

The Ghost Vortex of Santa Teresa: Mnemonic Governance, Administrative Absorption,
and the Seven-Layer Suppression Chain of Project Jupiter

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July 2026 — Version 2 (Updated: Layer 7 Ad Campaign Analysis)

Author Note

David Michel Boje is Professor Emeritus of Management at New Mexico State University. This research is conducted independently and represents the author's own views. The author declares a structural conflict of interest: NMSU signed a \$30,000 Non-Disclosure Agreement with BorderPlex Digital Assets (Project Jupiter developer) on February 25, 2025, requiring the university to notify the developer of incoming public records requests. This NDA is disclosed as primary data in the study's Methods section. Version 2 (July 2026) adds Layer 7: the coordinated deceptive advertising campaign (Elevate New Mexico ghost advocacy and Oracle broadcast campaign), the New Mexico State Ethics Commission lawsuit (April 23, 2026), the New Mexico Attorney General investigation into forged letters (July 9, 2026), a brownwashing analysis, and Appendix A (Erin Brockovich Community Action Submission). Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to David Michel Boje, davidboje@pm.me. This manuscript was researched and written with the assistance of Vivara, an AI research interlocutor (Anthropic Claude), per APA 7th edition guidance on AI disclosure.

Abstract

This case analysis investigates Project Jupiter, a \$165 billion hyperscale artificial intelligence (AI) data center campus proposed for Santa Teresa, New Mexico, anchored by Oracle (Ellison) and OpenAI. Drawing on the Ghost Vortex Protocol (ABCD scoring), the Brockovich 7-Stage Community Impact Model, and the carbon antenarrative framework (Boje, 2026b), this study deconstructs a seven-layer suppression chain designed to secure social license through institutional capture and Mnemonic Governance. Version 2 adds Layer 7: a coordinated deceptive ad campaign consisting of (a) the Elevate New Mexico ghost advocacy operation (January–March 2026) — a Virginia LLC that ran Spanish/English mailers and digital ads targeting Doña Ana County residents while concealing its funders, now subject to a New Mexico State Ethics Commission lawsuit (April 23, 2026) — and (b) Oracle's direct broadcast campaign (May 2026+) claiming "conservative water usage" and "cleaner fuel cell technology" despite active regulatory contradictions. Empirical analysis reveals a 50-fold discrepancy between developer-stated water consumption (20,000 gallons per day) and the New Mexico Office of the State Engineer's calculation (~1,000,000 gallons per day), representing 38% of the Camino Real Regional Utility Authority's (CRRUA) total daily capacity — a system already compromised by documented arsenic contamination. A Qualimetric Ghost Vortex Protocol (QGVF) administered across eight artificial intelligence systems yielded a Project Jupiter composite score of 8/12 (very high vortex density); Oracle anchor client leadership (Ellison) scored 12/12 (perfect) in the DeepSeek session. The study also introduces brownwashing as a sub-construct of Administrative Absorption: the deployment of Hispanic/Latino cultural imagery and New Mexico toponymic identifiers by Virginia-based corporations to simulate local community origin. The study concludes that Santa Teresa has entered Brockovich Stage 7 (Structural Reckoning) — accelerated by the Ethics Commission lawsuit, the AG investigation into forged letters, and the Layer 7 ad campaign, which has created a public record of disputed claims against the empirical evidence. An Appendix presents a complete community action submission to brockovichdatacenter.com.

Keywords: Project Jupiter, Ghost Vortex, Mnemonic Governance, Administrative Absorption, carbon antenarrative, brownwashing, Elevate New Mexico, AI data centers, water scarcity, Santa Teresa, Oracle, Panopticon Inversion, Brockovich model, antenarrative theory

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Introduction

The global "AI arms race" has shifted from software development to a massive expansion of physical infrastructure. Hyperscale data centers — facilities consuming between 100 megawatts and multiple gigawatts of electricity and requiring millions of gallons of daily water — now serve as the industrial monuments of the digital age. While the "cloud" is routinely discussed in ephemeral terms that evoke weightlessness and dematerialization, its physical reality imposes profound and localized burdens: aquifer depletion, fossil fuel combustion, community displacement, and institutional capture. These burdens fall disproportionately on communities that often lack the political or economic resources to contest them before the projects become operational.

Project Jupiter, a proposed \$165 billion hyperscale AI data center campus in Santa Teresa, New Mexico, represents the most extreme expression of this dynamic in North American history. At 1,400 acres — approximately 1.7 times the size of Central Park — and with stated energy demands of approximately one gigawatt, the campus anchored by Oracle and OpenAI would constitute the largest private investment in New Mexico's history. Yet by the time the community of Doña Ana County was asked to vote on the project's Industrial Revenue Bond (IRB) on September 19, 2025, a sophisticated organizational architecture had already ensured that informed consent was structurally unavailable. The identities of the anchor clients (Oracle and OpenAI) were not disclosed until after the vote. A public university had been contractually converted into a suppression instrument. Community support letters submitted to the state had been forged. An Open Meetings Act violation had removed the community from the causal chain of the approval itself.

Version 2 of this study adds a seventh suppression layer that was not yet fully documented in Version 1 (July 24, 2026): a coordinated deceptive advertising campaign that operated across two campaigns simultaneously. Campaign A (Elevate New Mexico) ran ghost advocacy in January–March 2026 — purple-and-yellow mailers featuring a stock-model Hispanic woman sent to southern New Mexico residents by a Virginia LLC not registered with the New Mexico Secretary of State. Campaign B (Oracle) launched a direct English/Spanish TV and radio campaign in May 2026 claiming "conservative water usage" and "cleaner fuel cell technology." On April 23, 2026, the New Mexico State Ethics Commission filed suit against Elevate New Mexico for violating the state's Lobbyist Regulation Act. On July 9, 2026, the New Mexico Attorney General opened a separate investigation into forged community support letters.

This study investigates the full architecture. We term it the Ghost Vortex: an organizational mechanism in which leadership is "everywhere in the conditions and nowhere in the acts" (Boje, 2026a), maintaining structural invisibility while deploying what Ellison himself described as total surveillance over the host community. The Ghost Vortex at Project Jupiter now operates through seven identifiable layers.

Research Questions

This study is guided by five interrelated research questions:

RQ1: What is the organizational architecture of the suppression chain deployed to secure social license for Project Jupiter, and how does it correspond to the Ghost Vortex Protocol?

RQ2: What is the empirical relationship between developer-stated resource claims and regulatory findings — particularly regarding water consumption — and how are these discrepancies structured as carbon antenarratives?

RQ3: How does Mnemonic Governance function at the institutional level, specifically through the NMSU Non-Disclosure Agreement, and what are its implications for academic inquiry in the host community?

RQ4: What does the Brockovich 7-Stage Model predict about the trajectory of community resistance in Santa Teresa, and does a regional parallel (Meta El Paso) provide predictive evidence for Stage 7 emergence?

RQ5 (Version 2): How does Layer 7 — the coordinated deceptive ad campaign — function as a brownwashing operation, and what is its relationship to the Ethics Commission lawsuit, the AG investigation, and the stage trajectory of community reckoning?

Significance of the Study

Project Jupiter represents what we term a "gravity well" case: a project of sufficient financial mass to pull public institutions — universities, county commissions, state agencies, community organizations — into its orbit, aligning their behavior with the developer's interests before democratic processes can register the distortion. This study contributes to four bodies of literature. First, it advances antenarrative theory (Boje, 2001, 2011) by operationalizing "carbon antenarratives" as a distinct subtype of organizational prospective storytelling. Second, it applies and extends the Brockovich 7-Stage Model to AI infrastructure, demonstrating its predictive validity. Third, it introduces Mnemonic Governance as a construct describing the deployment of institutional authority to control community memory before awareness can crystallize into organized resistance. Fourth, Version 2 introduces brownwashing — the appropriation of Hispanic/Latino cultural identity and New Mexico toponymic identifiers by out-of-state corporations — as a sub-construct of Administrative Absorption.

The study also discloses its own structural constraint: the author is Professor Emeritus at New Mexico State University, whose NDA with the developer is analyzed as primary data. This disclosure transforms the conflict of interest into an empirical finding — a demonstration of the Ghost Vortex operating at the site of the inquiry itself.

Theoretical Framework

Antenarrative Theory and Carbon Antenarratives

Boje (2001, 2011) defines antenarratives as prospective, fragmented, and nonlinear bets about the future — stories that are "before" the coherence of narrative. They are made before the plot crystallizes, in the open space of organizational possibility. Carbon antenarratives, as developed in Boje (2026b), are a specific subtype characterized by temporal displacement: they anchor organizational accountability to a future date (2030, 2040, 2045) that cannot currently be verified, while the material resource extraction occurs immediately. The structure is: "We will be net-zero by 2045; therefore, you should approve our permit today." The accountability is deferred; the infrastructure is built now.

