hear similar ideas repeated; and the majority of my research was through participant observation.

Interviews ranged widely in duration, location, and number of participants. For example, one worker asked to meet me in his home, with his family, so he would not have to travel across town or find accommodations for childcare. Many of the interviews were conducted in relevant movement spaces: either in the Puente office or on South Mountain. The shortest interview was only half an hour in duration, while the longest interview lasted seven hours in total, over two days.

Depending on the wishes of the individual, I either took extensive notes during our conversation, including my best attempt at capturing word-for-word quotes, or

recorded the interview and later transcribed it. Seven of the interviews with Latino migrant workers were conducted in Spanish, then translated. All other interviews were conducted in English.

In order to analyze the interview transcripts, I read them over repeatedly, taking notes in the margins on common themes. For each case study, I prepared a list of themes with relevant quotes and commonly mentioned ideas. I also kept a list of stories that participants' told or emotions they had expressed that stood out to me, aiming to reproduce the context and meaning of the story as much as possible.

### *Participant observation*

Although interviews helped me to gather quotes and anecdotes, they were not so different in content from public statements made by activists or private conversations heard often in organizational spaces. The majority of my research and learning comes from participant observation in grassroots community organizations over a two year period, during community meetings, rallies, and public events. Whenever a moment struck me as significant or sparked a realization, I made sure to record notes about what had happened that same day.

Significant public events included a march to the Immigration and Customs Enforcement office in Phoenix, a press conference at the County Prosecutor's office, a community forum with the County Prosecutor and Police Chief, a rally in front of the Arizona Department of Transportation, a community hike on South Mountain, and the

Public Hearing on the Loop 202. Participant observation also included time spent running errands with organizational members, and hanging out during meetings.

### *Document-based research*

Since there are many news reports, public documents, blogs, and social media statements about raids and the freeway, my research process also included collecting public opinion and media representation of the issues through these print sources. For instance, I gathered newspaper articles about raids to understand how journalistic photography influences the production and meaning of the spectacle. The Loop 202 Environmental Impact Statement was published during the course of my research, so it was a big part of my research on the freeway. I used this document as an example of state discourse about the freeway.

Although both case studies included participant observation and document-based research, I spent more time with movement against raids than I did with movement against the Loop 202. The movement against the freeway has been a longer, more dispersed struggle; there are many excellent blog sources about the history of the movement, which I cite throughout this dissertation.

### *Map-making*

Finally, since displacement is a spatial phenomenon, I found it helpful to make or look at existing maps of these issues. One of the factors contributing to the confusion and isolation of workers in jail and detention is distance: workers are transferred between

many different jail sites, then held in detention sixty miles outside of Phoenix. Based on common experiences of raided workers, I mapped these carceral movements. A research assistant at the Arizona American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) helped me to scour all the news articles about workplace raids in Phoenix to find out where they took place and how many workers were arrested. This data allowed me to construct the map of work raids overlaid on a Census map of the proportion of Latino residents in Phoenix.

Geography has always been central to the debate over the Loop 202. The location of the legal boundary demarcating the edge of Gila River Indian Reservation territory is essential to understanding the stages of controversy. Features of the landscape, including South Mountain and the ‘Bowl Area’ of the reservation, are variably enlarged or shrunken on the map depending on who is making it. In this case study, I analyzed existing maps, produced by ADOT, MAG, and community organizers, rather than creating my own.

### *Visual ethnography*

Both movements have inspired a proliferation of artwork. I analyzed photographs, murals, graphic designs, flyers, and posters produced by community members and distributed by local organizations and activists. I take these images as representations of some of the values and desires of the movements. Unfortunately, photographs that are only published on social media could not be printed in this dissertation, whereas photographs published in news articles or state documents could be included. As a result, there are a disproportionate number of photographs from O'dham movement, and few from migrant movement. I have attempted to describe photos from migrant movement where I could not include them.



APPENDIX B:  
INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD  
APPROVAL



---

Office of Research Integrity and Assurance

---

**To:** Robert Bolin  
ANTH

*for* **From:** Mark Roosa, Chair *SM*  
Soc Beh IRB

**Date:** 04/09/2012

**Committee Action:** Expedited Approval

**Approval Date:** 04/09/2012

**Review Type:** Expedited F7

**IRB Protocol #:** 1203007653

**Study Title:** Phoenix Youth Organizing for Rights to the City

**Expiration Date:** 04/08/2013

The above-referenced protocol was approved following expedited review by the Institutional Review Board.

It is the Principal Investigator's responsibility to obtain review and continued approval before the expiration date. You may not continue any research activity beyond the expiration date without approval by the Institutional Review Board.

**Adverse Reactions:** If any untoward incidents or severe reactions should develop as a result of this study, you are required to notify the Soc Beh IRB immediately. If necessary a member of the IRB will be assigned to look into the matter. If the problem is serious, approval may be withdrawn pending IRB review.

**Amendments:** If you wish to change any aspect of this study, such as the procedures, the consent forms, or the investigators, please communicate your requested changes to the Soc Beh IRB. The new procedure is not to be initiated until the IRB approval has been given.

Please retain a copy of this letter with your approved protocol.