SPECIAL SECTION: CARCERAL CRISIS

You Are Going to Get Us Killed: Fugitive Archival Practice and the Carceral State

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ABSTRACT The carceral state has been the dominant voice of state governance in the United States over the past forty years. This article takes the archive as a key site of struggle to understand the power dynamics at play with the development of and fight against the carceral state. Utilizing the intervention of the *fugitive archival practice*, the article analyzes the multifaceted ways in which Black residents and communal institutions of Los Angeles, California, develop strategies and techniques located within past struggles against what I call the *carceral state archive*. The carceral state archive consists of both the recording mechanisms of state power and the institutions and structures that buttress that power. Built upon a multilayered methodological approach, the framing of the argument includes ethnographic and archival analysis of communal institutions such as the Southern California Library, communal organizations such as the Coalition Against Police Abuse, and the community members who all form the making of the fugitive archival practice. [*carceral studies, race, urban anthropology, archives*]

RESUMEN El estado carcelario ha sido la voz dominante de la gobernanza estatal en los Estados Unidos durante los últimos cuarenta años. Este artículo toma el archivo como un sitio clave de lucha para entender la dinámica del poder en juego con el desarrollo de y la lucha contra el estado carcelario. Utilizando la intervención de la *práctica del archivo fugitivo*, el artículo analiza las formas multifacéticas en las cuales los residentes afroamericanos e instituciones comunales de Los Ángeles, California, desarrollan estrategias y técnicas localizadas dentro de las luchas pasadas en contra de lo que denomino el *archivo estatal carcelario*. El archivo del estado carcelario consiste tanto de los mecanismos de registro del poder del estado como de las instituciones y estructuras que refuerzan ese poder. Construido sobre una aproximación metodológica de capas múltiples, el marco del argumento incluye el análisis etnográfico y de archivo de instituciones comunales tales como la Biblioteca del Sur de California, organizaciones comunales tales como la Coalición en contra del abuso policial y los miembros de la comunidad que todos forman el hacer de la práctica del archivo fugitivo. [*estudios carcelarios, raza, antropología urbana, archivos*]

It was the third week of a six-week intensive summer education program facilitated by the Southern California Library (SCL). Yusef Omowale, the director of SCL, had invited me to teach a course on movement-building against prisons to a group of local Black youth who were from the Los Angeles neighborhood where SCL was located. We were waiting for class to begin. A group of young men and women sat near the entrance of the building, talking among themselves. Slowly, more people trickled in, casually mingling and giving each other warm embraces as they exchanged enthusiastic pleasantries.

A row of robust archival boxes lined the elongated rectangular table. The white boxes appeared uniform save for the varying schema of numbers that distinguished one from another. Adjacent, on a smaller table, sat a series of newsletters, position papers, and newspaper clippings. Yusef was

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standing in front of the smaller table that held the array of documents and clippings. I approached the table and greeted Yusef. He inquired if I had ever seen the archival documentation from the 1992 Los Angeles Gang Truce. I informed him that I had seen some of the documents while working with Michael Zinzun, the founder of Coalition Against Police Abuse (CAPA), but from what Michael had told me about CAPA's work, there was so much more than the handful of flyers, newspaper articles, and video recordings I had already seen. Yusef nodded in agreement.

In 1992, Zinzun and CAPA had been instrumental in helping to negotiate the historic Gang Truce. Brokered in the wake of the 1992 Los Angeles Rebellion, the truce was a multilayered peace accord that demanded structural change from the city of Los Angeles and took steps to change the interpersonal dynamics of relationships among community organizations. In 2006, SCL acquired CAPA's archive, a collection contained in over one hundred boxes, some of which were on the table before us. Yusef explained that the crafting of the truce was complex, handing me a sepia-toned paper that addressed some of the truce's primary efforts. Outlined in bullet format, the document contained the main tenets both in form and demands. One of the major arguments was the importance of relying upon the communal structure of the gang as a means for organizing neighborhoods. CAPA was adamant that the organizational structure established by the Crips and Bloods was crucial to the building of a multilayered liberation struggle. A former member of the Los Angeles chapter of the Black Panther Party, Zinzun's influence was strongly present in the truce's demands. In addition to control over schools, there were demands pertaining to housing, health care, and radical transformation of the Los Angeles Police Department. Inspired by the Black Panthers' ten-point platform, the truce also focused on political economy (such as job programs) and the right of communities to protect themselves via communal organization (such as autonomy over community resources granted via the city and state).

"This is all from the CAPA collection," Yusef stated as he pointed back to the collection of boxes that were strewn along the long table behind us. He informed me that the goal was to have the young people who sat eagerly at the table engage with the archive as a part of a political education course that SCL was offering. I had met with many of the participants during that summer and had been made aware of the various strategies that they had put forward in their efforts to change the dynamics affecting the Vermont corridor, where they lived and where SCL was located. Yusef walked behind me and grabbed one of the boxes, brought it to the table where the group sat, and placed it directly in front of him. A hush took over the group as he opened the lid and revealed the contents of the box.

Yusef started the conversation. "So, how many of you think that gangs are a bad thing?" None of the participants raised their hands. "Alright, here is a better question, how many have been taught that gangs are a bad thing?" Everyone's hands shot up. "Now why do you think there is a such a difference in what you know versus what you have been taught?" One of the more vocal members of the collective, a young Black man I'll call Marley, spoke up. "Because they want us all locked up, that seems pretty obvious to me." "Why is that?" Yusef continued. Marley responded, "Because if they target gangs, then they don't have to worry about the real issues. Like, why don't we have food or why can't anyone get a job. Let them tell it, if we get rid of all the gangs, then manna will fall from the sky and this whole neighborhood is going to look like paradise."

Yusef gave me a quick glance that I had come to understand. His eyebrows were slightly raised and a small grin peeked on his face. The glance was in reference to the fact that at only fifteen years old, Marley and his peers very often had an analytical grasp of the city and its plans. City officials, planners, and academics alike either refused to acknowledge or sought to silence what Marley and his peers had to say. At the time of our first meeting, Marley was outspoken, charming, and fearless. He had also removed himself from the formal school system and was houseless. Rather than being an anomaly, Marley's material condition indicated the level of financial precarity experienced by many young people in the area. Marley stood out only in the way that the neighborhood pushed him to the fore. He had the ability to speak to his peers as well as elders in a way that galvanized action and brought people together. I witnessed him convene a meeting of over one hundred people at a moment's notice and put in the grunt work to facilitate the most tedious processes that meetings often entail. Yet he never thought of himself as exceptional; and, crucially, he saw SCL as an intellectual, social, and communal hub that brought together generational formations of knowledge of which he was a participant.

