THESIS

IMMIGRATION DETENTION AND THE TREADMILL OF PRODUCTION: A CYCLE OF ECOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION

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ABSTRACT

IMMIGRATION DETENTION AND THE TREADMILL OF PRODUCTION: A CYCLE OF ECOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION

Conflict and group-threat theorists consistently debate what causes threat perception towards out-groups like migrants. These back-and-forth analyses focus on economic versus cultural reasoning. However, they often ignore the environmental context and political-economic structures influencing public perception. To complicate and scale these theories, this study relies on ecological degradation, characterized by Superfund sites, to determine how it influences the local economy and public perception of immigrants. Nearly one-third of United States prisons are within 3 miles of a Superfund site. Though the existing literature has pointed to the relationship between prison siting and ecological disorganization, the proximity of the immigration detention facility (IDF) to environmental harm has not been included in the broader toxic prison scholarship.

This study first finds that nearly half of IDFs are located within 10 miles of a Superfund site. Next, regressing facility proximity data on county-level economic and social conditions helps understand the likelihood of their proximity to a Superfund site. A percentage point increase in a county's unemployment rate in 2017 compared to 1990 is associated with an 8 percent decrease in distance between an IDF and Superfund NPL site. Counties with a lower percentage of White Americans tend to have IDFs situated closer to Superfund NPL sites. If IDFs are treated as locally undesirable land uses (LULUs), their development relies on establishing sites of acceptance or Please in My Backyard (PIMBY) movements towards these

facilities. This study finds that PIMPY movements towards immigration detention facilities near Superfund sites are motivated more by economic precarity than perceived cultural threat. This aligns with the motivation of the citizen/worker actor in the Treadmill of Production and Law (ToP/ToL) theory. The other actors within treadmill theory include corporations and the state. To test if these actors and the relationships between them apply to immigration detention, a secondary analysis is conducted to determine the association between these corporations' annual revenue and their political campaign and lobbying expenditures. Using data from 2015 to 2020, the two largest private prison and detention corporations, CoreCivic and GEO Group annual revenue and revenue from federal contracts share strong positive correlations with their political and lobbying spending.

Though treadmill theory has traditionally been reserved for environmental crime, laws, and enforcement, this study shows that incarceration and detention policies are constructed by state, corporate, and labor actors to maintain accumulation and influence threat. Immigration detention is used to *reestablish the state's legitimacy* through the allure of jobs in areas harmed by environmental crimes and economic precarity. These associations further reveal the cyclical relationship between ecological and social disorganization in counties harmed by environmental degradation in the United States.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

On 10 March 2024, there were 39,911 migrants held in detention facilities in the United States; 26,180 did not have a criminal record (TRAC 2024). Since the 1990s, both citizen incarceration and migrant detention rates have drastically increased in the US (Nellis 2023a). However, incarcerated populations in the US have declined from 1.5 million citizens in 2009 to 1,230,100 in 2022 due to the high public cost of incarceration and the success of de-carceration movements (Porter 2022; Carson 2023). In response, immigration detention rates and privatized detention continue to increase sharply. In 2019, 510,854 immigrants were detained; the average daily detained immigrant population was 50,165 (U.S. ICE 2019). In comparison, at the height of the political frenzy that led to Crimmigration policies like Proposition 187 in California in 1993 (Garcia 1995), the annual total was 72,764 detained migrants, with an average daily population of 4,642. This demonstrates the need for criminologists to include immigration detention in their analyses to further the political-economic influence on the criminal justice system.

Studying correctional facilities and their proximity to toxic areas is increasingly necessary to link green criminological research, environmental justice, and prison scholarship (Bradshaw 2018; Braz & Gilmore 2006; Opsal and Malin 2020). This study contributes to this nexus by including immigration detention facilities in this discussion. This is the first quantitative study to measure the proximity of immigration detention facilities to Superfund sites across the United States. Utilizing quantitative methods to test the associations of environmental harm, economic precarity, and immigration detention enhances the generalizability of green criminology theories that historically lack these methods relative to other criminology subdisciplines (Lynch et al. 2017). It is also among the first to incorporate immigration detention

facilities into the broader toxic prison research (Douglas & Sáenz 2013; Golash-Boza 2009). Though many studies have begun exposing carceral environmental inequality through prison siting (Greenberg & Perdue 2024) by showing prisons are located more closely to toxic areas (Opsal & Malin 2022; Bradshaw 2018; Pellow 2020) and can contribute to further environmental harm (Toman 2022; Leon-Corwin et al. 2020), none have modeled what economic conditions predict closer proximity on a national scale. Finally, the quantitative methods in this study measure and utilize a political economy approach to dissect this association.

Merging several theoretical approaches allows for measuring the cyclical relationship between structure and ideology and ecological and social disorganization. Group conflict, economic competition, and contact hypothesis theories are common in modeling the threat perception of migrants (McLaren 2003). However, no threat studies consider how environmental degradation leads to economic precarity and influences threat perception for in-groups like citizens.[1] Using an environmental justice lens by treating immigration detention facilities as Locally Undesirable Land Uses (LULUs) allows for modeling the ecological context of these facilities. This allows for measurements on the drivers of movements for (PIMBY) or against (NIMBY) the siting of these facilities. While this framework establishes a deeper appreciation of the relationship between the threat perception of citizens and workers towards migrants, they remain nested within larger political-economic forces that permit environmental harm and immigration detention. Ronald Kramer (2020) argues that "states in the Global North (particularly the U.S. global empire) are also guilty of the direct commission of violent crimes by responding to climate change with exclusionary immigration policies, expanded border enforcement, walls and surveillance, arrests and expulsions, political repression, and militarized

[1] Some environmental immigration studies research climate migrants and their perception of conflict (Koubi et al. 2018).

policing methods" (Buxton and Hayes 2016; Miller 2017, 2019; Parenti 2011). To conceptualize this process, political-economic green criminological theories like the Treadmill of Production, Law, and Crime can be used to model the relationships between state, corporate, and citizen actors (Schnaiberg 1980; Stretesky, Long, & Lynch 2014). The below figure shows these actors and their relationships. This study defines each of these actors within the context of immigration detention. It suggests this theoretical framework can be tested quantitatively and extended to social disorganization and the US criminal justice system. Combining these theories and exploring these critical issues calls for developing threat theories to incorporate these structural forces (Massey 2015), and support of immigration detention in the US is better understood.

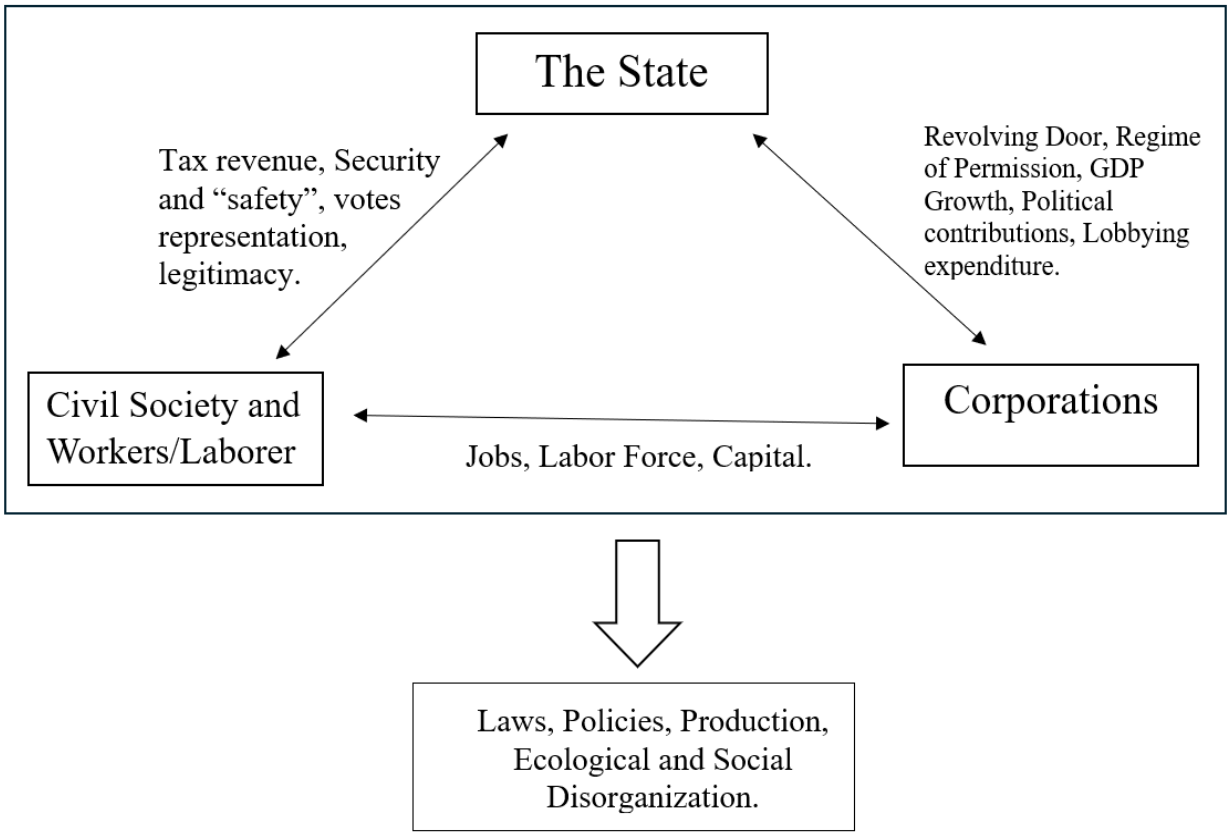

Figure 1. Actors on the Treadmill of Production

Research Questions

1. *What is the relationship between Superfund sites, economic precarity, contact with migrant populations, and immigration detention?*
2. *What is the criminal justice system's role in political economic green criminology and the Treadmill of Production?*
3. *How are conflict and threat theories influenced by social structures of environmental degradation, social stratification, and state-corporate crime?*

This study finds that immigration detention facilities (IDFs) are located near Superfund National Priority List (NPL) sites at similar rates to prisons nationally. Of the 261 IDFs identified in this study, 45 percent are located within 10 miles of an NPL site. The distance between IDFs and NPL sites decreased in counties that have a lower percentage of White residents and an increasing rate of unemployment since 1990. A percentage point increase in county unemployment spanning this period is associated with an 8 percent decrease in distance between an IDF and NPL site. A percentage point increase in the White population of a county is associated with a 3 percent increase in the distance between an IDF and NPL site. A greater noncitizen population is associated with an increased distance between an IDF and NPL site, and an increasing noncitizen population since 1990 has had no effect.

These findings suggest that when measuring changes in population or economic conditions over time, people support the use of an immigration detention facility more for perceived economic than cultural threats if a Superfund site is present. Threat theories have focused on racial conflict that finds increases in minority groups lead to increases in perceived threat (Blumer 1958; Blalock 1967), contact hypotheses that claim increases in interaction with out-groups reduce threat perception (Allport 1958; Williams 1947), and economic competition

hypotheses that argue threat derives from economic precarity and perception of a zero-sum amount of resources where increases of out-groups threaten the proportional share of in-groups (McLaren 2003; Scheve and Slaughter 2001). These findings answer and further support the demand that threat theorists incorporate changes over time, the interests of political in-group leaders, and environmental context in future studies (Meulman et al. 2009; Lancee & Pardos-Prado 2013; Massey 2015).

Studying immigration policy and the criminal justice system contributes to research on Superfund sites and environmental disorganization, disproportionately harming marginalized populations by revealing another cycle in the relationship between ecological and social disorganization. This cyclical relationship shows the state's response to environmental harm politicizes our borders and economically drives our criminal justice system using contemporary forms of incarceration like immigration detention (Kramer 2020; Parini 2011). Since areas are more likely to site an immigration detention facility near a Superfund site based on economic conditions, support for these policies is predicted by unemployment rather than a perceived cultural threat. A greater noncitizen population percentage increases the distance between these sites when controlling for labor trends and in-group populations like White citizens. This could explain how contact between migrants and citizens decreases threat perception.

The secondary analysis in this study measures the relationship between the two largest private immigration detention facility operators, CoreCivic and GEO Group, and the State represented by the federal government that awards contracts to these corporations. Previous research shows these corporations and the state share a revolving door of leadership. Increases in political spending by these corporations result in larger contracts from the government (Douglas and Sáenz 2013). This leads researchers to name this the immigration industrial complex

(Golash-Boza 2009). This study updates this research and finds that from 2015 to 2020, the more money these corporations spent on political campaigns and lobbying, the more money they received from government contracts, and their annual revenue strongly and positively correlates with this spending. This fulfills the state and corporate actors in the treadmill of production.

When bridging the nexus of these conflict, threat, environmental justice, and green criminology theories, immigration detention is better understood through the political economy. Public perception and ideologies are influenced by the relations of production that demand new frontiers for growth and accumulation. The treadmill of production requires an ideology of growth and new frontiers to maintain accumulation. The criminal justice system is a product of these production-oriented systems, leading to new frontiers of punishment.

This study adjudicates disputes between threat theorists by showing economic precarity predicts the siting of an immigration detention facility more than cultural threat perception. This is because the criminal justice system utilizes political-economic reasoning to justify the removal, displacement, and incarceration of people as a monetary resource. The Treadmills of Production, Law, Crime, and Destruction produce the military, prison, and immigration industrial complexes (Schnaiberg 1980; Stretesky et al. 2013; Lynch et al. 2020; Hooks and Smith 2004; Gould, Pellow, and Schnaiberg 2015). After elucidating the relationship between the state—encompassing politicians, federal agencies, and local governments—and corporations, this analysis delineates the motivations of workers and citizens in the context of economic precarity. Given the significant political-economic impact on the criminal justice system's operations, this study underscores the necessity for threat theorists examining immigration detention to refine their theories. This refinement should more thoroughly account for the environmental, historical, and capitalist structural forces shaping public threat perceptions.

Integrating a critical ecological justice framework, a political-economic perspective on green criminology, and a Crimmigration lens makes it possible to more accurately elucidate the interwoven social structures that drive conflict and social change. This approach enables a more comprehensive understanding of the dynamics at play, advocating for a nuanced interpretation that aligns with the complex realities of the situation.

This thesis starts by reviewing the conflict theoretical orientation in sociology and the cyclical influence of the means and relations of production and our ideologies, culture, and institutions. Then, I examine how this approach led to the development of threat theories. The ensuing literature review on Crimmigration analyzes US immigration policies, toxic prisons, and the privatization of the criminal justice system. The respective development of environmental justice, state-corporate crime, and green criminology applies more contemporary theories of these foundations. Finally, this study demonstrates that Superfund sites and the history of ecological and population regulation in the US are products of political-economic forces and the treadmill of production. This study's concluding remarks provide policy recommendations that treat ecological and social disorganization as interrelated. Reducing harm requires re-organizing society to address social and ecological harm simultaneously.

CHAPTER TWO: THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Conflict

Conflict theories argue societies have structural power divisions and resource inequalities that lead to conflicting interests between groups (Wells 1979). This contests consensus theorists who claim society is made up of a collective response to the needs of social interaction, which establishes rules, norms, and values. Conflict theorists dispute that society is best understood through this contractual agreement between members for a shared goal. Instead, Georg Simmel argues this is the will of political subordination characterized by the "tendency of domination by means of leveling" (Simmel 1896). Consensus is an illusion that creates subordination by maintaining hierarchal positions of superiority and inferiority. Those who gain privilege from this distribution system of resources, status, wealth, and power will perceive an attack upon them as an attack on the system (Coser 1957).

Marx and Engels (1848) argue power imbalances and social stratification are based on class: "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle." The economic system of capitalism forms the means and relations of production known as the base. The base shapes and maintains superstructure, characterized by social ideologies, culture, and institutions, and maintains the means of production. Those in power maintain this cyclical pattern with the most to gain from production that assigns power based on class (Marx 1848). Social change can only be understood by investigating the conflict within this system. Therefore, class struggle within the means of production reveals structure and power differentials. As inequality and concentration of wealth continue to grow through corporate sectors, conflict operates to maintain the basis of integration of social systems (Turner 1975). Efforts to preserve the current mode of

production must be scrutinized through the Marxian lens if we wish to study social change. This is because dominant groups regulate the socialization of subordinate groups and promote alienative dispositions among subordinate groups to prevent communication and unifying systems of belief (Turner 1975).

Contemporary conflict theory evolved this ideological focus beyond just class. Instead, social stratification scholars build on Max Weber, who contends the "iron laws" of oligarchy and bureaucracy, respectively, are not a resolution of the crisis in consensus theory but a symptom of that crisis (Horowitz 1962). However, as conflict theory developed, its basic themes remained consistent: social structure is built on stratification and inequality defined by the domination of groups over one another (Collins 1975; Turner 1973). Social change is driven by conflict: “Long periods of relatively stable domination are punctuated by intense and dramatic episodes of group mobilization” (Collins 1990). To investigate alternative explanations of power differentials and conflicting material interests, research must focus on legitimizing domination as a source of power for social change to occur (Collins 1975; Weber 1978).

Conflict offers us the opportunity to ask a broader range of questions. It is necessary to reduce social harm because power imbalances create it. Therefore, the resolution of social problems requires us to understand conflict. The role of immigration within conflict theory distinguishes the social stratification of in and out-groups. This dialectical relationship is a process of othering that homogenizes the out-group of migrants. Conflict theorists must research how groups with relatively low status or class must be reassured that the structure of society and balance of power still favors them to some extent: “Every highly privileged group develops a myth of its … superiority. Under the conditions of stable distribution of power that myth is accepted by the negatively privileged strata” (Weber 1978: 953). Immigrants act as a scapegoat

for the problems of society while effectively leveling low-status groups higher up the hierarchal chain. To understand the perception of immigrants and conflicts between groups, threat theories were developed to operationalize group conflict. However, even within critical research, the maintenance of migrants as others is reinforced by the theoretical gaze and broad categorization of migrants (Schenk 2020). Therefore, to align with conflict theory, this research gaze must necessarily focus on how our ideologies and institutions are produced by the means of production and interests of the elite classes of society.

Threat

Conflict theory has developed to explain and measure power differentials and competing material interests. Marx argued the material conditions we exist in determine our conscious state: "The mode of production of material life conditions is the general process of social, political, and intellectual like. It is not the consciousness of me that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness" (Marx & Engels 1859). Using relative historical, spatial, and economic conditions as a means of analysis has inspired every sociologist since. This historical materialist approach attempts to understand social evolution through the material conditions of human existence. For Marx (1846), every successive ruling class creates and maintains the conceptualization of the social world to conform to their interests. However, as diversification and globalization continue, strictly class-based conflict oversimplifies the complexities and intersections of society and interaction.

A race-based conflict approach emerged to measure the discrepancies of a strictly class-based model (Blalock 1967). These theories emerged during social unrest and the Civil Rights movement and dichotomized White and Black racial groups. It aims to explain discrimination and prejudice and the role of elites and media in defining subordinate racial groups through

major social events (Blalock 1967; Blumer 1958). Prejudice and discrimination tend to decline when elite leaders or spokespeople do not treat coverage of events so vehemently adversarial (Blumer 1958; Kalmoe 2014; Cramer 2020).

The Souls of White Folk by W.E.B Du Bois (1920) established sociological research around the concept of whiteness. Whiteness is fundamental to racial oppression in America and is a normative and default category to which others are compared. However, as immigration to the United States increased in waves, the social construction of whiteness became more complicated than the color line between White and Black. Rothenberg (2000) contends whiteness is an "invisible privilege" that grants power and status beyond other groups. 19th and 20th-century European migrants pursued whiteness to establish a higher status upon arrival to the US (Jacobsen 1999; Guglielmo 2003). Since then, the rhetoric around the whiteness of immigrants and rising rates of immigration detention has been focused on homogenizing and othering them as nonwhite and criminal (Davis & Shear 2019; Chavez 2008). [2] Though some migrants in the US were able to be granted a level of whiteness, the dichotomy between white and other is furthered by political and elite rhetoric on the southern border (Kulig et al. 2021). Therefore, race-based conflict approaches are used in the US to study threat perception towards migrants (Massey 2009; Taylor 2014).[3]

Blumer (1958) identifies group-identity conflict theory and argues that racial prejudice exists within group position manifested through four basic types of feeling: (1) superiority, (2)

[2] While post-1965 immigrants in the United States come from all over the world and represent hundreds of races and ethnicities, only 17% identify as White. Black and Latino migrants in the US report higher levels and frequency of discrimination at work, by the police, and by healthcare providers see: Schumacher et al. 2023; Ayón 2016; Golash-Boza and Darity Jr. 2008; Brettel 2011.
[3] Race and culture are different. However, when the distinction between in-groups and out-groups in the US is motivated by the construction, maintenance, and ability to conform to whiteness, racial and cultural threats are often conflated by in-group perceptions.

that the subordinate race is intrinsically different and alien, (3) an inherent claim to privilege and advantage, and (4) fear, or suspicion, that subordinate races threaten the dominant race. The second important aspect of this group definition is the abstract image of the subordinate group defined by their remoteness to the dominant one. Routine experiences between individuals within these groups disrupt the abstract definition made in the public arena (Blumer 1958). The public arena relies on the role of a "big event" to develop this abstract conception of subordinate groups (Blumer 1958).[4] Finally, public discussion is heavily influenced by politicians, leaders of industry, and social elites (Blumer 1958). They "manufacture events to attract public attention and to set lines of issue in such a way as to predetermine interpretations favorable to their interests" (Blumer 1958: 6).

While foundational, Blumer's group and racial conflict theories have necessarily been developed to exact measurements of competition and threat within and between groups. Racial threat theories show communities perceive increasing racial or ethnic minority populations as an intrinsic threat to majority populations (Blalock 1967; Blauner 1972). Blalock (1967) developed the "power threat hypothesis," arguing that hostility towards migrants is due to the perception of threat by other groups' access to societal resources. He proposed that large minority populations living in proximity to Whites increased economic and cultural threat perception among Whites (Blalock 1967). However, this is contested by contact theorists who argue that the presence and frequent interactions with minority populations encourage communication and interaction, which, in turn, changes the perception of out-groups (Sigelman and Welch 1993).

[4] Examples of these "big events" include the Los Angeles protest and riots of 1992 after the killing of Rodney King, islamophobia post-9/11, or the "border crisis" currently being framed by political and media rhetoric in the United States (Collinson 2022).

The criticism of these group-theories is that they primarily focus on White-Black relations within the US. This has led to two dominant research camps branching from them concerning immigration. Because migrants represent many races and cultures, cultural threat theory is based on changing demographics and in versus out-group populations. Under the cultural umbrella, contact theory is defined by rapid waves of migrants over the last half century that influence reactions to threats due to integration; an increasing migrant population causes adverse reactions (Hopkins 2010; Massey 2008). Other studies testing contact hypotheses find opposite results; regional communities that do not experience a large influx of migrants are more likely to report being threatened by migrants than areas that do (Vallas et al. 2009). This aligns more closely with the origins of contact theory, which argues that sustained contact with members of other groups allows for an exchange of ideas, values, and experiences, which is more accurate than abstract definitions from the public arena (Allport 1958; Williams 1947). In testing the contact theory hypothesis, this study intends to measure migrant populations and the change in migrant populations during the rise of immigration detention in the US.