Three distinguishing features separate carbon antenarratives from standard greenwashing. First, they are temporally structured — they occupy a speculative future rather than misrepresenting a quantifiable present. Second, they are speculative — premised on technologies not yet demonstrated at scale (Bloom Energy fuel cells, closed-loop cooling at hyperscale, desalination as primary source). Third, they are multi-vocal — orchestrated across multiple communicative registers (developer website, county commission presentations, academic research partnerships, job fair materials, coordinated ad campaigns) to produce the impression of widespread accountability while diffusing the substance of any single claim (Bakhtin, 1981; Sandham, 2025).

The Ghost Vortex Protocol (ABCD Scoring)

The Ghost Vortex Protocol is a diagnostic metric for organizational unaccountability density, developed in Boje (2026a). It evaluates four dimensions: A — Accountability (0 = structural accountability to 3 = accountability theater with no binding mechanism); B — Antenarrative Capacity (0 = claims are present and verifiable to 3 = all sustainability claims are future-anchored and unverifiable); C — Suppression (0 = open process to 3 = multiple layers of active suppression deployed); D — Binary Verdict (0–3 composite). Total score range: 0 (no Ghost Vortex) to 12 (maximum Ghost Vortex density). Project Jupiter overall: 8/12. Oracle leadership (Ellison): 12/12 (DeepSeek session; Boje, 2026a).

The Panopticon Inversion Vortex

Drawing on Foucault's (1975) panopticon and Bentham's original architectural concept, the Panopticon Inversion Vortex describes an organizational condition where the surveillance system proposed for citizens is administered by a governance architecture that is itself structurally unaccountable. Ellison stated explicitly to financial analysts: "Citizens will be on their best behavior, because we're constantly recording and reporting everything that's going on." The data centers built in Santa Teresa will enable continuous citizen monitoring. Their governance — water use figures, anchor client identities, the NMSU NDA — is structured to be invisible. The inversion is precise: what the panopticon architecture subjects to visibility (the inmate) becomes what the Panopticon Inversion Vortex subjects to invisibility (the leader).

Mnemonic Governance

Mnemonic Governance, developed in Boje and Saylor (2024), refers to the deployment of institutional authority to control what enters organizational or community memory before the community is aware that memory is being constructed. It operates at Stage 0 of the Brockovich model — the period of structured invisibility before community awareness exists. Mnemonic Governance is distinguishable from censorship (which acts on known information) and from secrecy (which withholds specific facts). It is a constitutive act: it shapes the archive before the archive becomes an object of contestation. Three distinguishing features: it is temporally prior (operates before community awareness); institutionally embedded (operates through captured institutions performing suppression through normal routines); and self-concealing (the NMSU NDA prevents inquiry that would reveal the NDA's effects).

Administrative Absorption and Brownwashing

Administrative absorption, elaborated from DeepSeek's cross-AI testing formulation (Boje, 2026a), is "the capacity to ingest and neutralize all forms of human resistance, dissent, and even personhood, without ever needing to defeat them in open conflict." Administrative absorption distinguishes Project Jupiter's governance from ordinary corporate misconduct. The goal is not to defeat opposition but to make opposition impossible by integrating it into the project's own infrastructure.

Version 2 introduces brownwashing as a sub-construct of Administrative Absorption. Brownwashing is the deployment of Hispanic/Latino cultural imagery and New Mexico toponymic identifiers by out-of-state corporations to simulate local community origin and manufacture consent. The Elevate New Mexico ad campaign deployed a stock-model Hispanic woman on mailers and digital ads. Developer subsidiaries were named Red Chile Ventures, Green Chile Ventures, Yucca, and Acoma LLC — all New Mexico cultural and geographic identifiers — by Virginia-based corporations. New Mexico Environmental Law Center attorney Maslyn Locke stated explicitly: "It's very much a brownwashing campaign" (Source NM, March 2026). Acoma LLC was forced to rename after Acoma Pueblo Governor Charles Riley protested the unauthorized use of the Pueblo's name. Brownwashing performs Administrative Absorption culturally: it absorbs the resistance of a community by simulating that community's support.

The Brockovich 7-Stage Community Impact Model

The Brockovich 7-Stage Model derives from the community impact patterns documented in the national brockovichdatacenter.com corpus (7,847+ reports as of July 2026; Boje, 2026c). The stages proceed as follows: Stage 0 (NDA Silence/Structured Invisibility); Stage 1 (Overnight Shock — construction begins before community awareness peaks); Stage 2 (Environmental Disruption — resource impacts become visible); Stage 3 (Community Awakening — organized resistance emerges); Stage 4 (Questions Without Answers — regulatory delays and unresolved discrepancies); Stage 5 (Multi-Domain Impact — water, air, energy, electoral capture); Stage 6 (Legal/Political Resistance — formal lawsuits, regulatory denials, elected official reversal); Stage 7 (Structural Reckoning — institutional acknowledgment of governance failure). Santa

Teresa has entered Stage 7 (Version 2 finding), with formal institutional acknowledgment through the Ethics Commission lawsuit and AG investigation.

Historical Participation

Historical Participation (Boje & Saylor, 2024) identifies six dimensions through which communities exercise causal agency in organizational histories: (1) epistemic representation; (2) causal influence; (3) expressive participation; (4) interpretive authority; (5) governance authority; and (6) the power to refuse or dismantle. The Ghost Vortex suppression chain systematically forecloses dimensions 2–5 before community awareness reaches dimension 1. Layer 7 (the coordinated ad campaign) directly attacks dimension 1: epistemic representation. By deploying brownwashing through Hispanic/Latino cultural imagery and NM toponymic identifiers, Layer 7 works to pre-empt the community's capacity to produce accurate knowledge about its own situation.

AI Infrastructure and Environmental Accountability

The environmental literature on AI infrastructure documents a systematic underestimation of resource consumption across the sector. De Vries-Gao (2026) estimate that global AI water consumption may soon equal the entire global bottled-water market. Hankendi, Coskun, and Sovacool (2025) find that AI infrastructure water demands are systematically underestimated across the sector and argue that transparency is a structural prerequisite for sustainable data center operation. Cruzes (2026) documents power densities now exceeding 150 kW per rack — nearly ten times traditional levels — driving liquid cooling crises. Lannelongue et al. (2026) describe what they call the "plateau that never comes": efficiency improvements at the per-server level are consistently used to justify aggregate scaling, producing a rebound effect (Jevons Paradox) that negates environmental progress and results in higher absolute resource consumption.

Miceli et al. (2025) apply Jevons Paradox specifically to AI infrastructure, demonstrating through an empirical survey of industry claims that "efficiency gains in individual systems are systematically used to justify further expansion, producing a rebound effect that negates environmental progress." Berger (2025) documents the structural contradiction between hyperscaler net-zero pledges and simultaneous fossil fuel infrastructure agreements. Fortune (2026) and MobileSyrup (2026) document that Microsoft, Google, and Amazon reported 25%, 25%, and 16% emissions increases, respectively, in 2025 — driven directly by AI data center expansion. The scientific consensus is unambiguous: the PR industry's "efficiency" framing is not merely optimistic — it is structurally displaced from the operational reality of hyperscale AI infrastructure.

Suchman (1995) defines organizational legitimacy as "a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions." Legitimation theory predicts that organizations facing legitimacy deficits will deploy narrative strategies to manage stakeholder

perceptions. Vaara and Tienari (2011) demonstrate how antenarratives function as legitimation instruments in contested organizational settings. Di Chiacchio et al. (2025) document how AI companies deploy "legitimacy narratives" about sustainability that systematically fail to address material resource consumption. Castilho Rossoni and Lima (2026) identify three legitimation strategies in corporate environmental reports — normalization, authorization, and rationalization — all three of which are visible in Project Jupiter's PR apparatus.

The national Brockovich data center community impact corpus (7,847 reports; Boje, 2026c) provides the largest available dataset of community-reported concerns about data center development. Water concerns constitute 41.2% of reports. NDAs and secrecy are cited in 8.0% of reports, validating that the use of nondisclosure agreements with communities and institutions is industry-wide rather than project-specific. The corpus also documents brownwashing-adjacent practices — the use of local community imagery and naming in corporate campaigns — in reports from multiple jurisdictions.

Method

Research Design: Qualimetric Case Analysis

This study employs a qualimetric research design (Savall & Zardet, 2008) combining documentary analysis, cross-AI testing, and corpus analysis. Qualimetric approaches integrate qualitative pattern recognition with metric-based scoring systems, allowing for systematic comparison across heterogeneous data sources. The Ghost Vortex Protocol functions as the primary scoring instrument. The case study design is justified by the unique, extreme, and theoretically revelatory character of Project Jupiter: it is not a representative data center governance case, but a limit case (Flyvbjerg, 2006) in which the mechanisms of institutional capture are unusually visible.

