

**UCLA**

**American Indian Culture and Research Journal**

**Title**

Border Citizens: The Making of Indians, Mexicans, and Anglos in Arizona.  
By Eric V. Meeks.

**Permalink**

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/23c004kf>

**Journal**

American Indian Culture and Research Journal , 32(2)

**ISSN**

0161-6463

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**Publication Date**

2008-03-01

**DOI**

10.17953

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including allotment, the Wheeler-Howard Act, termination, and relocation. He focuses a good deal on self-determination and the trust relationship between Native nations and the United States. Gover argues that American Indians have won the war for survival and look to a brighter future. Walter Echo Hawk provides a different overview of federal Indian law and policies. His conclusion is more ambiguous than Gover's; it argues that federal law can be used as a sword or a shield, which one will be determined by future events. Like other authors, Echo Hawk feels that tribal governments have survived several storms and will grow in the future.

The book's last segment addresses the environment and the land. Richard Clow analyzes the issue of water rights on the Milk River of Montana, sounding a warning bell that water will be the key to the future of tribes with reserved tribal water rights such as the Blackfeet Nation of Montana. Rebecca Tsosie contributes a lengthy and detailed analysis of how non-Natives took Native American lands and claimed them as their own. Like many of the other chapters, this essay could easily stand alone for use in classes that deal with Native American affairs. Tsosie deals with many diverse topics, including the importance of place and identity; the eras of land theft, sacred sites, and trust lands; Supreme Court cases; aboriginal land title; and the future of Native property rights. She concludes, arguing the doctrine of discovery and government policies used in the past to divest American Indians of their estates have implications today. Tsosie warns that archaeologists and universities use the doctrine to claim and study human remains that cannot be culturally tied to contemporary Indians. James Nasson concludes this important volume with the message that Indian people did not vanish and are still here two hundred years after the arrival of Lewis and Clark. *American Indian Nations* is a significant book filled with content and interpretations that will influence the understanding of American Indian people past and present.

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**Border Citizens: The Making of Indians, Mexicans, and Anglos in Arizona.**

By Eric V. Meeks. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007. 360 pages. \$60.00 cloth; \$24.95 paper.

With *Border Citizens: The Making of Indians, Mexicans, and Anglos in Arizona*, Eric Meeks offers a carefully researched, thoughtfully argued, and ambitious examination of the incorporation of a significant portion of the US-Mexican border region into the political, economic, and cultural orbit of the United States. His primary concern is the development, hardening, and evolution of ethnoracial categories and boundaries, as well as how these categories have been used throughout the twentieth century to determine who had unfettered access to citizenship and who did not. Through a long succession of often oppressive local, state, and federal government initiatives, Anglo-Arizonans forced nonwhites into socially constructed, vastly oversimplified ethnoracial

categories, categories that ultimately prevented their full and equal participation in not only cultural and political spheres but also the booming Southern Arizona economy. These “border citizens,” or those Indians, Mexicans, Mexican Americans, African Americans, and even Okies who found their rights of belonging in question, were relegated to the nation’s margins as the region underwent incorporation. However, these same non-Anglo-Arizonans, through a process Meeks and others have termed “resistant adaptation,” showed a remarkable penchant for challenging their marginalization; maintaining or, in some cases, reclaiming lost autonomy; defending both extant and emerging alternative identities; and redefining what it meant to “belong to the U.S. nation-state from its borderlands” (11).

Although Meeks’s focus is on four contiguous counties in south-central Arizona (Maricopa, Pima, Pinal, and Santa Cruz), the story he tells has far broader appeal. After all, *Border Citizens* is essentially the story of how borderlanders reacted to the imposition of a new and sometimes bewildering political, economic, and social order. It is the story of a borderlands region undergoing a slow but steady evolution from a region boasting an economy comprised of individual landholders engaged in small-scale agriculture to an increasingly mechanized agribusiness and extractive industry empire. It is an evolution that, as Meeks convincingly illustrates, ultimately proved detrimental for the region’s border citizens, who gradually developed a dependency on wage work at the expense of long-standing subsistence patterns. It is also an evolution from which scholars of other borderlands regions could learn a great deal.

Meeks also makes a convincing case for the uniqueness of Southern Arizona. For one, it boasts an unusually large Indian population, a significant portion of which could be found living off reservation at any given time. Thus, Indian peoples in Southern Arizona were often far more deeply engaged with the regional and even national economy than those who remained largely confined to reservations. They were unusually mobile and often trilingual, ultimately emerging as key players in Southern Arizona’s early development. Even the Chicano movement looked different in Arizona, Meeks argues, because of the “relative absence of separatist sentiment” as well as its “deep connections to the state’s history of labor activism in the mining towns” (181).

Although Meeks cautions against employing the simplistic, monolithic ethn racial classifications developed and imposed by Anglo-Arizonans, and even criticizes previous scholarship for similarly oversimplifying borderlands ethn racial dynamics, he often employs these same classifications throughout *Border Citizens*. He also goes to great lengths to show that the boundaries between these categories were fuzzier than appearances might have suggested. Put simply, it was and remains difficult to categorize these border citizens definitively or to delineate where one ethn racial group leaves off and another begins. For instance, any given barrio, labor camp, or rural town could have contained Mexican mestizos, Yaquis, Opatas, Tohono O’odham, Pimas, and Mayos. All would typically speak Spanish and work alongside one another, developing, in the process, close economic and cultural connections. These connections sometimes rested on a foundation of kinship (fictive or otherwise), religion, and reciprocal exchange, but, as Meeks argues, they always existed in

defiance of the ethnoracial categories devised and imposed by Anglo-Arizonans. Meeks presents the reader with a dizzying array of ever-evolving identities and combinations of identities that these border citizens developed and adopted as much-needed alternatives to assimilation and/or marginalization.

