

Landscapes of Violence: Latinx Migrants Navigating Life in Chicagoland

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Abstract

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The influx of immigrants to new destinations in the US have produced a variegated landscape of immigration enforcement at the local level. The dissertation focuses on Waukegan as a place through the lens of some of the most vulnerable residents. It asks the following questions: what is the relationship between the growing presence of immigrants and the local government's approach to economic development? How do immigrants navigate the sub/urban space and make place? This dissertation employed participant observation, semi-structured qualitative interviews, and archival research to answer these questions. Participants are primarily undocumented residents, people part of families with members who have different citizenship and migratory statuses, migrants, and Latina/o/xs. It argues that contemporary conditions of racism and

capitalism are not natural but are actively constructed through space and time. A historical framework accounts for previous iterations of displacement, dispossession, and exclusion towards racialized Others as the city benefited from industrial growth, with Latinxs being the contemporary group targeted with violence. This approach additionally reveals how residents have to demand for environmental justice due to the legacy of industrial pollution and contemporary sources of exposure to toxicity. Their navigations reveals that, for some, the state is a site of contestation and struggle in their efforts towards an equitable environment. Residents, then, power-map these state relations and have shared this knowledge with others in Waukegan. Lastly, Latinx migrants develop practices to circumvent or alleviate the various barriers that they face in the area. Undocumented residents who are low-income, women, and queer creatively craft practices to navigate the various forms of violence within Waukegan, including expanding the terrain for mobility and organizing outside of the city and towards others in the region. In conclusion, since residents share and distribute the knowledge they produce with others, future work can support migrants by developing projects that are public-facing and bring awareness to community members about issues that affect them and their livelihoods.

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my mother, Elvira, and my niece, Emma. My mother's tenacious intelligence, strength, and love made this (and all other) professional milestones possible. Gracias por enseñarme a crear un espacio para mí y para otras personas. Y Emma, thank you for reminding me what it means to be human.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

As I walked around in Waukegan, Illinois, in summer 2019, I spoke to various business owners about their perspective on immigration and migrants. Latinx or migrant business owners had noticed a decline in the number of people shopping at their stores or walking on the sidewalks of the main commercial streets. The business owners knew, as I did, that Donald J. Trump's discourse around undocumented migrants and his use of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) for raids had produced an environment of fear that affected how people decided to move through and take up space. As this dissertation shows, migrants in Waukegan have historically had their mobility practices managed, controlled, and shaped. While national policies are experienced at the local level, municipal techniques of government also drastically shape the lives of undocumented and migrant residents. This dissertation considers violence towards immigrants beyond yet a part of immigration policies.

The result of the presidential election in 2016 produced additional concerns around immigration for undocumented residents, their loved ones, and some Latinxs. During the course of Donald Trump's presidential term, newspapers recounted how his xenophobic policies strained the transnational connections of different places and affected the place-making practices of these aggrieved communities (Partlow and Lydersen 2017). While scholarship on immigrants and undocumented residents have emphasized quantitative approaches or urban centers, less literature exists documenting and theorizing life for migrants within new destination locations. This research examines the relationships between the political economy of a region and

processes of migration through the lens of undocumented residents, mixed-status family members, and Latinx people generally.

Before I proceed, I will define a couple of key terms with which this dissertation engages. Latina/o/x refers to all people who have ancestry in Portuguese- and Spanish-speaking Latin American nations. I utilize Latinx as a more inclusive alternative to disrupt the gender binary in Latina/o/@ and acknowledge the wide spectrum of gender and sexual identities, and I use Latina/o/x/e depending on individuals' self-identification. Scholars have articulated the struggles of having multiple groups under the umbrella of Latinx as it may erase some of the differences between them (Beltrán 2010). In this study, I employ Latinx as an intellectual signal that cannot fully encapsulate the multiple Latinidades of people who migrated from Latin American countries and their descendants. Throughout the dissertation, I often utilize nation-stations (i.e., Honduras or Guatemala) as a locational identifier for people. As it pertains to race, this project considers Latinxs as a racial category but does not aim to conflate that with the racialization of African Americans or Afro-Latinxs. Within Chicagoland, the city has a segregated history that has been exasperated recently in new spatial divisions and segregation emerging between Anglo-Black and Latinx populations within the city and suburbs (J. S. O. Sandoval 2011). Within narratives of mestizaje in Mexico and Central America, there exists a subtext of white supremacy that often effaces Black Latinxs from within the category and the violence they experience (Hernández 2003; Moreno Figueroa 2010; Cahuas 2019). There is also anti-Black racism and violence within the Latinx community that goes unnamed (Hernández 2007). As Tanya Katerí Hernández (2003, 157) states, scholars and Latinxs need to discuss the existence of racial prejudice within the community and recognize the ways that Blackness is treated as foreign to Latinx identity.

Some Indigenous peoples do not identify with these settler-colonial nations or with Latinx as an identity category. As argued in research wherein Indigenous Mexicans and Central Americans face tensions and conflicts with non-Indigenous Latinxs (Herrera 2016), it is likely that Indigenous peoples avoid the larger Latinx community due to not being considered Latinx. Critical Latinx Indigeneities emerged to consider how an Indigenous diaspora from Latin America changes how our societal perspective of the US as a nation of immigrants is part of a colonial logic of erasure and elimination of Indigenous peoples (Blackwell, Boj Lopez, and Urrieta 2017; María Josefina Saldaña-Portillo 2017; López and Irizarry 2019; Urrieta, Jr. and Calderón 2019; Nicolas 2021). Critical ethnic studies scholars have examined the formation of the Mexican nation-state through the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and its impact on Indigenous peoples considered uncivilized (María Josefine Saldaña-Portillo 2016) and how Latinxs are settlers of color (Pulido 2017). Additionally, Chicana/Latinx studies has been critiqued for conflating *indigenismo* with indigeneity its uninterrupted celebrations of mestizaje. The notion persists within the Latinx imaginary, one that seeks to name themselves as descendants but while utilizing the term in the present (Blackwell 2017, 175). This celebration occurs alongside the elimination of Indigenous presence via incorporation, ultimately denying the present and future of the Indigenous groups (178). While this study worked with people who identified with an Indigenous past via *indigenismo* as descent, it does not include Indigenous migrants from Latin American or Indigenous peoples around Chicagoland, though research has been done on how Indigenous youth are re-storying contemporary Chicago as Indigenous lands (Bang et al. 2014).¹ In other words, Indigeneity and race are often excluded from the formulation of a Latinx identity. Latinx communities are then by no means unitary in terms of identification, which has produced

¹ For a more specific study on Indigenous migrant women, refer to: Speed, Shannon. 2019. *Incarcerated Stories: Indigenous Women Migrants and Violence in the Settler-Capitalist State*. Critical Indigeneities. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. <https://books.google.com/books?id=oYSrDwAAQBAJ>.

further challenges within Latinx Studies as a subdiscipline. As such, when referring to Latinx communities in Waukegan, this project refers to predominantly light-skinned Latinxs who are not Indigenous. Due to the spatial divisions between Black and Indigenous migrants within Latinx communities, this project reinforces the visibility of the dominant Latinx group in Waukegan.

Additionally, I draw on Karma Chávez's (2011, 210) use of 'migrant' to signal "the shifting status between asylee, asylum seeker, refugee, undocumented and documented migrant." This dissertation employs the term as a concise categorization of a range of documentation statuses and not as a flattening of different peoples' positions within the immigration legal system. Due to the fact that many migrants in Waukegan are Latinx, Latinxs and migrants are frequently mapped onto each other and used interchangeably in quotes. This dissertation clarifies the usage of Latinx or migrant when differing from the aforementioned descriptions. When indicating a family whose members have different citizenship and migratory statuses, I refer to them as a 'mixed-status' family. This term often indicates a family in which the parents are undocumented migrants and their children either received birthright citizenship in the U.S. or are enrolled under the immigration policy Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals, or DACA. The federal program DACA allows some undocumented people who were brought to the U.S. as children to receive a deferred action for deportation and a work permit for two years, up for renewal at the end of the period.

As the Great Lakes region and greater Chicagoland area experienced significant demographic and economic changes during the second half of the twentieth century, similar to other places in the Midwest, Waukegan became a site where competing claims to both long-

standing and emerging sub/urban identities² could come into confrontation. While Waukegan had become the County seat in 1843 and been recognized by both Milwaukee and Chicago as a competitive industrial center in the early 1900s, by the 1970s the city faced stark challenges to its social and economic identity. The closing of the Chicago Hardware Foundry (1969), Chevrolet-Saginaw (1971), and American Steel and Wire (1979) led to sudden economic losses, as the local economy shifted from a primarily manufacturing to service-driven industry. As the city struggled to understand and catalyze its economic development, poverty, crime, and shrinking social services followed. Alongside its deindustrialization, the city had become minority-majority by 2000. By 2010, the Hispanic population was the single demographic majority at 53%, more than doubling from 24% in 1990 (US Census Bureau). The city government grapples with both 1) what types of economic revitalization projects to pursue and 2) how to engage with the growing Latinx migrant population. Waukegan exemplifies some of the most pressing issues facing Midwestern sub/urban cities.

Migrants have moved to Waukegan, Lake County—where Waukegan is located—and throughout Chicagoland. Many migrants in Lake County live in Beach Park, Highwood, North Chicago, Round Lake (Beach), and Zion, in addition to Waukegan. Due to the visibility of the increasing presence of Latinx migrants in the region, many of the towns neighboring Waukegan closely examine how it approaches certain issues and perceive the city as a testing site for new policies. When the Waukegan City Council passed an automatic towing ordinance for people driving without a driver's license, many towns watched the situation unfold to determine their validity. Some leaders in the Mexican American and Muslim community came together and accused Waukegan and other suburban towns of harboring anti-immigrant sentiment fueled by

² Waukegan has been described as urban and suburban. Urban due to being referred to as a satellite city to Chicago, and suburban as part of the greater Chicagoland area.

the events of 9/11 (Quiroz 2004; Slack 2008, 492). Considering that many migrants in the area are Latinx, Latinx drivers felt that these checkpoints were often located near their neighborhoods and deployed under the guise of public safety. Many police identified, criminalized, and penalized Latinx drivers, undocumented and not. That is, Latinxs of different citizenship statuses shared space and thus became caught in a shared net of criminalization, one where authorities would use the law to manage and control a majority of Latinx residents' pathways. Community groups came together to protest the discriminating impounds, not to mention the heavy fees levied on residents by their municipal government and private towing agencies. These groups held demonstrations, testified at city hall, and filed actions against municipal leaders.

As towns throughout Midwestern suburbia grapple with their new economic reality of deindustrialization and increasing racial and ethnic diversity, Waukegan's policies aimed at securitizing safety became the racially charged backdrop to place undesirable residents on the opposite side of economic development. City officials and residents alike discursively constructed migrants as criminals, dependent on the local state, and unassimilable. The convergence of racism and xenophobia further validates those in power to use policy to create precarious lives for undocumented residents and their families. For instance, claiming that migrants live in place temporarily and do not care for their surroundings as would a white-collar professional residing in a condominium, mayor Richard Hyde (2002-2009) stated that those type of people were undesirable in Waukegan's economic development. The mayor's comments tapped into long-standing yet increasing fears that Waukegan was becoming a "Little Mexico," or an unwanted invasion of Mexican (the largest Latinx population) economic, cultural, and social life. When the City of Waukegan voted on whether they would submit a proposal under the Immigration and Customs Enforcement's 287(g) agreement to train local police officers to

begin deportation proceedings for undocumented residents who had been arrested, the resolution passed, which included an ‘Aye’ vote by the only Latinx alderman at the time. Like how Donald Trump’s tweets affected the flows and movements of migrants, this proposal—and other local approaches—structured Latinx life. Ultimately, the city’s continued attempts to become a tourist destination in the region harken back to a nostalgic past of economic prosperity and political power that denies its multiracial present and reaffirms racial hierarchies.³ Similar to how manufacturing industries brought migrants, economic opportunities, and infrastructural development to the region through the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century, city-led economic development projects suggested that Waukegan could return to its former glory as a white, middle-class city. This vision of progress negates the historical presence of racialized migrants and communities, curating how, when, and where to distance from or associate with its multiracial present.

Local governments’ approach to economically revitalize their city while simultaneously engaging in forms of immigration enforcement that affect the development of immigrant-owned businesses demonstrates a larger set of tensions related to legality, race, place, and mobility that compose the subject of this dissertation. While Waukegan elites drew on imagery from the town’s prosperous past in their economic revitalization campaigns to attract middle-class white professionals to the area, these approaches relied on emerging regional policies aimed at regulating the movements of Latinx residents, or their mobility—a concept referring to embodied practices of and meanings attached to both movement and stillness of people, objects, and

³ For this was neither the first nor the last time that undesirable populations were considered disposable in favor of economic development. More is discussed in Chapter 1.

information.⁴ Throughout this dissertation, the concept of mobility applies to everyday practices of movement, especially for people of color. Additionally, my use of navigation builds on the ‘mobilities turn’ to consider, in addition to spatial movements, discursive strategies, such as when residents speak Spanish outside of a room to discuss how to maneuver a city council meeting in English. By “everyday,” I primarily refer to a shift in temporal and spatial consideration from extraordinary moments, such as marches, to include quotidian experiences embedded in daily life (de Certeau 1984; De Genova 2002; England 2012; Bhagat 2018; E. Sandoval 2019). For instance, police traffic checkpoints increased throughout Waukegan in the 2000s. Many Latinx residents claim that Waukegan police unevenly and disproportionately enforced ordinances aimed at managing the mobility of undocumented residents. In June 2003, Waukegan City Council passed an ordinance that would immediately impound cars of drivers who carried no licenses with them.⁵ As undocumented migrants were ineligible for an Illinois driver’s license at the time, traffic checkpoints functioned as unofficial forms of immigration enforcement. Citizenship status was used to impose heavy fees on undocumented drivers, to impound vehicles at towing companies’ and the city’s profit, and to produce a culture of fear for residents navigating daily life in majority Latinx communities. As such, Latinxs experienced racialization through how various scales of the state sought to manage and control their everyday mobility.

⁴ I will primarily focus on people in this dissertation. While I draw on other work on mobilities, some of the overview conversations on mobility can be found at (Cresswell 2006; Urry 2007; Cresswell and Merriman 2011).

⁵ Waukegan City Council Minutes, Item 34: Motion by Alderman Balen (June 16, 2003). (Slack 2008). Illinois would not establish the Temporary Visitor Driver’s License (TVDL) until 2005. On January 27, 2013, Illinois Governor Pat Quinn signed into law SB 0 957, that TVDLs will be available to undocumented drivers.

1.1 Why Waukegan?

The City of Waukegan was selected as the research site because of its historical significance and contemporary influence in the Great Lakes and Chicagoland areas, its emblematic shift from an industrial-based economy to a service-oriented one, and its approaches to the increased visibility of migrant and Latinx residents within the city's landscape. Located on Lake Michigan's western lakefront, 8 miles south of the Wisconsin-Illinois state border and approximately 40 miles north of Chicago, Waukegan's built environment provides clues into the economic and demographic transitions with which residents and city officials alike faced. Abandoned buildings and a polluted lakefront remain as evidence of Waukegan's legacy as a thriving manufacturing center and commercial port that, during the early 1900s, rivaled both Milwaukee and Chicago. Throughout Waukegan's municipal boundaries, casual observers will take note of the prevalence of advertisements in Spanish: signs for *panaderias*, *restaurantes*, and *supermercados* abound (bakeries, restaurants, and supermarkets). Along the two primary commercial corridors in the city, Grand Avenue and Washington Street, some businesses decorate their storefronts with a flag from Puerto Rico, Mexico, or other countries in Central America, such as Honduras, El Salvador, and Guatemala. In other words, Waukegan is a "new destination" for immigrants from Latin America.

Waukegan has been a destination for migrants from Europe and what is now northeastern U.S. since settlers came to the area in 1835. Many of these migrants re-located to Waukegan due to employment opportunities afforded by the increase of manufacturing industries, such as tanneries, steel wire mills, and sugar refineries. Industries located themselves on Waukegan's lakefront. With the intersection of trail, rail, auto, and air transportation corridors, numerous industries and people moved to the area. By 1900, Chicago and Milwaukee recognized the

importance that Waukegan served as a rival in commerce facilitated by the completion of the railroads and the harbor. The employment opportunities were similarly mapped onto ethnicity and race; for example, Finns left Worcester, Massachusetts for the steel wire mill and Black people worked primarily for the tannery. According to 1850 Census figures, there was early Black settlement: 31 individuals, many from Arkansas, Virginia, and the Carolinas out of an enumerated population of 3000 (Pooley 1905, 394). With the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law, however, by 1860, many Black people fled northward to Canada. As Waukegan rose as a significant industrial center, African Americans were shut out from residential areas with majority white populations due to clauses that prevented houses from being sold to non-whites.⁶ However, due to the resulting economic development from manufacturing industries, the City of Waukegan deemed itself the “City of Progress.”



Figure 1 Mural of "Waukegan Opportunity Here," by Edgar Sandoval

⁶ In this dissertation, I shift from African American to Black chronologically around the 1980s due the political shift with the Black Power movement. I often use both identifiers within the same sentence for stylistic purposes.

Although scholars have conducted research on the lives, activities, and activism of immigrants in Chicago (e.g. Erdmans 1998; De Genova 2005; Pallares and Flores-González 2010; Mena Robles and Gomberg-Muñoz 2016; Kern and Kovesi 2018), few research projects have focused geographically on other towns within the Chicagoland area (for an example, see Guhlincozzi 2020). This region can be defined as simply as the suburbs surrounding Chicago and as broadly as areas into southeastern Wisconsin and northwestern Indiana. This includes Waukegan, the county seat of Lake County. Waukegan has been categorized as a “satellite city,” a municipality adjacent to a major city—like Chicago—that is a self-sufficient community in the metropolitan region, as well as a densely populated suburb. As such, Waukegan straddles the urban/suburban divide and possesses economic, social, cultural, and demographic characteristics from both. In contrast to many of the northern residential suburbs alongside the lakefront, Waukegan has retained a distinct industrial character. The departure of manufacturing industries led to a lowered cost of living and an increase in the need for both service and temporary workers that attracted people to the area, shifting the Latinx population from 44.8% in 2000 to 55.4% in 2017 (U.S. Census Bureau). Like other suburban towns, these demographic changes have elicited responses from local municipal governments.

The elites reacted to these demographic shifts by enacting anti-immigrant ordinances that deny people their right to navigate the suburb effectively. These ordinances raise concerns about the relationship the local state has with residents who are immigrants or members of mixed-status families. Since the biggest employers in the area are the school district and the Lake County government, many immigrants and mixed-status families depend on the local state for employment. Consequently, Latinx citizens and immigrants expressed fears that immigration

enforcement was motivated by racist and xenophobic discrimination while also straining the ties between families, the local state and community members, and communities across borders (Preston 2008; Mahr et al. 2010; Partlow & Lydersen 2017). Waukegan's partnership with ICE's Community Shield program revealed how the local state had been collaborating with the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) to deport immigrants suspected of being affiliated with gangs (Slack 2008, 496). Local state agencies collaborate with federal agencies to enact racialized projects that align with their economic interests and reinforce xenophobic attitudes towards immigrants. The local state can choose when to align itself with or diverge from other scales of government to insert its power into the lives of people who are not citizens. While some scholars have argued that anti-immigrant ordinances proliferated throughout Chicagoland suburbs (Slack 2008), it is less clear what their impact is on the everyday practices and mobilities of migrant communities. Waukegan, then, serves as an important site through which to answer the proposed research questions.

1.2 Theoretical Framework

This dissertation shifts the where of studies on immigrants in the Midwest from urban centers to their suburban counterparts. This move allows us to examine how other spaces are securitized for middle-class consumption by suburban elite against the recent waves of immigrants. Securitization of urban space refers to logics of what constitutes proper use, design, and ordering of space, which is usually accompanied by the implementation of legal instruments, policing tactics, and social control strategies “to make the city over into a pleasant site of and for bourgeois consumption” (Wacquant 2008, 199; Becker and Müller 2013, 78). While research on immigration, race, and/or space in the region has focused on Milwaukee and Chicago, this

dissertation examines the lives of immigrants in Waukegan. Originally an agricultural town, Waukegan officially adopted the slogan “City of Progress” due to its construction of fixed capital for commercial routes, rise as a destination for industry, and rapid population growth. The wealth and prosperity promised under the official slogan did not materialize evenly for existing or future residents. Building upon its original designation as a trading post by settlers, Waukegan developed material infrastructure to maintain its importance in the regional and global economy. The Waukegan harbor and the nearby railroad routes pushed Waukegan into competition with Chicago and Milwaukee. These geographic corridors brought Waukegan into a complex web of political, social, and economic processes that stemmed different scales. The emphasis on their importance via fixed capital also illustrates that this kind of mobility was considered extremely important for the growth of the area, and it was facilitated by the fixed capital that connected trail, rail, auto, and air transportation. As such, historically, Waukegan has had a broader reach outside of its location. Waukegan has been described as an ethnic hub, where numerous waves of migrant and immigrant groups called this area home (from Europeans to African American southerners to Puerto Ricans and Mexicans), and they have often relied on effective mobility to be able to get around this region that encompasses various sites. Despite its size, the range of mobilities found within different communities has been complex and has been distributed in uneven ways but never without contest.

Today, Waukegan is known as a post-industrial, minority-majority, low-income northern Chicago suburb. Located within Lake County, Waukegan is bounded by these cities: Zion, Winthrop Harbor, Park City, North Chicago, Gurnee, etc. Regionally, Waukegan does not hold the same prestigious position it had once been. Waukegan’s economic disinvestment led to higher rates of unemployment and crime. With the increasing visibility of Latinx migrants,

particularly Mexicans, and African Americans in the town, Waukegan's elites and many of the residents attributed the economic disinvestment to the presence of racialized populations whose practices were perceived with abjection. These discourses, of course, as Laura Barraclough (2009) shows us, are relationally related to the material conditions that allow other cities in Lake County to become wealthier, particularly with the labor of the very same people who are blamed for their conditions.

Prior to 1890, Waukegan was primarily agricultural. Non-farm jobs were limited to retail businesses and some small manufacturers. The mayor at the time, Henry C. Hutchinson, attempted to bring business to the area but had found that without transportation, it would be difficult. The only railroad at the time did not want to change its trackage or scheduling. Henry managed to convince the belt line railroad (later the Elgin Joliet and Eastern) to move that terminus from Highland Park to Waukegan. With a facility for moving raw materials in and finished products out, it was practical for companies to build factories here. This led to a need for workers and increased job prospects caused many people to come to Waukegan, making the population boom. The number of Waukegan residents in that decade doubled and eventually doubled again in the following one. These companies' long-standing legacy, however, has been one of pollution of the lake, the land, and residents. Their fixed capital became symbols of a past no longer in vision and contemporarily are of little use to the local government or residents. But therefore, Waukegan and other towns have attempted to attract other businesses, such as Amazon warehouses to re-use existing but framed-as-underused spaces for production. Waukegan and Kenosha both have Amazon warehouses in their cities. Within the long history of economic productivity and the division of labor that existed between migrants and immigrants / settlers, African Americans had limited employment opportunities, many of them primarily worked in the

tannery. Due to racial discrimination in terms of housing, the tannery built housing for its workers into what would now become North Chicago, another racialized and classed community in Lake County located south of Waukegan.

Currently, the towns surrounding Waukegan, like North Chicago and Zion, also hold relatively large populations of color within them. The area itself has seen an increase in migrants settling in the area, although most tend to concentrate in parts of Chicago, west of Chicago, and around northern Lake County as well. Waukegan itself is currently 55% Latinx and 19% African American, which makes most of its population people of color. African Americans had begun to come to the area in higher numbers in the 1920s due to the Great Migration (1915 to 1970). Although Latinxs had begun to come in the 1930s, they came in larger numbers in the 1970s. The growth in the Latinx population also grew from the 1990s to 2000.

When we consider the present conditions of temporary migrant labor in Waukegan and how factories around the area have relied on the precarity of this racialized labor, we can see how these kinds of division of labor continue to exist in the fabric of society. The experience that people have in these positions have led them to challenge and produce contestations against those in power who seek to exploit and marginalize migrant laborers. Stuart Hall and Doreen Massey (2010) argue that we need to understand our current conjuncture to perceive how hegemony is a site of constant struggle. As such, I draw on ideas of race and culture to frame my understanding of economic revitalization projects as well. These projects are a response to the economic depression that Waukegan has experienced and reflects the priorities of those in power both in city council and the residents. It is particularly poignant to further emphasize the way that race is central to the formation and use of capital, and this is particularly relevant for the use of migrant labor for temporary positions by factories and companies in the area. Even during the

initial construction of these factories from 1890 on, they were sited near areas where recent migrants and African Americans had moved to. These new migrants and particularly this racialized group were seen as disposable in the sense that they could live near a factory that would be polluting greatly in the area. In the early 1900s when African Americans wanted to move to the area, people did not want them to settle near them, and although the local government had stated that they had no way to 'stop' people from moving in, the people took it upon their own hands and created housing clauses that would not allow property to be sold to African Americans. These racial covenants can be seen in Chicago and other U.S. cities during the early to late twentieth century (Jones-Correa 2000; Plotkin 2001; L. L. Woods 2012; Shabazz 2015). African Americans could only live on Main Street, the South Side of Waukegan, and within a wetlands area that had no infrastructure in place on the West Side. The economic development of the area was already one divided by social difference, and this has continued to be part of the fabric of the city.

With many midwestern cities experiencing economic depression after many industries left, economic revitalization became a widespread term, or urban planning and economic development, for cities to investigate to bring prosperity back. With this, towns took it upon themselves to lead the charge for economic growth in their area. Armed with policy at hand, elites used these tools to not only incentivize businesses to come to the area using tax incentives tied to zoning (EZ zones and others) but to remove people that were deemed problems. They were deemed the reason that white middle class professionals would not settle in Waukegan, despite the longstanding issues of high tax rates and pollution in air, water, and ground. In this way they were able to use municipal law related to complaints (like being out too late, loud music playing from cars) but also to housing and possession. If you are undocumented, the target

of some of these ordinances—whether explicitly or indirectly—then you could still be fined heavily to be displaced because the fees are too much. As such, I draw on critical ethnic studies to think about how different groups are incorporated to the area, including nationality and documentation status, as this relates to how different communities who are excluded in many aspects can still be included for exploitation and punishment / criminalization. In this way, I additionally draw on queer of color critique to examine how political economy is not detached from the formations of race and gender, sexuality, citizenship status, and migratory status. I use this framework to further engage with issues of social difference that continue to affect the lives of residents.

I place this under the rubric of cultural studies because I similarly draw on a range of theories that engage with questions of race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality. While I draw on race and urban planning to understand the structure of the city and how it has become laid out, and I use differentiated citizenship to examine how legality is deployed in the name of economic revitalization, I further move to cultural studies to understand how people engage in place-making practices. In particular, I am interested in the wide range of violence—not just physical—that structure their lives, particularly the particularities found in a post-industrial city. In this way, I can understand how the structures of cities produce the conditions that enable violence in all its form to manifest for these migrants (De León 2015). I center their stories so that I can build upon mobility studies into the rubric of ‘navigation’ so that it incorporates both the spatial and social as part of each other in this understanding. These stories show us that people find ways to navigate the city, but their stories let us further understand the power relations embedded in the city, which provides further insights into *how* these structures operate and their *effects* on these communities. When I talk about violence, I refer to the multiple forms

of violence that affect residents that include structural forms not directly tied to physicality (Menjívar and Abrego 2012). When I talk about navigation, I am building upon mobility to incorporate affect and meaning-making. Since mobility refers to our movements in space, I argue that navigation incorporates affective and discursive movements that residents must also make. This project is interested in racialized populations, mixed-status families, and immigrants. As such, it understands race as a constantly shifting category. For mixed status families, it means families where different members have varying citizenship and migratory statuses within one familial unit. For immigrants, I tend to use this to refer to people moving from one country to another as opposed to migrant which is when people move. A lot of these ordinances and policies affect people regardless of citizenship status. Their practices challenge some of the criminalization and marginalized of the landscape that the city has done.

1.3 Contributions to Discipline

This dissertation is an interdisciplinary project. This dissertation emphasizes that a study of space must be in conversation with different disciplines. Since Lefebvre (1991) argues that space is the product of social and political-economic processes, I additionally draw on Doreen Massey (2005) to understand that space is always in process and contains multiplicities. This is particularly useful for this study because it engages with various populations and groups to illustrate how people perceive and engage with the world around them differently. Kay Anderson's (1991) study of Vancouver's Chinatown enables us to understand how race and its manifestations become established through urban space and place. Similar to how Anderson examines how law making and zoning, racist discourse and segregation, economic exclusion,

and eventually multiculturalism, I consider Waukegan as one site through which race has become understood in particular ways.

Although I engage analytically with “place” in this study (Tuan 1974; 1977; Mills 2010; 2012), I am drawn to the work on ‘region’ conducted by Clyde Woods (2017a; 2017b). In his analysis, Woods argues that racism has a foundation at the regional scale through the Deep South’s white plantation bloc, which wielded power long after the Civil War (2017a). In this way, region considers the unifying social, economic, and political qualities of many spaces that shape the manifestation of race at the local level, as opposed to the study of one space as a place, which may miss regional forces at play. Due to the various forms of violence and navigation that this study attends to, it situates itself within the place of Waukegan as an analytic (but also because of its unique quality). Since much of its political and economic growth occurred in relation to cities in the region, such as Chicago and Milwaukee, and to the Great Lakes, at times this research broadens out from Waukegan as a place to think about its relationship to the region. Since research has demonstrated that suburbia is not just a white space (Cheng 2013), I draw on political geography of difference to examine suburbia as a political space wherein white elites exert control over desirable spaces through racialized projects of economic revitalization that disavow undesirable populations through carefully state-controlled securitization of municipalities (Barracough 2009). Political geography argues that state matters are also spatial matters, such that an examination of local policies and practices can be attuned to various scales and spaces, such as when we consider the Secure Communities program by DHS.

This project builds upon the ‘mobility turn’ to consider the way that mobility has been structured within the city of Waukegan and how people produce various mobilities despite constraints. Examining research on mobility demonstrates the way that policies and practice

attempt to manage movement and give meaning to it. And while more work has examined the relationship between space and mobility, this dissertation draws its framework from the work of Genevieve Carpio (2019), whose excellent work on space, mobility, and race has provided a theoretical pathway for this dissertation to further build upon this intersection. Carpio also demonstrates the importance of attending to historical processes and moments to understand how mobility has changed and shifted to its contemporary iterations. As such, there is a vested interest in and outside of the field of geography to build upon the mobility turn. My usage of navigation builds upon this work. While mobility attends to the spatial movements and is structured by power, I think about navigation more broadly to consider discursive strategies and aspects of emotion within conversations of movement. Since Tim Cresswell (2006) would state that even movements as small as gestures can be thought about with mobility, I believe that navigation can encompass the multiplicities embedded in, within, and around mobility. When we consider a community or backyard garden being created in an area with food scarcity, for example, we can see that a solution that communities come up with can be a spatial solution. But it also means that people can attribute different meanings to their garden if they are immigrants and grow vegetables that remind them of home. These feelings of home within the context of food scarcity may not be fully captured within mobility, and as such, this study broadens mobility to navigation to encompass the affective and discursive strategies additionally situated w/in movement.

Geography has similarly had a long history of engaging with migration. As a form of large-scale movement across countries and large-scale movements within them, geography has quantitatively and historically been engaged with migrants. I draw on migration studies because the work emphasizes questions of citizenship status, legality, and immigrations. I draw on one

particular keyword from Casas-Cortes et al (2015): migrant struggles. It refers to 1) organized struggles in which migrants openly challenge dominant politics of mobility, the regime of labor, or the space of citizenship; and 2) “the daily strategies, refusals, and resistances through which migrants enact their (contested) presence—even if they are not expressed or manifested as ‘political’ battles demanding something in particular” (26). This depiction of ‘migrant struggles’ enables us to think about how different spaces, politics, and relations within undocumented communities constitute the heterogeneity of migrant conditions. Considering that I emphasize the everyday in this work, migrant struggles as a framework offers an opening for me to begin to include cultural geographies into the work on migration studies to think about place-making and meaning-making practices of the various populations that this dissertation attends to.

I draw on critical ethnic studies to make sense of the racial and ethnic formations within multicultural Waukegan. As scholars demonstrate, such as Wendy Cheng (2013) and Carpio (2019), meanings of race attached to certain groups were also formed alongside those of others groups. The recent shifts of immigration enforcement from the U.S.-Mexico border toward the interior have been examined at the national scale, but as feminist and critical race scholars have pointed out, these changes shape the everyday placemaking practices of various peoples within private and public spaces in suburbia. As such, to understand the various ways that power operates within the lives of differently situated populations, critical ethnic studies offers concepts such as differential citizenship to think about how inclusion can operate to produce violence for differentially situated populations too. Critical ethnic studies provides a way to think about the contradictions of liberal multiculturalism that make it possible for a city such as Waukegan to claim to be progressive but continue to enact violence through differentiated citizenship. In fact, it seeks to explain how and why race and racism persist. Laura Pulido (2017) and María Josefina

Saldaña-Portillo (2016) demonstrate ways that critical ethnic studies and geography can complement each other, such that geography can gain better understands of critical moments such as the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo to examine the disparate effects that this treaty had on differing Indigenous nations. And with that, Laura Pulido especially demonstrates the importance of space in the construction of ethnic identities, such that when critical ethnic studies examines these matters, it's not only about time and history but about space and geography.

Although this project situates itself as deeply geographical, it draws on other areas of interest in critical ethnic studies and American studies to make sense of the long-standing approaches to issues of legality, race, and space in Waukegan. These areas help push me to think about issues of gender, race, sexuality, and ethnicity. Although I draw on feminist care ethics, queer of color theorizing, and critical race and postcolonial geographies when thinking about place-making and meaning-making, when centering the narratives of migrants et al, Joan Scott and others warn us that we cannot solely depend on experience to make sense of the world around us. Even though experience can provide us with insights into power relations, and they in fact do, in order to contextualize these experiences, I similarly use these frameworks to think through and theorize different issues in this dissertation. For example, placing queer theory and environmental justice together can push us to think about queer ecologies, or about ways to disrupt prevailing notions about the environment. As such, we can think about how toxic substances move through and in gendered sexualized and racialized bodies.

1.4 Methods

This dissertation draws on participant observation, interviews, and archival research. Although I started the photovoice documentation project, or photovoice, the COVID-19

pandemic disrupted the process. As such, this dissertation does not directly draw from but is inspired by some people's photovoice portfolios. I began the research in January 2019 and continued until the COVID-19 pandemic. I conducted some parts of this research virtually. Participant observation offers one way for researchers to become familiar in a community (Darlington & Scott 2002). For the participant observation, I attended various functions located in Waukegan and around the county, as well as towards Milwaukee and Chicago. I attended Waukegan city council meetings on Monday nights. I showed up at various public meetings organized by government agencies. For example, the Illinois Environmental Protection Agency hosted public hearings about the coal ash ponds on the site of the coal-fired generation station and ethylene oxide emissions. Another state agency, the Agency for Toxic Substances and Disease Registry held a public meeting in North Chicago after an explosion at AB Specialty Silicones in Waukegan killed four workers and severely injured another. In addition to environmental issues, I attended meetings concerning issues related to immigrants. For instance, the Chicago Workers Collaborative hosted an informational session about undocumented migrants' rights—and immigrants generally—in the workplace. Additionally, Mano a Mano held a meeting for immigrants to understand what is a public charge and their implications. In conjunction with meetings held by government agencies and non-profit organizations, I was present at cultural events and other happenings locally to understand the daily life in the area. The participant observation enabled me to build rapport with residents, which was an important step in a project around a sensitive topic such as violence (L. Muñoz 2016).

I conducted open-ended qualitative interviews lasting between 30 minutes and two hours. In this dissertation, I draw on 32 interviews with city officials, workers in non-profits, and everyday residents. Some interviews were conducted in pairs with family members or with

partners. As such, there are 35 people who were interviewed as part of this project. Sixteen of the participants identified as women, and eighteen identified as men. Three participants identify as African American or Black, two as White, while the remaining participants identify as Latina/o/x (30). Latinx participants hail from various countries and territories in the following order from highest to lowest numbers: Mexico (21), Puerto Rico (3), Honduras (3), Guatemala (2), and Colombia (1). I spoke with more residents from the aforementioned countries through informal interviews, as well as with people from Belize, El Salvador, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic. These conversations further informed the analysis. Most of the interviews were conducted in English, a small number in Spanish, and some using both English and Spanish. The interviews emphasized in-depth accounts of personal experiences. In a dissertation project about how xenophobic ordinances affect their present navigations, these grounded reflections on the past enable the researcher to understand contemporary events (Anderson et al. 1990; Benson & Nagar 2006). In this way, the interviews enable researchers to grasp how past events shape the way people experience places and behaviors in the present. Questions included: How did you or your family come to live in Waukegan? What places do you frequent in the suburbs? How do you understand economic development within Waukegan?

I conducted archival research collecting data from government websites, the City of Waukegan YouTube account, and the Waukegan Historical Society. These sources provided information about how the Waukegan city government approached economic revitalization, environmental issues, and immigration. This has enabled me to trace the relationship between these issues at various conjunctures in the history of the suburb. Considering the disruptions caused by COVID-19 in the research process, this dissertation emphasizes the data from archival research to frame and identify critical historical dimensions that could not be captured from the

interviews alone. The data helps frame how the demographic shift in Waukegan at the turn of the millennium has stemmed from the city government's and elites' long-standing practices.⁷ The archival research has thus informed the development of the relationship between capitalism and racism in Waukegan's history, and its contemporary manifestations.

1.5 Structure of the Dissertation

This dissertation consists of three chapters. The first chapter employs a historical framework to argue that racial formations and the economic conditions have converged and been reconstituted to form conditions of racialized dispossession for people in Waukegan from its inception as a colonial trading post to the twenty-first century. Chapter 1 begins with examining a French trading post as a settler colonial project that aimed to control the region and subsequently became a desirable place to build a town for settlers. Settlers of Little Fort, as the town became known, had valued the land—as in the soil, vegetation, rivers, and lake—for its potential to facilitate industrial growth and subsequently forcibly removed Indigenous people residing in and near the settlement. Although an agricultural community initially, companies built industrial facilities in Little Fort, then named Waukegan, due to the location's access to transportation routes via a canal in the Great Lakes and railroad lines. Industrialization provided many new employment opportunities for residents; however, companies experienced a labor shortage and ultimately encouraged the migration of Europeans and southern African Americans

⁷ In this dissertation, elite refers to people who hold disproportionate wealth, privilege, and political power. There are political, economic, cultural, and intellectual elites. Within Waukegan, deindustrialization exacerbated the unequitable distribution of wealth. With the increase in Latinx migrants in the area, many of whom are escaping poverty or are living in impoverished conditions, power may be centralized within certain political and economic actants. Residents have critiqued the city council for its centralization of power, for example. The elite are often distant enough (physically and discursively) from everyday residents who are also targets of punishment via policy.

to fill the positions. African American migrants were employed in some of the dirtiest and lowest paying jobs in Waukegan, and Black residents experienced residential segregation, labor stratification and exclusion, and racist attitudes from neighbors and city officials. A racialized geography emerged. Under the umbrella of economic revitalization, the city government's economic reports and plans from the 1950s to 1970s identified and targeted these Black residential areas as necessitating redevelopment. With the departure of industries in the 1980s and onward, the political economic system shifted from manufacturing to primarily orientated around service. Many migrants from Latin America moved to Waukegan due to its inexpensive standard of living. As the newest group of migrants, Latinx residents had to navigate a landscape of xenophobic violence wherein the municipal government implemented ordinances aimed at restricting the settlement and mobility of undocumented people. Through the cases of the removal of the Potawatomi people as part of Waukegan's settlement, the segregation of African Americans during the twentieth century, and the targeting of Latinx migrants through xenophobic ordinances, the chapter illustrates the centrality of dispossession in the development of Waukegan as a place from its origin to its contemporary conditions.

Chapter 2 builds on the history of industry to demonstrate the legacy of pollution left behind for residents and government agencies to resolve. Through the often-obscured relationships between governmental agencies, residents had to learn how to navigate and power-map the state to demand for equitable environmental conditions. Building upon Chapter 1, Chapter 2 examines how Waukegan's industrial past left behind a legacy of toxicity that the majority Latinx population must navigate. The local government has cooperated and collaborated with county, state, and federal level agencies to remediate the many polluted sites located throughout Waukegan and especially concentrated on its lakefront. The chapter argues that the

relationships between these governmental agencies are chaotic, or that they obscure what agencies can be held accountable, if at all, for corporate pollution. Community members—many youth, women of color, immigrants, and undocumented residents—have had to learn how to engage with and navigate these chaotic relationships in their efforts around environmental justice. As residents traverse relationships with local- and state-level political actors, they have learned more about how the state operates and the types of barriers that exist. As such, residents power-map these governmental relations and share this information with others so that they may more effectively pinpoint who and what can support them. Power-map is a visual tool utilized by residents to identify individuals and agencies to target to promote social change. Often politically focused, power mapping helps visualize whom people need to influence, who can influence that individual (constituents, business leaders, etc.), and what can be done. This chapter emphasizes a local non-profit organization's efforts around environmental justice.