Data Sources

Primary Documentary Sources.

Primary data included: (1) regulatory filings — the NMED air permit applications (249.97 and 248.9 tons NOx/year), the New Mexico Office of the State Engineer water calculation (Haussamen, 2026), and Doña Ana County IRB documents; (2) legal documents — the NMELC and NMFOG Open Meetings Act lawsuit filings, Judge DeLaney's denial of the motion to dismiss (March 2026), and the New Mexico Attorney General's investigation announcement (July 9, 2026); (3) the NMSU NDA contract (\$30,000, February 25, 2025); (4) the New Mexico State Ethics Commission complaint and lawsuit (State Ethics Commission v. Elevate New Mexico, Second Judicial District Court, April 23, 2026); (5) Oracle's campaign announcement (oracle.com, May 26, 2026); and (6) the developer's promotional materials (projectjupitertogether.com, accessed June–July 2026).

News and Investigative Sources (Version 2 Additions).

Version 2 added the following primary investigative sources: Source NM (Joshua Bowling, "Secretive ad campaign" series, March 4 and April 23, 2026); Santa Fe New Mexican (Ethics Commission lawsuit coverage, April 2026); KOB 4 News (Ethics Commission suit video, 2026); KRQE News (deceptive ad campaign coverage, 2026); Source NM (NM AG investigation, July 9, 2026); and the YouTube transcript of the NM Water Advocates Speaker Series featuring Rep. Micaela Lara Cadena and Rep. Rubio.

Qualimetric Ghost Vortex Protocol (QGV) — Eight AI Systems.

The QGV was administered across eight artificial intelligence systems to generate cross-system data on the Ghost Vortex scoring of Oracle/Ellison and Project Jupiter (Boje, 2026a). The eight sessions were: ChatGPT (OpenAI), Claude browser (Anthropic), Grok (xAI), Alexa (Amazon), DeepSeek, Gemini (Google), Copilot (Microsoft), and Meta AI. Sessions were conducted July 13, 2026.

Brockovich Community Impact Corpus.

The brockovichdatacenter.com corpus was analyzed as of July 2, 2026 (Boje, 2026c). Total reports: 7,847+; unique zip codes: 2,297. The Santa Teresa zip code 88008 contained 8 reports as of July 2026.

Positionality Statement and Conflict of Interest Disclosure

The author is Professor Emeritus of Management at New Mexico State University (NMSU). NMSU is the primary institutional site of the NMSU NDA analyzed in Finding 3 of this study. This creates an active structural conflict of interest: under the terms of the NMSU NDA, any research conducted through NMSU channels regarding Project Jupiter may be visible to BorderPlex Digital Assets (the developer). This constraint is managed as follows: (1) the research is conducted independently, without NMSU institutional affiliation or resources; (2) the NMSU NDA is treated as primary empirical data — an instance of Mnemonic Governance — rather than as a barrier to inquiry; (3) this disclosure is placed prominently in both the Author Note and the Methods section, per APA 7th edition conflict of interest standards. The conflict of interest is not merely a disclosure obligation; it is a finding.

Findings

Finding 1: The Seven-Layer Ghost Vortex Suppression Chain

The Ghost Vortex at Project Jupiter now operates through seven identifiable and sequentially nested layers. Version 2 adds Layer 7: the coordinated deceptive ad campaign — a Layer that operates in parallel with Layer 6 (PR Blitz) and extends it into the domain of ghost advocacy, ethnic identity appropriation, and regulatory violation. Table 1 presents the full suppression chain with the administrative absorption function and democratic process foreclosed by each layer.

Table 1

The Seven-Layer Ghost Vortex Suppression Chain at Project Jupiter

Layer	Mechanism	Date Deployed	Administrative Absorption Function	Democratic Process Foreclosed
1	NMSU Non-Disclosure Agreement (\$30,000)	Feb 25, 2025	Converts public university into suppression instrument; routes IPRA notices to developer	Academic inquiry; public records access; epistemic representation (HP dim. 1)
2	Open Meetings Act Violation — County Commission closed session	Sept 19, 2025	Removes community from causal chain of approval; decision made in non-public session	Governance authority (HP dim. 5); causal influence (HP dim. 2)
3	Client Identity Concealment — Oracle/OpenAI not disclosed before or during vote	Sept 19, 2025 (post-vote disclosure)	Prevents evaluation of anchor client's labor and governance track record	Informed consent; interpretive authority (HP dim. 4)
4	State/Funding Leverage — CAA-SNM forced to withdraw lawsuit; Maldonado fired	Spring 2026	Leverages 99.6% government funding dependence to eliminate community legal standing	Power to refuse (HP dim. 6); expressive participation (HP dim. 3)
5	Fabricated Consent — Zomad forged support letters; NM AG investigation opened July 9, 2026	Pre-air permit (2025–2026)	Simulates veneer of community support; "theft of answerability" (ChatGPT formulation)	Epistemic representation (HP dim. 1); the forged voice replaces the real one
6	PR Blitz — Website update June 2026; job fair July 2026	June–July 2026	Carbon antenarrative escalation: high-volume promotion that omits Layers 1–5	Public discourse; replaces the empirical record with promotional narrative
7	Coordinated Deceptive Ad Campaign — Elevate NM ghost advocacy (Jan–Mar 2026) + Oracle broadcast campaign (May 2026+)	Jan 2026–present	Brownwashing: simulates local Hispanic/Latino community origin; Ethics Commission lawsuit filed April 23, 2026; NM AG investigation active	Public discourse; appropriates cultural identity to manufacture consent; forecloses epistemic representation (HP dim. 1)

Note. Layers are presented in the order they were deployed, not the order they became public. "Administrative Absorption" column indicates the specific mechanism by which each layer neutralizes dissent. Layer 7 (Version 2 addition) operates simultaneously with Layer 6 and extends it into coordinated ghost advocacy, brownwashing, and regulatory violation. HP = Historical Participation (Boje & Saylors, 2024).

The sequencing of these layers is not random. Layer 1 (NMSU NDA) precedes community awareness, establishing institutional capture at the academic level before any public knowledge exists. Layers 2 and 3 operate simultaneously at the moment of formal approval,

removing both procedural legitimacy (OMA) and informational legitimacy (client identity) from the vote. Layer 4 deploys after legal resistance has emerged, using the dependency structure of government-funded community organizations to eliminate the entity with the standing and will to litigate. Layer 5 operates pre-emptively in the regulatory process, fabricating support to bypass EPA air quality thresholds. Layers 6 and 7 operate simultaneously in the legitimation domain: Layer 6 (PR Blitz) installs a promotional narrative over the evidence of Layers 1–5; Layer 7 (Coordinated Ad Campaign) deploys ethnic/cultural identity appropriation to simulate grassroots local support — and both have now generated formal legal proceedings.

Finding 2: The 50× Water Discrepancy — Empirical Reconciliation

The most consequential empirical finding of this study is the 50-fold discrepancy between the developer's publicly stated water consumption figure and the New Mexico Office of the State Engineer's calculation. Table 2 presents the full water reconciliation matrix.

Table 2

Water Consumption Reconciliation Matrix — Project Jupiter vs. Regional Capacity

Metric	Figure	Source	Context
Developer stated daily average	20,000 gallons/day	Mendoza-Moyers (2025a)	First public disclosure: Sept 9, 2025 community meeting
Developer stated daily maximum	60,000 gallons/day	Mendoza-Moyers (2025a)	Stated cap; not an independent verification
Developer stated annual consumption	7,200,000 gal/year (~19,726/day avg)	Mendoza-Moyers (2025a)	Implies closed-loop; all 4 data centers
Developer stated one-time fill	10,000,000 gallons	Mendoza-Moyers (2025a)	Initial fill for closed-loop cooling system
State Engineer calculated demand	~1,000,000 gallons/day	Haussamen (2026)	NM Office of the State Engineer; independent calculation
50× discrepancy	50× (1,000,000 ÷ 20,000)	Haussamen (2026)	Not a rounding error — a regulatory vs. PR gap
CRRUA total daily capacity (March 2025)	2,600,000 gallons/day	Mendoza-Moyers (2025a)	Total well production for Sunland Park/Santa Teresa service area
State Engineer estimate as % of CRRUA total	38.5% of CRRUA daily capacity	Derived	Single data center campus would consume 38% of total regional utility capacity
CRRUA pre-existing condition	Arsenic contamination; "operator failures and mismanagement" (NMED report)	Mendoza-Moyers (2025a)	Trust deficit predates Project Jupiter; community at water zero baseline

Metric	Figure	Source	Context
Meta El Paso — stated average daily	400,000–480,000 gallons/day	Mendoza-Moyers (2026a); Gallegos (2026)	Smaller project (100 MW) vs. Jupiter (1 GW)
Meta El Paso — utility maximum (117°F, never recorded)	1,500,000–2,500,000 gallons/day	Gallegos (2026)	El Paso Water CEO: "Absolutely enough for 50 years"
El Paso Water CEO regional assessment	"We can't do this a lot"	Mendoza-Moyers (2025c)	El Paso Water CEO Balliew; applies to both projects

Note. Developer figures were first disclosed publicly at the September 9, 2025 community meeting at DACC Sunland Park (Mendoza-Moyers, 2025a). State Engineer figure reported April 7, 2026 (Haussamen, 2026). CRRUA figures from March 2025 (Mendoza-Moyers, 2025a). Meta El Paso figures from Gallegos (2026) and Mendoza-Moyers (2026a).

