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From Nature Sanctuary to “National Dump”: A Walk through Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument

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Senior Thesis

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Adviser, Professor Joseph Nevins

Abstract

This paper is inspired by the literal intersection of two walking bodies, the hiker and the migrant, in the “Most Dangerous Park In America.” In Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument, located on the U.S.-Mexico border in Arizona, while the National Park Service and other actors authorize hikers to appreciate nature, migrants suffer in nature under their supervision. In this thesis I explore the relationship between the construction of nature and the differentiation of bodies, with its real and violent consequences. I argue that wilderness in Organ Pipe was never a nature sanctuary; rather it was created, and is continually recreated, through the apparatus of boundary-making and the exclusion of bodies and activities that are perceived as ecologically other to wilderness, or what I term “anti-nature.” Through an examination of walking in nature, my research suggests that nature, identity, and mobility are deeply intertwined, producing in each other danger, beauty, safety, etc. When in 2012 previously closed sections of Organ Pipe Cactus were reopened, nature and walking had become militarized as a way to “take back the land” from immigration. I argue that militarized nature supports the privileged mobility of national U.S. bodies while ignoring, and even perpetuating, the harm faced by non-U.S. bodies. By examining the making of our divided natures, I hope to simultaneously challenge border violence and unsettle our monolithic conception of wilderness.

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Chapter One
“The Most Dangerous Park in America”: An Introduction to
Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument

On August 9, 2002, Kris Eggle, a 28-year-old National Park Ranger was killed in Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument (Organ Pipe) in Arizona. The police report stated that drug runners, who were crossing into the United States from Mexico, allegedly shot and killed the young ranger. While a tragedy, the outcome of his death was more than a community mourning the loss of a young man. Politicians, government officials, and media outlets insisted that Eggle’s death affirmed the insecurity and vulnerability of the United States at its borders. Accounts of the incident emphasized Kris Eggle’s youth and bravery in protecting the nation, implying that innocent citizens were being killed because of the U.S. “border wars” with Mexico (Who was Kris Eggle?, nps.gov). Certainly, “the death of Kris Eggle” has become a symbol of violence at the border and is frequently woven into discourse as proof of the threat immigrants coming from Mexico hold to the everyday U.S. citizen, the U.S. nation, and significantly for my project, the U.S. wilderness.

Even before Eggle’s death, the U.S. Park Rangers Lodge of the Fraternal Order of Police had designated Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument (in 2001 and 2002) as one of the “Top 10 Most Dangerous Parks in America,” due to “illegal” immigration, drug running, and low ranger staffing (Nielson 2008). For many, Kris Eggle’s shooting death was further evidence of the park’s danger and endangerment. The label the park rangers’ guild assigned to Organ Pipe, as a “dangerous park,” illuminates how death, illegal immigration, and drugs are deemed out of place in landscapes like Organ Pipe Cactus,

places that are designated as nature. Sometimes more than just out of place, death, immigration and drugs allegedly put the wilderness, as well as the citizen who endeavors to enjoy it, in jeopardy.

When the media focuses on the death of Kris Eggle, they lose sight of other and more frequent instances of death and violence in Organ Pipe. The monument, which hugs the boundary with Mexico for 30 miles on its southern side, attracts extremely disparate visitors: while park rangers work at Organ Pipe to ensure the enjoyment of nature for *hikers*, *migrants* also pass through Organ Pipe on foot with the intention to cross into the United States of America from Mexico for a myriad of economic and political reasons. Migrants prefer to take a route across the border that passes through the monument because Organ Pipe's remoteness brings hope that they might successfully avoid such violence as the Border Patrol, arrest, and deportation.

What happens when migrants and hikers, who embody sociopolitical asymmetries of power, literally cross paths? The following is a statement from the National Park Service (NPS), giving directions to *hikers* if this were to occur:

Each year hundreds of people travel north through the park entering the United States. It is possible you could encounter an individual or small group trying to walk through the park with little or no water. Please do not stop, but instead, note your location and immediately call 911 or contact a ranger as soon as possible. ("Border Concerns," Organ Pipe National Monument, NPS website)

If you encounter a migrant during your trip, they write, "*Please do not stop.*" These instructions are very disturbing considering that in Arizona alone, there were 179 human remains of migrants found along the border in the 2011-2012 fiscal year, many of these deaths occurring because of dehydration and exhaustion (Coalición de Derechos

Humanos 2012). So, why does the NPS tell a hiker to keep on walking when she sees another pedestrian in danger?

The NPS' directions reflect two critical assumptions. First, the quote assumes that hikers will be able to identify a migrant, that s/he will *look* different than the hiker and that her/his difference is dangerous. This means that particular powerful actors have done a substantial amount of work in order to differentiate types of walkers and to mark them as threatening or unthreatening. Second, the quote reveals the assumption that migrants are not meant to be in that space (if you see one, "immediately call 911 or contact a ranger as soon as possible,") whereas hikers *are* meant to be there. Thus, the NPS directions draw upon and solidify boundaries differentiating between the "us" and "them" in Organ Pipe. In turn, these boundaries create a division between who is allowed to move in the space and who is not.

The NPS' assumptions are part and parcel of the Organ Pipe experience. In the U.S.- Mexico borderlands, and especially in the space of the Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument, while the NPS and other actors authorize some to appreciate nature, others suffer in nature under their supervision. In this thesis I attempt to understand this process of differentiating bodies in nature, with its real and violent consequences. This leads me to ask the question, how has Organ Pipe as a space of "nature" been constructed over time to distinguish different types of walkers? Further, what does that illuminate about the interrelationship between nature, mobility, nation, race, and space?

There are two types of committed hikers that move in the park, and yet they experience Organ Pipe as a place in radically different ways. They do, however, both occupy the space of the park and they both participate in the movement of walking. Walking, as an embodied movement, is a focal point of my analysis and I examine the

walking experience of the hiker and the migrant. For these two bodies, I argue that identity and power deeply influence how and where each pedestrian moves. More specifically, it is the State who determines the way that people may walk in, move through, and access the space of Organ Pipe. I focus on migrants and hikers because they embody particularities of State control and exhibit a dichotomous experience of nature.

Related Theory and Theoretical Framework

Numerous authors have addressed the issue of violence in the borderlands. My project builds off of two lines of inquiry in particular. The first focuses on the violence against the U.S. nation and the U.S. citizen. Similar to the reception of Kris Eggle's death, books such as *Desert Duty: On the Line with the U.S. Border Patrol* center their critique of the border around the ways in which U.S. Border Patrol agents and citizens put their "lives on the line" to enforce immigration law (Broyles et al 2010).

The second line of inquiry focuses on the violence and militarization that migrants experience at the border. In using the term militarization, I draw from Timothy Dunn, who extensively confronts the militarization of the border. He defines militarization in general by the State's employment of military rhetoric and ideology. More specifically and in the case of the border region, militarization means a distinct U.S. military doctrine of low-intensity conflict where social control is maintained through a broad range of sophisticated measures and integrated efforts by the police, paramilitary, and military forces (Dunn 1996: 4). Dunn also emphasizes the effects on migrant bodies from State border policies. By putting in place a series of operations that focus human and infrastructural resources on relatively urbanized areas of the borderlands, under names like Operation Gatekeeper and Operation Safeguard, the U.S. has transformed remote

and dangerous areas into large migratory routes (Dunn 2009). The government hoped that by militarizing the border in urban areas, the harsh climate of distant rural areas would “deter” migrants, and therefore the border would become “secure.”

Instead these policies have funneled thousands of migrant walkers into the desert under very hazardous circumstances. Along these same lines, authors have compiled stories of migrant journeys across the border, with special attention to the catastrophic number of migrant deaths in the desert (Urrea 2004; Annerino 2009; Regan 2010; Ferguson, Price & Parks 2010). These authors have illuminated the material reality of excluded bodies when they try to cross borders, showing that deportation, violence, and death are part and parcel of the migrant experience. Last, Doty explores the consequences on migrants as well as citizenry when private citizens, called vigilantes, attempt to draw uncompromising lines of inclusion and exclusion of bodies in the United States (Doty 2009).

While keeping in mind the real and violent consequences of border policies on migrants, my project steps beyond the literature that focuses primarily on violence and borders. In order to contribute uniquely to the existing literature, I deploy a number of theoretical tools to ground my thesis and bring together theories of space and territory, nature, difference (as it relates to nature), and mobility in a single place: the Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument.

In order to understand the dichotomous experience of walking in the borderlands, especially between hikers and migrants, I start by looking at theory that relates to the initial process of delimiting space, in other words, the production of territory, as the border would not exist without this process. I employ Delaney’s definition of territory as bounded space that carries particular meaning for those who frequent it. The process of

bounding space is laden with power relations and therefore there exists an inseparable relationship between territory and social orders. Indeed, territories are constitutive of hierarchies and social orders (Delaney 2005: 10).

The creation of territory has material, and often time violent, consequences for those that find themselves outside of it. Territory is rooted in this exclusion where governments, states, and citizens draw lines to delimit belonging. Sibley (1995) posits that *exclusion* has become the dominant factor in the creation of social and spatial boundaries. Certainly borders are built on the inevitable outcome that some bodies will be excluded from that space, those bodies in turn become the objects of exclusion.

Organ Pipe Cactus is a territory that defines itself as “natural.” I therefore move my theoretical framework into examining nature and natural spaces in particular, as spaces that contribute heavily to the exclusion of bodies. In order to unpack the “natural,” however, it must be defined, which is a messy and contradictory process. I define nature as a compilation of the physical world, such as animals and plants, as well as those characteristics that the human world has created and applied to “nature”: pristine, picturesque, and bounded. Paradoxically, though *people* have constructed nature, they historically and contemporarily have imagined it as separate from human influence and unspoiled by human destruction. Political ecology, as an analytical framework, refuses to divide the ecological from the political and the social: Swyngedouw (1999) calls this hybrid, socio-nature.

That said, though nature cannot be removed from the social, nature is also not entirely human. Kosek (2006) perhaps defines nature most aptly as “an inextricably entangled knot, a stubborn yet unstable social and material form that doggedly reminds us that it is not entirely of our own making”(285). The implications of nature, as social,

material, constructed, and definitively not human, carry themselves into bounded spaces as well, where practices of exclusion are present.

Similarly to the making of territory, exclusion is constitutive of the making of natural spaces. These spaces, such as Organ Pipe, in their very construction are comprised of a long history of dispossession. For example, in the case of the United States, creating nature and excluding Native people have historically gone hand in hand. Such dispossession of Native people from “natural spaces” in the United States serves as one of the original acts of exclusion that contributed to the making of the nation-state and a national identity (Spence 1996, 1999; Binnema 2006).

The dispossession of people is one of the many ways that nature is produced. The work of Mark Spence, Robert Neumann, and Alston Chase around nature and its construction, illuminate the myriad other ways that spaces of nature are produced. My project starts with Spence’s important assertion that nature is never separate from human influence and that uninhabited wilderness and national parks are not at all “natural,” but rather the State has constructed them through processes of removal and government planning (Spence 1996). Despite the myth of America as a “virgin continent,” Native people have had a profound effect on “nature” through their historical interactions and dependence on it for their livelihood (Spence 1996, 58). The United States has never known uninhabited wilderness, so it is fraudulent to claim national parks as such.

After the dispossession of undesired bodies, the government bounds space and labels it “natural.” Here, theories of bounded nature inform my thesis. I draw from Neumann, whose work builds off of that of Spence by calling attention to the particularities of conservation enclosures (Neumann 2004). The act of parceling off and bounding nature has had profound effects on not only the people who formerly occupied

the land, but the land itself. Like Cresswell, Neumann draws attention to the ways in which the State attempts to make people, land, and mobility legible. Nation-states claim sovereign ownership of all land and resources within their borders and therefore dictate how the land is used and who uses it (Neumann 2004, 202). They are linked to policies of social control and spatial segregation as the State attempts to simultaneously control nature and citizenry. This has direct consequences for its citizens. For example, conservation enclosures curtail access to local commons and the variety of ways in which people have historically sustained themselves in nature (Neumann 2004). In this way, conservation enclosures and bounded nature transforms space and people and vice versa.

The oft violent and detrimental affects of “nature” unveil the ways in which the construction and bounding of nature serves a larger, (national) project; therefore, the next portion of my theoretical framework focuses on the complicated relationship between national violence, colonialism and nature. To show this, I draw on the work of Peluso and Vandergeest, who argue that during the Cold War, the development of forestry in Southeast Asia through the nation-state was tied to nation building and resulted in the production of nationalized natures (Peluso and Vandergeest 2011, 603). Though my case study is geographical unique from their project, I draw on Peluso and Vandergeest for their focus on borders and natural areas in particular, as sites of contestation that aid in nation-building projects through violence, militarization and other territorial practices (Peluso and Vandergeest 2011, 588). Further, they contend, violence and war have a symbiotic relationship with borders; in other words, violence reinforces borders and borders reinforce violence, often an embodied violence.

Nature and nation were inextricably linked from the creation of nature starting in the 18th century; this meant that as the national identity carried with it a set of racist,

colonist agendas into the 21st century, so did nature. In this way, identity and difference are embedded in the natural experience and for the hiker and the migrant, along with all those that visit nature, identity influences the way that nature is perceived. For white Americans, it is tied to Anglo, Western ideals of courage, adventure, and wilderness survival. For African Americans, spending leisure time in remote settings surfaces memories of violence associated with slavery and the Jim Crow era (Finney 2006; Weber 2012).¹ For Latino migrants, who are currently crossing the border and moving through nature, death and violent border policies are actively creating new associations with nature: these experiences certainly do not welcome migrants into nature.

Race and citizenship are large factors in the contemporary exclusion of people from National Parks and inform environmental attitudes and actions (Finney 2006). The construction of wilderness has brought with it the dynamics of a racialized, colonialist, and segregated nation. The National Park System claims to represent a U.S. identity – exclusionary from its making – and that identity tends to be white and privileged. Since parks take on the characteristics of the place where they are embedded (Finney 2006, 143), Organ Pipe has become a place of discrimination and exclusion, where nature, the National Park Service, and the State only protect certain bodies.

Since I want to explore the movement of these various bodies, next, I bring in theories of mobility into my project. In particular, I look at the work of Tim Cresswell (2006), who points to the function of mobility on a variety of scales. Mobility, he claims, is socially produced as well as socially differentiated. Though we are all mobile to some

¹ Jim Crow laws in Georgia barred African Americans from using, enjoying, or benefiting from state parks built for white people. Though no such law existed for national parks like Organ Pipe, this legacy of exclusion and violence lingers on in how African Americans perceive all parks (Finney 2006; Weber 2012). Also, remote natural settings are often linked to memories of lynching and other racial violence; there has never been a serious, national effort to provide justice and healing from this history.

degree, there exist radically different forms of movement depending on race, class, gender, nation, ethnicity, sexuality, and geography. These identities and their differentiated mobilities reflect asymmetrical power relations; hikers and migrants are part and parcel of this process.

Mobility varies depending on power and difference and the State imposes meaning onto individual bodies accordingly. In doing this, bodies become legible for state surveillance. For example, the State assigns identities such as *alien* or *citizen*, and in the case of my project, *migrant* or *hiker*, which act to legitimize or delegitimize individual movement and in turn justifies the policing of bodies. Further, identity labels require the non-identity label for existence; for example, without the label of “alien” the label of “citizen” would vanish. The material implications of divided mobility are such that, as Cresswell (2006: 161) writes, “Citizens require the production of others to be possible, and the definition of citizen carries around the noncitizen or the shadow citizen as part of its constitution.” In this way, a dichotomy emerges between Citizen and Other, privileging the mobility of some bodies over others. This action is especially relevant to the immigrant, whose mobility is seriously constrained, while the mobility of the hiker is seemingly more fluid and “free.” In other words, through the demarcation of freedom onto individual bodies, the State’s policing of mobility has corporeal consequences.

For this reason, I concentrate heavily on the scale of the individual body through the embodied mobility of migrants and hikers. In doing this, I draw from Jennifer Hyndman who employs a feminist geographic lens in examining the body and its (in)security (Hyndman 2004). In emphasizing the body, I hope to mimic her effort to bring attention to the power relations and spatial practices that contribute to hierarchies and place delimitations on bodies (Hyndman 2004: 309). Hyndman argues that

marginalized people, especially those without legal status, first experience asymmetries in citizenship, then asymmetries in protection, and finally, find their bodies in danger.

Further, Hyndman shows that the State produces bodies, and those bodies in turn flow from and produce “geopolitics.” Hyndman claims that people’s bodies are constructed as territory or property and “become public sites of violence on which constructions of the nation and its boundaries take place” (Hyndman 2004, 318). Thus individual people experience national violence and/or national protection at the scale of their body. However, people experience this violence to different degrees, depending on legal status, gender, and race. Then, these differentiated bodies go on to be geographical agents. It becomes especially clear within Organ Pipe that bodies are both spaces and producers of space, objects as well as agents; and that bodies are part and parcel of the making of place, nature, and nation.

Nature and mobility converge at the scale of the body. Phil Macnaughten and John Urry point to the ways in which “nature” and “natural practices” affect the body (Macnaughten 2000). Through practices such as climbing, hiking, and skiing, bodies (re)produce different “natures,” and vice versa (Macnaughten 2000, 1). The practice of walking in my project is one of these embodied performances. Indeed, the migrant and the hiker produce different natures: the former walking through a liminal space of survival where nature is dangerous, the latter dwelling in a “pristine” wilderness.