*Border Citizens* is not the first work to focus on the intersection of race and political economy as the border region underwent incorporation into the US nation-state. David Montejano, for one, argued twenty years ago that the notion of race “does not just consist of ideas and sentiments; it comes into being when these ideas and sentiments are publicly articulated and institutionalized” (*Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas, 1836–1986*, 1987, 4). It proved to be a daunting task for the non-Anglos in Montejano’s case study to acquire acceptance as a “legitimate citizenry” given the fact that they typically had little voice as notions of race were being articulated and institutionalized. Meeks is obviously concerned with this quest for legitimacy, but he wisely emphasizes the bonds between ethnoracial categories, or the cultural, economic, and kinship ties that united those non-Anglo-Arizonans that scholars have typically examined separately. *Border Citizens* is also the story of how a new consciousness gradually took shape in which all Arizonans came to view diversity, as opposed to cultural homogeneity, as a worthwhile goal, especially in light of the confused ethnoracial landscape that the region had long boasted. This development was, according to Meeks, “a significant change from the common wisdom that cultural homogeneity was required for the nation to function” (209).

Although Meeks repeatedly argues that Southern Arizona’s ethnoracial categories were permeable and indistinct, the book’s structure suggests otherwise. Chapters dealing primarily with Native American history alternate with chapters dealing primarily with Mexican American history, thereby obscuring this larger argument. Meeks’s efforts to draw parallels between the two histories, and even blur the line between the two, are effectively undermined by treating them separately as opposed to holistically. Integrating, as opposed to isolating, the histories of these and other border citizens more consistently throughout could have strengthened Meeks’s argument considerably. As is, the book has a far more “traditional” feel than he likely intended.

*Border Citizens* is perhaps most valuable in its attempts to contextualize state and federal policies, whether they targeted Indian peoples, Mexican migrant laborers, or even schoolchildren. The reader gets a look at how government initiatives worked in practice, not simply in theory. He covers the late-nineteenth-century allotment era, the Depression-era Indian New Deal, the repatriation of Mexican workers during the 1930s, the wartime Bracero program, the termination era, Arizona’s desegregation in the 1940s and 1950s, and the surge in both Indian and Chicano activism throughout the second half of the twentieth century. He ends with a very timely discussion of contemporary border issues, including, first and foremost, the more recent crackdown on illegal border crossing and its impact on Southern Arizona. Although Meeks’s background on these trends is typically less than exhaustive, an in-depth examination of policy trends is not his concern; instead, he seeks to examine how these policies often further disenfranchised Arizona’s

border citizens, helped deepen their dependence on the federal and state government, ensured their second-class citizenship status, governed their movements, and/or left them vulnerable to economic, political, and social forces that were increasingly beyond their control. Doing so, in turn, enables him to highlight these border citizens' often surprisingly successful efforts to challenge and even reverse these trends.

Although Meeks makes a few modest forays south of the border, *Border Citizens* is not exactly transnational in scope. Still, he portrays Arizona as part of a "transborder regional community" and show us that attempts by the United States to "promote a homogenous national culture and enforce strict territorial and racial boundaries" has ultimately proved untenable and unrealistic (8–9). He also devotes a modest amount of attention to "transnational and transethnic rituals" in the Sonora-Arizona borderlands, such as the feast of San Francisco in Magdalena (a town just south of the Arizona-Sonora border), which was and still is attended by thousands of Mexicans, Mexican Americans, and Indians from all over Arizona and Sonora. Everywhere he looks, Meeks sees an increased level of government control over the lives of these border citizens, a tightening of immigration regulations to manage border crossers more meaningfully, and a continued hardening of ethnoracial categories. The end result, Meeks implies, is that the international boundary appears more formidable, more decisive than ever before, at least from the perspective of Southern Arizona's border citizens. Transborder movement on a grand scale persists, as attested by perennially clogged ports of entry and the proliferation of evermore inventive extralegal immigration schemes. Although outside of the scope of *Border Citizens*, a closer look at these and similar phenomena, or at the myriad ways Southern Arizona has remained oriented along a north-south (as opposed to an east-west) axis despite the best efforts of both nation-states to sever transborder arteries, could prove a worthwhile undertaking. Nonetheless, Meeks has produced perhaps *the* definitive account of Southern Arizona's economic and political development while making a strong case for the absolute centrality of race in determining who benefited from these processes.

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**The Day the World Ended at the Little Bighorn: A Lakota History.** By Joseph M. Marshall III. New York: Viking, 2007. 288 pages. \$24.95 cloth.

The title of Joseph Marshall's *The Day the World Ended at the Little Bighorn* may initially suggest a book focused primarily on the well-known Battle of the Little Bighorn in which Lakotas and Cheyennes defeated Custer's Seventh Cavalry. Marshall has much to say about the events of 25–26 June 1876. One of the book's objectives is to rewrite what Marshall regards a still-dominant narrative, in the words of the dust jacket, a story of "Native American fighters in this battle as heartless savages impeding the progress of white soldiers who