Chapter 3 further develops the concept of navigation via affect and mobility through how migrants, mixed-status family members, and Latinxs traverse structural conditions. Chapter 3 argues that undocumented residents, members of mixed-status families, and Latinx migrants utilize their knowledge about places to inform how they choose to navigate the world around them. The chapter builds the concept of navigation as a relationship between people's affect around spaces and their mobility practices. It considers the financial and gendered barriers to automobility and how residents alleviate some of the stressors through their housing situation, by walking, or through the support of other community members. I then examine how U.S. citizen children navigate being a part of mixed-status families and the affective understandings of how they must support their family members' undocumented status locally. I also argue that legally precarious queer Latinx migrants produce an expansive terrain of social geographies made

possible through the ways that other queers offer support. The chapter concludes with an analysis of how one resident has had to organize across various issues in his efforts to push for a more equitable environment for some of the most vulnerable residents in Waukegan. These residents employ their knowledge about places—transnational relationships as well as local understandings—to inform how they live in the suburb, move through spaces, and inhabit expansive geographies. Collectively, the chapters exemplify how residents navigate conditions of violence, many of them part of long-standing approaches by the municipal government to curtail the mobility practices of racialized community members. As such, next chapter situates the various forms of control around settlement and mobility that racialized populations had to navigate as they built lives in Waukegan.

Chapter 2 From Little Fort to Waukegan

On July 16, 2007, thousands of people congregated at 5pm in downtown Waukegan to protest the Waukegan City Council (WCC)'s motion to apply to a program under the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE). Section 287(g) of the U.S. Immigration and Nationality Act authorizes the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) to deputize police officers to enforce federal immigration law. Local, county, and state law enforcement agencies may apply to the program to receive training and work under ICE, and WCC's application would enable the local police force to arrest and detain immigrants convicted of crimes and start deportation proceedings against them. On this Monday, WCC had a motion to reconsider their decision from the previous month to apply for the federal program. Of the thousands of people in attendance for the rally outside of City Hall, many of them were present to call for the City to reverse its course. Anti-illegal immigration protesters were present in a much smaller number but provided their support to the WCC. Demonstrators had organized the rally for weeks and invited people from outside of Waukegan to lend their presence to their advocacy. The City responded to the planned rally with, in addition to their police, a show of military force: helicopters, snipers, SWAT teams, and dogs.

Local residents had begun organizing community organizations and members to voice their concerns about disproportionate policing of Latinx people, protest the application to the 287(g) program, and sway the WCC to overturn its decision. Outside of City Hall that Monday, thousands listened to various speakers share their stories and call upon the WCC to not deputize



Figure 2 Waukegan residents speak out against proposed 287(g) bill (Pagelow 2007b)

its police officers. A newspaper article published in the *Lake County News-Sun* on the protests contains an image that reflects the broader tensions with which this chapter contends (Pagelow 2007a). Taken by Michael Schmidt, the photograph is of Latinxs in close proximity protesting during the rally. People are holding banners mid-movement, some with children sitting on their shoulders. The article identifies a person with a microphone in the forefront speaking out against the proposed bill as Lilia Paredes, vice president of the Chicago Metro Chapter of the Labor Council for Latin American Advancement. Behind Paredes, people hold banners and signs against the program as well. A prominently-featured sign contains the message, “Downtown & Lake Front [sic] REVIVAL at the Expense of a Community’s SURVIVAL?” (see *Figure 1*).

This protest sign signals how residents perceive the application to the federal program as embedded within the City's approach to economic revitalization. Through the program, the City may deport and therefore displace undesirable residents as part of an effort to encourage white, middle-class people to come to Waukegan.

This chapter examines the relationship between political economy, migration processes, and racialization in Waukegan. It explains why the local state at the millennium crafted an intensified xenophobic environment that aimed to manage the mobility and settlement of the growing Latinx migrant population within the city. I examine Waukegan as a place. Place is constructed. Place is understood broadly as spaces that people are attached to in one way or another, as ascribing meaning to, or a "meaningful location" (Cresswell 2014, 12). When people invest meaning in a portion of space, Tim Cresswell (2014) argues, then it becomes a place. Some excellent scholars have examined the relationship between space, time, and place (Tuan 1974; 1977; Mills 2010; 2012), and this informs my approach in this chapter. I argue that capitalism and racism have constituted the formation of Waukegan as a place. To exemplify this point, I detail how elites repeatedly sought to exclude racialized people from living in the area. Although the 287(g) protest occurred contemporarily, a historical account may provide a basis to understand the state's investment in capital and its active role in producing these conditions of severe inequality amongst vulnerable residents as deeply entrenched orientations. I place these anti-immigrant practices and ordinances within a longer trajectory of expelling people of color materially and figuratively from the local government's imaginary. A historical framework highlights the racialized nature of state policies to promote (im)mobilities, even as the racialized migrant figure changed over time from "Black" to "Mexican." Additionally, the histories of 'bad jobs' and pollution for southern African American migrants are related to environmental

injustice, even during this early 20th century reading. Waukegan reflects broader trends about the consolidation of whiteness as part of a trend of both consolidating labor hierarchies and demanding segregated housing (Miles 2017). They also point to the wealth accumulating in some places and for some people and the impoverishment of others (Taylor 2019).

This chapter is divided into three parts. The first details the history of the formation of Waukegan as an industrial city. I explain how its development depended on the expulsion of Indigenous peoples living nearby and in Waukegan. Settlers perceived the area as underutilized and transformed the land into private property for profit. Companies located their factories on Waukegan's lakefront because its geographic location provided the conditions for capital accumulation. Opportunities for employment in these manufacturing industries further spurred population growth via the migration of Europeans, U.S. New Englanders, and African Americans from the U.S. South. However, employment and housing opportunities for Black residents were limited.

The second part details the changing Black geographies in Waukegan from industrialization to urban renewal projects. The city's industrial growth led to an increase in the migration of African Americans, and the visibility of their presence to white residents led to racial tensions, segregation, and discrimination. I recount how Black residents formed a particular sense of place of Waukegan due to these conditions. I juxtapose these accounts with how the City produced economic reports and plans. Similar to other urbanizing cities with growing populations of color, the City utilized urban renewal programs to aesthetically improve their downtown areas and make them more attractive for capital investment. I analyze these economic revitalization plans as moral documents that encouraged the displacement of undesirable residents, as codified in their geographic representation of deteriorated

neighborhoods. It draws on a queer of color critique reading of documents to understand their illicit assumptions. Queer of color critique aims to consider cultural formations within analyses of race, capitalism, and the state (J. E. Muñoz 1999; Ferguson 2004; Manalansan IV 2005; Reddy 2011). As such, this chapter aims to consider the intersections of race, political economy, gender, and sexuality in its analysis of archival texts, particularly of economic studies, reports, and plans.

The third part argues that the anti-immigrant ordinances stemmed from the City's priority on economic revitalization and development. By the 2000s, Latinxs became the demographic majority constituting much of Waukegan cultural, social, and economic life. The City framed Latinxs as undesirable residents due to their associations with criminality and transiency that are a threat to private property and a hindrance to economic progress. Local Latinx residents recognized the relationship between displacement and urban renewal for racialized peoples. At the end of the 2010s and into 2020s, white and Black non-Latinx residents continued to express concern about the presence of "illegal" immigrants and Latinxs generally in the city. Presently, the political economy of the region reflects a shift towards companies relying on the temporary labor of primarily migrants. I draw on a geographical relational poverty studies, an approach that challenges mainstream approaches towards poverty that denaturalizes conditions of impoverishment (Elwood, Lawson, and Sheppard 2017). This approach enables us to challenge dominant discourses about poverty in Waukegan and examine how various political, economic, and cultural tools produce poverty for some of the most vulnerable residents. As such, it offers a "politics of possibility for knowing and acting on poverty in new ways" (2017, 745). Within this economic structure, residents are valued for their laboring bodies and their fiscal contribution to the City's budget. Some Latinx residents express that they—and Afro-Latinx and Anglo-Black

residents—are still subject to disproportionate policing, police brutality, and financial punishment through fines. In other words, the City sucks their pockets dry. The City maintains their precarity and conditions of impoverishment. In what follows next, I return to the settling of Waukegan and its growth into an industrial city.

2.1 Settler Colonialism and the Growth of an Industrial City

2.1.1 Making Little Fort

In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the French constructed a number of small, temporary fortified trading posts on the Great Lakes on what contemporarily is named Chicago and its collar counties. In 1679, French explorers Sieur de la Salle and Louis Hennepin departed Quebec City and sailed through the Great Lakes to explore the western part of New France. Noting the presence of Indigenous peoples near a bluff in the southwest region of Lake Michigan, the French inferred that the area must be abundant with resources and thus hospitable for settlers. The French built the first trading post near a Potawatomi village sometime in the late 1600s with the goal of controlling the region. The trading post achieved this objective and enabled the French to foster trade in fur-bearing animal skins, including trading with Indigenous peoples (Olson 2019a). Originally titled “Small Fort River” in French, the trading post later became known as “Little Fort,” although no evidence exists of permanent French military fortifications in the area (Arra 1971, 8; Gale 2018a).

Indigenous populations resided in the region before and during this time. Due to increasing settlement on the eastern coast, particularly the English, the Iroquois Confederacy (Haudenosaunee) moved west and defeated French allies during the 1650s. In 1641, the Potawatomi left Michigan for the western side of Lake Michigan and lived east of today’s Green

Bay, Wisconsin. In 1687, the French and Great Lakes Algonquin drove the Iroquois back to New York. The Potawatomi then moved south until reaching the southern end of Lake Michigan by 1695 (Gale 2018b). In the early 1700s, they took over the region from the Mascouten and the Miami peoples, both Algonquian-speaking Indigenous peoples from the Great Lakes. The French abandoned the area in the 1720s during the Mesquakie, or Fox, Wars (Gale 2018a). Some Indigenous peoples lived with the French in contemporary southern Illinois, many under indentured servitude, severely limiting their autonomy. They found themselves in conditions of enslavement or servitude alongside Black people. Some accounts note that First Nations peoples were enslaved by the French, although most of the Indigenous and Black population would serve periods of indentured servitude, both ‘willingly’ and unwillingly.

Illinois had remained in the hands of the French until the French and Indian War (1754-1763), a war between the colonies of British America and New France, and their Indigenous allies. At the conclusion of the war, Illinois country passed into the hands of the English. After the American Revolution, in 1787, the Northwest Ordinance (NO), Article VI, passes and prohibits slavery and involuntary servitude in the Northwest Territory, including Illinois (J. Dorsey 1986, 7). Similar to how other states had prohibited slavery, laws sought to prevent Black people from settling in the territory. This becomes more prominent at a later point. Illinois became a separate territory in 1809 and a state in 1818 with a constitution affirming NO’s prohibitions but permitted a ‘voluntary’ indenture system. This system was used to evade the issue of slave prohibition and ultimately evolved to indenture Black people and Indigenous peoples. African American historian James Dorsey (1986) traces the theoretical legal distinctions between these and states that, “From a Black perspective, bondage was bondage regardless of its form” (9). Historian Tiya Miles (2017, 154) describes how in Illinois “a ‘terrain of unfreedom’

developed on the shadow side of the Ordinance.” But she contends that some individuals held as slaves found ways to inch toward autonomy, such as through collecting wages for their work (2017, 155). The issue of slavery and indentured servitude was prominent in southern Illinois, where most of the population was located.

Illinois turned to restricting the mobility and settlement of Black people. In 1819, the year after Illinois became a state, it implemented “Black Laws,” which governed the lives of slaves and Black people generally (Gertz 1963). These laws required Black people to have a certificate of freedom to become a resident of the state. If they were unable to provide proof, then they could be sold for a year. If the resident had not been “claimed” by slaveholders, then they received a conditional certificate of freedom that could be revoked if they were subsequently “claimed” (1963, 464). Black people had no legal standing in courts, could not vote, and their travel was restricted to local areas (J. Dorsey 1986, 10). Due to Illinois’s population distribution, the state held a “southern mentality” (10). These legal codes demanded proper documentation for Black people to enact effective mobility in the area. Legislation existed wherein enslaved peoples, once brought into the state, legally transformed into indentured servants. In this transformation, Black people used their mobility and relationships with other free residents to struggle against their unfree condition (Heerman 2016). Mobility for racialized peoples was contested. Catharine Slack (2008) discusses fugitive slave laws and how their mobility was restricted through surveillance practices, a process already in existence within the state of Illinois. Restricting the residency and mobility practices of migrant communities today may stem from these very practices (Browne 2015).

Even as state laws were passed to restrict Black people’s mobility, infrastructure developments increased capacity for white mobilities. In the early nineteenth century,

infrastructure developed to expand the mobility of some migrants in the region. Most settlers utilized the Ohio River to arrive to Illinois, and most of that population was located south. To arrive to northern Illinois, one had to undertake a mostly overland route with marshy areas to cross, a nearly impossible voyage during wet seasons. In 1825, the completion of the Erie Canal provided New York and the greater New England with a water route to connect them to the resources in the west, which also facilitated the movement of western agricultural products to the more populous east (Link 2009, 13). This infrastructure set the stage for Little Fort to become a hub within the region's industrial economy. Many migrants also traveled from New England to the Midwest for employment in farming and manufacturing. Many early settlers of Waukegan were from New York and New England (13).

Settlers had a significant problem with the presence of Indigenous peoples in the area (Link 2009, 14; Olson 2019a). The Potawatomi who lived in the area most likely did not want to leave as they had expertly navigated the region season after season. While the Potawatomi made 38 treaties with the U.S. between 1795 and 1837, 34 of them involved land surrenders on the part of the Indigenous peoples (Link 2009, 14). In the Second Treaty of Prairie du Chien of 1829, the United Nations of the Potawatomi, Chippewa, and Ottawa tribes ceded their land in the area of today's Waukegan to the federal government and retained hunting rights as long as the United States government maintained ownership over the land (Gale 2018a). The government wanted the remaining land in which the Potawatomi resided in Illinois and Wisconsin. Under the government policy of Indian Removal, in a gathering in Chicago with 5,000 Indigenous peoples in 1833, the Treaty of Chicago was developed to compensate the Potawatomi at nearly one million dollars and relocate them to Iowa, Missouri, and Kansas (Link 2009, 14). The federal government gave them until 1836 to leave. When groups of the Potawatomi traveled early to

their new regions, they discovered the lands to be less suitable than the densely forested areas in Wisconsin and Illinois.

Many Indigenous peoples were forcibly removed through 1838 (Link 2009, 14) when it was considered complete. Being of familial kin did not prevent Indigenous peoples from this removal. William Connor of Little Fort married an Indigenous woman (whose name, unfortunately, could not be located), and they had nine children together. When the forced relocation occurred, Connor chose to stay in the area rather than move with them or have them stay in the town. The Indigenous woman and her children had to leave the area (Olson 2019a). The process resulted in the death of an estimated 42 out of 895 people who trekked west (Olson 2019a). Some Potawatomi moved to northern Wisconsin, upper Michigan, or Canada instead (Link 2009, 14).⁸ Many early migrants took advantage of the removal of the Potawatomi to settle the area in larger numbers. Most settlers who first seized land did so illegally. They had their settlements legalized after Indian removal by violence. As such, settlement became ‘legally official’ in 1835 (Arra 1971, 8). The construction of Little Fort as a desirable place for settlers depended on the explicit removal of Indigenous peoples whose presence was deemed dangerous and an unwanted reminder of existing land use practices. Although some Indigenous peoples chose to relocate elsewhere, their active displacement by political elites in the region and settlers in Little Fort transformed the land into an uninhabited resource from which to extract and derive profit. However, many Potawatomi and other Indigenous peoples live in Chicago and have a different relationship to that land, maintaining a land-based perspective to living in the area (Bang et al. 2014).

⁸ Today, there are seven separate groups of Potawatomi. Six are located in the United States, and one in Canada. For a discussion of how local Indigenous peoples in Chicago think about the land, please refer to: Bang, Megan, Lawrence Curley, Adam Kessel, Ananda Marin, Eli S. Suzukovich III, and George Strack. 2014. “Muskrat Theories, Tobacco in the Streets, and Living Chicago as Indigenous Land.” *Environmental Education Research* 20 (1): 37–55.

The first permanent white settlers arrived to Little Fort in 1835 (Arra 1971, 8). The first free Black resident—Amos Bennett, born to free parents —of today’s Lake County, where Waukegan is located, arrived as early as 1835 as well (City of Waukegan 1959). He later moved to Wisconsin later with family (Davis 1974, 1). By the late 1830s, ships were anchoring offshore from the settlement to transport settlers and freight (Gale 2018a). Lake County was created in March 1839, and on February 19, 1841, Little Fort was incorporated into the county (Link 2009, 14, 15). The construction of a private pier in 1841 enabled vessels to make their way to shore (Gale 2018a). The population presence and the potential for development along the lakefront encouraged local residents to demand the county seat to be re-located to Little Fort. On April 5th, a vote was held for the county seat wherein Little Fort was selected. The state legislature passed an act on January 19, 1843, to make Little Fort the county seat permanently (Link 2009, 15). From 1844 to 1846, the population had grown from 150 to 750 people (Gale 2018a). A few years later in 1849, the Little Fort site was named Waukegan, which was the Potawatomi name for fort or fortress (C. L. Dorsey 1974, 22; Gale 2018a). Waukegan received city rights in 1859 (Arra 1971, 2; C. L. Dorsey 1974, 23).

By the 1850s, Waukegan had developed more infrastructure for trading. The construction of a private pier in 1841 enabled vessels to make their way to shore. Congress appropriated federal funds for the improvement of the harbor in 1846, with another appropriation to build a lighthouse in 1847 (Gale 2018a). 1851, the *Waukegan Daily Gazette* highlights Waukegan’s development (C. L. Dorsey 1974, 22). Early settlers were attracted to Waukegan as a port city and shipped produce and grain from the region to Chicago (Gale 2018a). The robust woods provided locals with timber to use in building their homes or sell to others locally. In 1851, the Lake County Agricultural Society formed and began holding county fairs the following year in

Waukegan (Link 2009, 19). The fairs were well-attended, especially since the area was primarily agricultural. Non-farm jobs were limited to retail businesses and some small manufacturers (82). The harbor brought material in for settlement into Waukegan, growing to a population of 2,500 in 1859 (Gale 2018a). The ensuing decades saw little population growth, partially attributed to few employment opportunities outside of farming (Link 2009, 82).

While Waukegan's location and harbor on the western shores of Lake Michigan connected it to a global network of commerce and human mobility, the expansion of transportation options on land further facilitated these connections. The Illinois Parallel Railroad—later named the Chicago and Northwestern Railway—was completed in 1855 and contained tracks from Chicago to Milwaukee (C. L. Dorsey 1974, 23; Gale 2018a). This provided another transportation link between Waukegan and the growing city of Chicago, wherein the first train made the trip in three hours (“Untitled,” n.d., 1). This was a drastic shift from the alleged half day the walk to the mid-point between the two cities took. However, decades later, then Mayor Henry C. Hutchinson found attracting businesses to Waukegan difficult because of the limited transportation options available. As the only railroad at the time, the Chicago and Northwestern Railway was not interested in changing its trackage or scheduling. Mayor Hutchinson learned that the belt line railroad—later the Elgin, Joliet and Eastern—was extending its northern route into Lake County and initially planned to have its terminus in Highland Park, twenty miles south of Waukegan. He convinced them to move the terminus to Waukegan (Link 2009, 82; “Untitled,” n.d., 1).

Waukegan experienced a shift at the turn of the century as it completed development of significant city infrastructure. Due to the introduction of an additional railroad link into Waukegan in 1889, manufacturing industries were able to bring raw materials in and take

finished products out. As such, major industries decided to build factories in Waukegan (Link 2009, 82). Waukegan's population in 1889 was approximately 5,000 (Arra 1971, 8). Several public utilities were completed in the following decade: the electrical lighting system in 1891, the sewer system in 1892, water works in 1895, and the city dock and harbor in 1898-1899 (C. L. Dorsey 1974, 24). Waukegan emerged as a shipping and industrial center.

In 1900, Waukegan was a mixture of agricultural and industrial. Residents depended on the farming near them, and the use of horse-drawn carriages provided farms with another venue for profit. John W. Barwell from Leicester, England, moved from Chicago to Waukegan in 1900 to open the Baltchford Calf Meal Company. By 1910, the company needed to expand, illustrating a need for agricultural products in the local area, throughout Illinois, and additionally in Iowa (Link 2009, 94). The increase in job prospects within manufacturing, however, nearly doubled the population by 1900. Even with a mix of agricultural opportunities, the era of industrial plants began at the turn of the century. In what follows, the sub-section demonstrates the centrality of industrial facilities in the development of Waukegan as a place. Their role spurred infrastructural development in the city, the migration of many people to work in the factories, and the city's investment in corporations.

2.1.2 An Industrial City

Beginning as a French trading post, the construction of the city dock and harbor encouraged the mobility of resources and products. Attracted to its connections to the regional economy, companies built their factories in Waukegan and brought employment opportunities with them. An influx of migrants followed. During the nineteenth century, most migrants hailed from a handful of countries. Of those who answered the 1850 Census as foreign-born,

approximately half were Irish, with the other half from Canada, England, and Germany (Link 2009, 127). In the 1830s and 40s, Irish migrants built homes and primarily focused on farming (Osling 1976, 135). Prior to Waukegan's rapid industrial growth, Germans worked at the tannery and at Besley's Brewing (Osling 1976, 123; Link 2009, 127). The Brewing Company opened in the 1850s and closed in 1916 due to prohibition (Link 2009, 92). Many Irish people eventually moved closer to the town and also lived in North Chicago, the city just south of Waukegan (Osling 1976, 135; Link 2009, 128). The prevalence of these four countries continued until about 1900, when there were significant numbers of people from Sweden and Russia (125). This pattern would change with the waves of migrants settling in Waukegan due to these industries. Lakefront factories brought groups of Croatians, Finns, Lithuanians, Slovenians, and Swedes in the 1890s (126-130).

The United States Sugar Refinery was one of the first major industries to locate themselves in Waukegan. They processed corn into syrup, sweeteners, and animal feeds, among other products. Since Illinois and Iowa were major corn producers, the company could save on transportation expenses by locating their factories near the sources. They built four buildings in 1890 that cost them approximately \$500,000 (Link 2009, 83). Many migrant groups worked at the Sugar Refinery: Germans; Lithuanians from Chicago; some Slovenians; and Swedes (Osling 1976, 122, 146, 150, 157). In 1892, the U.S. Starch Works opened alongside the sugar refinery and produced essentially the same products (Link 2009, 83). They eventually merged with U.S. Sugar Refinery. The corn processing industry remained until 1913 due to pollution and safety issues. Local residents and neighboring communities cited air quality for soot and odor, and water conditions. Explosions and fires occurred at their facilities exemplified a "general disregard for worker safety caused death and injury to numerous employees throughout the years

of plant operation” (84-85). An explosion in 1903 killed workers and left others unemployed (Osling 1976, 150). An industrial accident killed 14 workers in 1912, and the Waukegan City Council closed down the facility in 1913. This move left many migrant groups without jobs, such as some of the Slovenian migrants (Osling 1976, 150; Link 2009, 85).

The wire mill followed closely after the sugar refinery and brought a wave of Finnish, Croatian, Slovenian, and Swedish migrants. In 1891, Washburn & Moen of Massachusetts bought land south of Waukegan to build a plant. The company had demand for barbed wire in the west, and this site served as their mid-west point due to the availability of land, transportation, and water (Link 2009, 85). Since the new plant required skilled labor, employees of the Worcester, MA, plant were informed that they could transfer to the new location if they desired to do so. The company offered Finns priority, many of them immediately asking to be transferred (Arra 1971, 60). Some Finns had been seamen and hoped that their migration to Waukegan would result in better wages (Arra 1971, 6). By 1893, more than one hundred Finns lived in Waukegan (10). Many Swedish migrants were similarly transferred from Massachusetts (Link 2009, 130). The company helped Armenians from Massachusetts find jobs when the plant moved (Osling 1976, 103), and Lithuanians transferred as well (Osling 1976, 146). Croatians also arrived to Waukegan to work at the lakefront factories, mostly Washburn & Moen with some estimates placing it at 90% (Osling 1976, 113; Link 2009, 126). Germans, Greeks, and Swedes similarly migrated to Waukegan and worked at Washburn & Moen (Osling 1976, 123, 126, 156). Many Slovenian migrants worked at this plant (Osling 1976, 150). It is clear that company encouraged the migration of various peoples and groups during this time.

While providing employment opportunities to many migrant groups, Washburn & Moen also developed infrastructure for its workers. The company had a furnished, two-story building

where workers lived dormitory style, such as Lithuanian migrants (Osling 1976, 148). They provided housing for workers to live in, such as Croatians (Osling 1976, 113). Washburn & Moen had purchased land to create a company district and made lots available to employees to build with funds provided by the company (Link 2009, 130; Osling 1976, 157). Lithuanians and Swedes built their homes in the district and surrounding areas, and formed strong local communities for their ethnic groups (Osling 1976, 148, 157). Many, if not most, benefitted greatly from the infrastructural support (employment and housing) and stability the company provided. While other companies likewise offered housing to their employees, Washburn & Moen was one of the first industries to employ this strategy. As such, the company spurred the growth of both Waukegan and North Chicago as more workers settled their families in the area. In 1899, the Waukegan plant was one of 40 plants combined into American Steel & Wire, which became part of U.S. Steel in 1901. As a major employer since the plant's inception, the plant reportedly had 1,500 workers in 1910 (Link 2009, 85). Other steel businesses were absorbed into U.S. Steel. Cyclone Woven Wire Fence Co., also known as Cyclone Fence, had moved to Waukegan in 1896 and ultimately became part of U.S. Steel (96). The company continued to be a significant employer into the twentieth century.

Tanneries had operated as another industry in Waukegan since the mid-1800s (Lake City Publishing Company 1891, 441). Wernick & Wandel, Herberger, and B.F. Wheeler were tanneries that provided jobs locally for almost a century (Link 2009, 96). Germans, Greeks, and many Italians were employed in these tanneries (Osling 1976, 122, 126, 141), such that despite being "not accepted" (Osling 1976, 126), nearly 200 Grecian people lived in the area by 1910 (City of Waukegan 1959). Griess-Pfleger Tannery took over a tannery in 1917 built by Wilder two years earlier. On land totaling 40 acres, they became a significant employer in the region

with nearly 1000 workers. Although processing animal hides into leather was a foul-smelling and polluting business 8/27/21 3:08:00 PM, in 1919 Griess-Pfleger Tannery began to build homes for its employees. They ultimately constructed nearly 200 homes west of today's Glen Flora Elementary School (98). Similar to Washburn & Moen, the Tannery encouraged infrastructural growth in their area.

Many companies built pollution-producing factories on the lakefront at the turn of the twentieth century. While industries located in Waukegan due to its resources and strategic geographic position for trading, the City benefited from how these companies propelled development. In 1901, Johns-Manville was one such company that developed on swampy land, filling the area and transforming underutilized land into their expansive facilities (Link 2009, 86). At their height, they employed 2,700 workers but also polluted the area with asbestos. Another significant industry, the Johnson Outboard Motors, provided employment and contributed to lakefront pollution. The Johnson brothers left their South Bend plant in Indiana and moved to Waukegan, choosing the area because of its proximity to Lake Michigan and access to rail transportation (Link 2009, 87). Johnson Motors and Outboard Motors combined in 1936 to create Outboard Marine and Manufacturing Company, going by OMC. In 2001, Bombardier bought the engine business and moved it to Racine, Wisconsin. OMC has left such a legacy on the people themselves (Link 2009, 87; Abderholden 2020), not just one of pollution.

Other companies that opened up were the National Envelope division of United Envelope Co., opening on November 21, 1904, with 25 girls and a few machinists (Link 2009, 98). Although Pfanstiehl Electrical Laboratories started in Waukegan in 1907, they ultimately moved to North Chicago in 1908 (88). This was not uncommon in the region, as competition between Waukegan and North Chicago existed, as well as with Wisconsin. Another company, the Goelitz

Confectionary (later Jelly Belly Candy) Company built a plant in North Chicago since there were space issues at the Chicago Factory (96). Ultimately, the local distribution center for Jelly Belly products were moved to Pleasant Prairie, Wisconsin, through production remained in North Chicago (96). Another well-known company, Abbot Alkaloidal Company (now known as Abbot Laboratories) moved to North Chicago on June 9, 1920, and by 1925, all facilities were located in the area (92). Waukegan's history as a trading post, meaning primarily for economic domination and control over a region, continued as the city became an industrial center, competing with the likes of Chicago and Milwaukee in the region.

2.2 Black Life and the Rise of Economic Revitalization

This section considers the conditions that African Americans lived in primarily during the first half of the twentieth century. It details the racism that many African American migrants more directly faced when the population had visibly grown by the 1920s. I describe two residential communities that emerged—primarily through violence and segregationist practices such as racial covenants in property deeds—in Waukegan. I focus on one neighborhood referred to as Frog Island where many African American families built a community and life despite discrimination and violence. I then center city plans and economic reports related to urban renewal efforts to analyze the racial and classed logics embedded in their construction. I argue that these documents called for the revitalization of deteriorated neighborhoods for responsible citizens at the potential expense of African American community members. These plans and reports function as moral documents about what the city should look like and who should live within it. This section argues that race was foundational in the geography of Waukegan during industrialization and informed the way the city government approached urban planning and

economic revitalization through racial discrimination, exclusion, and dispossession. Race intersected with, shaped, and informed the political economy of the area that produced conditions of impoverishment and segregation for African American residents.

2.2.1 Black Life and Frog Island

African Americans had settled in Waukegan as early as the 1850s.⁹ An anti-slavery society had been founded in 1846 in Lake County (Davis 1974) and Waukegan had been a stop in the Underground Railroad (J. Dorsey 1986, 29). According to the 1850 Census, there were 31 African Americans residing in the area, many from Arkansas, Virginia, and the Carolinas. However, the presence of an anti-slavery society did not prevent larger political policies to lead to decreases in the number of African Americans in Waukegan. The Fugitive Slave Act passed in 1850 very likely attributed to the departure of African American families northward to Canada (J. Dorsey 1986, 50). After a majority of people able to legally vote in the state chose to refuse admission to African Americans in 1862, James Dorsey (1986, 10) described the general Illinois population as “anti-black politically speaking.” By 1870, 13 African Americans lived in Waukegan (C. L. Dorsey 1974, 25). By 1900, the African American population had increased to forty-four (27). In 1930, when the population of Waukegan was 33,449, about 1,000 were African Americans (“Untitled,” n.d.). Although the number of African Americans in Waukegan fluctuated in the late 1800s, the Black population would begin to grow at the turn of the century.

⁹ For a more detailed overview of life for African Americans in Lake County generally and in Waukegan specifically during this time, please refer to: Dorsey, Curtis L. 1974. “Black Migration to Waukegan and the Conditions Encountered Up to 1933.” Master’s thesis, Chicago, IL: Northeastern Illinois University; Dorsey, James. 1986. *Up South: Blacks in Chicago’s Suburbs (1719-1938)*. Bristol, IN: Wyndham Hall Press.

African Americans migrated to the area due to labor shortages for industries located on the lakefront of Waukegan and its southern neighbor North Chicago. Due to the industrialization and migration, the two localities developed political, economic, and social interconnections. Waukegan and North Chicago became significant industrial hubs in the region during the early 1900s, as their location rapidly facilitated the growth in the number of factories. This swift expansion, alongside general economic conditions, led to serious labor shortages in Waukegan and North Chicago from 1900 to 1925 (C. L. Dorsey 1974, 34). This dearth in available workers in factories initially prevented some larger possible frictions between African American and white residents. Many of these employment opportunities did not appeal to other migrating nationalities because they could command a livable wage. For instance, Greek migrants searching for employment arrived to Waukegan and worked for a few hours in a factory before demanding to be taken back to Chicago. Some European migrants' aversion to what may be called "dirty" jobs meant that factories then had to bring in workers from other places (1974, 35; Zimring 2015).¹⁰ Many of these positions were circulated in the U.S. South through the *Chicago Defender*, an African American newspaper, and the *Chicago Tribune* (J. Dorsey 1995, 1–2). Waukegan historian on African Americans Curtis L. Dorsey (1974) notes how a *Waukegan Daily Sun* article published in 1903 describes the noticeable increase in the Black population in the area (30). With a labor shortage and an unwillingness from other migrating groups to take factory jobs, African Americans began to migrate to Waukegan in significant numbers for what became "Black jobs" (C. L. Dorsey 1974, 34–35).

¹⁰ Dirty jobs were often relegated to Black people. A racial stereotype emerged that considered whites as clean and those who are not white as dirty. For more about the material consequences on waste management systems and environmental inequalities, please see: Zimring, Carl A. 2015. *Clean and White: A History of Environmental Racism in the United States*. New York: NYU Press.

African Americans were employed in skilled and unskilled work in Waukegan. Curtis L. Dorsey (1974) notes how skilled African American workers were employed car mechanics, carpenters, bricklayers, physicians, dentists, and attorneys. Some of these skilled professionals opened small individually-owned businesses, which are discussed subsequently alongside the formation of the two residential areas. However, most southern African American migrants worked primarily as domestics and in factories. African American women were employed mostly in domestic work geographically concentrated south of Waukegan in Lake Forest, Highland Park, and other towns north of Chicago (J. Dorsey 1995, 2).¹¹ Tanneries, the wire-mill, and Johns-Manville—one of the major sources of pollution through most of the twentieth century—were some of the industries that hired African Americans. African Americans were indeed denied jobs in certain factories. An elder in Curtis L. Dorsey (1974)’s study of Black migration to Waukegan notes that “there was no use going to inquire about” (37) a job at Abbott’s Laboratories, United States Envelope Company, Fansteel, and later Johnson-Motors. Due to the discrimination and exclusion in employment, some African Americans traveled as far as Kenosha, Wisconsin, to work at the Nash plant, known now as American Motors (37). Located north of Waukegan, Kenosha is approximately seventeen miles away.¹² Generally, African American migrants were employed in “the unpleasant, unskilled, and lowest paying jobs” (C. L. Dorsey 1974, 39). Yet, as part of the Great Migration (Chicago Center for Working-Class Studies 2012), many African Americans continued to arrive to Waukegan with the hopes of better living and working conditions in northern cities than those from which they came (C. L. Dorsey 1974, 39; J. Dorsey 1995, 1).

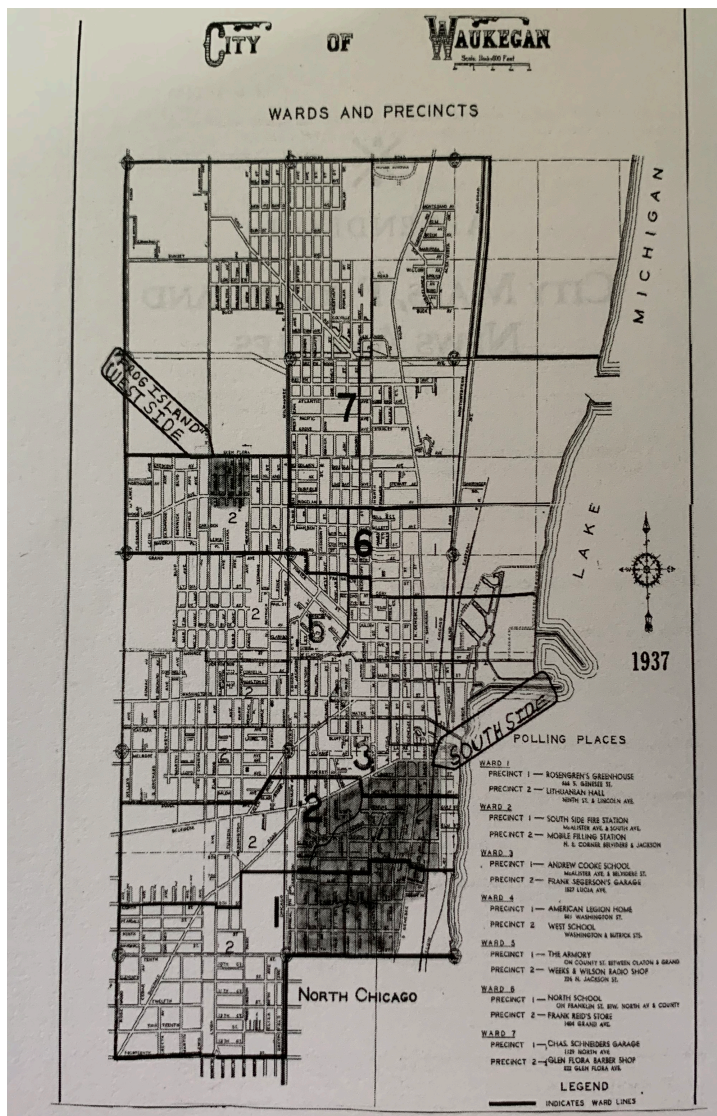
¹¹ Waukegan is approximately a thirty minute drive from Lake Forest and Highland Park today. The commute for African American domestic workers was lengthy.

¹² Contemporarily, the drive between Waukegan and Kenosha is about a thirty minute commute. African Americans must have taken much longer to travel to and from the Nash plant.

African American migrants had limited housing options. Due to their small number, African Americans built and rented houses throughout Waukegan prior to 1915 with scholars finding little evidence that housing was residentially segregated (C. L. Dorsey 1974, 28, 43). During World War 1, African American workers dominated factories on the lakefront. Their housing conditions had been described as “poor,” and subsequently local African American leaders helped purchased a few houses on another part of the South Side for Black workers and their families (C. L. Dorsey 1974, 43). Between 1915 to 1920, a concentration of African Americans lived on Market Street, the initial point of arrival for newly arrived migrants in Waukegan. Many African Americans’ low income, due to the labor stratification detailed before, meant they sought housing in relatively inexpensive places. Market Street also was located near the lakefront factories and had readily accessible transportation options for residents to move through the region. Some African Americans chose to live in proximity to relatives and friends on Market Street. The housing had become available because European migrants moved to better residential areas in the South Side when they were financially able to relocate. As such, many African American migrants arrived to Market Street and lived in the oldest and most deteriorated housing (C. L. Dorsey 1974, 44). By the early 1920s, European and African American migrants alike found Market Street an undesirable place to live. In 1923, Dr. J. C. Foley, a white professional in Lake County, described the tenants on Market Street as the class of “the Southern Cabin Negro.” He called African Americans living in a house with no water, no plumbing, and “fraught with filth” as “guilty” as the landlords themselves (C. L. Dorsey 1974, 45). Additionally, the local tannery employed many African Americans and built a hotel in 1917 on the West Side for southern Black migrants arriving to Waukegan. The hotel also had rooms available to African Americans that did not work for the tannery. Many of the first Africans

Americans to reside on the West Side lived at the hotel (C. L. Dorsey 1974, 43). The limited geography and availability of housing would contribute to the formation of two residential areas for African Americans in Waukegan.

The growing African American population from the U.S. South faced racism when they attempted to improve their living conditions by moving from the aforementioned geographic areas in Waukegan. Many African Americans came to Waukegan during the interwar period. Scholars have noted that in the 1920s, as their presence became visible, residential segregation became more pronounced (C. L. Dorsey 1974; J. Dorsey 1995). Two incidents in the 1920s reflect racism that African



Americans experienced when seeking housing in predominantly white neighborhoods. First, Curtis L. Dorsey (1974) recounts how a white resident, Michael Rakauski¹³, resided on Eighth Street on the South Side of Waukegan. In 1923, Rakauski appeared before the Waukegan City Council (WCC) to ask “that steps be taken to prevent negroes from encroaching as property owners” in his neighborhood (Waukegan Daily

¹³ Rakauski may refer to Rakowski, a Polish surname.

Sun 1923 as cited in C. L. Dorsey 1974, 45). The white resident was seeking “some kind of protection from being compelled to live next door to colored people” (C. L. Dorsey 1974, 46). WCC responded that they could take no legal action. Rakauski stated that the people in his neighborhood would come together and enter into an agreement to not sell their houses to African Americans. White homeowners did not want African Americans to move into their neighborhoods, and these racially restrictive clauses were present in the 1960s when Black people were buying houses on the South Side.

The second incident relates to an African American man building a house in a white residential area in 1925. White residents met to discuss the man’s plans. Some of the residents threatened violence toward the man. One resident had waited across the street from where the man was working and ‘advised’ him not to build a house on that part of the West Side. White residents’ antagonism towards the African American man choosing to live in the predominantly white neighborhood ultimately reached City Hall. Similar to the first situation, city officials did not take any action about the issue because no building codes had been violated (C. L. Dorsey 1974, 46–47). In both instances, white residents called on the city government to enforce residential segregation, demonstrating this group’s belief that the local state would affirm their desires. Without explicit support from the WCC (though it may have been implicit), white residents moved forward with the intent to use violence to demarcate where African Americans were allowed to live and included clauses in their deeds that prevented homeowners from selling to the growing Black population. Southside white residents were determined to exclude African Americans legally, while westside whites threatened violence. Whether through legal or physical violence, white residents made efforts to prevent African Americans from moving to white residential areas.

African Americans developed residential areas on the South Side and West Side of Waukegan. Racist attitudes, legal practices, and threats of violence restricted and reinforced the geographic concentration of African American residents to both areas. Firstly, many southern African American migrants initially arrived on Market Street, considered part of the South Side, due to the availability of affordable housing options, access to public transportation, and geographic proximity to industrial factories. African Americans in the South Side could be found living on Kennard Street, Clinton Street, and Browning Avenue as well. Many African Americans in Waukegan moved just south of the South Side in North Chicago, where they were able to purchase inexpensive land on which to build houses (J. Dorsey 1995, 2). Southside African American residents lived near two Black churches. Numerous small African American businesses such as barber shops, a beauty parlor, pool rooms, and several grocery stores were established. However, due to their location on the periphery of the downtown, some of these businesses closed due to lack of patronage or to being forced to move as white merchants began to expand into these areas (C. L. Dorsey 1974, 30–32). Although many African Americans lived on the South Side, Dorsey (1974, 51) argues that the southside Black population remained unstable because people consistently moved in and out of the area, and were thus unable to develop a sense of community identity.