In order to fully comprehend the history of walking and nature in the space of Organ Pipe, I draw from the theories and case studies above while also moving beyond them; I move beyond because the works discussed above do not look at the role that “nature” has played in the shaping of Organ Pipe in particular, historically and contemporarily, especially within the context of the U.S.-Mexico border and the making

of a national identity. They also do not explain how different types of people can have two extremely different experiences in nature, specifically the nature of the border region. In addition, my project places nature at the center of the debate, which distinguishes it from previous work.

Methods and Methodology

Beyond theory, I utilize particular methods and methodology to build my thesis. For my methods, I compiled information in a myriad of ways in order to examine these relationships. The majority of my data stems from archival research. First, I look at historical documents of Organ Pipe in order to uncover when, how, and why nature was constructed and the differentiation of bodies occurred. Second, I draw from secondary literature on Organ Pipe, written by historians and academics in the Southwest. From this I was able to explore how Organ Pipe is spoken about historically. I then compiled newspaper accounts of Organ Pipe, specifically employing sources that discuss the “problems” in the park because of its contact with the boundary. In this way I critically analyze the discourse surrounding different kinds of walkers.

For my methodology, I borrow from Sundberg by putting political ecology in dialogue with post humanism. Political ecology as an analytical framework refuses to separate the political from the ecological and allows for a new understanding of how environmental practices and political economic relations interact (Sundberg 2011: 321). Meanwhile, post humanist thinking accounts for nonhumans as political actors and reconceptualizes agency, exhibiting how nonhuman agents inform “geopolitical processes” like boundary making (Sundberg 2011). For example, nocturnal ocelots are invoked in order to prevent spotlights in endangered environments (Sundberg 2011).

Through bringing the two together, I explore the ways in which human and non-human actors alike influence the environment and environmental experience. While dominant powers like the State and individual agents such as hikers and migrants are important to my project, so, too, are non-human influences like desert, trash, drugs, and endangered species, all of which often appear in policy and discourse to vindicate exclusion and even death. To return momentarily to Kosek, nature, natural spaces, and non-human actors, are all components in the “inextricably entangled knot” of nature, and they too are not entirely of our own making (Kosek 2006). A post-humanist political ecology confronts this knot and the complicated project of studying nature, which is never a solely human endeavor. Acknowledging the influence of non-human actors in my analysis will help move this project forward.

Alongside post humanism, I harness a postcolonial approach to political ecology in my methodology. As Organ Pipe Cactus is a contested and postcolonial space, doing political ecology in the monument “carries the responsibility of engaging with colonialism, because we cannot understand these spaces outside of, prior to, or apart from the fact of the colonial experience” (Wainwright 2004: 1034). Colonialism’s division of the world is central to the creation of Organ Pipe Cactus: it has organized and produced the world and its bodies into categories such as “First World” and “Third World,” “Nature” and “Dump,” “Migrant” and “Hiker.” In order to discover the ways in which environmental practices and political economic relations intersect, my project takes on the responsibility of challenging the very practices that contribute to our violently divided world, spatially and corporeally (Wainwright 2004). Only through a postcolonial approach, can I truly and deeply confront the making and continual remaking of nature, mobility, and bodies in Organ Pipe Cactus.

Chapter Narrative

With theory, method, and methodology as tools, I attempt to concretely answer my central questions: how has nature been constructed over time to distinguish different types of walkers? Further, what does that illuminate about the interrelationship between nature, mobility, race, citizenship and space? I divide my thesis into five subsequent chapters. My next chapter outlines a historical geography of walking and then situates it within the milieu of Organ Pipe. Through an examination of the works of Rebecca Solnit, Henry Thoreau, Michel de Certeau, and Robert Macfarlane, I show that walking is both reflective of, and dependent on, issues of power and identity. I then tell the story of walking in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands and look at how this historical geographical context has shaped walking contemporarily. In doing so, I ask, what is the relationship between walking, identity, the State, and space and how does that relate to Organ Pipe?

In the third chapter I bring “nature” into the discussion by outlining a historical geography of Organ Pipe as a sanctuary for “nature.” I review the people, ideas, and actions that produced national parks. Early explorers and conservationists imagined nature as a static concept that could serve the nation and its people. Then I focus in on Organ Pipe Cactus and look at what these explorers and conservationists were saying about the monument. I investigate the early history of the park and draw from a compilation of archival data on the monument. In doing all this, I ask, how has nature been created in the United States and who and what does it include and protect? What does this say about the intersection of nature, nation, and bodies?

The fourth chapter looks at the consequences of the construction of nature: Organ Pipe is a place of exclusion, violence, and anti-nature. I start with the history of exclusion

in the park, which was integral to its construction of nature. Nature was whitened, classed, nationalized and de-Native-ized all in the name of preservation. Then, I dissect the recent construction of Organ Pipe as a non-nature and the articles that show immigrants as the perpetrators. In this deconstruction, I examine the ways in which nature and anti-nature are employed to justify anti-immigrant sentiment, and even anti-immigrant violence. This leads me to ask, how has nature's antithesis, anti-nature been constructed in the park? What does this say about the intersection of the construction of anti-nature, space and the mobility of human bodies?

In the concluding chapter, I interrogate the efforts of powerful actors to "take back the land" of Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument. Here, I provide a critical analysis of the initiatives to "save" Organ Pipe. First I document the gradual militarization of the park. Then I explore the National Park Service's response to the death of Kris Eggle: hiking as well is becoming militarized. A new phenomenon, the State has shifted military surveillance once fixated on migrants onto hikers as well through the guise of saving and protecting nature and citizen. Therefore, the chapter leads to the question, what does saving Organ Pipe say about the intersection of (violent) control, nature, and human bodies? In light of militarization of the monument, I finish my thesis by providing suggestions of where to go next.

Chapter Two

Hiking vs. Migrating: A Historical Geography of Walking

How unaware many trekkers around the world are of what a luxury it is to be able to walk in the land they love without anger, fear or insecurity, just to be able to walk without political arguments running obsessively through their heads, without the fear of losing what they've come to love, without the anxiety that they will be deprived of the right to enjoy it. Simply to walk and savor what nature has to offer, as I was once able to do.

– Raja Shehadeh (2008: 33), Palestinian walker, writer, and activist

Shehadeh's words, spoken about the Palestinian occupied territory, exhibit thoughtfully and somberly what could potentially be at stake on the U.S.-Mexico border. While he longs for a time where he can walk in a land and savor nature without fear, his identity and position in regards to the governing power act as a physical and political constraint to Shehadeh's mobility in nature.

Keeping in mind Shehadeh's words and the uniqueness of his situation, in this chapter I ask: what is the relationship between walking, identity, the state, and space, and how does that relate to Organ Pipe? People experience walking, as a spatial act and an embodied practice, in disparate and sometimes conflicting ways and walking can distinguish people along lines of difference. Partly this is the work of the state: it observes and produces legible (walking) bodies as a way to civilize and craft citizenry. However, there is always a tension between the state's desires to make bodies legible, and the spontaneity and contingency of practices in everyday life. I maintain that because of this tension, walking holds the possibility to resist, or at least transgress, the hegemonic control of space and normalizing codes. In this way, the pedestrian is both resistant to and dependent on issues of power and identity. In order to demonstrate walking's influence on

Organ Pipe, I first outline the particular history of walking that produced the type of walking for leisure and transport that exists in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands. Then I tell the story of walking in the borderlands today.

In telling the story of walking I keep in mind one theory in particular: Delaney's theory on territory. Foremost, territory is important to the discussion on walking because it is the site that walking takes *place*. Further, just as walking is dependent on power and order, so is territory. Delaney argues that territories are not simple artifacts; rather they both express and produce social orders through the delimiting of its boundaries (Delaney 2005: 10). In turn, social orders become territorialized into what we *are* as bodies: citizen, migrant. When the state enforces its territorial boundaries, it enforces social orders, often with violent implications. Therefore, walking and territory are intertwined: both illustrate and internalize social order and power.

A Historical Geography of Walking

How, where, and why people walk has changed over time. Starting in medieval times, walking was bound to labor and feudal law (Solnit 2000). The ruling class differentiated bodies and signified them with legitimacy and belonging, or the inverse: disadvantaged bodies moving through space were inscribed with poverty and homelessness, and therefore walking was not an exercise in freedom but one of confinement (Edensor 2000: 83). In this way, walking is tied to a history saturated deeply with segregation. Walking for leisure, which is the focus of the chapter, was born out of this history.

In mid 18th century England, Romanticism reclaimed the medieval conception of walking and turned it recreational. Writers, philosophers and intellectuals in the

Romantic tradition such as Jean Jacques Rousseau and Soren Kierkegaard were integral to the creation of the “art of walking:” a practice that took place in the mind, the body, and the land. The Romantic era, through an obsession with the ideological and aesthetic elements of bipedalism, transformed walking into a physical, spiritual and political undertaking, a relationship that I elaborate on further on in the chapter. Often taking place in the “natural” world, walking reproduced relationships between body and nature and cultivated new ideas of subjectivity and the environment (Edensor 2000).

Part of appreciating nature was differentiating it from that of the aristocratic garden. English aristocrats chose to be transported in public and to walk in private as horses, carriages, and much later on automobiles displaced walking as a necessity for the privileged. The movement of leisure for the elite was confined to the English gardens in the 17th century and into the 18th century as they removed themselves from poor society. This particular leisurely practice was exclusive to the landowner and their guests and thus furthered the segregation of space and of movement; while the majority walked out of necessity in the public sphere, the upper class strolled for pleasure in the garden (Amato 2004: 122).

The European Romantic tradition of walking in the 18th century was born in opposition to the confines of the garden. Many philosophers and intellectuals saw walking as a way to reconfigure space and identity. Thus, the Romantic tradition of walking became an exercise in bending the socio-spatial. For example, Thoreau, who though he was an American associated himself with the Romantics, wrote, “Yes, though you may think me perverse, if it were proposed to me to dwell in the neighborhood of the most beautiful garden that ever human art contrived, or else of a Dismal Swamp, I should certainly decide for the swamp” (Thoreau 1862). Thoreau asserts his agency by choosing

to walk in the swamp, and in doing so creates a spatial hierarchy. While, the space of the garden was reserved for the wealthy and privileged of society, the swamp represented the intellectual and reflexive class of people. For Thoreau and others, it was the milieu, indeed the space that distinguished the true, noble walkers from the rest. The bourgeoisie walked in their gardens, bounded and segregated from the poor classes that walked for necessity, and the Romantics walked in the streets, the swamps, the forests and the natural landscape. Thus, walking reconfigured nature and space by assigning hierarchical value on different natural spaces.

Throughout time, the experience of walking has often incorporated division and difference. The Romantic Movement brought its own elitism to pedestrian culture. Walking for leisure reflected certain cultivated, and even exclusive, beliefs, tastes, and values that linger on today. To walk, or further yet, to desire to be in wild places was an expression of an appreciation for simplicity, purity, and solitude (Solnit 2000: 85). This appreciation was inextricably tied to intellectual elitism, as only select individuals owned the cultural capital that came with walking for leisure. While walking for pleasure was a new phenomenon in the 18th and 19th century, its formation has had lasting consequences.

Walking as an act has long held a complicated relationship to equality and access. On one hand, walking reveals hierarchies, which people enact through movement. On the other hand, as Ivan Illich writes, “people on their feet are more or less equal” (Illich 1974: 28). All humans, except those who experience certain bodily restraints, walk and have done so since the beginning of time. Most people have access to some sort of walkable space, and historically virtually everyone has had access to what we now

consider nature and the woods². Therefore walking became a rare, transverse exercise in class and identity: where rich and poor still moved alike on their feet, though not necessarily in identical spaces. During which the 1790s some Romantics were even known to walk as a political statement to align themselves with the poor as walking outside of the garden demonstrated solidarity with the impoverished (Solnit 2000: 109).

Cresswell reminds us that mobility is socially produced as well as socially differentiated. Further, identity interacts with mobility to produce asymmetrical power relations in movement (Cresswell 2006). Thus, difference (based on identity as well as geography) cannot be detached from any discussion of walking. While many wandered through streets and trails for leisure or for political causes, the disadvantaged were using these same paths for survival and necessity. Today, people walk as a means of transportation often because they have no alternative.

In the United States and in places all over the world, walking still reflects a divide between those who walk for leisure and those who walk for transportation. Kruger et al. produced study of walking for leisure and walking for transportation and its relationship with identity, using the 2005 National Health Interview Survey. The report shows that an estimated 28.2 percent of U.S. adults engaged in walking for transportation, while 41.5 percent walked for leisure (Kruger et al. 2008: 332). However, the percentage of people who walk for transportation varies greatly depending on race, gender, and income. For example, 36 percent of non-Hispanic black men walked for transportation, while 26.8 percent of non-Hispanic black women walked for transportation and only 25 percent of white women engaged in the same activity. In addition, walking for transportation was highest in the lowest income groups, with 35 percent of low-income men and 32.4

² Though the future would necessitate struggles over rights and access to the commons

percent of low-income women reporting walking as a mode of transportation (Kruger et al. 2008).

In contrast to walking as a form of transportation, trends of walking for leisure coincide with privilege based on race and income. Non-Hispanic white people of both genders walked for leisure most commonly, while non-Hispanic black people of both genders reported walking for leisure the least frequently. In addition, leisure walking was highest among wealthy respondents with incomes greater than or equal to 300 percent of the poverty level (43.3 percent men; 51.3 percent women) and was only reported by about 30 percent of adults with incomes at or below the poverty level (Kruger 2008). The Kruger report does not lay out in more detail the causes of the differences in race, gender, and income and walking for transportation or leisure. Nonetheless, there is certainly a correlation between privilege and walking for leisure, as white people and wealthy people engage in walking for leisure most routinely.

The Kruger report illuminates a certain conditionality of walking for leisure. Solnit articulates this case with three prerequisites for walking for leisure: one must have time, a place, and a body unconstrained by physical or social barriers (2000: 168). For this reason, walking reveals a dependency on certain powers and privileges, such as time (free time), space (access to public or private), and identity (privilege). Due to these constraints, walking for leisure can be an exclusive act. Walking necessitates a struggle against various types of barriers that the Kruger report illuminated, in order for it to reflect equality. In order to democratize walking, one must attempt to *unbound* public space, time, and bodies. Such a struggle confronts space foremost. Solnit argues that walking is the antithesis of owning or privatized space because it focuses not on lines that bound space, but on paths that connect it (Solnit 2000: 162). Paths break up ownership and they

actively unbound and widen public space. In doing so, they invent new (public) spaces (de Certeau 1984: 107). These are the spaces that I argue have the possibility of being resistant for pedestrians

Public space, as a milieu of walking, is notable because it requires that we trust strangers. Occupying the same space as people from different backgrounds implies a certain inclusion and conviction in the humanity of your neighbors – an experience quite opposite from that of the private garden. There is something deeply democratic about the interactions we have with people in public space and citizenship itself is based on the notion that we have something in common with strangers³ (Solnit 2000: 218). The democratic nature of public space can also be applied to walking. Walking, in many ways, is also an expression of trust – or at least commitment – for your neighbor and public space: without fences and cars, one must accept the spontaneity, or perhaps even the gamble, of life.⁴

For this reason, various political entities have espoused walking as an expression or tactic within social movements at various times, thus transforming walking into a social and strategic form of resistance. For example, most relevant to my thesis, at the turn of the 20th century, walking and hiking clubs became popular so that people could enjoy this new leisure activity in the outdoors – often with a political caveat. Solnit describes them as “walking and” clubs, for their purpose was often multiple and varied: walking and nationalism, walking and conservation, walking and reflection. Like the Romantic movement, many of these walking clubs were organized around utopian ideals of nature,

³ For more on this concept, see: Massey (2005).

⁴ In some places and for some racialized and gendered bodies, walking is more dangerous than other forms of transportation as you are placing your body (unprotected) into space. See, for example, Massey, Doreen B. *Space, Place, and Gender*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1994. I talk about this further on in the chapter as well.

and as such, prioritized its protection (Solnit 2000: 156).

Perhaps the most famous and longest lasting of these clubs is the Sierra Club. Founded in 1892 by the environmentalist John Muir, it was highly influential as a walking and conservation club in the United States of America. The struggle for communal access to walking and space were intimately intertwined in the case of the Sierra Club and its goals reflected the environmental thought of U.S. conservationists at that time. Muir saw nature and natural space as integral to society, and yet wanted it to be separate from society and the economy, and untransformed. In other words, unlike in England, where Romantics wished to remove the garden, Muir wanted to remake sections of the United States into a garden: he constructed a pristine wilderness that would be open and accessible to the public (Solnit 2000).

Clearly, though U.S. hikers were the heirs to English Romantics, walking became an entirely different project in North America.⁵ The United States, seen through the efforts of the Sierra Club, was definitively influenced by a northern European Romantic tradition of land use and walking, yet without the same history of the white, bourgeoisie garden. The history of walking in the United States was a history of colonialism. From the beginning of America's "discovery," colonists, following established Indian and animal trails, often walked in their efforts to explore the continent (Amato 2004, 126). Walking by foot was a project of nation building, seen in the romanticized and celebrated stories of Lewis and Clark, who in 1804 explored what is now the continental United States by foot and boat. The principal form of both Native American and colonial movement was on foot, and walking was one way for explorers to establish providence over the West (Amato

⁵ There are a couple of exceptions to this. For example, Thoreau spanned both of these worlds, being both American and a Romantic. See Solnit (2000).

2004: 137).

At the turn of the 20th century, walking clubs continued this legacy by confronting and activating different power dynamics, ones largely having to do with colonialism. U.S. walkers did not resist the power of the bourgeoisie through walking in nature. Rather, the conservation of land and the creation of national nature, and thus the walkers and walking clubs associated with this project, displaced Native Americans from their traditional land (Spence 1996). Walking in nature, as a form of mobility⁶, is contradictory in composition: conservationists sought to maintain public space by bounding it, which had the serious consequence of benefiting an exclusive group of people.