Marley was one of a group of young people who were taking part in the summer political education program that met three days during the week. While some had long since withdrawn from the formal school system, others were trying to maneuver through its clutches. What brought these young people together was their desire to transform the material conditions of their lived experience. They did not need anybody to come and organize them; they had long since organized themselves. What they wanted was information, previous strategies, and knowledge. They had received bits and pieces that had been passed down from generation to generation, but what they really needed was a place to put the puzzle together. SCL had become that space, a key site in what I call *fugitive archival practice*. Fugitive archival practice draws from the eclectic lived experience of Black life to develop modalities of freedom and being that are antithetical to the static realities presented by the dominant expression of state governance: carcerality. With an explicit focus on the CAPA collection, my aim is to link Black radical organizing during the 1970s to contemporary communal groups that utilize SCL as a space of intellectual, political, and social organizing. A primary thread that connects these moments is

an unweathering analysis of the carceral state as a producer of racial, economic, and gendered terror.

Focusing on California as a region in producing carceral systems that became national models, I argue that the development and articulation of state resources, capabilities, and logics can be understood through the formation of the carceral state archive. The rapid ascension and maintenance of carcerality as the primary modality of state-sanctioned knowledge production began in the 1970s and continues today. The carceral archive works to keep lived human experience within the clutches of a rigid organizational structure. Yet, from the beginning, the carceral state has been met with resistance. If the carceral archive works to fix people in place through force, surveillance, and imprisonment, fugitive archival practice demonstrates the absurdity of state governing logics and also situates community-informed ways of being at the fore of short- and long-term planning efforts.

Fugitive archival practice is a direct contestation to state-sanctioned knowledge production. It positions communal knowledge at the center of solutions for lived experiences and works toward the elimination of violence and malicious forms of state governance. The carceral state archive seeks to maintain order and hierarchical power relationships. In contrast, fugitive archival practice is an active, ongoing praxis that informs the possibility of multiple ways of being.

ON MATTERS OF GEOGRAPHY

During the past decade, much of the conversation (both academic and reform-based work) has focused on carcerality as a nationally driven apparatus. It is important to remember that carcerality is a state-driven issue, powered by state-driven infrastructures, paid for by state-based resources, and managed by state bureaucratic systems—and thus, regions matter.[1] California is a bellwether state with regard to carceral formation. As Ruth Wilson Gilmore (2007) reminds us, between the 1970s and the 1990s, California produced the largest prison expansion in the history of the world. Thus, the carceral state archive developed in California—and Southern California, in particular—has been instrumental in fueling carceral archives in cities across the United States. Similarly, California has also been home to one of the largest groundswells against the carceral state and a hotbed of anticarceral organizing (Camp 2016; CR10 Publications Collective 2008; Davis and Rodríguez, 2000; Davis and Shaylor 2001; Gilmore 2007; Gooding-Williams 1993; Herzing 2015; Rodríguez 2006; Vargas 2006). One of the primary objectives of this article is to offer insight into the fraught and often tenuous relationship between these two distinct ontological frameworks—the carceral state archive, which developed as the dominant enclosure model of the late twentieth century, and fugitive archival practice, which is indebted to an intellectual tradition that has both countered forms of state violence and is invested in the simultaneity of multiple formations of sociality.[2] Akin to Deborah Thomas's (2019, 6) theorization of the "archive of affect," fugitive archival practice "opens a space of potentiality, one that might catalyze new possibilities for seeing connections previously unexamined and for reordering our ontological taken-for-granteds, such as time and space, politics and justice, and the very terrain of humanism itself."

It is important to note that while contemporary conversations pertaining to the carceral state have become palatable in both mainstream and academic discussions, the impetus for the fight against the carceral state was itself fugitive in practice. Somewhat ironically, CAPA itself traces its founding to fugitive resistance to carceral forces. In 1976, Michael Zinzun established CAPA in part through funds won in a police brutality lawsuit against the Pasadena Police Department. Organizations such as CAPA were consistently surveilled, harassed, and violently targeted as threats to state governance (Felker-Kantor 2018; Vargas 2006). Similarly, contemporary organizing collectives pose a severe threat to state legitimacy and are under constant duress from various forms of discipline emanating from the carceral state. Given the real-life consequences of a counter-positionality to the carceral state, the term *fugitive* takes on an added dimension that reinforces the intent of the carceral state while also ensuring its demise.

A GROUNDING: SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA LIBRARY

The centrality of SCL to historical and contemporary organizing efforts in California is critical to any analysis of carcerality. SCL houses a massive multitextual archive collection ranging from the International Oil Workers Union and the Los Angeles chapter of the Black Panther Party to the personal collections of countless activists and communal groups. In addition to textual holdings, SCL is a vital hub to organizers across the region, as it is commonly utilized as a meeting and organizing space. Over the past fifteen years, SCL has made a concerted effort to incorporate the work of local communal groups and individuals into its vast collection. To that end, at the insistence of organizers in the community, SCL has hosted political education classes, bringing together scholars, organizers, and the archive as groups seek to make critical change in their neighborhood.

One of the primary themes that has emanated from these workshops and meetings is that the carceral state implemented and continues to utilize punitive, reactive archival methodologies as a means to buttress its constantly teetering legitimacy. In addition to prisons, jails, and matters of probation, a primary basis of carceral state power has been kept intact by a massive archival schema that is interwoven throughout public structures (i.e., education, housing, health-care providers). The 1988 California Street Terrorism Enforcement and Prevention Act (STEP) provided law enforcement with the ability to label whomever they saw fit as a gang member (intimately connected to the phrasing "street terrorism"). Those labeled as gang members were subject to so-called sentencing enhancements, which added to the length and severity of prison sentences. Similarly, California's 1991

Abolish Chronic Truancy program has since spread to states throughout the country. The law places the district attorney's office in charge of matters of student truancy, providing the power to levy harsh fines and bring charges against parents/guardians (Sojoyner 2016). School attendance thus becomes the business of the district attorney, and being absent from the classroom activates the carceral apparatus. A third example of this interweaving of the carceral with the public and the social is the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families program, a massive welfare-reform bill passed by the Clinton administration in 1996. Here, needy families found themselves in carceral enclosure because those convicted of felonies were denied access to food and housing programs. My Brother's Keeper, a 2014 initiative launched by the Obama administration, provided nonprofit agencies with over six hundred million dollars in funding to implement programs aimed at increasing boys of color into the middle class. Devoid of structural imperatives—jobs, housing, and safety—that actually develop a middle class, the program was immersed in respectability-based dogma that lauded the problematic trope of masculine ascendancy while further stigmatizing those within the clutches of the carceral state. The dependence of My Brother's Keeper on nonprofit agencies is notable. As became apparent during my fieldwork, one area where carcerality continues to grow is in enlisting nonprofit agencies to do its work.