The economic competition hypothesis represents the other dominant theoretical lens of threat theorists regarding immigration. In response to traditional class-based conflict theory and social stratification, competition corollaries suggest people of in-groups feel threatened by immigrants taking resources like jobs, housing, and wealth. Studies measuring economic competition find that economically vulnerable groups, like those with lower education, income, or employment status, report higher perceptions of threat toward migrants (Schneider 2008; Hainmueller and Hiscox 2010; Quillan 1995). Unemployment, poverty, and fear of losing one's job are associated with negative attitudes towards immigrants (Espehnshade and Hempstead 1996; McLaren 2003; Scheve and Slaughter 2001). These economic competition hypotheses

demonstrate the need to include unemployment as a predictor of the treatment of migrants related to immigration detention. The rhetoric around migrant detention and economic precarity suggests a dual benefit from the construction of these detention facilities: growth in jobs for civilians and preventing migrants from taking jobs from these in-groups.

There are demands to move beyond the traditional confines of these theories.[5] Threat perception is not static based on economic or group position. Meuleman, Davidov, and Billet (2009) argue for a dynamic adaptation of group conflict theory that considers sudden changes in minority group size or economic conditions influencing in-group and out-group attitudes. Competition "implies that a change in economic conditions results in a change in one's attitude" (Lancee & Pardos-Prado 2013). This dynamic mechanism finds that "becoming unemployed and being laid off result in being more concerned about immigration" (Lancee & Pardos-Prado 2013). This confirms that a change in the distribution of resources can increase hostility to out-groups from in-groups. Therefore, this dynamic modeling suggests that group-threat theorists must measure the change in employment status of communities over time rather than a static measure of economic precarity.

Massey (2015) demands "the need for greater theoretical attention to the self-interested actions of politicians, pundits, and bureaucrats who benefit from the social construction and political manufacture of immigration crises when none really exist." Pulido (2017) argues that the devaluation of nonwhite bodies is produced by the history of racial capitalism and environmental racism constructed by the US state. Therefore, more scholarly attention must measure how racism underwrites industrial activity and state-sanctioned violence through

[5] Institutional and sociopolitical contexts that influence prejudice against migrants (Ceobanu and Escandell 2010; Massey 2015). Acceptance based on, skills, race, and acculturation (Hainmueller & Hopkins 2015).

ecological and social harm (Pulido 2017). As David Pellow (2007) notes, “The production of social inequalities by race, class, gender, and nation is not an aberration or the result of market failures. Instead, it is evidence of capitalist economies' normal, routine functioning. Modern market economies are supposed to produce social inequalities and environmental inequalities” (2007: 17). Therefore, threat theories are incomplete without attempting to measure the material conditions purported by those who profit most from these ideologies that produce threat perception and the intersection of environment, society, and economy.

The removal of humans from society via detention and the threat of violence through detention and deportation is detrimental to forming equitable discourse. Druckman (2004: 675) contends that “individuals who engage in conversations with a heterogeneous group will be less susceptible to framing effects than those who do not engage in conversation.” Detention is a phenomenon of interaction that forms the perception of allowing migrants to be subjected to violence. Immigration poses a perceived threat to the relational power differential structure in the United States. Conflict theorists must account for this because “only members of in-groups, having a definite status in its hierarchy and also being aware of it, can use its cultural pattern as a natural and trustworthy scheme of orientation” (Schutz 1944). Immigration challenges the system of knowledge and status quo of power differentials in society unless their relational position is maintained through legitimized forces. In response to the perception of threat towards out-groups based on race, class, and status, US policy has led to mass incarceration and immigration detention. Examining how these policies are economically and racially established by actors that gain the most from them is necessary.

Mass Incarceration

In 1972, the incarceration rate in the United States was 93 per 100,000 people (Cahlahan 1986). After this year, the incarceration rate increased annually until 2010 (Guervino et al. 2011). The origins of mass incarceration and policing in the United States are associated with new forms of contemporary slavery and racial capitalism post-abolition (Du Bois 1903). Criminal code and prisons were used to maintain economic production and power differentials based on these racist and capitalist visions (Alexander 2013; Douglas 2019). This established policing practices that permitted mass incarceration that disproportionately targeted people based on race and class.

Since the 1970s, prison populations increased each year due to laws like The Sentencing Reform Act of 1984 and the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986 mandating minimum sentences for drug offenders. This led to the prison population peaking in 2010 at over 1.5 million prisoners (Nellis 2023a). Black men are six times as likely to be incarcerated as white men, and Latino men are 2.5 times as likely. Nationally, one in 81 Black adults in the United States is serving time in state prison (Nellis 2023b). Since the criminal justice system today still produces these inequalities, racial capitalism has grown out of these historical practices: “By insisting that we are still living with the legacy of these processes, racial capitalism requires that we place contemporary forms of racial inequality in a materialist, ideological *and* historical framework” (Pulido 2017).

Conflict and state-corporate crime theorists examine the role of racial capitalism within the criminal justice and incarceration system. This led to the development of the prison-industrial complex, defined as “a set of bureaucratic, political, and economic interests that encourage

increased spending on imprisonment, regardless of the actual need" (Schlosser 1998).[6] However, the prison-industrial complex is also characterized by the relationship between the state and private prison corporations via the government contracts they receive (Appleman 2020). The US's two largest private prison operators are CoreCivic and GEO Group, which collectively report nearly three billion dollars a year of revenue financed by taxpayers (Cho 2023).

Mass incarceration leads to social disorganization in communities where increases in clustering of incarceration exist "by weakening family formation, labor force attachments, and patterns of social interaction among residents" (Lynch and Sabol 2004). There are deep ties between the prison-industrial complex and labor relations and researching the relationship between mass incarceration and labor dynamics remains essential. However, the shift of these corporate business models to immigration detention demands that current studies analyze the adapting political-economic criminal justice system within a historical and material context of racial capitalism. The emergence of neoliberalism, discussed later, alongside immigration detention and environmental deregulation, requires further research into the intersection of environment, racial politics, and economy in the contemporary means of production (Duggan 2003; Faber 2008; Driscoll 2014; Harvey 2005)

Crimmigration & Privatized Immigration Detention

Alongside mass incarceration, immigration detention drastically increased over the last fifty years due to policy reforms towards a perceived threatening population (Nellis 2023a). These policies were adopted by the US during the political-economic reform of neoliberalism. While the 1994 North American Free Trade Agreement was proposed to encourage the flow of goods, it also aimed to reduce the flow of migrants to the US (Johnson 1994; Andreas 1998;

[6] Other examples of the prison-industrial complex include prisoner labor used in production, such as manufacturing and agriculture (Thompson 2012; Chennault and Sbicca 2023

Hollified & Osang 2005). While neoliberalism encourages globalization and free trade across countries, borders became increasingly militarized to prevent resulting migration from this globalization project (Andreas 1998). In a study of the US-Mexico border, Andreas (1998:593) finds: "as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) promotes a de-territorialization of the economy, U.S. border control initiatives reinforce state claims to territorial authority. Thus, the apparent paradox of U.S.-Mexico integration is that a barricaded border and a borderless economy are being created simultaneously". Other globalization projects and ecological imperialism caused the displacement of people and migratory patterns of developing nations (Kramer 2020). In response, policies that criminalized migration further solidified in the US (Stumpf 2006).

Ensuing domestic policy reflects the mission of regulating and criminalizing the flow of migrants in the US. The 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act made undocumented immigration an aggravated felony and required mandatory detention without the option to seek a bond. Anyone charged, including asylum seekers, must remain in custody until their trial. This act also added resources and funding for border patrol and federal immigration enforcement. "Crimmigration," or the criminalization of immigrants, results from such policies (Stumpf 2006). This is characterized by intersecting criminal and immigration law, harsher sentencing, fines, and extended detention, while migrating becomes a potential felony offense (Stumpf 2006).[7] The use of the Immigration and Nationality Act authorized discretionary and mandatory detention of noncitizens today. The overall increase in the arrests and detention of migrants, as well as a content analysis of immigration policy, is often used to operationalize

[7] Post-9/11, immigration policy in the United States became more restrictive and punitive. The Enhanced Border Security and Visa Entry Reform Act of 2002 increased funding for border security and technology that created a data intelligence system for law enforcement agencies to report and verify the admissibility or deportation eligibility of foreign-born individuals.

the crimmigration theory (Stumpf 2006). However, the Crimmigration process does not strictly occur through legal codes; the rhetoric of politicians and media creates and manipulates threat perception. These fears are exacerbated when immigration is consistently referred to as an economic and cultural "border crisis" by left and right-leaning media organizations (Collinson 2022).

While both political parties have held federal office during the increase in immigration detention, the Trump Administration used executive orders and the Department of Justice to make swift policy changes without congressional approval. One of the earliest executive orders was the Border Security and Immigration Enforcement Improvement Order on Jan. 25, 2017. This allocated funds for the border wall, ensured detention for violators, hired 5,000 border patrol agents, authorized federal, state, and municipal officers to conduct immigration enforcement, and prioritized prosecutions on the southern border with Mexico (U.S. DHS 2017). This order expanded the 287(g)-program, allowing local sheriffs and police departments to join the program and have authority to investigate, arrest, detain, and incarcerate migrants. These agreements increased the number and geographical range of facilities in which migrants are detained (Ryo 2020). Within one hundred days of this executive order, there was a 37.6 percent increase in detained migrants compared to the previous year (U.S. DHS 2017). Private immigration detention corporations cashed in from the election of Trump. A day after the election, "GEO Group stock prices rose 21 percent, and CoreCivic stocks soared by 43 percent" (Luan 2018).

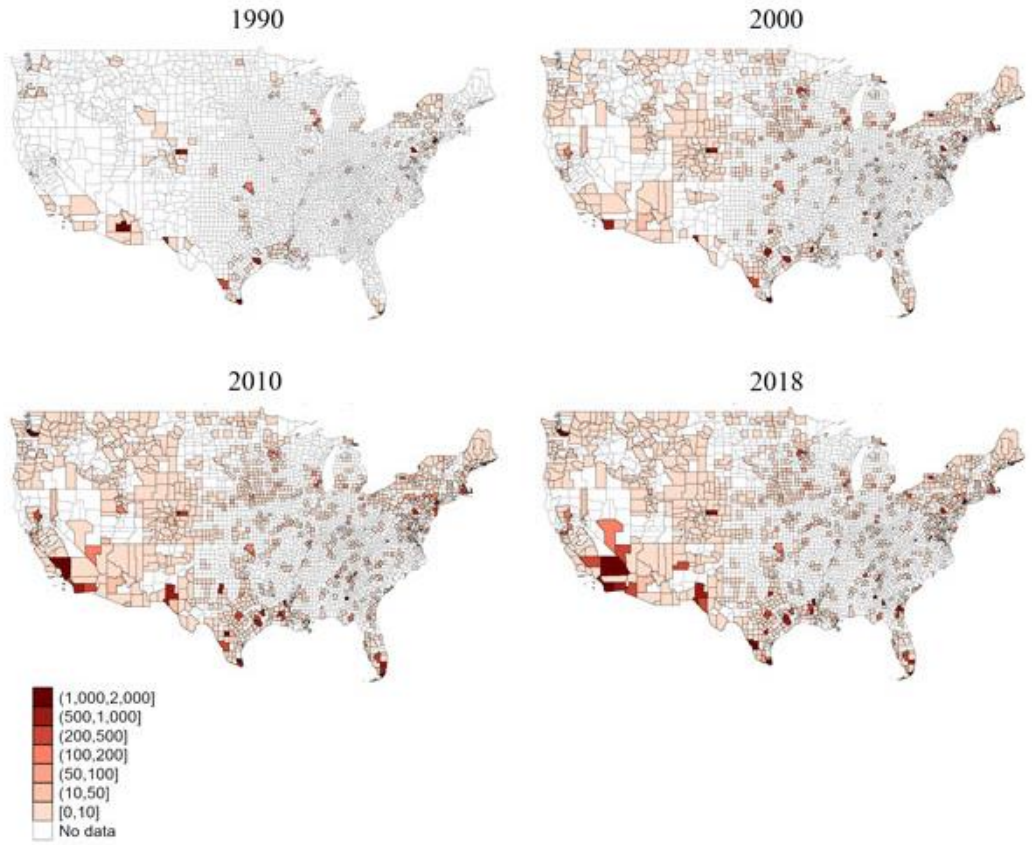

Figure 2. Number of Immigrants in ICE Detention by County 1990 to 2018 [8]

Beckett (2001) argues that incarceration rates in the US purposefully coincide with several different public policies, known as a *single policy regime.* The same is true for immigration detention, the laws that criminalize migrants, provide funding to private detention corporations and normalize violence against migrants. Since the transfer of federal power to the Biden administration, prisoner rights advocates felt successful after the 2021 Executive Order 14006 halted federal government agencies from renewing contracts with privately owned prisons. However, immigration detention facilities do not apply to this order. Since many corporations that operate prisons own immigration detention facilities, they began shifting business models toward government contracts for migrant detention. As of July 2023, the total

[8] National Immigration Justice Center. (2020) Policy Brief. https://immigrantjustice.org/research-items/policy-brief-5-reasons-end-immigrant-detention

number of migrants in private detention facilities increased from 79 to 91 percent (Cho 2023). These layered policy regimes will only exacerbate rising migrant detention rates.

The private prison industry and prison-industrial complex view immigration detention as an opportunity for new frontiers of accumulation. Two major corporations have dominated the private prison industry and were well-positioned to transition to immigration detention. CoreCivic, previously Corrections Corporation of America, was established in 1983, and the GEO Group was incorporated in 1984. These businesses have increased annual profits from the nation's growth in prisoners and detainees (Douglas 2013). In 2015, the private prison industry operated 62 percent of immigration detention beds and ran nine of the ten largest detention centers housing (Luan 2018). In 2017, the Department of Homeland Security spent approximately $126 per day for each detained noncitizen. As immigration detention costs steadily increased to around $2 billion annually, industry profits soared. Between 2007 and 2014, CoreCivic's overall annual profits grew from about $133 million to $195 million, and GEO Group's yearly profits grew from about $42 million to $144 million (Luan 2018). CoreCivic and GEO Group know the risks associated with government regulation on private prisons and immigration detention. A 2021 financial report found that:

> "Declining illegal immigration threatens GEO because ICE is its largest customer ~33% revenue). The Daily ICE Detention Population sits at 20-year lows because the pandemic forced ICE to take fewer immigrants to adhere to social distancing guidelines. Additionally, the Biden administration cares less about immigration compared to the Trump administration. Falling daily detainee populations correlate to empty facilities. This benefits GEO in the short term because most of their contracts contain minimum occupancy clauses of 80-90%. Meaning they still receive fees for 80% of beds even if only 40% are occupied. The Trump administration's vast funding for immigration enabled ICE to pay high minimum occupancy rates. The Government Accountability Office found that the number of guaranteed beds by ICE grew 45% during the Trump administration. Low detainee populations hurt GEO in the long term because ICE will likely be reluctant to pay high minimum occupancy rates. ICE's declining budget also makes it more reluctant to pay high minimum occupancy rates… Declining incarceration

rates, falling illegal immigration, and push back against prison labor threaten GEO's operations" (Lutolli 2021).

These corporations could maintain revenue through their relationship with the state and the ability to utilize their infrastructure towards immigration. While the massive profits that these corporations garnered in the prison-industrial complex abruptly declined from 1998 to 2001, they built speculative prisons: "excess prison space for inmates who did not yet exist." (Wood 2007; Golash-Boza 2009). Immigrants soon took up this bed space (Ryo and Peacock 2020). Loyola University law professor Andrea Armstrong sees the effects in Louisiana: "When criminal justice reforms were enacted, that left empty beds that were ripe for contracting with ICE" (Noguchi 2019). These contracts can be lucrative; the state pays local sheriffs $24.39 per day to house someone convicted of a crime, but the average daily rate US ICE pays to house an immigrant detainee is $126.52 (Noguchi 2019). The infrastructure is there to house immigrants, the need is there for jobs, and detaining migrants fulfills both needs to some extent; "immigration detention spending has skyrocketed, and the rural areas benefited from that" (Noguchi 2019).

The contracting process is made possible by the revolving door of state leaders and corporate executives within these companies. Like other extractive industries, CoreCivic's corporate leadership and employees have served in senior management and counsel positions within the Department of Defense, U.S. Senate committees, US. House of Representatives, lobbying groups, and the President's cabinet secretary (Douglas and Sáenz, 2013). This is particularly concerning because this relationship is a monopsony in which the state is the only product buyer. In this case, humans are the product these corporations are selling.

The relationship between corporations like CoreCivic and GEO Group with federal, state, and local governments and candidates is mutually beneficial. policy allowed federal agencies like the U.S. ICE and the Department of Homeland Security to award contracts to private

correction facilities to house detained immigrants. Because these policies, including executive orders by the Trump and Biden administrations, coincided with these contracts increasing in number and value, there is a relationship between the amount of money these corporations spend on political contributions and lobbying and their annual revenue from these contracts. It is in the interest of corporations and the state to continue detaining migrants as it is a reinforcing financial relationship.

While the prison industrial complex is well established in conflict research, the political-economic justice and legal system also extends to immigration and detention. This is defined as the immigration-industrial complex (Golash-Boza 2009). Golash-Boza (2009) has isolated three defining features of the prison-industrial complex that continue to describe the emerging immigration-industrial complex: a rhetoric of fear, the confluence of powerful interests, and a discourse of otherization. Gideon Sjoberg (2005:98) argues these criminal justice corporations "are in the curious position of having a monetary stake in destabilizing social orders through their support of certain economic and political policies." This is maintained through political influence framing immigration and economic precarity to support detention practices through "the public and private sector interests in the criminalization of undocumented migration, immigration law enforcement and the promotion of 'anti-illegal rhetoric'" (Golash-Boza 2009; Douglas 2013). The immigration-industrial complex is further sustained by "the discourse of otherization and the racialization of immigrants, especially the portrayal of Mexican immigrants as "invaders" and "foreigners" who do not belong in the United States" (Chavez 2008).

The rise of criminalizing migration created an opening for state actors to cultivate a new politics of fear, framing immigration as a threat to the nation (Massey 2015). Chavez (2008) has called this discourse the "Latino Threat Narrative." This content analysis found that news stories

depicting migrants as threats have increased over time (Chavez 2008). Massey and Pren (2012) also confirmed that newspapers became more frequent and wrote of Mexican immigration as a "crisis, flood, or invasion rose in tandem with border apprehensions from 1965 to 1979, pushing public opinion in a more conservative and anti-immigrant direction and creating pressure for ever more restrictive immigration and border policies" (Massey 2015; Massey and Pren 2012; Valentino, Brader, and Jardina 2012). Economic and cultural threats are also linked to support for punitive measures like incarceration or detention (King et al. 2007). By framing migrants as "aliens, lawbreakers, and criminals, the Latino Threat Narrative distinguished undocumented migrants from mainstream Americans by a well-defined social boundary" (Massey 2015).[9] In the US, "three prominent categories of social actors succumbed to the temptation for "othering" in response to rising illegal migration after 1965: bureaucrats, politicians, and pundits" (Massey 2015):

> "The end result of this dynamic cycle was a moral panic centered on the trope of illegality and the border as a barrier between American society and the threats this illegality carried. In the process, pundits sold books, garnered higher media ratings, and increased earnings. At the same time, politicians mobilized voters to gain power, and officials within the immigration bureaucracy accumulated a treasure trove of resources. The massive expansion of the immigration enforcement system, in turn, created a multitude of jobs that made public sector unions happy and increased the profits of firms such as the Corrections Corporation of America (CoreCivic) and the Geo Group, which built and operated immigration detention facilities. Local law enforcement agencies jumped on the bandwagon when Congress created a special program to provide them with new resources to assist in immigration enforcement" (Massey 2015: 12).

This study seeks to quantitatively measure the mutually and monetarily beneficial relationship between state and corporate actors within the immigration-industrial complex. Then, it aims to ask what motivates civil society and worker actors within the treadmill of production to support immigration detention. Based on group threat and political-economic conflict theories,

[9] Fear is a well-established tool for political mobilization and resource acquisition (Robin 2006; Gardner 2008).

the movements for or against the siting of an immigration detention facility should be characterized by economic incentives or perceived cultural threats. However, the added presence of a Superfund site complicates this reasoning due to structural and historical forces of social and ecological disorganization causing economic precarity, exposure to environmental harm, and legitimacy of state and corporate actors. Previous work utilizing these frameworks includes toxic prison scholarship and prison proximity to Superfund sites.

In exploring the reasoning for antagonist views of immigration, the emergence of social movements around the siting of immigration detention facilities as Locally Undesirable Land Uses (LULUs) through Not in My Backyard (NIMBY) or Please is My Backyard (PIMBY) movements provides a model on the discourse around threat, economy, humans, and culture. This is because the material conditions in which people are situated also lead them to perceive threat and conflict. Studying the rationality of movements based on these material conditions allows conflict theories to retain their historical materialism foundations. This study aims to deepen and resolve the complexities within immigration and group-threat competition research by incorporating an environmental justice and green criminology theoretical perspective into threat theories. Historically, economic and cultural competition analyses have overlooked the significance of state-corporate relationships, ecological degradation, and the impact of a privatized criminal justice system. This research suggests that economic instability and perceptions of group threat are significantly shaped by the interactions among dominant group actors who have economic and cultural advantages in the detention and discrimination of migrants in the United States.

Environmental Justice and Neoliberalism

Threat and conflict theorists must scale their research to include the environmental and social conditions that influence the perception of in-groups and treatment of out-groups. Environmental justice provides a framework to help these theorists untangle the web of social interaction that leads to prejudice and harm. Like conflict and racial threat theories, environmental justice research in the US has roots in White-Black and class discrimination (Bullard 2000). These studies' important and growing subfield incorporates immigration in the race vs. class debate. This is because migrant communities are consistently exposed to disproportionate levels of environmental harm during their resettlement in the United States (Bellizzi et al. 2023; Boone 1999; Carter 2016).

Environmental Justice

The history of environmental justice does not have a specific start date but has grown with other social justice movements to reach contemporary theory and research practices. The environmental justice movement developed among contemporary US activists through their association and the rise of different movements in the mid-20th century.[10] In California, Dolores Huerta and Ceaser Chavez led labor and environmental justice movements for farmers and immigrants in the 1960's (Platt 1997). Rachel Carson's (1962) *Silent Spring* ignited the environmental movement by protesting exposure to pesticides and harmful working conditions and establishing narratives of the nexus of environmental, labor, and public health. During this time, people of color in the United States began researching public health dangers within their communities. This was part of the Civil Rights Movement but is sometimes overlooked because the focus was on poverty and violence.

[10] Gail Omvedt (1994) argues that the resistance to environmental destruction due to globalization has existed for centuries and "women of peasant communities provided its core" (Omvedt 1994).

The seeds of the contemporary environmental justice movement were sown in Warren County, North Carolina, where civil rights organizations like the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and UCC Commission for Racial Justice supported protestors raising awareness about the disproportionate exposure to environmental harms in the local African American community (Bullard 2000; Pellow and Brulle 2005; Roberts 2001). Over 500 activists were arrested when protesting the construction of a polychlorinated biphenyl (PCB) landfill. This received national media attention, leading to the definition and spread of the environmental justice movement. Similar Not in My Backyard (NIMBY) movements, associated with disproportionate exposure to Locally Undesirable Land Uses (LULUs), emerged congruently with nationwide protests. *Bean v. Southwestern Waste Management Corp.* (1979) represented such movements as Black residents in Houston, Texas, filed a class action lawsuit against the company for environmental discrimination due to the proposed siting of a landfill in their community.[11]

In 1983, the US General Accounting Office found that Southern communities around landfills were disproportionately located in African American communities (Mohai et al. 2009). This led to the first national study measuring proximity to hazardous waste sites. It was conducted by the United Church of Christ in 1987. It used statistical analyses like multivariate regression to show that the average percentage of people of color in zip codes containing at least one hazardous facility was double the national average and triple if that zip code contained two or more of these facilities (Chavis and Lee 1987). In 1990, Robert Bullard published *Dumping in Dixie,* which studied cases like those in Houston and confirmed environmental racism was

[11] Bean v. Southwestern Waste Management Corp., 482 F. Supp. 673 (S.D. Tex. 1979)

occurring across the US. This added to the definition of environmental racism initially defined by the director of the United Church of Christ, Benjamin Chavis:

> "Environmental racism is racial discrimination in environmental policymaking, the enforcement of regulations and laws, the deliberate targeting of communities of color for toxic waste facilities, the official sanctioning of the life-threatening presence of poisons and pollutants in our communities, and the history of excluding people of color from the leadership of the ecology movements" (Bullard 2000).