Secondly, many African Americans had been living in a part of the West Side. Five African American families lived on the West Side alongside a few “Scandinavians” before of the construction of the tannery’s hotel (C. L. Dorsey 1974, 49). Because of the labor shortage, the Wilder tannery recruited southern African Americans to work in the Waukegan plant during WW1. Since white residents would not rent to African American workers, the tannery had to invest in the area and provide housing to their new employees. Johns-Manville would similarly

support African American employees in their housing search (Chicago Center for Working-Class Studies 2012). The tannery's hotel for southern African American migrants meant that these residents were the first Black people to live in the neighborhood. The tannery's workers were able to purchase 40-foot lots for \$50, even if they had to construct their houses on land that was submerged in water consistently (Davis 1974). In this way, even though African Americans were employed the tannery's "dirty" jobs, the company facilitated Black homeownership. The tannery likely faced little resistance from white residents because the land the company bought was located in an undesirable area.



Figure 4 A home built by the tannery

This second area was originally called "Bull Frog Island" (Chicago Center for Working-Class Studies 2012) due to its physical environment, and this name reflected the loud noises that frogs made in early evenings. Described as a swamp-like area, what colloquially became known as Frog Island had a creek running parallel to a road on its eastern border. It had no industry located nearby, no immediate access to transportation, and no nightlife or other services (C. L.

Dorsey 1974, 49). The municipal government did not provide infrastructure so residents had no sewer system, gas lines, or electricity (T. Anderson, Steele, and Fowler 2003). The area's poor drainage caused frequent flooding. Residents working outside of the neighborhood had to travel outside of Frog Island to reach a bus stop. Others used a taxi company due to how inexpensive a trip anywhere in the city was (T. Anderson, Steele, and Fowler 2003). As such, Frog Island was isolated and considered an unattractive area of the West Side.

African Americans were restricted in where they could live on the West Side, and Frog Island had rigid geographic boundaries: a half block south of Ridgeland, Glen Flora in the north, the eastern side of Lewis Avenue was its western limit, and the west side of New York Street was its eastern limit (C. L. Dorsey 1974, 49). Some African Americans from the South Side moved to the West Side because Frog Island was quiet and less crowded. By 1930, Frog Island had become predominantly African American, and about fifty Black families lived there (C. L. Dorsey 1974, 50; Chicago Center for Working-Class Studies 2012). During that Census year, approximately nine "head-of-household" African Americans were employed at the tannery while eleven Black Frog Islanders worked at Johns-Manville. These jobs are described as "dirty, poorly paid, and dangerous—particularly in [Johns-Manville's] asbestos factory" (Chicago Center for Working-Class Studies 2012). However, the positions, for some, were considered better than what was available in Arkansas and Georgia, where a majority of the 1930 residents were born (T. Anderson, Steele, and Fowler 2003; Chicago Center for Working-Class Studies 2012). The area would eventually host two African American businesses. Curtis L. Dorsey (1974, 51) argues that Frog Island's small number of residents and more "stable" population enabled African Americans to develop interpersonal relationships essential to community building.

A booklet on life in Frog Island best exemplifies the argument that this second residential area had developed a sense of communal identity. The booklet was provided to the Waukegan Historical Society to document life in Frog Island and contains speeches from a reunion held in 1974 and with photos and captions collected from “Frog Islanders” in 2002. The booklet provides insights into the ways that African Americans experienced and remember a place isolated from much of the rest of Waukegan. Barney Duncan Fowler, a Frog Island resident, wrote in 2002 that: “What remains of Frog Island is a state of mind; a time and place neatly nestled in our memories. A remembered past of names and faces and “things” no longer in sharp focus. The Frog Island of our time has gone the way of Treasure Island and Atlantis and delightful mythical places.” The swampiness and thus undesirability of the place to white residents made Frog Island a kind of haven away from violence for African Americans, even as white residents used violence to ensure that Black people did not move out of their place in Frog Island. Considering that life for African Americans was difficult as residential segregation was exacerbated by the Depression (Chicago Center for Working-Class Studies 2012), many residents fondly remember how people took care of each other. Residents at the reunion described the community in Frog Island as “close-knit” (T. Anderson, Steele, and Fowler 2003).

Through the decades, Frog Island gained several useful amenities that improved the quality of life for residents. Local residents used their houses as churches to congregate on Sundays, ultimately becoming one of the first and largest African American churches to be built in Waukegan. The building of Glen Flora and then Whittier elementary schools provided educational opportunities to African American children in Frog Island who no longer had to travel across the city for schooling. A grocery store and beauty salon opened up for residents. Life in Frog Island became lively, and community members also developed interdependences

such as residents purchasing things and services from each other (T. Anderson, Steele, and Fowler 2003). Frog Island became more of a self-serving neighborhood, which may have made the space more of a haven for African Americans who did not have to travel too far and make their presence further visible to white residents.

By the 1950s, the neighborhood had changed and was becoming a different place. During World War II, Frog Island received infrastructural improvements. During the 1940s, many African Americans began to have their houses and the neighborhood upgraded with amenities like electricity and running water. By the late 1940s and early 1950s, many Frog Island residents began to purchase houses surrounding the neighborhood, throughout Waukegan, and around Illinois. In the 1950s, a developer bought the land in Frog Island and built bungalows, filled in the creek, and paved and renamed the streets (T. Anderson, Steele, and Fowler 2003; Masterson 2003; Chicago Center for Working-Class Studies 2012). Frog Island became a different place.

2.2.2 Economic Revitalization

During the 1950s, the Waukegan City Council contracted private agencies to carry surveys out, write up reports, and develop economic plans that detailed implicit understandings of what is valuable in the present for the future. I consider futurity through the lens of queer of color critique, in that the “future is only stuff of some kids” (J. E. Muñoz 2009, 95; see also Edelman 2004) as well as through the production of futurity through speculation (Bahng 2018). In other words, the future is constructed through a reproductive lens that emphasizes a white, middle-class, heterosexual subject and does not account for people living in impoverished conditions, racialized people, or LGBTQIA+ people. This means that youth of color are often excluded from narratives about the future. These economic documents operate in a similar light,

offering insights into the hierarchies of value at that historical moment. After the Waukegan City Council collected these reports, in the early 1960s, they contracted a J. Paul Jones to conduct a preliminary study of the Central Business District and then develop an action program and timetable for the suggested proposals. The *Development Objectives: Waukegan Central Area* report was then published in October 1961 by the Redevelopment Committee of the Waukegan City Council. The 1961 report focuses on analyzing previous studies related to the central business district and urban renewal, an outline of additional surveys, an urban renewal action proposal, and a list of recommendations for the program. It geographically emphasizes the downtown, or central business district, and additionally considers the layout and conditions of the surrounding area, such as residential areas. While *Development Objectives* provides a technical guide for how to enact an urban renewal program, it also offers a framework for what urban renewal should be used for and by whom.

This report seeks to distinguish itself from other ones by outlining itself as an action program that will mobilize the accumulated information to produce actual material change in the physical landscape of Waukegan. This plan provides particular steps to take action to shift the current economic trajectory of the city, framing its potential success as dependent on the city's commitment to carrying out the suggestions. However, the author believes that the city's red tape has produced unnecessary "barriers to progress" (J. P. Jones 1961, 2). This places the responsibility of shaping the economic development of the city. They recognize that urban renewal will not alleviate the problems of an economically declining central business district. Instead, urban renewal should serve as a catalyst "to encourage major private redevelopment and rehabilitation" rather than replacing them (J. P. Jones 1961, 34).

The 1961 report frames the potential benefits of its action plan for urban renewal as already unevenly distributed and truly harmful for some peoples in Waukegan. Since the author claims that it is “inevitable” that the program will penalize some individuals, city residents must have a vast majority’s “unanimity of feeling” that “a program must be accomplished even though not all will profit directly” (J. P. Jones 1961, 3). If the majority benefits from an urban renewal program and likewise desires these gains, then the city should be willing to make this sacrifice. That would be true leadership. While J. Paul Jones does not directly identify those who would be penalized, the report contains clues through its public relations approach to *whom* to engage.

The public and press relations section of the report offers insights into who is envisioned to be potential beneficiaries of the proposed urban renewal program. The general public should be made aware of the plan or else risk its failure. The section states that attempts should “be made to reach every property owner [and] voting citizen” (J. P. Jones 1961, 24). They list service clubs, PTA groups, labor unions, church social groups, over-60-year-old groups, and junior and senior students. These groups have various reasons for being important to the success of the program: they either a) want and are dedicated to “a better community,” b) are considered non-partisan, c) prefer “a good, clean city,” or d) will be “future property owners and voting citizens of tomorrow” (25). This last reason is of note as the specific weight placed on property ownership, residential and commercial. When this report was published, J. Dorsey (1995) notes that racial restrictive covenants to property deeds exists that further narrowed the possibility that African Americans could be property owners in Waukegan. Although the report does not state that African Americans would not be included in the process, the existing historical conditions at the time indicate that they may not have been a priority. At the very least, the report could have

identified the practices that produced the spatial segregation for Black residents from White ones.

Instead, the 1961 report claims that urban action renewal is necessary due to the existence of deterioration in the central business district and surrounding neighborhoods (J. P. Jones 1961, 13). They are not fully explicated, however. They state that the city requires much more detailed analysis about the situation and do not discuss the issues that led to them. (1974) explains the particular conditions that made housing available to Black people in the downtown area, particularly on Market Street. Waukegan's European immigrants settled on the south side and moved to better residential areas when they were financially able, thus leaving already depreciating housing to newly arrived migrants from the South. Market Street then contained some of the oldest and most deteriorating houses and became "an undesirable place in which to live" in the 1920s (44). The use of these subtle markers of people as desirable or undesirable will continue to inform the city's approach to economic development throughout Waukegan. In the appendix of the 1961 report, J. Paul Jones (1961) provides a brief historical account of U.S. urban renewal programs. While acquiring "slum areas" for public housing led to "slum clearance," which in the Housing Act of 1948 became the basis for re-developing properties for other uses. In the Housing Act of 1954, the process became urban renewal, "a comprehensive action to provide for the elimination of deterioration through clearance, conservation and rehabilitation" (36). As such, when this report indicates that deteriorated housing was an issue, it signals a long-standing approach to transform areas deemed undesirable into more useful spaces for the accumulation of capital. While this report was initially developed for the city's official, the city had to translate this information to its residents. (the report states that before it was about

public housing but now it's been expanded, but what they meant is that they were more interested in commercial redevelopment)

The Waukegan City Council's Downtown Waukegan Council prepared a public report distributed in 1962 to residents titled the *Revitalization of Downtown Waukegan*. This document consolidates the suggestions found in the 1961 Central Business District report and seeks to 'call in' the citizen residents of Waukegan to understand the problem of economic decline in the downtown and to then support the city in their efforts to address spatial deterioration. In Mayor Robert Sabonjian's letter to the community, he remarks "Waukegan's downtown is essentially the same place it was 35 years ago" while simultaneously sharing that the city is tackling downtown deterioration, Waukegan's biggest problem. In his letter, Mayor Sabonjian repeatedly references a communal us—such as, "Together," "We," "our"—that together must revitalize "the heart of the city" (Downtown Waukegan Council 1962). The Mayor's approach in this letter aimed to call the citizenry in to the revitalization project by investing materially and ideologically in its completion.

The 1962 report then presents the current conditions of downtown Waukegan, the city's plan to change its current declining trajectory, and their justification for engaging in a public-private partnership for economic revitalization. First, the report lists out the quantitative data that illustrates "the situation is getting worse": the decrease in retail sales volume, the drop in sales tax income for the city, and the number of vacant stores and spaces (Downtown Waukegan Council 1962). When classifying the owners of downtown real estate into three groups (one where their property is vacant, one with a recently negotiated lease, and then the other with leases made years ago), the report frames these owners' investments in private property as currently under crisis. The government's desire to intervene stems from the city's loss in sales

tax income. The local city must intervene in order to protect private property and profit. This is made particularly apparent when the report claims that they need to “create a healthy profitable central area.” This led to the development of a redevelopment committee that would attend to these issues as experts.

The city frames economic development teleologically to demonstrate the potential success of a private-public partnership’s investment in revitalization. With the formation of a new Downtown Council, they can work to “reverse Downtown’s economic decline.” This reversal treats economic processes as singular and linear, and this discursive consolidation of ‘the economy’ makes it legible to residents as a system that can be precisely shaped with specific inputs that are knowable to the experts. The report later states that “deteriorating downtown areas don’t suddenly remake themselves” but we can “turn back Downtown decline and start building a new and vital central area.” A second statement of “*It’s Proven*” further affirms the expertise of those involved, as there is a “clear pattern of achieving revitalization” in other cities. Later on in the Q&A section, these cities prove that “the approach now being used for the first time in Waukegan is the right approach and that it will succeed.” Their expertise of and success in revitalization in other places proves the teleological nature of economic development. When sharing the cost to finance the program every year, the city frames it as “realistic figure” that “has been arrived at by men who know what it will take in the years ahead to get the job done.” The reports remind the reader to trust in the leaders b, where the city must convince its residents of the importance of the project.

This Q&A section also provides insights into *who* the city is imagining are the subjects being addressed by this report. Previously, the report mentioned the owners of real estate. The owners are referred to as “[t]his man” repeatedly as well as the men who are experts, such as

those who understand the cost to finance the program. Men are imagined to be the primary businessmen in Waukegan. But even within this gendered notion of business leaders, race may have played a significant factor. While Mayor Robert Sabonjian had made racist remarks about the African American community at this time, the climate for Black businesses in Waukegan were not always favorable. In the Downtown Waukegan Council, in the Q&A section for example, has a board of directors representing retailers, property owners, and “professional men.” These references do not account for the fact that property deeds contained racially restrictive covenants that prevented some people from investing in the downtown. However, the 1962 report states to those men who choose to not join the Downtown Waukegan Council, which required membership dues, “You will have in fact neglected your own business investment.”

The Mayor and the Downtown Waukegan Council sought to emphasize in the report that this process was not a handout, but that the government was necessary to make it possible. The creators of the report must have known that residents may have viewed the involvement of the local government in revitalization as not in the realm of free-market capitalism, as they create and respond to a question about socialism. While they do not address socialism directly, they frame their response around “informed” business leaders understanding that government assistance is paramount to catalyze revitalization. Additionally, it is the competition of shopping centers being created “*outside of the city*” that draw away customers and sales tax dollars. The city has designated their downtown as being the “only one truly regional shopping center” in the area. The city’s investment—alongside that of its residents—in a strong retail Downtown will discourage competition and sustain neighborhood centers. The tensions in free-market capitalism become apparent, as the disinvestment in the area due to deindustrialization led to deterioration and reduced opportunities for employment in Waukegan.

Perhaps due to the number of reports and plans the city had previously done, the 1973 Revitalization Plan also introduces itself by articulating the reason for its existence. In particular, the plan emphasizes that unplanned growth alongside the competition of shopping centers has challenged “downtown retail supremacy” (Joseph Legat Architects 1973, 4). The “familiar low density suburban spread” has now brought additional obstacles to the revitalization of Waukegan’s downtown, as other towns prospered through the increasing presence of wealthy residents. The plan states that there are difficulties and barriers to developing large sites and appreciating the lakefront and greenery, especially if there is no sense of order. The city’s deindustrialization left the landscape with “the vestige of an industrial past” (8). The concerns outlined in the 1973 plan resonate with some of the aforementioned ones; however, they appear to have changed from previous reports due to the technological advancements and the shift in demographics in cities that led to suburbanization. This process of suburban growth within the County comes with a positive note, as the plan believes that it will provide “the necessary tenants for future office space,” (26) even in contrast to its negative rhetoric about the impact of suburban sprawl and without any evidence that this will be the case.

In contrast to its predecessors, this city plan’s geographic bounds expand from downtown Waukegan to “the Greater Downtown Waukegan Area” (Joseph Legat Architects 1973, 1). This expansion includes but does not only focus on the site initially identified as needing the most development from public-private enterprise. This shift may have had to do with the city’s efforts to incorporate housing issues in their plans. The 1973 plan emphasizes that the surrounding retail core “are residential areas consisting of large sections of low density housing. Most of the structures are deteriorating and occupied by low income families” (5). The 1973 plan proposes that the “fringe” of downtown Waukegan could be improved by “developing new middle income

multi-family housing. This is particularly true on the south side and the west side of the Central Area” (8). When articulating the design, the plan seeks to—among others—“strengthen and reinforce the Central Business Area” and to “develop housing that is flexible enough to consider the needs and incomes of various groups with emphasis on middle income housing” (10). These were not the only instances referencing housing for middle income groups and in fact reaffirm *who* the city desires as residents.

The 1973 plan’s consideration of neighborhoods surrounding the downtown area enabled the city to make a plan that would address the issue of undesirable people residing near downtown. Its discussion of the structures in these surrounding neighborhoods signal the undesirability of the Black residents who had made Waukegan home without explicitly stating it as such. As previously mentioned, Black migrants arriving to Waukegan during the interwar periods faced discrimination and segregation, and many African Americans concentrated on the west side, south side, and Market Street. The southern and western areas surrounding downtown Waukegan have a history of Black settlement and concentration due to segregation (C. L. Dorsey 1974, 105). Considering that Black residents were unable to locate elsewhere due to financial constraints or racially restrictive covenants, the plan framed the areas where they lived as “deteriorated” and in need of rebuilding. This framing makes “middle income housing” (10) available discursively and materially only to desirable middle-class people, not those who have been structurally and historically excluded by the city and its elite.

These aesthetically unattractive places require that the city government now plan its growth for residents who want a clean and beautiful city, not solely the vital core of downtown Waukegan. Since the downtown “can no longer seek supremacy in the retail area” (32), a “multi-function center” with an emphasis on “housing for middle class citizens” (4) can maintain a

strong tax base for the city. Unlike the previous 1961 report, which claimed that some people would be penalized by the program, this 1973 plan does not mention this. This may be due to how urban renewal programs displaced primarily Black and low-income residents from their homes. This plan references places that should be revitalized as urban renewal did. In that way, even without the explicit declaration that some people would not be benefitting from economic revitalization, the underlying reasoning to make space for middle-class people implied a removal of those who were considered a detriment financially and aesthetically to economic development.

A few years later a group—composed of a director, planners, a zoning officer, and a secretary—came together to prepare and publish the “1/75 Waukegan Comprehensive Plan: Goals and Objectives” (WCP) in 1975. The 1975 WCP presents the results of surveys conducted with residents. Similar to the one published in the 1960s, the city sought to include different topics to “improve the quality of life for all residents of Waukegan” (Conzelman et al. 1975, 4). The plan outlines the goals and objectives for a wide range of issues: housing, open space, transportation, industry, business and commercial, community services and facilities, citizen participation, downtown, natural resource, community attractiveness, and historical preservation. Although the plan’s pages are numbered at twenty-three, the opposing page of the one with the number contains photographs of places in Waukegan that exemplify that realm. The 1975 WCP also is more concise in articulating the goals and objectives. With the images of sites juxtaposed to brief statements, the 1975 WCP may have been an attempt by the city to produce a document that would be easily comprehensible to residents.

The WCP states that they want to expand housing choice, a phrasing that may reference its desire to emphasize middle income family housing in its approach to economic revitalization

to replace the low density housing occupied with low-income families. Interestingly, under the housing section, the goal is to “Provide adequate, safe, and comfortable housing for all Waukegan residents regardless of their income, sex, race, religion, and national origin” (6). Under the objectives page, the 1975 WCP seeks to “identify and plan for redevelopment of existing blighted and deteriorated neighborhoods” and also to “encourage more intensive residential growth in and adjacent to downtown” (7). The City of Waukegan may be presenting its goal for housing through a non-discriminatory lens; however, its objectives reveal that they desire to redevelop neighborhoods previously identified in other plans and reports.

When it comes to natural resources, the 1975 WCP claims that the city wants to “Protect the natural environment, conserve unique natural resources and at the same time provide for rational development consistent with the full economic potential of the region” (19). With this goal, the city wants to be able to preserve part of the natural landscape that can make Waukegan a desirable place for people to reside and an attractive location for tourists to visit. The ‘rational’ framing of its economic development is in sharp contrast to the uneven and rapid growth that Waukegan experienced at the turn of the twentieth century. The emphasis on aesthetics remains. Near the conclusion under the objectives of the Community Attractiveness section, the 1975 WCP aims to “Encourage citizen’s groups formed to keep Waukegan clean and beautiful” (22), indicating that they want to call in citizens to invest in constructing Waukegan’s landscape to be desirable enough to particular peoples to motivate them to settle in the city.

The Waukegan Comprehensive Plan (WCP) was published in December of 1987 is indeed comprehensive. In 1986, the City of Waukegan contracted with McClure Engineering Associates, Inc. of Waukegan, who subcontracted with Thompson Dyke & Associates, Ltd. of Northbrook, to update the 1980 Waukegan Comprehensive Plan, which was based on a 1974

existing land use survey and a 1978 zoning district map. Unlike last decade's WCP, the 1987 WCP contains more details and descriptions of issues because it was specifically prepared for an in cooperation with the Waukegan City Council and the Waukegan Development Commission. The 1987 WCP was necessary due to the number of public agencies planning for Waukegan and the need to have one document that would create a uniform approach across the city. Another difference from previous reports produces quite a shift for what these plans can and cannot do legally. The 1987 WCP includes a page with an ordinance that officially adopts this plan. This ordinance also repeals other ones, and parts of them, that conflict with the plan.

Returning to rhetoric that emphasizes expertise and objectivity, the 1987 WCP reminds the audience of the importance of utilizing facts in the development of a plan for the city. Without facts, the plan would not be able to act as a "guide for the future" (McClure Engineering Associates, Inc. and Thompson Dyke & Associates, Ltd. 1987, 6). Since the plan is solidly built with knowledge and expertise, the plan demonstrates to others—such as cities, property owners, and developers—that "Waukegan is vitally concerned about its future and has a plan" (6). The plan then functions as a discursive and material representation that Waukegan has a future and its future is one that has been meticulously crafted by the city. The report continues by stating that, "This logical practice pays future dividends because people will tend to act more responsibly when they know that their actions are subject to scrutiny by a well prepared staff and an informed citizenry" (6). The collecting of data and the development of plans about the future are a "logical practice" that will pay "future dividends" in the potential but expected *actualization* of the plan. From the future, it may be obtuse to state that the plan did not pay future dividends but that may not be the fault of the plan itself. However, the plan's certainty about the future illuminates that the experts saw themselves as rightfully correct about its success despite

evidence that previous plans had not been successful in urban renewal, revitalization, or development.

This plan then contains a demographic analysis, which it justifies in stating that information such as “trends in housing, socioeconomic and financial data” may “indicate the need for future services” (8). Interestingly, this includes a brief history of the founding of Waukegan until about 1852, which is when the City was incorporated. The plan focuses on the realms of economic, transportation, residential, utilities, and environment. It is able to outline improvements throughout the entire city instead of the Central Business District, as had been done 20-30 years prior. However, even in employment growth under economic, they state that vehicular access to downtown, along with housing opportunities, would help improve the downtown area, which continues to be an area of concern. Because of the amount of planning the city has done, they create more regulation and rules related to development, but have managed to change very little in terms of the built environment.

As such, these economic plans and reports act as moral and legal documents that outline classed, raced, and gendered visions of who is a desirable and proper citizen in speculations about what future would benefit all Waukegan residents. African Americans and Latinxs had been marked as undesirable and outside the development of the city. Their displacement relied on a devaluation of their presence and their bodies. The racial geographies that have shaped the development of Waukegan’s built environment must be examined when examining contemporary conditions of racial inequity for this community.

2.3 The Criminalization of Latinidades

2.3.1 Anti-Immigrant Displacement Mechanisms

While Mexican and Puerto Rican migrants moved to Waukegan as early as the 1910s (City of Waukegan 1959; Guridy 2017), these number remained small for most of the twentieth century. Some Mexicans and Mexican Americans moved to Waukegan from Texas, New Mexico, Arkansas, and other states in the U.S. Southwest to find employment on the farms and in the factories since 1909 (City of Waukegan 1959). A colonia of Mexicans in Waukegan reached about 500 people in 1926, which was concentrated in a swampy district between Lake Michigan and the Chicago & Northwestern railway tracks. They shared the district with African Americans and other low-income residents. About 250 Mexican workers were employed in the local tanning plant, while others worked in an asbestos plant manufacturing shingles. About 80 percent of Mexicans in Waukegan were men (Valdés 2000, 38–39). As previously noted, the Wilder tannery and Johns-Manville had also hired African Americans during the same time. Skilled Mexican workers in Waukegan who had trades, such as painters and carpenters, were barred from unions because they were not citizens (Valdés 2000, 65). In the 1950s, more Puerto Ricans began to arrive in the area, founding the Puerto Rican society in 1954 (Zahorik 2002, A2). As citizens, Puerto Ricans did not face barriers due to a lack of documentation status. Illinois had become concerned with the presence of undocumented migrants in the 1970s. The State of Illinois conducted a few reports in relation to “illegal aliens” in Illinois and specifically the Chicagoland area. In a 1978 report on illegal aliens in Joliet, the Commission had identified 450,000 undocumented migrants in the Chicago area, which included parts of Wisconsin and Indiana. Waukegan had been identified as one such city with “substantial illegal alien populations” (Illinois Legislative Investigating Commission 1978, 24). Due to the longstanding relationships that Mexicans had to Waukegan and its established Mexican community, they

began to settle in increasing numbers starting in the latter 1980s, a large portion of them undocumented.

This movement was further facilitated by the departure of some of Waukegan's largest industries. While this reduced the number of employment opportunities for migrants, it did not eliminate them. It also led to an inexpensive standard of living. During the 1980s, a fabricated story emerged and was circulated within Waukegan about signs located along the U.S.-Mexico border encouraging Mexicans to move to the city (Zahorik 2000). No evidence exists to support the existence of these signs. While the Latinx population increased incrementally between 1980 and 1990, by 2000 their presence became more noticeable. The Waukegan urban legend about Mexican signs re-emerged during an electoral campaign where "older folks, white and black" were "angry" about the "Latinization of Waukegan" and believed that someone—in this case, candidate and real estate person Jack Potter—had to be responsible for the "browning of Waukegan" (Zahorik 2000). These stories demonstrate concerns about the shift in Waukegan's demographics, which had and would continue to materialize in anti-immigrant policies. Even with xenophobic practices in place, according to the 2010 U.S. Census, Hispanics made about 53% of the population, becoming the city's demographic majority. In terms of trends, the Latinx population increased in size, the percentage of non-Hispanic Whites decreased, and Black residents remained steadily at slightly below twenty percent of the total population.

Waukegan City Council and local newspapers took note of the increase in the Latinx population in the city at the turn of the century. In a newspaper article, the author states that the Hispanic population in Waukegan had nearly doubled between 1990 and 2000, shifting from about 24% to 45% of total residents (Zahorik 2002). After Mexicans, the next largest Latinx groups by number were Puerto Ricans and Hondurans. Other residents hailed from Cuba, the

Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, Guatemala, El Salvador, Belize, Colombia, and Panama.

Interviewed for the article, Lucy Rios is a community activist born in Puerto Rico and notes that Puerto Ricans have moved socioeconomically to middle and upper middle class in the United States. Although the article highlights that Puerto Ricans are U.S. citizens, it concludes with Rios's statement that "We come in all colors, shapes and forms, but we all have the same concerns, the same issues, the same problems" (A2). While the sentiment of the statement may be true, Puerto Ricans are not undocumented. This distinction means that while Puerto Ricans may be targeted by anti-immigrant policies as Latinxs, there are divergent consequences due to documentation status.

National and local debates about "illegal," or unauthorized, immigration were dominant in the media during this time as well. Local residents questioned why Latinx immigrants were moving to Waukegan and expressed their frustrations about the increase (*Lake County News-Sun* 2002; Pagelow 2006). These fears were expressed in narratives that told of a billboard along the U.S.-Mexico border that directed Mexicans to Waukegan as a welcoming place (Zahorik 2000; "Handwritten Note of Waukegan Mexican Immigrants," n.d.). While no proof existed, this narrative exemplified how local residents required an external justification that had shaped the migration flows towards their city. As businesses, churches, schools, and service organizations began to reflect the changing demographics, the significantly higher numbers and visibility of the Latinx community brought strong resistance by the local state, which had located another scapegoat to blame for the city's economic decline and attempted to restrict their settlement in and mobility throughout Waukegan.

Housing became a site of contestation between local Latinx residents and the municipality. Here I examine the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) and

the Department of Justice (DOJ) case against the city of Waukegan. Yzaguirre, Arce, and Kamasaki (1999) note that HUD's fair housing enforcement efforts on behalf of Latinxs "were inadequate until the 1990s" and that the performance of the DOJ "was dismal" (166). However, the situation of a lackluster approach to handle cases of discrimination against Latinxs shifted in the mid-1990s. In 1995, the DOJ settled a case against Security State Bank of Pecos, Texas, for overcharging Hispanic borrowers. In 1996, HUD settled *Latinos United v. Chicago Housing Authority and HUD* due to policies that restricted Latinxs access to benefits as well as the housing authority. In 1997, DOJ and the village of Addison, Illinois, settled a case where the village had illegally torn down Latino neighborhoods under the guise of urban renewal. The following year, HUD settled a discrimination case against the managers and owners of El Granada Mobile Home park in Moss Beach, California for discriminating against current and prospective Latinx residents.

In 1996, HUD filed a complaint against the city of Waukegan. Two years earlier, the Waukegan City Council adopted a housing ordinance that limited the number of people who could legally live in a house to a single nuclear family—a heteronormative concept that describes appropriate familial formations as composing of a mother, father, and their children—and a maximum of two additional relatives regardless of the size and composition of the building. Since multiple generations of newly arrived Latinx migrants often live together in a house, they understood this ordinance as directly targeting them. The local state relied on an Anglo-American, heteropatriarchal understanding of the family that explicitly excluded newly arrived Latinxs migrants' social relations and spatial dwelling. In interviews with Vanessa Guridy (2017), city officials expressed that the housing ordinance developed as a response to complaints about the number of cars parked in front of residential houses, instead of e.g. apartments. Most of

the members of the City Council interviewed similarly shared that this situation placed a burden on the local school district because, they describe, these properties' tax share did not cover the cost to educate the increasing number of children living under single-family houses.

Under pressure from local activists, the DOJ sued the city for targeting Latinx families (Guridy 2017, 100). Their push was part of a larger national push at the time to hold localities accountable for discriminatory practices against Latinxs (Lee 1999; Yzaguirre, Arce, and Kamasaki 1999). HUD had engaged in this work due to the demands of affected families. HUD cited allegations that in 1994 the city had revised its housing code to include more restrictions on overcrowding after experiencing significant increases in the Latinx population. DOJ stated that Hispanic families were often asked to vacate their homes even when they did not live in overcrowded conditions. In fact, DOJ shared that city records indicated that all families evicted from their homes pursuant to the new, revised city codes were Hispanic (Yzaguirre, Arce, and Kamasaki 1999, 166). City officials had enacted and enforced this new ordinance, "even though they knew that Hispanics moving into the community often resided in extended families" (Lee 1999, 40). With prior knowledge of the family formations found within Latinx communities, WCC orchestrated a housing ordinance dependent on racial animosity and xenophobic fear that Latinx households would exacerbate the economic conditions within Waukegan. As such, the housing ordinance produced a fissure between the growing Latinx community and the WCC that would be further deepened.

As previous cases around this time illustrate, the Chicagoland area imposed restrictions to housing access, whether higher interest rates in loans, occupancy limits, or urban renewal programs, in response to the growing presence of immigrants from Central America. However, these groups demonstrated regionally that they could organize for fair housing access

(McRoberts and Garza 1997). This case proved to be one of the early incidents of xenophobic approaches to restrict the settlement and mobility of its Latin American residents. These tensions re-emerged at the turn of the century under the rhetoric of public safety against residents without documentation status, or illegal aliens.

In 2002, Waukegan City Council amended its towing ordinance to authorize the police department to seize and impound vehicles and impose a \$500 fine on persons driving (1) under the influence of alcohol or drugs, (2) on suspended or revoked licenses, (3) without a valid driver's license, or (4) without proof of insurance. The fine was in addition to the fees associated with retrieving impounded vehicles. The exorbitant cost to receive one's vehicle in return led to the local state seizing half of the over 6,000 vehicles towed in the first year of the enactment of this traffic ordinance. These seizures and state practices netted the city government approximately two million dollars (Slack 2008), which they subsequently incorporated into the city's yearly budget. Four years later, even when debating U.S. District Judge Joan Lefkow's decision that the ordinance was unconstitutional, then Alderman Sam Cunningham was concerned about the impact this ruling would have in forcing the City to find revenue to replace the money brought in through the fines, which were much higher than those called by Illinois' vehicle code (Gibbard 2006). Under the rhetoric of public safety, WCC was also able to secure another revenue source dependent on siphoning residents' resources.

Earlier that year, residents demanded justice after Roberto Gonzalez was killed during an interaction with Waukegan police in his home on January 4th. More than 500 people, mostly Latinxs, packed Holy Family Church. Zahorik (2006) notes that half the people in the church may have been undocumented. While I do not focus on the number of deaths at the hands of police, other reports and newspaper articles highlight that Waukegan police do not make things

safer for residents and, in fact, cost the city millions in major payouts (Hinkel 2015). During this meeting, the mayor and police chief stated they were conducting an investigation into the death of Roberto Gonzalez. Residents stated that “in Waukegan [the police] kill.” They further pushed back against another area of concern, which was the tow law. Residents stated that the police engage in brutal acts against Latinxs even when they are being called to offer support to people dealing with mental health issues or intoxication. This is not unique to Waukegan. This led to concerns that Latinxs were being “harassed and profiled,” with frequent references to how the police being “against” community members. Residents, including on high school student, stated that they were the majority in Waukegan whether “you” like it or not, and we’re here to stay. Meetings like this only serve as public-facing moments that demonstrate a superficial attempt to understand and address residents’ concerns. Waukegan police officers today have had residents die in their custody with similar patterns: notifying family members much later about a death, maintaining their body in state custody wherein the family cannot view them, and finding no wrongdoing on the part of the police. City officials stated that they “have statistics that prove this program is working” and that the “number of people who get fines or booted is going way down.” This was reaffirmed by one scholarly article that considered this case to be a good natural experiment in deterrence. While the data may show that the numbers are going down, they do not account for the culture of fear that is produced for community members. Even concerns brought to the city during this event were not considered to be valid forms of information to be used in decision-making. In this *News-Sun* article, the framing of the event places the empathy on the city officials. It is the city’s Latinx residents who “pepper” city officials with complaints (Zahorik 2006). Unfortunately, it was difficult to locate Spanish-

language newspaper articles of the tow law ordinance online. There are no newspapers in Spanish collected by the Waukegan Historical Society either.

Residents reported police constructing roadblocks, particularly in predominantly Black and Latinx neighborhoods, to verify licenses and documents. As undocumented residents were ineligible for an Illinois driver's license, traffic checkpoints functioned as unofficial forms of immigration enforcement. Local Spanish newspapers recounted stories of disproportionate enforcement of ordinances against Latinx residents, which included towing the vehicles of people who had a valid Wisconsin, instead of Illinois, driver's licenses (Slack 2008). Engaging in community protests, local residents noted that the ordinance's effects fell "most harshly on African Americans and Latinos" (Carrasco 2012; Wang 2007). Since the ordinance continued to be enforced after being deemed unconstitutional, racialized communities and those without documentation status faced increased surveillance in the form of policing and financial consequences that placed them in further debt. Citizenship is about demarcating who belongs in the state (Staeheli 2010), and citizenship status was used to impose heavy fees on residents—a particularly heavy burden on undocumented drivers—to impound vehicles at towing companies' and the city's profit, and to produce a culture of fear for residents navigating daily life.

A few years later, on June 18, 2007, Waukegan Alderman Rafael Rivera introduced a motion asking the Waukegan Police Department (WPD) to submit a proposal under Section 287(g) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA). If approved by the Immigration and Customs Enforcement agency (ICE), the 287(g) program would deputize Waukegan police officers to be trained by ICE to perform certain functions of an immigration officer, effectively enforcing immigration law at the local level. The motion passed the WCC with only two city council members, Tony Figueroa and Sam Cunningham, voting against the measure. During

audience time, Chris Blanks, a local resident and organizer with the Black Abolition of the Mind (BAM), suggested that the 287(g) program will cause problems for Waukegan (City of Waukegan 2007a; Guridy 2017, 1–2). The motion subsequently resulted in many in Waukegan’s Latinx community began to organize efforts against the measure.

Despite the municipal government’s targeting of Latinx community members, Rafael Rivera had not perceived the motion to be a problem. Rivera was the Chairman of the Public Safety Committee and had previously served as the vice-president of the Puerto Rican Society (PRS). While he had previously defended his support of the 287(g) program as a measure to ensure public safety, he had also described being ignorant of it (Guridy 2017, 2). Latinx politicians and local leaders may often have priorities that are in conflict with those of everyday people they purport to represent, especially if those representatives are U.S. citizens. In other words, U.S. citizen Latinx city officials and local leaders may not represent the interests of Latinx people who are undocumented or have other forms of precarious legal statuses. Perhaps due to a lack of exercise of political power generally but specifically for Latinxs, Rivera had argued that the motion was about “obeying the laws of this community” (Guridy 2017, 29). However, many Latinx community members perceived Rivera’s motion as part of WCC’s longer trajectory of targeting this population and seeking their removal, even as he claimed that the protests and boycotts “are hurting your own people” (2017, 29).

Residents began meeting to discuss the motion at an old shopping mall and at churches. About 200 immigrants came together opposing the WPD performing federal immigration functions at a local Catholic church in Waukegan. Many residents poignantly referenced the local government’s towing ordinance to impound vehicles used in narcotics trade and prostitution had shifted to include those driving without a driver’s license. Some Latinx residents

present shared that they did not trust the police or the WCC (Pagelow 2007b). A week afterwards, Latinx community members met with Mayor Richard Hyde to share their concerns about the program, wherein the mayor responded that the program was meant to target criminals, not families. After the death of a Latinx man at the hands of police the previous year, residents continued to express unease that the WCC and WPD would target undocumented Latinxs generally (Zahorik and Wang 2007). These meetings would result in residents protesting and organizing a boycott.

The week after the initial vote, the Mayor Richard Hyde met with over 2000 residents about the measure. Although the mayor stated that the police would target immigrants both legal and illegal convicted of felonies, residents, as well as Rev. Gary Graf—a local leader for Latinxs—felt that these powers are unnecessary and divisive. Mayor Richard Hyde states that, “We’re not going to go into your homes to look for anybody. We’re not going to set up roadblocks to find out whether a person is legal or undocumented... If you haven’t committed a felony you don’t have to worry” (Zahorik and Wang 2007, 10). Although the mayor states that they will not target residents, residents concern stem from the city’s long-standing approach of targeting racialized communities; in this case, residents are acutely aware of the impact that the tow law has had on them and the targeting that they have experienced. When asked if he would withdraw the application, the mayor stated that they would not “because we want to find out exactly what this is.” Despite framing this process as one of learning, Hyde stated that city officials are fighting misinformation and that someone in the Latinx community must be “riling them up” (Zahorik and Wang 2007). The mayor knew what would come from the proposal: local police would have the power to begin deportation proceedings for unauthorized migrants. Based

on previous concerns about the stretch of the tow law and its impact on local communities, residents' concerns stemmed from the local state's previous approaches regarding migrants.

Due to city's unwillingness to withdraw the 287(g) agreement, residents selected a strategy that would target one of the city government's priority. Residents came together to claim that they would "stop spending money in Waukegan." Jose Guzman, organizer of the boycott, stated that "They're drying our pockets. We're going to dry their's [sic]." (Masterson 2007, 5). Residents of Waukegan and members of the Waukegan chapters of the Labor Council for Latin American Advancement (LCLAA) and Centro Sin Fronteras rallied two hours before July 2nd, Monday's City Council meeting with chants against deportations. Those rallying in front of City Hall spoke out against the 287(g) contract, the towing ordinance, and building code harassment. Residents also requested an independent police review board due to the concerns residents have about police misconduct and brutality. After over two dozen speakers spoke during audience time demanding the city not "break up families" and that crimes may go unreported if police ask about documentation status, the meeting continued without comment (Masterson 2007; City of Waukegan 2007b). Organizers identified local businesses that support the federal program and broadcasted the information via Spanish-language radio shows and meetings, asking residents not to patronize these establishments. This media post was published after Guzman led a demonstration of about 500 protesters Monday night at Waukegan City Hall (Wang 2007).

Jose Guzman, head of the Waukegan branch of the Labor Council for Latin American Advancement, stated that residents are fed up with mistreatment at the hands of police, in what he refers as another example of Waukegan's "anti-immigrant" policies (Wang 2007). Guzman is described as a one-time restaurant cook "who came to Waukegan illegally in 1970 before gaining

citizenship” (Masterson 2007, 5). Guzman noted the priority of the city was more on economic development and profit than on the future of Waukegan with its current residents. He states, “All he cares about is condos by the lake” (5). He continues by reminding the author that Hyde promised he would “leave working people alone.” Guzman refuted this claim and signaled the city ordinance under which police continue to seize the vehicles of those without driver’s licenses and insurance. Guzman reminds readers that residents are paying up to \$2,000 in various fines and other costs to get their vehicles back. Guzman emphasizes that the federal government should be handling the case, not the locality. The article ends by stating that, “As long as people are hungry, they are going to keep coming here” (Masterson 2007, 5). This is reminiscent of the conversations I had with first generation migrants from Mexico and Central America who noted that although physical violence was of grave concern, that they would not desire the level of poverty they experienced because they often went without food. For Guzman, this was not the solution or a path to follow. The only solution would have to be transnational and require international cooperation between these nation-states.