Taken together, these programs and policies demonstrate the ways that, from welfare reform to public education policy to relationships among community members, virtually all matters of state governance and daily lived experiences of Black people were and continue to be intimately connected to and/or under the purview of the carceral apparatus. This apparatus, in turn, is met with resistance from fugitive archival practice, as I will explore in the next section.

CONTESTED ARCHIVES—FUGITIVE ARCHIVAL PRACTICE

SCL provides a model of fugitive archival practice within the archive itself. SCL policies and guiding values provide a direct challenge to the traditional formation of the archive and the archive's role in the production of knowledge. In contrast to carceral archival norms that limit access and exercise aggressive gatekeeping, SCL has been adamant that the collections held under their roof are not to be placed under lock and key. For SCL, the production, maintenance, and ordering of an archive is foundational to the production of epistemological frameworks that buttress their understanding of knowledge itself as a shared, communal resource. Beyond honoring a commitment to making archival collections openly available to neighborhood residents, SCL's directors worked to ensure that the strategies and lived experiences emanating from the neighborhood formed the shape and direction of the archives itself. A constant focus of the library archival methodology was the production, collection, sharing, and dissemination of a variety of materials: video and audio recordings, murals constructed by artists in the neighborhood, artifacts that had been passed down from family member to family member, and written accounts. Yusef and his colleague Michele Welsing were constantly searching for new techniques and funding opportunities to incorporate community members' knowledge into archival spaces. Equally important, they paid attention to how the arrangement of the archives could best be constructed for utilization by neighborhood residents, surrounding communities, and activist organizations.

The conversations at SCL are a logical extension of recent discussions pertaining to the archive that have built upon Michel-Rolph Trouillot's (2015) theorization of the archive as an interlocuter of state power. Writing about the mechanizations of archives, Trouillot argues, "Archives assemble. Their assembly work is not limited to a more or less passive act of collecting. Rather, it is an act of production that prepares facts for historical intelligibility. Archives set up both the substantive and formal elements of the narrative. They are the institutionalized sites of mediation between the sociohistorical process and the narrative about that process" (52). Trouillot further connects the power of the archival process to difference-making work that functions to simultaneously heighten and silence:

> In short, the making of archives involves a number of selective operations: selection of producers, selection of evidence, selection of themes, selection of procedures-which means, at best the differential ranking and, at worst, the exclusion of some producers, some evidence, some themes, some procedures. Power enters here both obviously and surreptitiously. (53)

Trouillot's intervention builds upon the legacy of work that connects archives to matters of power. In a 1967 lecture, Michel Foucault traced the formation of the archive as derived from the modern turn, when there was an incessant need to "enclose in one place, all times, all epochs, all forms, all tastes" that would be "inaccessible to its [modernity's] ravages" (Foucault 1984, 48). The subject of archives was further taken up by postcolonial scholars who questioned the archive's relationship to truth and/or fact. Partha Chatterjee (2000) detailed the problems of objectivity in the production of knowledge via colonial archival formations in South Asia and brought to bear the gendering process located within the formal archives that regulated women as contributors but never the main actors of social action or formation. Arguing beyond the limitations of truth within the colonial archive, Gayatri Spivak (1999) urged a reconsideration of the archive as a site of literary fiction rather than fact. Spivak's intervention was also instrumental in reframing the colonial archival project. Rather than containing insight on purported colonial subjects, such as Indian women, the colonial archive was intimately connected to the ontological practices of British empire-building. Ann Stoler (2010) revisited the colonial archive project and built upon the postcolonial read of the archive and argued that the colonial archives perform imperial work and informed the governing sensibilities of colonial administrations.

In the wake of these impactful critiques, an interdisciplinary cadre of scholars has furthered the theorization upon the archive. In particular, Saidiya Hartman's (2007) formulation of the archive as less the material cauldron that holds a body of work and more as practices structuring sociality has been instructive to understanding the archive in a nuanced manner. This shifting paradigm has given rise to inquiries that reframe the conversation(s) away from archival forms and contents to one where the locus of attention is upon both an analysis of the hierarchal assertions that are laden within our conceptualization of an archive and how we can better understand how disruptive and silenced archival formations provide nuanced, insightful, and nonlinear social visions of human existence (Crawley 2017a, 2017b; Gordon 2017; Hicks 2010; Ferguson 2012; Fuentes 2010, 2016; Haley 2016; Sharpe 2016; Thomas 2019).

The term "fugitive" conjures myriad tropes within various disciplinary traditions. My invocation of the fugitive is located within an epistemological project that refers to the lived experience of Black people and communities who out of necessity and/or choice function outside of the normative parameters of the broad scope of state power. Stefano Harney and Fred Moten's (2013) conceptual framework of the Black fugitive provides a means to bridge the historical and contemporary while gaining insight into the inner workings of Black fugitive thought. Writing about the inner logics of Black fugitivity, they posit, "Some people want to run things, other things want to run. If they ask you, tell them we were flying. Knowledge of freedom is (in) the invention of escape, stealing away in the confines, in the form, of a break. This is held close in the open song of the ones who are supposed to be silent" (51). The fugitive, in this sense, neither abides nor consents to normative constructions of civic engagement or liberal entrapments of democratic state governance. In the same fashion, Cedric Robinson (2007) argues that refusing to abide by the heinous characterization of Black life forwarded by a nascent racial regime during the turn of the twentieth century, Black artists and cultural producers were rendered illegible and thus turned into fugitive consideration, outside of the bounds of possibility. Similar to Harney and Moten's position that the state response to acts of fugitive action has been in the form of enclosure, my understanding of state power and governance is framed by the current dominant modality of state life in the United States: carcerality. Thus, the fugitive develops life-enriching practices that simultaneously reject the ordering and state-based archival traditions. The fugitive also affirms communal practices that are illegible, unrecognizable, and threatening to the efficacy of the carceral state.

Building upon the rich literature that complicates the power of the archive, my aim is to incorporate these more recent conversations regarding the archive and fugitivity into ethnographic methodologies and broader anthropological pursuits of knowledge. Discussing the complex engagement between the primary interlocutor, Marley, and competing archival formations, my aim is to position fugitive archival practice as less a relic from a determined past and more a malleable, generative source that is as instructive as it is open to critique.