As horses, carriages, and finally automobiles displaced walking as a necessity, walking started to have a commercial relationship with the nation and became a commodified practice. People would come to associate walking with matters like, recreation, sport, health, style, and politics (Amato 2004: 255); in short, things you could buy. Books, maps, and clubs promoted walking as commodified recreation with the stipulation that walking fit exclusive coordinates of scenery, time, cost, and that all members owned an automobile (so they could drive to and from the walking site) (Amato 2004: 268). So while the high cost of travel made walking for transportation a necessity for those outlined in the Kruger report, a select few of the privileged class were spending money in order to take a walk in the wilderness.

Such an exclusive system of “benefit” is deeply tied to the second condition of walking for leisure: a body and identity unconstrained by social barriers. The body is acted upon when walking and this varies greatly depending on identity. As I touched on with my analysis of the Kruger report and of Native Americans in the United States,

⁶ A reminder that mobility is socially produced and differentiated

difference influences how people experience walking. Hyndman illuminates this issue and claims that bodies “become public sites of violence on which constructions of the nation and its boundaries take place” (Hyndman 2004, 318). Individual people experience violence at the scale of their body and this violence varies greatly depending on race, gender, citizenship etc. Since walking is experienced physically at the site of the body, the practice of walking also has violent implications at the corporeal scale. For example, a woman walking on the street often experiences violence in the form of catcalling, reminding her that her body does not belong. Likewise, an African American walking in the forest may become frightened, experiencing violence in the form of embodied memories of slavery and lynching (Solnit 2000: 244).

In the same breath, the scale of the body reminds us that walking bodies are also actors. “Bodies belong to places and help to constitute them whether they stay in place, move through place or move towards other spaces” (Casey, 1996 in Edensor 2000: 100). On a walking path in a national park, despite the Sierra Club’s urges to leave no trace, bodies impacted the land: bodies make noises, move leaves, and create paths for those that come after. Their presence in turn influences how the park is governed and which activities are accepted and which are condemned. In this way, walking bodies act. In the case of the English Romantics, walking asserted privilege. In the case of women and African Americans, walking affirms suspicions of exclusion and vulnerability.

Raja Shehadeh, the Palestinian writer and enthusiastic hiker quoted at the beginning of this chapter, is an example of an excluded walking body that experiences state violence. Shehadeh often walks in the occupied Palestinian territory, and for him, walking has turned into a movement of resistance. Although settlements, zoning, policing and the Israeli Separation Wall immensely inhibit his movement (Shehadeh 2008),

Shehadah still walks. He describes how path-following in the Israeli-Palestinian Territory “figured as an explicitly political act and walking as a means of resistance” (Macfarlane 2012: 213). It is a political act because Shehadah risks detention or harm every time he chooses to walk in his own backyard; Israeli as well as Palestinian agents would mark him as criminal for walking the same paths he has used all his life (Shehadah 2008).

Therefore, in Shehadah’s eyes, walking became a way to resist the constraints of his partial citizenry. As the Israeli Occupation progressively compressed more and more of Shehadah’s space, walking became an important means of civil disobedience. Walking also brought attention to the ways that the Occupation restricted time, space, and movement (Shehadah 2008). He was able to witness the material implications of Israel’s control as the landscape increased in danger and shrank in accessibility. While Shehadah’s geopolitical positionality denied him the right to walk for leisure, he continues to walk despite threat.

But, is Shehadah’s movement truly resistant? Mitchell (2000) claims that “effective” resistance demands more than individual tactics: it must be visible, strategic, and social/collective as well (153). Further, though resistance does not inherently need to be an active struggle, Cresswell (1996) argues that resistance must be a purposeful action directed towards some disliked entity with a desire to change that entity (22). Resistance, then, is the fuel of a social movement: an action that is collective, visible, and supports real change. Therefore, in order for walking to truly be resistant, Shehadah cannot engage in walking solely as an individual. Shehadah’s bipedalism must be part of a movement, collectively and strategically administered, that confronts the state.

Although Mitchell challenges walking’s political power, his argument does not mean that walking can never be resistant. Rather, walking is a type of transgression, an

activity that can be translated into resistance with the appropriate tactics. Cresswell defines transgressions as something distinguished from resistance; it means, “crossing a boundary” (Cresswell 1996: 21). Transgressions rest on the *results*, not the intentions, of actors; on their “being noticed” by those in power. In other words, transgressions create friction with those in power. In the case of Shehadah, walking challenges the state’s control, without perhaps dismantling it. In order for actors to build a clear and effective movement, one that truly disassembles state power, Cresswell claims that actors need to move beyond transgressions and into resistance (Cresswell 1996).

In addition to Shehadah, others have written about walking’s potential as both transgression and resistance in regards to the state. In 1980, Michel de Certeau published an important work titled “Walking in the City” in his book *The Practice of Everyday Life*.⁷ Here, de Certeau observes that walking bodies traverse the landscape of the city through impulse decisions and movements.⁸ The spontaneity of pedestrians, he argues, contributes to their elusiveness to the state’s panoptic power. Most importantly, the walker in the city eludes legibility and therefore discipline by the state⁹ (de Certeau 1984: 95). Walkers rub up against, and indeed challenge, the static organization of space, as they use diverse and whimsical tactics to negotiate the landscape.

However, state hegemony means that walking can never statically be a measure of resistance. Instead, like Shehadah, walking holds a complicated relationship to state power and authority. Despite de Certeau’s claims to resistance, pedestrians move within and beyond the limits of the city, and thus are prey to the infrastructure in place, as well

⁷ English translation was published in 1984

⁸ Or, as Ivan Illich puts it, “people on their feet move on the spur of the movement”(Illich 1974: 28)

⁹ I explore in Chapter 5 how increased surveillance in space makes it more and more difficult for walkers to truly evade legibility as well as discipline.

as the state's comprehensive power. They can never elude completely the workings of the state. Nonetheless, their movement also reflects an opaque mobility, an avoidance of tracking. Pedestrians make selections, which simultaneously confirm and transgress built trajectories of the state (de Certeau 1984). While walking is not inherently resistant because it can easily succumb to the control and surveillance of the state, the *fluidity* of walking nonetheless holds a threat to the state.

Nomadic versions of space are an example of such fluidity, and are always in opposition to state control. The state attempts to plan, control, and assign definite spatial boundaries to movement, space, and people (Shamir 1996). Therefore, undetected movement in space, such as that made by the nomad, subvert and threaten the order of things (Shamir 1996). Bedouins, who are the indigenous nomadic people who live in desert regions of the Middle East including Israeli occupied territory, serve as an example of how state mechanisms such as the Law of Israel, attempt to annihilate movements that do not fit the frame of the State (Shamir 1996).

Mobility and movement are intimate aspects of the way that Bedouin people maintain sustenance. With the advent of the Israeli State, the government painted Bedouin nomadism with chaos and rootlessness, criminalizing their movement and making it the antithesis of modern law. The state saw Bedouin mobility as a threat to modernity, and attempted – and still do to this day – to urbanize and to turn Bedouin people sedentary. In doing so, it constructed the nomad as the other to its own progress and benevolence. Once the state established the other as embodying chaos, it justified its surveillance, control, and hegemony over mobility, space, and people (Shamir 1996; Cresswell 2001). Whereas the fluidity of nomadic movement acted as a threat to the governing authority as per de Certeau, Israel dismantled Bedouin's ability to transgress –

and resist – through state measures of control. Thus, Bedouins entered the state monitored hierarchy of walking, the same one experienced by Shehadah and seen in the Kruger report, where governing powers differentiate walking bodies.

The United States has followed a very similar trajectory to Israel in particular and state restrictions in general in terms of its historical relationship between walking, (state) control, and citizenry. At the beginning of the 20th century, the U.S. frontier vanished with the final conquest of the Wild West. With its completion came the settlement of people and a new understanding of walking that was tied not to physical expansion, but to ideological nation building. Governments, obsessed with progress and productivity, forced pedestrians to adhere to new grids of time and distance (Amato 2004: 150) and attempted to turn them into obedient and productive citizens and commuters. Recalling Cresswell's argument, the state project, as a disciplinary body, is to bound space and control mobility (2001), as seen in the case of Israel. Along these same lines, the U.S. government, employing hegemony, constructed mobility, bodies, and space to serve the nation.

Walking in the U.S.-Mexico border

Organ Pipe's first custodian William R. Supernaugh established a nature trail in the monument in 1950. There, he began hosting evening programs at the tiny contact station that would support the trail and the older visitors of the park (Lissoway 2004: 52). Later, management would describe these trails as loop nature paths that passed through different biological communities of the Sonoran Desert, the desert that Organ Pipe is situated within (See Appendix A Map 3), and invited visitors to walk through the "prehistoric and historic evidences of man's use of the desert" (Master Plan, Organ Pipe,

1976). Walking, from the formation of the monument, was framed as a way to experience history and ecology, but that history had to be erased in order to make way for these contemporary trails.

For centuries before Supernaugh's nature trail, people moved in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands propelled by their feet and Organ Pipe Cactus had been a fluid and nomadic space. Native tribes moved from place to place, following water and cultivating land along the way. The current inhabitants of the land just outside the monument are the Tohono O'odham nation¹⁰, whose traditional homeland was the desert south of the Gila Riva; now, their reservation borders Organ Pipe to the West. However, before their existence was bounded, the O'odham people's relationship with Organ Pipe Cactus was of a migratory character (Greene 1977). In the 20th century, Chinese immigrants traveled to the borderlands to build the railroads that would take coal and people across the country to the east coast. Mexican men came across the border to work in mines, eventually bringing their families with them. The part of the country that rubs up against the border reveals the diversity of its history and people through, among other things, food, architecture, and art.

The land that makes up this region also carries imprints in the form of what Macfarlane calls shadow-sites (Macfarlane 2012: 48). These are places where previous histories of walking, pilgrimage and migration have left traces on the landscape. The borderlands are full of these nomadic markings, paths, and trails. The San Dieguito people, for instance, have left sleeping circles, trail shrines, rock cairns, ancient quarries, and tools in the Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument that show that mobility was a

¹⁰ Governing bodies officially named the Native people in the Sonoran Desert the Papago, but the Nation rejected this name and replaced it with the now-used Tohono O'odham.

fundamental part of their existence, and indeed the only way that they could survive in the Sonoran Desert. Two of these ancient trails still exist today within the boundaries of Organ Pipe. Walkers can still follow the trail of El Camino del Diablo, which people passed through in the 1840s and 1850s seeking gold. A migratory route also still stands; created by the Tohono O’odham people on pilgrimage for salt, it leads to Mount Ajo and Quitobaquito Springs in Organ Pipe (See Appendix A) (Bassett 2004). They are all now shadow-sites because when the U.S. government created Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument through presidential proclamation in 1937, Native interaction with the land virtually halted. Instead, the National Park Service erased Native trails and replaced them with hiking trails. Similar to the nomadic space seen in Israel, the space of Organ Pipe was also liminal. However, at its conception into nature and thus state-control, both space and movement became bounded in the monument.

However, in the late 20th century, migratory trails, built for economic and social reasons, would appear again. Every year thousands of migrant people walk across the border into the United States of America. Though there is no way to find out each individual reason for migrating, they are broadly looking for work and security.

There are certain constraints, though, to the mobility of a contemporary migrant: lacking documentation they are subject to U.S. state violence that attempts to keep them out at all costs. They enter a territory that reflects a bounded social order where they are not meant to *be*. As Cresswell writes in his analysis of the State and mobility, “Citizens, allowed to move freely, depend on the noncitizens, the aliens who are not free to move in the same way” (Cresswell 2006, 15). They are at the bottom of the social order, while simultaneously elevating the citizen to the top: for citizenry freedom and privilege comes at the expense of constrained freedom and oppression. In order to secure a territory, the

state enforces boundaries, an act that has violent implications (Delaney 2005). Not just the citizen, but also the hiking citizen moves freely because the migrant is not free to move. Instead, the migrant and hiker experience two radically oppositional versions of mobility – walking being one of them.

Yet, what makes Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument unique from the feudal period street or the 17th century garden is that the unequal bodies of migrants and hikers interact within its boundaries. Though they may not necessarily come face-to-face, hikers and migrants can feel the others presence through paths, Border Patrol infrastructure, trash,¹¹ and NPS signs. Often, it is the invisibility of the migrant's movement that amplifies the anxiety of hikers, environmentalists, and anti-immigrant allies (Ray 2010). As seen in the case of Bedouin nomads, movement through place is morally suspect, and invisible movement is especially unnerving for the state.

It is for this reason that Cresswell argues that migrants are a disruption to the place-bound order of the world (Cresswell 2006). They *transgress* borders despite efforts to bound and segregate space. Their mobility is both threatened and threatening. Their identity means that they are vulnerable to death, detention, and deportation. However, there is something else at work when migrants move by the power of their feet. Efforts by the state to make their movement legible and constrained are slowly struggled against with every fence they cross and every wall they jump. Through walking, migrants transgress to varying degrees the privatization of space and state boundaries. Just like de Certeau's urban pedestrian, walking bodies on the border move on impulse and remake the state's construction of space.

¹¹ See Juanita Sundberg's (2008) compelling article on trash and boundary making

But Organ Pipe Cactus is not a typical public space; asymmetries of power are imbedded in the landscape and in popular discourse, leading citizens to distrust strangers and migrants to risk violence. With every move of “resistance” by a migrant, the State, Border Patrol, and xenophobic citizens increase the militarization of the border and put migrant bodies at greater risk.

By following the historical arc of walking throughout time and comparing different stories of walking, such as Shehadah’s experience in Israel, it is clear that there is an intimate relationship between walking bodies and state control. An understanding of how states regulate walking spaces illuminates Organ Pipe Cactus as a definitive example of a state-regulated territory. However, walking is built on the idea of transgression, on crossing paths and borders. For this reason, Organ Pipe, as a site of nomadic walking, both contests and is reflexive of state-control.

Forty years ago, Illich insisted that space was undergoing rapid privatization through the increase in individualized, private transport (Illich 1974). Thirty years ago, de Certeau feared that a post-pedestrian city would create a lifeless and anti-democratic society (de Certeau 1984). Then thirteen years ago, Solnit claimed that the more we shuffle from private interior to private interior, the more we will become disengaged with the landscape and distrust the slow and steady speed of the body (Solnit 2000). Walking is place-specific and reflects complex histories. However, the fear over the loss of walking gets at the same point: in order for us to resist the bounding of space, urban or natural, and maintain the right to access the land, we must walk.

Chapter Three

A Wilderness Sanctuary: The Construction of Nature in Organ Pipe Cactus

“‘Prehistoric’ Land Made A Reserve,” wrote *The New York Times* on April 17th, 1937, announcing to its readers the creation, four days earlier, of Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument in Arizona. Underneath the sub headline (“Still as it was Eons Ago”) followed a description of the new monument: “About 330,690 acres in Arizona, comprising ‘a desert country so waterless and formidable that it has rarely been visited by white men’ has been made a perpetual government preserve by proclamation of the President” (New York Times, April 17, 1937).

As the article implies, Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument was created as a sanctuary for nature: a place where people of a particular type could visit and appreciate wilderness. This article, alongside other historical documentation of the National Park Service’s conception of Organ Pipe as a natural space, inspires this chapter. Here, I focus on the founding of Organ Pipe’s nature and on its early decades as a national monument. Unpacking the historical geography of nature in Organ Pipe, and locating its becoming, is essential to laying the groundwork for the rest of my project. Therefore, in this chapter I ask, how has nature been created in Organ Pipe and who and what does it include and protect? What does this say about the intersection of nature, nation, and bodies? I first examine the particular historical moment that supported the creation of nature across the United States. Then, I move into the space of Organ Pipe to explore how its nature was imagined and therefore preserved.

Creating a Wilderness Ideology

Before nature had taken hold of the American imagination, U.S. citizens were

uneasy about the non-utilitarian preservation of large tracts of land. In response, government and conservationists took on the construction of a wilderness ideology so that the creation of nature would be not only justified, but also celebrated, in the eyes of U.S. citizens. The first project of wilderness creation, then, was building and fortifying such an ideology.

Wilderness, in the American imagination, has a number of different foundations. Some say that wilderness was even constructed unintentionally. For example, Binnema (2006) argues, through his case study of Banff National Park in Canada, that the construction of national parks was not originally about preserving wilderness in Canada, but instead rooted in the interest of game conservation, sport hunting, tourism, and the State's efforts to civilize aboriginal society. Canadian conservationists condemned subsistence hunting and agricultural practices because of their associations as threats to sport hunting as well as tourism. In pursuit of progress, conservationists preached nature reserves that were *free of people* - ironically so that other people could come to hunt and visit. It was only later that conservationists would realize that they had created wilderness.

In the United States, in Yellowstone National Park in Wyoming and in Adirondack Park in New York, some claim that wilderness was preserved unintentionally as well (Nash 2001: 108). Initial advocates fought for a national park in Yellowstone, which was created in 1872, in order to prevent the private acquisition of geysers, hot springs, and waterfalls. In the case of the Adirondacks, advocates sought to preserve the water supply that led into New York City. Only much later would people see the establishment of these parks as a preservation of *wilderness*. Even later would people come to celebrate the creation of wilderness as arguably the most significant results of the national park system (Nash 2001: 108).