As environmental justice grew among researchers and activists, it defined distributive justice, restorative justice, procedural equity, and recognition (Rawls 1971; Schlosberg 2007). Environmental racism addresses distributive justice by exposing where, what, and who has access to environmental goods and bads.[12] Recognition is "the processes of acknowledging the valorizing cultural and status differences and distinctions" (Fraser 2013), whether gender, class, racial, sexual, national, etc. Justice then requires an acknowledgment "of social structures that oppress certain social groups" (Harrison 2011, Harlan 2015, 135). Finally, procedural equity means "justice is impossible without procedures for participatory parity to allow members of society open and full access to decision-making bodies and procedures" (Harlan 2015, 135-136). Studying these tenets is essential to developing a better definition of justice. However, immigrants rarely have access to these due to their weak legal standing, lower socioeconomic status, and limited multilingual outreach and research programs (Kim et al. 2011; Derose et al. 2007). Therefore, the environmental justice movement must continue to develop the relationship between disproportionate exposure to environmental harm and immigration. For example,

[12] Environmental justice studies continue to show this trend is getting worse as "host neighborhoods of commercial hazardous waste facilities are 56% people of color whereas nonhost areas are 30% people of color. Percentages of African Americans, Hispanics/Latinos, and Asians/Pacific Islanders in host neighborhoods are 1.7, 2.3, and 1.8 times greater (20% vs. 12%, 27% vs. 12%, and 6.7% vs. 3.6%), respectively (United Church of Christ 2007, 12).

counties with greater immigrant populations and non-English speaking households have greater numbers of large hazardous waste producers and proposed Superfund sites (Hunter 2000).[13]

Due to the settler colonial history of the United States, revelations of the indigenous environmental justice (IEJ) movement are particularly salient when studying violence towards migrants in the US today. Colonialism is generally understood as "one group/society assuming control of another society's territories and imposing its systems of laws and governance" (McGregor et al. 2020). According to Kyle Whyte, settler colonialism is a form of colonization in which the colonizer decides to 'settle' in the other society's homeland, and settlers seek to "erase Indigenous economies, cultures, and political organizations for the sake of establishing their own" (Whyte 2017; McGregor et al. 2020). Gilio-Whitaker (2019) argues that utilizing an IEJ perspective "starts from the assumption that colonization was not just a process of invasion and eventual elimination of Indigenous populations by European settlers but also that the eliminatory impulse and structure it created in actuality began as environmental injustice." Like the ongoing effects of linkages of racial capitalism and environmental racism (Pulido 2017), "Indigenous peoples fighting for political autonomy from the hegemony of the State are fighting the forces of colonialism while simultaneously fighting capitalism—all aimed at control of land and resources—with colonialism as the precondition for capitalism." (Gilio-Whitaker 2019).

Colonialism eradicated people, practices, and perceptions that were compatible with a harmonious existence in our environment. Neoliberalism allowed these colonizing powers to continue extracting and accumulating wealth from these areas under the guise of development.

[13] The race versus class debate among conflict and threat theorists is shared by environmental justice research (Mohai and Bryant 1992; Mohai 2008). Distance-based methodology can change the results of these exposure studies based on geographic units or the variables selected (Mohai and Saha 2006).

Estimates of the unequal exchange in the "post-colonial" era from 1960 to 2018 between the global South and North total US$152 trillion when accounting for lost growth (Hickel et al. 2021). This grew exponentially during the structural adjustment period of the 1980s and 1990s. While these new forms of imperialism are still used to appropriate wealth from the global south, developing countries become increasingly dependent on the core, forcing them to adopt their policies and narratives. Farhana Sultana argues that "climate coloniality occurs where Eurocentric hegemony, neocolonialism, racial capitalism, uneven consumption, and military domination are co-constitutive of climate impacts… legacies of imperial violence from active colonial eras live on, not only exacerbating environmental degradation but also increasing climate-induced disasters" (Solnit 2023: 56). Considering the simultaneous development of restrictive and violent immigration policies in the United States during this time, researchers must incorporate them in this nexus of historical and material analyses. Robin Kimmerer (2013) argues that "'being indigenous' requires both generational time and a sustained, ecologically reciprocal engagement" and should be the focus of people and researchers.

Neoliberalism

Studying the relationship between political economy and environmental justice is imperative due to its association with industrialization and neoliberalism. In response to environmental degradation throughout the 20th century, the environmental movement led to the creation of the Environmental Protection Agency in 1970. Soon after, the Clean Air Act of 1970 and Clean Water Act of 1972 passed, and these movements achieved victories in protection. However, in response to regulations and policies, a global economic shift to neoliberalism emerged in the late 1970s and 80s (Harvey 2005). The state's role under neoliberalism is de- and re-regulation to support the privatization of property or business and to protect the global free

market via law enforcement and military force (Kirk and Okazawa-Rey 2000; Faber 2008; Malin & Kallman 2022).

As environmental racism and justice studies continued to emerge, another neoliberal rhetoric damaged social change and equity; neoliberalism claims to be colorblind, and it is just that by ignoring racial inequality. Neoliberalism individualizes blame through a merit-based system within a free-market ideology. The neoliberal discourse allows in-group communities, the State, and the private sector to circumvent associations with systemic and environmental racism through this story of meritocracy and individualization (Roberts and Mahtani 2010). This ideology affects US migrants because their exposure to environmental harm is blamed more on merit or ethics than their nonwhiteness.

Neoliberal policies also encourage the privatization and commodification of natural resources (Liverman and Vilas 2006). This was exacerbated by the sweeping de- and re-regulation of financial and regulatory systems worldwide. This is characterized by development goals focused on GDP growth and portrayed as a panacea for economic and political woes, public debt, global security, and poverty (Raworth 2017, 32). During this deregulating period of the latter 20th century, political philosopher Michael Sandel argues it led to the "moral vacancy at the heart of public policy making" (Raworth 2017, 36). During this time, sentencing and punishments for minor offenses and political freedoms like protesting were heavily policed.[14] The focus on individual crime and incarceration compared to environmental harms was permitted because the regulatory systems we have in place, like the EPA, and corporations share a "revolving door" of leadership (Whyte 2014; Kramer 2020).

[14] While "about one hundred corporations have been responsible for about 71 percent of all global emissions in the past forty years" (Malin & Kallman 2022, 24).

The reach of deregulation and privatization of neoliberalism is not reserved for natural resources and environmental regulatory agencies. Over the last 50 years, education, housing, lending, the military, prisons, and immigration detention have become privatized and deregulated by the government (Ettinger 2011; Weiner 2012; Ackerman & Furman 2013; Ryo & Peacock 2022). Privatization of resources and housing causes displacement in other countries, leading to migration (Yavo-Ayalon 2022). Therefore, under this neoliberal system, privatization forces migration, creates environmental harm through the extraction of resources, and then extracts people into the private sector via prison and detention. Klein (2014: 169) observes the mentality of extractivism as "a nonreciprocal, dominance-based relationship with the earth, one of purely taking," developed under capitalism; governments across the ideological spectrum have embraced "this resource-depleting model as a road to development." This cycle has dangerous implications for environmental justice and immigrants. While extractivism forces displacement of people, it extends beyond ecological withdrawals to social communities based on status.

Neoliberalism is the current means and relations of production that influence our ideologies and institutions. Studying the relationships that maintain it allows for environmental justice, state-corporate, and green criminology research to be bridged. This is because the close collaboration between the public and private sectors led to environmental harm and continues to exacerbate social conflict.

State-Corporate Crime and Green Criminology

Environmental justice works with people, communities, and ecosystems to define equity and expose disproportionate harm. Critical and green criminologists tend to focus on how social harm is accepted as non-criminal due to the intersection of systems, actors, and modes of production. Though there are many overlapping applications of theory, the effort to merge them is common among scholars (Heydon 2018; White 2013; Toman 2022). The cycle of ecological

and social disorganization through the continued merging of state and corporate relationships under neoliberalism allows this merger to take theoretical form.

State Corporate Crime:

The development of state-corporate crime theories relied on a reframing of criminology to measure social harm through the relationships of society, law, and criminal behavior. Critical theories are essential for developing meaningful research because "covert institutional violence is much more destructive than overt individual violence" (Liazos 1972: 111). These challenges to traditional criminology theories led to radical criminology and later critical criminology due to the contributions of researchers like Richard Quinney (Michalowski 1998). Quinney's version of Marxist criminology attempts to expose the reality of power and the primary function of the state in the US, which is to secure and reproduce the process of capital accumulation (Quinney 1977). Our justice system reflects the will of economic and political elites appropriating society's wealth and political power; its maintenance requires coercion and ideological manipulation of nonelite groups of society (Kramer, Michalowski, and Kauzlarich 2002; Quinney 1977).

Quinney (1977) established the focus of criminological work on corporate organizations and the social harm they produce. The theory of state-corporate crime "blends the phenomenology of lawmaking with the political economy of crime into a single framework for studying wrongdoing in the upper reaches of industrial/postindustrial society. In doing so, it links the two intellectual streams that shaped the creation of critical criminology—social constructionism and Marxism" (Kramer et al. 2002; Taylor, Walton, and Young 1973). This has led to the definition of state-corporate crime as:

> "State-corporate crimes are illegal or socially injurious actions that occur when one or more institutions of political governance pursue a goal in direct cooperation with one or more institutions of economic production and distribution" (Kramer and Michalowski 1990: 4)

This definition can be applied to illegal or socially harmful acts from private enterprises and the political economy and facilitated or initiated acts of omission or commission by the state.[15] Quinney (1977) aimed to measure how crime is defined and coded through the relationship between capital accumulation and the interests of the elite. The emerging theory of state-corporate crime focuses on the opposite: "how certain behaviors, committed at the intersection of corporate and state goals, come to be understood as not-crime, either because they are not named as such by law or are not treated as such by those who administer and enforce the law, regardless of the social harm these behaviors cause" (Kramer et al. 2002). This adaptation of radical and critical criminological theories allowed for the scope of research to conceptualize the interaction between these elite interests better. Michalowski suggests that by "comparing those that have been criminalized with those that constitute 'analogous social injuries,' that is, legal acts that cause harm equal or greater than that caused by crimes, we can begin to understand the historical forces that have divided the world of harmful behaviors into those we condemn and those we tolerate" (Lynch & Michalowski 2010: 70).

State-corporate crime literature consistently points to the political economy creating the conditions that shape the relationship between states and corporations within modern capitalist liberal and illiberal societies (Kramer et al. 2002; Kramer and Michalowski 2006; Mao et al. 2020). The political economy approach argues that the economic organization of society determines social and political structures. Specifically in a capitalist society, this is based on unequal ownership of the means of production, leading to alienation of people from themselves, each other, and their labor:

[15] Previously, criminology, criminal justice, and sociology studies focused on individuals and their likelihood of being delinquent based on the criminal code (Sutherland and Cressey 1978; Hirschi 1969; Akers 1998).

> "The bourgeoisie, wherever it has got the upper hand; has put an end to all feudal patriarchal, idyllic relations. It has pitilessly torn asunder the motley feudal ties that bound man to his "natural superiors" and has left no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous 'cash payment'. It has drowned out the most heavenly ecstasies of religious fervor, of chivalrous enthusiasm, of philistine sentimentalism, in the icy water of egotistical calculation." (Marx & Engels 1848/2012).

Michalowski and Kramer (2007: 201) have noted, "Contemporary social scientists have largely forgotten what our 19th-century counterparts knew so well. There is neither economics nor politics; there is only political economy". The political-economic approach of state-corporate criminology provides insight into these relationships that alienate society: "The intersection of history and political economy should shape the scholarly investigation of crime" (Kramer et al. 2002). However, as the environmental justice movement revealed the disproportionate effects of environmental harm, green criminology emerged to study the breach between public regulators charged with protecting people and the environment and the private corporate sector (Whyte 2014). Lynch and Stretesky (2014) argue, "Criminology has ignored the changing nature of the world around us and has become less and less relevant to the problems found in the contemporary world. It is time for criminologists to wake up."

Green Criminology

People have disproportionate access to the benefits of nature and exposure to the harms from its exploitation through ecological disorganization (Lynch et al. 2013). Originally, green crime was defined as (1) harms caused to living beings through the creation of environmental hazards, (2) existing at the local and global levels, (3) outcomes tied to corporate and state crimes, and (4) as the subject matter of radical criminology and political economic theory/analysis, and its concern with class analysis (Lynch 1990: 11).

The political-economic approach to green criminology and ecological destruction argues that green crimes and environmental injustice are a product of the structural organization of

capitalism (Lynch and Long 2022; Foster 1992). These ecological Marxists argue capitalism creates an irreparable rift in the interdependent process of social metabolism. The extraction of natural resources has long required a *metabolic rift* in separating people from nature (Marx 1894/1981). This separation of humans from nature, humans from other humans, and humans from their labor is critical to the sense of alienation that Karl Marx finds in modern capitalist societies (Marx 1844; Marx & Engels 1846/1932). This leads to political economic green criminology, or the study of behaviors and acts that produce ecological harm to increase or support production (Stretesky, Liong, and Lynch 2013: 2).

The contradictions of capitalism inspire political-economic green criminology. The first is a condition of labor; capitalist interests will increasingly replace workers with technology to increase profits, leading to a shortage of consumers who can purchase goods. The second contradiction, proposed by James O'Connor (1988), argues that humans, labor, and natural resources are fictitious commodities (Polanyi 1944); as capitalism attempts to rationalize them, it will have to withdraw more resources from the environment despite these resources being finite. This practice is unsustainable because wealth accumulation is unlimited in a capitalist system, but natural resources are finite. As new industry frontiers are sought, extracting people as a source of labor and production occurs when finite resources run out.

Treadmill of Production, Law, and Destruction

The Treadmill of Production (Schnaiberg 1980) exposes the relationship between economics, accumulation, and environmental additions or withdrawals. Its conceptualization is like its name: social processes nested within the mode of production emphasizing an ideology of growth and accumulation remain stuck, running in place without progress. Stretesky, Long, and Lynch (2013) expand on this with the treadmill of crime and law to show how policy is passed to

facilitate production and not criminalize or prosecute resulting harms. Policies are purported because these relationships economically benefit each actor, though most benefits are reserved for the owners of the means of production. Within state-corporate crime literature, these policies and regulatory frameworks are characterized by a "regime of permission" that facilitates production and crime (Whyte 2014). Whyte (2014) argues that researchers must move beyond studying moments of rupture by considering how the infrastructural power of states renews the formative conditions of corporate crime through regimes of permission.[16] Instead of basing our studies on the straw that broke the camel's back, we need to understand how the hay-load accumulated in the first place. Treadmill theories allow for a testable theoretical framework to study regimes of permission.

Three actors influence each other to make production-friendly policies: corporations, the state, and laborers. While corporations act as primary agents to control and benefit from production, the state and civil society, as workers and consumers, maintain it (Schnaiberg and Gould 1994). The treadmill encourages an "ideology of growth" that dominates capitalist and socialist societies, which constantly requires new frontiers of production and accumulation (Schnaiberg 1980, Gould et al. 2004). Treadmill actors are incentivized to keep it running (Schnaiberg 1980). First, corporations or firms engage in production to sell products.[17] Labor is motivated by job creation, and wage increases are coerced into the cycle of production and consumption despite the non-ownership of their production. The state encourages the expansion of production for taxes and lobbying from corporations.[18] This leads to a relationship where

[16] Whyte (2014) argues for consider the *a priori* legislative features of the relationship between the state and corporations (237).
[17] Corporations are inclined to go to areas with cheaper labor and less regulation (Boyce 2002).
[18] E.g. Long et al. (2012) find coal companies were more likely to donate to US federal political campaigns in the three years immediately before receiving an administrative, civil, or criminal sanction by the EPA.

"political officials may be motivated to reduce regulatory stringency to gain a competitive advantage over their neighbors, thereby creating an aggregate movement toward the lowest common denominator" (Stretesky, Long, and Lynch 2013: 35).

Development within the treadmill of production framework examines the relationship between ecological and social disorganization. Green crimes occur "as humans interfere with the ecosystems to produce commodities, and in so doing produce ecological disorganization through economic production" (Stretesky, Long, Lynch 2013, 20). This occurs through ecological additions and withdrawals. Environmental harms like pollution characterize additions during various times of the production cycle. Corporations view them as a necessary "price for progress" (Stretesky, Long, Lynch 2013: 29). Ecological withdrawals are extracted natural resources necessary for production. This is tolerated by civil society, but "moments of rupture" between the public and private sectors can delegitimize these actors through environmental catastrophes (Whyte 2014). The state and corporations must act to reestablish legitimacy, but the neoliberal breach between these spheres insulates them from state sanctions or widespread public condemnation (Kramer 2020).

As production increases, "the material benefits of ecological disorganization go to high-income countries while those citizens living in low-income countries suffer from the economic and environmental consequences of that productive behavior" (Stretesky, Long, and Lynch 2013: 32). However, this unequal exchange between core and periphery areas, though most extreme between countries, also exists within the US as characterized by the environmental justice movement (Bullard 1990). This ecological disorganization causes social disorganization that creates economic precarity and migration because of the contradictions of capitalism (Mao 2018).

Like threat theories, social disorganization criminological theories suggest that "urbanization, industrialization, and immigration weaken social bonds and conventional beliefs and values, and lead to higher crime rates. The social 'disorganization' that results from rapid transitions and immigration causes crime to increase" (Stretesky, Long, Lynch 2013: 89). Economic status and social stratification, through alienation created by structural factors, lead to social disorganization. That leads treadmill of production theorists to argue that ecological disorganization may create social disorganization:

> "social problems (e.g., unemployment, conflict, crime, and violence) often stem from exploitative relationships between the ecology and the economy, such as the rapid extraction of natural resources, armed conflict over natural resources, and the potential impacts of pollution on humans that weakens social bonds to conventional institutions" (Stretesky, Long, and Lynch 2013: 92).

For criminologists, two types of crimes are generated through this process: (1) green crimes against ecosystems and (2) crimes against the proletariat or working class that are "the result of the social disorganization generated by the relationship between the ecology and economy" (Stretesky, Long, and Lynch 2013: 93). Homer-Dixon (1991) argues ecological disorganization leads to conflict and environmental stresses that create "environmental refugees."[19] Therefore, theorists must analyze treadmill-induced ecological and social disorganization (Stretesky, Long, and Lynch 2013: 98).

Due to the contradictions of capitalism, characterized by moments of rupture and weakening economic and environmental stability, the three actors in the treadmill are delegitimized. However, "the treadmill continues unabated, as social disorganization is created in the search for economic growth. Both ecological and social disorganization, then, is seen (or more appropriately, not seen) by the treadmill actors as nothing more than unavoidable side

[19] Forced migration disrupts communities linking ecological and social disorganization "environmental refugees have become the single largest class of displaced persons in the world" (Jacobson 1988).

effects of extraction, production, trade, retail, and consumption (i.e., the process of capitalism)" (Stretesky, Long, and Lynch 2013: 101).

Chapter Conclusion

Marx and Engels (1848) contend that the means and relations of production constitute the base, which, through the ruling class, shapes the superstructure of ideologies and institutions of society. Though established out of conflict, threat theories have largely failed to include the dominating forces that influence ideologies of threat within the political economy. Using an environmental justice lens allows for analyses to study the nexus of Crimmigration policies, racial capitalism, environmental racism, and settler colonialism in the US. With the transition of the means of production moving from capitalism to neoliberal capitalism, the relatively new fields of state-corporate crime and green criminology theories allow for the theoretical operationalization of the base influencing superstructure today. The Treadmill of Production criminological framework will enable us to dissect the actors and relationships that establish regimes of permission. The present study attempts to merge these frameworks to show how the criminal justice system today relies on this historical materialism to determine immigration detention policies and practices today. First, the civil society/citizen worker actor is measured by determining if economic or cultural threat determines the likelihood of an immigration detention facility being located near Superfund sites. Then, the relationship between the state and corporate actors is measured through correlations between the annual revenue of private detention corporations and the money they spend on political campaigns and lobbying.

CHAPTER THREE: LITERATURE REVIEW

Superfund Sites and Toxic Incarceration

Superfund sites are agreed-upon hazardous physical spaces that characterize the intersection of green crimes, social harm, and environmental justice. Since these are state-approved sites of environmental harm and contamination in the US, their history provides the opportunity to study social harm.[20] The history of the Superfund and data available based on associated research allow the intersection of ecological and social disorganization to be better understood. Crucially, the state and corporations must maintain legitimacy to maintain the treadmill of production. Superfund sites represent cracks in that legitimacy; failures of the state to regulate themselves and corporations enough to protect communities expose the contradictions of capitalism.

Superfund sites are designated by the Environmental Protection Agency and represent the areas contaminated by industrial human activity. Since the program's inception in 1980, more than 47,000 sites have been identified, and over 1500 have been put on the National Priorities List (NPL). Those on the NPL represent the most seriously contaminated sites. Receiving this designation from the EPA allows money from the Superfund trust to be spent on remediation. In 2023, there were 1340 active and approved and 41 pending NPL sites in the United States. Proximity to Superfund sites causes exposure to contaminants and depressed economic indicators; even after remediation, home values near Superfund and other contaminated sites are 8 to 12.5 percent lower than farther away neighboring communities (Bartke 2011).

[20] While beneficial for empirical research, the state's role in measuring their harm and funding their remediation complicates the relationships in the treadmill of production.

Proximity and exposure to Superfund sites have been fundamental to environmental justice research. The definitions used by the EPA to distinguish environmental harm and human exposure prevention are based on Superfund designations. Love Canal, a neighborhood in Niagara Falls, NY, became the first designated Superfund site on the EPA's National Priorities List (NPL). The work of neighborhood activists exposed the adverse health conditions of living with exposure (Gibbs 1983). This led to the passing of the Comprehensive Environmental Response and Liability Act (CERCLA or Superfund), which established a requirement to notify the public of the contamination and dangers of these areas. It also established federal funds dedicated towards their cleanup for public safety. Many argue that the Love Canal case was essential for contemporary environmental justice research, which aimed to expose the disproportionate exposure to these harms based on social identities, including class, race, gender, etc. (Brule and Pellow 2006).

The 1970s and 1980s brought significant changes to state regulation and environmental protection through the Clean Air and Clean Water Acts, the establishment of the EPA, and the Superfund. However, under neoliberalism, the state has the contradictory mission of balancing the need for environmental protection and promoting economic growth.[21] As the environmental justice movement gained momentum, President Bill Clinton issued Executive Order 12898 in 1994 that required federal agencies to consider environmental and public health harm of their policies and disproportionate exposure based on race and class. However, Geltman et al. (2016) argue that there is little to no compliance and that the initial order was hollow and lacked genuine analysis.

[21] Stretesky, Long, and Lynch (2013) have argued that this process is ineffective, as large corporations are willing to pay fines to keep polluting (103).

