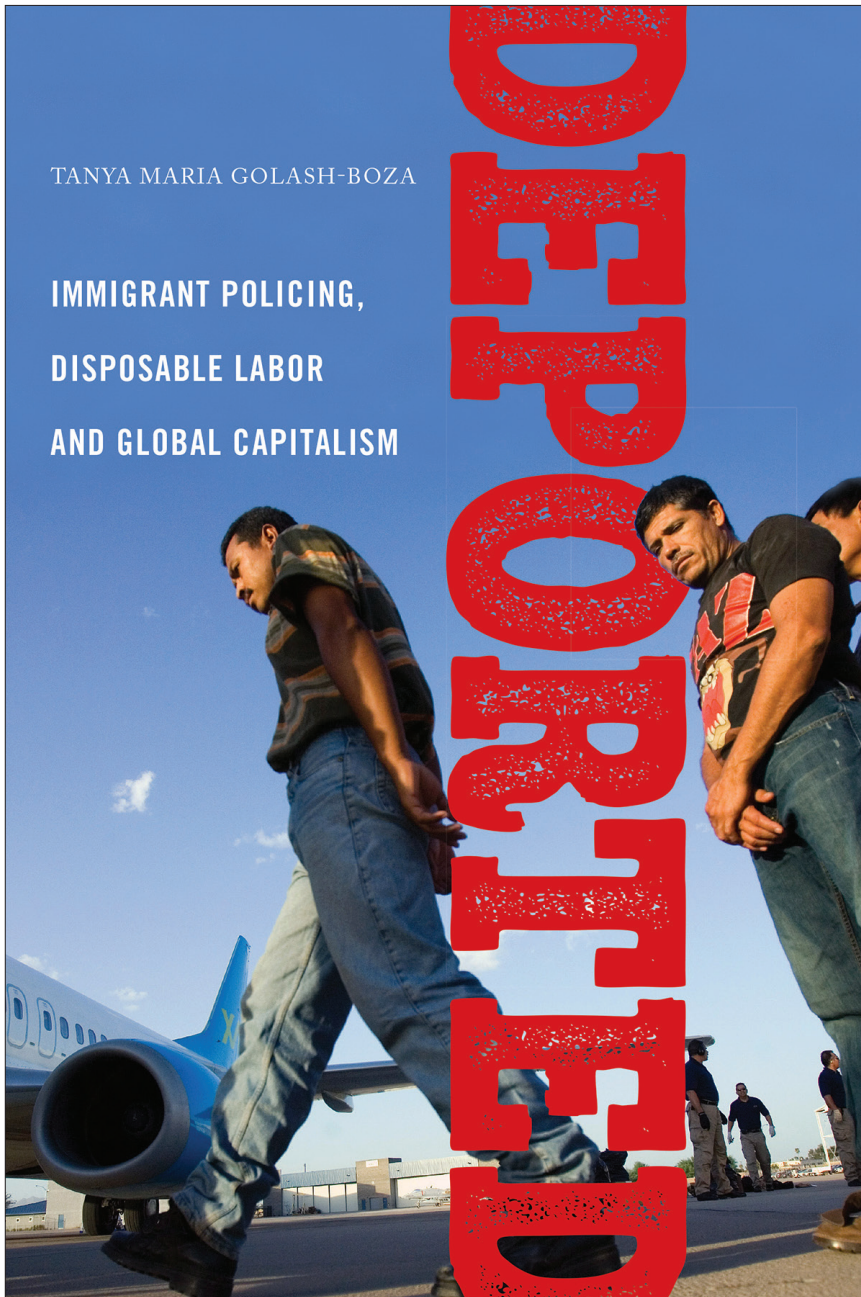


DEPORTED

IMMIGRANT POLICING, DISPOSABLE LABOR, AND GLOBAL CAPITALISM

INSTRUCTOR'S GUIDE



The United States currently is deporting more people than ever before: 4 million people have been deported since 1997 –twice as many as all people deported prior to 1996. There is a disturbing pattern in the population deported: 97% of deportees are sent to Latin America or the Caribbean, and 88% are men, many of whom were originally detained through the U.S. criminal justice system. Weaving together hard-hitting critique and moving first-person testimonials, *Deported* tells the intimate stories of people caught in an immigration law enforcement dragnet that serves the aims of global capitalism.