While tourism, game conservation, and the protection against privatization were worthy justifications for American citizens, ideology had to support the idea that wilderness preservation *alone* would be enough to reserve large tracts of land. These non-utilitarian arguments for the bounding off of nature, i.e. that wilderness in and of itself needed protection, only took shape in the very late 19th century, swinging into full force in the 20th century. As seen in the last chapter, the Romantic Movement was largely responsible for the transformation of nature in the American imagination, grabbing hold of walking and nature simultaneously. Nash called it the Primitivism or Romantic complex, whereby coming into the 1930s, conservationists and Romantics idealized cultures nearer to what they considered “savagery of a previous age in which they believed all men led a simpler and better existence” (Nash 2001: 47). The preservation of wilderness, in their minds, could achieve such results for the American public.

While, the 19th century saw the rise to the concept of Manifest Destiny, which was the belief that American settlers were destined to expand throughout the continent, nature was also seen as a nationalist trump. One early U.S. author and self-described patriot wrote, “this is the country where nature reigns in her virgin beauty ... this is the land to study nature in all her luxuriant charms ... to feel your soul expand under the mighty influences of nature in her primitive beauty and strength!” (Nash 2001: 74). In a historical moment when the United States was beginning to assert its national and colonial authority, pristine and primitive nature became a source of pride that citizens held on to, thus weaving together nationalist triumph with wilderness ideology.

Significantly, as the ideology of preservation spread to many different countries and continents, the government in Mexico in the 1930s adhered to contrasting values in the creation of their park system compared to that of the United States of America.

Mexico endeavored to have maximum participation in future parks by placing many national natures in urban areas and including landowners in the decision making process. For this reason, the Mexico park system has significantly more visitors than the United States (Wakild 2009).

Meanwhile, the movement towards conservation in the United States was fueled by values that eschewed access, particularly because humans were viewed as outside the realm of what constituted nature. Instead, U.S. conservationists highlighted size: the more land they could conserve the better. The U.S. government parceled off large spaces often at the periphery of populated areas, despite the fact that many U.S. citizens would not have access to these spaces (Wakild 2009). The decisions of the government and the conservationists at the time reflected the values of the privileged class, in other words, those with greater mobility. To this day, access to monetary resources regulates who can appreciate nature. More, the state hoped that through restricting access to natural spaces, it would guarantee that humans would remain temporary visitors, and preserve the pristine-quality of nature preserves.

The ideology of wilderness promoted this separation between wild nature and people (Nash 2001: 126). John Muir was behind such values, and was, more than anyone, the founder of the U.S. conservation movement. With a fierce pride of nature and nation, Muir claimed that the love of wild Nature was in every one and it could inspire and refresh citizens. Nature was the fountain of life, he claimed; and in one of his most famous quotes, he said, “wildness is a necessity” (quoted in Nash 2001: 140). Muir inspired the idea that nature goes beyond its material implications, ideas that the National Park Service and conservationists would continue to invoke after his death. In large part, Muir himself produced the idea that nature was a spiritual space where wildness and

primitivism prevail. Hoping to incite action through his ideology, Muir argued that it was the role of humans to “protect” nature for the nation and to check those who wanted to “exploit” it (Nash 2001: 126).

The Creation of a Monument

Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument was born in congruence with American wilderness ideology. However, before the space that is now Organ Pipe became anything else, it first had to be converted into territory. Over the course of 150 years, the U.S. government bounded and attributed meaning to Organ Pipe Cactus, one that was part and parcel of the nation-building project. In order to do this, various inhabitants had to cede their land to the U.S. Government: Organ Pipe’s land was included in the Gadsden Purchase of 1854, a nearly 30,000 acre region in southern Arizona and southwest New Mexico that was bought by the United States from Mexico in a treaty signed by James Gadsden and ratified by President Pierce.¹² The Gadsden Purchase is an infamous example of U.S. imperialism (Luna-Firebaugh 2002) as the “purchase” included half of the Tohono O’odham traditional homelands, as well as land inhabited by other Native groups and Mexican citizens, who became U.S. subjects overnight.

If people were living and benefiting off the land, what were the motivations, then, to turn the Sonoran Desert into a nature preserve? A description by the National Park Service in 1956 of the “modern visitor,” serves as a clue to how the creators of the monument were imagining Organ Pipe:

He [sic] comes today, largely for relaxation it is true, but he also comes for diversion, for fulfillment of subconscious desires, to satisfy his curiosity. His spirit is as that of old - adventure; a burning to view new, distant scenes.

¹² Mexico was under pressure from the U.S. government, as Gadsden had orders to threaten an invasion and if Mexico didn’t “agree” to cede their land. See Martinez (2006) for more on this.

He seeks to ‘discover’ or to see things ‘as they were.’ In these respects our modern visitor differs little from those men of yesterday. Man's [sic] fascination with wilderness does not die. (Mission 66 proposal at Organ Pipe, 1956)

In this explanation of a visitor's presence in nature, being in nature is about adventure, desire, discovery, and fulfillment. The NPS' desire, and their interpretation of nature as discovery and adventure – as a place that needed to be *preserved* for the benefit of the nation – motivated the creation of Organ Pipe. Such descriptions by those that ran the monument point to the fact that nature in Organ Pipe was not just a place, but also an ideology.

Through the promotion of ideology, Organ Pipe was justified as a place worthy of pristine nature – despite human presence in the land. The creation of Organ Pipe was fueled by an off-shoot of the movement led by Muir: concerned with the human destruction of nature, conservationists and government officials sought to limit what they saw as humanity's destructive tendencies by preserving the United States' vast *resources* for their scientific quality. The NPS had to pursue a justification for the reservation of Organ Pipe and its large plots of land that would move beyond its spiritual and aesthetic qualities because while some explorers found Quitobaquito “to be a verdant oasis of cultivated desert in the midst of an arid expanse” (Lissoway 2004: 13), many found the scorching and dry desert to be less welcoming.

In addition, local residents were pushing back on the necessity of a nature reserve, knowing that their livelihood practices would be challenged (Lissoway 2004). Therefore, the NPS' proposal to create Organ Pipe Cactus focused in large part on its scientific significance, drawing on the non-human to support its conservationist goals. For example, the NPS wrote: “disease, domestic livestock, and humans have increasingly encroached

upon the habitat of the desert bighorn sheep. Their survival is uncertain” (Environmental Assessment 1975). By appealing to an anxiety over the loss of a “native” species, the NPS furthered their goals of conservation.

For a while before it chose Organ Pipe Cactus, the National Park Service was searching for a site to build a national monument of scientific quality. In the 1930s, the NPS assigned Edwin McKee, a park naturalist at Grand Canyon National Park, to be the point person in finding potential sites. He corresponded with ecologists in the area, in order to find the most suitable – and most scientific – site for the park. The following is an excerpt from one of these letter correspondences between McKee and Dr. Forrest Shreve, an ecologist and technician in the Desert Laboratory in Tucson, AZ at the time.

You may recall that when I discussed with you this past March 'areas which might be suitable for the establishment of a National Monument featuring desert vegetation,' you mentioned a section somewhere in the vicinity of Sells on the Papago Indian Reservation. The Washington office of the Park Service is now anxious to investigate this area. Will you please, therefore, locate it as closely as possible for me? (McKee, 11 May 1931).

McKee heavily emphasized the site as a place featuring desert vegetation. Forrest Shreve responded with the coordinates of a rather large selection of land, even detailing, “it is in the valley that the giant cactus forms such a fine forest” (Shreve, 16 May 1931). Of utmost importance, was the preservation of an area with unique desert vegetation, and this prerequisite was stressed throughout the founding process of Organ Pipe.

My research, then, suggests that the non-human, in the form of the Organ Pipe Cactus plant itself, was a main factor in the making of the monument (Sundberg 2011). Without such actors, the NPS would not have been able to justify a reserve. Later that year, with the NPS appropriately invoking the non-human as a necessary component of a park, as well as emphasizing the benefit to the future of the nation, McKee prepared a

memorandum to the National Park Service, with Shreve's recommendations. This was the first conception of Organ Pipe Cactus as a conservation entity (Lissoway 2004: 20).

Four years later, in 1935, the National Park Service published an official proposal for the monument. In it, the Service laid out the principal purpose and considerations for the monument, which were all grounded in the alleged benefits that would be incurred by non-human actors. First and most important, according to the proposal, was that the monument would preserve the Organ Pipe Cactus, "the second largest and most spectacular species of cactus in the United States," which is rarely found north of the U.S.-Mexico boundary. The second benefit would be that it would protect the Mountain Sheep. The third was the monument would encompass desert plant and animal life generally. Furthermore, the proposal explained, "The scenery however would not, taken alone, justify the establishment of a national monument. The justification must be sought in the flora and fauna" (NPS Proposal 1935).

It would seem that such flora and fauna had been solidified when President Franklin D. Roosevelt finally created the National Monument on April 13, 1937 under the conditions that "certain public lands in the State of Arizona contain historic landmarks, and have situated thereon various objects of historic and scientific interest" (Roosevelt, Proclamation 2232). This federal decree cemented the idea of Organ Pipe Cactus as nature, and it was immediately incorporated into the National Park Service system.

However, the organization and framing of the monument by the federal government and the National Park Service did not end with the proclamation. These actors continued to build Organ Pipe, materially and ideologically, well into the 21st century. Significantly, once Organ Pipe was written into law, the NPS greatly expanded

its purpose to emphasize the spiritual and nationalistic components of national parks, as seen in the NPS proclamation above. So, a combination of non-human and human significance would be used from 1937 onward to justify the park. The following are excerpts from various publications by the National Park Service in regards to Organ Pipe:

By experiencing some of the same conditions which molded it, one gains a better appreciation of the pioneering spirit of the old west (from the 1962 NPS Master Plan)

The solitude and seeming emptiness provide an indefinable mood which grips the visitor and whets his imagination (from the 1962 NPS Master Plan)

[Organ Pipe is part of an] unspoiled wilderness condition (from the 1965 National Park Proposal, 29)

[Organ Pipe is the] most valuable natural laboratory for the study of desert ecology (from the 1975 NPS master plan)

The fact that Organ Pipe brought with it old west artifacts, solitude, unspoiled wilderness, and unique desert ecology was always integral to its justification as a monument. Indeed, the NPS invoked in Organ Pipe a history of U.S. pioneering achievement, as well as solidified the future of American success through its valuable desert ecology.

After it was created through national legislation, Organ Pipe Cactus was the object of numerous other measures of control and configuration. More than anything, the National Park Service imagined its duty as one that particularly involved “control” of activities, bodies, and species. In one monument proposal, for example, the authors wrote,

[It] is desirable that this area be reserved as a national monument in order that it be properly controlled. Without control, haphazard blazing of desert roads, fruitless mining ventures, wholesale removal of interesting cacti and other desert plants and unrestricted slaughter of Mountain Sheep will be the rule (1935 Park Proposal, NPS).

Therefore, a myriad of projects were pursued in the hope that they would secure management of the land and its nature.

An initial example of such efforts by the National Park Service was to solidify Organ Pipe's boundaries and to inaugurate Organ Pipe as a nature enclosure. Soon after the monument was created, Lissoway writes that the Park Service wanted to fence the monument in order to "gain a measure of physical and symbolic control over the land" (Lissoway 2004: 40). Fencing, the NPS argued, would deter hunting and woodcutting, limit grazing to certain areas of Organ Pipe, and altogether discourage trespassing onto monument lands. Thus, in the 1940s, the NPS summoned the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) to build a fence. The CCC, a key labor source for public land management agencies across the nation during the Great Depression, set up camp under the United States Grazing Service and worked on the fence for a few months. However, due to WWII, the fence was halted for quite a few years. In January of 1947, the fence was still not complete when Mexico witnessed an outbreak of Hoof and Mouth disease. The National Park Service's urgency to create a barrier along the southern border was further amplified with the thought that Mexican cattle might cross the boundary and infect American cattle, and so the fence was finally completed in December 26, 1947. Upon its completion, the NPS regional director at the time celebrated, claiming that the new barrier would "settle once and for all the trouble of trespass on the Organ Pipe Cactus boundary" (Lissoway 2004: 43).

Once the fence was complete, the NPS pursued other methods to protect and control nature in the monument. In 1956, the NPS in alliance with the U.S. government created a new program called Mission 66 with the aim to expand visitor services in the park system. In the case of Organ Pipe, Mission 66 focused on solidifying infrastructure in order to protect nature invariably: road improvement, trail systems, campgrounds, stores and cafeterias, and visitor services as a means to prescribe the enjoyment of the citizenry

of the newly created nature. It professed above all wisest use, coupled with maximum enjoyment and maximum protection, drawing on the nationalist spirit of the time by appealing to “the people of the Nation” (1956 ORPI Mission 66).

It, too, took as the utmost priority the protection of wilderness through methods of control:

The preservation of the wilderness quality in its entirety *demands constant vigil* against any of those factors which would be detrimental or destructive to its wildlife and vegetation; to its irreplaceable features of natural and historic value; and to encroachment upon its aesthetic qualities. *To these ends development, use and management must be governed by limitations and controls.* (1956 ORPI Mission 66, emphasis mine)

Echoing the writings of John Muir, the NPS thus elevated itself to guardians of Organ Pipe’s irreplaceable nature. What followed was an increased fascination with the control of nature and what was included in it. Further emphasizing the NPS’ obsession with control of ecology and nation, the NPS wrote in Mission 66 that it would provide the facilities and services necessary for the benefit of visitors *only to the extent* that the safeguard of the natural features “that give the area its prestige of national significance” would be ensured (1956 ORPI Mission 66).

Control of nature and nature activities were also deeply tied to control of humans. While it regulated boundaries and activities in the monument, NPS also ensured that visitors to the monument fit the coordinates of the pristine wilderness. The NPS construed the Tohono O’odham people in particular as both a benefit as well as a complication to the nature of Organ Pipe. Robert Toll, the superintendent of Yellowstone National Park in 1931, was appointed to determine which sections of Arizona desert would be worthy of monument status. In examining the Sonoran Desert, Toll argued for a nature preserve on the Tohono O’odham reservation, under the belief that Native

American presence would provide “added interest” to the monument, even though he thought that the Tohono O’odham “had lost most of the picturesqueness they may have had” due to settler presence in the land. Further, Toll hoped that the NPS might help restore their “Indianess,” therefore making them an added feature of any reserve (Lissoway 2004: 23). Overall, Toll believed that O’odham presence would contribute to nature and the natural feeling of the preserve and act as a marketable feature of the park, therefore attracting visitors. Later on, due to Tohono O’odham protest as well as a changing conception of nature, Toll would drop his claim and sought out instead to build a “pristine wilderness.”

After the NPS formulated Organ Pipe as pristine nature, the NPS’ next step was to configure a relationship with the Tohono O’odham. For centuries before, it was a common practice for the O’odham people to celebrate the New Year by migrating to monument lands and picking the ripened Organ Pipe Cactus fruit in May. When he founded the monument, Roosevelt maintained the right of the O’odham to pick these fruits (Roosevelt, Proclamation 2232). Despite a general disregard for any livelihood activities in nature, the NPS would learn to spin the fruit ripening into a “natural activity.”¹³ In doing so, the NPS turned the fruit-harvesting season into a tourist grab. In one document, the Service writes, “the local Indian cultures, from the dim past to the present time, are also based upon the saguaro, and the primitive native way of life still persists little changed, with religion, customs, and well-being directly influenced by this giant cactus” (Sonora Desert National Park Proposal 1965: 17). Such activities were deemed as adequately primitive to continue within monument boundaries. In addition, as

¹³ Though I do not know exactly why the NPS would assimilate fruit harvesting into their mission, I can speculate that they had no choice because of laws such as the 1978 American Indian Religious Freedom Act, which guaranteed the rights of Native people to pursue traditional practices.

fruit ripening only happened once a year, the Tohono O’odham were only temporary visitors and so their movement did not endanger Organ Pipe’s pristine wilderness. Under these circumstances, the NPS considered O’odham bodies to be welcome.¹⁴

Alongside controlling human relationships in the monument in order to maintain stability, the NPS sought to fortify the concept of wilderness itself. Due to pressure from environmentalist organizations that wanted to further the preservation of nature, in 1964, congress passed the Wilderness Act and Lyndon B. Johnson signed it into law, which created a legal definition of wilderness and protected vast amounts of land from harmful human activity. Congress defined wilderness as “an area where the earth and its community of life are untrammelled by man [sic], where man himself is a visitor who does not remain” and if the land “generally appears to have been affected primarily by the forces of nature, with the imprint of man's [sic] work substantially unnoticeable” (Wilderness Act 1964). Thirteen years later, in 1977, Congress declared 95 percent of the Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument to be a “wilderness area” under the conditions of the Wilderness Act.¹⁵ Through this legislation, mining and cattle grazing were officially banned and the idea of Organ Pipe as official wilderness was cemented into law.

Through extensive governmental decrees, the National Park Service (NPS) and environmentalist organizations have drastically shaped the landscape of Arizona. The NPS was transparent in their fight for three things in order to ensure pristine nature for future generations of the nation: protection (through law and practice), control, and

¹⁴ We will see in the next chapter that Tohono O’odham bodies were much less welcome when they engaged in other activities.

¹⁵ Even into 1997, NPS officials were attempting to increase the amount of wilderness in Organ Pipe under the Wilderness Act. NPS presented numerous park proposals, which would combine a number of wildlife cites in the area into a 1,242,000 acre Sonoran Desert National Park (Sonoran Desert National Park Proposal 1965).

enclosure of nature. Through these activities, the NPS asserted its power over the territory and made it legible for future visitors and scientists.