I posit that the processes of culture making, strategy development, communal building, critique, and planning that are detailed here are to be situated as key components of the fugitive archival practice. Mapped along jagged lines of cultural, classed, racial, sexed, and gendered realities that do not abide by normative process of being, fugitive archival practice provides an intellectual and pragmatic blueprint to circumvent the pitfalls of state-sanctioned myth-making that attempts to reproduce hierarchies of difference. Fugitive archival practice is a polymorphic collection that serves as collective wisdom but simultaneously is also under constant revision, remaking, and resituating of the past, present, and future. In constant process, fugitive archival practices provide pathways to be comfortably situated within liminal crevices that do not expect or yearn for acceptance or adherence to state-governed archival projects that demand the removal of radical possibilities of being.

SCL, CAPA, AND THE MOVEMENT AGAINST CARCERALITY

It is important to situate SCL within the framework of fugitive archival practice as a logical extension of the fugitive archive. Specifically, SCL is firmly entrenched in the fugitive world-making processes employed by the members of the Vermont Corridor community located in South-Central Los Angeles. As a community-based library, SCL stands in contradistinction to many of the public spaces within the neighborhood. Los Angeles public schools, public libraries, and government agencies are all firmly enmeshed with the carceral state and contribute to the carceral archive. The Los Angeles Unified School District, for example, has the nation's largest independent school police force, with 211 sworn police officers, 25 non-sworn school safety officers, and 32 civilian support staff (Los Angeles School Police Department 2021). The Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department has substations in Black schools throughout the city and county, public-assistance buildings that administer housing needs are surveilled by the LA Police Department (LAPD) and LA County Sheriff's Department, and the foster care system operated through the Department of Public Social Services works in conjunction with the juvenile probation department to administer children's well-being. On numerous occasions, Marley remarked on the visible ways that capital was being sucked from the community only to reappear as carceral infrastructure. One day, as we drove by the massive recently renovated LAPD 77th Precinct building, he stated,

> Look at that thing, I mean it is something out of a cartoon, how big and imposing that thing is. It is like when you play a video game and you get to the last section of the game and you have to take down the last dude. That looks like the place where the dude lives. They put that in our neighborhood, they literally put the evil dude's castle right in our neighborhood. Now how much money you think it took, because they already had a precinct right

> there before? If you just follow the money, it is quite obvious what is happening. The one major hospital that we had was taken away and then up goes the evil dude's castle.

The hospital that Marley spoke of was Martin Luther King Jr./Charles R. Drew Medical Center (King-Drew), which, under controversial terms, had been targeted for closure and dismantled piece by piece until it was a shell of its former self. At the time, King-Drew was the last fully functioning publicly operated hospital facility in South-Central Los Angeles; all local publicly funded auxiliary health clinics in the area had already been closed. By 2007, King-Drew was operating at a bare-bones capacity, and community members faced nothing but bad choices: go to one of the privately operated clinics, which were notorious for price gouging, or just "wait it out" and hope that whatever ailment they had would simply go away.

For Marley and his colleagues, the specter of police violence was very real—"The evil dude's castle right in our neighborhood" loomed over the landscape—but the pressing concerns of their day-to-day lives were impacted in much more nuanced ways. As Marley stated, "Man, I am more likely to die because of diabetes or heart disease or something like that than to be killed by the police. But I am more likely to die of diabetes or heart disease because of the police. When they shut down a hospital or a clinic and that money then is transferred over to build up a much bigger police precinct, which needs more police officers, that means trouble."

The transfer of capital that Marley discussed has been a part of a larger thirty-year shift that has occurred in California and has had particularly dire consequences upon Black communities. Geographer Ruth Wilson Gilmore (1998, 180) discusses the ramifications of the shifting resources in the following terms:

> Throughout the golden age of capitalism, California functioned as what Dick Walker calls a "principal engine of US economic growth," and used resources from defence-dependent prosperity to provide state residents with broadening opportunities. An indicator of change to come was the 25 per cent increase in children's poverty between 1969 and 1979. This abandonment of the least powerful members of society presaged the State's future broadening abdication of responsibility to remedy adversity and inequality. And, in fact, the child poverty rate jumped again, rising 67 per cent between 1979 and 1995, to shape the future chances of one in four of the State's kids. California's phenomenal rise in family and child poverty is a dynamic symptom of the displacements characterising the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s recessions—dynamic because the negative effects have compounded even in boom years. The surplusing of California's children goes hand in hand with the accumulation of other surpluses.

Marley was living through the implications of this surplusing; houseless and alienated from the state education apparatus, he had turned to SCL and the CAPA archive to find avenues to pursue freedom. SCL operates outside the logic of the carceral state by providing the space needed for planning. SCL further designs its programs and allocates resources based on the strategies and needs of a community heavily targeted by the carceral archive. In this manner, it is framed by residents and community members as part of an anticarceral project that, acting within the logics of the fugitive world-making process, becomes a model for how social relationships and the built environment could be developed absent the carceral state.

Though CAPA's mission was focused on police abuse and the freedom of all prisoners locked behind bars, the organization was unwavering in its analysis that the purpose and intent of the police, and by extension prisons, lay within the machinations of the carceral state. The front cover of the organization's 1993 report stated:

> CAPA sees not only the necessity of organizing against police abuse, but also the need to link increases in police abuse to the rising economic crisis presently taking place in the United States. In other words, if workers strike for higher wages, who is called? The police. If you can't pay your rent and refused to move into the streets, who was called? The police. And if you organize demonstrations against a corrupt and unjust system, who was called? The police. Whether with force or as undercover spies. CAPA believes the police are a necessary element in the maintenance of a system controlled by a few billionaires and politicians who put profit before people (Coalition Against Police Abuse 1993).

Despite CAPA's insistence that gangs were an important community organization, the carceral state response, predictably, invested heavily in gang intervention and prevention. Remember that Marley had already identified that, for the carceral state, the value of targeting gangs was that "then they don't have to worry about the real issues." Thinking about Marley's comment, Yusef opined, "They already know so much. What they have to offer is almost directly against what the city puts forward as the solution. When that happens, you really have to question everything." Yusef was referring to the plethora of gang-intervention workers that had increased in presence during a five-year period. One of the major tenets of the gang-intervention methodology was to break up the structure of the established communal organization. "You have to really question where they are getting their information," Yusef continued. "It was not like CAPA was operating underground. Michael [Zinzun] engaged in public debates with Daryl Gates [former chief of police of the LAPD]. Everybody knows that there was a model already established. You really have to think as to why this other model [gang intervention], that goes directly against the CAPA approach—why is this model being funded so heavily as the solution, when there is already one right here?"