Tanya Golash-Boza uses the stories of 147 of these deportees to explore the racialized and gendered dimensions of mass deportation in the United States, showing how this crisis is embedded in economic restructuring, neoliberal reforms, and the disproportionate criminalization of black and Latino men. In the United States, outsourcing creates service sector jobs and more of a need for the unskilled jobs that attract immigrants looking for new opportunities, but it also leads to deindustrialization, decline in urban communities, and, consequently, heavy policing. Many immigrants are exposed to the same racial profiling and policing as native-born blacks and Latinos. Unlike the native-born, though, when immigrants enter the criminal justice system, deportation is often their only way out. Ultimately, Golash-Boza argues that deportation has become a state strategy of social control, both in the United States and in the many countries that receive deportees.

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*Introduction**Mass Deportation and the Neoliberal Cycle*

SUMMARY

The introduction begins with the story of Eric, a young deportee from Guatemala. This chapter uses Eric's story to introduce the concept of a "neoliberal cycle," which refers to the interconnected aspects of neoliberal reforms implemented in the United States and abroad. These elements include outsourcing; economic restructuring; cutbacks in social services; the enhancement of the police, the military, and immigration enforcement; and the privatization of public services. Through a consideration of the neoliberal cycle, we learn how a study of deportation helps us to see the connections between mass incarceration, global capitalism, and economic restructuring in the United States

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

- How does Eric's story exemplify the neoliberal cycle? Pick one aspect of his story and explain how it fits into the cycle.
- How has globalization facilitated the movement of capital across borders yet restricted the movement of people?
- Why does the author characterize the current moment as one of "mass deportation"?
- What factors made mass deportation possible?
- To what extent has recent deportation policy targeted dangerous people?
- How do neoliberal policies promote globalization?
- How is immigration related to globalization?
- How is economic restructuring related to globalization?
- How does a study of deportation help us to see the connections between mass incarceration, global capitalism, and economic restructuring in the United States?
- What is the primary source of empirical evidence for this book?

*Chapter 1**Growing Up: Yearning for a New Life*

SUMMARY

Why do people leave their country of birth? In this chapter, we see that people migrate because they seek out a better life abroad and because they have the networks and resources to leave. We can't understand international migration patterns simply by looking at poverty; we also have to consider histories of colonization; economic, political, and historical ties; and foreign policy. This chapter explores the lives of deportees before they left their countries of origin to shed light on why they left. We learn that the four countries under study here—Jamaica, the Dominican Republic, Brazil, and Guatemala—all have very close ties with the United States, and each underwent economic and social shifts due to neoliberal policies in the late 20th century. These ties and neoliberal changes work as both push and pull factors that lead migrants to leave their countries. The details of each country are distinct but they all share the commonality that neoliberal reforms accelerated the flows of international migrants.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

- Why does the author argue that people do not migrate simply because they are poor?
- What is the 1965 Hart-Cellar Act and why is it important?
- How is Jamaica's integration into the global economy related to emigration from Jamaica?
- Choose one of the stories of Jamaican deportees migration journeys and connect it to larger economic trends.
- How did U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic lead to more emigration?
- Choose one of the stories of Dominican deportees migration journeys and connect it to the broader historical context.
- Why are Guatemalans and Brazilians more likely than Dominicans or Jamaicans to be undocumented?
- How did U.S. intervention in Guatemala create more emigration?
- Choose one of the stories of Guatemalan deportees migration journeys and connect it to broader trends.
- Brazil has one of the largest economies in the world. How can we explain Brazilian migration to the United States in this context?
- Choose one of the stories of Brazilian deportees migration journeys and

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CHAPTER 1

Chapter 1

Growing Up: Yearning for a New Life

connect it to broader trends.

