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Kristina Shull, *Detention Empire: Reagan's War on Immigrants and the Seeds of Resistance*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2022. ISBN: 978-1-4696-6986-1.

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Introduction by Alex Aviña, Arizona State University

After years of waiting and living in the United States as undocumented migrants, my parents received their green card application appointment in 1992. Our mixed-status family of five traveled to Mexico, first visiting our family in Michoacán, before eventually reaching Ciudad Juárez. One early morning, my parents set out for their appointment at the US consulate. They left me, then twelve years old, in charge of my two younger siblings back at our hotel room. We played games, ate, and watched the television for hours, waiting for our parents to return. They did briefly, for lunch, still with no news. When they returned again in the late afternoon, we saw the shock and fear on their faces. US officials had rejected their application; a legal pathway to life in the US foreclosed. That was the day I discovered that my parents were, after all, human.

Kristina Shull begins her urgent and moving study with the following sentence: "I saw the resistance before I understood the darkness" (xi). For me, as a kid briefly stranded in early 1990s Ciudad Juárez with my family, perhaps the opposite was true. Perhaps the rejection at the US consulate marked the culmination of years of living in fear, of learning how to identify *Migra* vehicles driving around in central California, of knowing what to do if we came home from school and my parents were gone. I saw the darkness before I understood the resistance.

That darkness, as Shull evocatively shows in her book *Detention Empire*, breeds resistance; resistance opens horizons and possibilities for more just, abolitionist futures. Indeed, it cracks open history. The existing monstrous order of things does not have to be this way. Understanding how this order came to be is a necessary step in the broader struggle to abolish it. The voices and experiences of those who directly faced the darkness guide Shull in her historical reconstruction. "We don't ask for much," wrote Carlos Hidalgo in a published collection of immigrant poems that Shull helped organize, "just liberty and justice for all" (245). A refugee from El Salvador, Hidalgo echoed those Italian workers (also migrants) who in 1969 occupied factories, led wildcat strikes, and chanted, "we want everything!"[1]

Detention Empire is a most welcome and much-needed transnational look at the emergence of mass migrant detention during the Reaganite 1980s as a form of US "empire-in-action" intimately connected to domestic political pressures and contested geopolitical imperial goals (2). In essence, the Ronald Reagan presidential administration sought to resolve certain contradictions—like the waging of covert wars and support for genocidal death-squad regimes in Central America and the Caribbean basin—by terrorizing "the harvest" of those actions: migrants and refugees.[2] US empire came home, as did the sort of counterinsurgent, low-intensity warfare that Reagan and his advisors supported abroad. Only this time, they applied it to migrants who arrived in the US after fleeing the consequences of Reagan's Cold War revanchism. For Shull, the rise of mass migrant detention in the form of new federal cages and private, for-profit prisons represented a preemptive state response to migrant mobility, migrant resistance, and allied social movements. Publicly framing actual and potential migrant arrivals as a "crisis" provided the Reagan administration with

[1] For a fictionalized rendition of this movement, see Nanni Balestrini, *We Want Everything* (Verso Books, 2016).
[2] Juan González, *Harvest of Empire: A History of Latinos in America* (Penguin Books, 2022 [2000]).

justification for this response. As one layer of an older "carceral palimpsest," this emergent system of detention and exclusion nonetheless faced migrant contestation and pushback at every instance (5). Indeed, it emerged from what Shull terms a "dialectic of resistance and retaliation" that pitted Cuban, Haitian, and Central American migrants, who are the groups at the heart of this study, against US state power (2).

The four reviewers, all of whom are leading scholars of migration and migrant detention, engage *Detention Empire* with generosity and insightfulness. They collectively laud Shull for her creatively and meticulously researched scholarship, fueled by her ethical and political commitments. Their critiques are equally generous, meant to enhance the major contributions and broader significance of this urgent study. No one challenges the fundamental arguments of *Detention Empire*. Rather, they advocate for the inclusion of more migrant histories and experiences to broaden our historical understanding of this carceral system.

Ayanna Legros praises Shull for writing an engaged history of migrant detention as a form of counterinsurgent deterrence that starts with the author's own painful experiences with this system. For Legros, *Detention Empire* actualizes the possibility of producing serious historical scholarship that is both intellectually and methodologically rigorous *and* ethically committed. In honest and vulnerable fashion, Shull confronts the subjectivity inherent in historical research, "that noble dream of objectivity" notwithstanding.[3] "At the basis of every work of history," historian Laurent Dubois reminds us, "is a question of positioning."[4] Shull chose to write this history from inside the prisons that caged migrants, from inside the migrant solidarity movements. As such, Legros states that *Detention Empire* "will certainly push future generations of historians to unpack myths of objectivity and detachment from research projects."