In a similar fashion, community members would often comment that neither the gangs nor the police were their main problem. Similar to CAPA, they made it clear that they viewed the police as the front line of much larger structural forces. Despite recent dramatic events that involved the police, their concerns rested with basic needs that were not readily accessible: food, shelter, jobs, and heath care. The police were not a daily presence in their lives. However, there was an explicit understanding that their lack of food, unstable access to shelter, inability to secure employment,

and lack of health care was intimately connected to the police and the carceral state, but not in the ways emphasized by mainstream articulation of police and prison reform. Rather than frame a spectacular act of grotesque violence as an outlier of a functional system (such as a single act of police brutality), there was an understanding that the carceral state is both predicated upon and reproduces modalities of mundane and spectacular violence through the many tentacles of state management capacity.

As a means to notate the manner in which the carceral state bleeds through state structures, the CAPA archive is full of letters, notes, policy briefs, action plans, memos, state and city documents, and master plans of California's heavy investment in the buildup and maintenance of the carceral state. One of the primary areas of focus in the CAPA collection was the utilization of a burgeoning computer infrastructure to both connect the various webs of the carceral system and better hide information from public view. In an August 30, 1976 memo from the Jet Propulsion Laboratory (JPL), the author outlines the rapid improvement of a local sheriff's station via the implementation of new computer center. The memo states:

> The facility is used to control messages to the Sheriff's mobile unit dispatcher, to communication with the California Law Enforcement Telecommunications System, to communicate with other California and national police organizations, and as the Sheriff's access to NCIC. The equipment at the local station consists of a DEC PDP 11/15, with a Motorola microwave communications system to the central computer and communications facility on Eastern Avenue in Los Angeles.

The CAPA collection reveals the rigorous analysis and investigation that CAPA members conducted in order to understand the depths of the carceral project. Through the meticulous collection of information, such as that located in the JPL memo, CAPA found that—in coordination with corporations such as Motorola and IBM and utilization of the expertise made available by entities such as JPL—local, regional, and state legislators crafted policy and procedures to develop and maintain a formidable carceral apparatus. Marking the function and intent of police in such a manner had an important impact upon the political trajectory of the organizations that mobilized around the Vermont Corridor. Given that CAPA had been one of the primary targets of a secret spying campaign initiated by the LAPD during the 1970s, there was serious concern that the sharing of citizen and organizational information did not merely stop at the hands of local police but was connected to state and national computer databases with the assistance of these technological developments.

Documented within the CAPA archive, the natural impulse of fugitive archival practice is to develop an analysis that addresses the root cause of violence emanating from state archival projects (in this case, carcerality as a solution to crisis), and demonstrate how the creation of another type of existence is not only possible, but necessary. In the following section, the theoretical base of fugitive archival practice is briefly detailed as a means to explicate the breadth and scope of its tendencies and formulations.

GENERATIVE SOURCE OF FUGITIVE ARCHIVAL PRACTICE: RACIAL CAPITALISM AND THE CARCERAL STATE

The CAPA collection holds several reports and articles that detail the draconian and insidious lengths that government agencies went to in order to suppress community organizations. Perhaps none is more breathtaking than the uncovering of the Public Disorder Intelligence Division within the LAPD. In 1972, Los Angeles Black Panther Party member Geronimo Ji Jaga was convicted of the murder of Caroline Olsen in Santa Monica, California. The conviction rested on the testimony of Julius Butler, a member of the Black Panther Party who, unbeknownst to his fellow organizers, was a double agent working for both the LAPD and the FBI. Butler testified that Ji Jaga bragged about the killing, testimony that was enough to seal Ji Jaga's fate. Ji Jaga maintained that a massive coverup and violent smear campaign was afoot, and during the course of his appeals (over twenty-seven years), his legal team was able to prove—ironically enough, through FBI surveillance documentation—that Ji Jaga was in Oakland, CA, when Olsen was murdered.

The revelation of Butler as a double agent during Ji Jaga's trial sent shock waves through organizations such as CAPA. CAPA had worked in collaboration with a broad network of organizations that sought to undo processes of state violence and to transfer state resources directly to the control of the people. Garnering the legal support of the American Civil Liberties Union, CAPA and over thirty organizations launched an inquiry into the relationship between LAPD and surveillance of communal organizations. Their efforts uncovered a massive LAPD spy operation named the Public Disorder Intelligence Division (PDID). PDID was a secret branch of the LAPD that planted informants and provocateurs within organizations such as CAPA. Documentation unearthed within the files detailed the manner in which the LAPD was particularly troubled by the linkages that CAPA made between the rise of the carceral state and the massive political, economic, and social inequality suffered by Black Angelinos.

The information gathered during the PDID case came on the heels of CAPA discovering the intimate connections between the burgeoning tech sector and the carceral state. Companies such as IBM and Motorola had contracted with the LAPD and Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department to develop transportable modems that would be equipped in police cars and store information in a vast computer database that would not be open to the public. Rather than an isolated affair, it was also uncovered that by 1970 California had developed over twenty automated surveillance systems that connected regions spanning from counties in California to states throughout the US southwest (CCTRF 1970).

During the subsequent decades following the PDID affair, CAPA worked with several organizations to prevent the buildup of the carceral archival process. CAPA understood that the implementation of surveillance technology, while being marketed as a tool of efficiency and public safety, was actually being used to suppress the efforts of community organizations to establish just state-governance practices and a redistribution of state resources. CAPA's concerns quickly materialized during the late 1980s and 1990s as a proliferation of technologies received massive local, state, and federal funding. Many of these efforts came to a head during the Clinton administration, when a Los Angeles–based surveillance model—the GREAT system—was the basis of a national network.

Created in 1996, the system became the standard for a national database that the Clinton administration pressed for during the presidency. The GREAT system brought the ire of organizers and civil rights advocates across the country, who railed against the ability of police officers to indiscriminately decide who was a gang member. Coupled with the passage of antigang laws and gang enhancements, the consequences would have a profound impact upon Black youth. The racial bias within the collection process of the GREAT system was plainly absurd. An audit revealed that Los Angeles County agencies had input 147,000 people into the system and only 1,300 of them were white (Hunter 1996). Rather than an instrument of "public safety," the GREAT system was emblematic of the manner in which carceral-based technology was utilized to reify race through violent means of surveillance and enclosure. In turn, such processes fed the commonsense mythology of roving, violent Black masses that were poised to destroy that which hardworking Americans strived so diligently to achieve.

The assertion (and reassertion) of the myths of public safety and efficiency was a ruthless attempt to stabilize power teetering on the brink of collapse. Coupled with an economic and environmental crisis that placed the state in peril, a collusion between state officials and finance and real estate capital enacted a carceral scheme that would reestablish racial order and significantly redirect economic distribution within the purview of their interests (Gilmore 2007). While we often think of incarceration as a site of physical warehousing, the CAPA archive demonstrates again and again that incarceration brings with it the dispossession of housing, employment, education, and health care.