Chapter 2

Crossing Over: Risking Life and Facing Increased Border Security

SUMMARY

This chapter tells the story of how migrants were able to enter the United States – both legally and illegally. Whereas all of the Jamaicans came on airplanes with valid visas, the majority of the Guatemalans entered illegally after having crossed through Mexico. An analysis of their stories reveals both the harrowing journeys as well as how illegal migration to the United States has gotten more dangerous and costly over time.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

- Jamaica and the Dominican Republic are both Caribbean islands. Why do you think there is so much more variation in terms of how Dominicans get to the United States?
- How is the prevalence of female drug couriers from Jamaica connected to neoliberal economic reforms?
- How has border enforcement on the southern border of the United States changed over time?
- How does enhanced border enforcement make migrants more vulnerable?
- Compare the border crossing stories of two of the migrants discussed in this chapter. How were their journeys distinct? How were they affected by immigration laws and policies in different ways?

*Chapter 3**Becoming (Black and Latino) American: The Impact of Policing*

SUMMARY

This chapter begins with Victor's story. Victor came to the United States as a small child and ended up deported after being caught selling marijuana. The chapter explores how neoliberal reforms that created a bifurcation of the labor market, cutbacks in social services, and enhanced police presence in urban areas helped to push migrants like Victor along the path toward trouble. The chapter argues that many immigrants, like Victor, have to contend with the racialized police state in addition to a limited labor market when they arrive in the United States. As these youth become Americanized, many of them end up in trouble with the police. If they lack U.S. citizenship, any misstep may result in deportation.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

- What are some structural and individual factors that contributed to Victor's eventual path towards deportation?
- How do migration restrictions lead to family separation?
- How could heavy policing affect an immigrant youth's incorporation trajectory?
- Why were the 1996 laws a turning point for deportations?
- What is the difference between a legal permanent resident and a U.S. citizen? What are some reasons legal permanent residents may not seek out U.S. citizenship?
- Describe a deportee's story and explain how their social networks affected their experiences in the United States.
- Describe a deportee's story and explain how their trajectory into trouble is related to their becoming "American" or "Americanized."

Chapter 4

The War on Drugs: Getting Ensnared by the Criminal Justice System

SUMMARY

This chapter begins with the story of Alex – a young Dominican migrant who worked as an electrician in Santo Domingo but got into the drug trade in New York. This chapter looks at immigrants like Alex in order to develop an understanding both of how they were transformed from labor migrants to criminal deportees and how their deportation reflects a neoliberal cycle of displaced and disposable labor. This chapter focuses on Dominican and Jamaican deportees because these are the two groups most likely to be deported on criminal grounds and most likely to be deported after having attained legal permanent residency.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

- How are deportation patterns different for Dominican and Jamaican deportees, as compared to other deportees?
- How does racial profiling lead to high deportation rates for Dominican and Jamaican men?
- Why do you think nearly all Jamaican and Dominican deportees are male?
- What are some of the key parallels between mass incarceration and mass deportation?
- How has enhanced enforcement of drug laws affected deportation trends?
- Explain how the idea of neoliberal self-rule can be applied to one of the deportee's stories told in this chapter.

*Chapter 5**Getting Caught: Targets of Deportation Policy*

SUMMARY

This chapter explains how deportees are caught in the deportation dragnet. This analysis provides insight into why Latino and Caribbean men are the primary targets of mass deportation and helps us to understand how mass deportation creates a system of racialized and gendered social control. This chapter argues that immigrant policing is designed not to remove all immigration offenders but to control labor and legitimize the state. This system of control is intensified insofar as immigration law enforcement operates without the basic protections we take for granted in criminal law enforcement.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