The NPS also effectively engaged in the nation-building project, whether implicitly or explicitly. Throughout the proposals, the NPS emphasized Organ Pipe's purpose as contributing unique desert ecology for the future generations of the United States. In other words, the space itself would be a bounded and timeless specimen of the U.S. nation. However, sometimes, the NPS appealed to national sentiment unambiguously. The follow excerpt from one NPS document about Organ Pipe Cactus illustrates the connection between nature and nation: "The visitor will benefit from his wilderness experience; and his country will, in turn, benefit from his widened horizon" (Mission 66 proposal at Organ Pipe, 1956). Through this rhetoric, the NPS expressed the reciprocal relationship between nature's benefit to citizenry and nature's benefit to the nation. The assumption was that Organ Pipe as a natural space would inspire visitors and this inspiration would continue to serve the nation through a newfound pride for the United States. In imagining nature, the NPS, as an arm of the U.S. government, always already was imagining the nation.

Organ Pipe Cactus was born in the cradle of the American wilderness ideology, stemming from the work of John Muir and his successors: a place that is free of humans and (certain) economic activities. It is a place where visitors escape to momentarily "for fulfillment of subconscious desires, to satisfy [their] curiosity" (Mission 66 proposal at Organ Pipe, 1956) but where humans do not remain (Wilderness Act 1964). The official purpose of the monument, which was most recently laid out in the superintendent's report in 2010, is a testament to how the National Park Service imagines nature and in particular the nature of the park:

1. Perpetuate for future generations a representative sample of the natural and cultural resources of the Sonoran Desert and provide for public understanding, safe use, and enjoyment of the same
2. Serve as a natural lab for understanding and managing the Sonoran Desert ecosystem
3. Serve as a baseline indicator against which environmental changes can be identified
4. Preserve for future use and enjoyment the character and values of this designated wilderness (Baiza 2010, 4)

Here, the NPS proclaims that Organ Pipe exists to protect outdoor historic and scientific artifacts and preserve the wilderness for future use. In doing so, it once again invokes non-human actors as a major justification of the land. However, there is a clear contradiction in the NPS' purpose: the NPS justified the exclusion of humans by calling for the protection of non-humans, such as the Quitobaquito pupfish. Without humans as their protectors, the NPS exclaims, desert ecology could never survive.

Chapter Four

Excluding the Ecological Other: The Construction of Anti-nature in the Monument

The last chapter was a re-telling of the history of the monument through the eyes of the National Park Service. However, ominously missing from its stories are the social and human aspects of nature; the NPS especially avoids revealing the ways in which nature was constructed through the exclusion of undesired elements. In other words, the creation and protection of Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument as pristine wilderness incorporated the making of anti-nature, which I define as the species, objects, people, and activities that are deemed undesirable in, and conceived of as ecologically destructive to, nature. Though the NPS intentionally understated these exclusionary efforts, sometimes it was obvious; in the 1975 Environmental Assessment and Master Plan for Organ Pipe, the NPS listed all the next steps for the park:

1. Eliminate grazing in order to restore the land to its natural condition
 2. Eliminate mining from all monument lands, as all mining operations are incompatible with preservation of the monument's resources
 3. Close 97 miles of unimproved dirt roads, mining roads, jeep trails
 4. Manage Quitobaquito springs for their historical and natural interpretive values.
 5. Eliminate or control exotic aquatic and terrestrial species
- (Environmental Assessment Proposed Master Plan 1975, NPS)

The above list of livelihood activities, roads, and species that necessitated “elimination,” illuminates the fundamental tensions imbedded in the making of Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument. In order for nature to exist, the NPS had to eliminate, close, manage, and control; to become nationalized Organ Pipe had to dispossess Native people; to become pristine it had to prohibit grazing and mining in the monument. In an attempt to decipher the understories of Organ Pipe’s creation, I ask: how has nature’s antithesis,

anti-nature, been constructed in the park? What does this say about the intersection of the construction of (un)nature, space and the mobility of human bodies? I answer these questions by first providing an overview of the exclusionary methods of the national park system generally, and then focusing in on the creation of anti-nature in Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument itself.

The creation of Organ Pipe Cactus is historically grounded in the phenomenon of which Eric Swyngedouw (1999) titles “socionature.” He argues that spaces and discourses that cling to the term nature, like Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument, should not be conceived as such. Rather, they are a hybrid in composition: part natural and part social, fused together in a way that makes the natural and the social deeply intertwined and absolutely inseparable. The social part of socionature is made up of a multiplicity of historical geographical relations, processes, and choreographies of power, ones that often intersect with violence (Swyngedouw 1999). His work helps to problematize definitions of wilderness similar to the one that the 1964 Wilderness Act provided:

“A wilderness, in contrast with those areas where man [sic] and his [sic] own works dominate the landscape, is hereby recognized as an area where the earth and community of life are untrammelled by man [sic], where man [sic] himself [sic] is a visitor who does not remain” (The Wilderness Act 1964).

Often, the state and the National Park Service ignored the impacts of *people* inhabiting nature. For example, this act claimed that wilderness was an area untrammelled by humans. Swyngedouw reminds us that the Wilderness Act offered an impossible conception of nature; indeed, nature is a hybrid: social, political, and natural all at once. Organ Pipe Cactus, like most natural spaces, as a socionatural product, is comprised of historical geographical relations, power, and violence.

Due to its multifarious composition, the NPS' construction of Organ Pipe's nature is inseparable from efforts to segregate, exclude, and control the social aspects of the monument. Such efforts are tied to the history of colonial intervention in Organ Pipe Cactus, which has made a heavy imprint on the land: before colonial contact, "nature" did not exist. Instead, the space resembled Massey's (2005) claim: it was heterogeneous, processual, unbounded. It was also unexplored by the (colonizing) American imagination. I draw from a post-colonial methodology, as seen in my first chapter, in order to engage with colonialism in this section, invoking Wainwright (2005) in arguing that we cannot understand (postcolonial) spaces "outside of, prior to, or apart from the fact of the colonial experience" (Wainwright 2005: 1034). For this reason, I focus this chapter on the oft-violent becoming of Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument as a space.

Throughout this chapter, Laura Pulido's concept of "ecological legitimacy" (Pulido 1996), as a process that produces an authentic nature, will help us to understand the production of anti-nature through vilifying the other. Pulido defines ecological legitimacy as first, an environmental stewardship that cares for the land in a sustainable manner and, second, practices that derive their legitimacy from the State and those in power (Pulido 1996, 37).¹⁶ Ecological legitimacy's inverse is anti-nature and the ecological other: that which has no legitimacy under the state.

The ecological other is intertwined into an already marginalized identity: national governments and environmentalists have often assumed that the poor of the world are threats to the environment because of their non-normative and non-State sanctioned land use policies, illegible mobility, specific grazing practices, and general moral shortcoming

¹⁶ Further, since legitimacy is obtained through access to power, every effort to delimit authenticity is suspicious (Pulido 1996).

(Pulido 1996, 46). If ecological legitimacy is associated with a particular kind of environmental stewardship, then immigrants, Hispano citizens, and other targeted social groups are seen as ecologically illegitimate because their bodies and activities do not conform to U.S. sanctioned stewardship norms.¹⁷ As I will examine throughout this chapter, these are the bodies that threaten nature.

Exclusion in National Parks

The production of national parks in general is wed, like nature, to processes of exclusion and control. The National Park System is not a compilation of “wild natures.” Rather, Organ Pipe, alongside Yosemite and many other national parks, are places of colonial dispossession. The romanticized notion of nature dreamed up by early conservationists, as open and “park-like” landscapes, were landscapes that were in fact cultivated by the agency of Native American tribes to insure a sustainable existence (Neumann 2004, 196). As the United States grew, the U.S. government “cleansed” the land of its people and bounded the (socio)nature of vast expanses of the continent and labeled it wilderness (Nash 2001; Spence 1996). Such activities show the ways in which parks have been the tools of dispossession in a process of colonization of land and people.

In the nineteenth century, explorers boasted of the conquest of wilderness as a way to build up the nation. America’s Manifest Destiny called for the “occupation of wild territory” in order to replace the “savage yell” with the “songs of Zion” (Nash 2001: 42). Pioneers conceived of themselves as agents in the transformation of the ungodly and primitive into a pristine and proud American wilderness and civilization (Nash 2001: 43,

¹⁷ Because of nature’s ties to racism and colonialism, it is no surprise that historically marginalized people, such as Latinos and African Americans, continue into the contemporary to have a complicated relationship with the environment. For more on this topic, see (Finney 2006; Weber 2012), have discussed the reasons that disadvantaged groups rarely visit National Parks in the United States. See also (Virden 1999; Johnson 2004; Finney 2006), who debunk the myth that minority populations care less about the environment

67), where free white men protect nature. One explorer emphasized the significance of nature in the American history of the frontier, stating “it appears then that the universal disposition of Americans to emigrate to the western wilderness, in order to enlarge their dominion over inanimate nature, is the actual result of an expansive power which is inherent in them”(quoted in Kosek 2006: 150). In other words, the settling of the frontier produced a strong, superior, white nation.

During the nation’s founding, notions of whiteness and innate superiority were deeply connected to the production of nature. In the 19th century, it was the “destiny” of whites to “manifest” their “inherent” tendencies to expand and settle in the West (Kosek 2006: 154). Race and racism were used in the production of nature to show who belonged in nature, and who did not. Since white, male bodies were the conquerors of nature, they would come to embody the new “natural” citizen. Though wilderness is by no means inherently racist, notions of nature hide behind these racial and colonial histories (Kosek 2006: 180). In turn, racism is imbedded in the environmental and conservationist movement.

Indeed, people like John Muir, who were overtly racist at times and products of the nation’s racism, were at the forefront of these movements. Their impulse to create and protect national wilderness areas flowed directly from the perceived need to differentiate and protect the “pure” from the “polluted,” the “natural,” from the “unnatural”: parks themselves accommodating segregation. These ideas were in turn converted onto bodies, i.e. “pure” racial bodies needed protection from racialized immigrant bodies (Kosek 2006: 155). While the nation’s environment came to embody white nationalism through the work of conservationists like Muir, the process of excluding anti-nature was always present as the fear of nature’s contamination by polluting bodies

was deeply tied to the fear of the nation's own degradation. In this way, nature and nation were both tied to racism and colonialism: two processes that necessitated the creation of an unwanted other, or anti-nature.

Those in power in the park system have a monopoly on ecological legitimacy and its anti-thesis, anti-nature. Park officials determine which bodies, activities, and objects should rightfully influence nature and which should be excluded. In order to understand this process with all of its nuances, I now shift my focus onto the space of Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument and its efforts to exclude, eliminate, and control.

Anti-nature in Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument

Despite the *New York Times*' 1937 claims that the land of the monument was "still as it was eons ago" (New York Times, April 17, 1937), Native people, people of Mexican descent and Anglo citizens occupied the land of Organ Pipe Cactus a long time before 1937, pursued economic activity there, and in doing so continually reconfigured the landscape (Greene 1977; NPS Final General Management Plan 1997; Lissoway 2004). In fact, most of the language that was used in conjunction with Organ Pipe was flawed. For example, in the 1935 proposal for the park, one explorer wrote, "without going into the records for verification, it is understood that there is only one or two settlers in the proposed area, and a few mining claims" (United States, 1935). Often language of pristine wilderness was invoked, even though the NPS knew this to be false (for example, see Sonoran Desert National Park Proposal 1965).

People did occupy the space of Organ Pipe. In particular, Native people's interactions with the land often revolved around the maintenance of their livelihoods. Starting as early as 1500BC, Hohokam people passed through the landscape of Organ

Pipe for the annual salt pilgrimage, where they would mine and carry rock salt from the shores of the Gulf of California (See Appendix A Map 3) back to their homes in the Arizona desert, a quest driven by religion as well as sustenance. Into the 20th century, the Tohono O’odham would follow in the same footsteps of the Hohokam people, carrying salt across the desert (Greene 1977, 11). They would also interact with the land of the monument during the annual ripening of the saguaro and organ pipe cactus, which was a major part of their diet.

The Tohono O’odham is one group of people who were excluded in the making of Organ Pipe. When the explorers and colonists arrived in the Arizona desert, the space of Organ Pipe reflected the colonization and bounding of Native people. While in chapter three I include some instances when Tohono O’odham traditional interests lined up with the goals of the Park Service and thus were permitted, more often than not, state officials in Arizona sought to restrict the activities and mobility of the Tohono O’odham. Starting in the 20th century, following the example of other National Parks, the state implemented programs that would dispossess the Tohono O’odham of their traditional livelihoods. A foreshadowing to the impending restrictions, the U.S. Customs Service banned the O’odham salt pilgrimage in 1930 on the pretense that they crossed the U.S.-Mexico boundary with an “illegal” resource. This was seven years before the advent of the National Monument.¹⁸

In the last chapter, I analyzed the problematic way that some conservationists conceived Native people: For example, Toll hoped that Tohono O’odham living in the new monument could contribute an “added interest” for touristic voyeurism (Lissoway

¹⁸ Nonetheless, many Tohono O’odham people still make the journey across the border defying the Customs ban in the name of traditional practices (Greene 1977:11).

2004: 24). His quote is an exemplary manifestation of the racist and colonial undertones of nature management discussed in Kosek (2006). Though Toll's ideas were dismissed, the NPS would still go on to dispossess Native residents of their land in the monument, again an act of colonial bounding of people. In particular NPS sought to manage and thus push out people who inhabited Quitobaquito Springs. For some time, the NPS recognized that Jose Juan Orosco, the sole Hia Ced O'odham resident in the springs, had advanced knowledge of the management and maintenance of the spring's ecology. They allowed Orosco to live and graze his animals at the spring for 20 years after the creation of the park.

However, the National Park Service would come to realize that in order for tourists to be attracted to Organ Pipe as a "pristine desert wilderness," they would have to remove *all* subsistence activities that ran counter to this ideal. As such, in 1954 the National Park Service (NPS) decided that Quitobaquito should truly become uninhabited wilderness. After Jose's death, the NPS bought the grazing, farming, and squatter's rights to the land in 1957 from the last O'odham occupant, Jim Orosco, the son of Jose, for \$13,000 (Bassett 2004). Since that day, the federal government has held the title for all the land in the park and in 1975, listed the control of the Springs under the number four top goals for the park in 1975: "Manage Quitobaquito springs for their historical and natural interpretive values" (Environmental Assessment Proposed Master Plan 1975, NPS).

Quitobaquito Springs is indeed a microcosm of the production of nature. The springs was never a site of pristine wilderness, indeed it is a *man-made* spring; however, it would become "nature" through the efforts of the National Park Service. Before the NPS' contact with the land, indigenous people practiced irrigation and traditional, human-focused ecological management for millennia at Quitobaquito. Such indigenous practices

did not just influence the landscape, but in many ways, it was through the agency of the Native people that cultural and biological diversity was maintained. This would all shift when the NPS took over management of the reserve in 1954. The NPS, through restoration and preservation efforts and a cultural cleansing of O’odham cultural management practices, also removed the vitality of the site and brought about a great loss in ecological diversity and dynamic vegetative growth (Nabhan 2003). Even into the 1970s, one conservationist wrote in a letter, “The Quitobaquito situation has turned into a comedy of errors. Management is badly needed, to protect them from both adverse public-use patterns and park planners”(McCoy 1971). Ironically, it was not the ecological other that damaged Quitobaquito, but rather it was through the removal of professed “anti-natural” activities and the implementation of state-sanctioned policies that the NPS really damaged the ecology of Quitobaquito. Clearly, the architects of nature have woven contradictions into the fabric of the park system, somewhat haphazardly labeling activities natural and unnatural to the benefit of neither human nor non-human actors.

The National Park Service would go through a similar process in order to eliminate grazing at Organ Pipe Cactus, the number one priority listed on the 1975 environmental assessment document at the beginning of the chapter (Environmental Assessment Proposed Master Plan 1975, NPS). Before the NPS’ presence in the Arizona desert, ranching and mining dominated the region’s economy. Even limited use of the monument’s land by the Tohono O’odham would change with the advent of these industries. Father Fusebio Francisco Kino, a Jesuit priest, introduced the first cattle to the Tohono O’odham in the 18th century. Other people who traveled through the land, such as those headed towards California gold mines, also brought cattle into the area until it became popular in the late 19th century. Already exclusive legislation in the form of the

Homestead Act of 1860 and the 1877 Desert Land Act, which were administered only to white, privileged bodies, further increased ranching's popularity in the area, especially due to the monetary federal incentives these acts guaranteed (Greene 1977). Mostly starting after the 1910s, Tohono O'odham and Hispanic, Anglo, Spanish, and Native people alike would keep cattle on the land of what is now the national monument.

With the creation of Organ Pipe, the National Park Service had to negotiate grazing rights with settlers and the O'odham. The elimination of grazing was of paramount importance to the NPS, which appointed ranching as the ultimate anti-nature at the time. Though the local residents had pressured the NPS into permitting limited ranching¹⁹, the NPS continually fought for its removal, citing cattle grazing as one of the most ecologically devastating activities faced by Organ Pipe (Lissoway 2004).

Emphasizing this point, NPS made declarations such as, "elimination of grazing rights and unrestricted mining and prospecting is the key to wilderness and park preservation"(1962 NPS Master Plan) and "grazing could defeat the purpose for which the Monument was established" (Sonora Desert National Park Proposal 1965: 34).