Located within the tentacles of racial capitalist logic, the advent of the carceral state in the United States is based upon mythical normative standards that functioned to make difference appear real. For example, Sarah Haley's (2016) masterful account of the rise of carcerality in the wake of US Reconstruction points out that one of the primary functions of the carceral state was to remake racialized gender norms as a means of shoring up fragile racial, gendered, and sexed ideological formations. It is here, at the impasse between the nation-state and carcerality, that fugitive archival practice dismantles one of the more pernicious myths of carcerality: the notion that the carceral state operates under a national framework. It is convenient for the carceral state archive to project a particular type of omniscient sphere of power and influence, but the CAPA archive demonstrates that the carceral state is primarily a regional apparatus, and thus not controlled by a monolithic power bloc.[3]

Documents in the CAPA archives demonstrate that carcerality often flows outward from the regional level to the national front. California, being at the forefront of carceral expansion, played a big role in the development of national carceral policy. In the form of government memos, declassified documentation, and private and formal correspondence among government officials, the documents within the CAPA archive detail the concerted effort by the carceral state archival process to forge a private capital/official state partnership that enforced harsher punitive legislation while proliferating racialized propaganda that blamed Black people themselves for the structural violence inflicted upon them. Giving life to a newly minted "gang terror threat," the carceral state activated archival models to attack Black communities. It was California's antigang legislation and tactics, combined with partnerships with emergent technologies (JPL, Motorola, etc.) that provided an early model for national mandates and surveillance infrastructures so important for the development of the carceral archive.

Armed with the information found in the CAPA archive and informed by their lived experience, many of the youth and community organizations who organized out of SCL and utilized the archival resources as strategic guideposts. They were weary of ready-made solutions. Firmly aware of the LAPD's constant change in tactics and the fluidity to which the law applied to them (such as the case of the PDID, which was studied during political education courses), these youth were aware that the LAPD targeted them because they provided a structure and meaning to the community in the spaces (housing, food, health care) where the carceral state had long since abandoned the neighborhood.

As stated by Marley, "Man, ask anybody around here. It was much safer before the police showed up stopping us every hour on the hour. There were always people walking up and down the block. We protected each other and provided a real sense of community." That same sentiment was echoed by Yusef Omowale, the director of SCL: "It is really crazy how much things have changed since it was decided that this was going to be the new spot to take over. There would be a constant flood of foot traffic, people talking, mingling, hanging out. All of that is gone and more people are being harmed in a plethora of ways." Marley's nuanced understanding stands in stark contrast to that embraced by well-meaning representatives of various nonprofit organizations enlisted by widening carceral logics to provide solutions. The next section examines in detail how nonprofits become agents of carceral agendas, which are then met with fugitive archival practice.

KNOW YOUR RIGHTS WORKSHOP

"You know if we do that, then there is a good chance that we will all get killed." The dynamics in the small room completely changed. From the look on their face, the activist who was leading the "Know Your Rights" training session was not accustomed to getting such frank feedback. Hosted by SCL, the goal of the session was to engage members of the immediate neighborhood surrounding the library with a Los Angeles–based nonprofit that had been conducting "Know Your Rights" trainings. Community members, who had all been involved with various forms of political organizing within their neighborhood, were quite familiar with the LAPD and Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department. They were eager to learn strategies to confront the police. I intentionally use the term "confront," since even though forms of passive resistance were employed by members of the group, they were also vocal about the need to demonstrate force, depending on the situation.

The presenter had just finished discussing their fourth bullet point, "Probable Cause," which was boldly stated on a pamphlet they circulated to the group: "You have the right to let the police know that you will not comply with their commands if they do not state a reason for questioning or searching your body or belongings." This was at the exact moment when the aforementioned retort was issued by one of the group members. It was also the exact moment when the relationship between the trainer and the trainees quickly changed. Not done in a callous manner, or even attempting to engender a quick laugh, the young man continued, "You know you have talked a lot about the police, but I am not sure if you know that what you are saying is actually not good for us. For example, around here, there is no such thing as probable cause. They use what is called reasonable suspicion. If we don't comply with their orders or follow the routine, you will probably get shot." The "following of the routine" that the young man referred to was the act of pulling up one's shirt when the police appeared on the scene. It was not uncommon to see several police cars approach a group of mostly young men, and all at once, all of them would lift their shirts, demonstrating that they did not have weapons. As stated by one of the young men, according to the logic that governs the police in the neighborhood, it is a reasonable suspicion for "all of us to have weapons."

He went on to explain the danger in utilizing the strategies put forth by the presenter: "I know that we are supposed to have certain rights, but the reality of the situation is that by actively engaging with the police in what they deem to be 'not cooperating,' then we are gone. Either to jail or under the ground. And all the police have to state is that they had reasonable suspicion that we were packing a weapon or had committed a crime."

The irony at that particular moment was not lost on anyone. Here was a representative of a "progressive" nonprofit whose intention was to do good work, but following their advice would create unsafe conditions. While their position and the organization that they worked for marked them as an expert on Los Angeles—and Black Los Angeles, in particular—their pamphlet and strategies were prepackaged without any understanding of local racial, gendered, class, or sexed dynamics that governed the community. Further, the directives that were circulated were framed around the concept of police violence as only emanating from direct contact with police (such as police shootings or physical violence). Such framing also refused to account for the knowledge, strategies, and methodologies utilized by organizations that operated outside of the purview of the state.

LOS ANGELES AND CARCERAL ARCHIVE MANAGEMENT

Inside the CAPA archive, several stories that illustrate the expansion of the carceral state archival project bubble to the surface: CAPA or one of its allied organizations engage in a bitter struggle ranging from the construction of a prison in the Central Valley region of California, to police violence, to coordinated surveillance among several city and state agencies. Without fail, the state or city response is in concert with a nonprofit agency. There is either a nonprofit agency that is established to address issues of police violence or a nonprofit agency established as a conduit for residents to voice their concerns about the "betterment" of their community. As a strategy of power maintenance, the carceral state has been keen on utilizing the nonprofit sector as a pathway to establish order through the archiving of dissent into palatable, nonthreatening forms of civic engagement. In this capacity, the nonprofit has become the primary model utilized by the carceral state in an attempt to archive social order and knowledge production that has, in turn, given rise to a particular form of carceral state management.