Similar issues exist in the Superfund. Initially, the program was funded by corporations responsible for hazardous chemical pollution and paid fees into the Superfund. However, in 1995, the authorization to collect these fees ended, and Congress did not reauthorize it. By 2003, the Superfund had run out of money, and additional funds for remediation started to be taken from US taxpayers. This has led to less money being dedicated to the Superfund each year, decreasing the number of cleaned sites. A 2015 US GAO report finds that the lack of polluters paying fees and dependency on taxpayer funding led to a decline in remedial efforts and completed sites. The GAO report states that from 1999 to 2013, "the number of remedial action project completions at nonfederal NPL sites generally declined by about 37 percent" while "the number of construction completions at nonfederal NPL sites generally declined by about 84 percent." (GAO 2015). The number of remedial actions decreased from 116 projects in 1999 to 73 in 2013.

Holfield (2004) suggests that Executive Order 12898 and the Superfund characterized the rhetorically kinder and gentler form of neoliberalism ushered in during the 1990s. Holfield, per Jessop (2002), described these strategies as neo-communitarian aimed at sustaining and normalizing the neo-liberalization project. The neo-liberalization of the Superfund program put the remediation cost onto harmed communities. Executive Order 12898, following EPA regulation changes, did little to transform the decision-making culture within the state and corporations and failed to provide guidance to educate environmental justice frameworks among ground-level managers within the department (Holfield 2004). Therefore, the EPA and Superfund, while providing data on these current 1340 sites, are still part of the neoliberal project, political economy, and the state-corporate crime nexus (Hird 1994). Lynch et al. (2020) argue that through the treadmill of production, environmental laws and regulations reflect the

interest of actors on the treadmill. Opsal and O'Connor Shelley (2014) contend that the contradictory mission of state regulators and corporations is evident in the energy industry: "The industry needs to grow without regulatory oversight while the state provides a facade that industry is well regulated while simultaneously minimizing the culpability of industry or the reality of the harms that they cause" (576). Mao et al. (2020) finds that under the treadmill of law, environmental policies enacted under these treadmill actors cause further ecological harm through additions and withdrawals. Furthermore, they contend that the treadmill of law operates "from the state's conflicting regulatory roles as the facilitator of capital accumulation and the protector of ecosystems" (Mao et al. 2022: 7). Therefore, research on Superfund sites must account for the neoliberal and contradictory mission that it is nested in.

Superfund site research measures the risks and harm of living near them. Living in a census tract, or neighboring one, with at least one Superfund site is associated with over a year of reduced life expectancy and is amplified through moderation of lower socioeconomic indicators (Kiaghadi 2020). In Kentucky, living near a Superfund site is associated with higher rates of non-Hodgkin's lymphoma (Webber 2017; Stone 2018). Prisoners held in Michigan near a Superfund site were exposed to elevated levels of contaminants such as dichlorodiphenyltrichloroethane (DDT), polybrominated biphenyl (PBB), and para-chlorobenzene sulfonic acid (pCBSA) through their water (Bradshaw 2018). In Oklahoma, prisons are more likely to be in zip codes with higher levels of toxic emissions (Leon-Corwin et al. 2020).[22]

[22] In 2019, the US GAO report found that 60% of Superfund NPL sites were in areas at greater risk of experiencing disaster events influenced by climate change (GAO 2019). The report the agency has not taken action to manage these risks as their strategic plan from 2018 to 2022 does not include goals or objectives addressing climate change and the impacts it will have on current Superfund sites (GAO 2019).

One final area of research that reveals the linkage between Superfund sites, green criminology, and environmental justice is the Treadmill of Destruction framework (Hooks and Smith, 2004). Hooks and Smith (2004) argue that the treadmill of production cannot fully represent the role of the military or military-industrial complex because only the State can declare war: "For the treadmill of production, economic competition (quest for profitability and market share) explains the acceleration of the human influence on the environment. Arms races and geopolitical competition drive the escalating environmental impact of militarism" (562). However, the privatization of militaries, the Department of Defense's contracting with private companies, loose regulatory policies on defense spending, and geopolitical goals to liberalize markets represent the neoliberal ideology that influences our military strategy (Kramer 2020).[23] Tanya Golash-Boza has noted that the military-industrial complex reflects the "close relationships between the corporate elite, bureaucrats, and politicians, and these actors work together to ensure that state military investments serve the interests of capital." (Golash Boza 2009).

One hundred forty-nine current and former military bases have been designated Superfund sites (Roels et al. 2017). In a 2017 GAO report, the Department of Defense said it had spent $11.5 billion on the environmental clean-up of current and former bases but required an additional $3.4 billion to clean up current sites (GAO 2017). The production and testing of nuclear weapons are also associated with Superfund sites (Iversen 2016), and every former US weapons production facility has been given Superfund status (Lengefeld 2020).

[23] E.g. the role of Halliburton and the revolving door of leadership between corporations and state leaders like Dick Cheney leads theorists to argue that war can be corporate crime (Ruggerio 2013) and state crime (Kramer and Michalowski 2005). Even after wars are 'over' the reconstruction contract process is corrupted through state-corporate capital relationships (Hogan, et al. 2006; Long et al. 2007).

Hooks and Smith (2004) find that environmental justice studies of proximity to environmental harm are not anomalies. It is a particularly cruel irony that the development of weapons and military used for destruction also acts as a mechanism of destruction in the homeland where they are produced (Iversen 2016). These areas and inhabitants are treated as sacrifice zones through a coercive polity (Hooks and Smith 2004). Superfund sites represent the intersection of prison, military, and immigration-detention complexes through the emerging toxic prison scholarship.

Toxic Incarceration

Toxic prisons provide the opportunity to bridge green criminology, environmental justice, and immigration threat research because of the interacting relationships of the state, corporations, and civil society that benefit from incarceration and detention (Toman 2022; Bradshaw 2018; Braz & Gilmore 2006). Jewkes and Young (2015: 465) state, "It is still somewhat puzzling to us that, for the most part, green criminologists have sidestepped prisons and imprisonment as subjects worth investigating." Similarly, environmental justice scholars like David Pellow (2018: 3) find environmental justice helpful when analyzing prisons because "prisons and jails in the U.S. constitute spaces where significant threats to human and ecological health are produced and experienced." However, research so far has primarily focused on prisons, while toxic immigration detention is still emerging. This study's central contribution addresses this.

Toxic Prisons

Some dominant examples of toxic prisons exist, such as green crimes or environmental injustices. Toxic prisons are often located in areas previously harmed by ecological disorganization; prisons produce further environmental harm; prisoners are exposed to hazardous conditions; and people within these communities may support the proliferation of the prison

industry. The backdrop of the role of prisons within environmental justice is partially informed by the classification of prisoners and their rights in the US. The Thirteenth Amendment states: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted" (U.S. Const. amend. XIII). Mass incarceration shifted slavery to another form of free labor through prisoners (Mancini 1978). Legally, inmate laborers are exposed to hazardous materials and environments while working, do not have minimum wage or workplace protections, and may be punished for refusing to work (Kime 2018; please also see Hale v. Arizona, 993 F.2d 1387 (9th Cir. 1993); Mikeska v. Collins, 900 F.2d 833 (5 Cir. 1990) Coupar v. United States Department of Labor, 105 F.3d 1263 (9th Cir. 1997).

Prison workers are also not considered a vulnerable population according to the US EPA's commitment to environmental justice and fair treatment of people regardless of identity or status (Pellow 2017). This classification allows the government, prisons, and prison-industrial complex to circumvent regulation and protection policies. Critical environmental justice researchers find that because most prisoners in the US are low-income, people of color, and immigrants, prisons represent a direct violation of environmental justice that is permitted despite claims by the State to be more active in acknowledging injustice (Pellow 2017). Detained migrants have even fewer rights than US inmates, which leads to their mistreatment and unclassified status regarding environmental protection.

Because of the growing critical environmental justice and green criminological lens applied to prisons, several examples of this mistreatment have come out across the country. The Illinois Prison AUSP Thomson is located near the Savanna Army Depot Superfund site, coal plants, and nuclear power plants. According to the EPA, the soil is contaminated with metals, pesticides, explosives, lead-based paint chips, and polycyclic aromatic hydrocarbons (PAHs); the

groundwater is contaminated with various pesticides, explosives, solvents, and petroleum-related contaminants; surface water and sediments are contaminated with multiple explosives, PAHs, and metals. ADX Florence is a Supermax prison in Colorado. It's 6 miles from a former uranium mine and now a Superfund site, which contaminates the local water source, leaving prisoners and staff exposed to radium, uranium, and thorium dust (Cepero 2015). Elizabeth Bradshaw (2018) finds that prisoners in central Michigan were exposed to toxic chemicals through their water due to the prison's proximity to the former Veliscol Chemical Corporation plant. There are hundreds of examples like these. According to the EPA's enforcement database, federal and state agencies brought 1149 informal actions and 78 formal actions against prisons, jails, and detention centers during the past five years under the Safe Drinking Water Act, more than under any other federal environmental law" (Bernd et al. 2017; Bradshaw 2018). However, this only represents a small fraction of correctional institutes, and little remediation has occurred.

Prisons also contribute to further environmental hazards. Using the EPA's Enforcement and Compliance History Database, corrections facilities violate environmental laws more frequently than other Locally Undesirable Land Uses like energy extraction sites (Opsal, Malin, and Ellis 2022). They are also more likely to cluster geographically alongside other sources of environmental concern or contamination (Opsal, Malin, and Ellis, 2022). This research exposing toxic prisons is valuable for connecting environmental justice and criminology. The rising rates of immigration detention demand another layer to this analysis.

Toxic Immigration Detention

The growing rates of immigration detention and media exposure to the conditions of these facilities led toxic prisons and environmental injustice research to begin incorporating toxic immigration detention and the immigration-detention complex. Immigration detention facilities

are located on or near environmentally contaminated sites. This warrants a nationwide study of their proximity to Superfund sites and the communities where they are located.

The Federal Correctional Complex (FCC) in Victoriaville, California, is on the former George Air Force Base and Superfund site. In 2018, 1,000 beds in this federal prison were redesignated for migrant detainees. In 2016, research found that "groundwater contamination extends over 700 acres, impacts two aquifers, and threatens the Mojave River, the Floodplain Aquifer, and water supply wells. Currently, there is no active remediation, inadequate monitoring, and no mechanism to prevent anticipated migration to human and ecological receptors" (Gronstal 2016). The EPA lists 23 contaminants of concern that can cause nerve, heart, liver, and kidney damage, as well as cancer (Vazin and Pellow 2019).

Located just outside of Dilley, Texas, the largest US immigrant prison is the South Texas Family Residential Center. It can hold up to 2400 children and female detainees and is on a former "man camp" for oil and gas workers known as Sendero Ranch (Wilder 2014). The facility is owned and operated by CoreCivic. The prison was built in a region often called "the waste epicenter" (Bernd 2017) of the Eagle Ford Shale. In this "30-county region, 20 saltwater disposal wells pump fracked wastewater back into the ground" (Pellow 2018).

The Texas Karnes County Residential Center is a family detention center operated by the GEO Group. The local area is contaminated with benzene, hydron sulfide, cyclohexane, naphthalene, n-hexane, and xylenes, which can cause respiratory illnesses, neurological disorders, and cancer (Vazin and Pellow 2019; O'Callaghan-Grodo et al. 2016). The contaminants are partially associated with the county's 2,300 active hydraulic fracturing wells. The center is within 100 feet of many wells (Vazin and Pellow 2019). It is particularly concerning that children and pregnant women are held at this facility because even tiny levels of

exposure to these contaminants can lead to long-term health effects among these more vulnerable populations. At both facilities, allegations from detainees include sexual assault, lack of access to medical care and food, and forced family separation (Pellow 2019).

The Northwest Detention Center in Tacoma, Washington, is also operated by the GEO Group and is located on the Commencement Bay/Near Shore/Tideflats Superfund site. Several industries contaminated this area, specifically a coal gasification plant that leeched toxic sludge into the soil, leading to tarpits (Bernd 2017). With over 1,400 daily detainees, this is one of the largest detention facilities. In 2014, detainees went on a hunger strike to protest abuse from guards, maggoty food, and forced labor for $1 per day (Bernd 2017). GEO Group responded to the media, stating, “Our employees are proud of our record in managing the Tacoma ICE Processing Center with high-quality, culturally responsive services in a safe, secure, and humane environment. Members of our team strive to treat all of those entrusted to our care with compassion, dignity, and respect” (Cruden 2018).

The following study finds that the closest detention center to a Superfund NPL site is the Joe Corley Detention Facility in Montgomery, Texas. It is a half mile away from the United Creosoting Company Superfund site. The site was a wood treating facility and was given NPL status in 1984 for 2,3,7,8-tetrachlorodibenzo-p-dioxin (TCDD), benzo[A]pyrene equivalents (BaPEq) and pentachlorophenol in the soil and groundwater (EPA 2024). The site was active in 2017, with 8,623 total bookings. The facility started housing detained migrants in 2008 and is operated by the GEO Group. In 2014, after detainees learned about the hunger strikes in Tacoma, they began citing similar conditions (Bernd 2014).

There are numerous other examples of immigration detention facilities located close to Superfund sites and other contaminated areas. The common denominator is that these facilities

are in areas where the treadmill of production and destruction allowed for ecological disorganization and are now used for social disorganization. This study first confirms that this trend is nationwide. However, a deeper analysis is necessary to ask why people may support the siting of these facilities despite knowledge of their hazards. The political economy influences the siting of prisons and detention facilities and the community's acceptance or resistance to them.

LULUs and Sites of Acceptance

Polanyi (1944) predicted that market-based industrialization would be met with activism against it through a *double movement*. Malin (2015) expands on this to suggest a *triple movement* occurs that creates *sites of acceptance* in which "free markets are trusted as the ultimate arbiters of social equality, and markets are protected as part of the social fabric of the community… environmental and community degradation become normalized costs of economic growth" (Malin 2015, 26). This is more common in socially isolated areas that become "addictive economies" through natural resource extraction (Bell 2016; Freudenburg 1992). Superfund sites are created where this ideology of growth and addictive economies persists. These Superfund sites are often considered the aftermath and lasting location of Locally Undesirable Land Use (LULUs) (Kiel & Williams 2007). However, now that these areas are resource-depleted, people, especially migrants, are being increasingly extracted from their communities for their economic and labor value (Martin & Tazzioli 2023). Communities that represent these former addictive economies may be more likely to support the siting of an immigration detention facility to a Superfund site to facilitate new forms of extractivism and the ideology of growth since other LULUs receive support due to their perceived economic benefit (Jerolmack & Walker 2018).

Most of the theoretical framework surrounding prison siting focuses on Not in My Backyard (NIMBY) movements characterized by resistance (Farkas 1999; Martin and Meyers

2005). NIMBY movements within the environmental justice theoretical framework cite the protests in Warren County, NC, and Houston, TX, in the late 1970s as an example of what type of facilities a community protests (McGurty 1997). NIMBY critics imply that these movements of resistance ignore the greater social need for these facilities and intentionally push them onto other communities (Hermansson 2006; Bolhom 2004; Gilroy 1991).[24] However, these critics often ignore that grassroots environmental groups advocate for the Not in Anyone's Backyard (NIABY) movement (Freudenberg and Steinsapir 1991).

Please, in my Backyard (PIMBY), movements are those of acceptance. PIMBY movements often cite the potential economic benefits as reasoning to support the construction or use of LULUs (Freudenberg 1992; Hooks 2010; King 2004). Opsal and Malin (2019) exposed the gap in LULU theory toward prison facility locations. Previous applications mainly attributed LULUs as landfills, extractive industries, or industrial production facilities (Mohai, Pellow and Roberts 2009; Szasz and Meuser 1997, Taylor 2014). However, prisons and detention facilities are LULUs because they contribute to further pollution and depreciation of home and land values (Toman 2022, Opsal and Malin 2022). Martin and Myers (2005:144) contend "issues specific to prison siting overlap substantially with those relating to the LULU and NIMBY conceptual models."

Prisons are designated as LULUs because they fail to provide the promised boost to the local economy. Hooks et al. (2004) use data for all US prisons between 1969 and 1994 and find that counties with a prison show no evidence of job growth and impede job growth in other industries. More recently, prison economic scholarship shows that counties with a prison

[24] According to these views, NIMBY "constitutes an unabashed pursuit of narrow self-interest, whereby 'chemophobes' and environmental fanatics try to bring industrialized economies to their knees" (Rabe 1994: 2). It is described as a "social disease, a rabid and irrational rejection of sound technological progress" (Edelstein 1988: 171).

increase employment in the incarceration industry but fail to boost the local economy overall due to reduced home values and negligible employment gains in other sectors (Chirakijja 2022).

The emerging body of environmental justice research on prisons is focused on their ecological conditions and the production of harm. These facilities are located near Superfund sites, cause further environmental damage, and expose prisoner and guard populations to toxic hazards (Pellow 2020; Opsal & Malin 2022; Toman 2022). However, it is still necessary to understand why people support their siting through PIMBY movements. Some research on PIMPY movements towards LULU prisons find economically depressed communities in Texas and Nebraska (King, Mauer, and Huling 2004), California (Gilmore 2007), Oregon and Washington (Bonds 2009, 2013), and Arkansas (Eason 2017) have vigorously campaigned their state government to "win" prison construction contracts (Opsal and Malin 2022). This research aims to extend LULU theory in this way. PIMPY movements can be operationalized by measuring how macroeconomic, racial, and structural variables predict the probability of community support for immigration detention facilities. A PIMBY framework is used to determine how citizens support the siting of these facilities because other commercial land uses are less suitable due to their proximity to toxic areas.

Due to increased migrant detention, profit, and public exposure to the conditions of detention centers, NIMBY and PIMBY movements towards the siting of immigration detention facilities are increasingly public and contentious. In Evanston, Wyoming, the proposal to build a privately operated migrant detention center shares stories with other rural communities. In the 1970s and 80s, Evanston's economy boomed through oil production. However, the collapse of oil prices led to the closure of local businesses and the loss of jobs. In 2017, the private prison company Management & Training Corporation (MTC) proposed the siting of an immigration

detention center that would provide up to 200 jobs. The potential economic benefits of the detention center informed the local PIMBY movement. Johnny Pentz, founder of the local group 'Uinta County Say's Yes' spoke about their reasoning for supporting building the private detention facility: "We're just a bunch of people who are literally suffering because our oil fields are dying. There's no jobs, no opportunities" (Tory 2020). Opposition groups like WyoSayNo mobilized to protest the detention center siting. They gained support from the community due to media reports of poor conditions at detention centers and the separation of children from their families. A town once able to deliberate was now fighting over divisive issues of race, culture, and economics.

Eason (2017) argues that prison locations cannot be understood without examining local community conditions and sentiment. This requires studies that analyze if poor economic conditions can turn a community's relationship with prison from NIMBY (Not in My Backyard) to PIMBY (Please in My Backyard). Instead, for a lot of "rural ghettos" in the American South, "local community coalitions solicit prisons as a way to create jobs, but also to reduce social inequality and, paradoxically, combat existing stigma" (Eason 2017; Opsal, Luzbetak, Malin, Luxton 2023). The following study aims to add immigration detention facilities into the broader prisons as LULUs and toxic prison scholarship. In doing so, conflict and threat theorists may incorporate environmental and economic material conditions and their association with threat and support for incarceration facilities. While this helps to elucidate the support from civil society, PIMBY and NIMBY movements are still influenced by political-economic and neoliberal state-corporate relations that drive production and cause LULUs. By combining these theories, a gap in literature may be filled by studying them through the relationship between ecological and social disorganization via Superfund sites and immigration detention facilities.

Justification for Current Research

Opsal, Luzbetak, Malin, and Luxton (2023) suggest that future research on correction facility siting should "assess the role of the state in enabling and mediating environmentally damaging and the spatial and environmental injustices associated with LULUs… the role of the state in siting prisons, and the mechanisms undergirding the layering of sites of corporate and state harm." Using active Superfund sites in this research hopes to adjudicate the distinction between the treadmill of production and destruction by revealing another layer of political coercion and violence against marginalized groups through immigration detention.

The widespread use of chemical production, resource extraction, militarism, and other production techniques increase ecological disorganization by introducing toxic hazards into the environment. They also increase social disorganization through adverse health effects and decrease the number of jobs in these areas once contamination occurs (Stretesky, Long, and Lynch 2013, 93). Prior research on Superfund sites examines the risks associated with their proximity and social conditions of the surrounding area. However, immigration detention demands a different analysis, considering the shorter duration migrants are held in these facilities. Though employees are consistently exposed, this study aims to understand why these facilities are sited in the first place rather than the lasting health effects. The following study uses a conflict orientation to complicate and adjudicate racial and cultural threat theories by including the structural conditions that influence group threat perspectives. With an environmental justice and green criminological understanding of the relationships between the state, corporations, and civil society, I attempt to see how neoliberalism and the political economy cause elite actors of in-groups to purport immigration threats to continue the treadmill of production. Since Superfund sites decrease the legitimacy of the neoliberal state and corporations, these areas and

the people affected can provide insight into how the state attempts to reestablish legitimacy through maintaining the treadmill of production, political coercion, and social stratification.

Bridging environmental justice and green criminology theories through the treadmill of production is possible by asking if new frontiers of accumulation, such as privatized immigration detention, facilitate the continued need for growth by the treadmill through new frontiers of punishment. Concerningly, "state elites using environmental stress to solidify power can be considered a crime against the powerless because ordinary citizens are being manipulated into violent conflicts to help elites stay in power" (Stretesky, Long, and Lynch 2013: 96). This paper relies on this theoretical framework to establish reasoning for the state, corporate, and citizen/worker actors of civil society in the treadmill of law against migrants.

The timeframe of this study's data is from 1990 to 2017, when the number of incarcerated citizens and detained migrants drastically increased. It is worth noting that beginning in 2009, the criminal incarceration rate began decreasing, but the average daily population of migrants increased. This study relies on a national sample of US immigration detention facilities and Superfund sites. Though recent work has analyzed the national sample of prisons and jails and their proximity to environmental harms (Perdue 2024), none have included immigration detention facilities.

