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Review of *Deported: Immigrant Policing, Disposable Labor, and Global Capitalism*. By Tanya M. Golsh-Boza. New York: NYU Press, 2015.

Katie Dingeman PhD
California State University, Los Angeles, mdingem@calstatela.edu

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Tanya M. Golash-Boza: *Deported: Immigrant Policing, Disposable Labor, and Global Capitalism*. (New York: NYU Press, 2015).

Reviewed by: Katie Dingeman

Since the mid-1990s, rates of deportation have increased to unparalleled numbers. Despite efforts to defer deportations of certain categories of undocumented persons, the Obama Administration removed more people than any other in U.S. history. In 2014, the state expelled 414,481 migrants, an astounding increase from the 50,924 persons deported in 1995. Most deportees from the U.S. are sent to Latin American countries, especially Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean. Poor men are also unequally targeted. Though women represented 51% of the foreign-born and 47% of the unauthorized, men constituted 93% of total removals in 2013.

Why mass deportation now? Why are poor Latino and Black men the principal targets of removal? In *Deported: Immigrant Policing, Disposable Labor, and Global Capitalism*, Tanya Golash-Boza argues against the temptation to blame the undocumented population or the current administration. She adopts a political economy perspective, contending that mass deportation is a “racial and gendered removal program” rooted in the broader global shift toward neoliberal capitalism. Deportees are caught in a *neoliberal cycle* that values capital accumulation of a mostly white global elite at the expense of the marginalization, criminalization, incarceration, and deportation of mostly poor Black and Brown subaltern men. Mass deportation contributes to *global apartheid*—“a system where mostly white and affluent citizens of the world are free to travel to where they like whereas the poor are forced to make do in places where there are less resources.”

Golash-Boza sketches the neoliberal cycle in which she contends deportees are embedded. Starting in the late 1970s, the U.S. perpetuated a set of neoliberal economic reforms that opened the Southern economies to its interventions. Outsourcing, privatization, and deregulation coincided with a divestment social welfare strategy and the expansion of the “coercive arm of the state” in the U.S. and abroad. These policies pushed Latin American migrants out of their countries-of-origin. Deindustrialization in turn relegated undocumented and other noncitizens to subordinate, low-wage positions in the U.S. economy, including the informal economy. The militarization of borders, over-policing in poor Black and Latino communities, criminalization of immigration, expansion of deportable criminal offenses, and widespread use of (private) detention ensured the production of a deportable class composed mostly of poor Black and Latino noncitizen men. This neoliberal cycle provides the U.S. a source of surplus and easily disposable cheap labor. Neoliberal discourses and fears permit the cycle to occur with relatively little dissent.

The book proceeds through a sequential articulation of ways individuals become enmeshed in the neoliberal cycle. Golash-Boza traces how political economic penetration from the U.S. into four Latin American countries—Jamaica, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, and Brazil—marginalizes local populations and sets them on a migratory journey to the U.S. She discusses migrants’ racialized incorporation experiences in the U.S., focusing on the ways the Wars on Drugs and Terror unequally target poor Black and Latino men. Two chapters outline migrants’ racialized experiences during apprehension, detention, and removal. A final chapter analyzes of the ways

deportees are differentially (re)incorporated into their respective “countries-of-origin” and how neoliberalism and gendered expectations continue to structure their lives.

Golash-Boza demonstrates that state responses to deportees returning to their countries vary. For instance, in Brazil deportees are re/inserted with relative ease. Deportees in Jamaica, the Dominican Republic, and Guatemala encounter formal and informal stigmas. They are at-risk for surveillance, police brutality, and other violence. Deportees are often once again tracked into to bottom rungs of the socioeconomic ladder. Ironically, some deportees locate employment opportunities at foreign-owned call centers. Their “Americanness” functions as marketable cultural capital in this industry, yet deportees are “paid a fraction of what they would be paid to do the same work in the United States.” Such an outcome epitomizes the role deportees play in the global neoliberal order.

Deported is a path-breaking and critically-important work. It is suitable for researchers, students, attorneys, politicians, and lay persons engaged research in social science, socio-legal studies, and advocacy. It is mandatory reading for scholars of migration and the global political economy. A major strength is Golash-Boza’s ability to use life histories to articulate macro-structural processes. She weaves individual life histories into the neoliberal cycle, showing how deportees are treated as “necessary cogs in the migration machine.” She asks readers to consider the ways deportation functions as an articulation of sovereignty and a mechanism for the production of global apartheid. Though the neoliberal cycle represses human agency, other work in migration studies highlights the ways migrants in deportable states resist the structures shaping their lives. *Deported* is both a product of decades of resistance against the deportation regime and an attempt to inspire mobilization against broader processes of neoliberalization.

Author Bio: Katie Dingeman is Assistant Professor at California State University, Los Angeles. She teaches and publishes in the areas of the criminalization of migration, mass detention, and deportation from the U.S. to Central America. Her first book, *The Great Expulsion: Mass Deportation and the Aftermath of Removal*, is forthcoming with Routledge.

Email: mdingem@calstatela.edu