Vanessa Guridy (2017) writes that there exists a disconnect between Latinx leaders and everyday people, wherein leaders do not represent the desires of their community. From conversations and interviews with residents, they have expressed that not all local organizations are as helpful to undocumented or temporary workers. Guridy’s emphasis on a disconnect between city officials and residents resonated with this study. Reverend Gary Graf is one non-Latinx leader that has support migrants’ efforts for better living conditions, often acting as a conduit between the Latinx community and the City. He often set up meetings between the Latinx community and the Mayor at Holy Family. When the community responded to the city’s proposal, they proposed a boycott, which Rev. Gary Graf did not support for fear that “the

boycott might sour the city's already bitter relationship with the Latino [sic] community" (Wang 2007). Graf stated that the boycott framed residents as "over-the-top" and stated that "Unfortunately, all it does is make the Latino community look more crazed." A white non-Latinx leader sought to restrict how residents pushed back against the proposal relationship between the City and ICE. Guzman, however, stated that the proposal demanded a "drastic response." In this case as well, the newspaper framed migrants' response to the proposal as a "threat," further cementing the notion that migrants are not part of a community and already criminal.

The municipal government claimed that since Waukegan police had been collaborating with federal agents in transferring undocumented migrants from the county jail and in conducting raids, this partnership would only make their collaboration with ICE more efficient. In 2003, Waukegan police participated with ICE in a sweep called "Operation Stolen Virtue," a two-day effort in which 21 immigrants with deportable criminal records were apprehended. Police Chief William Biang stated that they had previously worked with federal authorities and wanted to increase that cooperation. He states that, "we will do whatever we can to rid the community of them" (Moran 2007). While the department uses ICE resources and databases in identifying and deporting immigrants convicted of crimes. Mayor Richard Hyde states that "The number of people Waukegan has deported is staggering," but did not provide a specific figure (Peterson 2007).

A month after the WCC voted to submit their application to the 287(g) program, Waukegan police cooperated with ICE officials under operation Community Shield, a different federal ICE program. ICE spokesperson Gail Montenegro noted that there was an operation underway to apprehend specific individuals who pose a threat to public safety (Moran 2007). Officers detained and put in deportation proceedings 58 undocumented migrants for allegedly

being gang members or gang associates, ill-defined criminal statuses. Lisa Cacho (2012, 43) builds a contemporary incarnation of *status crime* as a *de facto status crime*, or how “others’ perception that a person of a certain status is certain to commit future crimes and may well have already committed crimes unwitnessed.” In invoking race through gang membership, these state tactics sought to “punish and prevent the future crimes that immigrants were imagined as likely to commit (95). For Cacho, an individual accused of being a gang member is criminalized for their membership in the group as opposed to any crime they may have committed. This can be further demonstrated in Waukegan’s cooperation with ICE under Community Shield.

This operation was called “Operation Gangs Away,” where ICE claimed that “only individuals who pose a threat to public safety are being arrested” (Pagelow and Alajakis 2007). A newspaper article had noted how legal permanent residents convicted of deportable offenses make take years to actually begin deportation proceedings. “In some cases, it’s long enough for them to turn their lives around” (Pagelow and Alajakis 2007). Michelle Bahena of Waukegan noted that her husband Octavio had not been in trouble for six or seven years. He was being held in the Dodge County Detention Facility in Wisconsin. He is 34 and migrated to the US from Guerrero, Mexico, when he was four years old. She states that he had gun and drug charges in the 90s and served prison time. Now he is a union carpenter and has fostered three nieces and nephews. He is the primary breadwinner for the family, which consists of six children. She is a part-time waitress and U.S. citizen along with the children. Another individual noted in this newspaper article was Angelina Rojel’s husband, Israel, also being held in the same detention center as Octavio. Israel is a press operator for a Gurnee factory and a youth soccer coach. They also have six children, all U.S. citizens, just like Angelina. Israel was born in Tonatico, Mexico, and migrated to the US when he was two years old. Waukegan Police Chief William Biang said

“that anyone targeted has been identified as a threat by police and immigration officials.” As Cacho demonstrates, gang members are considered ineligible for rights most of us observe because they are assumed to have the potential to commit crimes in the future. The police chief stated that the Waukegan police had street intelligence, including from the department’s gang unit, that aided in identifications. Deflecting from any responsibility on the hands of the local state, the police chief states that any additional information would need to be acquired through ICE officials and all the city did was “provid[e] manpower to people.”

More than 3000 protesters against and hundreds of supporters of the 287(g) agreement were present for a protest on July 16, 2007 (Pagelow 2007a). Rather than acknowledge the organizing work that Waukegan’s residents had engaged in, Mayor Hyde had stated that most of the protestors—9 out of 10—had been from Chicago. Across town, however, Hyde had sent police officers to “quietly” find the protestors’ buses and boot them since parking them in the city was against local ordinance. However, police found no buses. Richard Hyde stated that, “They must have parked outside the city... I would have told every cotton-pickin’ one of them, ‘Look, you obey the law. I obey the law. Everybody obeys the law.’” (Ali 2007). Waukegan Police Deputy Chief Mark McCormick stated that they want to use the program to make Waukegan “a safe place to live.” In order to do that, they must expand police power to create safety. Even though they state this, the program, specifically Homeland Security, would train two police officers on using the national security database to verify legal status and create files on undocumented residents charged with a crime. Even within this framework, they do not acknowledge the racialized hierarchies that have led to divergent policing approaches towards communities of color as opposed to those in more affluent neighborhoods. Many Latinxs, as well as African-American residents, were concerned that the police would abuse their new power, as

police misconduct in the city is high. The WCC voted to reconsider their motion to submit an application for the 287(g) program. Similar to the initial vote, WCC members voted to deny a reconsideration, with Aldermen Cunningham and Figueroa voting aye (City of Waukegan 2007c).



Figure 5 No Poli-Migra protest in Waukegan, July 2007

Photo Courtesy of Scott Olson/AFP/Getty Images

2.3.2 Sanctuary and Political Economies Today

On April 15, 2019, during audience time at a Waukegan City Council (WCC) meeting, a resident by the name of Kathy asked the WCC if Waukegan was a sanctuary city. They stated that perceived the colors red, white, and green on various storefronts, with some exhibiting Mexico's national flag (also of the same color scheme). The resident stated that these 'signs' were "not user-friendly to Americans." This resident's statement indicates that the visual

presence of Mexican aesthetics in the streetscapes of Waukegan were not welcoming to *actual* Americans. The assumption underlying this claim is that Mexicans, including Mexican Americans, are not themselves Americans, signaling an understanding that many are immigrants and do not have documentation status.

After claiming that these stores were not for people like Kathy, an American, the speaker then shares that 364 “illegals” were apprehended recently with about 134 of those apprehensions occurred in Illinois. This resident was referencing ICE’s Enforcement and Removal Operations (ERO) “enforcement surge” that occurred the previous year where they had arrested immigrants in six Midwest states within the Chicago area of responsibility, an ICE designation (ICE 2018). The states are Indiana, Illinois, Kansas, Kentucky, Missouri, and Wisconsin. After Kathy mentions the apprehension of “illegals,” they state that, “you know, a lot of crime will be on the rise.” After pointing to the aesthetic presence of Mexicans in the landscape, Kathy immediately highlights the criminality of immigrants. Through this rhetorical move, Kathy grafts criminality onto immigrants. Kathy’s comments attempt to map criminal behavior onto the visible presence of Mexican storefronts, a further reaffirmation of their previous comment that these spaces were not welcoming of law-abiding, ‘American’ U.S. citizens. Not only does this erase the fact that many Mexicans in Waukegan are also U.S. citizens or have a form of legal status, but it naturalizes these spaces as different from the rest of the stores in the landscape and, perhaps even more harmful, as outside of the law and in need of surveillance. Kathy spends their audience time attempting to convince WCC that something must be done because the presence of criminal aliens, made legible to some residents via the aesthetic representation of Mexicanness in the landscape through flags, colors, and other languages, that “a lot of people will move,” presumably from Waukegan.

After the departure of many industries through the last three decades of the twentieth century, the Waukegan municipal government had lost a significant source of the city budget. The city's efforts to understand their economic situation and employ revitalization projects to 'reverse' the material and financial decline of the downtown area. Mayor after subsequent mayor emphasized their desire to transform the lakefront into a desirable destination for regional tourists. The mayors repeatedly discussed the area's potential for condominium development with the implicit (sometimes explicit) objective of attracting middle-class peoples as city residents. Some aspects of the lakefront have prevented the City from realizing its vision. Although many of these industries have departed Waukegan—taking jobs with them—they left a toxic legacy of environmental pollution that further exacerbated the city's economic plight. The 'abandoned' industrial sites and the lake itself contained hazardous chemicals that federal, state, and local government agencies had to cooperate to remediate. Without these economic projects, the city has depended on other sources of revenue and ways to encourage economic development.

Waukegan City Council (WCC) has encouraged the proliferation of gambling machines throughout the city. The WCC may have been influenced by the donations of the Video Gaming United PAC that flooded the mayoral and alderman electoral campaigns, leading to tens of thousands of dollars invested into local politics. Residents who had become involved in local politics had utilized a website, Reform for Illinois' Sunshine Database, to track where city officials had received donations from (Reform for Illinois 2021). They noted that the Video Gaming United PAC donated to the Waukegan Democratic Organization and Waukegan Voter Alliance, which funneled funds into local mayoral and alderman electoral campaigns. They had supported Mayor Sam Cunningham in 2017. Campaigns for alderman positions in the WCC had

commercials, something that residents expressed had been unheard of previous to the election in 2019. Attempts to trace the relationships between these committees demonstrate how funds frequently travel back and forth amongst donors, recipients, and committees. Residents stated that the video gaming companies had “a hold in Waukegan” and encouraged the expansion of a casino, an idea that (perhaps unsurprisingly) ultimately gained traction through the WCC (Bahena 2019). When Cunningham came into office in 2017, the new Mayor examined the video game gambling ordinance. The WCC looked at repealing the distance requirement that prevented the legal operation of gambling machines from each other, schools, and places of worship.

In 2019, Waukegan had begun to move forward with an open call for proposals for a casino in the city. Residents, organizations, and churches mobilized to demand the city not move forward with their decision, citing concerns around vice (gambling, prostitution) and economic drain of local residents. Despite residents’ concerns, the City selected five desirable proposals and held a casino hearing on September 18 with presentations to the WCC and a public audience. I attended the hearing and sat next to residents, one who I knew from WCC meetings. I spoke with the local resident about how it appeared that some of the casinos had bussed in primarily Latinx peoples to be part of the audience (and who then lined up during Q&A to express their support for their respective employer, in this case, Rivers Casino) and support their project. My friend responded, “I hate that they’re using our people.” The presentations attempted to cater to the city through their presentations and candidates. Most, if not all, presentations discussed aspects from a “minority” positionality, from community-development (from Casino Fontana) to employee composition (Rivers and Full House) to investment (North Point). One casino, Full House, emphasized their past casino project that was built on top of a chemical dump site, and another, Potawatomi Casino, discussed funding behavioral services and constructing a building

that reflects Waukegan's industrial history. Ultimately, despite the campaign contributions and the WCC's efforts to move forward with the project, the casino has not manifested, and the City has not benefitted from another source of tax revenue for their budget.

As previous researchers have noted, many immigrants have an ambivalent relationship to the police and policing. Due to their transnational experiences, many perceive the US police to be less corrupt than those in their countries of origin. Additionally, they often believe police to be overly punitive, particularly in their interactions with members of the migrant community (Armenta & Rosales 2019). One of the ways in which migrants in Waukegan have expressed their relationship to the state has one of ambivalence, as well. An important point to highlight is that they've described their situation as one in which in the state "chupa la sangre" of the immigrant community.

Petra is a Mexican immigrant living in Waukegan. She had been in her home late one evening when she heard noises outside of her house. Fearing for her safety, she decided to call the police. The police officer showed up forty minutes after the call had been made. Noting that nothing seemed out of the ordinary, the officer then spotted Petra's vehicle in the driveway and asked to see her license. Uncertain why, she presented her expired driver's license. Although she had not been driving, the police officer proceeded to give her a ticket. Without a resolution for her concern of feeling insecure, Petra came out of this interaction with police with a fine instead. This anecdote exemplifies how interactions with police officers may exacerbate feelings of distrust between residents and the local police department. These feelings extend to the role of the municipal governments in producing more livable lives for residents. As Daniel emphasizes, the police "don't actually protect and care for the people." Residents like Petra who may reach out to police for security in moments of fear come out with added fines, instead reproducing the

economic insecurity that many immigrant community members experience in Waukegan. As Daniel poignantly claims, [the city] “chupan la sangre del pueblo.” In English, the city sucks the town’s blood. In his claim that the city sucks the blood of the town, he is particularly pointing to those within the racialized migrant community, who are often placed as outsiders to the city’s efforts to beautify and / or “improve” the community. Instead, they are seen as people whose livelihoods can be used in order to, as Daniel points out, pay for the pension of the police officers. Whether or not these recollections are accurate, this statement represents the distrust within the minds of residents who believe police do not view them as worthy of protection. I am not arguing that protection from police is what residents need; instead, I am pointing to a feeling of in-betweenness for immigrants. Many newspaper accounts and anecdotal evidence suggests a pattern of mistreatment by the police towards residents; however, the WCC and the WPD both stand by the police officers instead of the constituents they are meant to protect.

Other aspects have affected residents. Residents have expressed that the taxes in Waukegan are very high compared to other locations. Daniel states that the city has more police in the community, and the need to pay for police retirement is expensive. He states that the tickets the police give, such as the one to Petra, serve to pay their pension. He continues by sharing that many corners on street intersections have surveillance cameras on them. Daniel finds the cameras to lack any sense of transparency, as there is little information about their existence or what they do. The cameras fine residents upwards of hundreds of dollars for minor traffic infractions. At City Council meetings, residents expressed their dissatisfaction with the cameras, with the WCC and police stating that most people fined by them are not local residents. This appears to be a contradiction, as the city aims to attract regional tourists but also fines them. Most of those fined may be workers who travel to downtown Waukegan for their jobs. Daniel

also references the city's shift in how they manage the water utility bills. The city switched from quarterly to monthly bills and added fees for late payments. At WCC meetings, residents also have shared that by the time they send their checks to the city for the water bill, their payment arrives late, and they are charged more fees. They express a dissatisfaction between when they receive their bill and when they are expected to pay it by. Daniel shares that residents who do not have that end up having to pay more fines on their water utility bill. Daniel finds it frustrating to not know where all these fines and funds may be going towards. He passionately claims, "Porque demonio los queremos." Or, *Why the hell do we want them* (the fines)? During WCC meetings, the City and residents frequently expressed desires to add or increase fines to ordinances as forms of punishment. It appeared that the "easiest" form of discipline was to subject residents, many who are low-income, to financial duress.

A local religious member similarly express concerns about the violence that migrants face. I spoke with Father Nestor Espinoza of a Lutheran Parish in Waukegan. I had spent some time in the parish, speaking to members of the congregation and participating in after-school programming with Guatemalan and Mexican youth. The parish, as Espinoza explained to me, has a predominantly Guatemalan congregation. He shares that newly arrived migrants, regardless of nationality, often arrive and are at a different socioeconomic level than residents. He states that this may be another reason that Mexicans, Guatemalans, and Hondurans have separate communities and social relationships. Although the mayor has a close relationship with the church and Espinoza expresses there have been efforts to work with the Latinx community, he believes that violence is camouflaged in the city, like through institutions. He states that violence occurs less on the street, unless a resident commits a crime. He references that these institutions produce violence for migrants, and that due to migrants' positionality as "being neither here nor

there” (ni estamos aquí, ni allá), this situation affects public politics. They are often limited in how they engage with politics so that this violence becomes reproduced.

Another area of concern for the political economy is the prevalence of temporary worker positions locally and regionally. The Warehouse Workers Justice Center and the Chicago Workers Collaborative have both illustrated the reliance of temporary positions throughout the US, in Illinois, and through the Chicagoland area (Scott 2016; 2017). Temporary workers face unstable employment, inadequate access to employment benefits, and extreme exploitation. Many workers are Latinx and migrants, as well. In a conversation with organizers with the Chicago Workers’ Collaborative, they have expressed that companies in the area treat workers as expendable. Company lawyers often intimidate temporary workers, claiming that they will not hire or contract them again. Temporary workers who participate in any movement demanding an end to wage theft or respect of legal protections have to contend with the fact that they may not be hired, a practice they view as a form of retaliation. In one conversation, a worker stated that she was concerned that it was her word against the company’s. Workers face dire conditions of exploitation and uncertainty through temporary employment, facilitated by the temporary agencies that direct workers to these companies.

2.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have illustrated how contemporary xenophobic practices structuring the mobility and settlement of Latinx migrants are part of a longer, historical trajectory of the state and market to remove, displace, and exploit Indigenous and racialized peoples. As scholars have demonstrated, race and capitalism have an intricate relationship and have shaped the conditions of political economy in the area and their spatially uneven consequences (Robinson 1983;

Melamed 2015; De Lara 2018a). Cedric Robinson (1983) demonstrates that Marxist theory cannot solely understand Black people's history of resistance towards capitalism. He illustrates the ways that Marxists, such as Marx and Engels, missed the significance of Black radicalism and revolt and signaled them in his book. As such, I am inspired by the Black Radical Tradition for its generative suggestions for thinking about contemporary manifestations and their previous iterations through a historical lens attuned to cultural forms. That is another reason why this chapter emphasizes an analysis of historical events juxtaposed with each other. As such, when the settler population grew large enough, the presence of Indigenous peoples—primarily the Potawatomi—in the area became undesirable. The Treaty of Chicago demanded that they sever their relationship to the land and travel elsewhere, which was enforced by force. Their removal was necessary for settlers to use the land as a resource, pollute the land for profit, and ultimately become an industrial hub in the region. This industrialization facilitated the migration of different nationalities, primarily European, for jobs in these factories. Industries held a particular power over the region, as they both offered employment to migrants and provided housing options. They also provided a significant tax base for the City, as was necessary for them to develop the infrastructure for the rapidly growing city. Due to working conditions and wages, many Black migrants were able to find employment since factories needed labor. Black residents faced racism when attempting to move to residential areas considered white; as such, they had a particular geography on the south and west sides of the city. White residents sought to prevent African Americans from living in their neighborhoods through legal recourse and violence. However, Black people in one residential area had been able to build a community and had a sense of place. Racial tensions did not dissipate, as the economic reports and plans illustrate that the city, and the planners of these reports, had an active investment in the displacement of Black

and Latinx residents in the area. The area depended on their labor, and the City sought to structure their precarious conditions. The eventual departure of manufacturing industries led to an economic depression in the region, leaving a gap in the city budget. Migrants from Central and South American arrived to Waukegan due to this relatively inexpensive standard of living. As the population of Latinxs grew, the WCC employed securitization strategies to make precarious the lives of Latinxs, a group they perceived to be undesirable. They believed their presence to be antithetical to development and could result in investors not viewing the area as attractive. Although now a majority of the population in Waukegan, Latinx residents express how the city relies on them for profit.

Chapter 3 Environmental Justice in Waukegan

Alejandra moved from California to Illinois in the early 2010s. She is Guatemalan, a stay-at-home mother, and a local activist. Initially living in Chicago, she met Alan—her husband—and they both moved to Waukegan due to educational and employment opportunities available to each one. Unbeknownst to them at the time, Alejandra, Alan, and their two children lived near a Medline Industries plant, where the company uses ethylene oxide (EtO) in their commercial sterilization processes.¹⁴ After residing in their new home for months, Diana became chronically ill. She found it difficult to consume food she had previously had, sharing that she could only eat about four different types of food without becoming sick. Constantly feeling exhausted, nauseous, or weak, Alejandra and her doctor could not understand why. Like many others living in the area, Alejandra learned what may have been causing her symptoms near the end of 2018.

In early November 2018, the *Chicago Tribune* published an article identifying two plants as sources of EtO emissions in Lake County, Illinois (Hawthorne 2018). Located in industrial zones in Waukegan and Gurnee, Illinois, respectively, Medline Industries and Vantage Specialty Chemicals utilize EtO to sterilize medical equipment and other everyday products. The *Chicago Tribune* previously reported on EtO gas escaping fumigation chambers at a Sterigenics facility in suburban Willowbrook, Illinois, west of Chicago. The site sterilized medical instruments,

¹⁴ Ethylene oxide sterilization is a chemical process that disrupts the DNA of microorganisms to prevent them from reproducing, which results in sterile products suitable for medical use. About 50% of all medical devices in the U.S. are sterilized using EtO (American Hospital Association 2019).

pharmaceutical drugs, and food. The *Chicago Tribune* identified an area in and around Waukegan with high cancer risks from air pollution through the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (US EPA)'s interactive map application, which utilized data collected for the National

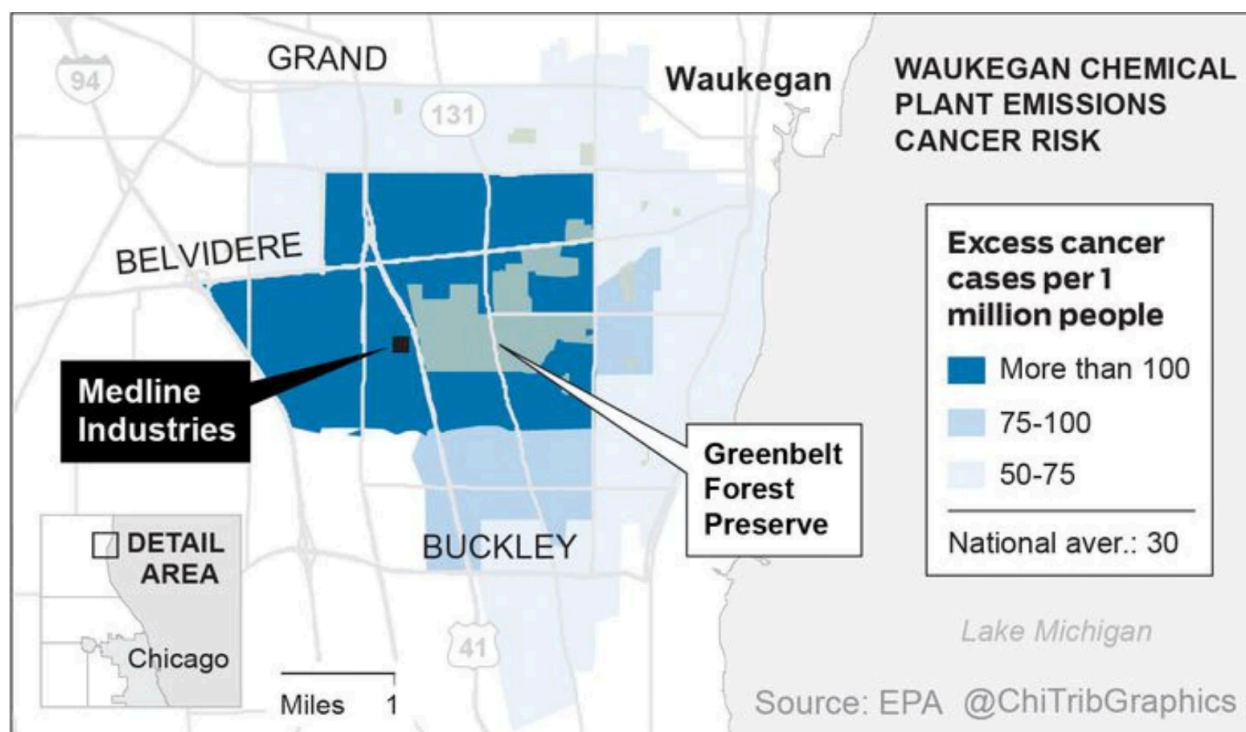


Figure 6 Excess cancer cases near Medline (source: EPA and Chicago Tribune)

Air Toxics Assessment. The newspaper article shared their findings from the map application: first, more than 19,000 people live within an area of risk near Medline Industries in southwest Waukegan, as well as in Gurnee, North Chicago, and Park City (see *Figure 2*). Second, EtO emissions from another facility—Vantage Specialty Chemicals in Gurnee—were not included on the map due to a reporting error.¹⁵ This is a form of regulatory non-compliance in that the

¹⁵ The reporting error emerged from Vantage failing to report their data to the IEPA. Despite these issues, the IEPA had not acted upon the lack of data. Vantage provided data when media attention shone light on EtO exposure.

polluter is the primary culprit for not abiding by regulation, but the state is also intimately involved. The penalties for regulatory non-compliance are so low that it is good business practice to “shift the cost of doing business onto its neighbors” (Pulido 2015, 813). Vantage emitted more pounds of EtO than either Medline or Sterigenics during the same period, and the EPA’s map tool underestimated the dangers of the chemical plant to the nearly 23,000 people living near the site. Lastly, the findings about high cancer risk from the Medline and Vantage plants had not been shared with the public until the *Chicago Tribune* published this article. They report that federal, state, and local officials declined to explain why they had not “warned “neighbors about the hazards” (Hawthorne 2018). Some government agencies did not know about EtO either. For instance, the Lake County Health Department was made aware of the existence of EtO in the area through this news article (Lake County Health Department 2019).

The US EPA classifies EtO as a carcinogenic and mutagenic substance. In other words, exposure to EtO by inhalation a) increases the risk of certain cancers and b) can alter the DNA in a cell, respectively. Due to conflicting interests between public agencies and corporations, the severity of EtO has been differently qualified. For example, Vincent et al. (2019) conducted a review of epidemiological and toxicological evidence and concluded that the International Agency for Research on Cancer’s and US EPA’s classification of EtO as a known human carcinogen “is not as strong as stated in their respective reviews” (14). Two authors had previously provided consulting services to Vantage Specialty Chemicals, and they received financial support for the research or authorship of this article from the company. Additionally, Medline published a document that challenged the severity of EtO as a cancer-causing agent in outreach efforts to local residents in Waukegan. In the document, Medline frames residents’ concerns as “Myths” and provides the “Facts” about their impact on the community (Medline

2019). While companies that employ EtO may de-emphasize its effects on human health, some state officials and local residents made aware of its existence in 2018 took action.

When Alejandra and Alan learned that their family was living near Medline and Vantage, they began to attend Waukegan City Council (WCC) meetings every Monday evening. The City of Waukegan hosts their weekly city council meeting on Monday evenings at 7pm in City Hall. A sign-up sheet for residents to speak during audience time is taped onto the transparent door leading into the city chamber. Every city council meeting begins with a local religious leader delivering a prayer and then a recital of the pledge of allegiance. After a vote about last week's meeting minutes, the mayor provides announcements and awards. The meeting continues with comments from the audience, usually residents of Waukegan. With each resident restricted to a maximum time limit of three minutes, Alejandra and Alan jointly demanded the WCC do something to protect its residents from air toxins.

Alejandra and Alan would speak one after the other, each for three minutes. From an outside perspective, they appeared to have a particular approach to discussing EtO and its effects during the allotted audience time. Alejandra shared her personal experience, while Alan detailed the science behind EtO. Since Alan could not arrive early to the meeting due to work, Alejandra usually signed them up and would thus speak first. She would recount how she had been chronically ill and only recently learned about how residents were being exposed to EtO from two different yet overlapping sources of emissions. Alejandra frequently emphasized the vulnerability that residents already experience regarding their health from environmental toxins (such as pollution from the operation of the coal plant on the lakefront) to socioeconomic barriers. She highlights the inadequate access to healthcare for some due to citizenship status, employment in positions temporarily or without healthcare, or a combination of factors. Diana

concludes by asking WCC to act upon the available information that points towards the detrimental impact of EtO to humans and protect residents from further exposure. Alan then approaches the podium and essentially translates scientific jargon into language accessible to most residents present. He would describe complex processes, introduce data, discuss their meanings, and summarize the findings of research studies on EtO. Alan sometimes presented actions that WCC could undertake; for example, he suggested independent testing and provided city officials with a printed budget of the expected cost. Together, Alejandra and Alan utilized personal anecdotes and scientific evidence to persuade WCC (and other residents) about the severity of two sources emitting EtO and the need for preventative action.

Public awareness of EtO emissions from Medline and Vantage, along with an explosion at AB Specialty Silicones in Waukegan in May 2019, brought additional concerns about the use of chemicals that pose a risk to human health. Environmental toxicity is not a new issue for Waukegan's residents; the departure of manufacturing industries left behind an industrial visage and a polluted landscape. The coal plant's smoke stacks are a present reminder of the continued tensions between economic development and the protection of environmental and human health. Grassroots groups, non-profit organizations, local governments, companies, and the IEPA have all previously worked around pollution in Waukegan. This chapter often focuses on individual sources of pollution and individual harm as a discursive tool to develop an overall picture of a landscape of environmental injustice. How do we tell a story where the communal, the cumulative, is highlighted instead of the individual? As such, it does not accurately reflect community claims around considering the cumulative health impact of all sources.

In this chapter, I argue that although residents did not always view the Waukegan City Council (and other local governments), the IEPA, and their state representatives as allies, they

had limited venues in which they could enact significant change against private corporations. I will first provide a theoretical underpinning of how some residents organizing around EJ discovered their relationship to the state to be one that viewed the municipal government as a site of contestation. I then provide a historical account of Waukegan's pollution at various Superfund sites, the Waukegan harbor, and the coal-fired generation station. I highlight inter-governmental relationships and conflicts, as well as residents' efforts related to these locations of pollution. The following section describes how residents have had to organize towards EJ within Waukegan. I name the barriers that residents face and how they ultimately power-mapped the state.

3.1 Environmental Justice, Race, Capitalism

This chapter builds upon the existing literature on environmental justice by incorporating a historical framework to understand contemporary environmental racism. To do this, I first provide a brief description of environmental justice (EJ) and racism. I then highlight research that centers how residents have had to become scientific and policy experts to demand for change in their communities. I conclude with scholars' calls to incorporate a historical framework when considering the devaluation of land and racialized bodies in the name of economic profit. This approach is informed by Ruth Wilson Gilmore's conceptualization of racism as "the state-sanctioned or extralegal production and exploitation of group-differentiated vulnerability to premature death" (2007, 28). In other words, critiques of race and capitalism demand that we consider historical processes when examining contemporary iterations of state-sanctioned violence, or the state's monopoly on violence against racialized others.

Firstly, EJ refers to a movement that calls for racial equity in access to environmental goods where we live, work, and play. EJ signals the fair distribution of environmental harms. The EJ movement has roots within Native struggles and civil rights movements, and many identified the case of Warren County, North Carolina, as one of the earliest struggles for healthy living and working conditions against corporate pollution enabled by the state.¹⁶ In 1982, over 400 demonstrators were arrested for protesting the siting of a toxic waste facility in their community, which was predominantly African American and low-income. The state government had selected Warren County as the site where they would dump 6,000 truckloads of PCB-ridden soil. A few years later in 1987, the United Church of Christ's Commission for Racial Justice (1987) published "Toxic Wastes and Race in the United States," that demonstrated the uneven burden of environmental toxins that communities of color who are often also impoverished face.¹⁷ This report further spurred activism, research, and actions for environmental justice. Within the next decade the federal government established EJ offices in the EPA and other federal agencies, although they primarily define EJ through a legal approach related to procedural justice—or whether a process related to environmental regulation was fairly handled. Ultimately, most of these were cut during the Trump administration as Clinton's Executive Order was not binding (Rios 2020). Currently, the Biden administration is changing some of these

¹⁶ Environmentalism, development, and energy infrastructure may often be at odds with decolonization efforts made by Indigenous peoples. For more, please refer to: Curley, Andrew. 2018. "A Failed Green Future: Navajo Green Jobs and Energy 'Transition' in the Navajo Nation." *Geoforum* 88 (January): 57–65; Gergan, Mabel Denzin, and Andrew Curley. 2021. "Indigenous Youth and Decolonial Futures: Energy and Environmentalism among the Diné in the Navajo Nation and the Lepchas of Sikkim, India." *Antipode*, July (published online first); Powell, Dana E., and Andrew Curley. 2008. "K'e, Hozhó, and Non-Governmental Politics on the Navajo Nation: Ontologies of Difference Manifest in Environmental Activism." *Anthropological Quarterly* 81 (30): 109–37.

¹⁷ Analyses of these events emphasize race over class. I often juxtapose these due to concerns about the effects of environmental toxins on racialized peoples who also lack the resources to address the potential harms they may be experiencing. The EPA also uses race and class as measures to designate places as environmental justice communities without explicit emphasis of one over the other.

polices back to address the disproportionate burden of environmental pollution on communities of color.

Scholars have examined the relationship between race and the environment. Human geographer Laura Pulido (1996) illustrates how the identity category of ‘people of color’ has been employed within the EJ movement (EJM) in the US Southwest to organize multi-racial coalitions. The EJM addressed a statistical fact: people who live, work, and play in the most polluted environments in the US are commonly people of color. These communities are routinely targeted to host facilities that have negative environmental impacts—such as a landfill, dirty industrial plant, or truck depot. EJ advocates rightly call this ‘environmental racism.’ Other scholars built upon the relationship between race and EJ under environmental racism, and sought to recount how local residents struggled against corporate polluters (Cole and Foster 2001).

EJ research has produced significant insights into environmental policy and regulation. Firstly, Jason Corburn (2007) documents how residents in a low-income, Latinx migrant neighborhood in New York City organized to participate in and alter a US EPA exposure assessment. The author reveals the contributions and limits of local knowledge in environmental health governance and puts forward a co-production framework that “can contribute to more technically credible science and democratically accountable policy” (150). While the co-production process contains a myriad of limitations, such as the financial and social costs for residents to participate, community knowledge played a significant role in Brooklyn. However, in this case, there was little change in terms of policy and practices in the area. As such, the authors highlight the importance of incorporating community knowledge in the research process moving forward. Additionally, EJ research has put forward approaches that could improve policy that would protect residents from the undue burden of multiple environmental hazards and from

potential harm. For example, environmental health scientist Rachel Morello-Frosch et al. (2011) state that racial or ethnic minority groups and low-income communities have poorer health outcomes than others because they are more frequently exposed to multiple environmental hazards and social stressors, such as poverty, poor housing quality, and social inequality. However, environmental policy focuses narrowly on pollutants and their sources and does not account for the cumulative effects of these hazards and stressors. The authors argue that policy should be broadened to consider the cumulative impact of exposures to hazards *and* vulnerabilities for residents who live in areas consisting largely of racial or ethnic minorities or people of low socioeconomic status. Additionally, the precautionary principle in environmental policy asks policy makers to take preventive action in the face of uncertainty and threat. Rachel Morello-Frosch, Pastor, and Sadd (2011) apply this approach to their research on ambient-air toxics exposure in Southern California. They propose that the precautionary principle may be better integrated into policy making to protect public health, particularly for vulnerable populations, such as racialized and impoverished communities. Additionally, on April 8, 2021, the CDC called racism a public health problem (Walensky 2021), another shift that could be beneficial for communities of color overburdened by environmental hazards. In conjunction, cumulative impacts and the precautionary principle may reshape policy making to protect some of the most vulnerable communities.

Within the realms of activism and scholarship, EJ may primarily consider corporate polluters as antagonistic. Laura Pulido (2016b) posits that EJ activists may not be achieving the type of change they are seeking. For instance, David Pellow (2007) notes that most local EJ communities are not aware that when toxic sites are moved away from their neighborhoods, they are often then placed in the Global South. To address this environmental racism gap, Pulido

draws on critical ethnic studies to think about EJ differently, particularly through the analytic of racial capitalism. She states that capitalism operates by restructuring nature, and if humans are part of nature, then capitalism must organize human life at a cellular level and through the hierarchical relations between the social values of different groups. For Pulido, “if environmental racism is part of racial capitalism, then its regulation becomes the province of the state” (529). Pulido claims that the state does not seek to intervene in and, in fact, is invested “in *not* solving the environmental racism gap because it would be too costly and disruptive to industry, the larger political system, and the state itself” (ibid). The state has the political will invested into maintaining the system as is and therefore does not aim to engage in meaningful activity if it requires expensive or significant changes to the status quo. Political will invested in capitalism instead of health.

The state allows corporate polluters to continue emitting toxins into communities of color with little consequence. Pulido (2016) argues that industrial activity can continue to pollute because it is people of color disproportionately bearing the burden. This devaluation of life for communities of color demonstrates how “racism underwrites industrial activity not only through profits, but also through subsidized goods and services for all” (529). She states that minimal sanctions for regulatory non-compliance is key, as it explains why there is no meaningful action to address environmental racism. Corporations do not have to actually address EJ issues because “it knows there will be minor, if any, sanctions” (ibid). The state is no invested in dismantling an ‘ecological service,’ or using the land and people as pollution sinks, that enables firms to remain competitive in the global marketplace. As the devaluation of people of color functions alongside capital acting with legal impunity, environmental racism is a form of state-sanctioned racial violence. As such, Pulido proposes that both researchers and activists problematize the state as

an ally or neutral force and instead see it “as an adversary that must be confronted in a manner similar to industry” (530). As such, building upon Laura Pulido (2016a) and Laura Pulido, Ellen Kohl, and Nicole-Marie Cotton (2016), this project seeks to reassess the role of the local state in formulations the conditions under which EJ activists and residents must navigate.

Pulido’s synthesis of racial capitalism and EJ emphasizes that contemporary forms of racial inequality be placed within a materialist, ideological, and historical framework. In this way, environmental racism requires a historical account of industry and race. This means that for a contemporaneous, ethnographic research project, such as this one, that a historical framework becomes necessary for understanding the uneven burden of environmental toxins for communities like Waukegan, Illinois. As such, I draw on the narratives of residents to learn about how they produced knowledge about the state as they organized for EJ and their health concerns (Guthman and Mansfield 2012; Shamasunder et al. 2018). In the next section, I will put forward how the state and residents have considered this post-industrial city as an EJ community.

3.2 Sites of Pollution in Waukegan

This section provides an overview of the history of industrial pollution and its contemporary impact on the lives of Waukegan’s residents. To do so, I first share demographic information of Waukegan’s residents to illustrate who bears the burden of pollution. The U.S. Census Bureau (2020) estimates Waukegan’s population to be approximately 86,000 people in 2019.¹⁸ According to the state agency, the percentages concerning residents’ race and Hispanic origin are as follows: Black or African American alone, 17.4%; Asian alone, 5.2%; White alone,

¹⁸ Undocumented residents may not wanted to be counted as part of the U.S. Census. The Census, therefore, is not wholly accurate in accounting for the total. Additionally, the categories of race and ethnicity themselves do not fully capture the complexity of residents’ racial and ethnic makeup. However, the data is helpful in detailing the demographic makeup of Waukegan.

not Hispanic or Latino, 19.2%; and Hispanics or Latinos, 55.6%. Foreign born persons constitute 30.5% of the population. Considering economic conditions, approximately 17.6% of residents live in impoverished conditions and 17.5% do not have health insurance. The median household income is \$49,803 in Waukegan. Although difficult to measure exactly, researchers have estimated the number of undocumented people at about 14,000 (Paral and et al. 2014). The Waukegan School District mails documents and correspondence to families in over 70 languages. Waukegan is a community consisting largely of people of color, many of whom are also immigrants and potentially undocumented. Individuals who are an immigrant and undocumented have families where some members may be legal permanent residents or citizens, constituting mixed-status families. While Waukegan became white and middle-income through continued dispossession via settler-colonialism until the end of the twentieth century (effectively relegating Indigenous histories and settlements in the area to the past), the contemporary demographic composition highlights residents' potential vulnerabilities to environmental hazards. Additionally, with many residents without health insurance or adequate access to health-affirming services, the effects of environmental toxins pose particularly harmful long-term effects. I now turn to a historical and geographical account of the web of toxicity in which this largely BIPOC community must live.

At the onset of the twentieth century, Waukegan had become a hub of industrial activity that connected the city within a regional and national network of commerce and trade. Many industries selected Waukegan as their site of operation because of the city's harbor on Lake Michigan. By 1906, industrial development occurred primarily around the lakefront and downtown areas of Waukegan (Olson 2019b). These industries provided ample employment opportunities for residents and waves of migrants, even as they encouraged some of their

workers from their U.S. Northeastern plants to relocate to Illinois. Additionally, many industries became important mechanisms for material and infrastructural development in the city and the region more broadly. Some even built and offered housing to their workers. The growth of the city of Waukegan—as well as its neighbor, North Chicago—through its material environment and population have been principally attributed to industrialization.

Waukegan city leaders valued its development through an economic lens and did not attend to the environmental impact of these industries. The city valued development as a measure of progress, as local leaders named Waukegan the City of Progress. Since these industries certainly shaped the development of Waukegan, the city's emphasis on economic measures of progress has continued to inform its decision-making process contemporarily even amidst the absence of ample employment opportunities from industry. This focus on the narrow benefits of free-market economics obscured the way these industries polluted the water, soil, and air and informed the city's approach to environmental cleanup efforts. In fact, historically, residents would frequent the lakefront for pleasure and enjoyment alongside the presence of industry. A black-and-white photograph of the Waukegan beach from the early twentieth century demonstrates this juxtaposition (Link 2009, 108). Beach goers can be found sitting on top of a ledge at the edge of the sand opposite the lake, some playing in the water. About a dozen smoke stacks can be seen behind the people, with one near and three distant stacks emitting waste into the air. Although the City and residents were aware of this smoke, they perceived this pollution as an unproblematic background to economic growth and employment opportunities. Some residents who lived closest to these industries—especially along the lakefront—desired to and did move away from their neighborhoods.