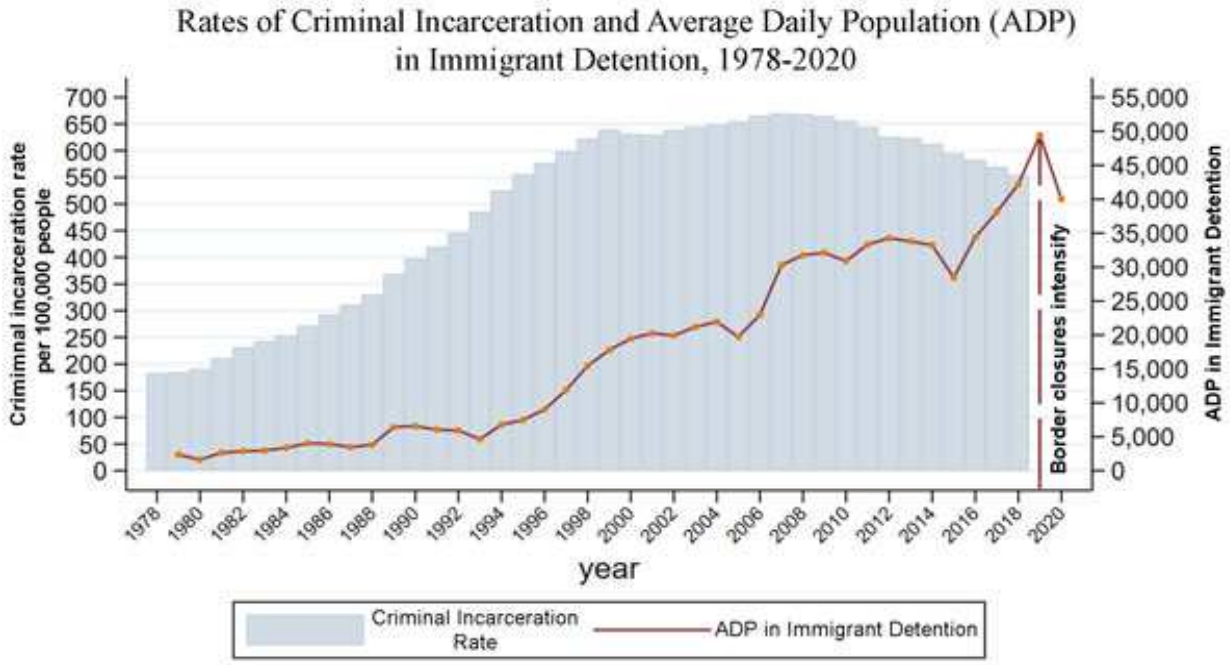

Figure 3. Rates of Criminal Incarceration and ADP in Immigrant Detention 1978-2020 [25]

Green criminologists "devoted most of their attention to illuminating and describing different types of environmental harm" (Brisman 2014: 2). However, it is theoretically necessary to conceptualize "who has the power to make decisions, the kinds of decisions that are made, in whose interests they are made, and how social practices based on these decisions are materially organized" (White 2008: 56). Applying an environmental justice and green criminological lens to group-threat theories on immigration is a necessary adaptation due to original group conflict hypotheses considering the influence of the public narrative formed by the elite in-group (Blumer 1957). Studying Superfund sites provides the opportunity to connect environmental justice, state-corporate crime, and green criminology because they represent ecological and social disorganization.

[25] National Immigration Justice Center (2020). Policy Brief. Data from Bureau of Justice Statistics and Marshall Project. https://immigrantjustice.org/research-items/policy-brief-5-reasons-end-immigrant-detention

This study also attempts to address distance-based methodology debates by measuring the nearest Superfund site to an immigration detention facility and using the county that facility is in to measure race and economic conditions. By measuring the county where these facilities are located, compared to their associated nearest Superfund site, it is less susceptible to the arguments against measuring exposure to harm.[26] Instead, it provides an opportunity to explore the interaction between economy and group threat in areas already confirmed by the federal government as environmentally hazardous. In comparing counties with close or farther proximity, I intend to measure the aftermath of environmental harm and the reorganization of these communities through the economy, threat-driven policies, and detention facility siting.

Studies of toxic prisons found in the US show that 580 prisons are located within 3 miles of a Superfund site (Pellow et al. 2018). Ashby, Vazin, and Pellow (2020) sampled 167 citizen juvenile detention facilities located in Alaska, Arizona, California, Hawaii, Idaho, Nevada, Oregon, Utah, and Washington. 267 Superfund sites in these states were used to measure proximity. 29 percent of these youth detention facilities are located within 5 miles of a Superfund site (Ashby et al. 2020). Immigration detention facilities are predicted to share a similar proximity rate.

Perdue (2018) focused on central Appalachia to measure the historical and spatial conditions that led to the transition of coalfields to prison fields. The decline of coal industries led people and politicians to fight for policy that would establish new occupational opportunities in these busting communities. Schwaner and Keil (2003: 280) found evidence of social

[26] There is a growing call to study brownfield sites' economic, environmental, and health effects. These are characterized as land previously used for industrial purposes with lower contamination levels than Superfund sites (Gilderbloom et al. 2016). However, the present study does not include these estimated 400,000 to one million sites to center the results around the most contaminated and agreed-upon sites. This also allows for the following study to be more easily replicated.

disorganization in coal counties in the United States, arguing that "coal-producing companies from Pennsylvania, Ohio, and New York utilized cheap labor to mine the coal reserves while transferring capital out of state, leaving economic distress." As a result, prisons were seen as an opportunity for employment, described as the "mining to prison pipeline" (Perdue 2018, 178). This emerges as another stage of capitalist and racist policing and incarceration already historically established (Du Bois 1903; Alexander 2010). This study measures labor sector changes leading up to the detention of migrants to determine if similar patterns emerge across the country.

By adding environmental justice and green criminology theories to threat perspectives, the material conditions and structures that influence perception are paid greater attention. Suppose the proximity of a Superfund site to an immigration detention facility is predicted by economic competition or contact hypothesis variables. In that case, future models must include environmental and political-economic context when studying threat perception and conflict in the United States. While researching the relationships between the state and private prisons and immigration detention corporations that profit from the prison-industrial and immigration-industrial complexes, the secondary analysis of this study uses an updated timeframe from 2015 to 2020 to see if this trend is continuing. By delineating each of these actors within the Treadmill of Production of immigration detention, the influence of neoliberal means of production on our ideologies and institutions like the criminal justice system is made more clear.

CHAPTER FOUR: CURRENT STUDY

This study intends to establish empirical and quantitative findings to support conflict, threat, environmental justice, and green criminology theories. Group threat theories debate whether economic or cultural threat predicts group perception of immigrants (Blalock 1967; Hainmueller & Hopkins 2015; Hopkins 2010; Massey 2008). However, these studies neglect the environment of these community groups, changes to their economic situation, and the rhetoric towards out-groups and events that are characterized by elite actors (Blumer 1958; Massey 2015). Therefore, the following study attempts to complicate threat and conflict theories by measuring counties that contain an immigration detention facility (IDF) and their proximity to Superfund (NPL) nationally. This determines if the historical presence of an environmentally hazardous site changes perception through the economic or contact hypotheses. Based on the economic conditions and population demographics of these counties, the distance to a Superfund site may reveal if economic precarity, labor sectors changes, or migrant presence contributes to PIMPY movements towards the siting of these detention facilities.

Despite prisons beginning to be framed as LULUs, immigration detention facilities are given far less attention. The limited research has used strictly qualitative methods (Ybarra 2020, Tory 2020). This is the first macro and quantitative study to incorporate a national sample of immigration detention facilities into its analysis. Critics of NIMBY/PIMBY theory argue it lacks empirical evidence and definition through bias and the qualitative nature of its application (Wolsink 2006; Wexler 1996). Similarly, green criminology theories have historically lacked quantitative methods that support their theories (Lynch et al. 2017). This study addresses these criticisms by operationalizing the economic and social conditions of counties that contain

immigration detention facilities, their nearest Superfund site, and the money exchanged between private detention corporations and the US government.

An initial descriptive analysis reveals that 14 percent of immigration detention facilities are located within 3 miles of a Superfund (NPL) site, 29 percent within 5 miles, and 45 percent within 10 miles. This finding deserves further investigation into what predicts proximity. Since people within PIMBY movements cite jobs and migrant presence as reasons for immigration detention facilities, these variables are tested. This rhetoric of out-groups posing a risk to take resources of in-groups (Heizmann 2021) and correctional facilities providing additional resources through the promise of jobs (Tory 2020) should continue and expand informing threat theories.

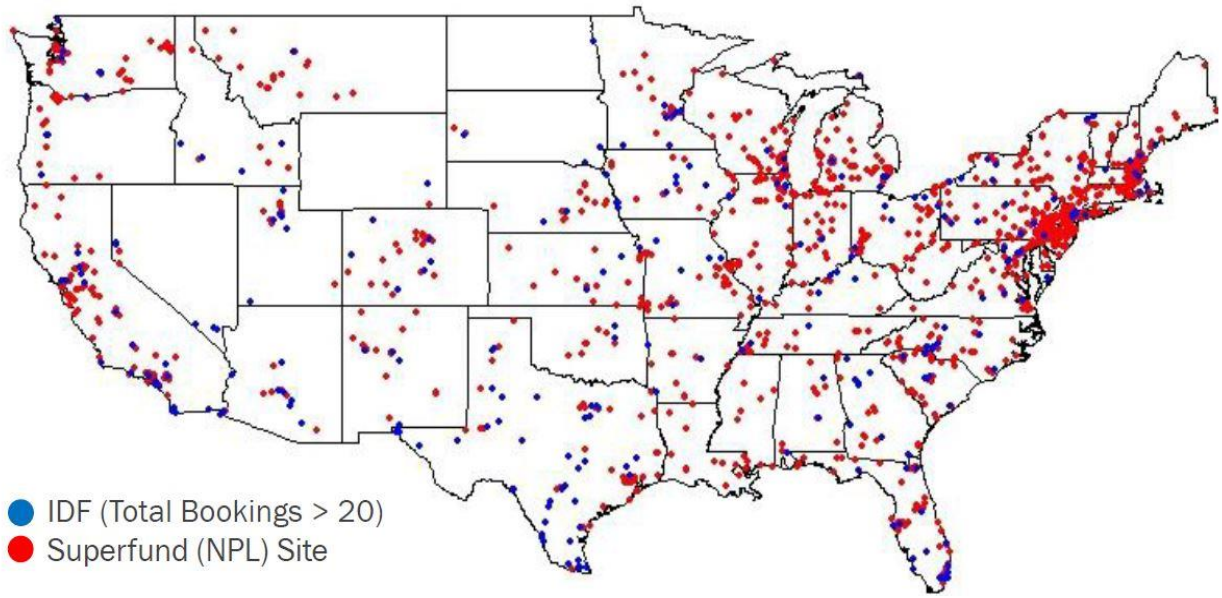

Figure 4. Immigration Detention Facilities and NPL Sites in the United States - 2017

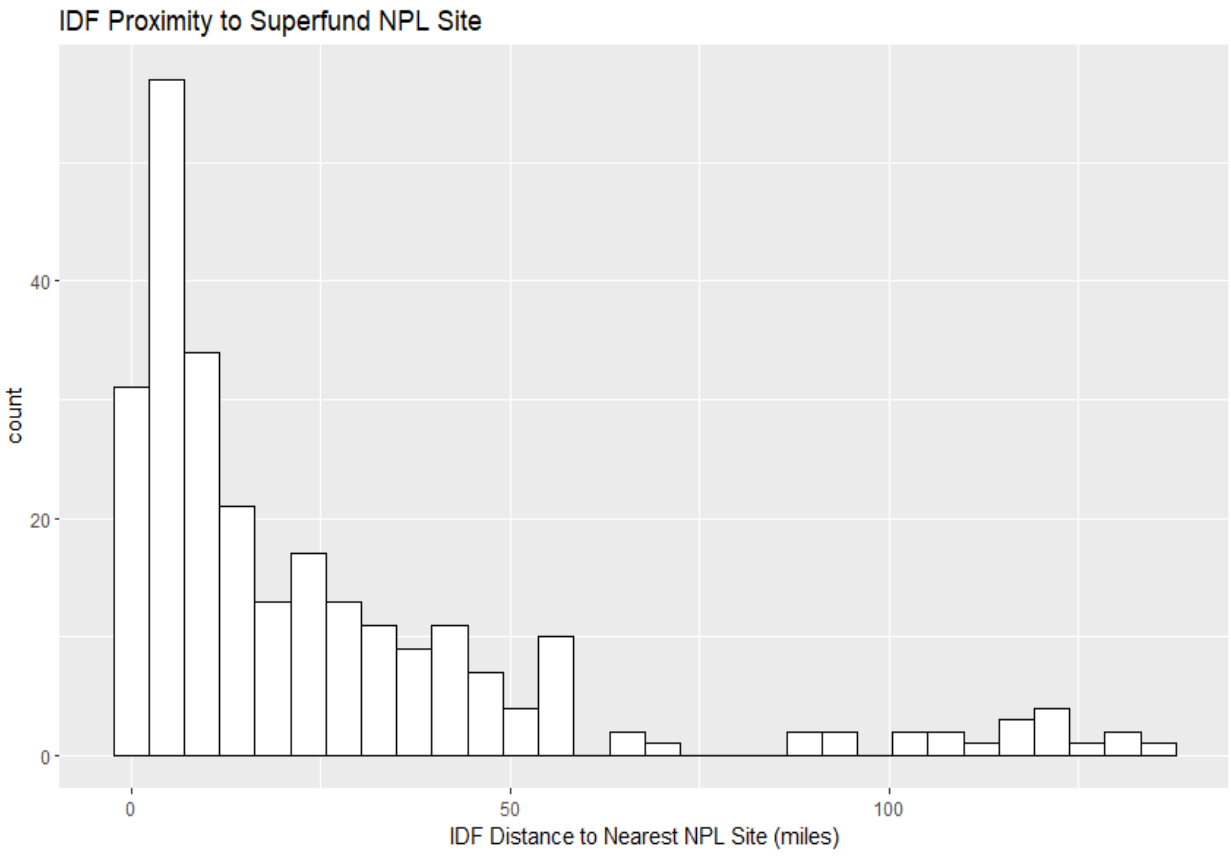

Figure 5. Distribution of Dependent Variable (IDF Distance to Nearest NPL Site)

To operationalize and test the mining to prison pipeline theory on a macro scale, county-level unemployment rate changes leading up to 2018, when migrant detention populations peaked, are regressed on the distance of an IDF located in this county to the nearest NPL site. Based on former interviews with people in counties containing immigration detention facilities (Tory 2020) and analyses of the county economic effects of prisons (Hooks 2004; Chirakijja 2022), it is predicted that increasing unemployment rates in counties will be associated with decreased distance between an immigration detention facility and a Superfund NPL site. This prediction is based on economic competition theories that find changing economic precarity through unemployment increases the threat perception of individuals. Because group-threat

theorists argue that this phenomenon is shared within groups, county unemployment rate trend will predict this siting.

Specific labor sector employment changes are also measured. Common industry sectors include mining, manufacturing, and construction. If the decline or rise of certain industries predicts the siting of an IDF to a Superfund site, the reasoning for this proximity may reveal the mining-to-prison pipeline across the US. The industries that cause the most Superfund sites include manufacturing, mining, processing plants, and construction sites (EPA 2023). It's predicted that a decrease in a county's total percentage of the labor force in mining will be associated with a decrease in the distance between an immigration detention facility and a Superfund site.

To test economic versus cultural threat theories, the noncitizen population of these counties is measured to see if an increasing migrant population predicts the siting of an IDF to an NPL site. If a growing noncitizen population from 1990 or an overall noncitizen population reduces this distance, then cultural or intergroup threat theories may inform PIMBY movements toward IDFs. If this effect is minimal compared to economic precarity defined by unemployment and labor industry trends, then economic threat informs PIMBY movements toward IDFs.

Finally, because former research shows areas more densely populated by Black and Latino/a residents are more likely to contain a Superfund site (Stretesky & Hogan 1998; Burwell-Naney et al. 2013; Trottier et al. 2023), population characteristics of these counties are included in this analysis. It is predicted that counties with a greater White population percentage will increase the distance of an IDF to a Superfund NPL site because fewer active Superfund sites exist in these counties.

Douglas and Sáenz (2013) have previously analyzed the revolving door of executives and state regulators within these companies, their lobbying expenditure, and their associated revenue. To confirm that the trend of a mutually beneficial state-corporate relationship is still occurring in 2017, this study conducts a bivariate analysis of CoreCivic and GEO Group's political campaign contributions, lobbying expenditure, annual revenue, and the value of these government contracts they receive to update results using data from 2015 to 2020. Data was collected through U.S. ICE Fiscal Year Operations Reports and CoreCivic/GEO Group Annual Revenue Reports.

Hypotheses

1. *An increase in the county unemployment rate from 1990 to 2017 is associated with a closer distance of an immigration detention facility to a Superfund NPL site in that county.*
2. *Decreases in the total percentage of the citizen county labor force in mining, manufacturing, or construction decreases the proximity of an immigration detention facility to a Superfund site.*
3. *Counties with a greater percentage White population will contain an immigration detention facility further from a Superfund NPL site.*
4. *Threat perception measured by PIMBY movements towards immigration detention facilities will be motivated more by economic (measured by unemployment) than cultural threat (measured using migrant population and percent change) reasoning.*
5. *CoreCivic and GEO Group Annual Revenue from 2015-2020 will positively correlate with their political and lobbying expenditure.*

Data

Green criminology "has been largely descriptive, theoretical, philosophical, and qualitative. It has been argued that legitimizing green criminology requires more extensive quantitative research" (Lynch et al., 2017). Conflict theory can be particularly useful for empirical testing by testing the relationship between structural material conditions and social interaction (Collins 1990). Using this theoretical background, motivated by the contemporary literature review, leads to testing threats nested in an environmental and economic structure that defines an area's space.

Immigration detention facility data was collected through a Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request to the United States Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) by the Immigrant Legal Resource Center (ILRC). The data was received and made publicly available at the end of 2017 (ILRC 2017). The IRLC is a national nonprofit resource center that provides immigration legal assistance and policy recommendations. U.S. ICE is a federal law enforcement agency under the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) that authorizes, contracts and regulates all immigration detention facilities. The DHS and ICE rarely release data on these facilities besides a list of contracted facilities on their website. The data from this FOIA request remains the most comprehensive dataset ever released by these agencies (Cullen 2018).

The records from the FOIA request include descriptive variables of the name, address, operator of the facility, total bookings, capacity, and date of first and last use from 2009 to 2017. Inspection reports, criminal/noncriminal detainees, bed space, and funding they receive per migrant are also included in this dataset per facility. In total, 1648 sites are contracted with U.S. ICE. However, after removing 206 redacted facilities, facilities in U.S. territories of Guam and Puerto Rico, and limiting sites to those that held at least 50 detainees in 2017, 261 detention

facilities remain. This is because many of the 1648 sites include medical facilities, processing centers, and temporary transportation centers that correspond to a correctional detention center, sometimes within the same building. Also, some have gone out of use since 2009. Finally, economic data for the U.S. territories of Guam and Puerto Rico at the county level was unavailable consistently across census data. A geocoding API was used to request latitude and longitude from addresses provided by the FOIA request and were populated into the dataset.

Superfund sites and their locations are provided by the U.S. Environmental Protection Agencies Superfund Programs public user database. Variables in this dataset include the address, site name, EPA ID, Native American Entity Status, latitude and longitude of site, and the date these sites were given Superfund designation. There are 1340 designated and active Superfund sites in the United States. There are an additional 41 proposed Superfund sites that are excluded from this study due to their pending designation. Superfund sites that were designated after 2017 were omitted since immigration detention facility data is from that year. The EPA's Superfund (NPL) Program database is the most direct and up-to-date source for accurate information on Superfund sites. The latitude and longitude for these sites are centrally located, not based on their boundaries, leading to conservative estimates of proximity.

Population, economic, and industry data was collected through the U.S. Census. County-level business patterns and industry employment are categorized through the North American Industry Classification System (NAICS). These variables include the civilian unemployment rate, the percentage of the civilian county labor force employed in mining, manufacturing, and construction, percent White population, and percent migrant population. Trends from 1990 to 2017 are analyzed. IPUMS National Historic Geographic Information System was used to access and aggregate U.S. Census and American Community Survey data from 1990 and 5-year

estimates between 2014 to 2018 to gather the 2017 estimate (Manson et al. 2023). Five-year estimates of 2014 to 2018 from the American Community Survey are used for 2017 because they include estimates for counties with fewer populations not included in annual estimates. Furthermore, these estimates have smaller margins of error and better include the range in years of the immigration detention facility data. Trends across time for these variables are also measured when available.

Dependent Variable

The proximity of an immigration detention facility to a Superfund NPL site, measured in miles, is the dependent variable. To measure this distance, the Vincenty Ellipsoid formula was used to calculate the distance in miles using the latitude and longitude of immigration detention facilities to the nearest Superfund NPL site latitude and longitude.[27] This formula was developed to better measure distance on a sphere (Vincenty 1975). Because the dependent variable is positively skewed with a long tail on the right of the distribution, this variable is naturally logged. This allows the estimates to be less sensitive to outlying observations. Based on case studies, activist groups, journalism, and PIMPY literature, the proximity of these facilities to NPL sites often has economic or cultural arguments that define sites of resistance or acceptance.

There is a debate around the distance-based methodology researchers use when measuring environmental racism and the risk of exposure to harm through proximity to toxins (Mohai & Saha 2007; Agyeman et al. 2016; Bullard et al. 2008). However, the current study asks what predicts detention facilities' siting to known and agreed upon environmental hazards, not

[27] The Haversine method can result in an error of up to .5 percent (Robusto 1957). The Vincenty Ellipsoid method is accurate within 0.5mm. Both methods are used to determine if there are any significant differences. See appendix for Haversine model.

exposure. Therefore, a county-level analysis provides a more accurate description of demographic and economic conditions that might indicate reasoning to support the siting of an immigration detention facility near a Superfund site. Opsal, Malin, and Ellis (2022) argue that the clustering of environmental harms and the conditions at correctional facilities, at times including industries, create spatially specific "sacrifice zones" (Lerner 2010) or "green crime havens" (Thomson et al. 2020). The conflict-orientation of the following research aims to ask why correctional facilities might be supported in these areas.

Independent Variables

To test if economic conditions are associated with the proximity of an immigration detention facility (IDF) to a Superfund site (NPL), the percentage point change in the unemployment rate at the county level is used as the main independent variable. Here, the unemployment rate intentionally only reflects civilian employment by excluding noncitizen employment numbers. The reasoning for this decision is that if migrants are being detained at higher rates, this may skew the unemployment rate. Furthermore, this study measures the economic precarity of in-groups defined here as citizens. The change is measured by the difference in unemployment rate between 1990 and 2017. This period aligns with the sharp increase in immigrant detention. If unemployment trends predict the proximity of an IDF to an NPL site, it suggests these facilities may be specifically located to provide jobs in areas that need them. However, unemployment is limited to overall trends rather than industry-specific. Therefore, controlling industry-level changes allows for a clearer understanding of the effect of unemployment.

The percentage point change in industry-specific employment at the county level is used to test the mining-to-prison pipeline theory across the US (Perdue 2018). Labor sector changes in

mining are used as an independent variable and others are used as controls. In 1990, the U.S. Census used 13 industry classifications: Agriculture, forestry, and fisheries, Mining, Construction, Manufacturing, Transportation and communication, Wholesale Trade, Retail Trade, Finance, insurance and real estate, Business and repair services, Personal services, Entertainment and recreation services, Professional and related services, and Public Administration. Of these industries, mining, manufacturing, and construction are most likely to lead to a Superfund site designation. If the mining-to-prison pipeline occurs nationally (Perdue 2018), then IDFs may be closer to NPL sites in counties with decreases in mining employment. To find the proportion of employment in these industries, the total number of employees in each industry is divided by the total employed population. I control for detention removing labor by only including civilian employees and excluding noncitizen employment numbers. The percentage point change in the proportion of labor force in these industries between 1990 and 2017 is regressed on the distance between an IDF and NPL site. This time frame is used because industrial activity led to the designation of most of the Superfund NPL sites based on the proposed and active status dates of these sites in the data.

Population demographics in 2017 are used as control variables. This is necessary because the contact hypothesis and cultural threat theories debate whether the presence of an out-group like migrants increases or decreases threat perception. Since previous research has shown racial composition of an area predicts the likelihood of a Superfund site (Stretesky & Hogan 1998; Trottier 2023), the racial composition of a county is controlled using the percent White population. To test if increases in migrant populations of counties predict the siting of an immigration detention facility, the total migrant population in 2017 and percentage point change of migrant population from 1990 to 2017 are regressed on the distance between an NPL and IDF.

If the migrant population predicts the siting of an IDF rather than occupational precarity through unemployment, then cultural and racial threat theories are better supported.

Descriptive Table

Table 1.