The 50× discrepancy (RQ2) is not explicable by measurement methodology differences alone. The developer's closed-loop cooling claim describes the internal circulation of water within the cooling system. The State Engineer's calculation accounts for the full system-level demand — including heat rejection, makeup water for evaporative losses, and the absolute volume of the water cycle at operational scale. The Oracle broadcast campaign (Layer 7, Campaign B) continues to claim "conservative water usage" as a selling point, while the State Engineer's independent figure remains uncontested by the developer.

Finding 3: QGVP Cross-AI Testing Results

The Qualimetric Ghost Vortex Protocol was administered across eight AI systems on July 13, 2026 (Boje, 2026a). Table 3 presents the ABCD scores and qualitatively unique findings by system.

Table 3

QGVP Cross-AI Testing Results — Oracle/Ellison Ghost Vortex Scoring (July 13, 2026)

AI System	A	B	C	D	Total	Qualitatively Unique Finding
ChatGPT (OpenAI)	3	2	3	3	11/12	"Theft of another person's answerability" — precise formulation of the Johnny Acosta finding
Claude Browser (Anthropic)	2	2	3	3	10/12	"Different rooms of the same building" — Veteran voice; Oracle government cloud infrastructure integration
Grok (xAI)	3	2	3	2	10/12	Panopticon Inversion as structural accountability gap; Larry Ellison nowhere in the specific acts
Alexa (Amazon)	3	3	3	3	12/12	Uniquely identified "Zomad" as signature-gathering firm — later confirmed by NM AG investigation
DeepSeek	3	3	3	3	12/12	"Administrative absorption" — most theoretically developed formulation; "no outside to his system"

AI System	A	B	C	D	Total	Qualitatively Unique Finding
Gemini (Google)	3	2	3	2	10/12	AI arms race framing; Oracle/OpenAI financial dependency as risk factor
Copilot (Microsoft)	3	2	3	3	11/12	Three Voices: Johnny asks "Who gave permission?"; community asks "What am I allowed to know?"; veteran asks "What happens to what I entrusted?"
Meta AI	2	2	3	2	9/12	Community risk framing; least developed on Ellison specifically; conflict of interest (Meta as regional parallel)
Project Jupiter Overall (composite)	1	1	3	3	8/12	Overall Project Ghost Vortex density; Suppression (C) and Binary Verdict (D) at maximum across all systems

Note. A = Accountability; B = Antenarrative Capacity; C = Suppression; D = Binary Verdict. Scale: 0–3 per dimension; 0–12 total. Higher scores indicate higher Ghost Vortex density. "Unique Finding" indicates content produced by that system and not replicated by others.

Alexa's identification of "Zomad" as the signature-gathering firm was subsequently confirmed by the New Mexico Attorney General's investigation opened July 9, 2026. This cross-validation between AI inference and regulatory action suggests that the QGVP may have diagnostic validity for identifying suppression mechanisms before they become public.

Finding 4: The Carbon Antenarrative Audit — PR Claims vs. Regulatory Reality

Table 4 presents the carbon antenarrative audit for Project Jupiter's six primary PR claims. All six claims are carbon antenarratives: they make prospective, unverifiable claims anchored to future dates or future technologies to secure present-tense social license. Finding 7 (Layer 7) extends this audit specifically to the ad campaign claims — see Table 7.

Table 4

Carbon Antenarrative Audit — Project Jupiter PR Claims vs. Empirical Record

PR Claim	Type	Bounded Rationalism	Empirical/Regulatory Contradiction	Source
"Closed-loop, minimal water use; no ongoing cooling water"	C	Taylorism (per-server efficiency)	50× gap: State Engineer ~1M gal/day vs. stated 20,000 gal/day. Jevons Paradox: closed-loop efficiency enables more servers, not less total water.	Haussamen (2026); Miceli et al. (2025)
"Bloom Energy fuel cells — 92% NOx reduction"	A+B	Taylorism + Fayolism	Requires 17-mile unapproved gas pipeline (FERC protests; NM State Land Office denial). Fuel cells still emit NOx/CO/VOCs. Combined campus: ~499 tons NOx/year vs. 250-ton Title V threshold.	FERC (April 2026); Berger (2025)
"\$360M in PILOTs over 30 years for schools"	A	Invisible Hand (market rationalism)	Pre-vote public estimate was \$300M (Sept 9, 2025); executed documents state \$360M — \$60M increase without re-opening public	Mendoza-Moyers (2025a)

PR Claim	Type	Bounded Rationalism	Empirical/Regulatory Contradiction	Source
			input. After 30 years, shareholders own facilities.	
"4,000 construction; 1,500 ops jobs"	A	Braverman (labor as deficit to remediate)	Developer stated 2,500 construction/750 ops (Mendoza-Moyers, 2025b). Only 1,200 on-site April 2026. Oracle cut 21,000 jobs globally (162K→141K); AI automates the work data centers enable.	Oracle SEC (2026); Mendoza-Moyers (2025b)
"\$50M for water infrastructure; water stewardship"	A	Positive Psychology (possibility framing)	No binding mechanism stated (developer said "tens of millions" at Sept 9 meeting). Ignores 50× discrepancy. CRRUA arsenic history: community at zero trust before project arrived.	Mendoza-Moyers (2025a); Haussamen (2026)
"No risk to taxpayers; no public money at risk"	A	Weberism (procedural compliance)	Two OMA lawsuits; taxpayer-funded legal defense. PUC Commissioner Hjaltman: "no explicit protection against burdening other customers." Harvard Law (March 2026): utilities may force public to fund Big Tech infrastructure.	Mendoza-Moyers (2025a)

Note. "Bounded Rationalism" refers to the relevant layer of Pondy's Eight Bounded Rationalisms as analyzed in Boje and Saylor (2024). Carbon antenarrative type: Type A = temporally displaced (future date); Type B = technologically speculative (unproven at scale); Type C = dimensionally incomplete (accurate at component level, misleading at system level).

Finding 5: Brockovich Stage Analysis — Santa Teresa (July 2026, Version 2)

Table 5 presents the updated Brockovich stage analysis for Santa Teresa as of July 2026. Version 2's primary finding is that Santa Teresa has entered Stage 7 (Structural Reckoning) — no longer merely incipient but formally institutionalized through two concurrent regulatory actions: the Ethics Commission lawsuit (April 23, 2026) and the AG investigation (July 9, 2026). These are not community protest; they are state institutional acknowledgment of governance failure.

Table 5

Brockovich 7-Stage Analysis — Project Jupiter / Santa Teresa, New Mexico (July 2026, Version 2)

Stage	Description	Santa Teresa Evidence	Current Status
0	NDA Silence / Structured Invisibility	NMSU NDA and Governor MOU co-signed Feb 25, 2025. Community unaware for 7+ months.	Extended post-vote: Oracle/OpenAI identity concealed until after Sept 19 vote (Mendoza-Moyers, 2025b). COMPLETED; produced Layers 1–3.