The departure of industries in the mid- to late- twentieth century dramatically affected Waukegan. As noted in Chapter 1, Waukegan experienced demographic change, a loss of employment opportunities for middle-class families, a decrease in tax revenue for the municipal government, and a shift from an industrial to service-based economy. Waukegan's industrial visage is not the sole reminder of its past: corporate pollution from industries long-gone and facilities still in operation remain a public health concern for the majority-minority community of the city. The city has sought to prevent and reverse the decline of its once-booming downtown and lakefront through economic revitalization programs. Their approach has had to include pollution as a barrier to Waukegan City Council's vision of the city as a place of progress and prosperity. But as the city moves at a bureaucratic pace, residents must continue to navigate the legacy of allowing industries to emit hazards and pollute. I then outline the various sources of pollution.

3.2.1 EPA Superfund Sites

The sites of industrial pollution require that the local government partner with state and federal agencies in their environmental remediation efforts. For instance, the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)'s Superfund and Superfund Alternative programs address polluted locations requiring a long-term response to clean up hazardous material contaminations in the country. The City of Waukegan is home to five such sites. According to the EPA, three sites are listed on the National Priorities List while the other two sites are part of their Superfund Alternative Sites program. There are a number of brownfield sites in Waukegan, which include some that may not have been found or documented yet. Some developers propose development along these brownfield sites, whether through the construction of a building or, in some cases,

the development of a community garden. However, due to the number of Superfund sites in Waukegan and environmental concerns considered higher priorities, many of these brownfields do not receive more attention from city officials, private developers, and residents.

The U.S. EPA, the Illinois EPA, the City of Waukegan, and other local municipal and county agencies have had to work together at times and manage conflicting interests between different parties. Two of the three sites under the Superfund program are larger and primarily located on the lakefront, with one situated in Waukegan's interior. In what follows, I illustrate a geography of pollution in Waukegan. I highlight the various political actors and agencies that have been involved in the clean-up process of the Superfund sites. The section following will build upon this network of agencies to argue that these relationships may pose challenges for residents attempting to navigate the political landscape for EJ.

First, the Johns-Manville Corp. EPA site in Waukegan, IL, consists of both a former manufacturing facility property and adjacent contaminated areas. Historically, the H.W. Johns and the Manville Covering Co. merged to form Johns-Manville in 1901 (Link 2009, 86). Since the company decided to consolidate its plants in the Midwest, they selected Waukegan as the location for their new plant. The site was 255 acres of sandy swamp land that required filling before construction could start. The plant's construction began in 1919 and was completed in 1923. In the next decade, over 1,300 different products were made at the Waukegan plant, ranging from roofing and siding shingles to auto brake and clutch linings to insulation. In its peak, the plant employed 2,700 workers. In 1938, its employees opened and owned a recreational enter named the J-M Club on Greenwood Avenue. After World War II (WWII) in 1945, Johns-Manville workers struck over working conditions and wages. Even within its history of labor unrest, Johns-Manville is most prominently known for its use of asbestos, a natural and mined

product that consists of a network of fibrous crystalline veins. When scientists made the connection in 1980 that these fibers are linked to lung disease, the Waukegan plant would not last. Although individual departments or operations shut down beforehand, the plant was completely closed in 1998. The company's use of asbestos has led to concerns about the contemporary environmental and human health due to exposure, which includes lawsuits against the company for damages done to individuals (2009, 87).

Approximately 350 acres, the current property includes the former manufacturing plant, parking areas, and an 150-acre asbestos waste disposal area—also referred to as operable unit 1 (OU1). The EPA states that about “3 million cubic yards of off-specification products and wastewater sludge were disposed of” in OU1 (EPA n.d.). The EPA's primary contaminant of concern is asbestos. Johns-Manville was one of the first companies to manufacture products with asbestos, but exposure to asbestos is highly toxic and causes a cancer called mesothelioma. Further sampling identified seven areas—in addition to OU1—of asbestos contamination outside of the Johns-Manville fence line. As such, there are eight operable units (OU) in the Johns-Manville site, which includes the shooting range, fishing pier parking lot area, the nature preserve road, and the Illinois Beach Nature Preserve, where items containing asbestos are often exposed (Link 2009, 87). These are the adjacent contaminated areas, not part of the original property.

Second, the Outboard Marine Corporation (OMC) site is located in the northern portion of the Waukegan Harbor. Initially located in Indiana, the Johnson brothers left their South Bend plant and moved to Waukegan in 1927 because of its proximity to Lake Michigan and access to rail transportation (Link 2009, 87). Johnson Motors built a 138,000 square foot factory at a cost nearing \$1 million. Various motor companies came together to form the Outboard Motors

Corporation in 1929. Johnson Motors and Outboard Motors combined in 1936 to create Outboard Marine and Manufacturing Corporation, ultimate becoming OMC in 1956. Business boomed with the rise of recreation throughout the U.S. after WWII, expanding into several product lines with eventual divestment in different parts of the corporation (2009, 88). In 2001, Bombardier bought the engine business and moved its operation to Racine, Wisconsin, approximately thirty minutes north of Waukegan. While economically successful, OMC was one of the major contributors to lakefront pollution.

The OMC Superfund site is along the shore of Lake Michigan. This 100-acre area is the former location of two buildings: an outboard-boat-motor manufacturing plant and a former railroad tie¹⁹, coal gasification, and coke plant facility. The EPA has identified two primary contaminants of concern, including “polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs), which OMC used in hydraulic fluids at its boat manufacturing plant, and trichloroethene (TCE), a chlorinated solvent that OMC used to degrease newly made parts” (EPA n.d.). Located south of the Johns-Manville Superfund site, OMC also polluted the soil and water. These two sites, in addition to the other two sites under the Superfund Alternative Sites program, cause most of Waukegan City Council’s troubles around lakefront development. The presence of pollutants hazardous to residential life has partially yet significantly impeded the city’s efforts to build condominiums on the lakefront.

The third site is the 70-acre Yeoman Creek Landfill, which can be found in Waukegan’s northwest side. Operating from 1959 to 1969, this landfill has no bottom liner and the underlying soils are permeable. Due to the landfill, the City of Waukegan razed the trees and vegetation in the Yeoman Creek for its long-term remedy. The EPA detected landfill gas migrating off site and is currently studying it (EPA n.d.). However, the Yeoman Creek Landfill Superfund site’s

¹⁹ Railroad ties are rectangular supports for the rails on railroad tracks.

cleanup has been designated as complete. The Waukegan Community School District (WCSD) owns the majority of the site and are able to develop projects on the property. Superfund law requires regular checkups of sites that have been cleaned up, where waste continues to be managed on-site, to make sure the cleanup continues to meet EPA standards. As such, the EPA is still involved in the process even though the WCSD owns the land. On August 11, 2020, the Waukegan Board of Education voted to authorize the development of a solar power project at Yeoman Creek landfill, efforts that have been in place since the early 2010s (Board of Education 2020; Skeo Solutions 2013). The Yeoman Creek Landfill adjacent to a small patch of forest and a dog park. In 2019, I asked residents living near the site if they knew why there was construction on the site. Many shared that they were unaware of the reason behind the presence of the equipment.

While not on the EPA's National Priorities List (NPL), two other sites are deemed as within the same NPL-caliber as the aforementioned trio (EPA n.d.). North Shore Gas (NSG) manufactured gas for heating and lighting, an innovative source of energy at the time. First, at the intersection of Pershing and Dahringer Roads in Waukegan, the former North Plant was built in 1912 as a gas production and storage facility and operated as such until 1953. In the late 1960s, the above-ground manufactured gas plant (MGP) structures were removed. As industrial facilities, MGPs produced gas from coal, oil, and other feedstocks for lighting, cooking, and heating. Due to these MGP residuals, the EPA addressed the most egregious sources of contamination. In early 2020, the environmental agency completed a supplemental site investigation and is currently monitoring the groundwater.

The second site is the NSG South Plant, also a former MGP located on Pershing Road in the industrial and commercial area of Waukegan. This location includes the MGP facility and

other properties, such as: just east of the MGP and adjacent to Lake Michigan, the Waukegan Port District (WPD) contains a marina, a visitor center and administrative building, a maintenance building, and parking lots; east and southeast of the MGP and also adjacent to Lake Michigan, the Akzo Nobel Aerospace Coatings, Inc. consists of buildings and parking lots; east and south of the MGP, the Elgin, Joliet and Eastern (EJ&E) refers to the railroad tracks and the right-of-way; and southeast of MGP between the other properties, the City of Waukegan has city streets and intersections. The primary source of groundwater contamination is dense non-aqueous phase liquid (DNAPL), which are chemicals that are heavier than water and only slightly soluble in them, which makes them very likely to move through soils and ground water until they come in contact to a resistant layer. The EPA has the site under a remedial design and action stage of the Superfund program process with the current project attempting to remove the mobile DNAPL. As such, four of the five NPL-caliber sites are located on the lakefront but are not the only obstacles to the city's potential projects of economic revitalization. Additionally, there are brownfield sites that have recently been targeted for cleanup and eventual residential development. Some of these sites have been targeted by the City of Waukegan for development, such as the Fansteel site that has undergone cleanup (Development Concepts, Inc. and Perkins+Will 2016; J. Singer 2019; Newton 2019). It appears that the city's priority has remained on sites with the most economic potential for increasing the tax base for the municipal budget.

3.2.2 Waukegan Harbor

Waukegan Harbor has similarly been impacted by the legacy of industrial pollution. Through appeals to the U.S. Congress for funds to create the harbor, the U.S. Army Corps of

Engineers (ACE) completed the construction of this artificial harbor in 1850. This harbor became a major regional manufacturing and distribution site that competed with cities like Milwaukee and Chicago as a commercial hub (EPA n.d.). When monies for improvements on the harbor were needed in the 1880s, the U.S. would not provide the grant until land along the harbor was ceded; after the city agreed, the ACE dredged the harbor and built a new city dock in 1897 (Link 2009, 101). In 1959, the opening of the St. Lawrence Seaway allowed oceangoing vessels to travel from the Atlantic Ocean into the Great lakes and transformed Waukegan's harbor into an international port (102). The lake provides water for people and industrial use; however, this latter usage has resulted in the dumping of sewage and waste.

At the height of Waukegan's industrial peak, conflicts about the environment emerged between different parties. Industries in the Waukegan Harbor area contributed to environmental contamination of land and water resources as early as 1885 (EPA n.d.). Most factories took water for their processing needs and returned industrial waste to the lake. In 1900, the U.S. Sugar Refinery was charged with polluting the air and water around the plant, endangering the city's water supply. The company did nothing and ignored a petition containing 200 signatures as well. They reminded the public of their economic importance in the city, with the local newspaper defending their actions (Link 2009, 110). The City of Waukegan did not consider the contamination of the lake as serious. For instance, the Lake County Health Department recommended that all Lake Michigan beaches be closed due to pollution in 1969. In 1974 concerns about a public health hazard existed. In both events, the City disagreed with the assessments (2009, 111). The City's focus on the economic importance of these factories and disavowal of their role in pollution surely exacerbated environmental and human health.

These contaminations led to coordinated endeavors between multiple parties to address the extensive pollution in the area. Under the 1987 Great Lakes Water Quality Agreement, the harbor was designated as an Area of Concern (AOC) due to the presence of chemical contaminants such as polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs)—a cancer-causing agent first detected in 1976—in the harbor’s sediment (EPA n.d.; Link 2009, 111). The primary culprit was OMC (2009, 111), as discussed earlier. Various environmental impacts prompted the International Joint Commission—initially created by Canada and the U.S. to cooperate together and manage the Great Lakes—to designate the harbor as an International Area of Concern in 1991 (US EPA 2003, 1). The EPA led AOC-wide sediment removal and remediation and ultimately capped the remaining contaminated sediments, which occurred adjacent to cleanup under the Superfund program at the OMC site (EPA n.d.).

The US EPA (2003) published the “Waukegan, Ill., Cleanup and Revitalization Plan” that linked environmental cleanup to economic revitalization goals in 2003. Waukegan is framed as an emerging case to illustrate the potential benefits that can emerge through environmental remediation projects. The federal partners are the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency. The Illinois EPA and the City of Waukegan are state and local partners. This project partners with local and regional organizations, the Waukegan Harbor Citizens Advisory Group and the Coalición Latinos Unidos de Lake County. This latter group serves as an organization through which to involve the primarily Latinx population of Waukegan and Lake County broadly. ACE is responsible for the cleanup of the harbor, such as dredging, since the area is federally owned. In 1983, the EPA stated that the federal government would pay ninety percent of the dredging and disposal costs in Waukegan harbor, while Illinois would pay the remaining ten percent (*New York Times* 1983). The EPA provided funding through the

Superfund program, but the overall cleanup of the Waukegan Harbor amounted to approximately \$150 million dollars. Outboard Marine Corp (OMC), the primary polluter of the Waukegan harbor, only paid two percent of the total cost a cleanup, with most of the cost falling on taxpayers, reflecting another significant subsidy for industries through governmental funds (*CBS Chicago* 2014; Black and Hinkel 2014). The City of Waukegan contributed to paying for the cost of cleanup, which were significant amounts for a city with a dwindling tax base. OMC had two settlements with the EPA and the City of Waukegan that was framed by the EPA as enabling the municipal government to purchase and eventually redevelop the site (“\$2.6 Million Settlement with OMC Bankruptcy Estate; Separate Agreement with Waukegan Helps Revitalization” 2005). The City of Waukegan currently owns the site after its cleanup in 2014.

The plan identifies Waukegan as an environmental justice area and states that community involvement is paramount in both environmental remediation and city revitalization (2003, 1). The plan recognizes that a lack of communication between efforts for the environment and for development has led to unintentional conflicts. At the time of the plan’s publication, Waukegan was seeking to implement a city revitalization that included transforming Superfund sites and “reclaiming valuable lakefront property blighted by aging contaminated industrial sites” (2003, 2). The EPA’s plan emphasizes best practices for meaning community involvement, and the environmental justice collaboration seeks to ensure that “the city’s predominantly Latino and African-American population become knowledgeable in identifying and addressing issues of environmental justice, communicate with one another more effectively and improve the quality of the environment for the community” (2003, 2). Although this document demonstrates how various government and community actors (briefly) partnered together, it does not seem to have alleviated conflicts emerging from differing interests.

The pollution of the Waukegan Harbor and the processes for its cleanup have resulted in tension between various scales of state agencies. The Waukegan City Council previously challenged the dredging plans at the harbor of the EPA and the ACE. Their concerns and frustrations manifested in publication of a position paper. At the onset, the tone of the paper is distrustful of the EPA. For example, in 2004 the Waukegan City Council “was concerned that the real purpose of the project was not to clean the harbor, but to maintain a deep industrial harbor on the lakefront” (Waukegan City Council 2007). The City believed that the EPA’s goal “should not be a predetermined outcome that censors honest and open scientific discussion.” This framing aims to reshape this issue towards supporting the local government who must “cut through bureaucratic red tape” to implement the most rational remedy for the harbor.

In their paper, the City states that there are political reasons why a different solution, instead of dredging, are not being considered. The paper poignantly states: “It is also understandable why the City is unwilling to participate in a \$39 million + project that the U.S. EPA’s own consultant has serious reservations will achieve U.S. EPA’s cleanup objective—particularly when the only justification for the most expensive, least reliable dredging option is that it is necessary to maintain a deep industrial harbor that is inconsistent with the City’s Master Plan.” Despite previous efforts to collaborate effectively to merge environmental remediation and city revitalization, the City and EPA had particular visions for how to carry out their projects. The City’s economic plans, such as the Master Plan, produce a “political gridlock over the cleanup of the harbor [that] is inevitable until an accommodation is reached between two competing views of the future of the lakefront.” The construction of two dominant visions of the future ultimately grappled with economic costs of environmental remediation, rather than the role of community involvement previously emphasized in reports. Due to financial constraints

and their unwillingness to be required to pay for a portion of a project that “may not work,” the City desires a “cost effective solution than dredging.” The economic cost, much larger than they had anticipated, outweighed the potential benefits that could not be guaranteed through scientifically-backed information (Waukegan City Council 2007). However, once the cleanup of the Waukegan Harbor had been completed, the City and other state agencies recognized the benefits that did and would eventually emerge from a less contaminated harbor.

The City’s successful cleanup of the Waukegan Harbor was similarly framed through an economic lens that emphasized the market benefits of environmental remediation. For instance, when the harbor had been deemed clean (once more) in 2014, newly elected Waukegan Mayor Wayne Motley had “declared the era of industrial pollution over and said the city was open to new development” (Stark 2017). The mayor stated that the city was looking to build hotels, condominiums, and destination locations near the lakefront (ibid). Additionally, the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA)’s Office for Coastal Management published a story about the combined approach of environmental cleanup and environmental revitalization on Waukegan’s lakefront. In their post, NOAA states:

“On Lake Michigan, a large-scale cleanup and revitalization effort has transformed Waukegan’s formerly contaminated harbor and underused lakefront into a magnet for thousands of visitors, 100-plus recreational and cultural happenings yearly, and a multimillion-dollar business investment. NOAA and the Illinois Coastal Management Program helped the City of Waukegan and Waukegan Port District turn this decades-long vision into a reality” (NOAA Office for Coastal Management 2019).

After manufacturing industries departed Waukegan, they took with them many blue-collar employment opportunities that enabled the city grow and its residents to live. As a result

of economic restructuring, the city could not maximize the potential profits from its lakefront due to the enduring, material traces of toxicity in the environment despite deindustrialization. The lakefront, with its industrial vestiges through the built environment and empty plots of land, represented many of the “underused” elements that Waukegan could not capitalize on to increase its regional attraction as a tourist destination. Now, decades of investment turned this infrequently used site into a “magnet,” which, as then Waukegan Mayor Sam Cunningham states, shows “great signs of success.” Although the City had been unable to achieve their goals as stated in previous economic reports, WCC is currently very enthusiastic about their prospect about the future potential of a cleaned up harbor and lakefront.



Figure 7 Waukegan Pier, by Edgar Sandoval

3.2.3 Waukegan’s Coal-Fired Generating Station

Waukegan residents have expressed concerns about another local source of environmental pollution: the coal-fired generation station. The coal power plant stands near a state nature preserve, a municipal beach, and the city's water treatment plant. The history of the power plant illustrates its regional significance in providing electricity. Michael Hussey founded Lake County's first electric generating coal plant, the Waukegan Electric Light Company, in 1905 (Dretske 2010). The Waukegan coal plant's boilers were originally built in 1920 (Sierra Club 2013). In 1923, Hussey's company transferred ownership to Samuel Insull under the Public Service Company of Northern Illinois. As Lake County as his home base, Insull bought out small, independent power plants to improve the availability of electric service. He ran transmission lines and centralized the service, ultimately providing 24-hour electric service to thousands of houses and farms. While the operation of the coal plant exchanged between many owners' hands and even experienced a reduction in its workforce in the 1990s (Bukro 1995), local politicians continue to emphasize its importance to the local economy in providing jobs and tax dollars (Brackett 2016). By December 2012, then-owner Edison Mission Energy filed for bankruptcy under Chapter 11 (Sierra Club 2013) and sold its Illinois plants in 2014 to NRG Energy, including the Waukegan plant. As more coal-fired power plants close down in the Chicago region, the Waukegan one remains one of few plants still in operation.

Before coal power plants had begun to close down in the region, the Waukegan generation station had received attention for its adverse impact to human and environmental health. In 2001, the Harvard School of Public Health prepared a report for the Clean Air Task Force—a non-profit organization—about the public health effects of regional exposure to particulate matter, sulfur dioxide, and nitrogen dioxide from Illinois's nine coal power plants located in Chicago, Joliet, Waukegan, Pekin, Hennepin, Bartonville, and Romeoville (Levy and

Spengler 2001). The authors identified that many of these plants had been constructed prior to recent environmental legislation that exempts them from the strict emission standards applied to newer plants. This publication confirmed pre-existing community concerns about role of the power plant in increasing asthma attacks, emergency room visits, and premature deaths. They recommended equipping their facilities with up-to-date technologies to meet national emissions standards. By 2010, the Environmental Law & Policy Center (ELPC) (2010) published a report about the hidden costs of soot and smog from the Waukegan coal plant using data collected from the Harvard School of Public Health Report (2001). ELPC considers particulate matter (PM) pollution (7); PM is a term for a mixture of solid particles and liquid droplets found in the air that can be inhaled and cause serious health problems. With 67,000 people living within three miles of the plant and millions more within 100 miles, the report found PM pollution creates about \$86 million in health and related damages annually. From 2002 to 2010, the plant cost the public approximately \$520 to \$690 million (in 2010 dollars) (2010, 13, 14). ELPC states that PM-forming emissions from the coal plant cause premature mortality and increased respiratory and cardiovascular health problems (17). A few years later, the Sierra Club (2013) published a report that assessed the economic feasibility of maintaining the coal plant in business, highlighting that the owners must incorporate the hidden costs placed on community members and instead face the true cost of operating its coal-fired power plants (6). They recommended its near-term retirement due to the economic and political climate (6). Since Waukegan had experienced a significant demographic shift by the end of the twentieth century, the city's population was predominantly people of color. Some subsequent reports would highlight the disproportionate burden with which vulnerable community members contend throughout the U.S. and in Waukegan.

Coal Blooded: Putting Profits Before People was published in 2011 by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in collaboration with lead researcher and author Adrian Wilson, the Little Village Environmental Justice Organization, and the Indigenous Environmental Network (Wilson et al. 2011). The report critiques how large environmental organizations have developed a “cozy” relationship with government and corporate actors (2011, 6). They argue that the worst offenders must be closed, as they are disproportionately responsible for the total emissions of air pollution in the country. They conducted a systematic study of 378 coal-fired power plants in the U.S. and also evaluated their EJ performance (9). In the report, they emphasize that coal plants are frequently located near neighborhoods with a majority people of color and low-income residents. They list twelve plants as the worst offenders. At the time, Edison owned three of the top twelve plants on the list, all in the greater Chicago region. Edison’s third plant, offender #12, was the Waukegan Generating Station. The report details the poor EJ performance of the plant with its mostly Black and Latinx demographic composition (2011, 119). This report has been subsequently cited as it names the Waukegan plant as one of the country’s worst offenders of air pollution and impact on communities of color.

The Union of Concerned Scientists (UCS) (2018) published *Soot to Solar* in 2018 about a clean energy transition in Illinois. As apparent in its title, the report highlights the decreasing portion of electricity generation from coal—from 47 percent in 2007 to 32 percent in 2016—and the increasing investment in renewable energy resources. The authors sought “to gauge the public health, economic, and social equity gains that could result by replacing coal power plants in Illinois with clean energy technologies such as wind, solar, energy efficiency, and energy storage” (Baek et al. 2018, 2). UCS states they want to ensure that the energy transition benefits

pollution-burden and lower-income communities, particularly communities of color who have historically faced environmental injustice. In 2007, Illinois decided to procure 25 percent renewable energy by 2025, and in 2016 the state passed the Future Energy Jobs Act (FEJA), which ensures stable and predictable funding for renewable energy products built in Illinois. In their case study of the costs and benefits of closing the Waukegan coal plant, UCS argues that if the plant were to be closed, all of the lights would stay on (Union of Concerned Scientists 2018, 1). Clear energy could be made available to all of Illinois and especially Waukegan (Sattler et al. 2018).



Figure 8 A Superfund site on the left, and the Waukegan coal plant that has been polluting groundwater with coal ash

The Waukegan coal plant has polluted the air, land, and water. In 2006, the Illinois Pollution Control Board (IPCB) cited that the generating station needed to reduce toxic mercury emissions in Waukegan (Environmental Law & Policy Center 2010, 5). The site has received improvements to its equipment for controlling and reducing air emissions. Emissions are not

solely of concern, as coal ash has proven to be another issue. In October 2012, the Sierra Club and other environmental groups filed a complaint to the IPCB that the coal plant broke state pollution laws and regulations. In 2019, after the station was sold to NRG Energy, the regulatory agency IPCB ruled that the plant had polluted groundwater with coal ash. They describe that the company was aware of the results but did not take any further actions to prevent the contamination. As such, NRG Energy did not engage in “extensive precautions” as they had claimed (E. K. Coleman 2019). NRG Energy’s spokesperson has repeatedly claimed that the coal-plant has functioned within environmental standards. They state that their main business is running the plant, and they will make any plans based on the market (Moran 2015; Stark 2017). Ultimately, this ruling led to the Illinois EPA organizing a public session about the process of cleaning up the coal ash ponds on the lakefront power plant in 2020, to which many residents attended.

While local politicians have framed the coal plant as a necessity for the city (Brackett 2016), residents have repeatedly called for the closure of the plant (MacLeod 2015; Stark 2017). Dominant arguments about the preservation of the coal plant and the potential redevelopment of its site within the political realm often emphasize the economic benefits (Brackett 2016; Stark 2017). This political perspective cannot quantify the well-being of residents; even if they did, the economic power of the coal plant within the political economy of Waukegan outweighs their harm. Therefore, the health-related damages and premature deaths of the EJ community of Waukegan are part of the business of running the power plant. However, many local and neighboring residents have come together to demand that local politicians set a deadline for the plant’s closure and create a transition committee to address the future of the site (MacLeod 2015). Residents have also shifted tactics to lobby their state legislators for legislation that would

address this very concern (Baek et al. 2018; Union of Concerned Scientists 2018). Some residents express that their concern for the coal plant is more than about economics but about the health of the community and environment (Stark 2017). The economic continues to be one of the ways to demand for substantive change, through arguments about: how coal ash ponds serve as barriers to the redevelopment of these sites; how plant owners may decide to hold on to the site and leave it empty, un-remediated, and undeveloped; or through transition plans that emphasize jobs, tax revenue, and sale of the site (Baek et al. 2018, 12).

From Superfund Sites to a contaminated harbor to a coal-fired power plant, Waukegan residents have had to content with multiple sources of pollution. Industrialization on Waukegan's lakefront brought powerful economic development historically, but these industries have left a legacy of pollution that transformed the city into a site of toxicity. Ongoing sources of pollution are largely left unbothered by the local municipality as they rely on these corporations for their tax base. These sources do not directly address existing brownfield sites or pollution from trucks passing through Waukegan to other destinations and from those serving various lakefront projects. The number of gas stations and truck traffic may further exacerbate health conditions. While local activists have directly challenged the owners of these polluting facilities (MacLeod 2015), they have often perceived politicians in the local municipality and state legislature, and other government agencies, as their allies in their fight against corporate polluters. It is within this web of toxicity and political and corporate minimal actions that I turn to explore the contemporary struggle residents have engaged in against their newest pollutant: ethylene oxide.

3.3 Organizing for Environmental Justice

Industrial pollution became a barrier for the City of Waukegan's efforts of economic revitalization. The ongoing sources of pollution adversely affect residents' health, as their bodies and their environment act as pollution sinks and absorb the costs of running these industries (Pulido 2016b).

3.3.1 Barriers to Contesting Environmental Justice Concerns

In this section, I name some of the structural barriers present that impede effective organizing around critical environmental justice. I consider how some groups attempted to work together through coalitional politics to address environmental toxins. I focus on Clean Power Lake County (CPLC) and StopEtO. While both are groups organized by residents, CPLC and StopEtO have different priorities and frameworks around EJ. Due to their longstanding presence in the area, CPLC has partnerships with many other organizations, many of their organizational partners receive funding from the state. StopEtO, as a nascent organization emerging as a response to the news that local companies were emitting EtO into the air, does not have the same type of funding stream, but they do collaborate with state agencies. As such, the barriers fall under two broad categorizations: first, the failure of coalitions to address the cumulative health impact of numerous environmental hazards and socioeconomic statuses; and secondly, the difficulty of working with the state as an ally. These two realms do not account for structural barriers to participation, such as impoverished conditions that require residents to work multiple jobs and thus lack the temporal flexibility to attend public or organizing meetings. They may lack documentation status and not feel comfortable in spaces where authority figures from the state are present. Instead, I first focus on the coalitional tensions between two groups around how

to address ethylene oxide (EtO) pollution. Then I consider how the state has functioned as a barrier, not an ally, to residents' concerns and name particular parts of them as sites of contestation. Here, I return to Alejandra from the introduction of this chapter.

Firstly, an environmental justice movement challenging solely corporate polluters obscures the cumulative health impacts that produce sicker people elsewhere and may prove difficult to organize effectively with those most affected. Focusing on a single polluter, or a bad apple model, does not account for the role of small businesses, like gas stations, that pollute the area. Waukegan is home to a large number of gas stations; their impact on environmental and human health is rarely discussed in social organizing spaces for EJ. An additional exacerbator of the problem is focusing primarily on individual sites and facilities as opposed to the broader political economic system that facilitates pollution. This is a tale of two grassroots organizations in Lake County, Illinois. When residents in Waukegan and Gurnee became aware that the Medline and Vantage facilities—located in Waukegan and Gurnee, respectively—were emitting the carcinogen and mutagen EtO, many decided to come together and form an organization that would prevent the ongoing toxic air emissions from these sites into both towns. Initial members hailed from Waukegan and Gurnee, and they named their group StopEtO in Lake County (hereafter, StopEtO). After the publication of the *Chicago Tribune* article detailing emissions in the area in late 2018 (Hawthorne 2018), local residents shared the news on NextDoor, a website for neighborhoods, and on other social media platforms.²⁰ StopEtO describes how their

²⁰ NextDoor has been described as a virtual space that reproduces classist and racist attitudes, primarily reinforced through the predominant number of homeowners. Waukegan is a community of renters. For more information on the racial, classist, and spatial politics, please refer to: Bloch, Stefano. 2021. "Aversive Racism and Community-Instigated Policing: The Spatial Politics of Nextdoor." *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space* (online first): 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.1177/23996544211019754>; Payne, Will. 2017. "Welcome to the Polygon: Contested Digital Neighborhoods and Spatialized Segregation on Nextdoor." *Computational Culture*, no. 6 (November): 1–48; Sportsman, Kelsey. 2019.

movement began through the sharing of this information between neighbors (StopEtO in Lake County 2019b). This organization demands an end to the emissions of EtO in their communities due to its carcinogenic and mutagenic qualities, stating that there are no safe levels of exposure to this chemical. On their website, they have a section on governmental leaders at various scales. They have local leaders from Waukegan and Gurnee, such as mayors, trustees, or aldermen, as well as state and federal leaders. The organization aims to push back against corporate polluters through the support of elected officials, demonstrating that they perceive the state as an ally, rather than antagonistic, to their goals. Some leaders are described as strong allies in the fight against EtO pollution (StopEtO in Lake County 2019a). In 2019 and 2020, the organization planned and hosted events that brought together local leaders with the Illinois EPA as a way for community members to express their concerns.

In this recounting, I center on the experiences that Alejandra shared about working with StopEtO to address EtO as part of a larger rubric of environmental injustice for Waukegan. A few Waukegan residents—most of them women of color residents or organizers in the local community—were part of StopEtO’s executive committee. Some of these residents had been actively working on ending exposure to environmental hazards and were currently campaigning against the continued operation of the coal plant. Others had recently become involved in social organizing and political mobilization around the environment. These women of color, most of whom identify as Latina and Black, felt adamantly about closing down Medline and Vantage because the plant had negatively affected either them, such as the case of Alejandra, their families, or their loved ones. Their health had been put at risk. While Alejandra was ultimately

“Upholding White Supremacy Next Door: Online Neighborhood Social Networking in the Suburbs.” Master’s, San Marcos, CA: California State University - San Marcos.

able to move further away from the polluting facility, not all residents have the opportunity or resources to relocate. Alejandra states that not everyone has the “ability to just get up” (Bahena 2019). Alejandra and other local residents from Waukegan are well-aware of these limitations, and it is this attention to intersectionality that became an issue of contestation between community members part of StopEtO.

In our interview, Alejandra described her experience organizing with StopEtO (Bahena 2019). During organizational meetings, she would speak to Waukegan’s demographic composition as the reason to pursue broader social justice than solely aim to end EtO emissions. As a community with residents who are low-income, undocumented, and predominantly of color (Latinx and then Black), they have to also navigate structural barriers such as inadequate access to healthcare, employment opportunities that do not provide stable and livable wages, and high rates of surveillance and policing in low-income neighborhoods of color. Waukegan’s most vulnerable community members are overburdened with numerous environmental hazards *and* social stressors that exponentially exacerbate the potential harm to which they are exposed (Morello-Frosch et al. 2011; Wilson et al. 2011). She also signaled that the facilities may have been allowed to pollute because Waukegan was predominantly composed of people of color. When attempting to highlight the racial and classed dimensions of the EtO-pollution case for Waukegan, Alejandra received push-back from the other members of StopEtO.

Waukegan and Gurnee can be described as quite different. Compared to Waukegan, Gurnee has a lower percent of people 1) living in poverty (5.4% to 17.6%), 2) without health insurance (5.7% to 17.5%), 3) speaking a language other than English at home (22% to 55.4%), and 4) who are considered foreign-born (15.8% to 30.5%). They also have a higher median household income (\$96,104 to \$49,803). Demographically, Gurnee is predominantly white

(62.7% to 19.2%) with Blacks at 7.9%, Asians at 11.6%, and Latinx at 14.3% (U.S. Census Bureau 2020a; 2020b). From this perspective, Waukegan and Gurnee have divergent demographic compositions that may lead organizers from each place to speak for their community in particular ways. Gurnee's local residents and now organizers may not have needed to incorporate a critical environmental justice framework; their ultimate goal was the removal of



Figure 9 Latinx Mercado in Waukegan, by Edgar Sandoval

already, transforms into a site of contamination through the presence of these polluting facilities, despite the presence and overreaching effects of the coal plant on the lakefront in the neighboring city (Levy and Spengler 2001; Environmental Law & Policy Center 2010). One

the polluting facilities, not broad social change. Residents in Lake County and through the region may perceive the post-industrial visage, the prevalence of *panaderías*, *restaurantes*, *tiendas*, and *supermercados*, and an underperforming school district as an undesirable place to live. Other villages and towns in Lake County are sites of economic wealth and prosperity and are considered desirable places to live. Gurnee, as a desirable place (for some) to live

could say, they have a “not in my backyard” (NIMBY) approach to environmental hazards that demands polluting facilities not be sited in their community, but do not advocate that no community should be exposed to these hazards.

StopEtO did not consciously aim to produce harm for Waukegan’s residents. However, as Laura Pulido (2017) explicates, building a better life for you and others like you through the placing of environmental goods or removal of hazards may reproduce racial disparities for others who then must endure the external costs of pollution. According to Alejandra (Bahena 2019), while members of StopEtO appreciated the term environmental justice, they did not want to add more issues onto their message of stopping EtO. In focusing on EtO emissions only, the group did not consider the various barriers and structural forces that made their neighboring city’s residents more vulnerable to toxic air pollution than those in Gurnee, although they all were subject to its harm. As such, StopEtO appeared to have rejected an intersectional EJ framework attentive to various axes of difference that could have produced solutions more appropriate and accurate to Waukegan residents’ needs.

StopEtO may have not wanted to echo the demands of Waukegan’s organizers. Some Waukegan residents were broadly calling for the closure of Medline and Vantage, though not all of them as some residents’ livelihoods depend on their employment at these facilities. Many others made calls for environmental justice under a holistic approach that accounted for issues related to healthcare, workers and temporary laborers, impoverished conditions, immigration, and race. Alejandra’s perspective aligns with thinking about how other societal issues intersect and exacerbate environmental injustice. As Megan Ybarra (2021) demonstrates, immigration intersects with issue of race and environmental justice at a site of detention center (Pellow 2016; Pellow and Vazin 2019). This does not mean that all Waukegan residents supported closing

down the coal plant or Medline and Vantage, as some had connections to the sites as employees or family members of employees (Brackett 2016). Since Alejandra's suggestions to incorporate concerns relevant to Waukegan's residents were not incorporated, she decided to leave StopEtO in favor of working with another local organization that would better align with her articulation of justice. In informal conversations in EJ spaces with other Waukegan organizers, they expressed similar apprehensions about working with StopEtO. While some expressed the desire to have more allies in the fight against toxic air pollution, others perceived the relationship as already inhibited in the types of deep coalition politics possible between residents from each place.

Alejandra decided to partner with the Clean Power Lake County (CPLC) campaign, a grassroots coalition of community, faith, health, and environmental groups. They are dedicated to building a just future based on clean air, clean water, and a revitalized lakefront in Lake County. They raise awareness about environmental hazards and advocate to legislators for bills that provide pathways towards EJ-affirming solutions. CPLC is part of a broader grassroots movement within Waukegan to shut down the coal plant. They have provided educational resources, opportunities to provide comments to government leaders, and forums to discuss community solutions. CPLC also joined a state-wide campaign to have the Illinois legislature move forward with the Clean Energy Jobs Act (CEJA), partnering with other majority-minority communities with low-income neighborhoods facing environmental injustice. CEJA is a bill that aims to establish a plan for a clean energy transition, divesting from fossil fuels and investing in renewable energy sources. The plan provides clean energy job training and employment opportunities first to those workers affected by the closure of fossil fuel facilities, such as the Waukegan coal-fired power plant. Although residents who are EJ activists stand behind CEJA,

Indigenous activists have demonstrated the limitations of an energy transition like this one (Curley 2018). However, considering the dependence of Illinois on coal, many residents perceive this change as worthwhile for environmental and human health (Environmental Law & Policy Center 2010; Wilson et al. 2011; Sierra Club 2013; Sattler et al. 2018; Baek et al. 2018). CPLC has residents from throughout Lake County, but they often operate out of Waukegan due to the concentration of toxicity within the city. The board members are racially and ethnically diverse. Many members are residents who volunteer their time and knowledge to the group, with some members holding positions at local non-profit organizations. This group has functioned as an anchor for people advocating for a clean and healthy environment (MacLeod 2015) since the early 2010s. They are knowledgeable about the political, social, cultural, and economic landscape and have become imbricated within this network. I will return to CPLC in a later section.

The resident organizers of StopEtO and CPLC did not develop a relationship between their two organizations due to their differing concerns and priorities. Due to the varying concerns that residents from Waukegan and Gurnee possessed in relation to Vantage and Medline, and EJ more broadly, they struggled to come together to organize effectively against the polluting sites and, perhaps more importantly, for the health and well-being of all of Lake County's residents. When StopEtO decided to protest against the corporate polluters, Waukegan residents understood this decision as one that could not provide solutions that addressed the roots of their vulnerability and the web of toxicity's cumulative health impacts on community members. In not incorporating Waukegan residents' concerns in their joint struggle for a clean environment, StopEtO locates these residents as people who will become sicker *elsewhere*. The organization may individualize the responsibility of care for these sick residents, as those in Gurnee are more

likely positioned to have the resources and access to adequate healthcare. Victoria Lawson (2007) demonstrates how scholars can build a geography of responsibility with geographically distant others through qualitative anecdotes. This approach may challenge the individualization of responsibility between the two neighboring cities. Effective organizing across communities is a barrier for a broader base for critical environmental justice, and part of that difficulty arises from differing priorities.

Secondly, the state has functioned as another obstacle to effective and meaning EJ advocacy. Laura Pulido (2016b) states that EJ activists should consider the state as a site of contestations instead of solely an ally, but if residents-made-organizers learn this perspective, how may they arrive to it? In particular, what lessons about the state did activists acquire in their efforts to advocate for a healthy environment and a broader EJ approach for Waukegan? This section unpacks specific government-related obstacles to the effective and meaningful change that communities most affected by environmental injustices need (2016b, 524). I first describe the local political unwillingness to commit to environmental and economic change. Then, I highlight how chaotic (Hiemstra 2013) governmental relationships obscure what units can take action to achieve residents' goal for a cleaner environment. These units at various scales have different commitments and priorities that make coordination less effective or meaningful for the stated goals or for residents of Waukegan themselves.

Mayors have often lacked the political will to enact projects for environmental equity. Waukegan's recent mayors do not strikingly depart from their predecessors. These observations are not meant to argue that they were radically different iterations of state power. In 2013, Wayne Motley was elected mayor. In 2017, the mayoral elections resulted in the city historically appointing its first African-American mayor, Sam Cunningham. Neither mayor implemented

significant environmental politics for the city. I will begin chronologically with Motley's tenure as mayor, although previous mayors similarly did very little to protect the environment at the expense of profit. In November 2015, 150 Lake County residents joined faith leaders in a march and vigil for EJ to commemorate Día de los Muertos, a Mexican holiday that celebrates life and death. Residents had maintained pressure to address the coal-fired power plant, and the formation of Clean Power Lake County (CPLC) the same year provided an anchor to channel that energy into participation and advocacy in local politics. During the event, those present called on NRG Energy to set a retirement date for generating station. Previously, local residents part of or associated with CPLC had traveled to Philadelphia to deliver signatures on a petition to the headquarters of NRG Energy (MacLeod 2015), to which the company ultimately responded (through a spokesperson) that "...we make our plans based on the market" (Moran 2015). In other words, any decision regarding the viability of the plant must be processed through an economic framework. Even with the publication of the Sierra Club (2013)'s report that Illinois coal plants are too expensive to be considered a sustainable business, NRG Energy must be making significant profit from the site to justify its continual operation.