Variables	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Distance Between IDF and Superfund NPL Site (miles)	25.4	30.2	0.598	136
Percentage Point Δ in County Unemployment % from 1990 to 2017	-0.884	2.17	-8.07	4.74
Percentage Point Δ of County Labor Force in Mining 1990 to 2017	-.107	1.44	-11.9	4.67
Percentage Point Δ of County Labor Force in Manufacturing 1990 to 2017	-5.76	4.10	-21.3	8.78
Percentage Point Δ of County Labor Force in Construction 1990 to 2017	0.13	1.84	-7.11	6.35
White Population in 2017 (%)	77.1	14.4	26.3	96.7
Migrant Population in 2017 (%)	7.30	5.71	0.07	32.1
Percentage Point Δ of County Migrant Population 1990 to 2017	-0.017	5.38	-22.2	31.5

To determine the relationship between corporations that own and operate immigration detention centers, a dataset was compiled on the money spent by the largest private immigration detention corporations CoreCivic and GEO Group. This money included contributions towards campaigns, candidates, lobbying, Trade Associations, and Chambers of Commerce from 2015 to 2020. This timeframe was selected because incarceration rates of citizens declined during this span, immigration detainees increased, and it reflects political spending before and after a presidential administration. Corporations are required to disclose this information via the Federal Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995, as amended by the Honest Leadership and Open Government Act of 2007. Both companies operate their own Political Action Committees, meaning contributions come from both corporate and the PAC compromised of employees. This data can

be found in government reports through the United States House of Representatives and Senate clerks. These corporations also publish annual Political Activity and Lobbying Reports. Annual Revenue and Revenue accrued through U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement were acquired from quarterly Supplemental Financial Information reports from both companies. (See appendix for dataset table).

To understand the relationship between these corporations and the state, the variables on spending include political contributions at the federal and state/local level, contributions to national 527 organizations, expenditures on federal and state/local lobbying, contributions to trade and membership organizations, and Federal and Local Chambers of Commerce. The variables on revenue include annual revenue and revenue from ICE Contracts. Covariance between the independent and dependent variables is measured by interpreting correlation and the coefficient of determination between variables.

Methods

A multivariate ordinary least squares (OLS) linear regression model is used to analyze the data above. An OLS multiple regression model predicts the likelihood of an immigration detention facility's proximity to a Superfund NPL site when controlling for labor sector changes and population characteristics. An OLS regression can be used here because the dependent variable log(miles), independent (unemployment and population percentages), and control (labor sector and population percentages) variables are all continuous. The OLS linear regression model builds the line of best fit to depict the spread of multiple data points of the dependent and independent variable using a single line. Multiple regression is the best-fitting line through multidimensional space when adding other independent variables.

Linear regression asks if a relationship exists between the dependent and independent variables. If there is no relationship, we fail to reject the null hypothesis. If a relationship does exist, we reject the null hypothesis in which the variables are independent of each other. A linear relationship is described by the equation for a line: $y = \alpha + \beta x$; y is the independent variable, x is the dependent variable, alpha (α) is the intercept, and beta (β) is the slope, coefficient, or "effect." We can interpret the coefficient or effect in terms of its size: beta represents the effect on y of a one-unit change in x. The coefficient also tells us the direction of the association. Finally, we can measure the statistical significance by dividing the beta coefficient by its standard error. This leads us to the p-value that denotes the results of hypothesis tests of the independent variables' slopes. In these tests, the null hypothesis states that the slope of the independent variable is no different than zero. Thus, regression coefficients with p-values less than .05 are considered significant predictors of the dependent variable (Burton 2021). With this model, we can predict the value of y using the value of x. However, there is error between every predicted value and the true value for each observation. If we square and add those errors, we get the sum of squared errors (SSE). The least squares estimate is the line that minimizes ordinary squares, hence OLS. A measure of the strength of the association between x and y is the R^2 where the proportion of variability in y can be explained by x. For example, an R^2 value of .30 means that x explains 30 percent of the variability in y.

In multiple linear regression, we control confounding variables that may affect both the dependent and independent variables. In this study, labor sector change could affect the unemployment rate and proximity to a superfund site based on their ecological additions. Using multiple regression models, we add additional variables to the linear equation:

$$y = \alpha + \beta 1x1 + \beta 2x2 + \beta 3x3 \ldots\ldots\ldots$$

To interpret: (α) alpha = y-intercept when all x variables are zero. β1 is the effect of a one-unit increase in x1 on y when holding all other x variables constant. Because all these variables are continuous, multiple OLS regression is the best model fit for the following testing. Since it was necessary to transform the dependent variable of miles to a natural logarithm due to the positive skew in its distribution, interpreting the beta or coefficient uses percent. For example, the first model of this study produces this equation: log(miles) = 2.149 + -.128unemploymentratechange. This means that the distance between an IDF and NPL site decreases by 12.8 percent for every one percentage point increase in a county's unemployment rate from 1990 to 2017.

OLS does rest on a set of assumptions about your data (see appendix for the following tests). First, linearity in the parameters, which means independent variables in the model must share a linear relationship with the dependent variable (Fox 2016). This can be assessed using a residual vs. fitted plot. No multicollinearity means the regressors in x must all be linearly independent. This can be tested with a Variance Inflation Factor (VIF) score where greater than 10 violates the assumption. The mean independence of errors shows that the explanatory variable x is uncorrelated with omitted variables. Based on previous studies on economic precarity and cultural threat, unemployment, labor sector changes, and population demographics are consistently used to test these theories. When these three assumptions are met, you get an unbiased estimate. The other assumptions include homoscedasticity, uncorrelated disturbances, and normality of errors (tested using quantile-quantile, Q-Q plot).

The first model tests the change in county-level unemployment rate from 1990 to 2017 on proximity measured in miles. These years are chosen due to the rise in immigration detention during this time. The second model adds changes in a county's proportion of the labor force from 1990 to 2017 in mining, manufacturing, and construction. These years are chosen because they

represent the decrease in mining and manufacturing activity that led to these active Superfund NPL site designations (Bell 2016; Perdue 2018). The 1990s represent the beginning of contemporary Crimmigration policies and the widespread use of privatized prisons and immigration detention. The final model will add population controls to the model, including racial and civilian composition:

$$\boldsymbol{log(proximity)} = \boldsymbol{unemployment\ rate}\ (\mathbf{2017-1990}) + \boldsymbol{mining\%point\Delta} + \boldsymbol{construction\%point\Delta} + \boldsymbol{manufacturing\%point\Delta} + \%\boldsymbol{White\ pop.} + \%\boldsymbol{noncitizenpop.} + \boldsymbol{noncitizenpop\%point\Delta}$$

If increases in the proportion of mining employment compared to total industry employment from 1990 to 2017 occur in counties with immigration detention facilities closer to Superfund sites, the mining-to-prison pipeline is confirmed. Counties with an increase in the unemployment rate may be more likely to support the siting of an immigration detention facility to a Superfund NPL site because of a perceived dependency on incarceration facilities to provide jobs. This operationalizes research asking if areas characterized by environmental degradation through industrial activity and increases in unemployment are more likely to support these immigration detention facilities and detention policies than perceived cultural threat due to increases in migrant population.

To measure the state-corporate relationship of immigration detention, a bivariate analysis compares the linear relationships between political and lobbying expenditure from CoreCivic and the GEO Group, their annual revenue, and their revenue from U.S. ICE contracts. The Pearson correlation coefficient measures the covariance between two variables. The absolute value of the correlation coefficient gives us the strength of the relationship. These values can be

between -1 and 1. Values closer to -1 mean the two variables share a strong negative correlation; values close to 1 mean they share a strong positive correlation. The p-value is the probability that you would have found the current result if the correlation coefficient were zero or the null hypothesis. The correlation coefficient is statistically significant if this probability is lower than the conventional 5% ($p < 0.05$). If the correlation coefficients for the annual revenue of these corporations and their political and lobbying expenditure are positive and significant, we reject the null and find that they are associated with one another. This would update and confirm previous studies measuring their association (Douglas and Sáenz 2013; Douglas 2015).

Analysis

County unemployment trends from 1990 to 2017 are associated with the distance between an immigration detention facility (IDF) and a Superfund NPL site. In the first model, the distance between an IDF and NPL site decreases by 12.8 percent for each percentage point increase in the unemployment rate from 1990 to 2017 in the county where this IDF is located ($p < .001$). When controlling for the percentage of a county's labor force employed in mining, construction, and manufacturing, a percentage point increase in unemployment rate change is associated with a 13.9 percent decrease in this proximity ($p <.001$). The increasing effect suggests that unemployment rate change has more of an association when specific labor sector changes are uniform across counties.

The final model controls for a county's 2017 White population percentage, 2017 noncitizen population percentage, and the percentage point change in noncitizen population from 1990 to 2017. Here, a one percentage point increase in the unemployment rate from 1990 to 2017 is associated with an 8 percent decrease in distance between an IDF and NPL site ($p < .05$) when controlling for labor sector changes, the White population, and the noncitizen population. In

other words, counties with the largest growth in unemployment rate from 1990 to 2017 contained immigration detention facilities closest to Superfund sites. This confirms that unemployment rate trends from 1990 to 2017 are associated with the distance of an immigration facility to a Superfund site. This aligns closer to economic competition hypotheses (Espehnshade and Hempstead 1996; McLaren 2003; Scheve and Slaughter 2001), considering rising levels of unemployment predict an immigration detention facility being closer to a Superfund NPL site. In these cases, the historical material conditions of environmental degradation or ecological disorganization have led to social disorganization through economic precarity. This social disorganization influences using an immigration detention facility near these sites.

A county's whiteness also predicts an IDF's proximity to an NPL site; a one percentage point increase in a county's White population is associated with a 3 percent increase in the distance between an IDF and NPL site ($p < .001$). In other words, counties with more White people are less likely to have immigration detention facilities near Superfund sites. This could be explained by previous studies that show higher density White areas are less likely to contain a Superfund NPL site and predicted that the trend was growing (Stretesky and Hogan 1998) A percentage point increase in the proportion of a county's noncitizen population is associated with a 3 percent increase in the distance between an IDF and NPL site ($p < .001$). This finding is interesting because when controlling unemployment and labor sector changes the presence of noncitizens within a county predicts an immigration detention facility being farther away from an NPL site. This may support the contact hypothesis if citizens in these counties do not prefer housing detained migrants near environmental hazards (Allport 1958; Williams 1947).

A percentage point increase in a county's labor force employed in manufacturing is associated with a 6 percent increase in the distance between an IDF and NPL site in the final

model ($p < .001$). However, labor sector employment changes in mining were not associated with this proximity. Here, we fail to reject the null hypothesis that these labor changes predict this proximity. This means that the "mining to prison pipeline" does not occur across the United States or is associated with immigration detention facilities compared to prisons. However, this may be because the areas where many immigration detention facilities are located do not have natural resources to mine. In some cases, these areas do contain environmental hazards from mining but have not received a Superfund NPL designation. For example, the South Texas Family Residential Center near Dilley, Texas (Bernd 2017).

Prediction models show counties that contain IDFs nearest to NPL sites experienced increases in unemployment from 1990 to 2017 and have a lower percentage of white people comprising their population (see Figure 6 below). Finally, a percentage point increase in a county's migrant population is associated with a 3 percent increase in the distance between an IDF and NPL site. In other words, counties with more noncitizens are less likely to have an immigration detention facility located closer to a Superfund site. The percentage point change in the migrant population from 1990 to 2017 is not associated with this distance. This reveals the relationship between environmental disorganization, operationalized through Superfund sites, may lead to social disorganization through unemployment. In response, the use of immigration detention facilities near these hazards may be seen as an opportunity to create jobs when other options are less viable. Counties that were able to increase their labor force in manufacturing could avoid the effect of unemployment on this distance. This shows that the opportunity for employment in manufacturing reduces the need for employment in immigration detention. Finally, the dynamics of a county being populated by white or noncitizens confirms previous environmental justice scholarship on disproportionate exposure to harm through contaminated

sites (Bullard 1990). The presence of a noncitizen population increasing this distance could show that interaction between in and out groups reduces the likelihood of mistreatment. Since changes in the noncitizen population from 1990 to 2017 had no effect, the influx of migrants does not lead to rationale for the siting of an immigration detention facility compared to economic precarity.

These results indicate that PIMBY movements toward immigration detention facilities are more motivated by economic than cultural threat reasoning in areas nearer to environmental damage. Using economic variables that measure dynamic mechanisms of economic and population change aligns with economic competition threat perception theories that utilize such modeling (Lancee & Pardos-Prado 2013; Eason 2017). This suggests that civil society and the worker actors on the Treadmill of production are more motivated by economic competition than by a perceived cultural threat. This confirms the PIMBY sentiment of communities like those in Evanston, Wyoming (Tory 2020) nationally. Furthermore, the presence and history of environmental degradation may influence ideologies and threat. The other treadmill actors are analyzed to satisfy Massey's (2015) call to study elites' self-interest.

Table 2. OLS Regression on IDF and Superfund NPL Site Proximity

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
(Intercept)	2.419 ***	2.873 ***	0.820	0.085
	(0.084)	(0.136)	(0.432)	(0.528)
Percentage Point Δ in County Unemployment Rate from 1990 to 2017	-0.128 ***	-0.139 ***	-0.081 *	-0.079 *
	(0.036)	(0.037)	(0.037)	(0.039)
Percentage Point Δ of County Labor Force in Mining 1990 to 2017		-0.085	-0.064	-0.062
		(0.053)	(0.051)	(0.050)
Percentage Point Δ of County Labor Force in Construction 1990 to 2017		-0.020	-0.039	-0.052
		(0.043)	(0.041)	(0.041)
Percentage Point Δ of County Labor Force in Manufacturing 1990 to 2017		0.082 ***	0.074 ***	0.061 ***
		(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.018)
County White Population %			0.027 ***	0.032 ***
			(0.005)	(0.006)
County Noncitizen Population %				0.033 *
				(0.014)
Percentage Point Δ in County Noncitizen Population				0.027
				(0.014)
N	261	261	261	261
R2	0.046	0.126	0.203	0.233
logLik	-429.321	-417.939	-405.835	-400.816
AIC	864.642	847.878	825.670	819.632

*** p < 0.001; ** p < 0.01; * p < 0.05.

(See appendix for OLS regression assumption tests, Haversine vs Vincenty Ellipsoid model, and models for unlogged dependent variable).

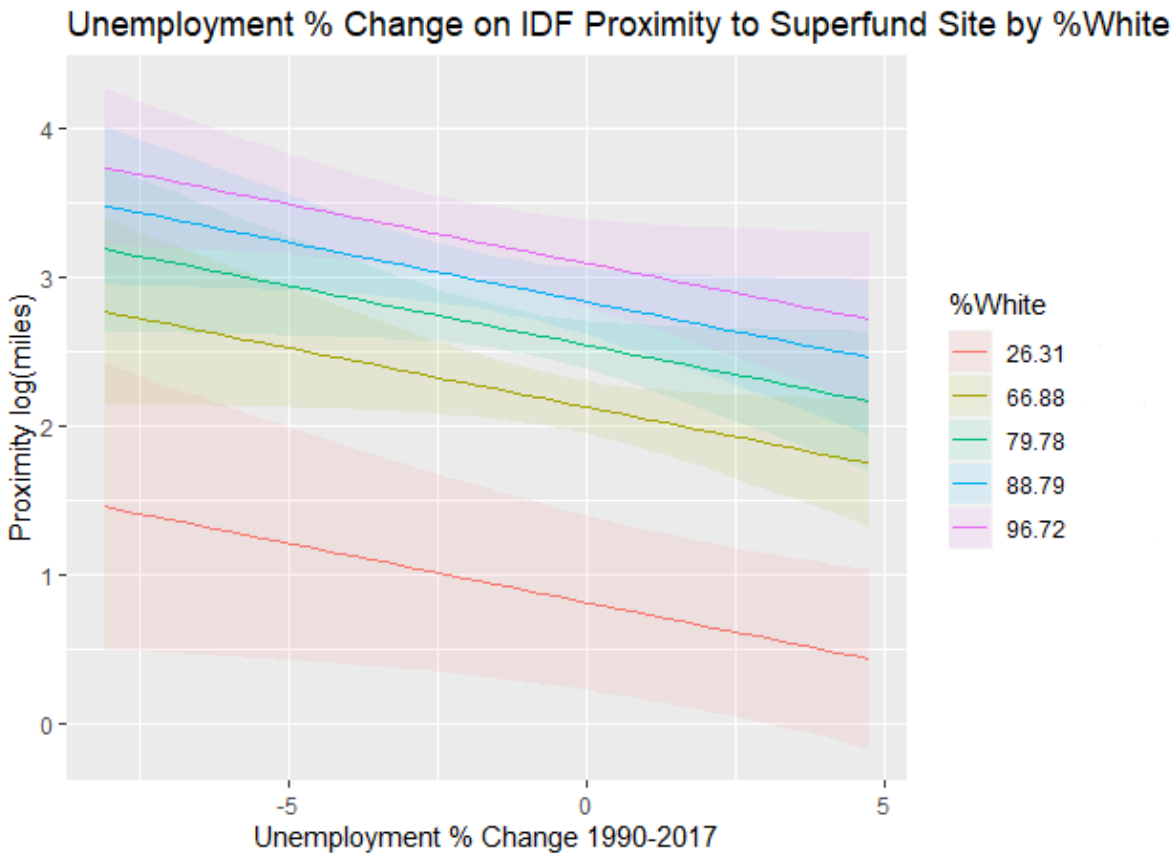

Figure 6. Prediction Model for Unemployment Rate Change on Proximity

State-Corporate Analysis

To measure the correlation between private prison and immigration detention corporations CoreCivic and GEO Group, the associations between annual revenue, revenue from federal government contracts, political campaign contributions, and lobbying expenditure are compared. To accomplish this comparison, Pearson's correlation coefficient is equated. The most significant correlations from the data were *CoreCivic Lobbying Contributions & CoreCivic Annual Revenue* ($r = 0.878$, $p = 0.0214$), *CoreCivic Political Contributions & CoreCivic Annual Revenue from ICE Contracts* ($r = 0.804$, $p = 0.05$), *CoreCivic Federal Lobbying Contributions & CoreCivic Annual Revenue* ($r = 0.85$, $p = 0.03$). *CoreCivic 527 PAC Expenditure & Annual Revenue from ICE Contracts* ($r = 0.925$, $p = 0.008$), *GEO Group Political Contributions & GEO*

Ice Contract Annual Revenue (r = 0.842 p= 0.0357) and *GEO Group Annual Revenue & Revenue from ICE Contracts* (r = 0.971 p = 0.0012) (See appendix for full tables).

Interpreting these covariances suggests that the more money CoreCivic and GEO Group spent on political contributions and lobbying expenditures, the more money they were given via contracts with U.S. ICE for immigration detention and the more money they reported for annual revenue. As the State, characterized by federal, state, and local political candidates and 527 organizations, received more money from these corporations, they gave more money to these corporations. These are not low sums of money. When total annual detained migrants were at their highest in 2019, CoreCivic's Annual Revenue was $1.98 billion. The money they received from ICE Contracts was $574 million (CoreCivic 2019). That same year, GEO Group's Annual Revenue was $2.48 billion, and received $708 million from ICE contracts (GEO 2019). In 2015, GEO Group spent $840,940 on political candidates ($283,440 at the federal level) and reported $1.84 million in annual revenue, with $331 million from ICE Contracts. In 2019 after reporting record revenue, they contributed almost three million dollars to political candidates, $1.2 million to federal candidates, and $4.3 million on lobbying.

The state and local level of political contributions also showed how and why money is spent in certain areas. States that received the most money from these companies from 2015 to 2020 were California, Florida, Georgia, Tennessee, Colorado, Texas, and Louisiana. This money goes towards state and local candidates, chambers of commerce, and Trade & Membership Associations. The states that held the largest number of daily detained immigrants in April 2019 were Texas (14,481), Louisiana (4,415), Arizona (4,405), California (4,353), and Georgia (3,719), Florida (2,353), and Colorado (1,368) (TRAC 2019).

Political contributions were also given to 527 national organizations, including the Democratic Governors Association, Democratic Legislative Campaign Committee, Midwestern Governors Association, National Governors Association, Republican Governors Association, Republican State Leadership Committee, and the Western Governors Association. Also, 501c(4) organizations include A New Day for Kansas, America Works USA, Center Forward, Congressional Black Caucus Institute, Freedom Frontier, and Onward Ohio Policy Institute.

These correlations suggest the State, represented by federal and local political candidates, and corporations, represented by CoreCivic and GEO Group, are actors in the treadmill of production. Their relationship is mutually beneficial as politicians receive money, corporations are awarded government contracts, and crimmigration policies continue to enforce immigration detention and privatize it. This relationship relies on PIMBY movements to support these facilities' siting and operation. This represents political-economic structural conditions that influence threat perception, sites of acceptance, and maintenance of social stratification for accumulation.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION

The present results have important implications for conflict, threat, environmental justice, toxic prison, green criminology, and the treadmill of production/law theories. In the following discussion, I will explore how measuring the proximity of correctional facilities like immigration detention to environmental hazards provides an opportunity to study the nexus of these disciplines. In reviewing each original research question, threat theories, immigration policy, and the criminal justice system in the United States are better understood through the political-economic material origins of conflict theory and ecological disorganization. This leads to recommendations that interrogate the relationships between the state, corporations, and civil society from a treadmill of production lens. In doing so, I hope green criminologists and environmental justice scholars might better align through toxic prison and immigration detention scholarship.

What is the criminal justice system's role in political economic green criminology and the Treadmill of Production?