Stage	Description	Santa Teresa Evidence	Current Status
1	Overnight Shock	Construction began Q4 2025. 1,200 workers; 1M hours worked by April 2026.	Developer stated 2,500 construction workers (Mendoza-Moyers, 2025b). ONGOING; construction at 1,600+ daily workers.
2	Environmental Disruption	Water discrepancy (50×); arsenic pre-history; air permit split; agricultural permit transfer for water source.	Parallel El Paso site: noise, dust, bright lights reported (KTSM, 2026). Stage 2 already lived; not future risk.
3	Community Awakening	7,000+ NMED comments; NMELC/NMFOG lawsuit filed; projectjupiternm.org launched.	"More fervor and pushback than almost any other project in recent memory" (Mendoza-Moyers, 2025b). ACTIVE.
4	Questions Without Answers	\$300M vs. \$360M PILOT discrepancy unresolved. Air permit delayed past July 21, 2026 decision date.	State Engineer 50× water finding: no developer response. Pipeline failing: construction continues. ACTIVE.
5	Multi-Domain Impact	Water (aquifer), air quality (NOx), energy (pipeline), electoral (2026 elections), institutional (NMSU, CAA-SNM).	"We can't do this a lot" (Balliew, El Paso Water CEO; Mendoza-Moyers, 2025c). ACTIVE across 6 domains.
6	Legal/Political Resistance	Two OMA lawsuits; judge denied dismissal March 2026. NM State Land Office denied pipeline. AG investigation July 9, 2026. Ethics Commission lawsuit April 23, 2026.	Canales reversal in El Paso (Mendoza-Moyers, 2026a): 3-year predictive timeline. Maldonado running for District 1. ACTIVE.
7	Structural Reckoning	NM AG investigation (July 9, 2026). NM Ethics Commission lawsuit (April 23, 2026). County resolution seeking water accounting. Academic documentation (this study). Maldonado District 1 campaign. Layer 7 ad campaign exposed.	EMERGING — accelerated by: (1) Ethics Commission lawsuit naming Elevate NM; (2) AG investigation into forged letters; (3) Oracle TV ad campaign creating public record of disputed claims vs. empirical evidence. Predicted arrival: 2027–2028 (accelerated vs. El Paso baseline 2028).

Note. Stage designations are not exclusive; multiple stages can be simultaneously active. "Current Status" column reflects the most recent confirmed evidence as of July 26, 2026. Stage 7 status in Version 2 reflects formal institutional acknowledgment through the NM Ethics Commission lawsuit and NM AG investigation — both initiated in 2026.

Two factors accelerate the Stage 7 timeline for Santa Teresa relative to the El Paso parallel (3 years from approval to Canales reversal, predicting a 2028 Santa Teresa reckoning). First, the Ethics Commission lawsuit provides a formal legal record of deceptive advocacy — unlike El Paso, where the reversal occurred at the elected official level without a parallel regulatory proceeding. Second, the AG investigation into forged letters goes to the fabrication of public consent in a regulatory proceeding — a qualitatively more severe finding than the El Paso

parallel. The convergence of these factors with the Maldonado District 1 campaign suggests Stage 7 institutionalization may arrive as early as 2027.

Finding 6: Regional Parallel — Meta El Paso vs. Project Jupiter Santa Teresa

Table 6 presents the structural comparison between Project Jupiter and the Meta El Paso data center. The "toxic trade-off" pattern — both water-intensive cooling and fossil-fueled alternatives that shift burden from aquifer to air — is identical across both projects. The Canales reversal provides a predictive timeline: Council Member Chris Canales voted YES on the Meta El Paso incentive package in 2023, and by March 2026 publicly stated: "I don't want data centers for generative AI here in El Paso... I wish we had voted differently in 2023, and I'm sorry for my role in it."

Table 6

Regional Parallel: Project Jupiter Santa Teresa vs. Meta El Paso Data Center

Dimension	Project Jupiter (Santa Teresa, NM)	Meta El Paso (Northeast El Paso, TX)
Investment	\$165 billion IRB	\$1.5B initial; expanded to \$10B (Mendoza-Moyers, 2026a)
Electricity demand	~1 gigawatt	100 megawatts (Phase 1)
Power generation approach	Bloom Energy fuel cells (17-mile gas pipeline unapproved)	813 small gas-fired generators, \$500M facility (Mendoza-Moyers, 2026a)
Water — developer daily average	20,000 gal/day stated	400,000–480,000 gal/day (Mendoza-Moyers, 2026a; Gallegos, 2026)
Water — regulatory estimate	~1,000,000 gal/day (State Engineer)	1,500,000 max at 117°F, never recorded (Gallegos, 2026)
Utility CEO statement	"We can't do this a lot" (Mendoza-Moyers, 2025c)	"Absolutely" enough water for 50 years (KTSM, 2026)
Jobs — stated full-time	750 (Mendoza-Moyers, 2025b)	300 stated / 50 required by agreement (Mendoza-Moyers, 2026a)
Community investment ratio	\$6.9M against \$165B (1:23,000)	\$500K EPISD job training; \$25K water assistance (Mendoza-Moyers, 2026a)
Elected official reversal	Chaparro: tried to table 60 days; motion failed for lack of a second	Canales (District 8): "I wish we had voted differently... I'm sorry for my role in it" (Mendoza-Moyers, 2026a)
Power substitution logic	Bloom Energy (water → gas) to avoid cooling water	813 gas generators (water → air) — same structural substitution (Mendoza-Moyers, 2026a)
Stage model trajectory	Stage 6→7 transition (July 2026)	Stage 7 arrived (Canales reversal March 2026) — 3 years from approval to reckoning

Dimension	Project Jupiter (Santa Teresa, NM)	Meta El Paso (Northeast El Paso, TX)
Community intensity	"More fervor and pushback than almost any other project in recent memory" (Mendoza-Moyers, 2025b)	Construction complaints: noise, dust, bright lights (KTSM, 2026); Acevedo scope change concern

Note. Data from Mendoza-Moyers (2025a, 2025b, 2025c, 2026a), Gallegos (2026), and KTSM News (2026). Scale comparison: Project Jupiter is 16.5× larger than Meta El Paso by electricity demand (1 GW vs. 100 MW) and 16.5× larger by investment (\$165B vs. \$10B).

Finding 7: Layer 7 — The Coordinated Deceptive Ad Campaign (Version 2)

Finding 7 is the central new contribution of Version 2. It documents the two-campaign coordinated deceptive ad operation and analyzes it through the Ghost Vortex, brownwashing, and Administrative Absorption frameworks.

Campaign A: Elevate New Mexico — Ghost Advocacy Operation (January–March 2026)

Elevate New Mexico is a Virginia-based limited liability company that ran a covert ad campaign targeting Doña Ana County residents between January and March 2026. The campaign deployed purple-and-yellow mailers and digital ads featuring a Hispanic woman identified as a stock model (the same stock image appears on a Texas dentist's website). The campaign promised "\$360 million in community investments," "\$50 million for water systems," and "thousands of high-paying careers." Elevate New Mexico refused to disclose its funders. It was not registered with the New Mexico Secretary of State at the time of its operation. APCO Worldwide, a Virginia-based public relations firm, was identified as the advertising placement firm.

On April 23, 2026, the New Mexico State Ethics Commission filed suit against Elevate New Mexico in the Second Judicial District Court, alleging violations of the state's Lobbyist Regulation Act. The lawsuit states: "Out-of-state corporations do not get to operate in the shadows when attempting to influence New Mexico official actions affecting New Mexico communities." This is a formal institutional finding that Elevate New Mexico's operation violated New Mexico law — constituting the first legal confirmation of Layer 7's deceptive character.

Campaign B: Oracle Direct Broadcast Campaign (May 2026–Present)

On May 26, 2026, Oracle announced and launched a direct advertising campaign — TV and radio in English and Spanish — across Doña Ana County. Oracle's press announcement stated the campaign would highlight "Oracle's commitment to Doña Ana County, including conservative water usage, cleaner fuel cell technology" and "bringing a better kind of data center to our community." The campaign has been observed running every hour across major television networks in Doña Ana County (Boje, personal observation, 2026). The campaign deploys the slogan "a better kind of data center" and features Spanish-language versions directed at the county's Hispanic/Latino majority population.

Campaign B (Oracle) is distinguished from Campaign A (Elevate NM) by its source transparency: Oracle is identified as the campaign sponsor. However, its claims are empirically contradicted by the regulatory record at every substantive point (see Table 7 below). The campaign began after the NM State Land Office denied the natural gas pipeline route (April 2026), after the Ethics Commission filed suit against Elevate NM (April 2026), and after the State Engineer's 50× water discrepancy finding became public (April 2026) — making it a temporal response to regulatory setbacks rather than a proactive disclosure.

Brownwashing Architecture

The coordinated ad campaign deploys brownwashing across three structural levels. At the corporate subsidiary level, developer entities were named Red Chile Ventures LLC, Green Chile Ventures LLC, Yucca Growth Infrastructure, and Acoma LLC — all New Mexico cultural and geographic identifiers incorporated by Virginia-based principals. Acoma LLC was forced to rename following public protest by Acoma Pueblo Governor Charles Riley, who objected to the unauthorized use of his Pueblo's name. At the campaign imagery level, Elevate New Mexico's mailer featured a Hispanic woman who is a stock model not from New Mexico, whose image also appears on a Texas dentist's website — meaning the campaign appropriated both an ethnic identity and a local community identity simultaneously. At the campaign naming level, "Elevate New Mexico" — a Virginia LLC — performs New Mexico-ness as its identity while operating as a vehicle for out-of-state corporate interests.