Lake County residents and faith leaders similarly charged Mayor Motley to commit to action. They called on the mayor to convene a transition committee to address the future of the site (MacLeod 2015) as a form of meaningful community involvement in local political decision-making on both the environment and economic development. While the mayor initially responded openly to the demands, that did not remain the case for long. Waukegan has struggled to manage its city budget. As has been previously explored in Chapter 1, the city has resorted to increasing taxes for its residents and imposing fines that disproportionately affect the most vulnerable (Slack 2008). One of Mayor Motley's concerns was the role the coal plant plays in

the local economy. He states that the plant provides jobs and critical tax dollars to the city. In 2016, NRG Energy was the third largest taxpayer with about \$900,000 a year in property taxes from the power plant site (Brackett 2016). Other residents in positions of power, albeit in this case differently, supported the organization for their economic contributions. Chair of the Waukegan-chapter of the League of United Latin American Citizens, Julie Contreras, defended NRG Energy due to a familial connection she possessed with the company. Contreras states that their “community involvement” has been an asset for Waukegan’s residents (Brackett 2016). Through informal conversations with residents who also organized around EJ, they perceived NRG Energy’s sponsorship of Waukegan’s social, cultural, and economic organizations and events as a way to improve their company image amidst the rising concerns of environmental pollution. While some supported NRG Energy’s presence, the ongoing calls from local residents for the company to set a retirement date for the plant and to have municipal government officials support them became relevant issues during Waukegan’s following election.

In the prior election, Wayne Motley defeated Sam Cunningham in the Democratic primary. In 2017, Cunningham won over Motley in the primary and faced Lisa May, an independent. Leading up to election day, members of CPLC galvanized support from residents in the area to make the environment a significant issue for candidates to address. They attended campaign meetings and events and would pose questions. They hosted events specifically on environmental justice with the mayoral candidates wherein they could describe their plans and residents could better understand the candidate’s priorities. CPLC had endorsed candidate May for the mayoral position. While Cunningham had been receptive about creating a transition committee for the coal plant, he had not fully committed. On the day of the election, he stated that there were other priorities. He was ultimately elected. While working with some members of

CPLC, they shared that their organization had been closed off from participation in local politics potentially because of their support for the other candidate during the election. In a battle of politics, the environment had been played as a “chip,” albeit a small one (Stark 2017). While CPLC sought to create conditions of environmental equity through endorsing a mayoral candidate that would make the environment a priority, they also learned that their endorsement for the mayor was primarily utilized to make the candidate electable. The organization realized their endorsement was part of the city’s rough brand of politics. As such, they decided that they would not endorse candidates in city politics, including the entire slate of city council officials. CPLC made the environment an election issue, but the resulting elected official’s views did not align with those of EJ. Celeste Flores, a member of CPLC, shared in an interview with *WTTW* that toxic air pollution was about the health of the community and environment, about more than simply economics. Many mayors held a perspective on the city that emphasized the potential economic benefits of particular projects. When the Waukegan harbor had been deemed cleaned in 2014, then-mayor Motley wanted to build hotels, condominiums, and destination locations on lakefront (Stark 2017). When Cunningham became mayor, he stated that he wanted to invite NRG Energy to the transition committee. This may be due to the company having a preexisting relationship with the mayoral position, as well as their status as one of the city’s largest taxpayers. NRG Energy’s sponsorship of local events, such as the Annual Waukegan Scoop, is desirable for the City. These cultural celebrations advertise the potential of Waukegan as a regional tourist destination, even as the sponsor’s coal plant continues to pollute the lakefront on which these speculations rely. Some members of CPLC described struggling to have their interests incorporated into the administration. The City considers environmental remediation within an economic framework that values polluted land for its potential for profit. If a company

provides revenue to the city, then they may continue to pollute with minimal recourse. They are accounted for in the budget, and without them, there would be a gap. While the local state has hosted events to encourage residents to share their thoughts about the environment, these acts of “participation” are, as Laura Pulido (2016) states, a façade, a discursive tactic away from the material improvement that communities need. It is too much money for the state to enact meaningful change, and to change would be costly. As such, for EJ activists, there is limited meaningful commitment at the municipal level.

The state produces chaotic governmental relationships that obscure who is accountable to local communities impacted by environmental injustices. In framing these relationships as chaotic, I draw on the Nancy Hiemstra (2013)’s conceptualization of the chaotic geographies of the US migrant detention and deportation system. While Hiemstra specifically uses chaotic geographies to refer to detention center transfers, I am inspired to utilize the term as well as it refers to the uneven, illogical time-space geographies that are part of a system. I specifically focus on how “[c]haos has its peculiar structural advantages” (Eyal Weizman (2007, 8) as cited in Hiemstra 2013, 58). The disorder works to conceal the forces that shape particular state-sponsored projects and systems, as well as their inner workings (2013, 71). For the purposes of EJ, I draw on the experiences of these residents to frame their perception of ‘the state’ and intragovernmental relationships (i.e. of the US) as chaotic. This term functions well in this case because the confusion about how the state can address EJ obscures who is responsible for prioritizing vulnerable residents’ concerns. Residents may not be certain who to turn to for support as well, and may not realize that not all government agencies are created equally. For instance, if the City of Waukegan changed the zoning classification for an area in an effort to move towards EJ, then that decision need not be respected by federal agencies due to the

supremacy clause of the United States Constitution. The ACE could use its power to ignore this new zoning, though this is rare as conflicts will arise between intergovernmental state agencies.²¹ When tensions arise or when communication is minimal between state agencies and their constituents, it is difficult for residents to pinpoint who is responsible for certain concerns. Who do they talk to? Who can provide a fix to their problem? Who will listen and advocate for the communities they represent? In other words, the state becomes a site of confusion for residents attempting to make allies of political officials in their struggle for EJ.

This chapter had discussed some of these collaborations previously. For instance, the EPA developed a plan for environmental remediation in Waukegan that labelled its partners ACE as federal, the IEPA as state, and the City of Waukegan as local (US EPA 2003). Due to their varying priorities, the City, IEPA, and their federal partners were often at odds about best practices for environmental cleanup, efficient ways to dispose of hazardous materials, and the future use of sites and areas. As was described in an earlier section, the Waukegan Harbor serves as a significant example of the difficulties in collaboration between various governmental agencies. The federal government owns the land along the harbor, as the dock served as a significant international port (Link 2009, 101), and is thus invested in the future of the site. The EPA and IEPA are the regulatory agencies that also manage the remediation of the harbor and its associated Superfund sites. The local state did not approve of the cost that the dredging approach the EPA and ACE proposed to undertake to remove hazards from the lake's sediments, especially because the City suspected that its federal partners wanted to maintain Waukegan's

²¹ For more information about the tension between local zoning and federal immunity, refer to: Clark, Gordon L. 1984. "A Theory of Local Autonomy." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 74 (2): 195–208; Nolon, John R. 2002. "In Praise of Parochialism: The Advent of Local Environmental Law." *Harvard Environmental Law Review* 26 (2): 365–416; Ross, Barbara. 1980. "Intergovernmental Zoning Disputes: A Continuing Problem." *Land Use Law & Zoning Digest* 32 (7): 6–10; Stype, Gregory W. 1982. "Government Immunity from Local Zoning Restrictions: The Balancing Test of *Brownfield v. State*." *Ohio State Law Journal* 43 (1): 229–66.

harbor as an industrial one (Waukegan City Council 2007). This combination of government agencies reflects generally the varying scales that residents must navigate in their efforts for EJ. While residents have interacted with multiple state actors previously, such as with the coal-fired power plant, in the next section, I emphasize the role of different institutions during the organizing against EtO exposure. Although residents attended meetings about the coal ash ponds at the power plant and about a clean energy transition in Illinois during the same time period, I utilize the EtO case to illustrate how residents confronted the obscurity in responsibility that this section unpacks.

When Lake County residents became aware of their EtO exposure, many began to attend their local city council meetings to advocate for the local state to do *something* about the toxic air pollution. In the introduction to this chapter, Alejandra had learned about Medline and Vantage and began attending the Waukegan City Council meetings. In those meetings, Alejandra and other residents shared about the harms from EtO, demanded that the city protect its residents from toxicity, and even provided cost-effective solutions to expedite the decision making process. People also attended Gurnee Village Board meetings and engaged in similar calls. In both meetings, residents encouraged Waukegan and Gurnee to partner together, particularly around independent air testing. After the WCC meetings, residents wanted to speak further with their elected officials and scheduled meetings. In one of those meetings, I joined Alejandra and Alan to meet with Mayor Cunningham and others in his staff. Alejandra, Alan, and I shared our propositions for ways to hold the company accountable or remove them altogether. Although the mayor stated his appreciation for our presence and concern, he also shared that the City aimed to provide solutions for the betterment of the environment in their new city comprehensive plan. Alejandra and Alan mentioned that the mayor was not going to help them develop solutions to

protect people from the harmful effects of EtO. They understood that to pass agenda items that could split the city council they would need the support of the mayor. This barrier with the mayor affirmed that environmental health and community well-being will likely fall out of the city's priority list. They found themselves in a position where their local government would not take immediate action to prevent more community sickness. For these residents, the local state became an institution that disavowed responsibility even as they provided a façade of taking action.

This was also when the Lake County Health Department (LCHD) learned about these emissions and became involved with the DuPage County Health Department in Illinois—who had previous experience with another EtO-emitting facility—the City and Village, the IEPA, and the USEPA. They contacted the latter regulatory agencies because they have sole jurisdiction over emissions regulations. They also reached out to other regional and state agencies, after which they held meetings together. The agency called upon state and federal institutions to make assessments about the potential harms of EtO exposure. Officials at LCHD attended city council meetings to listen to concerns and answer any questions about what specifically their agency was doing to protect the well-being of residents (Lake County Health Department 2019). For residents, the LCHD primarily served as a source of information about actions being taken. While the LCHD took actions to understand the harms from EtO exposure, it is uncertain what power they held that could protect residents from environmental hazards.

At the state level, community members interacted with variously helpful agencies and individuals about EtO. To start, the IEPA held public meetings in 2019 about various environmental hazards: the coal ash ponds on the lakefront and EtO exposure. I focus on the EtO Informational Town Hall held on October 2, 2019. Illinois State Senator Melinda Bush

representing District 31st hosted a multi-agency informational town hall on EtO at the College of Lake County (CLC) main campus in Grayslake, IL. The IEPA, the Agency for Toxic Substances and Disease Registry (ATSDR), and the Illinois Department of Public Health (IDPH) were present to the public. The League of Women Voters moderated the Q&A portion, and Stop EtO Lake County provided a message before the agencies shared with the public information about their process regarding EtO. When EJ organizers learned about the event, they reached out the State Senator about the accessibility of the site for Waukegan's residents. Because of their actions, the Senator added a synchronous virtual transmission of the town hall at the Waukegan campus of CLC. Residents present were able to submit questions to one of Bush's staffers that would then be asked during the Q&A portion at the Grayslake location. Many residents participated at the event both in-person and virtually, and I attended the virtual portion at the Waukegan location with about two dozen other residents, many of whom have been invested in the EtO conversation since learning of its existence locally.

When speaking to residents about their goals for the event, they shared with me that they hoped their presence in the space would signal their desire for a cleaner environment to the governmental agencies. I sat next to Alejandra, Alan, and members of CPLC and was able to speak with them during many of the remarks. When the League of Women Voters stated that they wanted to encourage residents to engage in "civil dialogue" with these agencies. I made eye contact with Alejandra, who smiled and rolled her eyes. In our previous conversations, she stated that state agents ask for respect but do not respect the health of these communities. I consider these calls for civil dialogue and respect as forms of respectability politics about whose calls and actions are considered valuable when communicated in ways that appease people in positions of power. In a document shared with attendees before the event began, Melinda Bush (2019) asks

that people follow Q&A principles. Of note are two principles related to respectability: first, “Ask questions only please; do not make statements or hold demonstrations,” and second, “Please be constructive, and respectful of everyone.” In these framings, the Senator hosted the event for a respectful dialogue that would be most beneficial to the people representing these state agencies, not necessarily residents who want to be heard. Later on, Stop EtO Lake County presented their message calling for these agencies to give EtO the “proper attention it deserves” and “put it elsewhere, not just here.” Alejandra and I exchanged another look. Her eyes reminded me of a conversation we have had that she did not want the plants to be moved elsewhere where they would be able to poison another community. This discourse of NIMBY reflected the differing perspectives and goals between some of these organizers.

The event went over its two-hour allotment. I spoke with a few residents before I left CLC campus. Some residents appreciated learning more about what these agencies do. Others felt that not much progress had been made during the event. As an informational session, the goal for the state was to provide information in a public forum to residents concerned about EtO emissions. The goal was not to come out of the meeting with a developed plan in collaboration with community members. This event appeared as a form of public engagement, which was “primarily performative” (Barbour and Guthman 2018, 334). This event enables residents to see that the state is taking some action even if it does not produce meaningful change. For residents, they were not certain if these state-level agencies could help them achieve EJ, let alone the removal of these EtO emissions. Residents had remarked that the IEPA had to follow the metrics set by then-Trump’s US EPA. This was in contrast to the concern that some residents expressed about how even the permitted levels of EtO pollution were too high and still significantly harmful to their health.

Other state-level agencies and officials became part of the network that residents had to learn to navigate. This next example emphasizes the Illinois General Assembly, made up of the Senate and the House of Representatives, and Governor J.B. Pritzker. Members of CPLC organize county residents to travel south to Springfield, IL, and participate in an annual environmental lobby day during the General Assembly's six-day veto session. The goal of the event was to encourage representatives to vote for CEJA (representing SB2131 and HB3624), which are bills that would transition the state to 100% clean energy. CPLC had invited me to participate as a speaker during the rally at the State Capitol, to which I agreed. As a resident and neighbor in Waukegan, I wanted to share my background and experience with environmental toxins and the need for immediate action by our state government. Along with other environmental justice organizations, about 500 advocates from around the state came together to demand for the passage of CEJA. Although this event does not focus on EtO and instead the broader movement to divest from fossil fuels, I highlight the case because residents who joined CPLC also left the group to meet with legislators on their own about another issue. One such resident was Alejandra. She searched for her legislators to advocate for them to support HB3888, which would have phased out the use of EtO in the state. Alejandra had walked with the constituency of CPLC at first, learning about where her elected officials were located in the building itself as well as where they would be later in the day. When the rally began and many advocates were present elsewhere, such as myself, Alejandra went off to locate representatives who were not already present at the rally. She wanted to meet with them herself to see what they could do about EtO. At the end of the day Alejandra shared with me that she did not locate many of them and struggled to convince others about the necessity to support this other bill as well. She left feeling as if very little had been accomplished. I believe the chaos and confusion within

the Capital building serves representatives who do not want to support and therefore answer to residents. Although Hiemstra (2013) applies chaos to reference the public/private ICE detention and transfer situation within the deportation system, government relationships that residents must navigate utilize, at times, ambiguity in responsibility for environmental toxins to evade accountability for the effects of pollution. The evasion of responsibility in terms of locating detainees in the detention and deportation system may be reflected within governmental efforts towards environmental justice. This is, of course, not parallel nor the same; in applying an understanding of chaos, I am highlighting the confusion that residents themselves experience.

I have sought to demonstrate how residents have navigated working with various state agencies in the case of EtO. Although not dissimilar to the coal plant, the harbor, or the Superfund sites, I have centered their experiences at specific moments in their struggles against EtO to illustrate the various scales at which they navigated the state. I emphasize EtO predominantly in this chapter due to the ethnography of the project since residents had started organizing against its emission into the air. The struggle against EtO relates to broader questions of cumulative impacts from more than one source of pollution because activists' calls underscored their exposure to additional environmental toxins. They articulated a need for an environmental justice approach that accounts for these multiple harms. However, residents came face-to-face with the IEPA's single-polluter enforcement approach as IEPA officials regularly dismissed these residents' proposals and oriented them to their legislative representatives who could potentially be swayed to consider environmental toxins exposure within a cumulative impact framework. Some residents learned that the state lacked the political will to commit to drastic change for the health of the community and environment, as opposed to political investment to economic development. As such, the state is not an ally but instead a site of

contestation. Additionally, in attempting to advocate for better living conditions, more learned about the chaotic nature of the state. Different government agencies each have different commitments that make it difficult to know who can take action for residents. Residents do not always understand how these agencies work in concert with one another and must learn to navigate these chaotic relationships. Through a mapping of these moments at different governmental scales, I illustrate how some residents learned particular lessons and developed different political actions through a deeper understanding of scale in governmental relationships (Staeheli 1994; Hyndman 2004). Not only are residents uncertain of what the state can do, if at all, to protect them, but the agencies themselves struggle to engage in effective coordination, or it's not meaningful. So what did residents have to do in the face of corporate pollution and political inaction? How did they make sense of the chaotic relationships within the state?

3.3.2 Power Mapping the State

In this section, I focus on strategies that residents employed to understand who has power in the state, to raise awareness and mobilize residents, and to mitigate the harm that environmental hazards have on the community. Previously, I demonstrated how residents' navigation of local, regional, and state politics led some to view the state as not an ally but a site of contestation (De Lara 2018b; Ybarra 2021). People utilize their experiences with the state to unpack its various pieces and develop a potential understanding of how political relationships function. First, I illustrate how residents' power-mapping the state as networks and scales is a form of knowledge production. Secondly, I highlight ways that EJ organizers brought people together to develop political power. I end this section examining a practice of mutual aid for community members who are sick or ill and may not be involved in the broader EJ efforts.

Through these three navigations, I signal the knowledge, energy, and care needed to ensure currently- and potentially- sick community members have as many resources as they need since the state will not provide that for them. To start, I will discuss how organizers came together to use their collective knowledge to power-map the state.

Residents in Waukegan and Lake County broadly have been engaged in practices to demand that their political representatives aid them in crafting policy that prioritizes the health of the community and the environment. Local efforts such as marches and protests have been geographically sited near the corporate polluters and downtown Waukegan. The City values these locations for their potential towards economic development and transforming Waukegan into a regional tourist destination. Many residents also spend time in these places for recreational purposes. As such, people make their claims where they know community members and municipal actors may provide more attention. For the last decade, CPLC has anchored these efforts and channeled them to draw media and political attention to their environmental dilemmas (MacLeod 2015). CPLC members come from a range of backgrounds—faith leaders, immigration advocates, temporary workers, youth, among others—and have testified about environmental toxins at public events, rallies, and political spaces, such as committees. As a self-defined grassroots organization, the group has board members who volunteer their time, energy, and resources to organize for EJ. They have broadly participated on issues of the environment, such as the coal plant and EtO plants, and have emphasized an EJ principle of caring about people's environmental health in the workplace. Many members have critiqued companies for hiring temporary workers, exposing them to chemicals, and then releasing them without access to healthcare to address potential harm. They do, in fact, aim to emphasize environmental issues where we live, work, and play.

Some board members of CPLC are part of non-profit organizations locally and regionally. For example, co-Chairs Celeste Flores and Dulce Ortiz are employed within non-profits that have enabled them to utilize their positions' networks to increase community engagement in environmental issues. Having previously been with the Sierra Club, Celeste Flores worked as an Outreach Director for Lake County for Faith in Place, a state-wide environmental non-profit organization aiming to create healthier communities. In her position, Flores partnered with churches throughout the county to help the congregations develop greener practices for their place of worship and themselves. Dulce Ortiz is the Executive Director of Mano a Mano Family Resource Center, an organization that serves local immigrant communities in Lake and McHenry Counties. Mano a Mano offers health resources and services, educational classes and workshops, and immigration legal services to vulnerable families and individuals. Similar to other CPLC board members, Flores and Ortiz are imbricated socially, culturally, politically, and economically throughout the region. They serve as conduits through which these organizations are able to enlarge their community engagement efforts, and as the link between them, they are able to make the most of these interpersonal relationships in their advocacy work.

CPLC members have been able to bring in individuals to the organization and the EJ movement broadly because of their vast connections in the region. The organization has tapped into the immigrant communities that constitute many of Waukegan's congregations and social service organizations. As has been illustrated in the literature, recently arrived migrants have historically socialized and created community through their churches. The growing immigrant community throughout the region and the large one in Waukegan continue to rely on churches for social gatherings as well as services, such as food kitchens and donation drives. Through my fieldwork, it was apparent how many residents would attend a city council meeting when leaders

of a church almost professionally organized its congregation for or against a specific city policy or action. At one moment, I was surprised at the number of residents with the same message on sweatshirts and t-shirts who attended a WCC meeting to push back against the siting of a casino in the city. CPLC members are able to reach out to everyday community members, who often have limited political engagement, and they have relationships with local legislators, community leaders, and law enforcement. Due to their coalitions wherein non-profit and state interests are juxtaposed to community concerns, they often must negotiate these contradictions to the best of their ability.

CPLC has hosted events to raise awareness about environmental hazards in the vicinity and mobilize residents to participate. Due in part to members' relationships within the region, CPLC's events contain people from a range of backgrounds present. CPLC co-Chairs have spoken out publicly about the need to serve some of the most vulnerable residents in the city. Their commitments are reflected in their endeavors to incorporate people in the community who are frequently left out of political conversations but are the ones most affected by them. From an outside perspective, they are attentive to the various axes of difference that comprise the Waukegan community. They bring people into the activities of the organization. They provide opportunities to local residents to learn about issues or communicate their experiences in a public forum. CPLC assembles community meetings to update residents about issues related to EJ, which are shared in English and Spanish. They approach their meetings through both languages due to the propensity of residents to speak Spanish as their primary language.

CPLC held one such meeting on September 25, 2019 held at a local elementary school gymnasium. Like their other meetings, they had an agenda with information about upcoming events. In this case, the majority of the agenda was dedicated to preparing residents with

information and strategies for October. The events were related to government regulation of the environment: on October 2nd, the EtO informational town hall with IEPA, ATSDR, and IDPH; on October 3rd, an EPA Title V Hearing on a Clean Air Permit for the NRG coal power plant; on October 9th, an IEPA Coal Ash Hearing on gathering public input on the coal ash rulemaking; and October 29th, an environmental lobby day with CPLC for CEJA. The meeting agenda begins with introductions and community agreements (such as, “Use ‘I’ statements,” “Respect people’s experiences and emotions,” “Address the idea not the person,” among others). The substantive portion of the meeting consists of speakers providing a presentation on a topic and sharing talking points for the upcoming hearings with IEPA. They also have space for a Q&A for residents to have their questions answered, and if they cannot offer one, they direct them to ask the IEPA. At the end of the meeting, there is a half hour dedicated to residents drafting comments. In this meeting space, CPLC combines education with action. Through presenting information about coal ash and the harm of this substance on the environment, CPLC encourages residents to articulate their own talking points or questions to the regulatory agency. They discuss the collective power that can be employed if the community can show up in larger numbers to lobby day, for example, or other public forums. Through these resources, CPLC guides residents on understanding the role of a particular state agency and how the state has framed that meeting (hearing, town hall, or other). This may mobilize residents to attend meetings and provide their feedback. They may join CPLC at their environmental lobby day.

CPLC and residents have to translate the space of politics. Language serves as a barrier for Spanish-speaking residents and people from Mexico and Central America who speak Indigenous languages, as well other residents’ temporal restrictions due to employment and social reproduction. While some critical EJ activists frame the state as a site of contestation, how

do residents who do not speak English even interact with the state without translation services? I witnessed consistently the language barrier throughout many meetings in Waukegan. As a relatively nascent grassroots coalition, CPLC members have also been learning more themselves about the inner workings of the state. Occasionally they are discovering issues alongside the residents who may be new attendees to these spaces. One such issue was translation, manifesting in various forms. While members of CPLC and residents-at-large have critiqued the municipal government for not providing Spanish translation to many of its Spanish-speakers, including numerous times at WCC meetings, they also came up against this barrier in the public forums with IEPA. Although scholars and activists alike have advocated for Spanish language materials for decades, recent literature has argued for less jargon and more culturally appropriate forms of communication about environmental toxins even if they are disseminated in Spanish or other languages (Platt 1997; Chess, Burger, and McDermott 2005; Cantu et al. 2016).



Figure 10 IEPA meeting with Waukegan residents

On May 23, 2019, the IEPA held a public meeting in the evening with residents at a local elementary school for EtO emissions by Medline. The IEPA had released the notice for the public meeting the Friday before the Thursday event (IEPA 2019). During the time for public comments, residents critiqued the IEPA for releasing the information online and only with a few days' notice. They also stated that the meeting was not held at a convenient time for residents who work multiple jobs or are employed in the evening. Many groups were present, including Stop EtO Lake County and CPLC, and I was in attendance. The IEPA offered interpretation services through compact devices with headphones that were available to use by residents who spoke Spanish and not English.

At first, the IEPA primarily details the facts of the situation: the facility self-monitors its EtO emissions, the standards are set by the US EPA, and the reference level for risk is 1 in 10,000. During the presentation, the devices used for translation stopped working. Organizers asked the IEPA to pause the meeting. When a CPLC member was attempting to fix the devices, the main spokesperson for the IEPA began to address the crowd again. Understandably frustrated, the CPLC member spoke out and demanded more time: "Can you give us five minutes?" I heard the way her passion for the community flowed through her voice, simultaneously asking for and claiming five more minutes. The IEPA representative waited. Although Spanish-speaking residents would not be able to understand the material, the IEPA representative had decided to continue the presentation seemingly without regard that community members would be excluded. Their primary concern may have been their own time. I divulge this because when residents had more questions to pose to the panel that would go over the allotted time near the end of the public meeting, representatives stated that their time was valuable. Residents retorted back, "So is ours!" Spanish-speaking residents, of which there are

many in Waukegan, may be cautious that government-led meetings will not provide translation services. In this case, when they were available, language accessibility via technological failure illustrated the ease at which those in power can move forward without ensuring that some of the most vulnerable residents will have the information they have deemed necessary to share through this presentation. Most Illinois representatives at all levels are white people and speak English; as such, many residents perceive the state as white. This is due to the representation demographically as opposed to the state's racial projects and underpinnings. The situation of malfunctioning devices was a new one for CPLC within a familiar story of language inaccessibility.

Spanish-speaking residents continued to navigate language inaccessibility to participation in public meetings with the IEPA. After the IPCB ruled that NRG Energy polluted groundwater with coal ash in June 2019, public hearings were held in October for Waukegan residents. On October 3, the IEPA hosted one at a local elementary school, and they provided devices and headphones with in-person, real-time translation. Similar to other meetings, the IEPA provided information about revising permits for NRG Energy so that they will adhere to federal regulations. They provide details about rules that may address mercury, sulfur dioxide, and nitrogen oxide pollution, and best retrofit technology in Illinois. Many residents participated in the audience portion, including a 17 year-old high school student from the Waukegan High School who organized a student climate strike demanding that the coal plant be closed down. Another resident, named Gloria, also walked up to the podium and asked the IEPA representative panel if they had anyone between them that could understand Spanish. She does not speak English. Many shook their heads to indicate that they did not. Two residents—both part of CPLC and Latinas themselves (one Mexican and another Guatemalan)—stood up alongside Gloria and

called out the IEPA for not having a Spanish-speaking staff member, or offering an interpreter to support people who want to testify in Spanish. Ultimately, the two residents helped Gloria by interpreting her testimony. After pointing to the various environmental hazards in the area, she had stated, “Nos están envenenando.” *They are poisoning us.* Without the other residents, the IEPA representatives would have not heard her concerns. The IEPA did not drastically alter their approach in response to Gloria’s testimony. As language accessibility may prevent residents to learn about the details of these environmental hazards in these public forums, this example illustrates that Spanish-speaking residents face barriers to being heard by state officials. Government officials who are tasked to protect EJ communities with a substantive Spanish-speaking community cannot engage in meaningful public participation without addressing residents’ barriers to their meetings. CPLC and other Spanish-speakers had been translating the state, quite literally, for decades.

EJ organizers have had to navigate variously government-related relationships, produced situated knowledge through these experiences, and have power mapped the state. Concerned residents have attended city council meetings, LCHD sessions, IEPA public hearings, town halls, and lobby efforts at the State Capitol. EJ organizers partnering with non-profit organizations have had to negotiate their priorities and connections to the state, even as a subset of activists have begun to frame the state as a site of contestation. Some have had to work together to push for the IEPA to incorporate interpretation services and have addressed problems that arose in those meetings as they came up. I participated in a meeting near the end of November with local EJ organizers in Waukegan wherein they brainstormed the relevant agencies and potential allies in their struggles against EtO exposure and for CEJA, the Illinois clean energy transition bill. In this meeting, organizers sat around a whiteboard and discussed local, regional, state, and federal

agencies *and* organizations that could support them. As residents place circles around the IEPA, the Sierra Club, or a State Representative, such as Rita Mayfield, they drew arrows and lines to signal the relationships that the agencies and officials have with one another. In other words, residents came to recognize the fallacy of a state/non-state binary and instead emphasized how various organizations and the state are imbricated within one another.

Who will work together? Who has influence over whom? Who will offer their political power, and to what extent? What funding did election campaigns have? Which city aldermen listen to residents' concerns? They outline the networks, the intersections, that they have had to navigate themselves. They map their political allies and their histories: this non-profit has worked with this county politician, and this state politician has lent their support to this local politician's campaign. This local official will not meet with these organizers. They have learned that these institutions do not have the same power nor are willing to effectively cooperate with one another if they possess divergent priorities. They have also become cognizant of the scale of government. On one hand, organizers recognize that to address police corruption and brutality they need to place pressure on the municipal government, the agency that funds the police force. On the other hand, if the local government will not aim to determine a termination date for the coal power plant, for instance, then they have coordinated with other EJ communities to push for CEJA at the state-level. These scales are particularly relevant for residents who have had limited engagement with the state due to citizenship status, language, or racial and ethnic background.

This unpacking counters the chaotic relationships between government agencies and illuminates what constitutes the black box of the state. This work is done predominantly by Black and Latinx EJ activists, and this knowledge production becomes one basis upon which to encourage participation in the political system and foster stronger community relations. When

government agencies at various scales take no significant action and their process slowly unfolds, it becomes confusing for residents who do not know if and when they will experience change. They may be lost as to how to create an equitable environment. At times, residents perceive government officials as antagonistic to the health of community members and the environment. This affect was apparent in the meetings with the IEPA in both May and October. In May 2019, after the IEPA spokesperson Brad Frost had attempted to continue the conversation without waiting for the interpretation devices to function, the audience mood did not improve. A resident stated during the public comment portion that all their data on risk tells them that “a certain number from this community is expendable,” that the regulatory agency was treating residents like numbers instead of lives. In October, residents demanded the agency take action, as one stated: “We do not want to be back here in 10 years.” I noted the discontent within the audience in both spaces. The mapping of state relationships accounts for these experiences of frustration towards agencies for their role in obscuring accountability and responsibility in toxic emissions. They could better understand government agencies but that may not necessarily make them less frustrated.

Additionally, for a subset of organizers, they have reminded others of the importance of community-building within the EJ movement for the purposes of mutual aid. This group does not wholly place their trust in the state to produce the transformative change that these communities need. This resonates with the work that other local organizations in Chicago engage in as well, as they have emphasized the need to meet people and get to know them first before asking for a signature or another demand (Wasserman 2019). They believe spending time listening to community members will form a stronger relationship between an organization and residents. This Chicago-organization has used their collective power to shut down the coal plant, to build a

park, and to get a bus line. Now they were working together to push back against an Amazon warehouse that was sited in their community and approved by an Aldermen who had received funds from the company for their campaign. They have also learned that residents have gardens and have a background in agriculture, which has led to think of local solutions such as a closed food system in the neighborhood. They still advocate to affect the legislation as they strive for sustainable community practices (Wasserman 2019). Organizers and residents in Waukegan have embodied the similar principles of community building and mutual aid.

Local Latinx residents engage in practices of mutual aid. I emphasize Latinx peoples as they are largest demographic group but face structural barriers to adequate access to healthcare, stable employment, and political participation. Many of the Latinxs in Waukegan are migrants from Latin America and primarily speak Spanish. A sizeable portion are undocumented residents. They are often parents or older siblings, as well as members of extended families. During my time in Waukegan, residents frequently invited me to participate in kermeses, an outdoor event traditionally hosted by churches and their Hispanic communities. The kermés as a space provides food options, games for children, music, raffles, and other games. The carnival-like fundraiser benefits the church. However, residents hosted kermeses in their backyards. From my experience, a majority of the kermeses that I attended were for older Latinxs living with cancer. Others had experienced an injury at work and had been dismissed. They were hosting a kermés to fundraise money to pay for their healthcare costs. They could not afford the bills themselves, and their families could often help but not cover it all. Some would have tents with seats inside for people to sit down. They often asked attendees to purchase tickets that could be exchanged for food of all kinds and games. Some people donated their time; others donated

bottled waters, sodas, meats, breads, cake, and others to be sold. The family donated resources in the hopes that the kermés could raise more than enough funds.

Many of these residents hosted kermés without knowing why they may have become sick. Waukegan's industrial past has left behind a legacy of toxic pollution. They may be caused by exposure to chemicals through the various environmental hazards. Some may come from residents' place of employment. Organizers advocating for EJ, such as Alejandra, have demanded that temporary workers be incorporated into their missions, principles, and goals. Temporary workers in the region have spoken with local organizations about their acute exposure to chemicals, sometimes without proper personal protective equipment, and eventual dismissal from the company after a few weeks (Bahena 2019). This is not an isolated incident either, as temporary worker agencies have proliferated in the region. Through my experience collaborating with the Chicago Workers Collaborative, discussed in another chapter, I also learned that temporary workers agencies did not want to hire people who were a part of movements that were holding the company accountable for wage theft and working conditions. I had met with temporary workers who felt that lawyers at the temporary worker agencies would intimidate them, saying that they would not hire or contract them again. Many of the vulnerable workers were women. With reduced opportunities for stable employment in favor for temporary jobs, the regional economy exacerbates the harms that residents experience in Waukegan. A local, vulnerable resident may not need to be in the aforementioned EJ spaces to have to navigate hazards to their health. While kermeses are one way in which community members have engaged in practices of mutual aid, they are not enough to cover the long-term costs of care for sick or disabled people. They offer insights into political actions that do not center the state and instead are related to the communities themselves (Brown 1997; Kim 2017; Spade 2020).

3.4 Conclusion

Alejandra became sick living near Medline. She subsequently began attending city council meetings and public hearings, seeking an ally in the state to eradicate EtO emissions. Her journey mirrors other residents who learned about their susceptibility to health hazards and attempted to advocate for government agencies to protect the people. She diverges from others in that her perception—and a subset of other organizers’—of politics has become one in which the state is a site of contestation. Recent critical EJ literature centers a framework of race and capitalism to bring forth the role of the state in producing environmental racism. The state, invested in maintaining the conditions of racism and capitalism, may be a neutral force or antagonistic towards EJ activists’ efforts to equitable and radical change, noting the limitations of liberal approaches (Kurtz 2009; Pulido 2016a; 2016b; Pulido, Kohl, and Cotton 2016; Pulido and De Lara 2018; McClintock 2018; McCreary and Milligan 2021; Vasudevan and Smith 2020). Alejandra’s navigation of local politics produced similar knowledge that governments are active participants in constructing the conditions of residents’ exposure to toxic chemicals. She consistently experienced how different state agencies had different priorities, and the valorization of economic frameworks to assess the success and potential of particular policies and approaches.

This chapter provided an analysis of how Waukegan constitutes an EJ community and their exposures to multiple sources of pollution and environmental hazards. While locals had noted pollution from industries on the lakefront as early as the 1880s, Waukegan as a growing town benefited greatly from the employment opportunities, construction of housing units, and infrastructural development that accompanied industries. Scientific knowledge brought attention

to the effects of pollutants from these industries, and as industries departed Waukegan, the region lost some of its major employers. With this loss shifting the economy from manufacturing-based to a service one, the City was also unable to utilize most of the abandoned industrial sites due to the pollution. As such, the City's approaches to environmental cleanup at the turn of the twenty-first century stressed the site's potential for economic development. Understandably, the City is attempting to fill in a gap left by the departure of industries both geographically through tourist attractions and fiscally through increased tax revenue from economic activities on the lakefront. Implementing EJ demands like removing the sources of toxic pollution are costly for the municipal government, as these taxpayers are significant portions of the City budget and provide jobs.

The local state subsidizes these companies by building infrastructure as they continue to pollute a community predominantly composed of people of color, migrants, people living in impoverished conditions, and undocumented people. The state does not fail to protect residents from pollution; the state is doing exactly what it must for capital accumulation. In investing in economic development, the state willingly pollutes the environment at the expense of some of the most vulnerable residents (Melamed 2015; Pulido 2016b). All residents subsidize these sites as their bodies act like pollution sinks as well. It is the precise demographic of this community that makes them disposable and subject to serious and concentrated sources of pollution. An EtO bill had been proposed in the Illinois House of Representatives that contained many applicable sections to Lake County. These sections were cut out and the remaining parts mostly kept Willowbrook safe from EtO exposure. The IEPA had detailed new technologies that the sources of EtO emissions would implement. With these in mind, Alejandra stated that, "We [Waukegan] are the lab rat." Residents' bodies are the pollution sinks to test out the efficacy of these

emerging technologies and various state agencies, directly or indirectly, cooperate to create the conditions where residents are continuously subject to violence.

The City has primarily served its economic interests around the environment. Laura Pulido (2016b) rightly states that EJ activities allying with the state have seen little to no meaningful change to their demands for an equitable environment to work, live, and play. When discussing the organizing work in Waukegan for EJ through residents' experiences, I have attributed this relative inaction to a lack of political will for change that diverts from their pre-existing priorities, especially economical ones. Chaotic intra-state relationships also obscure the responsibility of these sites, so much so that residents often do not know where to start their advocacy work. Alejandra initially advocated for an elimination of EtO emissions at city council meetings and had not known what state networks and scales that she would have to navigate. Through this chapter, I named particular agencies and their role in the relative inaction, as a whole, of the state. The state has served as a barrier to enacting a response that could reduce and ultimately eliminate residents' cumulative health exposure.

Vulnerable residents-turned-organizers learned more about the state through their navigations and advocacy in these spaces. Many came together to power map the state's networks and scales. While many employ this knowledge to more effectively seek political change, others determined that the state would not ally with them for radical, transformative change. The state participates in the production of these conditions of violence and must therefore be approached differently. Alejandra's (and others') emphasis on temporary workers (as well as migrants) highlights the fact that many laborers, particularly those exploited under

normalized precarious conditions, become sick.²² People are becoming sick where they live *and* work. For Latinxs, particularly migrants, whose contribution to the US is framed predominantly as economical, the laboring body is valued for their ability to work in these conditions.

²² If the laboring body becomes sick, it becomes normalized as part of daily life in the suburb (Puar 2017; Kim 2017). A laboring body cannot be sick, and the consequences of that sickness are often unemployment. To be sick is to be unworthy (Cacho 2012).

Chapter 4 Migrants' Mobilities and Practices

Waukegan's Latinx populations, which includes Mexican and Central American migrants, have lived within a landscape of violence. This is seen first with the Waukegan City Council (WCC). During the 1990s and 2000s, the WCC proposed and deployed xenophobic practices aimed at regulating the settlement and mobility of undocumented, Latinx, and impoverished people. This chapter recounts how Latinxs & migrants experience and navigate Waukegan as a site embedded with the local state's xenophobic approach towards Latin American immigrants. It aims to illustrate how Latinx migrants navigate life contemporarily. Since xenophobic practices structured residents' mobilities and shaped their feelings towards the place, vulnerable residents creatively crafted practices to *navigate* these structural forces and cultivate life in the present. The chapter specifically interested in detailing their affective experience to the area and what different navigation practices emerge from the different peoples within the "Latinx migrant" category. For the purposes of this dissertation, Latinx does not mean migrant automatically. Additionally, this means that some groups, such as Puerto Ricans, are not included in this chapter's analysis.

Nationally, immigration policies structure the mobility and everyday practice of residents. Scholars have demonstrated the ways in which the state has created policies regulating migration that cross along race and ethnicity (Espiritu 2003; Ngai 2004; De Genova 2004; M. Coleman 2012), sexuality and sexual orientation (Luibhéid and Cantú 2005; Randazzo 2005; Peña 2007; M. Coleman 2008; Rouhani 2016), and gender (Stoler 2002; Canaday 2009; Shah

2012) in order to maintain those deemed threats as out. While borders have remained porous despite these exclusions and regulations, the state ultimately demarcates the types of migration deemed valuable and good and those deemed dangerous and bad. The Chinese Exclusion Act, signed into law on May 6, 1882, sought to prohibit all immigration of Chinese laborers into the U.S. and produced the figure of the ‘alien’ that has been taken up by various groups in the history after the Act was passed (Cacho 2012). Various technologies exist to secure the state around migration, and Alison Mountz et al. (2013) demonstrate how detention and deportation is not simply about creating immobile subjects. In fact, these systems serve to control migrant mobility as well through fear and the threat of deportation (De Genova 2002; Williams and Boyce 2013; Queally 2017). Consequently, those contained serve to reconstitute undocumented migrants as mobile collective threats to the state. This is the very mobility targeted by the WCC, and it is within these spaces that residents must imagine new possibilities for living life (Elwood and Lawson 2018).