To complicate threat theories that argue between cultural hypotheses, which contend that increasing presence of out-group populations fosters threat and economic competition hypotheses that argue perception of threat derives from increasing levels of economic precarity like unemployment. This study suggests that a political-economic understanding of the detention system is required to measure structural forces that influence our perception. The treadmill of production leads to these crises but is also the only mechanism to try to help it continue to run. Following treadmill theory, immigration detention also relies on state, corporate, and civil society actors to keep it churning. This is like the Treadmill of Law, but instead, these

Crimmigration policies create social disorganization in response to ecological harm. Based on this study's findings, the interaction of these actors is revealed through the prism of the treadmill:

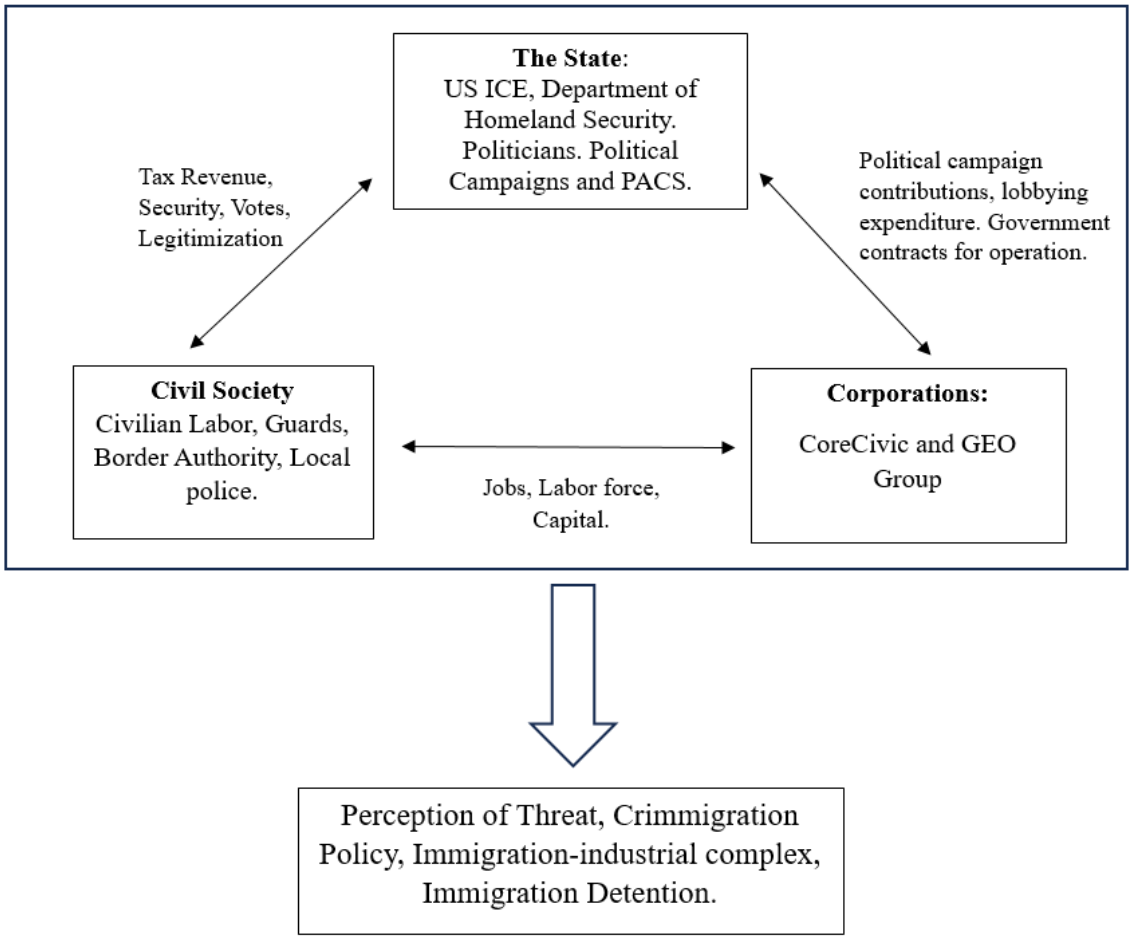

Figure 7. Treadmill Actors of Immigration Detention

To understand why immigrants are detained in the US and which communities support detention policies, it's necessary to utilize a conflict and political-economic lens to study the intersection of economy and culture. The political-economic approach to green criminology and ecological destruction argues that green crimes and environmental injustice are a product of the structural organization of capitalism executed by the state and corporations (Lynch & Long 2020). The designation of a Superfund site is an example of the environmental damage that is caused by valuing production over the environment. However, while research is robust in

understanding the contradictions of capitalism and its relationship with nature (O'Connor 1998), the state and corporations are delegitimated when this disorganization occurs. When jobs are lost, and a toxic environment prevents other economic activity, the maintenance of political economic systems weakens because "economic power is a special, yet dominant, kind of social power. It is not social power as such, but rather its transformation into pressure on the political system that needs legitimation" (Habermas 2006, 418). This study untangles how the state attempts to reestablish legitimacy through the criminal justice system and relations of production which uses incarceration and detention to create new forms of accumulation and labor through punishment. When communities rely so heavily on labor for survival, they feel threatened by anything or person that may make it less accessible. Displacing blame from the failures of the state and corporations to out-groups like migrants fulfills the dominating hegemonic discourse twofold. First, they appear to promote safety and jobs through punishment; second, they create economic activity through these practices. This allows for ruling classes and actors to prop up their dwindling legitimacy as the contradictions of neoliberal capitalism are revealed.

Critics of political economy theories argue that more emphasis needs to be placed on other relations of power through positionality beyond class. They must reveal how social institutions are altered by the transition of power into the hands of the few using other group identities and their intersectionality. These institutions define deviance and crime by manipulating public perception and legal codes. Immigration policies are crucial to understanding code-making since legal codes are allegedly written to prevent harm. However, immigration is not associated with empirical harm; it is only perceived harm, especially compared to other behaviors or actions (Lutz & Bitcshnau 2022).

What is the relationship between Superfund sites, economic precarity, contact with migrant populations, and immigration detention?

From 1990 to 2017, immigration detention rates sharply increased in the US due to the rise of contemporary Crimmigration policies (Stumpf 2006). During this time, an increase in unemployment at the county level is associated with immigration detention facilities being located closer to Superfund NPL sites. The mining-to-prison pipeline argues that the loss of extractive industry jobs leads communities to support the construction of prisons to bolster the local economies in the latter of these boom-bust cycles (Perdue 2018). This analysis does not confirm these case studies in Appalachia on a macro scale using immigration detention facilities and trends of the percentage of a county's labor force employed in mining. However, increasing unemployment rates predicting closer proximity suggests that there is an association of economic precarity to the siting of these facilities. The mining-to-prison pipeline is not supported because mining activity is not possible in every part of the US. However, economic precarity, such as unemployment, consistently and nationally produces a perceived threat and informs sites of acceptance towards LULUs. This is because the relations of production shape our ideologies and institutions, confirming conflict theory's origins.

Increases in a county's labor force working in manufacturing from 1990 to 2017 had immigration detention facilities located farther away from Superfund sites. This suggests that counties less affected by deindustrialization are located further away from Superfund sites and do not require detention facilities to be near them. Counties with Superfund sites may be unable to support a rise in manufacturing jobs due to the prior industrial activity that led to environmental harm, which prevents other industries from establishing.

How are conflict and threat theories influenced by social structures of environmental degradation, social stratification, and state-corporate crime?

Contrary to common assumptions around Crimmigration and threat perspectives, the presence of a migrant population does not lead to the siting of an immigration detention facility. Because immigration detention facilities are located further away from Superfund sites in counties with a larger density of noncitizens but closer in counties with increases in unemployment, the reasoning for the siting of an immigration detention facility is less predicated on the perceived cultural or racial threat of migrants and based on occupational/economic precarity. This may align with theories suggesting exposure to othered populations leads to acceptance (Druckman 2004). The criminal justice system has developed to include immigration detention in the incarceration system. Though popular media and discourse maintain the threat of immigration as being cultural and economic, the counties that support the siting of an immigration detention facility are more likely to be economically depressed than culturally threatened by an influx of migrants.

Prisons and immigration detention facilities are considered locally undesirable land (LULUs) because of the decrease in home values they produce. However, in areas with Superfund NPL sites, these home values are already depressed by environmental contamination. Qualitative studies find that the prospect of employment is a motivator to support the construction and use of immigration detention (Tory 2020). These are categorized as Please in My Backyard (PIMPY) movements because of their LULU designation (Opsal and Malin 2020). These qualitative studies have been confirmed on a quantitative and macro scale. Because the reasoning for these movements is more economically motivated than culturally, this reveals how the worker actor in the treadmill of production supports and maintains an ideology of growth and

accumulation. The shift in the extraction of natural resources to the extraction of people deserves further examination as incarceration rates decrease, but detention rates climb.

Though the economic gains for communities appear minimal when detaining migrants, the largest corporations that own and operate immigration detention facilities report annual revenues of half a billion dollars from contracts with the United States government. Using a political-economic scrutinization of the criminal justice system, including immigration detention policy, is necessary due to these associations. The macro-scale of this study intentionally encourages future qualitative case studies by facility and county that measure the historical and spatial conditions that expose a cycle of environmental degradation to social incarceration. Not every immigrant, Superfund site, or county is the same, so this multi-scalar approach is necessary for researchers.

This study does not dismiss cultural or racial threat theories. Considering the transitioning rhetoric around immigration focusing less on economics and more on the attack on culture through criminal behavior and violence, cultural and racial threat theories are increasingly relevant. Tabloid headlines of the migrant crime and border crisis accompany unsubstantiated state actor sentiment like New York City police commissioner Edward Caban who characterizes immigration as a "wave of migrant crime that washed over the city" (Offenhartz 2024). However, further reporting in New York disputes these claims (Cramer 2024). While politicians say we should take it from the horse's mouth, this is far removed from the experiences of civil society or empirical research (Moore et al. 2021; Light et al. 2020; Tufali et al 2023). Thus, threat research must study the structural and political forces that stimulate threat. The political economic production of the criminal justice system relies on purporting

individual-level crime perception and ignores state-corporate level criminal regulation to continue extracting people and civilian labor as a commodity.

Economic competition arguments against immigration still exist in the US. However, the shift to individual-level crime and cultural threat is because immigration benefits the economy. George Borjas argued that "immigration improves labor market efficiency. Moreover, it turns out that part of this efficiency gain accrues to natives, suggesting that existing estimates of the benefits from immigration may be ignoring a potentially important source of these benefits." Research suggests efficiency gains for native-born workers of "between $5 billion and $10 billion annually," Borjas writes, noting that "the estimates of the efficiency gain roughly double the measured benefits from immigration." (Sherman et al. 2019). Furthermore, vacant lots, closed businesses, and labor shortages are frequently cited as signs of economic woes in the US (Westbrook 2022). Yet, many ignore the benefits of an influx of committed proprietors and consumers to fill this void. Why would people complain about two separate problems that create a solution? Elite interests must maintain division among the working class to maintain the hierarchy that they crown.

How are conflict and threat theories influenced by social structures of environmental degradation, social stratification, and state-corporate crime?

Social stratification is defined by competing groups using resources and policy to improve and maintain their socioeconomic position (Collins 1975). The state facilitates hierarchy, recognition of power, and social reality (Bourdieu 1989). The detention of migrants is another step in the legitimization of cultural practices of symbolic violence that has endured in the culture and structures of the United States. Incarceration, detention, and immigration provide a theoretical context that can bridge the gaps of conflict theories by showing how the nexus of

economy, environment, and social disorganization is maintained through the control of certain groups.

Antonio Gramsci argued (1971), that dominant groups retain their hegemony by securing and actively retaining the masses' consent. This has been used to explain why people who experience industry-produced environmental hazards do not rise against these industries or their production of coal in Appalachia (Bell 2016). Bell (2016: 16) describes these areas as the periphery as "a region where the land and much of the population are exploited to keep the costs of energy low for the rest of the country". Today, as the contradictions of capitalism through the extraction of finite resources realize themselves, the extraction of people aims to prop up the first contradiction, which is a lack of labor and the ability to consume. Superfund sites represent the delegitimization of the state and corporate actors through failure to regulate and corporations' failure to civic responsibility. In response, incarceration and detention provide new frontiers for accumulation and leveling the oppressed to a better position, though their relative status to elites continues to diminish:

"how does the bourgeoisie get over these crises? On the one hand by enforced destruction of a mass of productive forces; on the other, by the conquest of new markets, and by the more thorough exploitation of the old ones. That is to say, by paving the way for more extensive and more destructive crises, and by diminishing the means whereby crises are prevented" (Marx & Engels 1848/2012).

Tsolkas (2015) argues that the environmental movement must move the anti-prison struggle beyond mere prisoner support and towards the criminal justice system that is responsible for maintaining the state and capitalist economy it serves. Opsal and Malin (2020: 596) argue prison scholarship must give more empirical and theoretical attention to sacrifice zones and sacrifice communities; indeed, "the State historically extracts people into the correctional system from communities rife with injustices—including inequitable exposure" to environmental risks

and then “places them in an institutional context, the prison, where they are exposed to another round of injustices.” While contested illness (Brown et al. 2003) and contested governance (Hunt et al. 2008) serve the state and corporations to commit environmental crimes and produce environmental harm, contested humanity allows for the discrimination of out-groups and their neoliberal incarceration.

Environmental justice (EJ) is a relatively new theory and movement that is necessary to respond to the advancements of capitalism, neoliberalism, and a shift towards a “risk society” that degrades ecosystems at unprecedented rates (Beck 1992). The disproportionate exposure to the vicissitudes of this harm is predicated on power imbalances based on identities of groups based on race, gender, class, location, etc. Though historically marginalized voices have represented scholarship within EJ research, there are still calls to decolonize the field and put power and resources in the hands of those most affected by ecological harm. This is due to American exceptionalism or Western-centric focus, which can still permeate theory. Therefore, in tandem with elevating marginalized communities and voices, the Western world and research must acknowledge, recognize, and dismantle the systems and institutions that created this imbalance.

Instead of the treadmill of law, crime, and destruction all being distinct, they work together to form the treadmill of production geared towards accumulation. New frontiers represent the lubrication to keep these treadmill gears churning in the face of mounting conflict through the contradictions of its function. For example, a former military base and current Superfund site were permitted to pollute due to the treadmill of law leading to a treadmill of destruction. This process can slow the treadmill down and delegitimize actors due to job loss, environmental degradation, and loss of labor and ability to consume. The treadmill of production

acts as the ring gear attached directly to the treadmill. However, the inner planet gears can ease the tension of the others by manipulating the state. The sun gear at the center is the state-corporate relationship within neoliberalism, forcing narratives to ease the rotation when these contradictions should slow it down. Here, we see that the base shapes the superstructure, and the superstructure maintains the base. Whenever delegitimizing consequences of the means of production create ecological or social disorganization, the other gears facilitate continued churning within these cyclical relationships.

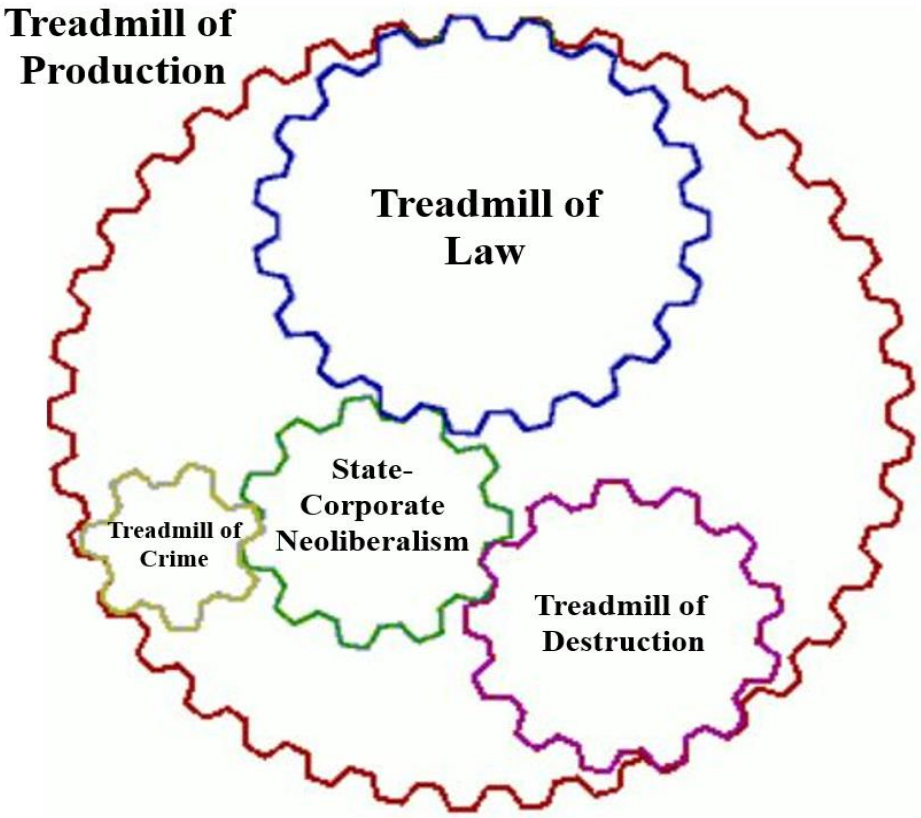

Figure 8. Gears of ToP

Mass incarceration and the prison-industrial complex relied on promoting harsher sentencing and a police state due to rising levels of individual-level crimes. However, during this neoliberal era, state-corporate crimes produced more widespread panic and detrimental social harm than neighborhood drug users. Now that the de-carceration movement has been marginally

successful in rolling back these draconian policies, the state, media, and corporate focus have shifted to migrants. In the same breath as characterizing all migrants as criminals, regulations on corporations and state oversight face further dismantling. The immigration-industrial complex continues to grow (Douglas 2015; Golash-Boza 2009). This demands criminologists to adopt toxic prisons and immigration studies to continue exposing the relationships between state and corporate actors and their contribution to social and ecological disorganization.

Critics of green criminology could be resolved by paying greater attention to environmental justice frameworks. For example, overemphasizing production and ecological additions and withdrawals can ignore the intrinsic value of ecosystems and our place within them. The treadmill of production can ignore other major institutions that play a role in developing our perception of accumulation, such as education, culture, and the development of our sense of space and place in our shared environment. This makes studying social movements that would allow us to prevent environmental harm and ecological disorganization less possible. Much like threat theories would benefit from environmental justice and green criminology perspectives of structure influencing agency, green criminology would benefit from environmental justice and group-threat perspectives to understand how social disorganization influences ecological disorganization and vice versa. Therefore, to achieve the goals of green criminology, ecosystems, and the social world cannot be treated dichotomously. Working towards reducing harm through dismantling political economic systems of oppression and harmful relationships requires reorganizing the social world to value the environment, each other, and the self. This reorganization addresses alienation and could challenge the means of production that leads to this disorganization in the first place.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

Conflict and group-threat theorists continue to debate the causes of threat perception towards out-groups like migrants (Blalock 1967; Blumer 1958; McLaren 2003; Druckman 2004; Chiricos et al. 2014). This study shows that dynamic modeling of economic precarity (Lancee and Pardos-Prado 2013) and structural context (Massey 2015) through environmental harms and political-economic structures influence public perception of immigrants and detention policy. The presence of environmental harm through Superfund sites affects the local economy and public perception of immigrants. Half of immigration detention facilities (IDFs) are located within 10 miles of a Superfund site. When regressing facility proximity data on county-level economic and social conditions, a percentage point increase in a county's unemployment rate in 2017 compared to 1990 is associated with an 8 percent decrease in distance between an IDF and Superfund NPL site. This supports economic competition theories when analyzing areas that contain IDFs.

If IDFs are treated as locally undesirable land uses (LULUs), their development relies on establishing sites of acceptance or Please in My Backyard (PIMBY) movements towards these facilities. By controlling for population characteristics of Whiteness and noncitizen proportions, this study finds that PIMPY movements towards immigration detention facilities near Superfund sites are motivated more by economic precarity than perceived cultural threat. Similar to how neoliberalism and the prison industrial-complex shifted attitudes from NIMBY to PIMBY towards prison siting (Lynch et al. 2009), the immigration industrial-complex is continuing this trend today. This aligns with the motivation of the citizen/worker actor in the Treadmill of Production and Law (ToP/ToL) theory. Though ToP and ToL have sought to explain

environmental laws and their enforcement, this study shows that state, corporate, and labor actors also construct the criminal justice system to maintain accumulation.

Superfund sites represent the contradictions of capitalism through moments of rupture in the state's role to prevent harm through regulation and corporate greed. This delegitimizes the neoliberal political economy. However, in pursuit of the ideology of growth, new frontiers of extraction with human resources offer incentives for in-group members in the United States based on their race and citizenship status. The US's anti-immigrant rhetoric and border crisis politics establish economic opportunity for citizens. This is used to *reestablish the state's legitimacy* through the allure of jobs in areas harmed by environmental crimes and the economic precarity of increasing unemployment rates. These associations reveal the cyclical relationship between ecological and social disorganization in counties harmed by environmental degradation in the United States. However, most importantly, this cyclical relationship is purposefully construed by elite actors as a means of social control and continued accumulation.

Limitations to this study are predicated on the available data. First, data from U.S. ICE on immigration detention facilities contained 206 redacted facilities that held thousands of detainees during this time. Furthermore, the initial sample size of IDFs was slightly larger. However, county-level industry data was not available for US territories such as Puerto Rico and Guam, and these areas contain several immigration detention facilities. The U.S. Census and American Community Survey conflate the complexities of race and culture and are less accessible to noncitizens. This study's national scale and quantitative application are intended to establish research directives for future case studies of each of these counties and facilities. No migrant, Superfund site, county, or detention facility is the same. Qualitative researchers should examine the historical context of each of them to better understand the underlying mechanisms,

ideologies, and institutions that result from the material conditions they are situated in. Finally, neoliberalism is a globalization project; the US focus of this study confines its theoretical development. If future research attempts to extend these theories globally, more attention must be dedicated to the influence of liberal/illiberal regimes, culture, occupational precarity, macroeconomics, and positionality within the global marketplace when measuring conflict and threat.

This research relies on conflict theories to establish the nexus between environmental sociology, criminology, and social inequality issues. According to the World Bank's *Groundswell Report,* by 2050, there will be 216 million migrants forced to relocate due to climate change, with 17 million coming from Latin America (Clement et. al 2021). To generate immigration policy that equitably treats migrants in the future, it's imperative to understand that the policing, detention, and oppression of immigrants in the United States is systematically and socially constructed through the relations of production and state, corporate, and citizen actors with accumulation motives. The theoretical implication of the present study suggests that the social discourse around immigration is motivated by economic ideologies. The top-down influence removes heterogeneous deliberation locally, dividing and weakening our society. Through exposing these structures, communities may improve their communication, collective identity and demand employment opportunities that create jobs through remediation of land and infrastructure instead of detention and incarceration. If the United States believes it's the greatest superpower, social experiment, and democracy in the world, it needs to remember that was only possible because of the diverse representation of migrants, asylum seekers, and refugees that founded it. Moving forward, this country requires humility to acknowledge our settler

colonialism origins, the willingness to accept others despite abstract differences, and the collective consciousness to overcome conflict through equitable social action.

Concluding Remarks

There are policy recommendations that can mitigate harm and violence while still producing equitable economic production in the United States. However, I worry that without addressing the country's infrastructural needs, climate change-induced migration will only exacerbate detention under the current material conditions.

The Superfund must reinstate the polluter pay fees and reduce the taxpayer cost of remediation of hazardous sites. Currently, these populations are disproportionately exposed and paying the costs of clean-up. Therefore, they are trapped on the treadmill of production in which they must sell their labor to pay taxes to clean up their environment. This is particularly contradictory given that the treadmill of destruction can be responsible for their position. If guard labor and border enforcement jobs provide that tax revenue, then they may be incentivized to continue incarceration and detention practices to improve their communities. Meanwhile, the state and corporations that created these environmental hazards and operate criminal justice facilities control the means of production that afford them the greatest accumulation of profits. The U.S. spent 165 billion dollars on climate change disasters in 2022 (Isaacs-Thomas, 2023). Make these corporations pay for this, and they might start to do more to prevent it. These changes would de-corporatize the state and allow for better regulatory practices. Finally, if the EPA is seriously committed to environmental justice, its definition of people should include inmates and migrants. If they are willing to designate certain people as not worthy of this measurement of disproportionate harm, they are only reinforcing social stratification.

While removing corporate corruption from our institutions is presented as a panacea of sorts, we require practical solutions and policies that specifically address various factions of this integrated web of social and environmental justice. Campaign finance reform must eliminate corporations from influencing elections and politicians. The Biden administration can reverse the course of immigration detention. It should dramatically reduce the number of people in ICE detention, invest in alternatives to detention, and stop allowing private prison companies from profiting billions of dollars each year from the suffering of immigrants in detention. However, the Treadmill of Production is a bipartisan mechanism in operation with the State. This means everyone in society has some responsibility in untangling this bureaucratic web.

Since political campaign contributions and lobbying expenditures lead corporations like GEO Group and CoreCivic to be awarded bigger contracts, campaign finance reform and lobbying oversight should be more stringent. Reversing the ruling of *Citizens United v. FEC* and only allowing small donor donations would be a step in the right direction. The U.S. spent 165 billion dollars on climate change disasters in 2022 (Isaacs-Thomas, 2023).

It remains problematic that "legal institutions are not capable of regulating the intergenerational violence of technology… industry exceeds the experience of any generation before us in scope and damage, and our regulatory institutions have no framework for understanding the impact of these decisions." (LaDuke, 25). Addictive economies (Freudenburg 1992) encourage *normative recreancy*. The "growth and hard technological drivers of our prosperity and longevity depend on recreant regulation for permitting and operation outside of the boundaries of what one would consider appropriate risk . . . as a result, recreancy is hardly the exception but rather the rule" (Edelstein 2013: 121). We apply these same principles to

extracting humans for incarceration, detention, and deportation. This makes working through the state contradictory but seemingly necessary.