Nonetheless, one local family - the Grays - fought for their rights to graze in the monument into the 1950s. Their attorney reportedly said, "it appears to me that the Park Service is hell-bent, not only to run the Indian, but also the Grays out of the area" (Lissoway 2004: 92). Eventually the NPS would win: all grazing rights were terminated by NPS in 1959. However, it was only in 1975 that all cattle were finally removed from the monument – mostly due to the stubbornness of the Gray family and the federal

¹⁹ Because Organ Pipe is a National Monument, restrictions to livelihood activities are more fluid. Many conservationists wanted to turn Organ Pipe into a National Park, because all non-recreational activities would automatically be banned.

implementation of the Wilderness Act.²⁰ This act officially excluded all independent economic activity in Organ Pipe.

Conservation in Organ Pipe from its creation in 1937 meant protection of natural and historic artifacts, not livelihoods. Not surprisingly, local residents and O'odham reservation residents would come to resent the National Park Service. They felt that the NPS had not adequately or seriously consulted them during the planning process to create the monument (Lissoway 2004: 90). The Tohono O'odham in particular avoided Organ Pipe for this reason, except under the rare instances when they were supported by the NPS: O'odham workers were often hired as temporary laborers for construction and maintenance projects, particularly in the late 1950s and 1960s (Lissoway 2004).

The process of creating anti-nature did not stop with the removal of these early residents. The creation of anti-nature in the park also relied on the control of migrants. Though the media and government officials portray the rise in unauthorized immigration as a contemporary issue, migrants have been crossing the border through the land that is now Organ Pipe at least since the beginning of the 20th century.²¹ Before Mexican migrants, Chinese and Japanese migrants sought out the remote borders in Arizona, as a way to cross into the United States and Border Patrol operations. The U.S.'s response to the Chinese, which was predicated on exclusion, served as an early example of the United States' conception of migrants: The Chinese and Japanese were also seen as invaders harming the nation. Chinese and Japanese migrants often traveled by foot over the El

²⁰ For more on the grazing history of Organ Pipe, see Pinto, Robin. *The History of Ranching at Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument*. Report. Tucson: Desert Southwest and Cooperative Ecosystem Studies Unit, 2009.

²¹ A reminder that the land of the park has only existed as U.S. territory since 1854, with the Gadsden Purchase

Camino del Diablo²², a dangerous journey that they, similar to modern migrants, were also often ill-prepared to take.²³

However, the notion that migrants are harming *nature* alongside nation has become much more pronounced in the contemporary United States. The Monument's 2010 environmental report writes that management concerns have grown away from the elimination of grazing to one focusing instead on illegal immigration (Baiza 2010: 4). Phrases such as "invasion USA," "blemished nature," "city dumps," "parks under siege," and "war zone" have all been used in conjunction with Organ Pipe, whether in anti-immigrant websites, media articles, or in the speeches of politicians and officials, to prove that migrant bodies are destroying nature (Tancredo, H2922 Congressional Hearing 2003; McGivney 2003; Vanderpool 2002; Stregle 2012) Though diverse metaphors, they all point to a sentiment of contamination of nature and nation. Anti-nature, then, encompasses these metaphors and more. Through "unpacking" some of this coded language and metaphors, we see how nature and anti-nature are produced in the context of Organ Pipe.

A review of media items reveals frequent use of three framings: immigrants as unsanitary/trash, immigrants as insurgents, and immigrants as violators of the (national) body. To begin, I review the articles about Organ Pipe Cactus that are laden with references to trash (For example, McGivney 2003; Yang 2003; Stregle 2012). Such phrases as "water jugs are strewn about" and "the trash left behind is everything from cans, bottles to clothes and is measured by the ton"(Stregle 2012) are common in

²² A trail that passes through Quitobaquito Springs and has seen many migrant deaths. See Annerino (2009) and Urrea (2004)

²³ Once they crossed into the United States, citizens vilified Japanese and Chinese migrants in a way that is hauntingly familiar. Claims accusing migrants of depressing wages and working conditions and "having no regard for virtue" were all too common (Gordon 2001, 351).

describing migrants, but journalists make these references without any context, such as the excruciating heat that necessitates a stripping of intimate belongings, or the border policing that have pushed immigrants into “nature” in the first place (Dunn 2009).

The immigrant as trash comparison is not new, but is deeply rooted in history. When the media invokes what Sundberg (2008) calls the poetics of trash and cleanliness, they are acting on stereotypes that have long harmed the bodies of migrants. Seen in the history of the national park system, protection of nature was often tied to notions of purity: “pure” racial bodies needed protection from racialized immigrant bodies (Kosek 2006: 155). Further, Sundberg (2008) argues that the state constructs migrant bodies as the antithesis of U.S. bodies. Since cleanliness and hygiene are markers of belonging to a U.S. identity, migrants inhabit the opposite. Continuous associations between undocumented migrants and trash work, she claims, “to naturalize and even justify the exclusionary measures directed at them. As those who transgress social and political boundaries, of course undocumented migrants 'don't belong in America'” (Sundberg 2008, 887).

A transgression of social and political boundaries is part of what makes migrants trash. Thus, the poetics of trash also implies a ruining of space along with bodies. One news outlet local to the Organ Pipe Cactus area writes, “Some border areas look like city dumps” (Yang, 2003) and one Colorado politician said, “I call it the Organ Pipe Cactus National Dump” (Tancredo, H2919 Congressional Hearing 2003). Here, the comparison between parks and city dumps illuminates a U.S. conception of waste and place. Whereas city dumps, which are mostly located in poor and minority neighborhoods, are supposed to have trash, national parks are not. For this reason, trash and landfills are materializations of anti-nature. Trash, and therefore migrants, threatens the bounded and

pristine space of Organ Pipe. Seeing the “unnatural” within the natural landscape creates anxiety and confusion for U.S. citizens such as Yang. In addition, one of the ways the NPS hopes to help Organ Pipe is through “trash monitoring and clean up” (Baiza 2010: 19).

Often, the media escalates metaphors of migrants from those who trash, to those who actually destroy, often positing immigrant as insurgent. For example, “Nowhere is the border war more intense” writes one hiker and writer, “Caught in the crossfire are a fragile ecosystem, stunned park officials, thousands of desperate migrants, and a dwindling number of backpackers” (McGivney 2003). Or, the “park is being trampled to death” (Hispanic Magazine 2004) another article states. If the border is a war, then immigrants are the insurgents who are attacking the U.S. nation.

When the media portrays migrants as threatening the U.S. nation, migrants are also construed as attacking *nature*. One headline reads “Parks Under Siege”, another “National Parks ‘Endangered’ by Migrants” (Vanderpool 2002; Hispanic Magazine 2004). The mere presence in nature of foreign bodies is equated with a military assault needing to be battled against.

From 1943 to 1950, visitation at Organ Pipe tripled from 50, 842 visitors per year, to 155, 875 visitors per year. However, this heavy increase in bodies was not described as an invasion, but rather one report stated, “this area has a good start toward being ‘loved to death’ by well meaning visitors”(Lissoway 2004: 96). Because these visitors were U.S. citizens, they loved nature. In comparison, migrants invade nature. When a metaphor of trash is involved, the media establishes immigrants as ‘those who trash America’ while citizens are those who know where to dispose of their waste properly, and even, those

who clean up the trash of others (Sundberg 2008). When a metaphor of war is used, immigrant bodies are those who kill, while citizen bodies are those who protect.

When the government and media outlets deem the bodies of hikers and tourists in Organ Pipe to be the ecologically legitimate heirs to nature, they are also establishing the hiker and the tourist's claims to the territory. Through these righteous claims to space, national nature preserves like Organ Pipe Cactus naturalize the connection between nature and nation, the national body and the individual body (Sundberg 2007, 731). When undeserved, othered bodies enter into national spaces, they jeopardize both individual bodies (like that of Kris Eggle) and the national body (the United States of America). Similarly, when citizens comply with discourses of threat that establish migrants as ecological others, they support dominant ideologies and U.S. hegemony, which assigns labels on people such as "harmful," "noble," "terrorist," "illegal" and therefore supports the coding of bodies as belonging to the nation or deserving violence. In turn, the state justifies its boundaries.

Lissoway points out the irony of Organ Pipe's making: after the creation of the monument, the NPS spent the next four decades attempting to eradicate several uses of the landscape (2004:35). In other words, it took immense effort by *humans* in order to construct an area designated as a prime example of pristine desert, an area that was supposedly outside of the influence of those very same *humans*. As Wainwright reminds us, colonial conceptions of space are already embedded in the landscape and are continuously drawn on. Therefore, it is important to remember that nature, and the creation of nature, is not static, but serves as a stage for and absorbs the costs of colonialism as well as of U.S. hegemony (Ray 2010, 729).

More than ironic, the binary that the state enacts to distinguish bodies in nature has material consequences. Certainly, migrants walking through Organ Pipe or the U.S.-Mexico borderlands put their bodies at risk. Though the number of border crossings has declined in the past few years, the percentage of migrants who die crossing the border has increased; there were 27 percent more deaths in 2012 than in 2011 (Gomez 2013). If migrants do not face death, the risk of detention and deportation is very high.

Increased visibility and attention to the monument has helped to produce the myriad media representations of migrants as trash, invaders, and harming the U.S. national body. In 2001, the media spotlight and a build-up of tensions stemming from immigration, the destruction of nature, and the border wars culminated in a particular response by the National Park Service, one that sought to “reclaim nature.” In reclaiming nature, however, the NPS continued to ignore the violence faced by migrants. Instead, fueled by anxieties over U.S. corporeal violence, the NPS mobilized so that they might further protect privileged, U.S. bodies.

Conclusion

“Taking Back the Land”: Militarization and Boundary-Making

In Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument

“What we are trying to do is retake this landscape so we can all be free to be out here,” - Ken Hires, Organ Pipe Cactus park ranger

Last May, in 2012, the National Park Service announced that it would reopen parts of “America’s Most Dangerous Park” in the summer, but only under very peculiar conditions. Visitors could travel to previously closed areas accompanied by armed escorts.

One reporter’s account of the tour provides a vivid picture of the new Organ Pipe experience:

After signing in and showing identification at the park office, tourists board a bus. With two vehicles containing Park Rangers wearing full-camouflage and carrying weaponry that make them look more like G.I. Joe than Smokey the Bear in front of the bus and two more vehicles behind, tourists still sign a consent form acknowledging their understanding of the danger of the situation.

When the bus stops at a roadside viewing area, the tourists remain on the bus until all of the escort vehicles empty their human cargo as the battle-ready park rangers form a protective inner and outer ring of fire. Only when the perimeter has been set up and secured are the tourists allowed off the bus. (Slagle 2012)

With the support of camouflage, guns, and vehicles, the NPS hoped that by opening back up Quitobaquito Springs – an oasis in the monument that has been closed since Eggle’s death – to visitors, it would enlist new allies in the struggle to save Organ Pipe Cactus National Park. Since Quitobaquito is in a “red zone,” where even park rangers necessitate a security escort, the NPS organized tours as a way to safely experience the Organ Pipe landscape.

Hikers have had the opportunity to engage in these armed escorted tours of Quitobaquito Springs in Organ Pipe Cactus since the summer of 2012. In doing so,

hikers consent to arriving to the springs on a bus accompanied by four “park service law enforcement specialists” armed with M14s. The law enforcement rangers sweep the area ahead of time for signs of “drug smugglers” and observe the tour group from posts on nearby hillsides and in the brush (Kreutz 2012). Hikers are then allowed to “walk around” but not to “wander off” because of border dangers (Jun 2012). Through these explicit instructions and armed surveillance, the park rangers control and watch the mobility of hikers. In doing so, the NPS hopes to “save” both citizen and nature.

In this chapter, I concentrate on these efforts to “save” nature through armed tours and a larger apparatus of militarized policing. In doing so, I consider the question, what do militarized park strategies in Organ Pipe say about the intersection of (violent) control, nature, and human bodies? The creation of armed tours in Organ Pipe points to the ties between the production of nature and notions of danger and safety; in other words, hikers are told that they are no longer safe in nature and “need” armed help and therefore the only way to “take back the land” of Organ Pipe is through armed practices and militarization.

The armed tours in Organ Pipe Cactus is one of many militarized reactions to the death of Kris Eggle, who was allegedly shot by drug runners in Organ Pipe in 2003. His death had significant consequences for Organ Pipe: both overshadowing the violence inflicted upon other bodies in the monument and serving as a catalyst for a landslide of contemporary exclusionary policies. Those advocating greater levels of boundary policing continually invoke his death to justify heightened security while veiling it as environmental concern, conflating transgression of the border and violence with environmental ruin. For example, the following is a congressional testimony by Tom

Tancredo, a member of the House of Representative (R-Colorado) in 2003. He affixes, with one breath, the destruction of nature with Kris Eggle's death.

We can say [pollution] is occurring because we do not have the will to stop it. We are destroying this land. It will be gone. Our children will never be able to enjoy it [...] we went to where [Kris Eggle] was killed, and Bob [Kris' father] said the following: 'If they do not get the crime situation under control, they are not going to have any resources left to protect' [...] we have to do something to control our borders (Tancredo, H2922 Congressional Hearing 2003)

Tancredo appeals to American anxieties on multiple scales: immigration, the destruction of land, the death of a citizen, the dwindling of resources, and the control of U.S. borders. In doing so he conflates these varied and nuanced phenomenon. Importantly, the death of Eggle and the destruction of nature become synonymous. Broadly, whereas the death of Kris Eggle is continually cited as proof of nature's destruction, his death is a contemporary embodiment of the anti-natural. More than that, it is the aftermath of his death that is troubling. His death both justified and inspired a new, hyper-militarized, take back the land movement in Organ Pipe.

Eggle's death led to such a response partly because Kris Eggle himself embodied the ideal American – at least, this was suggested by many media accounts. Eggle was an Eagle Scout, a National Honor Society student, and valedictorian of his graduating class. In other words, Eggle was an innocent and productive, U.S. citizen; a “model of achievement and competence” who took pride in protecting his country (Who was Kris Eggle?, nps.gov). If Kris Eggle embodied U.S. nationhood, then his death was a national tragedy (Meanwhile, the deaths of hundreds of migrants – who are “illegal,” brown, non-citizens – are largely ignored). The more that the media and government officials victimized Kris Eggle, the more they emphasized the vulnerability of the U.S. nation.

Perhaps more importantly, they emphasized that the U.S. nation was under attack and in doing so explicitly or implicitly pointed to all non-citizens as the perpetrators.

Since migrants are “invading” intimate spaces, bodily injuries on U.S. citizens overshadow the systemic and consistent injuries sustained by migrant bodies (Sundberg 2008, 886). The portrayal of Eggle’s death is an acute example of such overshadowing: it focuses the cost of boundary policing on the U.S. citizen and ignores the non-citizen and the direct and systemic violence on others due to militarization. The “death of Kris Eggle” acts as a justification for the militarization of the border, where lives (and deaths) are subject to differentiated mourning.

Armed tours and the response to Eggle’s death are part of a larger apparatus of boundary making through policing in Organ Pipe Cactus. After Kris Eggle’s death, the monument received funding in 2003 to hire 16 new rangers, and since then Border Patrol has upped its numbers in the area to between 400 and 500 agents (Slagle 2012). This rise in military-like personnel echoes Peluso’s analysis of war and forests and is another step towards federal control and militarization of the border. Because it is a wild and lawless place, indeed an anti-nature, militarized control and occupation are strategies to save nature and the nation.

In tandem with the increase in policing bodies, the NPS closed most of the monument to the public in 2003 in the name of security. Still today 66 percent of the park is off limits to visitors. Along with systematic closing of the park, the NPS rezoned Organ Pipe into three sections: the red zone where staff can go with security escort, the blue zone where staffers must be with one other person and check in hourly, and the white zone which is open to the public and staff can work freely (McCombs 2011, 3).

During this time, the number of annual visitors to Organ Pipe sharply plummeted in 2002 to only 229,584 visitors per year; ten years later in 2012, visits to the park dropped further to a 12-year low of 161,743 (NPS Stats Report Viewer, 2012). The drop in visitors is in part tied to the Organ Pipe's perception as a dangerous place, an impression stressed in the park itself; signs in the park, for example, read "Smuggling and/or illegal entry is common in this area due to the proximity of the international border. Please be aware of your surroundings at all times and do not travel alone in remote areas" (Ray 2010).²⁴ Visitors are constantly reminded of the dangers of being in a park on the border.

Of course, these border warnings are a testament to the National Park Service and the Border Patrol's determination "to take back the monument" in order to insure visitor safety. However, the Border Patrol and the National Park Service do not consistently arrive at the same conclusions on how to carry out its communal goals. While the NPS' goals are to protect nature, the Border Patrol often construes "nature" as a barrier to ensuring security. For example, it proclaimed the *1964 Wilderness Act* as an obstacle for border security (Slagle 2012) because it prevents the Border Patrol and all law enforcement agencies from building roads in the park. In the same vein, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service is also a challenge for Border Patrol, as it does not allow law enforcement to drive "off-road" in the Quitobaquito area of the park, because of the endangered Sonoran desert pupfish that live there. As undocumented migrants and drug smugglers often travel through these lands unregulated, Border Patrol agents are frustrated by its lack of autonomy in these spaces (Clynes 2003; Slagle 2012).

²⁴ However, most park employees disagree with Organ Pipe's association with danger and one park ranger said that concern is more one of public perception, a threat largely created by the U.S. Park Rangers Lodge' title and state politicians focus on the dangers of the border (Goodwin 2012).