Place-making refers to the processes that make space into place. Place-making, then, is the set of social, political, and material processes by which people iteratively create and recreate the geographies in which they live, or the “cultural, discursive, and material practices through which people imagine and transform places” (Elwood, Lawson, and Nowak 2015, 125). People all over the world are engaged in place-making practices such as mowing your lawn, decorating your bedroom, erecting monuments, and building borders. These place-making activities constitute place but are also constrained, enabled, and constituted by forms of domination and power that exist within the aforementioned processes. City governments, for example, can develop legislation that shapes place and place-making practices, such as noise ordinances that seek to limit the acceptable level of volume within neighborhoods. Place-making has been used

in the context of the United Kingdom to think about the exclusionary outcomes of urban policies (Porter and Barber 2006; P. Jones and Evans 2012). The exercise of power does not occur solely through governmental policies, however. Sarah Elwood, Victoria Lawson, and Samuel Nowak (2015) discuss how place-making enables us to think about encounters of difference, and I want to think about how these “everyday acts through which individual and social groups demands or seek” (126) to make place.

If we think about place-making as relational, as occurring through networks, and as imbued within power relations, then the exclusions that people experience and the kinds of encounters they experience in those places are significant for conducting research around place (Sharp et al. 2000). While I strive to understand how place-making practices can seek produce more ‘progressive,’ ‘liberatory,’ and ‘free’ places for some of the most marginalized people in our society, then we do need to take into account how place is constrained by people, relations, objects, and other processes. A centering of people who are marginalized—not fully excluded since we must still operate within certain power relations (Hall and Massey 2010)—illuminates the ways in which these groups have taken up ideologies and repurposed them to meet their own needs. They often take these norms and their normalization (Spade and Willse 2016) to challenge their exclusions in particular systems, their marginalization, and their exploitation. Place-making, then, can serve as a way to challenge the violences people experience in their everyday lives.

This chapter argues that vulnerable Latinx migrants navigate Waukegan using their knowledge about places. I refer to their countries of origin as such places, as well as specifically various spaces in Waukegan. Many Latinx migrants continue to employ everyday practices from their life in another country. An abuela, or grandmother, for example, tends to a garden with crops and plants hailing from Mexico. The tomatillos from the garden are used to make some

salsas, and she shares any additional Mexican husk tomatoes with family members and friends. The plants also remind her of her rural life on a farm; they are the material traces of a personal history, of a life lived elsewhere—a life now transnational. The garden serves as a space to remember her past *and* to have access to produce or goods in the present. In Waukegan, people's experience in the downtown area, on the streets and sidewalks, and at home are sources of knowledge for individuals, their families, and for their social networks. A resident may hear from a friend that a restaurant has police stationed or that a local park has new, improved walking paths. This information shapes how people choose to navigate Waukegan, whether as individuals or through kinship relations. And I argue that this knowledge can only be communicated verbally and through migrant networks, as it is undocumented knowledge.

This chapter is structured into four sections to illustrate various experiences and navigations locally. The first section builds upon the anti-immigrant approaches in Chapter 1 to discuss the financial and gendered divisions to mobilities, specifically focusing on driving and walking. The section discusses barriers and how, and why, Latinx undocumented migrants drive and walk in Waukegan. Secondly, I turn to how members in mixed-status families experience and deal with the violence with which their family members (and them) must contend. Anti-immigrant practices have broader impacts on individuals' loved ones. In the third section, I draw on the narratives of queer Latinx migrants to propose that vulnerable residents can produce an expanded terrain of queer geographies that expand their social lifeworld beyond Waukegan. I then turn to an anecdote about how some residents have had to organize across various issues, such as immigration, labor, and the environment, to attempt to address violence in its multiple forms. I conclude by arguing that residents could learn more from each other and that community spaces that center these practices can better organize members for equitable change in

Waukegan. Lisa Marie Cacho (2012) developed an unthinkable politics to theorize scholars' way out of the pessimism of social death; as such, residents may produce some unthinkable politics within some of these spaces in Waukegan (Elwood and Lawson 2018).

4.1 Financial and Gendered Divisions in Automobility

Cars have dramatically shaped how people move through space. Mobilities refers to the movements and flows of people, both shaped by structural forces and enacted through individual agency (Cresswell 2006; Urry 2007; Carpio 2019). The proliferation of automobiles and their relative accessibility has, for many, compressed the experience of space and time in the U.S. and enabled people to work in cities and live in suburbs. Chicago's surrounding geography colloquially referred to as the Chicagoland area is intricately connected economically, politically, and culturally and can reach northwards to Wisconsin and eastwards to Indiana. Residents in this region need effective modes of transportation, and primarily use their vehicles, to live their lives. In Waukegan, many immigrants arrived since the mid 1980s as the region's economy shifted towards a service-based orientation. Many people were able to find employment within the city, and others had to travel to the surrounding affluent suburbs for jobs. Public transportation is available in the form of regional bus and train systems. Even with these facilitators of mobility, they are often inadequate for facilitating the mobility of residents for purposes of labor and social reproduction. Therefore, due to these limitations, automobility becomes one of the few effective methods for residents to move through Waukegan and the surrounding areas. This car-centric urban and suburban region makes it so that driving is not necessarily an option but a necessity.

As immigrants settle in increasing numbers through U.S. suburbs and new destinations (Li 2006; A. Singer 2008), the spatialization of immigration enforcement has seen a move from

the U.S.-Mexico border toward the interior U.S. (De Genova 2002; M. Coleman 2007).

Waukegan is one such site within the Chicagoland area. The increase in the Latinx population and their subsequent visibility led to the WCC enacting city ordinances and codes that would aim to make life difficult for these residents with the goal of displacing residents deemed undesirable or outside of the city's vision of progress. The enactment of ordinances and regulation aimed at managing Latinx and migrant residents' movements became an example from which surrounding suburban local and county government agencies could draw. WCC targeted undocumented migrants' automobilities, or their movement as facilitated by automobiles, in attempts to legally and economically punish their 'illegal' presence. One resident stated, "We felt like we were being targeted. There were more police in our neighborhoods. We did not want to drive in the city. Sometimes we drove around. Even today we do not like to drive through downtown because we do not feel safe." As a new immigrant destination, the growing population of Latinxs had to drive around, rather than through, Waukegan in response to the increase of traffic checkpoints (Slack 2008). The local state, specifically the Waukegan police, seized residents' property and produced a culture of fear that made produced social suffering for Latinxs and migrants in the suburbs of Chicagoland.

Latinxs and migrants attempt to survive the intensification of immigration enforcement and policing within some new immigrant destinations (Stuesse and Coleman 2014; Maldonado, Licona, and Hendricks 2016). While architectures of confinement, immobility, and contained are produced through a spatial order (Shabazz 2015) that unevenly fashion routes, people possess agency against the hegemonies of cultural, economic, and political processes that structure the pathways of cities (de Certeau 1984). As feminist scholars demonstrate (Blunt 2007), mobilities and migration are embodied experiences that illuminate the ways people change their everyday

practices to survive and make place, in this case, against state-sanctioned xenophobia. For example, undocumented residents in Waukegan stopped shopping in many of the stores, using fixity to remain hidden in the landscape and purchased their daily needs elsewhere for fear of the police's enactment of immigration enforcement.

Within this car-based economy, driving has been a risky practice for undocumented migrants despite its necessity. Undocumented migrants do not feel that they have the option to not drive (Stuesse and Coleman 2014). However, because certain neighborhoods in the City of Waukegan are located near commercial areas, residents do not always have to drive to reach bakeries, salons, corner stores, and restaurants. Often apartments are located near these sources as well. However, not all residents live in these areas or work within them, so although they can achieve much social reproduction by walking, to work, they must drive to other places that place them under purview of surveillance mechanisms against migrant communities. Contemporary legal mechanisms have facilitated the movement of undocumented people in Illinois through temporary drivers' licenses, so some residents can now drive without fear that a traffic stop will result in family separation through deportation.

While the local state sought to regulate, control, and manage the mobility practices of undesirable residents through legal mechanisms, there are additional classed and gendered barriers to automobility that this section explores. A vehicle in Waukegan's suburban landscape greatly facilitates residents' mobility. However, undocumented residents face financial constraints that can make owning and maintaining a vehicle challenging. Within a landscape of exploitation in the region, particularly demonstrated in the emergence of a large number of temporary worker agencies, many undocumented residents do not have the financial resources to pay for housing, food, and other necessities on top of car ownership and maintenance.

Furthermore, gendered barriers within the Latinx and migrant community contribute to the difficulty for differently situated peoples to access automobility in Waukegan. In this section, I first argue that some residents facilitate their mobility against financial constraints to car ownership through their living situation. I then contend that Latina migrants experience gender-based prejudice around their automobility due to patriarchal familial relations.

4.1.1 Undocumented Knowledge

Latinx migrants have developed particular navigations of life against the financial constraints of car ownership within conditions of underpaid labor and fines as punishment. I focus on Alfredo's efforts to alleviate costs through his housing situation. Alfredo is an undocumented, gay, Mexican migrant in his late twenties. I met Alfredo at a local, fast-food restaurant chain where he had previously worked as manager. As we ordered our dinner, Alfredo spoke to the workers in a friendly tone, joking with them. When we sat down, I asked if he had previously worked with some of the people working here. Alfredo shared that he had managed the store and had been in previous living situations with some of them. He recounts how intimate his relationships with some of his co-workers became to the point that they were able to live and work together in Waukegan. However, his current place of employment is located in a suburb south of Waukegan within Lake County. He continues to live in Waukegan.

Alfredo, like others, strategized about their housing situation in order to make ends meet. The process to bring people into a housing agreement is not a simple one. Some families may live with their relatives and their families to spread out expenses and provide social reproductive services to each other, such as cooking meals or caring for children. As someone without a partner or children, Alfredo does not have the responsibilities that other undocumented residents

may have to loved ones. Due to his familial situation, he could rent a house with others. This can produce a separate set of anxieties around securing housing, and Alfredo had particular wants he had to negotiate that could save money. Firstly, he had to search for other people that were willing to live together in a house. Having lived in inexpensive apartments throughout Waukegan, Alfredo preferred houses for how much space they had. He reached out to close co-workers first before contacting friends of friends, as his social network enabled him to meet people willing to share a space and split the costs. He had many conversations with potential housemates to discuss their various needs, such as geographic proximity to places of employment, living style, or walking access to commercial corridors. While splitting the cost of rent can save them money, Alfredo believed the living situation could become one that could be economically beneficial as well.

Secondly, Alfredo and his co-organizers in the housing search wanted people who are willing to share resources with their housemates. He explains that since many of them work in the service industry they regularly bring food home that will be available for consumption to housemates who may need a meal. They may offer car rides up for errands. They may cook a meal for the house another day. In sharing their resources, they sought to reduce the overall cost of living expenses and ease some of the stressors of lacking documentation status. While these actions may seem mundane, their efforts to offer each other mutual aid provides a much needed benefit for people who are excluded from accesses legal aid or social services, and have limited opportunities for economic advancement (Spade 2020). For these housemates, there is an investment in the well-being of the house. Alfredo reflected that this has not always worked out as planned. He has lived with people who were not willing to dispense of their material resources; in other words, they did not want to offer forms of mutual aid: money, time, or other

resources. However, an additional significant concern for Alfredo is the cost to travel to his place of employment.

Thirdly, the distance between where one lives and works was significant. Alfredo does not own a car and thus is unable to drive himself to his place of employment. When that location went from Waukegan to another suburb, he had to consider another criterion for housemates. He sought to live with people who work in or near the suburb that he does. He had a friend, Sara, who would commute with him because she could not drive. They both work in one of the wealthier suburbs in Lake County and neither owns a vehicle. Previously, Alfredo would order taxis over the phone to take him and another friend to their jobs in the same company, a practice migrants also employ to avoid immigration policing (Stuesse and Coleman 2014). With the proliferation of ride-sharing applications on cellphones, such as Lyft and Uber, Alfredo now utilizes these more to facilitate his movement to and from work. He finds that being able to request additional stops on their journey is helpful if his housemates work along his commute. Alfredo appreciates being able to split the cost of a ride. In this way, Alfredo and Sara become more productively mobile together, their housing and commuting situations mitigating some of the hardships associated with not having a car to move through the region.

Without a car, residents selectively choose when to use public transportation. Public transportation can facilitate mobility but has its own set of limitations in Lake County. Waukegan residents can use the Metra train line that runs alongside the lakefront to travel to Chicago. Some people may need to walk to a bus stop, ride the bus to the station, and wait for the train to depart at a predetermined time. Others may be able to drive themselves to the station and pay to leave their car in the parking lot. A family member or friend may drop them off at the station and pick them up upon their return. Temporal limitations, such as work schedules,

function to restrict when people are able to provide car services. Even if residents choose to use the train line, most of the stops are located in the downtown centers of suburbs. They may need to take another avenue, perhaps the bus, to arrive to their workplace if it is located further west than where most downtowns are.

Alfredo, as well as other migrants, point out that using the bus system for regional travel was time consuming and inefficient. While one can use the buses relatively well to reach major destinations, such as the College of Lake County, downtown Waukegan, and the sizeable mall in Gurnee, they are less desirable generally for residents who work elsewhere. This is an intriguing dilemma, as many residents I interacted with shared that they or people they know work in the suburbs surrounding Waukegan. Although residents work throughout Lake County and the region, there are limited efforts to improve the regional mobility of residents despite relying on their labor. Local efforts to improve mobility, such as the sidewalks, bike trails, and walking paths, have limited engagement with residents who comprise this study. Due to the constraints that Alfredo and others may have as undocumented residents, their experiences of transportation differ due to their socioeconomic status and restricted mobility. Consequently, the cost of a split Uber ride may ultimately be comparable to using public transportation, but Alfredo then has come to appreciate the ease and flexibility of ride-sharing applications. Although some migrants benefit from the platform, this does not mean that these companies do not exploit the migrant workers who comprise their drivers.

Interestingly, other queer undocumented men also live with others in their social network. Gerardo, for example, owns a vehicle and also lives with his friend's sister near the downtown area and lakefront. Since he lives in a multi-family house, his overall space is smaller than others. Similarly to Alfredo, Gerardo chooses to live with others out of necessity to make ends

meet and to attempt to save some money. Dissimilar to Alfredo, however, Gerardo does not emphasize the need to live with others who are able to share resources or who work near where he does. Gerardo's vehicle facilitates his physical mobility and reduces the need for him to negotiate and navigate social relationships in securing housing and then at home like Alfredo.

This does not alleviate all hardships, however. Alfredo, like other renters, does not remain in the house permanently. He recounted how frequently he has had to move; in five years, he had moved about a half a dozen times to different housing configurations in Waukegan, sometimes moving with housemates and maintaining a sense of continuity. The constant moving is a reminder of migrants' patterned sense of insecurity, as they attempt to alleviate the cost of living through their housing choice and facilitate their mobility. Even if the process is not easy, Alfredo prefers this to living with his parents, his closest family members in the area. He is not unique, as other undocumented residents similarly live in larger social formations. His situation differs from some other migrants in the area who may live with extended family members for longer periods of time. Families may have other families live in their house. They would rent out a space for another family to live in, too, until they were able to secure more spacious and less temporary housing. His experience illustrates that family members are not the only people with whom migrants choose to live and serves to demonstrate a set of navigations and hardships. This is also illustrative of the kin networks migrants must cultivate; knowledge not read but rather *consejos*, or information not documented. A literal translation of *consejo* is counsel or advice. My understanding expands beyond this because it considers *consejos* as part of an embodied knowledge developed through people's experiences, many of whom are often excluded from official archives, city frameworks, and elite narratives. Undocumented knowledge, then, is what

provides Alfredo the means to navigate the Waukegan. Next, I turn to the barriers that Latina migrants face in terms of automobility in Waukegan.

With or without financial constraints, some Latina migrants experience gendered barriers to automobility within their families due to patriarchal familial relationships. Although shared living situations may alleviate barriers for some, some people may discriminate against Latinas with children or caregivers of children in ways that isolate them from social and political life. Most Latinas with children rely on familial relationships, rather than broad kinship networks, if they want to live in shared housing to reduce the cost of living in Chicagoland. This means that they may rely on family members, a potentially patriarchal situation for them. Some migrant residents—like low-income residents who are not migrants—lack the financial resources to purchase and own more than one vehicle. A handful of the undocumented migrant Latinas with whom I spoke mentioned that their husbands or boyfriends are their household's primary drivers and therefore use the vehicle a majority of the time. Gloria, one of these migrant women, is in her early-fifties, a mother, married, and is an undocumented Mexican. She is in a similar situation with a few other women. For Gloria, when appointments, meetings, and work schedules overlap and are in conflict with one another in her family's schedule, she felt that having only one driver under the house made things much more difficult. If her husband was using the car for work or for a meeting further away, then Gloria and her children had very limited mobility options. Gloria mentioned that her husband had not yet taught her how to drive a car. The idea that a male patriarchal family figure would be expected to teach her to drive stems from a patriarchal culture, one where brothers-in-law, friends, or female family members may not intervene due to concerns about backlash from the male patriarchal family figure. She stated, "Well he told me that he did not think that I wanted to drive, but he never asked me!" As the

only driver in their home, Gloria's husband was the only one with the knowledge about how to drive and about the experience of driving around Waukegan.

Gloria experienced an intimate, gendered barrier of automobility. I had developed a friendly and close rapport with Gloria. She would invite me over to her house as she made lunch and dinner for her family. At first, when I offered to help, Gloria would brush me away, stating "no te preocupes" (do not worry). As masculine-presenting and US Latinx, I am aware of how Mexican women are socialized not to expect men to participate in reproductive labor. After some time, especially after I had time to talk to her about myself as a queer Latinx man, and would also emphasize that I would like to help, Gloria would invite me to help. It was through this close relationship that I was able to ask her a question about why she thought her husband, who I will call Jose, had not taught her how to drive. Gloria shared a conversation that her and her husband had had about their driving situation. Gloria told me that her husband came home from work and told her about a conversation he had had with a co-worker. Jose's co-worker had asked him if his wife, Gloria, knew how to drive. When Jose shared that she did not, his co-worker said that it must be because he does not want to teach her how to drive. Jose's response was that she did not want to learn. While she learned about her partner's claim that she does not want to drive after the fact, she corrected him by saying that she had never stated that. However, due to the power relations around patriarchy, Jose's words stood in for Gloria's, despite being incorrect. This patriarchal culture makes it such that women's desires are forcibly subsumed under the male patriarchal family figure.

When Gloria recounted this story to me, she jokingly stated that Jose had not asked her if she wanted to learn how to drive. Instead, Jose had made this claim about her. When I asked Gloria if she wanted to learn, she said yes. She shared that other señoras had learned and begun

driving themselves, their children, and other family members around, too. Gloria highlighted that in Illinois undocumented people were able to acquire a driver's license using a *matricula*, a form of photo identification card issued by the Mexican government. The Temporary Visitor Driver's License legally allows undocumented migrants to operate a personal vehicle, although not all forms of international identification are recognized by the State of Illinois. Since she had not been taught how to drive, despite a desire to do so, Gloria instead used other methods of mobility to get around the City of Waukegan.

I met up with Edith to go on a walk together on an afternoon in 2019. Edith is a Mexican mother with three children. Her mother lives with her in the house they rent. When I offered Edith car rides to wherever she may need to go, she seldom took me up on it. She is a proud woman. When she did accept a car ride, we would head to a Mexican supermarket, one more distant from her home, where she would purchase dough for tortillas or talames. When I arrived at Edith's home, she told me that her mother would be joining us on the walk. We left her home and began walking down the street towards one of the larger street pathways. When I asked if driving would make their life easier, Edith mentioned that driving could do that, but she appreciated that she was healthy enough to still be able to walk around the area. She said that she was able to walk with her mother to the park for some exercise. With more effort, they could work towards some of the shopping plazas located on main thoroughways in the city. Although this could be exhausting on them—due to physical capacity, exhaustion from labor, temporal constraints, or illness—they were still able to perform the reproductive labor their families depended on, such as shopping, and that they needed, such as exercise. They sometimes took Edith's children or other children in their extended family along with them. We noted that

Waukegan's parks have dramatically improved in quality, with some having new pathways where there was none, exercise equipment along the trail, and new playground equipment.

Edith's mother, Dolores, interjected during the conversation. Dolores said that walking around reminds her of being back in Mexico. When I asked her what was reminiscent of her country of origin, Dolores shared that most of her time in Mexico she would get around her village by walking. She walked to her neighbors' homes. She walked to the corner store. She walked through her farm and took care of the crops and farm animals. She told me that she enjoyed walking. For Dolores, it was not specifically the built environment that made walking an enjoyable activity for her. Her mobility prior to living in Waukegan was one enmeshed in walking. The act of walking was an effective mode of mobility and enjoyment for Dolores. She joked that at least by walking around they would be able to see where garage sales—which, like flea markets, residents sell their personal possessions out of their driveways, garages, and lawns—are held nearby. This reminded me that although walking may be one of the only ways for some people to move around, it was not necessarily devalued by those who lacked other options. In fact, it was highly valued for those community members who had used walking as their primary mode of transportation or by those who could not move around otherwise.

Due to interpersonal gendered, legal, financial barriers to automobility, undocumented migrant women often walk in and around their neighborhoods. Considering the risk that driving without a license may pose to undocumented residents, walking becomes one of the primary ways by which residents make their way through the city. When distance becomes an issue, and no other people are able to offer them a car ride, residents may call on local taxi companies to transport them around the city. These taxis may take time to arrive, but one of the most prominent obstacles for residents is the cost. A single-way ride may amount upwards of \$20 for

some residents, especially for residents who may be unfamiliar with ride-sharing applications. People do not need to have a credit card to employ the services of company taxis and instead can pay in cash. Some of the people I refer to are not ones who lived in Mexico City, where the apps are widely used, and instead resided in rural areas. The cost to move around, without walking, may be prohibitive for some, but some residents shared that they will take a taxi if they do not have another option and have to arrive somewhere. For some, the sense that they will arrive to and return from the store without being stopped themselves provides enough relief to pay the cost. In their study on a U.S. Southern metropolitan area, Stuesse and Coleman (2014) found that there may be a “potential correlation between the rise of immigrant policing practices and increased demand for taxis in Atlanta’s Latino neighborhoods” (62).

Through my fieldwork, I met other migrants who shared that they also employ the services of taxi drivers to move them through safe as securely as they can. While this has the potential to be a “remedy to immigrant immobility” (ibid), it comes at a small cost. Gloria, for example, mentioned that she had a *señor* that she would call every time she needed a ride. He was a taxi driver but would take personal calls to drive people around. She said she trusted him, and he would sometimes charge less than calling an official taxi would. When she had more disposable money, she would tip more. Gloria shared that he had other people who would call him for rides, so he was unable to drive her at every moment on the time she needed. Even with that, she said that he was helpful in getting her around.

Undocumented Latina migrants employed strategies to navigate their barriers to automobility. However, this is not to suggest that undocumented women, like men, do not drive without licenses. It is to say that women in cis-heterosexual relationships with patriarchal men may face barriers that make it less likely that they will drive without receiving some form of

‘training’ from others. I spoke with a younger Mexican mother who, after her divorce from a man, had to learn how to drive and sought others who would teach her. She felt that out of necessity she had to develop and exercise automobility for her children who continued to depend on her.

Many of these women had to walk more to complete the reproductive labor that their family needed. These women walked out of necessity usually and out of enjoyment sometimes. These are not mutually exclusive, as women may have needed to walk around but found themselves also enjoying the act, just as one would appreciate driving. A few of the Latinas mentioned that their partners, boyfriends, or husbands did not always want to walk around neighborhoods with them casually, but they would drive together to one of the forest preserves in Waukegan to walk around in them. On any warm day in Waukegan, residents and their families can be seeing walking together throughout the neighborhoods. Men, or fathers, are not absent from this picture necessarily; instead, I am offering a bit of nuance around the ways in which these mobility practices manifest in Chicagoland. I also aim to highlight the prominence of patriarchy in structuring women’s mobility practices.

Financial and gendered barriers prevent effective exercise of automobility within a region that depends on travel via car for basic necessities, yet the national political culture similarly structures how residents are able to move through space safely. When then President Donald J. Trump tweeted on June 17, 2019 that Immigration and Customs enforcement (ICE) agents would be conducting raids throughout the United States in order to apprehend undocumented migrants with criminal offenses, migrant communities in urban, suburban, and rural contexts prepared for the worst: detention, deportation, and family separation. Due to necessity, residents changed how they navigated space, ranging from completely rerouting their everyday routes to remaining in-

place, or immobile, to avoid the grasp of ICE. Residents in Waukegan were by no means exempt from the exacerbation of terror and insecurity enacted by the state. While this change in migrants' mobilities due to state-sanctioned violences was not a new shift in Waukegan's history, its impact was still palpable



Figure 11 Virgin de Guadalupe Mural with Anti-Deportation Images, by Edgar Sandoval

I had a conversation with an immigrant business owner who noted the shift in walking practices on the street where her store is located. “Mucha gente no está saliendo a comprar,” remarked Jessica, the owner of a small corner store located on one of the main street passageways. I had shared with her that I was distributing flyers for a research project and was hoping to reach a broader base for participation. I spoke with Jessica following a time when ICE had purportedly been conducting raids to detain unauthorized migrants. *Many people are not going out shopping.* This remark concerning a decline in social and economic activity was

neither a new phenomenon for immigrants within the City of Waukegan nor dissimilar to the concerns that the City itself has expressed around the transformation of the local economy. The threat of ICE raids that Donald Trump claimed would occur that previous weekend did not precipitate to the extent that many within the migrant community in Waukegan anticipated. Despite this, Jessica mentioned that her business had seen a reduction in costumers due to the fear of the potential of apprehension.

As I shared with Jessica that news sources were reporting that the widespread raids did not happen as expected in certain cities, she stated that, “Eso no significa que todavía no hay miedo.” *That does not mean that there is no fear.* Whether or not the raids had been carried out, community members who are or have someone in their family who is undocumented experience the chaos of immigration enforcement as ever-present (De Genova 2002; Hiemstra 2013). In other words, chaos is a rational way to intentionally drum up fear in immigrant communities. Migrant community members in Waukegan have experienced two decades of federal xenophobic rhetoric and policies against undocumented people after the 1986 amnesty as well as forms of marginalization, discrimination, and exclusion in housing, employment, and mobility locally. Although undocumented residents may not have been apprehended by ICE agents that particular weekend, there are reasons that extraordinary moments of terror like this further amplify people’s sense of patterned insecurity at the daily level. Jessica not only feels this as an immigrant with intimate relations to other migrants with precarious legal statuses but also as a passionate entrepreneur running a business that primarily serves the migrant-majority community. Jessica mentions that her sales during the summer tend to be higher due to her proximity to major street intersections and shopping plazas, but the threat of deportation disrupts pedestrians’ pathways to and from nearby commercial locations.

During the summer, pedestrians can be found downtown, around the lakefront, throughout the city's main street pathways, and within neighborhoods. Due to legal, gendered, and classed barriers to acquiring a driver's license or vehicle for many undocumented and migrant residents, walking is often one of the primary, if not only, methods of mobility by which they can navigate the suburban streetscape. The punitive xenophobic culture further amplifies these barriers generally as well as unevenly for differently situated undocumented people. Since the terrain of mobilities are fraught grounds upon which undocumented residents must navigate, their families and loved ones also support (or hinder) their navigations.

4.2 Mixed-Status Effects

Ordinances aimed at limiting the mobility practices of undocumented immigrants often affect the everyday practices of people at the limits of sociality. These policies affect not only individuals, but families, as differentiated citizenship enables an understanding of how citizens are incorporated differently by virtue of their "mixed-status" family membership. Mixed-status families often experience the effects of detention and deportation as a transnational social unit, demonstrating how the deportation of one person affects other family members (Abrego 2014; Ybarra and Peña 2017). This similarly manifests in the system of education that re-casts schools for undocumented residents and mixed-status families as ambivalent sites of both opportunity and violence (Gonzales 2016; Negrón-Gonzales 2018; Abrego and Negrón-Gonzales 2020). Mixed-status families understand that violence, beyond bodily harm, is not tied to the status of being legal or illegal but to the complex arrangement of laws that govern through languages of citizenship and legality. A consideration of legality in differential citizenship brings forth this relational aspect of inclusion and exclusion that differs through the transnational relationships

and connections migrants and their families have (Guarnizo & Smith 1998; Ehrkamp & Leitner 2006). Scholars have also illustrated the way that these mixed-status family members have navigated the vulnerability of their social unit, including how it may affect U.S. citizen children and how they face these stressors (Schueths and Lawston 2015; Abrego 2019).

Alex is twenty-one years old. He was born in Honduras and grew up in Waukegan, Illinois. Alex is part of one of several contemporary influxes of migrants from Honduras to the US and specifically Waukegan. Newspaper articles from the last decade for Waukegan detail the increase of children from Honduran immigrants in the school district. For instance, the 2013-2014 school year saw 31 children from Honduras enrolled in the school district. The following year experienced an increase of about 77 Honduran children enrolled, and new students from Mexico numbered 113. Sharon Aguina, director of School District 60's English Language Learners program, described a 40 percent increase in immigrant students in 2014 due to an influx in Honduran migrants and a spike in new arrivals from Mexico and other nations with new enrollment for immigrant children increasing from 206 to 289 students (Moran 2014; Sanchez Oldon 2014). Many of these children, especially from Honduras, were escaping not just poverty but violence (Sanchez Oldon 2014).²³ Alex lived on the south side of Waukegan and had detailed to me his struggles coming from a household living in impoverished conditions. Although both his parents worked, they were employed in service-related positions that did not pay well. As Central American undocumented residents, they may have been part of many migrants who took on debt for their journey to the border as well as paying for *coyotes* to transport them to the US safely. Alex's parents sent money to family members in Honduras, as well. Alex knew that his family lived in an area within Waukegan that had a racialized and classed prejudice against it.

²³ This is in contrast to El Salvador having the highest rate of youth under 19 dying by homicide during this period in the world with the country having some of the highest rates of violence generally (Human Rights Watch 2018).

Although he migrated with his parents to the US, his younger siblings had received birthright citizenship. As part of a mixed-status family, Alex lived in conditions of impoverishment and of fear of family separation in Waukegan.

Alex felt the struggles that his parents had to navigate as undocumented migrants living in impoverished conditions. Honduran migrants arriving in Waukegan during the 2010s had been able to receive information from local non-profit organizations serving immigrant community members and from the school district, particularly when an increase had been recognized previously for the district to prepare itself for families and students. These services are usually paid for out of state funds but are run on contracts through non-profit organizations. Although he directly does not face the threat of deportation, as a legal permanent resident, he grew up with fears that his family would be separated or that he would have to leave Waukegan. Since his parents had to work frequently and at different hours than a nine-to-five, Alex took care of his younger siblings at home when they could not be around. He expressed struggling to take on more responsibilities at home as he attempted to focus on schoolwork. However, Alex told me that he had learned about his parents' struggles in Honduras, such as the disastrous effect that Hurricane Mitch had on exacerbating impoverished conditions for millions of people. He explained that learning more about life in Honduras helped him understand why his parents left.

Similar to other undocumented youth, Alex's English language skills meant that he had the ability to provide a lot of support and services to his family. For his parents, Alex translated at parent-teacher conferences or meetings, documents from the municipal government, school district, or his parents' employers, and at stores where there were no Spanish speakers. He felt that his parents placed pressure on him to be helpful to the family and be successful at school. Once he was old enough, he began to work to make income for himself. As such, Alex spent

most of his time working, at home, or at school. Spatially, he expressed that he had not been able to explore much of Waukegan, becoming more familiar with his neighborhood than with the city as a whole. He shared that his worries about deportation made it so that he mainly traveled with his car to and from locations he needed to go to, even as a youth. He saw other youth who had legal documentation status or who had parents who were citizens be able to live more of a care free life from some of his concerns. My conversations with residents who are citizens but have undocumented parents shared similar sentiments of others being able to live their lives free of fear or from harm; however, the citizen children of undocumented parents do not face the threat of deportation to the same extent as undocumented or legally precarious children. As scholars have demonstrated (Menjívar and Abrego 2012), immigration law produces conditions of legal violence for Central American migrants that generates violent effects for individual immigrants and their families at work, family, and school.²⁴ Alex navigated these “legally sanctioned social suffering” by attempting to meet the demands set on him by his parents (Menjívar and Abrego 2012, 1413).

Scholars had demonstrated that the legal liminality that undocumented and documented migrants experience is not static but often changes as their status does. Teresa is one such individual. She moved to the Waukegan area for her family. Teresa and her family had not identified as mixed-status until they came across the term, although they had lived as a mixed-status family prior to understanding the identification. Teresa is currently a green card holder. Due to the shift in her status, she identified as part of a mixed-status family and as a Latina. Teresa states that when her family had resided in the area, they struggled to access healthcare due to having no medical insurance. Currently, Teresa is one of the few individuals from her

²⁴ While this was originally about TPS, with the contemporary fluctuations of DACA, legal violence could be expanded to include DACA.

family to continue to live in the area, Waukegan specifically but the Chicagoland generally. Her brother was deported, while her mother had chosen to return to Mexico to avoid the constant fear of deportation (De Genova 2002). When Teresa filed for her green card, she had to undergo the process alone because her brother had been incarcerated. Due to his incarceration, she took care of four children—hers and her brothers’. Since her mother no longer resided in the U.S., she could no longer receive her reproductive labor, such as taking care of children, that was “free of charge.” Since she already had less to rely on, she struggled to care for the children. In many familial formations, grandparents provide reproductive labor without monetary compensation, a form of labor that is particularly integral for low-income, racialized, and migrant communities. As such, Teresa and her brother’s wife took care of the four children.

Teresa built her life in the U.S. and now lives with her husband and children. “This is where we’re from,” she shares. When the government and other people tell migrants to return to their countries of origin, she poignantly claims that “what they mean is die.” Due to her experience with the US government and its various agencies, Teresa did not trust the state. She described how she would have loved for her family to live in the “wild” without state interference, and shares how even that dream would be impossible to accomplish. Living in wilderness, or in nature, would require them to have licenses for fishing, camping, and other related outdoor activities. Her distrust in the government means that when she does have to interact with state agencies or officials, she feels that it is “forced participation.” While some government agencies, like the IEPA, seek to increase community engagement in their forums, the conversation is less on whether residents desire to engage with state officials to any capacity. Other residents expressed similar sentiments about living independently away from state

interference. In a way, she called for an anarchist geographies away from the violence and ecological extraction of state power.²⁵

Citizen children of undocumented parents similar navigate the violent effects of the nation-state in their mixed-status families. Leisy Abrego (2019) conducted interviews with 100 members of mixed-status families in Los Angeles and argues that the family is a key site for the social and relational production of citizenship. In other words, U.S citizen children's narratives of citizenship contest normative constructions of the juridical category in favor of more complex understandings that shape their experiences of citizenship (23). My interviews with U.S. citizen children mirrored similar understandings and experiences of citizenship. Miguel is part of a mixed-status family, is a U.S. citizen, and grew up in Waukegan with undocumented parents from Mexico. In his mid-twenties, he is an undergraduate at the local community college and lives with his family, as many others I met in this migrant community do. In speaking with Miguel, I noted both empathy and frustration towards his parents. He shared that his undocumented parents repeatedly mentioned that he had to take advantage of the rights and opportunities afforded to him as a citizen. They believed "the category of citizenship as providing everything needed to succeed in the United States" (Abrego 2019, 23). Miguel expressed that he felt responsible to be successful in a very particular way that did not match his

²⁵ A few other residents discussed the desire to live without the state's interference or the state's production of toxic conditions, such as through allowing polluting companies to continue emitting toxins into the land. For more on anarchism in geography, refer to: Brock, Andrea. 2020. "Frack off: Towards an Anarchist Political Ecology Critique of Corporate and State Responses to Anti-Fracking Resistance in the UK." *Political Geography* 82: 1–15; Heynen, Nik, and Jason Rhodes. 2012. "Organizing for Survival: From the Civil Rights Movement to Black Anarchism through the Life of Lorenzo Kom'boa Ervin." *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies* 11 (3): 393–412; Rouhani, Farhang. 2012. "Anarchism, Geography, and Queer Space-Making: Building Bridges Over Chasms We Create." *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies* 11 (3): 373–92; Springer, Simon. 2012. "Anarchism! What Geography Still Ought To Be." *Antipode* 44 (5): 1605–24; ———. 2013. "Anarchism and Geography: A Brief Genealogy of Anarchist Geographies." *Geography Compass* 7 (1): 46–60.

desires as a person or that were unrealistic about what he could accomplish. He shared that his siblings also were told to not waste the opportunities available to them. Although Miguel shared that he and his siblings supported their parents in their everyday lives (driving them, translating for them, through work), he felt his parents had very high expectations for them. In other words, some US citizen children of immigrant parents had to exercise effective mobility because of the emotional and affective relationships that they hold with familial members.

Another aspect that exacerbated some of these negative experiences of citizenship was the lack of communication between the undocumented parents and citizen children. I interviewed and spoke with people whose parents were undocumented or immigrants. Some explained that their parents have had to contend with violence from their family, from the state, and from the social order that they often passed down to their children through inter-generational trauma. Miguel was subjected to physical and verbal abuse when he was younger. As an adult, he understands his own trauma as related to his parents' inability to explain or communicate theirs. Like many low-income migrants, Miguel's parents spend a substantive portion of their days working. Due to their long hours, he did not feel as if he had developed a communicative relationship that has continued today. He also had grown accustomed to not speaking about his parents' undocumented status, as he had been reminded by his parents about how disclosing their legal status may lead to family separation through deportation. He felt his parents' fears and understood how various issues may affect them at home. When he was not aware of the structural barriers that may have prevented his success (such as access to college, networking for jobs with professional development trajectories), he placed some of the blame for these expectations on his parents. Although he has a better relationship with his parents now, he

recognizes that the tensions he had with them stemmed from structural forms of violence that neither could articulate effectively.

Some US citizen children spend a lot of time and take on many responsibilities at home. Spatially, Miguel spent a large portion of his time at home, as the streets outside of the house contained negative associations related to the police and *la migra*. He took care of his siblings when his parents were not home due to work. He had to ensure that the house was clean by the time his parents arrived. He translated documents to Spanish. Growing up, Miguel had been poignantly aware of the impoverished conditions in which his family lived. His parents reminded their children that they did not have money for toys, gifts, or any other material goods. He shared his room with his other siblings, eventually sleeping on a couch or on the floor when they were older and had grown more. Miguel described that when walking around his house, he would always turn off any lights that were not being actively used. He felt that any way he could help his parents save, he wanted to be able to participate. I spoke with people at non-profits and other residents who shared that the loss of a vehicle at the hands of the state often led relatives, such as children, to take on the financial responsibility to purchase another car in their name at a young age. They may also have access to more resources—ice cream trucks, houses, storefronts—that the family member may take over after they are sponsored for citizenship when the child turns twenty-one. Children of undocumented parents often do this out of love to help their families survive. As Abrego (2019, 25) describes, “U.S. citizen members of mixed-status families develop a legal consciousness based on lived experiences of privilege, responsibility, and guilt—and all of these are rooted in the love they feel for their families.”

Additionally, they may associate particular places and spaces with the violence that their family members experience. For instance, Miguel spent a large portion of his time at the house.

He associated some of his parents' fears of the police and immigration authorities with public space. In this case, Miguel shared that he had participated with his family in the protest against the city's vote to submit an application to participate in the 287(g) agreement. As other residents have similarly expressed, Miguel identified the downtown area as a site of racism and xenophobia. When he participated with his family as a teenager in the march against xenophobic practices at the hands of the local state, he associated the space as one in which residents had to contest violence as a violent one. He states, "Downtown Waukegan is a place I associate with racism and xenophobia. When I was a child, there was a huge protest against an anti-immigrant law that I attended with my family. It was the first time the idea that my family was seen as something undesired in the community." For some residents, due to their past experiences in place, certain areas do not feel as welcoming or comfortable for them. They feel that they are viewed with an eye of suspicion by the police and other residents, indicating that despite city efforts to attract tourists to its downtown, many residents do not find the space to be "attractive" due to its layered histories.

4.3 Queer Undocumented Geographies

A queer Latinx geographies was bound to emerge once more in my most recent research project. My previous research centered on the experiences of undocumented queer and trans Latinx migrants in Seattle and how they develop a geography of disidentification with the aim to improve their material conditions and other LGBTQ people, migrants, and people of color (E. Sandoval 2018). While not explicitly centering this group, the present study drew on a queer of color critique in formulating its approach to fieldwork and analysis. My aim was to illustrate the structural forces and actors in play in producing conditions of violence for some of the most

vulnerable members in society. I particularly employ Cathy Cohen (1997)'s formulation of a queer politics to consider how seemingly disparate people are, in fact, subject to similar structures of oppression and subjugation. As I spoke with temporary laborers, ill mothers, DACA-mented migrants, and Latinx youth, I met and learned about the spatiality of LGBTQ life beyond yet within the big city from queer Latinxs. Queer migrants may also offer conceptualizations that challenge normative perspectives not only in social movements but daily life (Chávez 2013).

Scholars have documented how their positionality as queer has shaped their ethnographic fieldwork in ways that were productively disruptive (Di Felicianantonio, Gadelha, and DasGupta 2017). If within a safe space (as in, rapport between researcher and participant has been established), researchers then may disclose their sexual orientation to their research participants or collaborators, potentially leading to intimate moments of connection (L. Muñoz 2010). As Lorena Muñoz (2010) describes, queer scholars of color have to negotiate multiple dominant social realms in different spaces: such as, Latinx spaces as queer. Scholars who identify as queer may not immediately reveal their sexual orientation to their participants due to concerns about the ways this information may affect the research relationship. Some may be unwilling to share their positionality at all, especially one that can be considered an 'invisible' identity. However, a substantive rapport between researcher and participant may produce moments of rupture (L. Muñoz 2010) that challenge how we come to understand our collaborators or fieldwork site. In Muñoz's research, a revelation of queer mutuality revealed to the scholar how people are purposefully reproducing a heterosexual public streetscape. Through my rapport with Waukegan residents, I re-considered the place and its residents as producing queer geographies, as in the spatiality of queer life.