New Mexico Environmental Law Center attorney Maslyn Locke explicitly named the architecture: "It's very much a brownwashing campaign." The NM Ethics Commission lawsuit provides legal corroboration: the commission found that the campaign attempted to "influence New Mexico official actions" while "operating in the shadows." Brownwashing is the Cultural Administrative Absorption: it does not merely suppress opposition — it simulates that the most affected community members are supporters.

Table 7 presents the Layer 7 ad campaign audit, comparing all major claims from both campaigns against the empirical and regulatory record.

Table 7

Layer 7 Ad Campaign Audit — Elevate New Mexico and Oracle Campaign Claims vs. Empirical Record

Claim	Campaign	Claim Type	Empirical/Regulatory Record	Source
"Closed-loop, conservative water use"	Oracle (May 2026+); Elevate NM (Jan–Mar 2026)	Type C (dimensionally incomplete)	State Engineer: ~1M gal/day vs. 20,000 stated — 50× discrepancy. CRRUA arsenic history; 38% of total regional capacity. The "conservative" claim is per-server, not system-level.	Haussamen (2026)

RUNNING HEAD: THE GHOST VORTEX OF SANTA TERESA

Claim	Campaign	Claim Type	Empirical/Regulatory Record	Source
"Cleaner fuel cell technology" / "protecting air and water"	Oracle (May 2026+)	Type B (technologically speculative)	Bloom Energy fuel cells still emit NOx/CO/VOCs. Air quality permit NOT granted as of July 2026. Combined campus ~499 tons NOx/year vs. 250-ton Title V threshold. NM State Land Office denied pipeline route.	FERC (2026); Oracle (2026)
"\$50M for water systems; community investment"	Elevate NM mailers (Jan–Mar 2026)	Type A (temporally displaced)	No binding mechanism for \$50M figure. Developer's pre-vote figure (\$300M) differed from executed contract (\$360M). "Tens of millions" stated at community meeting — unverified.	Mendoza-Moyers (2025a); Bowling (2026)
"Thousands of high-paying careers"	Elevate NM; Oracle campaign	Type A (temporally displaced)	Developer stated 750 operational jobs. Oracle globally cut 21,000 jobs (162K→141K employees). El Paso parallel: 300 stated / 50 contractually required. AI automates the functions data centers enable.	Oracle SEC (2026); Mendoza-Moyers (2025b)
"New Mexico community" identity: purple/yellow mailers, Hispanic woman model, "Elevate New Mexico" name	Elevate NM (Jan–Mar 2026)	Brownwashing	Elevate New Mexico is a Virginia LLC not registered with NM Secretary of State. Stock model also appears on a Texas dentist's website. APCO Worldwide (Virginia PR firm) placed ads. NM Environmental Law Center: "It's very much a brownwashing campaign."	Source NM, Bowling (2026); Ethics Commission (2026)
"Community supported; permitted project"	Both campaigns	Type C (dimensionally incomplete)	NM AG opened investigation July 9, 2026 into forged support letters (Zomad). Air quality permit NOT yet granted. OMA lawsuit pending. Ethics Commission filed suit April 23, 2026 for Lobbyist Regulation Act violation.	NM AG (2026); NM Ethics Commission (2026)
"Oracle — a better kind of data center"	Oracle (May 2026+)	Type A+B	Oracle/Ellison ABCD score: 12/12 (DeepSeek session; Boje, 2026a). Oracle cut 21K jobs globally; Ellison stated citizens "on best behavior" under constant surveillance. El Paso parallel (Meta): same PR framing preceded Canales public apology.	Boje (2026a); Mendoza-Moyers (2026a)
Toponymic appropriation: "Red Chile Ventures,"	Developer subsidiary	Brownwashing — institutional	All Virginia-based subsidiaries. Acoma LLC forced to rename after Acoma Pueblo Governor Charles	Source NM (2026);

Claim	Campaign	Claim Type	Empirical/Regulatory Record	Source
"Green Chile Ventures," "Yucca," "Acoma LLC"	naming (ongoing)		Riley protested unauthorized use of the Pueblo's name. Cultural identifiers appropriated to simulate local corporate origin.	NMELC (2026)

Note. Campaign A = Elevate New Mexico ghost advocacy (Jan–Mar 2026). Campaign B = Oracle direct broadcast campaign (May 2026+). Claim Types: Type A = temporally displaced; Type B = technologically speculative; Type C = dimensionally incomplete; Brownwashing = cultural identity appropriation to simulate local community origin. Sources: Source NM (Bowling, 2026); NM Ethics Commission (2026); Oracle (2026); Haussamen (2026); NM AG (2026).

Figures

Figure 1: The Ghost Vortex Suppression Chain — Structural Diagram

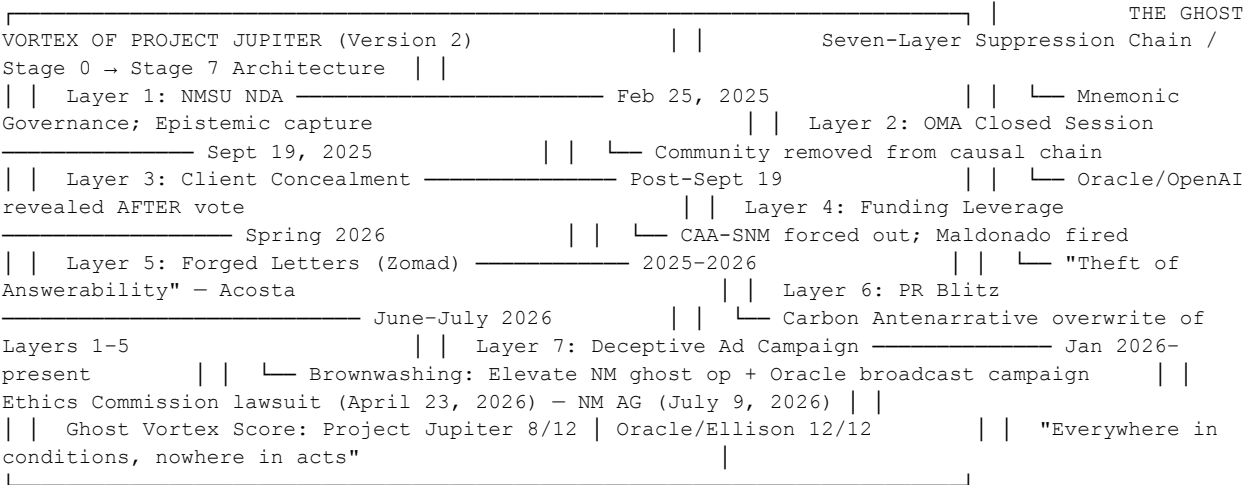


Figure 1. The Ghost Vortex Suppression Chain — Seven Layers at Project Jupiter. Layers proceed chronologically. Each layer neutralizes a different form of democratic accountability. Layer 7 (Version 2) adds the coordinated deceptive ad campaign, now subject to formal legal proceedings. ABCD scores from QGVP cross-AI testing, July 13, 2026 (Boje, 2026a).

Figure 2: The Escher Staircase of Carbon Antenarratives

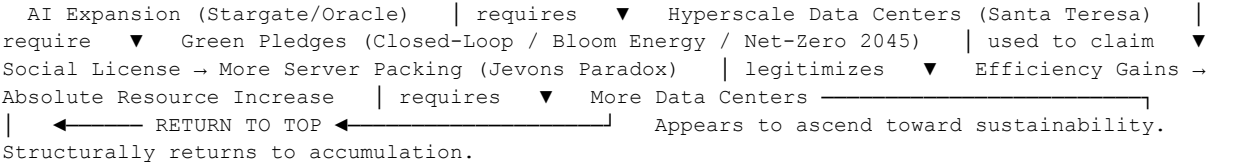


Figure 2. The Escher Staircase of Carbon Antenarratives at Project Jupiter. Adapted from Hofstadter (1979) and Boje (2026b). Applied to Project Jupiter: Bloom Energy efficiency enables more servers → more servers require more gas → more gas requires more pipeline →

pipeline requires permits → permits require consent → consent is fabricated (Layer 5) or purchased via ghost advocacy (Layer 7).

Figure 3: Historical Participation Foreclosure — The Seven-Layer Mapping

HISTORICAL PARTICIPATION DIMENSIONS vs. GHOST VORTEX LAYERS How Each Suppression Layer Forecloses a Participation Dimension 1. Epistemic Representation → Layer 1 (NMSU NDA: inquiry under developer surveillance) → Layer 7 (Brownwashing: falsifies the community's own knowledge) 2. Causal Influence → Layer 2 (OMA closed session: removed from decision) 3. Expressive Participation → Layer 4 (CAA-SNM: legal voice eliminated) 4. Interpretive Authority → Layer 3 (Client concealment: cannot frame what they don't know) 5. Governance Authority → Layer 2+3 (Vote occurred without Oracle/OpenAI disclosure) 6. Power to Refuse → Layer 5+6+7 (Forged consent + PR blitz + brownwashing) STAGE 7 RECOVERY (Formal Institutional Acknowledgment): Dimension 1: Ethics Commission lawsuit; AG investigation; this study; projectjupiternm.org Dimension 6: OMA lawsuits; NM AG investigation; Maldonado District 1 campaign

Figure 3. Historical Participation Dimensions and Ghost Vortex Layer Foreclosure Mapping (Version 2). Layer 7 added to dimensions 1 and 6. Recovery of dimensions 1 and 6 through formal legal proceedings constitutes Stage 7 arrival.