This connection and carceral state archival capacity were made apparent to many of the Black residents of the Vermont Corridor. As told by many who took part in the "Know Your Rights" workshop and the political education classes at SCL, the wave of policing that hit the neighborhood was sudden and continuous. Although the state had long since abandoned the community's basic needs, in its void, the community had developed alternative forms and "hustles." As described by Juli Grigsby (2014), the basis of these hustles were collective community projects to make a living in the face of abject circumstances. However, the area was also a site of tremendous class tension. The neighborhood is located adjacent to a predominantly Black middle-class community, which viewed the Vermont Corridor with a mix of disdain and pity. For them, all matters of improper and criminal behavior were deemed to have originated from the Vermont Corridor. This presented a formidable set of problems for the residents of the Vermont Corridor as the Black middle class turned to the carceral state for a remedy.

The carceral state, in turn, was happy to oblige and unleashed the collective weight of the carceral process. Informed by an ideological apparatus that transferred issues of structural consequence (such as housing and employment) to moral failings, all facets of life were placed under carceral

state scrutiny. As an example, drug addiction was criminalized as a character flaw that resulted in bad individual choices. The analysis posited by CAPA and its allies, in contrast, focused on people's physical and psychological trauma, for which there was no viable health-care system; combined with a lack of stable housing, food, and financial resources, drug addiction was framed by CAPA and others as an effort to cope with multiple forms of trauma and pain through self-medication. The carceral state mythology utterly neglected this systemic perspective. In the case of the Vermont Corridor, blame was placed squarely on the shoulders of young Black men, who were given the moniker of gang member and Black women sex workers, to punish them individually for the state's failures. Local nonprofit organizations, informed by Black middle-class priorities, partnered with local city officials and private foundations. Tragically, their answer to the state's neglect of the Vermont Corridor was to become the managerial class of the carceral state archive. Passage of the Nuisance Abatement Ordinance (NAO) represented the culmination of the partnership between nonprofit organizations and the carceral state. Passed by the Los Angeles City Council and spearheaded by Community Coalition, long heralded as the Black progressive organization of Los Angeles, the NAO effectively brought the police to the doorstep of the residents of the Vermont Corridor (Community Coalition 2009a). With policy language that specifically targeted motels and liquor stores, the new legislation gave carte blanche to the Los Angeles Police Department to stop, search, harass, and arrest Black people with impunity. With an explicit focus on public areas, police began daily sweeps of convenience store parking lots and motels. As told by several young people who were active in neighborhood organizing and members of the political education classes, the area transformed from a bustling haven of communal gathering spaces to general emptiness, aside from the steady flow of typical Los Angeles automobile traffic. Most pronounced, the policy had dire consequences for Black women, as they were pushed out of the relative safety of motels and were now forced to conduct their trade in much more perilous environments.[4]

BLACK FUGITIVE ARCHIVAL PRACTICE AS CRITIQUE AND SOLUTION

In the tradition of state archiving projects, the ordering of the Vermont Corridor neighborhood into either jails and prisons or self-removal to avoid conflict with the police was heralded as a victory by the city and importantly by the adjacent Black middle-class communities (Community Coalition 2009b). City council leaders and representatives within the nonprofit community lauded the success of the police department to protect and provide safety for the community. The gross irony of the policy was that it created a much more tenuous living and working circumstance for Black Angelinos along the Vermont Corridor. The initiative fundamentally altered the established dynamics of social relationships within the community, and this, in turn created unsafe conditions. The staples of the community, such as child-care providers, economic partnerships, and transportation to and from work, were now made precarious. Marley explained to me that many residents of the neighborhood thought that this action was an attempt to quash the growing momentum of communal organizations and their increasingly loud calls for autonomy of land and space.

Marley's invocation of autonomy of land and space placed into context another aspect of the NAO policy crackdown. When the Community Coalition launched the NAO campaign, it was a part of a conglomerate of nonprofits that aimed to stymie what were designated as "food deserts" in the region. While the origin of the term "food desert" is complicated, for the purposes of this particular campaign, the term was employed to designate that the Vermont Corridor did not have sufficient food options. The solution generated by this campaign was to lobby various forms of financial and private capital to invest resources to build big-box grocery stores to replace the myriad of liquor stores in the area.

Marley explained that the idea of bringing in a grocery store to solve real problems of food insecurity was laughable at best.

> What we need are plots of land where we can grow our own fruits and vegetables. We don't have money to buy food from Ralphs or Vons, or for sure Trader Joe's [chain grocery stores], so how is that going to solve our problem. If you bring one of those stores over in here, then it for sure means that you want me out of here in order to bring in someone who is going to pay for it.

Marley's observations point to the gross irony at the heart of this campaign. It was City Council member Jan Perry who had accelerated local food insecurity by spearheading the closure of one of the last public gardens in South-Central Los Angeles (Kennedy 2014). The community garden was a large parcel of land (fourteen acres) utilized by residents (at no cost) to grow fruits and vegetables. While some people sold their produce, much of it went to providing needed food nourishment to families throughout the region. Having eliminated an important local food resource, Perry, via the NAO campaign, was now lobbying for big supermarkets and the elimination of local liquor stores and hotels as a solution to the so-called food desert.

Marley's analysis pointed out that residents of the Vermont Corridor saw these campaigns as part of a larger shift to remove them from the region and replace them with a racial and class demographic (white, middle class) that would satiate the appetites of real estate and finance capital. Further, Marley and his peers understood that the calls for autonomous land rights to be a major threat to the ordering mechanisms within the city's long-term planning schemes. Anticipating the shifts that were afoot, Marley's breakdown of the region echoed the sentiments of CAPA leadership in the 1980s and 1990s, who connected land dispossession of Black Angelinos and speculative finance capital that sought to take advantage of the region's strategic and desirable location to freeways, the airport, and beaches (interview with Zinzun, 2005).

In thinking about the disjuncture and opportunity formed between state archival projects and fugitive archival practice, Dylan Rodríguez's (2007) insightful analysis of the possibilities forged by the limitations of the nonprofit/carceral state alliance is extremely helpful.[5] Specifically, Rodríguez provides an avenue to understand the critical dynamics that undergird the chasm between the ordering process of state archival projects and the historical tradition of the fugitive archival practice enacted by the young residents of the Vermont Corridor. Marley and his peers could not be subsumed within the nonprofit/philanthropic logic that earnestly assured them all they need is to "know your rights." The state attempted to render them as irrational subjects by labeling them with the monikers "gang member," "juvenile delinquent," and "terrorist."[6] However, the logic behind their supposedly irrational analysis reveals a carceral state archive built upon multiple levels of structural dispossession. Thus, the solution set to the vast negative impact of the carceral state should not be framed within the narrow parameters defined by civic participation or moral strivings. Marley clearly articulated a campaign that links malicious state governance (i.e., removal of health care and vital medical resources) to land dispossession and to the expansion of policing and jails. Operating within the genealogical tradition of fugitive archival practice, Marley and his peers have critical insight into how best to develop critical strategies and the wherewithal to address the collusion amid the myriad of entities who construct and benefit from the carceral state.