- Assess the claim that deportation is a form of post-entry social control.
- Describe the apprehension story of one of the deportees profiled in this chapter. Explain how the tactics used in their apprehension may lead to fear in immigrant communities.
- Why does the author post that immigration and criminal law enforcement have been merged?
- What are some of the problems the author highlights with regard to the merging of criminal and immigration law enforcement?
- Describe how immigrant apprehension tactics vary by nationality.
- Why do you think there is so much variation in terms of how immigrants of various national origins are apprehended?
- What are the four programs designed to apprehend immigrants in the interior of the United States? Choose one of the programs and assess how effective it has been at achieving its goals.
- Describe one of the deportee's criminal histories. Assess the extent to which they posed a danger to society.

Chapter 6

Behind Bars: Immigration Detention and Prison Life

SUMMARY

On an average day in 2009, there were about 33,000 immigrants in detention centers around the country – six times as many as in 1994. In that same year, there were 2 million people incarcerated – five times what the number had been in 1972. This chapter explores the intersections between incarceration and detention, drawing from the stories of deportees who experienced both forms of confinement. The author argues that a political economy of mass incarceration helps us to understand these trends as well as how mass incarceration fits into the story of mass deportation.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

- How have incarceration and detention rates changed over the past couple of decades?
- What are some of the legal differences between incarceration and detention?
- How is the rise in mass incarceration tied to neoliberal economic reforms?
- What are some of the long-term effects of mass incarceration?
- How does hypermasculinity contribute to the dynamics of violence in prisons?
- Technically, immigration detention is not punishment. Explain the ways that some deportees experienced detention as punitive. Reflect on this apparent contradiction.
- How does mandatory detention pressure detainees to accept deportation orders?

*Chapter 7**Back Home: Disposable Labor and the Impacts of Deportation*

SUMMARY

What happens to the 400,000 people who are deported each year? This chapter addresses this question through a discussion of the reintegration of deportees into their home country. The author argues that the context of reception greatly affects deportees' experiences. In the Dominican Republic and Jamaica, deportees experience open scorn, making their reintegration nearly impossible. In Guatemala, deportees who have tattoos find themselves victimized by police and gang members. Although thousands of deportees now live in Brazil, Brazilians attach little or no stigma to deportation, viewing it as an unfortunate incident, not a life-changing event. This chapter describes and analyzes narratives of deportees' reintegration in their native countries. These stories reveal the role deportees play in supporting global capitalism. In many cases, they serve as convenient scapegoats for rising crime. Instead of blaming crime on years of repression, on tremendous inequality, or on poverty, governments blame crime on deportees, who are expendable, stigmatized subjects. This occurs in Jamaica, the Dominican Republic, and Central America, but not in Brazil.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

- What evidence does the author provide for the negative context of reception for Jamaican deportees?
- What are some of the primary obstacles Jamaican deportees face to reintegration?
- What are some of the ways that Jamaican deportees experience gendered shame? How is this related to masculinity?
- How does the intake process vary for Dominican criminal and non-criminal deportees?
- Choose a story of one of the Dominican deportees and explain the particular challenges they faced to reintegration.
- What are some of the unique obstacles Guatemalan deportees with tattoos face?
- How are the experiences of Brazilian deportees different from those from other countries?
- What are some of the ways that the author connects the deportees' reintegration experiences to global capitalism?

Conclusion

Global Apartheid

SUMMARY

The conclusion revisits the argument that the following conditions made mass deportation possible: (1) a strong coercive state apparatus; (2) a flexible, deregulated, vulnerable, global labor force; and (3) a global market for the production of goods and services. It is further argued that a critical analysis of mass deportation allows us to develop a more nuanced understanding of global capitalism and global apartheid.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

- Evaluate the argument that mass deportation sustains global capitalism.
- Assess the extent to which the author's claim that mass deportation helps maintain a system of global apartheid is convicting.
- Reflect on the racialized dimensions of mass deportation in the context of the history of the United States as a nation rife with racial inequality and racialized state repression.