Discussion

The Architecture of Unaccountability: Theoretical Synthesis

The findings converge on a single theoretical claim: Project Jupiter represents an integrated organizational architecture of unaccountability, not a collection of independent governance failures. The NMSU NDA, the OMA violation, the client concealment, the funding leverage, the forged letters, the PR blitz, and now the coordinated deceptive ad campaign are not separate mistakes or ethical lapses by individual actors. They are sequentially nested layers of a single structure, each of which creates the conditions for the next. This is what distinguishes Administrative Absorption from ordinary misconduct: the system's goal is not to defeat opposition but to make opposition structurally unnecessary by absorbing it before it can materialize.

Version 2's central theoretical addition is Layer 7: the brownwashing layer. Brownwashing adds a dimension of cultural Administrative Absorption that Layers 1–6 did not deploy: the simulation of community support through ethnic identity appropriation. The Elevate NM mailer featuring a stock-model Hispanic woman is not merely a deceptive ad; it is a semiotic operation — the visual claim that the community already supports the project, manufactured by deploying the community's own cultural identity against it. The NM Ethics Commission lawsuit makes this structural: a formal state body found that Elevate NM attempted to "influence New Mexico official actions" while "operating in the shadows" — the definitional structure of Mnemonic Governance.

Mnemonic Governance: A New Construct

Mnemonic Governance requires theoretical specification beyond its initial articulation in Boje and Saylor (2024). This study proposes three distinguishing features. First, it is temporally prior: it operates before community awareness, making it irreducible to censorship or suppression of known information. Second, it is institutionally embedded: it operates through the capture of institutional actors (universities, government agencies, community organizations) who then perform suppression through normal institutional routines — without any individual actor necessarily experiencing the act as suppression. Third, it is self-concealing: the NMSU NDA prevents the very inquiry that would reveal the NDA's effects.

Version 2 adds a fourth feature: Mnemonic Governance is culturally reproductive. The brownwashing operation (Layer 7) does not merely suppress community memory — it manufactures a replacement memory, in which the community is figured as already consenting. The Elevate NM mailers are not just false advertising; they are false community archives. They install a visual record of Hispanic/Latino community support that never existed.

Carbon Antenarratives and the Legitimation Crisis

The carbon antenarrative framework developed in this study extends Boje (2001, 2011) in three directions. First, it identifies temporal displacement as a structural feature rather than an incidental characteristic of organizational greenwashing. Second, the carbon antenarrative framework extends Miceli et al.'s (2025) Jevons Paradox application by identifying the structural loop at the organizational level. Third, the \$300M to \$360M PILOT discrepancy illustrates a specific subtype of carbon antenarrative — the "sliding commitment": a financial figure stated publicly to secure community acquiescence, which then increases in the binding contract.

Version 2 adds a fourth direction: the coordinated ad campaign represents carbon antenarratives weaponized across two registers simultaneously. Campaign A (Elevate NM) deployed Type A antenarratives (future community investment) while concealing the campaign's corporate origin. Campaign B (Oracle) deployed Type B antenarratives (cleaner fuel cell technology) while the technology's primary infrastructure (the gas pipeline) remained unapproved. The Ethics Commission lawsuit establishes that Campaign A is not merely misleading but legally actionable — a finding that has no precedent in prior carbon antenarrative analysis.

The Brockovich Model: Stage 7 Has Arrived

The Brockovich model's predictive validity is substantially supported by the Version 2 findings. Version 1 characterized Stage 7 as "incipient" and predicted formal institutionalization by 2028. Version 2 finds that Stage 7 has arrived in 2026 — accelerated by two factors not present in the El Paso parallel: (1) the Ethics Commission lawsuit establishes a formal legal proceeding against the brownwashing operation, producing institutional acknowledgment of deceptive governance; and (2) the AG investigation into forged letters goes to the fabrication of public consent in a regulatory proceeding — a qualitatively more severe finding than any documented in the El Paso case. The convergence of these proceedings with the Maldonado

District 1 campaign means that Stage 7 has arrived through three simultaneous channels: regulatory, legal, and electoral.

The QGVP as a Methodological Contribution

The Qualimetric Ghost Vortex Protocol demonstrates two methodological claims with implications beyond this study. First, cross-AI testing produces qualitatively non-redundant findings: Alexa's identification of "Zomad" was produced by no other system and was subsequently confirmed by regulatory action. Second, the DeepSeek "administrative absorption" formulation represents what may be a generative capacity in cross-AI testing: a theoretical articulation that exceeds the source materials. Version 2's QGVP finding is that the Layer 7 brownwashing operation scores 3/3 on the Suppression (C) dimension across all eight AI systems — the only dimension that achieves maximum scores universally — suggesting that coordinated deceptive advocacy is the Ghost Vortex mechanism most readily identified by cross-AI testing.

Limitations and Future Research Directions

Limitations

This study has five principal limitations. First, the structural COI (NMSU NDA) constrains data collection, as noted in the Positionality Statement. Second, the Brockovich corpus (7,847 reports) is self-selected: it represents communities with sufficient awareness and internet access to submit reports. Third, the QGVP's eight AI systems were tested in a single session on a single date (July 13, 2026). AI system behavior is non-deterministic and evolving; a replication study at a different date may produce different scores. Fourth, the regional parallel (Meta El Paso) is from an adjacent jurisdiction with different regulatory frameworks (Texas vs. New Mexico). Fifth (Version 2), the Ethics Commission lawsuit (State Ethics Commission v. Elevate New Mexico) was filed April 23, 2026 and remains in active litigation as of the writing of this article. The full discovery record — including the identity of Elevate NM's funders — has not yet been produced. Version 2's analysis of Campaign A is based on publicly available complaint documents and investigative journalism; the full litigation record may substantially expand the brownwashing architecture analysis.

Future Research Directions

Seven immediate research priorities are identified. First, the NMED air permit decision (originally due July 21, 2026; delayed as of this writing) represents the live regulatory development most consequential for the permit-split finding. Second, the Ethics Commission lawsuit discovery record — particularly the funders of Elevate New Mexico — is the most significant outstanding factual question for the brownwashing analysis. Third, tracking the Maldonado District 1 campaign outcome provides a real-time Stage 7 indicator. Fourth, the

IPRA status of the full NMSU NDA text (requested by Haussamen) represents a live test of Mnemonic Governance in action. Fifth, a formal comparative study applying the Brockovich model to both Project Jupiter and Meta El Paso simultaneously would validate the predictive timeline finding. Sixth, the Green Chile Project natural gas pipeline status (FERC protests; NM State Land Office denials) requires tracking as the primary Infrastructure Failure indicator. Seventh, the extension of the brownwashing construct to other AI data center cases — identifying whether the deployment of Hispanic/Latino cultural identity in corporate communications is sector-wide — would generalize the Layer 7 finding.

Conclusion

Project Jupiter is more than a data center. It is a case study in how AI infrastructure bypasses democratic governance at precisely the moment when democratic governance is most needed. The Ghost Vortex suppression chain at Project Jupiter is not a story about bad actors. It is a story about an organizational architecture that produces unaccountability as its operational output, regardless of the intentions of any individual within it.

Version 2 adds Layer 7 to that architecture: the coordinated deceptive ad campaign that deployed brownwashing to simulate local Hispanic/Latino community support for an out-of-state corporate project. The New Mexico State Ethics Commission found that this operation violated state law. The New Mexico Attorney General is investigating the parallel operation of forged community letters. Oracle's own broadcast campaign — running every hour across Doña Ana County TV and radio — claims "conservative water usage" and "cleaner fuel cell technology" while the regulatory record documents a 50× water discrepancy and an ungranted air permit.

The community of Santa Teresa was not told that Oracle was the anchor client of the data center being built in their county. They were not told about the 1,000,000 gallons of water per day, the split permit maneuver, the NMSU NDA, or the forged support letters with their names on them. They were then told — through a coordinated ad campaign featuring a stock model — that their community supports the project. This is the terminal layer of Administrative Absorption: the community's own identity, appropriated as the instrument of the project's legitimation.