FUGITIVE ARCHIVAL PRACTICE AND THE CARCERAL STATE ARCHIVE

Avery Gordon opens *The Hawthorn Archive* with a synthesis of the project's breadth, scope, and intent:

> The Hawthorn Archive houses an incomplete and disorganized intellectual history of a somewhat—but not entirely—random selection of radicals, runways, deserters, abolitionists, heretics, dreamers, and liberationist who at some point stop doing what they were told they had to do, stop thinking what they were told they had to think, and stop being available for things they had no design and making or controlling. (Gordon 2017, 2)

In shape and form, fugitive archival practice functions to produce and reproduce the dual functionality that Gordon carefully constructs in the Hawthorn Archive. It exists to both deconstruct the fallacies, frameworks, and basic premise of state-propagated knowledge (i.e., state archive formations) and serve as a generative force that informs new epistemologies of being.

In relationship to the former, the reactive nature and punitive organizational structure of the carceral state archive is apparent. The carceral state has been extremely effective in accumulating and ordering social relations through processes of structural normalization that bolster its legitimacy within civil society. These projects include, but are not limited to, state medical records, school records, disciplinary records, juvenile offense records, foster care records, public housing records, and general public assistance (such as food) records. The power of the carceral state archive is its breadth and ability to maintain hierarchies through a profound yet quiet infiltration of all parts of state governance, and as a consequence, is rendered normal/essential to daily life.

While there has been a severe uptick in conversation regarding carcerality, the state has been eager to render the main points of critique as fanciful and/or co-opt the conversation through a system of criminal-reproducing reforms. As in the case with the "Know Your Rights" training, the invocation of the civil process based upon a static system of legal jurisprudence functions to reproduce the Black residents of the Vermont Corridor as either criminal or noncompliant subjects, which at its most extreme provides justification for state-sanctioned murder.

When confronted with the civic engagement mandate, the young people present revealed a small opening into the inner workings of the fugitive archival practice. On one hand, they have an acute awareness that civic process is fundamentally flawed. Yet that awareness also dictates that they must master its concepts and conceits as a means of survival. This was made evident by the ability to contest the incorrect dissemination of information provided in the "Know Your Rights" training with similar strategies of legal justification. However, the youth also understood that the law would not save you from the police or various iterations of carceral state power. The invocation of "reasonable suspicion" was not elicited as a strategy to be invoked, but rather a statement of fact: within the codification of the civic process, the carceral state has unlimited power to do as it wants. Thus, the logic of the meeting attendees was straightforward: while it is important to understand how the legal system functions, it is more important to understand that it is designed for containment and death, not freedom.

The distinction made during the workshop highlights the archiving difference between the fugitive archival project and the carceral state archive. The carceral state utilizes a punitive archival process to organize knowledge and, relatedly, to reinscribe power through notions of justice based upon state-formulated legal edicts and doctrines. The normalizing effects of such a legal framework are legitimated under cloaks of safety and protection that mask the heinous acts of dispossession that are central to the carceral state project. Just as important, the carceral state archive positions the rationality of communal knowledge as illogical and baseless. In the case of the "Know Your Rights" workshop, the young people expressed that one of the reasons that the "reasonable suspicion" argument is not questioned as an excess of state power is that as a collective—a gang or even possible members of a gang—they have been defined as a threat to law and order and therefore unworthy of protection. They are permanently guilty. As a result, their knowledge of the processes and intent of the carceral state is framed as a reactionary posture that emanates from a state of their permanent guilt.

The story of organizing efforts emanating out of South-Central Los Angeles is not finished. Through rigorous

engagement with genealogical traditions and a steadfast belief in the vision of a sociality determined by a radical egalitarianism, key to fugitive archival practice is a procurement of previous epochs of thought and practice. As Marley once told me, "Life is a challenge, but we have been here before and we know our purpose. It is beyond all of this around us that only seems normal, but it is all a front. We exist to make tomorrow known for what it really is and we will shape that according to the knowledge that we possess."

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NOTES

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1. As argued by Clyde Woods (1998, 16), "While the story of federal policy and multinational corporations is seductive, regions still matter. It is only through an examination of organized power in the region that regional institutions, relations and movements can be understood and structures of inequality may be dismantled."
2. The term enclosure is in reference to Clyde Woods's utilization of "enclosure" to describe the coalescence of policymakers, plantation owners, academics and elected officials who worked to counter the social vision of life asserted by the Black working class of the Mississippi Delta from Reconstruction to the 1990s. Detailing the multipronged strategy, which included elimination of public resources, stealing of land, and imposition of punitive legal codes, Woods argues that the enclosure process took many forms and was a prolonged strategy that attempted to stifle Black life and ways of being (Woods 1998). Critical to his discussion is the centrality of Black autonomy. He writes, "African Americans were motivated by a desire for autonomy. One of the most analytically debilitating myths about plantation workers and peasants is that they passively accommodate themselves to the dominant institutions. In such discussions, the freedom ethic becomes the sole possession of the people destined to rule while some other theory must be found to explain why others cannot run their own affairs" (55).
3. In her tome on carcerality within California, Ruth Wilson Gilmore (2007) incisively makes the point about the need to understand region. Connecting the points of interstices between various state, local and county actors, Gilmore maps out the unique ways that prison expansion and policy exploded in the State of California. Similarly, she flushes out the manner in which organizing against prisons flourished across the intersections of race, class, and gender during the same time period. While articulating these points, Gilmore illustrates that carceral development in the state was organized around specific circumstances that, while influential within national discussions, were very much located within the regional politics of state and county affairs. In concert with each other, Gilmore and Woods point to an analytical framework that understands the development of the racial capitalist practices as emanating from the regional spreading out into the national imaginary.
4. It is of note that at this moment, Black women in the Vermont Corridor region were being targeted and killed at the hands of Lonnie David Franklin Jr., who at the time was unknown as the murderer and was given the infamous moniker "the Grim Sleeper" (Grigsby 2014). Franklin had a particular disdain for sex workers and targeted Black women who he thought were sex workers.
5. Rodríguez (2007, 31) asserts, "As the distance between state authority and civil society collapses, the civic spaces for resistance and radical political experimentation disappear and disperse into places unheard, unseen, and untouched by the presumed audiences of the non-profit industry: arguably, the most vibrant sites of radical and proto-radical activity and organizing against racist US state violence and white supremacist civil society are condensing among populations that the NPIC [nonprofit industrial complex] cannot easily or fully incorporate."
6. The designation of "terrorist" emanates from the 1987 Street Terrorism Enforcement and Prevention Act that targeted and criminalized Black Angelinos.

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