This model can also be used to show how the interlocking theoretical base of environmental justice, green criminology, and threat theories can help each other realize social change through conflict. A treadmill doesn't have to be bad if it is one of ecological stasis and is not reliant on additions and withdrawals. In Kate Raworth's (2017) doughnut economics, the ecological and social foundation and boundaries must be maintained to achieve social harmony. However, these gears are necessary to maintain it. I suggest that because our transition to the next mode of production through stasis needs to utilize the best parts of our current system, we adopt a *treadmill of reciprocity* that reorganizes society and eliminates dualisms of the social and ecological world. Indigenizing the environmental justice movement is a progressive step. Still, within a globalized neoliberal system, only a massive global movement can counteract the means and relations of production that infect our ideologies and institutions.

To change the culture of environmental injustice, we must change the language we use to define our institutions and economic system. Growth must be replaced with stasis in which regenerative economies redistribute wealth to the population and "a profound shift in our metaphors: from 'good is forwards -and-up' to 'good is in-balance" (Raworth 2017, 46). Personhood must be granted to all humans, land, water, air, and species to allow them to have representation in our legal system and be appropriately valued. The focus on corporeal life and physical danger must shift to incorporate the spiritual and mental anguish felt by ecological and social degradation. At the heart of this hegemonic narrative are the corporate values that place wealth over health and the individual over the community.

The relationship between elite actors that operate private immigration detention also promotes violent treatment through the media. Responding to environmental harm and climate change with militarized borders and incarceration is considered a state-corporate crime (Kramer 2020). However, citizens are also motivated to support these policies due to their economic precarity. Therefore, green criminologists and environmental justice scholars need to work together to have these contexts included in broader threat theory. Only then will conflict be understood and an equitable policy be enacted. Based on contact hypotheses supported by this research, interaction with other groups reduces the likelihood of supporting policies that harm them. The extraction of migrants from these communities into detention will exacerbate these tensions for the profit of a few state and corporate actors.

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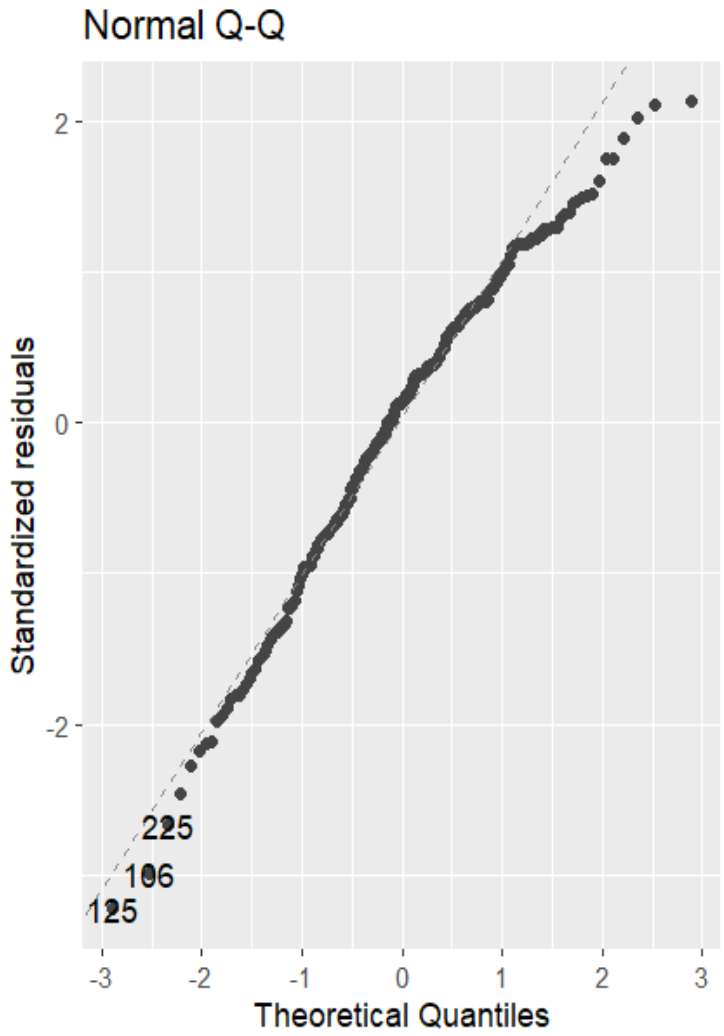

Figure 9. Q-Q Plot

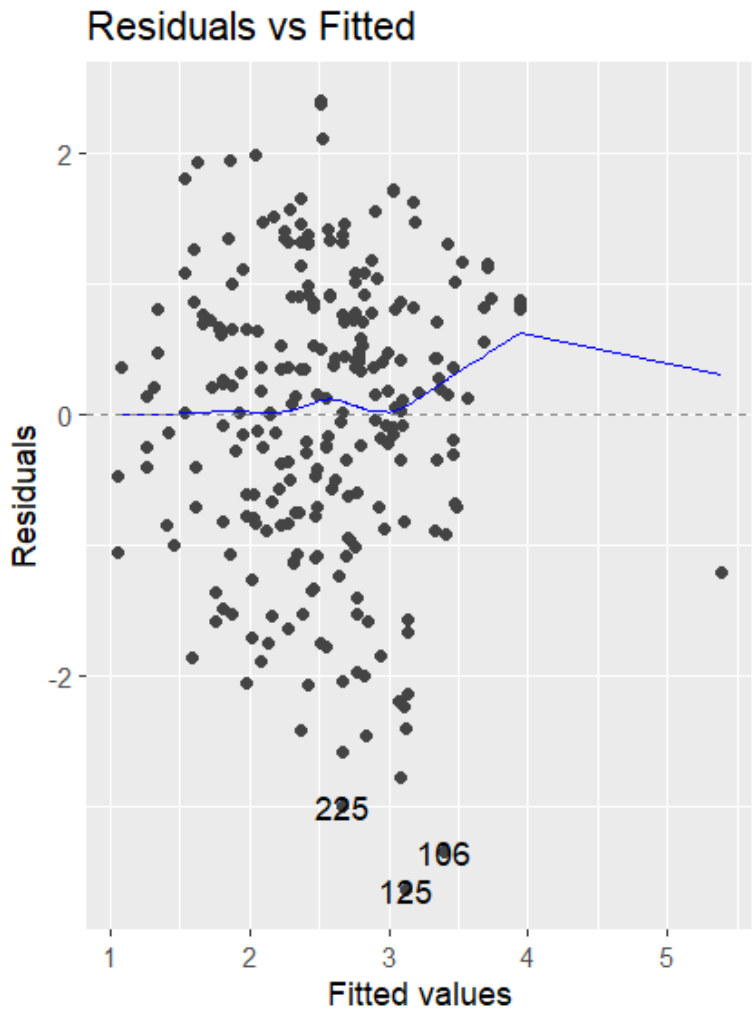

Figure 10. Residual vs. Fitted Plot

Table. 3 VIF of Variables

Variable	VIF
Unemployment 1990-2017	1.43576
Mining Percentage Change 1990-2017	1.05553
Construction Percentage Change 1990-2017	1.14049
Manufacturing Percentage Change 1990-2017	1.08587
Percent White Population	1.45979
Percent Noncitizen Population	1.27395
Noncitizen Percentage Change 1990-2017	1.14142

Table 4. OLS Regression Not Logging Dependent Variable (Distance in Miles)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
(Intercept)	22.178 ***	35.745 ***	3.397	-31.142 **
	(1.952)	(3.050)	(9.964)	(11.802)
Percentage Point Δ in County Unemployment Rate from 1990 to 2017	-3.603 ***	-4.042 ***	-3.140 ***	-2.381 **
	(0.835)	(0.834)	(0.860)	(0.874)
Percentage Point Δ of County Labor Force in Mining 1990 to 2017		-2.372 *	-2.052	-2.003
		(1.192)	(1.172)	(1.121)
Percentage Point Δ of County Labor Force in Construction 1990 to 2017		-1.102	-1.409	-1.660
		(0.968)	(0.953)	(0.918)
Percentage Point Δ of County Labor Force in Manufacturing 1990 to 2017		2.442 ***	2.326 ***	1.998 ***
		(0.415)	(0.408)	(0.403)
County White Population %			0.422 ***	0.709 ***
			(0.124)	(0.133)
County Noncitizen Population %				1.547 ***
				(0.313)
Percentage Point Δ in County Noncitizen Population				0.301
				(0.314)
N	261	261	261	261
R2	0.067	0.196	0.231	0.303
logLik	-1249.942	-1230.537	-1224.740	-1211.901
AIC	2505.884	2473.073	2463.481	2441.802

*** p < 0.001; ** p < 0.01; * p < 0.05.

Table 5. OLS Regression Model Using Haversine Formula to Calculate Distance

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
(Intercept)	22.203 ***	35.778 ***	3.420	-31.139 **
	(1.953)	(3.052)	(9.971)	(11.809)
Percentage Point Δ in County Unemployment Rate from 1990 to 2017	-3.604 ***	-4.046 ***	-3.144 ***	-2.384 **
	(0.835)	(0.835)	(0.860)	(0.875)
Percentage Point Δ of County Labor Force in Mining 1990 to 2017		-2.376 *	-2.056	-2.006
		(1.193)	(1.173)	(1.121)
Percentage Point Δ of County Labor Force in Construction 1990 to 2017		-1.109	-1.416	-1.668
		(0.968)	(0.953)	(0.919)
Percentage Point Δ of County Labor Force in Manufacturing 1990 to 2017		2.444 ***	2.328 ***	2.000 ***
		(0.415)	(0.409)	(0.403)
County White Population %			0.422 ***	0.709 ***
			(0.124)	(0.133)
County Noncitizen Population %				1.548 ***
				(0.313)
Percentage Point Δ in County Noncitizen Population				0.301
				(0.314)
N	261	261	261	261
R2	0.067	0.196	0.231	0.303
logLik	-1250.119	-1230.705	-1224.913	-1212.076
AIC	2506.238	2473.410	2463.826	2442.151

*** p < 0.001; ** p < 0.01; * p < 0.05.

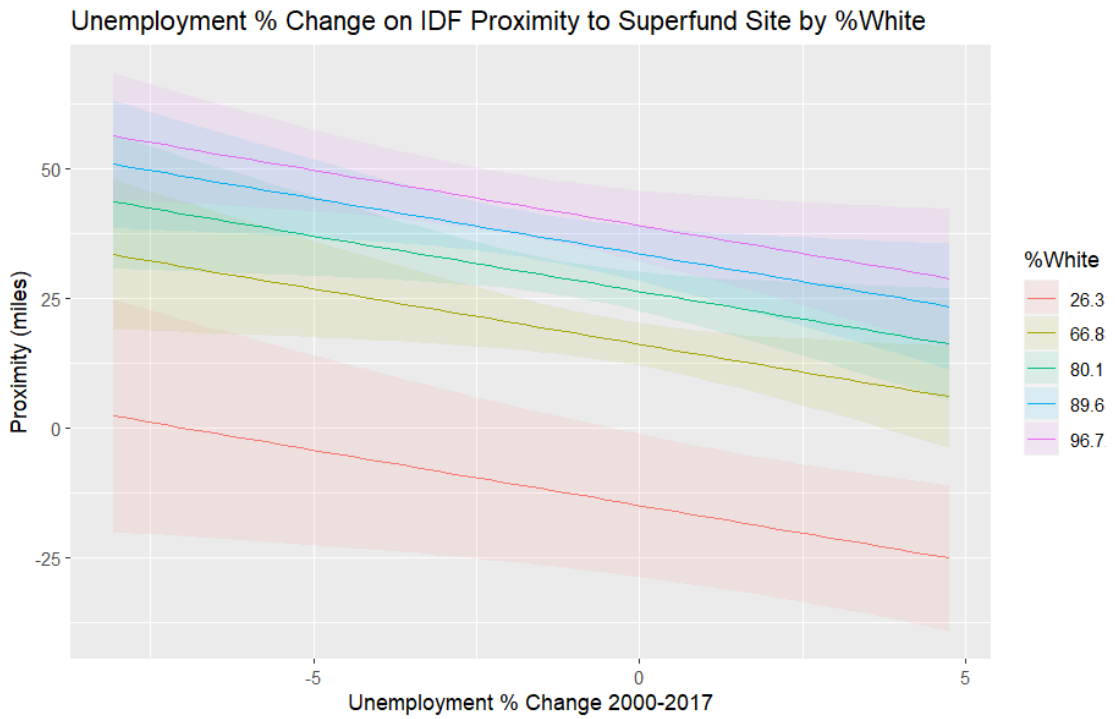

Figure 11. OLS Predictions Using Miles (not logged)

Table. 6 CoreCivic & GEO Group Spending and Revenue 2015-2020

Year	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
PolitcalContributionsCC	781800	1005630	829100	1186390	879000	896560
FederalCandidateCC	119200	149000	110500	135700	133500	116500
State/LocalCandidatesCC	303400	366630	271100	493190	260000	322560
527OrganizationsCC	359100	490000	447500	487500	445000	457500
Lobbying CC	1480000	1780000	1500000	1430000	2100000	2100000
Federal Lobbying CC	713000	830000	678329	617797	1455904	1575000
StateLobbyingCC	767000	958832	871293	817813	653193	537395
TradeCC	138844	166610	176032	412168	196148	242134
AnnualRevenueCC	1793000000	1850000000	1765000000	1836000000	1981000000	1905000000
PolitcalContributionsGEO	840940	3056927	2368690	3324690	2755108	1431400
FederalCandidateGEO	283440	1300750	461950	1235500	1187700	361750
StateLocalCandidatesGEO	557500	1756177	1906740	2089190	1567408	769650
LobbyingGEO	3580000	3300000	3200000	4300000	4300000	3644909
TradeGEO	63241	67689	74190	80164	182940	262419
GEOGroupAnnualRevenue	1843000000	2179000000	2263000000	2331000000	2478000000	2350000000
CCICEContractRevenue	322740000	610120000	444000000	629370000	574000000	533000000
GEOICEContractRevenue	331740000	480000000	541000000	652680000	708000000	662000000
TotalMigrationDetainees	307342	352882	323591	396448	510854	182869

Table 7. Pearson's Correlation Coefficient Matrix CoreCivic & GEO Group Spending and Revenue.

	Year	Political Contributions CC	Federal Candidate CC	State/Local Candidates CC	527 Organization CC	Lobbying CC	Federal Lobbying CC	State Lobbying CC	Trade CC	Annual Revenue CC	Political Contributions GEO	Federal Candidate GEO	State & Local Candidates GEO	Lobbying GEO	TradeGEO	GEO Group Annual Revenue	CC ICE Contract Revenue	GEO ICE Contract Revenue
Year	1.000	0.201	-0.129	-0.001	0.446	0.687	0.773	-0.744	0.453	0.698	0.165	0.092	0.057	0.494	0.875	0.856	0.518	0.926
PolitcalContributionsCC	0.201	1.000	0.636	0.927	0.756	-0.194	-0.253	0.273	0.854	0.086	0.752	0.722	0.628	0.465	-0.151	0.371	0.804	0.411
FederalCandidateCC	-0.129	0.636	1.000	0.486	0.538	0.123	-0.083	0.419	0.204	0.351	0.682	0.904	0.432	0.290	-0.234	0.162	0.706	0.100
State/LocalCandidatesCC	-0.001	0.927	0.486	1.000	0.515	-0.417	-0.426	0.288	0.834	-0.164	0.490	0.478	0.405	0.358	-0.276	0.046	0.541	0.135
527OrganizationsCC	0.446	0.756	0.538	0.515	1.000	0.203	0.074	0.226	0.544	0.252	0.832	0.688	0.736	0.136	0.126	0.705	**0.925****	0.629
Lobbying CC	0.687	-0.194	0.123	-0.417	0.203	1.000	0.964	-0.663	-0.198	0.878	-0.049	0.110	-0.273	0.197	0.861	0.567	0.350	0.557
Federal Lobbying CC	0.773	-0.253	-0.083	-0.426	0.074	0.964	1.000	-0.836	-0.118	0.850	-0.202	-0.068	-0.394	0.275	0.952	0.549	0.227	0.589
StateLobbyingCC	-0.744	0.273	0.419	0.288	0.226	-0.663	-0.836	1.000	-0.098	-0.622	0.476	0.380	0.587	-0.423	-0.905	-0.343	0.065	-0.492
TradeCC	0.453	0.854	0.204	0.834	0.544	-0.198	-0.118	-0.098	1.000	0.095	0.501	0.395	0.451	0.642	0.083	0.449	0.598	0.572
AnnualRevenueCC	0.698	0.086	0.351	-0.164	0.252	**0.878***	**0.850***	-0.622	0.095	1.000	0.197	0.416	-0.076	0.618	0.735	0.661	0.526	0.691
PolitcalContributionsGEO	0.165	0.752	0.682	0.490	0.832	-0.049	-0.202	0.476	0.501	0.197	1.000	0.902	0.936	0.333	-0.240	0.603	0.842	0.503
FederalCandidateGEO	0.092	0.722	0.904	0.478	0.688	0.110	-0.068	0.380	0.395	0.416	0.902	1.000	0.712	0.475	-0.185	0.475	0.839	0.403
StateLocalCandidatesGEO	0.057	0.628	0.432	0.405	0.736	-0.273	-0.394	0.587	0.451	-0.076	0.936	0.712	1.000	0.165	-0.390	0.519	0.644	0.400
LobbyingGEO	0.494	0.465	0.290	0.358	0.136	0.197	0.275	-0.423	0.642	0.618	0.333	0.475	0.165	1.000	0.287	0.481	0.442	0.614
TradeGEO	0.875	-0.151	-0.234	-0.276	0.126	0.861	0.952	-0.905	0.083	0.735	-0.240	-0.185	-0.390	0.287	1.000	0.575	0.227	0.656
GEOGroupAnnualRevenue	0.856	0.371	0.162	0.046	0.705	0.567	0.549	-0.343	0.449	0.661	0.603	0.475	0.519	0.481	0.575	1.000	0.749	**0.971****
CCICEContractRevenue	0.518	**0.804***	0.706	0.541	0.925	0.350	0.227	0.065	0.598	0.526	**0.842***	**0.839***	0.644	0.442	0.227	0.749	1.000	0.714
GEOICEContractRevenue	0.926	0.411	0.100	0.135	0.629	0.557	0.589	-0.492	0.572	0.691	0.503	0.403	0.400	0.614	0.656	0.971	0.714	1.000

Table 8. CoreCivic & GEO Group Spending and Revenue Corresponding p-values.

	Year	Political Contributions CC	Federal Candidate CC	State/Local Candidates CC	527 Organizations CC	Lobbying CC	Federal Lobbying CC	State Lobbying CC	Trade CC	Annual Revenue CC	Political Contributions GEO	Federal Candidate GEO	State Local Candidates GEO	Lobbying GEO	Trade GEO	GEO Group Annual Revenue	CC ICE Contract Revenue	GEO ICE Contract Revenue
Year	*NA*	0.7024	0.8080	0.9981	0.3755	0.1315	0.0712	0.0901	0.3674	0.1227	0.7544	0.8631	0.9139	0.3190	0.0224	0.0296	0.2928	0.0080
PolitcalContributionsCC	0.7024	*NA*	0.1744	0.0078	0.0819	0.7126	0.6291	0.6001	0.0302	0.8717	0.0846	0.1053	0.1814	0.3524	0.7752	0.4689	0.0541	0.4184
FederalCandidateCC	0.8080	0.1744	*NA*	0.3289	0.2708	0.8169	0.8757	0.4082	0.6984	0.4952	0.1353	0.0133	0.3926	0.5769	0.6560	0.7593	0.1168	0.8498
State/LocalCandidatesCC	0.9981	0.0078	0.3289	*NA*	0.2957	0.4102	0.4000	0.5800	0.0389	0.7559	0.3237	0.3378	0.4257	0.4860	0.5971	0.9310	0.2682	0.7991
527OrganizationsCC	0.3755	0.0819	0.2708	0.2957	*NA*	0.6996	0.8885	0.6674	0.2640	0.6305	0.0400	0.1307	0.0950	0.7968	0.8122	0.1181	**0.0083**	0.1812
Lobbying CC	0.1315	0.7126	0.8169	0.4102	0.6996	*NA*	0.0019	0.1511	0.7064	0.0214	0.9269	0.8353	0.6011	0.7081	0.0275	0.2406	0.4963	0.2508
Federal Lobbying CC	0.0712	0.6291	0.8757	0.4000	0.8885	0.0019	*NA*	0.0383	0.8238	0.0320	0.7007	0.8986	0.4391	0.5980	0.0033	0.2594	0.6659	0.2182
StateLobbyingCC	0.0901	0.6001	0.4082	0.5800	0.6674	0.1511	0.0383	*NA*	0.8530	0.1870	0.3398	0.4580	0.2201	0.4033	0.0131	0.5061	0.9022	0.3216
TradeCC	0.3674	0.0302	0.6984	0.0389	0.2640	0.7064	0.8238	0.8530	*NA*	0.8576	0.3110	0.4379	0.3694	0.1692	0.8760	0.3722	0.2104	0.2353
AnnualRevenueCC	0.1227	0.8717	0.4952	0.7559	0.6305	**0.0214**	**0.0320**	0.1870	0.8576	*NA*	0.7085	0.4122	0.8867	0.1909	0.0958	0.1529	0.2841	0.1283
PolitcalContributionsGEO	0.7544	0.0846	0.1353	0.3237	0.0400	0.9269	0.7007	0.3398	0.3110	0.7085	*NA*	0.0140	0.0059	0.5188	0.6475	0.2047	0.0357	0.3092
FederalCandidateGEO	0.8631	0.1053	0.0133	0.3378	0.1307	0.8353	0.8986	0.4580	0.4379	0.4122	0.0140	*NA*	0.1122	0.3412	0.7251	0.3411	0.0370	0.4284
StateLocalCandidatesGEO	0.9139	0.1814	0.3926	0.4257	0.0950	0.6011	0.4391	0.2201	0.3694	0.8867	0.0059	0.1122	*NA*	0.7546	0.4443	0.2911	0.1675	0.4320
LobbyingGEO	0.3190	0.3524	0.5769	0.4860	0.7968	0.7081	0.5980	0.4033	0.1692	0.1909	0.5188	0.3412	0.7546	*NA*	0.5819	0.3336	0.3807	0.1950
TradeGEO	0.0224	0.7752	0.6560	0.5971	0.8122	0.0275	0.0033	0.0131	0.8760	0.0958	0.6475	0.7251	0.4443	0.5819	*NA*	0.2330	0.6657	0.1570
GEOGroupAnnualRevenue	0.0296	0.4689	0.7593	0.9310	0.1181	0.2406	0.2594	0.5061	0.3722	0.1529	0.2047	0.3411	0.2911	0.3336	0.2330	*NA*	0.0868	**0.0012**
CCICEContractRevenue	0.2928	**0.0541**	0.1168	0.2682	0.0083	0.4963	0.6659	0.9022	0.2104	0.2841	**0.0357**	**0.0370**	0.1675	0.3807	0.6657	0.0868	*NA*	0.1110
GEOICEContractRevenue	0.0080	0.4184	0.8498	0.7991	0.1812	0.2508	0.2182	0.3216	0.2353	0.1283	0.3092	0.4284	0.4320	0.1950	0.1570	0.0012	0.1110	*NA*