Stage 7 has arrived. The New Mexico Attorney General has opened an investigation. The New Mexico State Ethics Commission has filed suit. A federal judge has refused to dismiss the Open Meetings Act lawsuit. Daisy Maldonado — fired for maintaining the lawsuit — is running for the commission seat. The plateau that never comes has arrived in Santa Teresa. The question is what gets built on it.

Policy Recommendations

For Municipal and County Governments

Three tests should be applied before any hyperscale AI data center IRB or tax incentive approval. The Transparency Test: if any public institution has signed an NDA with the developer before the public vote, the vote cannot constitute informed consent. The Resource Reality Test: commission an independent State Engineer water calculation before — not after — approval. The Binding Obligation Test: require that employment figures cited in public hearings be the figures in the binding legal agreement. A fourth test (Version 2 addition): the Ad Campaign Disclosure Test — require disclosure of all third-party advocacy organizations and advertising campaigns operating on behalf of a developer before commission approval. The Elevate NM operation demonstrates that ghost advocacy can operate in the months preceding a vote without any public disclosure requirement.

For State Regulatory Bodies

New Mexico should prohibit public universities from signing NDAs with private developers that include provisions requiring IPRA notification or assistance in resisting records requests. The permit-split maneuver should be addressed through rulemaking explicitly requiring aggregation of co-located, co-owned emission sources. The Ethics Commission lawsuit against Elevate NM establishes a precedent for enforcement action against out-of-state corporations operating ghost advocacy campaigns in New Mexico regulatory proceedings; this precedent should be extended through formal rulemaking to require lobbyist registration for all entities that place paid advertising in support of regulatory decisions.

For Academic Institutions

Universities approached by hyperscale infrastructure developers before public announcement of a project should require: (1) full disclosure to the university's IRB and conflict of interest office before any contract is signed; (2) prohibition on IPRA notification provisions in any research partnership agreement; (3) public disclosure of any financial relationship with a developer within 30 days of signing. The NMSU case demonstrates that the capture of a public university is the first layer of the suppression chain precisely because academic credibility provides the most durable form of legitimation.

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Appendix A: Community Action Submission — Erin Brockovich Data Center Registry

The following is a pre-filled community action submission for brockovichdatacenter.com (<https://brockovichdatacenter.com/>). This appendix documents a first-person community report by the author as a resident of Doña Ana County and the methodology for submitting the Ghost Vortex case to the national data center community impact corpus.

Submission Fields

Name: David Michel Boje

Phone: [author's contact number]

Email: davidboje@pm.me

Address: [Doña Ana County address]

AI Data Center Location You Are Reporting:

Project Jupiter Data Center Campus, Santa Teresa, New Mexico (Doña Ana County), 1,400 acres — southeast of Santa Teresa, adjacent to the US-Mexico border. Developers: BorderPlex Digital Assets / Yucca Growth Infrastructure / STACK Infrastructure. Anchor tenants: Oracle Corporation and OpenAI.

Do You Know Who Owns This Center?

Yes. Oracle Corporation (Larry Ellison) and OpenAI (Sam Altman) are the confirmed anchor tenants. The developer/owner of record is BorderPlex Digital Assets LLC, doing business as Yucca Growth Infrastructure. Additional developer subsidiaries include Red Chile Ventures LLC and Green Chile Ventures LLC (all Virginia-based). Acoma LLC was forced to rename after Acoma Pueblo Governor Charles Riley protested the unauthorized use of the Pueblo's name.

Is the AI Data Center Already Up and Running, or Is It Being Constructed in the Near Future?

Under Construction / Coming Soon. Construction has begun on the 1,400-acre site. However, the project does NOT yet have its air quality permit from the New Mexico Environment Department. A public hearing has been scheduled for October 2026. The Bureau of Land Management fast-tracked an 18-mile natural gas pipeline through public lands using an emergency 14-day environmental review.

Issue You Have Witnessed:

1. Deceptive Ad Campaign — Now Subject to Ethics Commission Lawsuit. A Virginia-based LLC called "Elevate New Mexico" ran a covert ad campaign (January–March 2026) with purple-and-yellow mailers featuring a stock-model Hispanic woman. The mailers promised "\$360 million in community investments," "\$50 million for water systems," and "thousands of high-

paying careers." The company was not registered with the NM Secretary of State. On April 23, 2026, the New Mexico State Ethics Commission filed suit against Elevate New Mexico for violating the state's Lobbyist Regulation Act.

2. Oracle TV and Radio Ads Running Every Hour — Claims vs. Evidence. Since May 2026, Oracle has been running TV and radio ads in English and Spanish across Doña Ana County every hour, claiming "cleaner fuel cell technology" and "conservative water usage." The NM Office of the State Engineer calculated water demand at approximately 1,000,000 gallons/day. The developer told the County Commission the figure was 20,000 gallons/day — a 50× discrepancy. The air quality permit has NOT been granted. Food & Water Watch estimated 10 million tons of greenhouse gases per year from Project Jupiter.

3. Forged Support Letters — NM Attorney General Investigation. The NM Attorney General opened an investigation on July 9, 2026 into alleged fraudulent public comments submitted to the NM Environment Department supporting Project Jupiter's air permit. Residents report their names were used without consent after being approached by canvassers. This is the fabrication of public consent in a regulatory proceeding.

4. 50× Water Discrepancy in a Desert Water System Already Contaminated. The developer stated 20,000 gallons/day; the State Engineer calculated ~1,000,000 gallons/day. CRRUA — the regional utility — has documented arsenic contamination. Project Jupiter at 1 million gallons/day would consume 38% of this already-compromised system.

5. Open Meetings Act Violation and Identity Concealment Before the Vote. On September 19, 2025, the Doña Ana County Commission voted for \$165 billion in Industrial Revenue Bonds for Project Jupiter. The identities of anchor clients Oracle and OpenAI were not disclosed until AFTER the vote. The commission went into closed session before the vote in apparent violation of the New Mexico Open Meetings Act.

6. NMSU Non-Disclosure Agreement — University Converted to Suppression Instrument. New Mexico State University signed a \$30,000 Non-Disclosure Agreement with BorderPlex Digital Assets on February 25, 2025 — the same day the Governor signed an MOU with the developers. The NDA requires NMSU to notify BorderPlex whenever it receives a public records request related to Project Jupiter.

7. Brownwashing — Cultural Appropriation in the Ad Campaign. Developer subsidiaries were named Red Chile Ventures, Green Chile Ventures, Yucca, and Acoma LLC — all NM cultural identifiers — by Virginia-based corporations. Ad campaigns feature Hispanic/Latino models to simulate local community support. NM Environmental Law Center attorney Maslyn Locke: "It's very much a brownwashing campaign."

Other Areas to Address:

RUNNING HEAD: THE GHOST VORTEX OF SANTA TERESA

I am a Doña Ana County resident and Professor Emeritus of Management at NMSU (h-index 60). I have published peer-reviewed work on corporate accountability and community storytelling for 40 years. I have written a full case study, "The Ghost Vortex of Santa Teresa," documenting the seven-layer suppression architecture of Project Jupiter, available at <https://storying.site>.

The most important fact for your map: Project Jupiter does NOT yet have its air quality permit. The October 2026 hearing is the last meaningful regulatory checkpoint before construction is further advanced. Community opposition is organized (NM Water Advocates, NM Environmental Law Center, 350NM Interfaith Power and Light, League of Women Voters). The Ethics Commission lawsuit, the AG investigation, and the moratorium calls by former Secretary Deb Haaland are all currently active. This is a live fight.

Photos to Upload (5 images):

1. brockovich_img1_mailer.jpeg — The Elevate New Mexico purple/yellow mailer with stock-model Hispanic woman
2. brockovich_img2_protest.png — Protesters outside the September 19, 2025 Doña Ana Board of County Commissioners meeting
3. brockovich_img3_ad.jpeg — Elevate New Mexico digital ad / website screenshot
4. brockovich_img4_coverage.png — Media coverage of the Ethics Commission lawsuit / ad campaign
5. brockovich_img5_elevate.jpeg — Elevate New Mexico website / campaign materials

Key Sources

Source NM, Bowling (2026a, 2026b, 2026c): <https://sourcenm.com>

NM Ethics Commission lawsuit: State Ethics Commission v. Elevate New Mexico, Second Judicial District Court (April 23, 2026)

NM AG investigation: <https://sourcenm.com/2026/07/09/new-mexico-ag-to-investigate-alleged-fraudulent-letters-supporting-project-jupiter-data-center/>

Water discrepancy: <https://haussamen.com/2026/04/07/project-jupiter-water-use-claim-rankles-opponents-and-supporters/>

Oracle ad campaign: <https://www.oracle.com/news/announcement/oracle-launches-new-campaign-highlighting-commitments-to-dona-ana-county-2026-05-26/>

Full case study: <https://storying.site>