Since the Border Patrol struggled with environmental law, it adopted a new strategy to guarantee its full sovereignty on the border. In 2004, the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) implemented the Arizona Border Control Initiative, which created mechanisms which would allow the Border Patrol to circumvent environmental protection laws and increase access and control of Organ Pipe Cactus and the nearby Cabeza Prieta Wildlife Refuge (Fact Sheet: Arizona Border Control Initiative, 2004; Sundberg 2011). These are its demands for Organ Pipe:

- ° Allow unlimited cross-country access for motorcycles throughout the monument.
- ° Establish four new east/west roads and two backcountry camps in wilderness areas.
- ° Allow Patrols in the wilderness by horseback and the use of ATVs on illegal roads created by smugglers and border crossers.
- ° Establish a gravel road the length of Organ Pipe's 30-mile border with Mexico and a dirt road beside it so agents can track people and vehicles.
- ° Build about 10 surveillance towers, 80 to 100 feet high. (Slagle 2012)

The implementation of such demands would radically alter the landscape of Organ Pipe, and most likely create further consequences for the endangered species and plants the National Park Service claims to protect. But the efforts of the Border Patrol in particular are privileged in this landscape, echoing Sundberg's assertion that ecological impact itself does not matter, rather it matters *who or what* is exerting the impact (Sundberg 2007). For Organ Pipe, roads and trails are only harmful when drug runners and migrants are forming them; when Border Patrol engages in the same activities that reorganize and potentially damage nature it is celebrated for its protection of the U.S. nation.

The Department of Homeland Security continued to carry out many of the proposed demands, along with many others: nine surveillance towers are scattered throughout the park, DHS constructed a \$18 million, 23-mile vehicle barrier along the 30-mile border, it put in permanent border encampments in Organ Pipe, it established

four new roads in the monument and to this day Border Patrol has unlimited vehicle (motorcycle and all-terrain) access to all undefined roads in the park (Fact Sheet: Arizona Border Control Initiative, 2004; Defenders of Wildlife, 2006: 15). In addition, the Secure Fence Act, which Bush officially signed in 2006²⁵, allowed the Border Patrol to waive laws necessary to complete border fences and roads to improve national security, further exempting the Department of Homeland Security from all federal, state, tribal, and municipal laws, many of which were put in place to minimize human impact (Public Law 109-367, 2006). Even since both of the pieces of legislation passed, boundary policing advocates have criticized the superintendent for choosing not to concede the rest of his control to the U.S. Border Patrol (Goodwin 2012).

These institutional measures result in serious ecological damage. As one member of an environmental justice group argued about the Border Patrol: “Their agents are creating roads, which is 100 times worse than people walking through the desert and leaving trash.” In addition, agents drag tires behind trucks to make roads, severely damaging the natural ecosystem (McGivney 2003). DHS also places barriers around the monument, which also damage the habitat of desert wildlife. For example, the DHS ordered the placement of 5.2 miles of mesh fencing in the park near Lukeville (See Appendix A Map 2, which is a Port of Entry on the southern boundary of the park. In constructing the fence, it denied the request by the National Park Service to shorten the proposed barrier on Organ Pipe land by 90 feet to spare important columnar cacti and Sonoran desert tortoise habitat (United States 2008). Environmentalists, who claim that 39 endangered species are already affected by Border Patrol operations, believe that the

²⁵ George W. Bush introduced the Secure Fence Act with the declaration, “This bill will help protect the American people. This bill will make our borders more secure. It is an important step toward immigration reform.” (Public Law 109-367, 2006)

fence will disrupt the migratory flow of animals (Nielson 2008).

Nonetheless Border Patrol and government officials who support the militarization of the border find a way to justify or ignore the environmental impact of their actions. For example, Utah Congressman Rob Bishop said, “I may care about the pupfish, but I also care about kids getting hooked on illegal drugs that are coming over that border.”

Ignoring the historical context of immigration and the border, Bishop positions the choice as one between pupfish or children. He also said that “drug runners” cause more environmental damage to the border by leaving trash than Border Patrol agents would by building roads (Goodwin 2012). Border Patrol and its associates in Congress often win these debates by employing such rhetoric. Again, the impact itself on nature does not matter; rather it is *who or what* exerts the impact that dictates which disciplinary actions are taken (or none at all).

It is partly due to the historical geographical context of Organ Pipe that such rhetoric is exalted. It is hard to imagine how the government could justify the building of surveillance towers and law enforcement roads in other national nature areas that do not hug the border, like Yellowstone National Park in Wyoming. Thus, Organ Pipe is a particular kind of nature and the normalization of military infrastructure therein reflects its status. The general media and public perceive the U.S.-Mexico border and Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument as “war zones” (see, for example, Clynes 2003) and ties to war illuminate the relationship between violence and nationally protected wilderness areas (Peluso and Vandergeest 2011). The control of nature and anti-nature play a large role in the production of hegemonic state power.

Some citizens push to further militarize nature and the U.S.-Mexico border. For example Eggle’s parents told one interviewer that they wished Kris, a typical park ranger,

had been backed up by the military or trained in SWAT or special operations tactics. “In Vietnam I faced political constraints that cost me a lot of young guys,” Bob Eggle said. “My son also went into combat for his country—and because of politics he lost his life” (Clynes 2003). Eggle Sr. declares that “political constraints” explains his son’s death. In doing so, and in referencing the Vietnam War, he implies that if Kris Eggle and other rangers could *kill*, they would be safer. A call to protect U.S. bodies and U.S. nature is a call to arms: against othered bodies and the “anti-nature” that they create.

Escorted tours in particular, as part and parcel of the apparatus of boundary control, are an acute example of the ways in which hegemonic state power seeps into the experience of the body. Surveillance, an important aspect of the militarization of the U.S.-Mexico border, has made its way into the boundaries of the park. An important aspect of the tours is the invisibility of the guards, who do not want to be seen by hikers as it might disrupt their experience of nature. One guard wrote, “the goal for us is to maintain visitor safety and stay out of sight” and a park ranger said that people wouldn’t see the armed guards because they “kind of lurk in the bushes” (Kreutz 2012). Alongside surveillance towers, guards dress in camouflage, carry guns, and hide behind cactuses, protecting bodies by watching them.

Since the mobility of hikers is seriously constrained through escorted tours, one might imagine that hikers would object to such practices. However, the following list of responses that one article about the tours compiled, provides somewhat surprising results:

“It’s ok. But it’s sad”

“The guards? They don’t bother me”

“Its great to see this place has been reopened. But it’s a bit of a challenge because of the border situation. They are in hiding, so we don’t see them”

“I don’t even notice it. I feel completely safe and it’s great to come to an area that’s not usually open”

“I like being out here in the desert, so I can live with it. But it’s just sad that it’s needed” (Kreutz 2012)

The sentiment, for this cross section of hikers, seems to be that nature – of a very particular sort – and safety are priorities.²⁶ Indeed, their responses reflect a normalization of processes of violence and surveillance, which seems to have bled into the National Park System.

Overall, many of the vocal actors in Organ Pipe Cactus share an investment to take back the land. In her article in *Backpacker*, environmentalist and writer McGivney writes the following: “To save the thing we love, we would risk types of encounters we despise. But what's our choice? Can we allow the eternal resting place of Ed Abbey²⁷ to become the exclusive stamping ground of border cops and criminals?” (2003). When she uses the phrase “encounters we despise,” McGivney is referring to the moment when environmentalists and nature enthusiasts come into contact with other(ed) people. As an environmentalist, McGivney takes it a step further, claiming that the Border Patrol is an ecological other: in order to take back the park, she, just like Muir before her, argued that those who appreciate nature must defeat those who do not. In the case of Organ Pipe, migrants and Border Patrol agents must be abolished.

This is a very serious assertion in Organ Pipe, since the consequences of U.S. hegemony and exclusion have violent consequences for migrant bodies in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands. At the beginning of the project, I mentioned that in Arizona alone, 179 people died crossing the border in the 2011-2012 fiscal year, many because of dehydration and exhaustion (Coalición de Derechos Humanos 2012). These are the material consequences of U.S. policies of exclusion, which manifest themselves very

²⁶ Perhaps hikers who feel differently would not be going on escorted nature tours.

²⁷ Edward Abbey was an American author who was famous for his advocacy of environmental issues.

clearly within the borders of Organ Pipe. Such policies have made Organ Pipe Cactus into a space where bodies and mobility are differentially treated and trusted. For example, when Ken Hires, the park ranger quoted at the beginning of this chapter, makes the claim that he is trying to take back the land so that “we can all be free”, his “we” are U.S. citizens, while non-U.S. citizens will not be free.

Except, armed tours suggest that the lines between bodies are blurring. Ray’s observation is useful here: that Organ Pipe Cactus both serves as a stage for and absorbs the costs of U.S. hegemony (Ray 2010, 729). In saying this, Ray alludes to the ways in which parks take on the characteristics of the places they are embedded: the characteristics of the border are intimately tied to the process of boundary making, which necessitates the policing of bodies, mobility, and land. Escorted tours are evidence that the control of nature and bodies is normalized, and not just migrant bodies. The National Park Services’ attempts to take back the land of Organ Pipe comes with the marking and surveillance of U.S. bodies as well.

The militarization of nature has implications for those bodies that move within it. Militarized nature protects the privileged status of national (U.S.) hiking bodies, while ignoring, and even actively sustaining, the violence against non-U.S. bodies, especially migrants. Both the regime of boundary making and the apparatus of enclosing nature – in the case of Organ Pipe, the enclosure of the monument – continually produce this differentiated violence by distinguishing between the “us” and “them,” excluding and including bodies, and claiming these distinctions as “natural.”

* * *

Powerful agents have constructed nature through violent contradictions and tensions that segregate and control activities and bodies. In Organ Pipe Cactus National

Monument, certain walking bodies stand out against the natural landscape, reflecting their incompatibility with a privileged, raced, and colonial space. Thus, nature distinguishes between different types by questioning the mobility and indeed, the life, of the bodies that protrude.

A different set of walking bodies marked the landscape of the U.S.-Mexico border nine years ago, in 2004. Three people decided to walk across the border as an act of solidarity for the migrants who have suffered and died there. This turned into The Migrant Trail, a yearly 75-mile journey from Sásabe, Sonora to Tucson, Arizona sponsored by human rights and activist organizations on the border. Their goals are as follows (emphasis mine):

The precarious reality of our borderlands *calls us to walk*. We are a spiritually diverse, multi-cultural group *who walk together on a journey* of peace to remember people, friends and family who have died, others who have crossed, and people who continue to come. We bear witness to the tragedy of death and of the inhumanity in our midst. Lastly, *we walk as a community*, in defiance of the borders that attempt to divide us, committed to working together for the human dignity of all peoples (Migrant Trail Flyer 2012)

Death, community, and human dignity call on them to act. What inspires them to walk?

Walks for causes are founded in the idea of the pilgrimage (Solnit 2012): a slow, laborious, and spiritual movement, a mindfulness that then translates onto the body or society. Similarly, the participants in the Migrant Trail, though they claim to not simulate the experience of the migrant crossing the border,²⁸ nonetheless hope that by walking 75 miles in the hot sun, and in the same nature as the migrant, they will “make a small contribution that will some day lead to change on the border. No one should be forced to risk their life in order to provide for their family”(Migrant Trail Flyer 2012). As

²⁸ They are accompanied by vehicles carrying unlimited water, food, and medical attention

contemporary pilgrims, participants in the Migrant Trail hope that their mobility will shed light on the limited mobility of the migrant and result in some sort of societal change. So they walk.

In walking, the Migrant Trail works under the assumption that all our mobility is in some way profoundly connected. This is difficult to comprehend, especially in light of the reality that the mobility of migrants are deeply endangered in the U.S.-Mexico border. In contrast, U.S. citizens, especially white and wealthy bodies, possess a hyper-mobility: we run across borders, flashing passports, waved through nonchalantly. As Ivan Illich puts it, the contemporary world of transport and travel suggest, “extremes of privilege are created at the cost of universal enslavement” (29). Though his use of the word “enslavement” is problematic, his message is clear: in order for a few to travel, the rest of the world must move, slowly and cautiously.

When activists walk in the Arizona desert, with an awareness of the direct and systemic violence enacted through the bounding of space, they engage in walking as transgression; they “cross boundaries”(Mitchell 2005). Since walking and space reproduce one another, the participants of the Migrant Trail engender a space that is heterogeneous, processual, and unbounded (Massey 2005). They unsettle the monolithic notions of space that are harnessed to ensure the mobility of U.S. bodies at the expense of non-citizens, and simultaneously disturb space’s role in U.S. boundary making. However, I would push the organizers of the Migrant Trail further, and ask them to name “nature” as the space they are actively recreating through mobility. In doing so, they might challenge the idea that nature is static and instead confront the stubborn and “inextricably entangled knot” that is nature (Kosek 2006: 285).

Inadvertently engaging in a similar contestation of space, last year a group of peers and I took a walk in the Arizona desert. We were there studying the U.S.-Mexico border, hearing stories, and gathering perspectives. In that moment we were talking with representatives from No More Deaths, a group that provides food, water, and medical assistance to migrants in the desert. We hiked along the parks trails, in awe of the narrow canyons and swarms of cacti. We felt the heavy sun on our backs while we carried water jugs to place along the trail for future migrant walkers. In the desert, we experienced a tension between our presence on that trail as students and hikers and the functions that trail more often serves: migrants walking through the southernmost portion of the United States, aid workers leaving out water for them, and Border Patrol agents “protecting” the frontier. These tensions culminated when looking out over the Arizona hills later that day, the sun dropping behind them, one of my classmates said, “I don’t see this [nature] as beautiful. This is violent.”

Nature itself can be threatening to migrant walkers, similarly to Shehadah’s experience in Israel seen in chapter one. The risks for migrants in Organ Pipe Cactus are swept into a mixture of border policy and topography that produce a landscape in the U.S.-Mexico border that is particularly dangerous; alongside individual movement, deserts and border walls shape how bodies move. Figure 1 maps out, with every red dot, the number of migrant remains that have been found along the Arizona border from 1999 to 2009. Organ Pipe Cactus, as well, is shown on the map in sage green, scattered with red dots. The map shows 1755 total recovered remains, though there may be many more deaths undiscovered. Nature along with mobility and bodies are concepts that are differentiated according to identity: insuring safety and freedom for some, while restricting it for others.

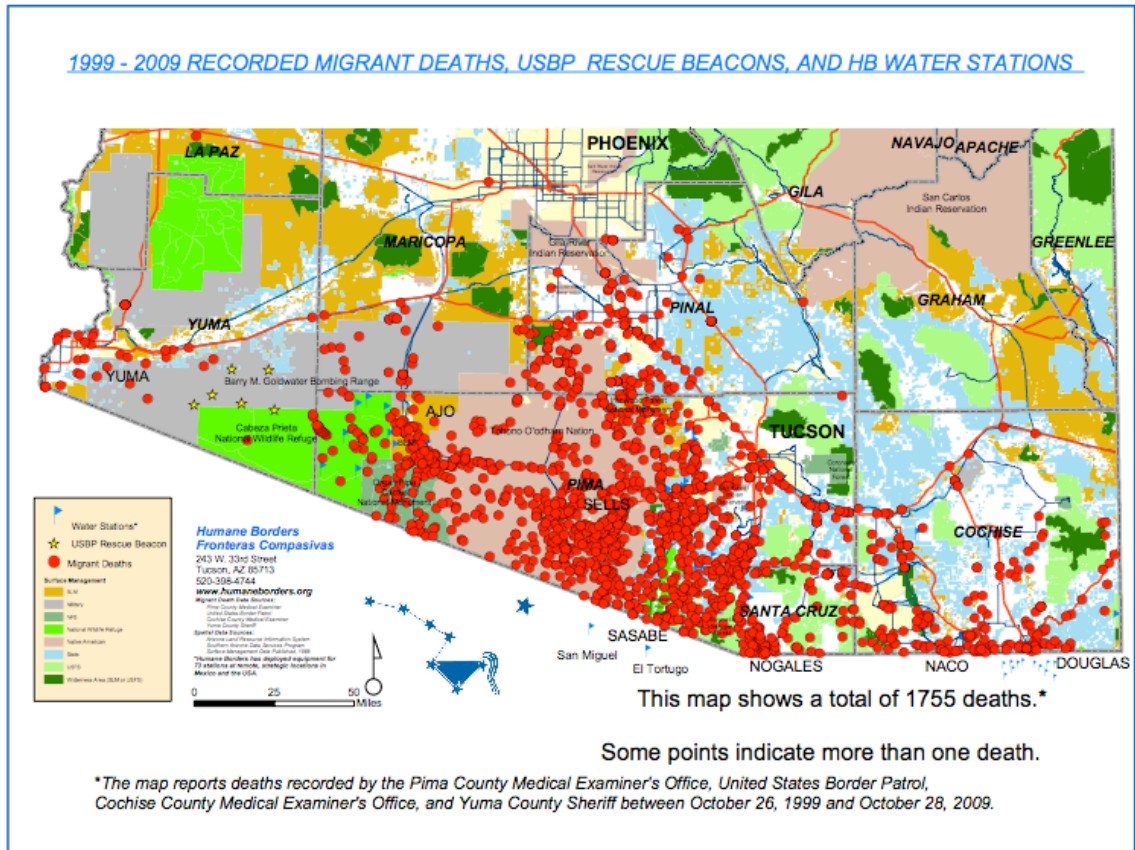


Figure 1. Recovered remains of migrants from 1999-2009 found on the Arizona border (McCombs 2010).

Walking for migrants is not an exercise in environmental consciousness or the appreciation of nature's beauty; rather it is a walk in a liminal space, wedged between desert death and non-death. Artist Julio Salgado sums up the differential experience of walking bodies in a print of a mother and a child: "you backpacked across Europe and they called you adventurous. I crossed a border to save my daughter's life and they call me a criminal" (Salgado 2012). Certainly, positionality informs how one perceives nature. Of course, all spaces are multi-dimensional in their creation; nature is already always

violent, safe, beautiful, trashed, adventurous and criminal. A next step for this project would be to further explore nature through its complex composition.