Although my identifications as queer and Latinx may not map neatly onto others' understandings, I employ the identification of a queer Latinx scholar when conducting fieldwork. I do not share my identifications around sexual orientation and gender explicitly, but I do not hide them from the people around me either. As pale-skinned, my Latinidad within spaces in Waukegan was rarely a point of question, concern, or contestation (Hernández 2003). As an 'intimate insider' (Cuomo and Massaro 2016), I was able to speak with a range of people informally and develop rapport through showing up to meetings, checking in with people, or through already-formed relationships. For instance, as I expound upon in the next section, I attended a meeting with a range of local individuals present, from clergy people to labor organizers to everyday residents seeking change. When a future collaborator introduced himself, he discussed his work with labor organization and his efforts to develop an LGBTQ caucus. I was instantly intrigued in hearing that people were engaging around the needs of queer workers. At the conclusion of the meeting, I walked up to this person to introduce myself and talk more about his work at this non-profit. I brought up my queer positionality as a reason why I was interested to hear more about local efforts in Waukegan for queer people. Similar to how others unfamiliar with Waukegan's recent demographic changes may not know about the expansive Latinx geographies constituting city life, I had been delighted to learn more.

As a neighbor in Waukegan, I attended many social events to which friends and residents invited me. For instance, I attended a Halloween night social where I was introduced to a group of LGBTQ members—primarily lesbian and gay Latinxs from Waukegan and the surrounding suburbs. After being eyed up and down, someone asked me, “¿Y tu, que eres? ¿Que haces aquí?” (And you, what are you? What are you doing here?). Understanding the first question as one about identity than who I was, I responded that I identify as queer. One noted that they had not

seen me around before, to which I stated that I had recently returned to Waukegan for work. After some more chatting and a bit of dancing, I felt comfortable with them. I ultimately connected more with a few of the people that I met in that group. Through social events like this, I was able to meet other queer people—sometimes in places I had not thought about previously.

Queer Latinxs possess an expanded terrain of queer geographies in Waukegan. I argue that queer Latinx life contains an expanded geographical terrain beyond and within the big city: in this case, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and Chicago, Illinois. I had not expected to meet a range of queer people, and this perspective meant that the geographies I witnessed were more expansive than previously imagined. Of the participants, they worked in construction, healthcare (a hospital), service industry, non-profit sector, or are entrepreneurs. In the latter case, they sold products to other migrants, such as Tupperware or CBD products. While they all lived in Waukegan at the point of the interview (some have moved elsewhere due to the reduced cost of living in other areas, such as Round Lake, which has also experienced a large increase in Latinx migrants), they primarily worked in Lake County. In the rest of this section, I speak to the ephemerality of queer Latinx spaces in Waukegan. I then turn to a discussion of home life for these residents in Waukegan. I end the section illustrating how residents' social geographies included and extended out of Waukegan.

First, many queer spaces in Waukegan are ephemeral. This claim is not solely about Latinx queer spaces, as white and Black queer spaces have a similar quality. However, this dissertation does not draw on the narratives of Black and white queer people and, therefore, cannot fully encapsulate the spaces that they inhabit. In employing ephemerality, I am drawing on the work of José Esteban Muñoz (1996) about the liminality of queer acts and how positivist frameworks cannot measure them to validate their existence (Manalansan IV 2015). As such, I

recount how I came across a queer Latinx night, held at a local bar, of which many residents are unaware. In the aforementioned Halloween social, I met someone with whom I had attended primary school. Ivan is in his late 20s, hails from Puerto Rico, and identifies as gay. He works in one of the hospitals. We attended the same elementary school and participated in the English as a Second Language (ESL) program. As the demographic population of Waukegan has shifted, the school district has had to develop programming to support the children of immigrants—some whom are immigrants themselves—many speaking Spanish as their first language. Ivan returned to Puerto Rico and eventually came back to Waukegan, where he became intimately aware of the queer geographies in the area. Ivan is part of a friend group with other gay Latinos from the area. As such, when we decided to meet at a location in which he was comfortable, he suggested a local bar called Big Liquors.²⁶

Not all comfortable spaces for queers are coded as queer. I had avoided Big Liquors because I tend to circumvent places that read as heteronormative. However, Ivan described how he had selected this bar because he felt it was most comfortable for him as a queer Latinx person. While in Big Liquors, I noticed how its aesthetic environments—from posters to the sonic landscape to the clientele—was coded, to me, as a heterosexual space. Ivan appreciates the bartenders' kindness, and when I asked what else about the space allowed him to feel at ease, he disclosed how the other half of the bar was where a queer Latinx night was held. I discovered much later, when I attended one of these nights, that one of the owners of the bar identifies as a gay man as well. During the queer Latinx night, they often have drag queens perform. On one of the first ones I attended, they held a competition for Miss Gay Waukegan. The event brings straight and queer people together to end the night on the dance floor with a predominantly Spanish-language sonic landscape. Because of the popularity amongst straight couples as well as

²⁶ This is a pseudonym.

the owners' positionality, a bar that I read as heteronormative on the surface hosted a monthly queer Latinx night.

Big Liquors is part of a geography of ephemerality for queer spaces in Waukegan. For most of the year, the bar is not queer-centered and serves a primarily Latinx clientele. The night offers an opportunity for queer Latinxs have a space in the city. The nearest other queer nightlife space is approximately a half hour north of Waukegan in Kenosha, Wisconsin. Kenosha has an explicitly gay club with various nights, including a Latin night once a week. Between Milwaukee and Chicago, the nearest cities with urban concentrations of LGBTQ people, this Kenosha club provides a consistent space for queers in the region to socialize. Within Waukegan, there are few opportunities for queer 'city' life. A local church offers an LGBTQ support group in English and in Spanish, at different times. A local business and resident coalition hosts ArtWauk, a monthly event where artists, businesses, and local groups host tables. People can explore the galleries, check out local stores, or play games on the street. During Pride month, they organize an ArtPride event with rainbow flags throughout the main street. These spaces provide a brief reprieve for people seeking LGBTQ community and life.

I now turn to a discussion of home life for some queer migrants in Waukegan. While most participants resided in Waukegan, where they called home ranged. Home has been a fraught concept tied to the heterosexual nuclear family and the nation-state, often an uncomfortable space for queers of color (Reddy 1998; Puar 2008). Many of them migrated from outside the continental U.S., ranging from Mexico, Honduras, Colombia, and Puerto Rico. Some of them would talk about family, friends, and lovers they had elsewhere and with whom they remained in contact. They recounted growing up by a river, or some shared they remembered very little about their life back in their country of origin. One night I met up with Andres at the

Big Liquors' queer Latinx night. Andres is from Colombia and had arrived to Waukegan within the past year. He lives with a friend of his family. While we were sitting at a table together, he video called people in Colombia from his smart phone, asking his friends where they were spending their night. Some attempt to remain connected about the lives of their fellow loves ones as they navigate the conditions in Waukegan, living a transnational life in their new place of residence.

A queer Latinx individual's primary housing situation was not necessarily their home. I conceptualize home through a sense of comfort, with some sharing that the house they live in was not where they felt they could express themselves fully. For example, with some of the younger participants, they lived with family members and other extended familial relations: parents, siblings, nieces and nephews, cousins, grandparents, and more. David, an undocumented queer migrant from Mexico, shared an apartment with his mother and two younger siblings, both citizens. He worked in the area and had family members nearby, ultimately living with a parent to split the costs of their living situations. Charlie, an undocumented queer migrant from Honduras, lives in a house with his younger brother, his mother, and an aunt. In some ways, the kind of queer life participants described seemed to mirror that of LGBTQ life in the big city: they desired a larger community, more options for socializing, some sexual freedom, and urban mobility through walking. This type of life does not fit neatly into their home life, as David describes that they²⁷ "can't have good times" since they care for their siblings. David and Charlie both described that issues at home can be tense with their family members who do not approve of their social habits because of the sexuality and gender that they signal. Although they love and care for their families, they enact a broader geography for their socializing through the kinship relations they developed outside of their houses.

²⁷ David uses he/they pronouns.

Chicago, Milwaukee, and Kenosha are part of these residents' broader terrain of queer geographies. Although David and Charlie live and spend time in Waukegan, they also have friends in Chicago and Milwaukee. The queer community may feel limited in Waukegan, but they express that these bigger cities have a robust and visible queer geography with which to engage. Similar to other suburban residents, David and Charlie come together with their friends in social gatherings. They spend time at their places of residence—mostly apartments, they describe—and have the opportunity to walk the urban streetscapes to visit queer bars and clubs. They made an evening out of their social gathering. Additionally, when it came to their social life, they felt more comfortable engaging in sexual acts outside of their home. Being able to travel and stay elsewhere without family around was a significant part of what they desired. David and Charlie emphasize the importance of these other spaces in their lives. Other residents similarly traveled to Milwaukee or drove to the gay club in Kenosha. Since these cities have more established queer spaces that are consistently present, queer Latinx migrants from Waukegan are able to expand where they can socialize with other LGBTQ people.

The expanded terrain includes the journey to and from the big cities and Waukegan. Rather than travel individually via train or car, they would carpool with other queer Latinxs, including some undocumented ones, to travel to the cities. David shares how these car rides become joyous moments of mobility where the journey itself became celebratory. When these moments of joy are juxtaposed to the intense policing of undocumented drivers' automobility, they have reshaped the experience into an enjoyable one. They usually have someone with a drivers' license take them to the city, as the rest of the party was able to arrive to and from Chicago or Milwaukee with very limited concern about being stopped and the consequences of

driving without a license. As such, this geography has to necessarily include the paths between where queer Latinxs must navigate life, at home and elsewhere.

While undocumented and other legally precarious queer Latinos appear to have only a restricted sense of mobility, they maintain a terrain of queer geographies that includes ephemeral spaces, their various ‘homes,’ and their social lives. While I spoke with lesbian Latinas, I primarily draw on the narratives of queer Latinos in this chapter. Some of the queer Latinos I did speak with were one of the primary caregivers in their families but were not the sole ones. As such, this particular formation of queer is not generalized.²⁸ I argue that they can be considered expanded because they are able to create spaces beyond the limitations that structure their everyday pathways in Waukegan. In fact, their practices can be considered as regional forms of mobility due to how frequent they travel between these places *because* of the restrictions they have in other realms in their lives. The desire to travel to and from other places, experience queer nightlife, and connect with other queer Latinxs expanded these regional mobilities such that experiences and feelings of immobility could be alleviated, albeit, even if, temporarily.

²⁸ Lesbians have different constellations and circuits that are ephemeral. For a historical geography of lesbian geographies in other cities, please refer to: Faderman, Lillian, and Stuart Timmons. 2006. *Gay L.A.: A History of Sexual Outlaws, Power Politics and Lipstick Lesbians*. New York: Basic Books; Giesecking, Jen Jack. 2020. *A Queer New York: Geographies of Lesbians, Dykes, and Queers*. New York: NYU Press; Lapovsky Kennedy, Elizabeth, and Madeline Davis. 1993. *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The History of a Lesbian Community*. Harmondsworth: Penguin; Stein, Marc. 2004. *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves: Lesbian and Gay Philadelphia 1945-1972*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. To learn about constellations, refer to: Giesecking, Jen Jack. 2020. “Mapping Lesbian and Queer Lines of Desire: Constellations of Queer Urban Space.” *Environment & Planning D: Society & Space* 38 (5): 941–60.

4.4 Intersectional Organizing

In this section, I think through intersectional organizing both in terms of how some people have had to think across issues in particular social movements, as well as individuals' work in various spaces for the betterment of the community generally (Crenshaw 1991; Irazábal and Huerta 2016; Gentile and Salerno 2019; Moreau, Nuño-Pérez, and Sanchez 2019). Kimberle Crenshaw (1991, 1244) initially utilized intersectionality to “denote various ways in which race and gender interact to shape the multiple dimensions of Black women’s employment experiences.” Crenshaw considered the term as provisional to methodologically disrupt “the tendencies to see race and gender as exclusive or separable” (ibid). In her article, Crenshaw employs structural, political, and representational intersectionality to address the implications of her approach within contemporary identity politics. For Crenshaw, the experiences of women of color are frequently the product of intersecting patterns of racism and sexism. For instance, there are power relations in familial relationships such as immigrant women being vulnerable to spousal abuse. They may depend on their husbands for information regarding their legal status, with many stories of domestic abuse abound (note 25 in Crenshaw 1991, 1241). In this case, enactments of undocumented status, transnationality, and marital bonds are relevant; the paradigm of intersectionality provides each of these classifications equal ontological status. As such, I find the term to be particularly salient within this project, as I similarly utilized in previous research (E. Sandoval 2018). Some residents are involved in organizing community members for their church, school, business, community center, and political representatives. Through my ethnographic fieldwork, I saw a subset of residents show up consistently for various issues affecting their community. Understandably, many residents live in conditions that may limit their ability to become involved. I primarily emphasize this subset of people, not to argue

that they represent all residents, but to illustrate that places like Waukegan, a satellite city or a suburb, contain significant political practices emerging from their marginalized residents. Although the second chapter examined the organizing that EJ advocates had to do, this section emphasizes the ways in which these issues are often not distinct but overlap for some of the Latinx migrant residents of Waukegan. To do so, I weave together actual events, moments, and experiences I had with one collaborator into a week.

Carlos identifies as a gay Honduran immigrant. Carlos migrated from Honduras to the US when he was an older teenager. He resided with family in a suburb outside of Washington DC, moving to the Chicagoland area about a decade ago and ultimately living in Waukegan. I met Carlos at an electoral campaign meeting for Alejandra, a Guatemalan mother and Waukegan resident. Alejandra invited me to share her reason for running, and I learned that her experience attempting to navigate inaction by government agencies and officials led her to try to run for one of these very positions. Carlos and I had been able to hear from others and each other during the meeting, so I walked up to Carlos afterwards to ask about the work they do in Waukegan. Carlos became a close collaborator in connecting with people who are immigrants of various legal statuses and understanding the current landscape of contract labor in the region. As someone who had been employed as a temporary worker for years in a factory, he experienced the uncertainty and low wages of the economic shift towards temporary employment. Currently, Carlos works with the Chicago Workers Collaborative (CWC), an independent non-profit aimed at building protections for temporary and low-income workers in their demands for equitable working conditions in the Chicagoland area. In this case, he hoped to invest time and resources into someone whose political priorities aligned with his concerns.



Figure 12 CWC protest, courtesy of CWC

Many vulnerable people in Waukegan organize across various issues. During my time in Waukegan, I witnessed many individuals, for example, show up to public hearings about environmental toxins, hosted sessions about immigration resources, and advocate for temporary workers on picket lines. Migrant residents attempting to improve collective working and living conditions and those in similar positions have had to work across various issues across spaces. Part of what occurs is that the political and legal mechanisms by which residents must demand change from corporations or governments attend to these issues individually as opposed to socially and as a community. Even within an environmental issue of exposure to toxicity, for instance, the IEPA examined the allowable levels of exposure from each source as opposed to the total amount of exposure from all sources. Residents would call for them to consider the cumulative health impact of all these hazards, with the IEPA stating that they do not create how these toxins are regulated. Some residents would call on the IEPA to attend to the health risks of temporary workers who are hired in these facilities and then let go. The IEPA directed them to

the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) for workplace complaints. Local residents, often Latinxs and migrants, would articulate a broader grasp on the issue yet come up against an individualization of justice. As such, people had to take more time and spend more resources to address each topic of concern that affected them, an approach unavailable to many residents who are affected by these structural forms of violence (environmental racism, contingent labor, bureaucratic and uncertain immigration policies, debt, incarceration and detention, among others). I employ this narrative as illustrative of the types of work that residents, organizers, and activists who are Latinx and migrant must take on. Many residents have had to advocate for their rights around labor, immigration, racial equity, environmental justice, reproduction, and incarceration.

Carlos possesses a strong desire to provide help to those around him. Having had to contend with discrimination, exclusion, and exploitation, Carlos seeks to connect people to resources that will address their needs. Carlos's projects with the CWC have him traveling through the Chicagoland region. He travels to and from Chicago for solidarity efforts, but his primary geographic area is Lake County. Carlos is part of a larger CWC team in the county operating within a regional network of grassroots organizing and non-profit advocacy. Carlos can be found working throughout the week, as his job requires him to be present for workers whenever they can be available as well. Sometimes that may be during the mornings, evenings, or weekends. With these commitments, Carlos makes the time to be present for meetings in Waukegan about its residents. He often drives people around to these meetings, encouraging friends and other organizers to show up, learn, or share their experience. On this particular "constructed" week, Carlos had a relatively free Monday and Tuesday, as he does take time away from work.

On Wednesday, Carlos had driven a few temporary workers from Lake County to a meeting in Chicago for the CWC. There may be meetings, rallies, or press events that ask for members to be present and lend their voice. Depending on a person's positionality, they may find out through Facebook, Instagram, text messages, or phone calls. Due to the various positionalities of people within CWC, the organizers use a range of communication methods to disseminate this information. After driving back to Waukegan, Carlos showed up to a public meeting with the IEPA at the local elementary school about coal ash ponds on Waukegan's lakefront. He came in with another worker, and they both signed up to provide comments to the IEPA. There were environmental groups present, as well as representatives from immigrant-related non-profit organizations. Carlos shared with me that some workers were brought in to attempt to clean up the coal ash ponds previously, and he had concerns about whether they had the proper equipment to take care of their health, too. As had been previously stated, residents and environmental groups articulated their concerns about the pollution from the coal plant through the lens of cumulative health impacts from all the environmental hazards. Many of the residents present had consistently attended meetings, so they had developed a rapport between each other in the space of the elementary school gymnasium. Some children of people present played in a corner of the space, as the audience sat in front of a panel of IEPA representatives. Carlos expressed that he became more involved in environmental issues when he met temporary workers who had been exposed to chemicals with little protection. For example, some workers claimed that when working at Medline Industries, one of the sites emitting EtO, the company did not inform them about the hazards of the chemicals with which they worked. They shared that they had not received proper equipment and were let go after two weeks of working at the facility. Some local companies use toxic and/or explosive chemicals, and temporary workers are

exposed to substantive amounts in a short period of time. Although he is guided by the EJ organizers, he approaches the topic from a position that often centers contracted, temporary workers as well.

I met Carlos the following evening at a Lutheran church near downtown Waukegan that hosts weekly Spanish masses. Often churches denominations fall along political lines, which may be the case here but further research is needed. This church serves primarily Guatemalan migrant families as they have come together in this congregation due to similarities in culture and migratory status. Carlos has a relationship with this church as part of CWC and is an advocate and practitioner of Theater of the Oppressed (TO), a pedagogical and performative practice wherein people can share their experiences for an audience to learn about a situation and what actions can be taken to prevent inter-personal harm (Boal 2019). Carlos brought in a facilitator to guide migrant youth through some of the TO activities. We met in a second-story open area near the offices. In the meeting, the facilitator and other WCW representatives introduced the youth to TO. They emphasized to the youth that this is a form of consciousness awareness that asks participants to use their embodied experiences to tell a story and imagine ways to produce change in their community. In this workshop, youth were tasked to create tableaux based on their daily lives: what is your morning routine, what do you do at school, and what do you like to do in your free time? They worked in groups to develop scenarios, practice them, and then perform them for each other. They were apprehensive, stubborn, flustered, and excited about the process, with each youth navigating the others' affective mood. The workshop concluded with a discussion of what the youth learned about their own lives in relation to their peers. Some of them appeared to have opened up more to TO and the facilitators. Carlos perceived these exercises to be a way for youth to develop a more critical consciousness about

the world around them and connect with other community members. He stated, along with his co-collaborator, that TO would enable the youth to become more politically and socially involved in Waukegan. Through the use of TO, they were able to note the similarities among the participants and remind them of their collective power for change.

Carlos invited me to meet him at the Waukegan Public Library that Saturday. Carlos's work with the CWC often has him working on the weekend, and his invitation was for me to be present during a conversation with a temporary worker with a grievance. I met with Carlos and Carina, another staff member of CWC. Together they reserved a room on the first floor for a few hours because they had subsequent meetings with people seeking advice from them. After I sat down with them, someone came up and knocked on the glass door. She introduced herself and sat down. Carlos and Carina introduced themselves and their approach to the conversation. I shared my information last. The Latina immigrant, whom I call Maria, approached them for what next steps to take against intimidation by lawyers of a company and staff at a temporary workers agency. She shared that the company would not hire back or contract again workers who had participated in a labor movement to address their grievances around the company stealing their vacation time. Through the conversation, CWC staff gained more information about the details of Maria's situation, and Maria learned more about how the non-profit works to advocate for change through mobilizing workers to negotiate and take actions as a collective.

Carina was matter-of-fact in the conversation, having worked with multiple temporary workers in the area. Due to her many years of experience, Carina possesses an intimate knowledge about workers' conditions in the region and an expansive network of workers-turned-organizers. She expertly goes through different situations that may emerge from their advocacy work; however, Carina shares with Maria how her testimonial would be necessary for engaging

others. In sharing her story with other workers, Carina believes that they can more effectively organize around the company not keeping track of nor respecting workers' vacation time. After the meetings, Carlos mentioned that it was thanks to meetings like these with workers that people realize the importance of using their story and the power they have if they mobilize and demand fair wages together. This resonated with some of his experiences with TO.

TO emphasizes theatre as a way to promote social and political change in alignment with particular politics and ideologies. In TO, the audience becomes active and involved in the production, such that they are called in to explore, analyze, and transform the situations to which they are a witness (Boal 2019). Carlos and Carina aimed to encourage a particular social and political awareness in Maria, illustrating TO's tenet that in sharing one's story with others, they will be transformed and potentially become actors in shaping the world around them. Carina and Carlos sharing their experiences about contract labor and the injustices associated with being an undocumented worker, they hoped Maria would continue to share her story to mobilize her fellow workers, friends, and family.

We departed the library and reconnected at Alejandra's house, the person who had brought Carlos and I together. Alejandra had asked for our support in hosting a grassroots fundraiser for her political campaign for office. She needed volunteers to help with campaigning efforts in the area and reaching a wider range of people. We walked into Alejandra's backyard and saw tables, chairs, and a grill underneath a tent. I brought a cake for them to sell. Alejandra was running for office because she had experienced the effects of exposure to EtO, a known carcinogen, and other toxins on her body and health when living close to an emission site. She felt compelled to run for office because the current elected officials were not doing enough to protect her and her family, and she wanted to eradicate any exposure to toxins for her community

and ensure that her children would not live in an environment of toxicity. I had spoken with Carlos about his apprehension to politicians and politics, so I recognized his investment in Alejandra's campaign as an investment in someone who had been part of the community and wanted to support justice for multiple groups often utilized exploitatively in traditional, machine politics: immigrants, undocumented residents, temporary workers, migrant families, people ill from the toxins, and people living in impoverished conditions. Chicago is often signaled as a case wherein machine politics shape political engagement wherein the political machine manipulate the material to maintain power. Voters, residents, and organizers are connected to the dominant political machine, in this case the Democratic party in the region, through the provision of a range of material rewards. Loyal constituents and the places that they inhabit are rewarded through superior attention to their needs. The Democratic party aligns itself with center-left politics. When leftists challenge their elected position through a campaign or political alignment in public, they may be pushed out; they lose the support and ear of elected officials. When one local organization did not endorse the mayoral candidate that came into office, members of the group felt that they were subsequently excluded from conversations pertaining to them. As such, Alejandra sought to challenge these machine politics by crafting her own political space, one controversial to the dominant political machine and the various organizations, elites, and residents tied to them through material rewards. Within this space, most of the attendees were everyday residents who came to support Alejandra in her campaign. Many other organizers and advocates who advocate alongside her did not attend the event because, as she shared with me, their support of her may lead to problems with their coalitions, non-profit organizations, or political allies. In supporting her, even agreeing with her politics, they may be endangering the work they have made. Alejandra was a controversial candidate because she did not want to align

herself with machine politics and did not want to alter her position to appease Democrats. Her unwillingness to cooperate with the Democratic agenda made her a liability to others who relied on the rewards of resources and power that came with aligning oneself with the dominant party. Carlos's work often has him advocating against governments and corporations, so his work at an independent non-profit enables him to engage in more political work than other organizers whose employment relies on state funding.

By that Sunday, I met Carlos at an office building where the CWC rents out their office in this location. Carlos had asked me to show up to this meeting because he was at the initial stages of developing an LGBTQ caucus in the CWC meant to bring to light and highlight the needs of a subset of temporary and low-income workers; however, he enthusiastically encouraged any LGBTQ-identifying workers to join. Carlos was motivated by a caucus created by and for women that dealt with the particular gendered dimension to conditions of temporary employment, such as sexual harassment in the workplace. Having perceived the caucus's growth and with his friendships with queer workers, Carlos hoped to build a group that could speak to particular topics of concern. He had asked me to attend as another worker who was LGBTQ. I sat in the office where I had attended 'Know Your Rights' and 'Employee Protections' informational sessions, where the CWC Lake County chapter has their meetings. Carlos believes that many members of the LGBTQ community do not consider temporary workers' rights in their framework for justice. However, he frames issues of precarious and unstable employment as intrinsically part of LGBTQ members' experiences broadly, not solely of LGBTQ temporary workers.

Although Carlos is a very passionate and committed member in advocacy teams, he does more than strategize and organize among the community. He lives in a neighborhood where

many Latinxs live in apartments and some on the residential streets. There are corner stores, hair and beauty salons, restaurants, a laundromat, and a bakery. Carlos frequently spends his time with neighborhood friends. After our first walk through his neighborhood, we concluded our walk by entering one of the beauty salons where he spends his leisure time. He knew every worker, visitor, and client present at the place, chatting with each of them and continuing conversations they had last left off. He told me that the shop was like a space for community building for them, as many of them would come into the shop even if they did not have to get anything done. He knew the owners at the bakery and had spoken with workers at the restaurant. Carlos is imbricated in the social fabric of his neighborhood. Although he is part of a non-profit organization, he has spoken with me about the limitations that some immigrant advocacy organizations have in engaging with political and radical work. He states that his conversations with local residents informed his opinion, as some people have recounted that organizations were not very helpful outside of their scripted responsibilities. In this way, Carlos seeks support for community members while maintaining a critical eye towards the broader landscape of justice.

I recount these various anecdotes into a typical week for Carlos because he is one of many residents who organize community members across issues. Due to the range of violences with which residents must contend within Waukegan, vulnerable members recognize how one's positionality means that issues like white supremacy, patriarchy, nativism, and others are multiply experienced by vulnerable members and the need for intersectional movement-building (Crenshaw 1991; E. Sandoval 2018). His week exemplifies how others have to also attend multiple meetings, a practice that not many residents are able to engage in due to temporal, spatial, and financial constraints. In my ethnography, I met many Latinas who employed similar strategies to advocate for a broader understanding of justice in these spaces. I tell his story to

especially highlight the various spaces that migrants exercise their agency within Waukegan, making demands on the state, holding companies accountable, and coming together to provide mutual aid and care. Similar to how undocumented queer and trans Latinx migrants envision alternative futures away from the violence they experience in the present (E. Sandoval 2018), this community has had to learn how to navigate various specific companies and state agencies to understand how they can create a future that does not replicate the barriers they had experienced.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter provided an overview of the different navigation practices that undocumented residents, members of mixed-status families, and queer Latinxs employ in their daily lives in Waukegan. It emphasized an intersectional lens, such as through queer of color migrant geographies, to consider migrant life in a post-industrial, xenophobic landscape. Thus, one way to assess or grapple with forms of undocumented, migrant knowledge is through a queer lens (E. Sandoval 2018; Gopinath 2005; Rouhani 2016). This chapter analyzed the financial and gendered barriers that further restrict the automobility of some of the most vulnerable residents. The prohibitive cost of purchasing and maintaining a vehicle means that not all undocumented residents, or migrants generally, can drive through the suburb, a necessity for residents in an automobile-dependent region. I illustrate how some residents came together to live in housing situations that may facilitate their mobility in the region and engage in mutually beneficial practices. I then discuss the gendered barriers within the family unit that made it difficult for women to practice effective automobility. Some of these Latinas choose to walk through the city

as a recreational practice, rather than solely an act associated with social reproduction. Some of them relied on others to teach them to drive, as well.

The next section examines how members of mixed-status families—primarily U.S. citizen children of undocumented parents—use their relative privilege to support legally precarious kin. Some of these residents may feel guilty about their privilege relative to family or may not trust any levels of government for forced family separation. These family members may also develop strategies that are attentive to the barriers that their family members face. The following section considers how queer undocumented geographies may be more expansive than solely relegated to the space of Waukegan. Due to restrictions at home and locally, queer Latinxs' social geographies are necessarily expanded and include urban geographies such as Milwaukee and Chicago. The restricted mobility of undocumented queer Latinxs are slightly alleviated through their social networks. The last section considers how some residents have navigated regional and local geographies in order to be present in various spaces, whether at state spaces like the IEPA, with community organizations and non-profits, or at informal meetings at residences or businesses. Many residents have to organize across issues due to the intersectional nature of their oppression (Cohen 1997; Brown 2012; Kafer 2013): to consider temporary laborers necessarily means engaging with environmental justice at work and home, and concerns around the exploitation of legally precarious immigrants, for example. Residents' practices are understandably far-ranging and draw on their knowledge about the world around them to chart alternative pathways through Waukegan.

Chapter 5 Conclusion

5.1 Contributions

This research project provides important contributions to migration studies, political and economic geographies, and cultural studies. Firstly, the study describes the conditions of one locality that underwent structural shifts in its economy and population. Immigrants have moved in increasing numbers to new destinations, such as smaller cities and suburbs (Li 2006; A. Singer 2008). With the shift and expansion of immigration enforcement towards the U.S. interior (De Genova 2002; M. Coleman 2007), immigration policies have rescaled at the local level and reflect local imaginaries of race, nation, and place (Walker and Leitner 2011; Carpio et al. 2011). While scholarship on immigration has primarily examined Chicago (Erdmans 1998; De Genova 2005; Pallares and Flores-González 2010; Mena Robles and Gomborg-Muñoz 2016), few studies have examined the lives of immigrants of color in the suburbs (for exceptions, see Cheng 2013; Guerrero 2017; De Lara 2018a; Guhlincozzi 2020). The geographic shift from traditional urban gateways towards smaller cities and suburbs provide insights into how municipalities contend with an increase in the migrant population and how migrants navigate pro- and anti-immigrant policies in these places. This study presents an account of suburban life as immigrant life, explaining the importance of suburbia in immigrant place-making. It places contemporary accounts of xenophobia alongside a historical framework that attends to how the conditions that migrant must navigate have been produced, often, before their arrival.

Secondly, this research builds upon literature related to environmental justice (EJ). Since scholars employ race and capitalism as interconnected processes to understand environmental racism (Pulido 2016b), they highlight the role of the state in enabling a devaluation of land, labor, and people. Laura Pulido (2016) argues that the state should be considered as a site of contestation for EJ activists. Viewing the state as a site of contestations enables me to unpack the power relations embedded in environmental regulation, such that their cooperation (or lack thereof) illustrates their investment in capital and prioritization of economic development. As such, this study unpacks the work that different state agencies enact around environmental regulation, clean-up, and remediation. Through residents' experiences navigating various state agencies to create an equitable environment, this study puts forward an approach to perceive governmental agencies and relationships as chaotic through the narratives of residents. The chaos is both intentional and not, in that ambiguity exists in terms of responsibility but a lack of investment in changing the situation to enable people to organize effectively. For many residents, they struggle to grasp what state agency can help them meet their demands. As they attend public meetings or hearings about environmental toxins, residents may still be confused about the state. Therefore, the study builds upon work in political geography that examines how institutions operate and produce forms of government (Mountz 2004; Brown and Knopp 2014) through these narratives. The ethnography reveals that many immigrants come to explain their relationship to the state as one of confusion and, for a subset, as a site of contestation.

Thirdly, this study offers a theoretical conceptualization of navigation. Building upon the 'mobilities turn' in geography (Cresswell 2006), this research project engages with the embodied experiences of mobility within migration studies (Silvey 2005; King 2012). It considers the ways that mobility and affect are shaped by structural processes such that residents have to creatively

chart paths in the post-industrial landscape. Their navigations encompass their spatial movements, discursive strategies, and affective negotiations. The lived experiences of immigrants, mixed-status families, and people of color illustrate the complex workings of race, gender, citizenship, class, and power in the production of a landscape of violence. The conceptualization of navigation emphasizes the way people must understand, move through, and challenge power relations embedded in the city's spatial organization and approaches to securitize public space. This study illustrates how the state and corporations produced space in particular ways, and how vulnerable residents sought to manage environmental racism and xenophobia. This dissertation brings to the forefront the financial and gendered barriers to mobility for migrants, the effects on mixed-status families, the expanded terrain of mobility for some of the most vulnerable members, and how residents had to organize across various issues for an equitable environment. In this way, the descriptive account of how people move through space provided a basis for the theoretical development of navigation as a concept. Navigation encapsulates the complex interactions among emotions, affect, and mobilities, bringing to the fore the decision-making processes that lead to people changing how they move through and inhabit space in Waukegan.

5.2 Chapter Mini Summaries

This dissertation argues that Waukegan had developed a landscape of violence embedded in a framework of racialized exclusion, exploitation, and dispossession, offering a geographical illustration of the relationship between race and capitalism (Robinson 1983; Melamed 2015; De Lara 2018a). Through archival work and ethnographies, the dissertation revealed how local residents affected by these structural processes developed spatial strategies to dwell and move

through the city. To do this, the first chapter argued that industrial capitalists and elected officials relied on violence towards racialized Others for its development. It illustrates the relationship at various historical moments of racialized political-economic projects from the forced removal of the Potawatomi people in the nineteenth century to the segregation of African Americans during the first half of the twentieth century to the racialized xenophobia that contemporary Latin American migrants must navigate. This is not to say that Indigenous peoples or Black people no longer live in the area; African American residents continue face violence at the hands of the local state, particularly the police. A contemporary account of race and capitalism must incorporate a historical framework to demonstrate the long-standing practices that shaped present conditions. This denaturalizes the assumptions about segregated presents (Shabazz 2015), which is of crucial relevance for residents living in conditions shaped by racial hierarchies. This dissertation demonstrates how the city's economic studies, reports, and plans produced historical geographies of racial segregation that to some extent have remained in the landscape. Latinxs were incorporated into these racial geographies and have also dramatically shaped them. While residents may not always challenge explicitly xenophobic policies such as an automatic towing ordinance or ICE's 287(g) agreement, migrants must contend with the current political-economic conditions that rely on the proliferation of surveillance via the police, temporary labor agencies and of fines as punishment. As the material landscape changes so does the moral landscape for politics and economics. Ultimately, this chapter demonstrates the significant role the state place in producing race, conditions of racism, and racial geographies that continue to shape the live of Latinx residents in the present.

The second chapter demonstrates how industrial development produced an environment of toxicity wherein residents are exposed to multiple environmental hazards and must learn to

navigate the state's chaotic relationships when demanding change. It continues a historical account of industries located on Waukegan's lakefront that exposed the land and the people who live, work, and play on it to toxic chemicals, and details inter-governmental efforts to remediate polluted albeit valuable sites for development. The chapter illustrates the ways that residents learn more about the state as they organized for EJ around their health concerns (Guthman and Mansfield 2012; Shamasunder et al. 2018), especially against political actors' investment in capital. It highlights the limits in the state's efforts to provide information to residents about possible exposure to environmental toxins are "primarily performative" (Barbour and Guthman 2018, 334). Residents ultimately power-mapped the state to make visible these chaotic relationships and develop more effective strategies for placing pressure on political actors. They were able to identify which individuals to target to promote social change, even as they came to understand the limitations of liberal recognition (McCreary and Milligan 2021). Some sick residents relied on mutual aid as they became chronically ill. For some people, there is no way to know if pollution contributed to their being sick; however, residents are often willing to share their symptoms or effects of sickness, even as companies creates conditions that make it difficult for residents to gain access to knowledge about these chemicals. As such, this chapter highlights the limits of engaging with the state and reconsiders it as a site of contestation and struggle for environmental justice (De Lara 2018b; Pulido and De Lara 2018; Ybarra 2021) and the ways that residents unpacked its various functions.

The last chapter examines how migrants experience and navigate a landscape of violence through everyday experiences. It argues that Latinx migrants produce knowledge about places such that their experiences in other countries and their current location informs how they choose to face barriers, obstacles, and hardships in the present. In so doing, Latinx migrants develop

creative strategies to inhabit (in their housing or city), move through (for socializing or work), and circumvent space (for social reproduction). In other words, these strategies are based on the way lived, embodied experience became salient sources from which to build knowledge for Latinxs and migrants. Within a context of state-sanctioned violence, violence from companies, and violence from elites, residents, and family members towards immigrants nationally and locally, the chapter details how Latinx migrants navigate structural barriers around class and gender that limit automobility. For mixed-status families, then, some of these barriers aimed towards producing precarious lives for undocumented residents are shared with family members, usually children, who are US citizens. The second half of the chapter accounts for an expanded terrain of Latinx mobility in queer geographies and the need for local residents to organize across various issues (e.g. immigration, labor, the environment) to improve the living conditions in Waukegan. Residents use their experiences to produce knowledge about navigating the political, economic, and cultural structure of the city.

5.3 Recommendations

The doctoral research presented in this dissertation is partial and thus generalized recommendations cannot be made. However, this research has illustrated how a promiscuous methodological and intellectual framework can enable geographers to understand the structural and intimate ways that processes of economic development and migration intersect. Incorporating a framework of race and capitalism to the project also required a historical analysis of how current political economic conditions were produced. In addition to the barriers presented due to COVID-19, archival research was necessary for an in-depth analysis and understanding of how the local state used exclusionary discourses and practices to economically develop the city.

In this case, my analysis of state documents was informed by cultural studies and queer of color critique that highlight the race-, gender-, and class-based assumptions implicit in these reports and plans (Reddy 2011; Bahng 2018). What is located in the archives themselves is structured through these power relations such that some migrant residents' narratives are rarely found, particularly those of undocumented people. If they are in the archives, they are not marked, identified, or acknowledged as undocumented. If there are references to undocumented people, it is usually through the lens of citizens who discuss the pros and cons of having undocumented residents live in the area. As such, semi-structured interviews and participant observation were used to collect the often-missing narratives and develop an archive of these experiences in Waukegan.

In describing and analyzing Latinx and migrant life in the city, the dissertation offers residents, community agencies, and activists with information that can help them develop approaches to support and advocate for residents. An understanding of the distant and near past can remind residents that change through the state may be difficult or take time. They can see how residents during this conjecture had to unpack and navigate 'the state,' and the various lessons that can emerge for residents. With an awareness of the various ways that residents can respond to similar issues, they can note that there is no one solution to problems. Rather than have residents, organizers, and activists not work together due to differences in ideologies and strategies, they may recognize that it is through a multi-pronged approach wherein many actors can work together.

Lastly, this study presented a picture of life in Waukegan through the lens of some of the most vulnerable residents. With this deep understanding of place, the dissertation presents a starting point for addressing 'local,' place-specific problems. Many newly arrived migrants are

not aware of the histories embedded in the locality, and institutions who offer presentations may wish to incorporate an understanding of place. In this way, residents can better employ their background, past experiences, and knowledge to navigate life and create spaces. Part of the goal of this project is to continue to inform local residents of others' experiences so that community members can learn from each other.

5.4 Future Work

This research study provided an in-depth overview of life in a post-industrial city through the lens of some of its most vulnerable members. Although a case can be made that more work needs to be done to understand Waukegan as a *place*, more research can piece together partial and situated perspectives together to paint a more complex picture of life in the city (Haraway 1988; Silvey 2004). More research into Waukegan can examine the city's Police Department to provide residents with information about the specific role of the police in producing violence and where it occurs. The police participated in the ICE's 287(g) program; however, the police have a history of abuses and of homicides that also structure how residents feel about them and navigate downtown Waukegan, a public space highly surveilled and securitized (Hinkel 2015; Gutenschwager 2020). Further work can examine the school district as an institution that produces and negotiates violence for residents, as many local community members work as employees for the district. Schools can often be ambivalent site for students and family members who are immigrants, undocumented, or part of mixed-status families (Gonzales 2016; Negrón-Gonzales 2018).

More work to visualize the relationship between spaces and affect must be considered. The interviews in this research project point towards how residents utilize their memories of past

experiences to make sense of which spaces are safe or dangerous to them. While a participatory photo documentation project had been developed and started for this research project, COVID-19 prevented further contact with residents and limited the kinds of engagements residents were willing to participate in during quarantine. As such, this dissertation proposes that more work needs to be done around Photovoice that can offer more geographic insights into power relations. The participants' photographs and captions can be collected into one booklet to distribute to community members as a public awareness campaign about their lives, the conditions they live under, and their efforts to promote change and educational tool for residents and policy makers. As such, the insights in this dissertation can be further challenged and developed, as well as be accessible to those most often left out of these conversations.

Lastly, another area of research to pursue is mapping out the spatial movements of residents through the city. This includes automobility, walking, and biking. Rather than individually map out where people spend their time, this would be a collective mapping out with multiple residents' narratives and spatial pathways. This future work can provide a basis to understand what mobilities practices residents use, as suburban regions—which Waukegan is considered part of—often require residents drive. My research illustrated a gendered barrier to mobility such that some Latina migrants walk to where they need to go, an important insight into how the region's reliance on cars is itself an obstacle. These future trajectories for research can enable a deep understand of place.

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