A post-colonial, political ecology lens enlightens the Organ Pipe Cactus experience. As Wainwright writes, “Nothing could be more urgent than the task of unsettling the presuppositions about the naturalness of the geography of our unjust and violently divided world” (Wainwright 2006). In order for us to challenge the violence faced on our borders, we must first question the very making of our world and our natures. The acceptance of the division of space, where some are pristine and some are trashed, fuels the acceptance of the division of bodies. Therefore, we must tackle the unsettling of both. In this thesis, I have attempted to spark a re-politicization of nature, and address the exclusion, racism, and colonialism that has been involved in its making. I would encourage others to take me up on this challenge

How a person imagines the social and natural environment reflects the way that a person will care for it. If the country imagines migrants as invaders, physically harming the U.S. nation, nature, and body, then the United States will continue to put in place policies that emphasize its role as “gate keeper”: further and further strengthening and expanding its borders.

While the United States races to secure its borders, I wonder when citizens – and to self implicate, citizens *like me* – will explore the implications that a divided world has on the way we work, live, celebrate, and relax. I wonder when citizens will pay attention to the ways their bodies, even more so their mobile bodies are tied to the bodies of noncitizens and the marginalized. As metaphorical and material borders encircle privileged bodies more and more tightly, I wonder at what point these bodies will challenge the very idea of security.

* * *

In a senate hearing in 2010, the National Association of Former Border Patrol Officers submitted a written testimony to the Energy and Natural Resources Committee regarding the Organ Mountains – Desert Peaks Wilderness Act. They stated, “The presence of any wilderness on the Mexican border is a danger to the security of the United States. The Arizona border history is finally being acknowledged and investigated” (United States 2010).

This testimony, along side many others, represent the myriad gaps in my project. Time and space constraints necessitated that I make numerous decisions along the way over which stories and accounts would be included and explored in my project. The testimony by the former border patrol officers that any wilderness is dangerous to the United States is a concept worthy of consideration, and may even have inspired a new chapter. But the idea was lost somewhere in the thesis process.

In part, I had little knowledge of what I was looking for when I began research on the creation of the monument. Unfortunately, when I had finally discovered an archival thread, my time to engage with the data was limited. If I had started this process earlier, or had three more months, grappling with more data could have provided necessary nuances to my understanding of mobility and nature in Organ Pipe Cactus.

With every decision, I left many stories in the archives, waiting to be found and explored by future researchers. Similarly, each history, story, and theory that I chose to include, if I had more time and space, I could have critiqued, deconstructed, and interacted with more deeply and extensively. I urge others to pick up these loose ends and delve into them further.

A lack of diverse voices represented in the history of the monument also illuminates a gap in my research. Accessibility and distance made it exceedingly difficult to collect and include histories told by Tohono O’odham, hikers, and migrants. Instead, I chose to focus my project on how dominant actors perceived and affected the nature of Organ Pipe Cactus. However, I believe that the inclusion of other voices could have greatly benefited this project. Such unheard voices would have added a historical voice that perhaps would have inspired different routes and deeper analysis of my central questions.

I believe that there is room in academia for others to genuinely engage in the intersection of mobility and nature, and their violent consequences. It is my hope that the theoretical framework I present here will be applied beyond Organ Pipe as a case study and used as a tool to unpack other natural spaces, especially those that find themselves on borders.

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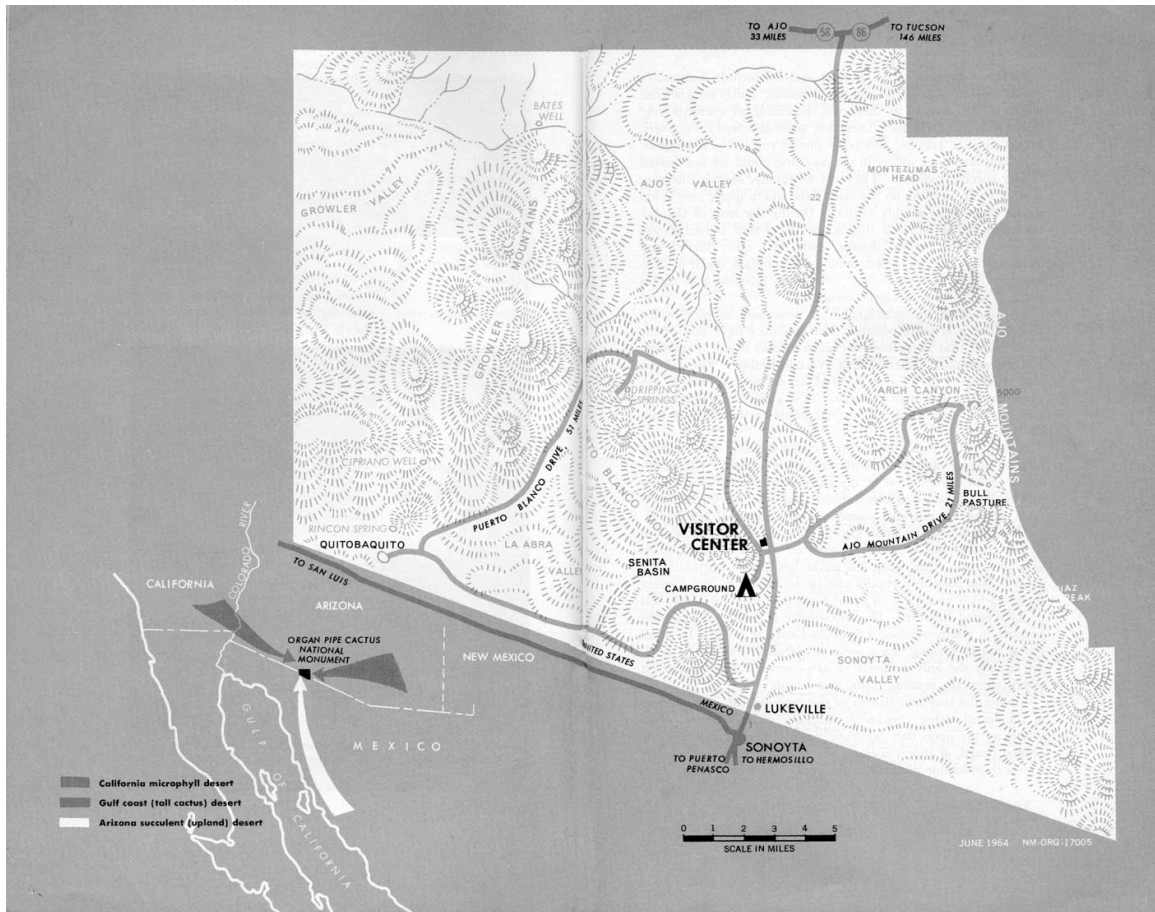
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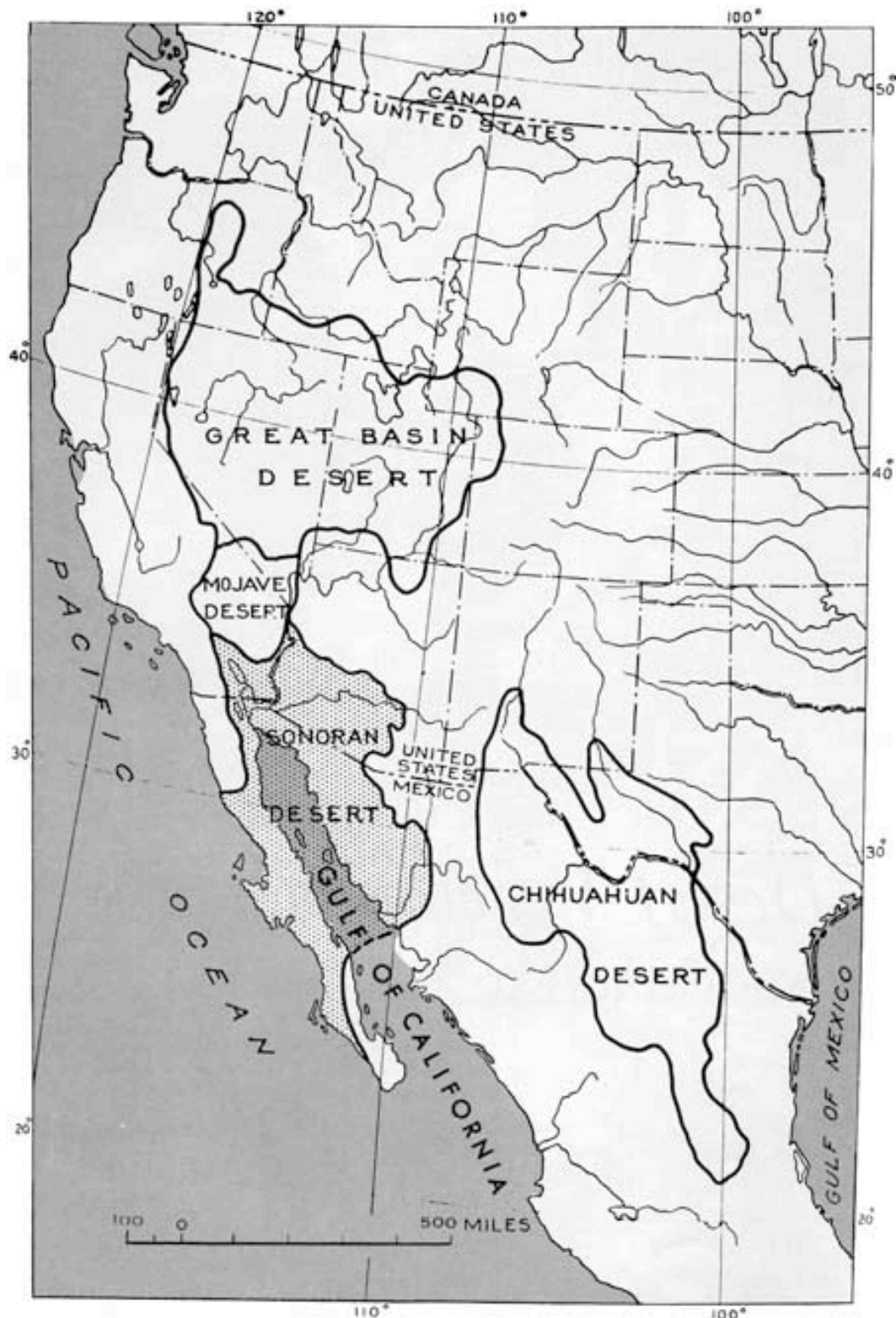
Appendix A: Maps



Map 1 of Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument, Arizona (ArizonaMapSite)

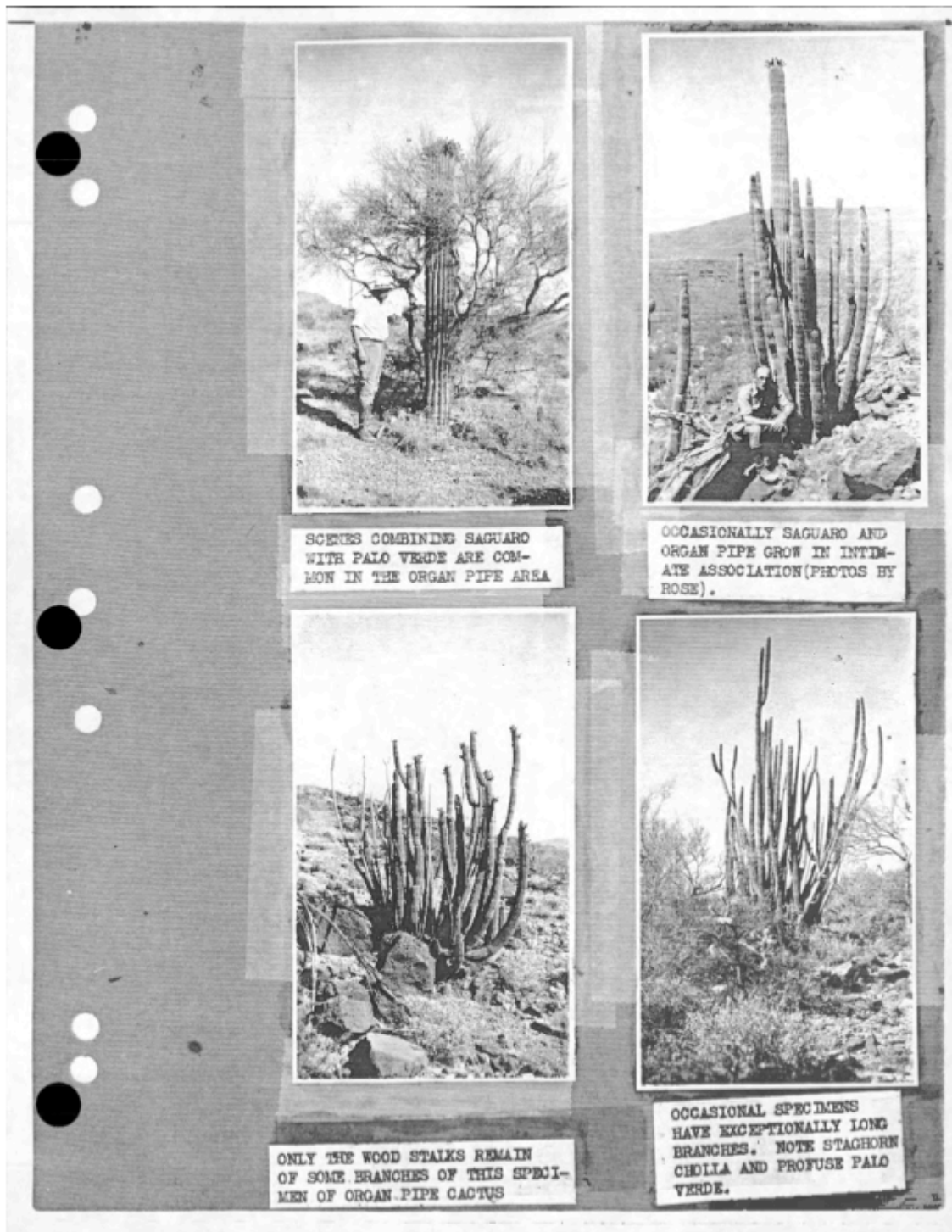


Map 2 of Arizona with National Park Service Areas. Organ Pipe Cactus is marked on the Southern border (Dodge 1964).



Map 3. The desert areas of North America, showing Arizona and the Gulf of California. Tohono O'odham would migrate from the Gulf to the Sonoran Desert annually for salt pilgrimages. Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument is located at approximately the second "o" in "Sonoran" (From Shreve 1936).

Appendix B: Photographs



Photographs of the Organ Pipe Cactus (United States 1935).

Appendix C: Founding Documents

Proclamation 2232 - Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument
April 13, 1937

By the President of the United States of America A Proclamation

Whereas certain public lands in the State of Arizona contain historic landmarks, and have situated thereon various objects of historic and scientific interest; and

Whereas it appears that it would be in the public interest to reserve such lands as a national monument, to be known as the Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument:

Now, Therefore, I, Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States of America, under and by virtue of the authority vested in me by section 2 of the Act of June 8, 1906 (ch. 3060, 34 Stat. 225; U.S.C. title 16, sec. 431), do proclaim that, subject to existing rights, the following-described lands in Arizona are hereby reserved from all forms of appropriation under the public-land laws and set apart as the Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument:

Gila and Salt River Meridian

Beginning at a point on the southern boundary of the Papago Indian Reservation which is the point for the corner of secs. 5, 6, 31, and 32, Tps. 17 and 18 S., R. 3 W.; thence south approximately five and one-half miles to the International Boundary; thence northwesterly along the International Boundary to the intersection with the position for the third meridional section line through unsurveyed T. 17 S., R. 8 W.; thence north on the third meridional section line through Tps. 17, 16, 15 and 14 S., R. 8 W. (unsurveyed), to the point for the corner of secs. 15, 16, 21 and 22; thence east on the third latitudinal section line through T. 14 S., Rs. 8, 7, 6, and 5 W., to the corner of sections 13, 18, 19 and 24, T. 14 S., Rs. 4 and 5 W., on the west boundary of the Papago Indian Reservation; thence southerly and easterly along the west boundary of the Papago Indian Reservation to the point for the corner of secs. 5, 6, 31, and 32, Tps. 17 and 18 S., R. 3 W., which is the point of beginning, containing approximately 330, 690 acres.

Warning is hereby expressly given to all unauthorized persons not to appropriate, injure, destroy, or remove any feature of this monument and not to locate or settle upon any of the lands thereof.

The Director of the National Park Service, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, shall have the supervision, management, and control of the monument as provided in the act of Congress entitled "An Act to establish a National Park Service, and for other purposes," approved August 25, 1916 (ch. 408, 39 Stat. 535; U.S.C., title 16, secs. 1 and 2), and acts supplementary thereto or amendatory thereof: Provided, that the administration of the monument shall be subject to:

- (1) Right of the Indians of the Papago Reservation to pick the fruits of the organ pipe cactus and other cacti, under such regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior;
- (2) Proclamation of May 27, 1907 (35 Stat. 2136);
- (3) Executive Order No. 5462 of October 14, 1930; and
- (4) Executive Order of November 21, 1923, reserving a 40-acre tract as a public water reserve.

The reservation made by this proclamation supersedes as to any of the above-described lands affected thereby the temporary withdrawal for classification and other purposes made by Executive Order No. 6910 of November 26, 1934, as amended.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

DONE at the City of Washington this 13 day of April, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and thirty-seven and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and sixty-first.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
By the President

CORDELL HULL
The Secretary of State.