Legros suggests that including more Haitian voices would have strengthened Shull's argument regarding the "total war" on migrants shift that Ronald Reagan's 1980 electoral victory represented (6). Similarly, in an otherwise laudatory piece that praises Shull for her deep archival research and careful elucidation of an "obscure carceral regime," David Hernández questions the lack of attention paid to how Mexican detainees fit within Reagan's "total war." Mexicans represented the largest number of detainees during the 1980s and they remain today the least likely to obtain asylum. Additionally, Hernández notes that the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act that was signed into law by Reagan legalized nearly 3 million mostly Mexican undocumented migrants (while rendering most Central Americans ineligible for this amnesty). How these developments "figure into Shull's characterization of the 'total war' on immigration by Reagan" remains unclear, writes Hernández (178). He also notes that the sections on Central American asylum seekers and their experience in detention are more "sporadic" compared to those on Cuban and Haitian refugees.

Like Legros and Hernández, Michele Waslin commends Shull for writing a compelling and accessible history of a notoriously opaque carceral system that marked the rise of "crimmigration"—the

[3] Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The 'Objectivity Question' and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge University Press, 1988).
[4] Laurent Dubois, "Atlantic Freedoms," *Aeon: A World of Ideas* (7 November 2016): https://aeon.co/essays/why-haiti-should-be-at-the-centre-of-the-age-of-revolution.

criminalization of migration—during the Reagan 1980s. For Waslin, *Detention Empire* effectively "connects the dots" to show how US wars against drugs, liberation movements in Central America, and migrants provide the historical context necessary for understanding "today's expansive immigration and detention regime." This critical history facilitates Waslin's own research on gender-based violence and migration from Central America. To understand why women have fled horrific instances of "private violence" in the last two decades—and then suffered more violence in US detention—Waslin points to the 1980s and the inequitable neoliberal policies of the 2000s that resulted in widespread impoverishment. The people of Central America continue to foot the bill of US imperial policies.

Similarly, Ethan Blue writes that Shull's historical and multiscale delineation of the "spatialities of punishment" prior to and during the Reagan years deeply informs our understanding of the current infrastructures of immigrant detention. US empire—and its blowbacks—operate and take place across multiple geographies and scales that link Reagan's support for genocide in early 1980s Guatemala to domestic local political debates about prison selection sites in places like Oakdale, Louisiana. Blue commends Shull for not only tracing these links but also for highlighting the messy contingency that characterized these connections. Thus, today's carceral archipelago of immigrant detention emerged, fundamentally, from the struggle between what Shull terms the "Reagan imaginary" and "abolitionist futures" (4). The former enacted war and cages; the latter, writes Blue, "promise diverse, and sometimes divergent, visions for building just futures without detention." He finds Shull's attention to these abolitionist visions as both inspiring and a forceful, intellectual "challenge to empire."

Shull, in her response, expresses deep appreciation for the reviewers' close and empathic engagement with *Detention Empire*. She carefully addresses the main critiques offered by the reviewers while offering additional factors not included in this history: the "lack of attention to the detention of children," family separation, and the environmental-climate connections to immigrant detention. As she notes, the latter represents the present and future direction of her research; in particular, "detention as a locus of eco-fascism and climate denial."

Shull concludes with a timely and powerful message, one which is drawn from personal experience, her work organizing, and historical research. "There is no alternative to the abolition of detention," she writes. The struggle to abolish the caging of migrants "must be led by those with lived experience of displacement, migration, and/or incarceration."

Detention Empire sheds light on a foundational moment of our contemporary system of global apartheid. Our current era represents a particularly harrowing one for migrants globally, displaced by the consequences of imperial wars, economic war-via-sanctions, state violence, and capital-induced climate change. They traverse weaponized lethal landscapes like the Sonoran Desert or the Mediterranean Sea, confront border walls and violent border police, and risk detention in a global archipelago of torturous prisons and black sites that, in effect, disappear them. The darkness—more border walls, more prisons, more police, more exclusion, more violence and death—continues to win. Yet, as Shull reminds us, the struggle has not ended. It continues, fueled by the actions and "freedom dreams" of migrants and their

allies.[5] They planted the seeds. "And later we will be able to harvest good fruit in the future," as Alfredo, an indigenous Maya migrant, testified in 1984 (13).

In her response, Shull challenges historians to rethink our role as scholars and teachers during this moment of emergency. What should we do when the darkness we encounter in the archive, seemingly ensconced in the past, is actually all around us? What can we accomplish if we reject the temptation to be, as the late great anthropologist-historian Inga Clendinnen once wrote, "the camp followers of the imperialists?"[6]

Contributors:

Kristina Shull is Associate Professor and Director of Public History at UNC Charlotte and a scholar of race, empire, immigration enforcement, and climate migration in the modern US and world. She holds a PhD in History from UC Irvine, a Master's in Humanities and Social Thought from NYU, and a BA in History from UCLA. Her book, *Detention Empire: Reagan's War on Immigrants and the Seeds of Resistance* (UNC Press, 2022), received an honorable mention for the Immigration and Ethnic History Society's First Book Award. Shull is the creator of the digital history projects IMM Print, Climate Refugee Stories, and Climate Inequality CLT, and lead curator of the "Climates of Inequality–Charlotte" museum exhibit. In 2016, she was awarded a Soros Justice Fellowship for her work in immigration detention storytelling. She serves on the advisory board of the Campus Climate Network (CCN), and her work has been supported by the University of California's Critical Refugee Studies Collective, National Geographic, California and North Carolina Humanities, and the Institute of International Education.

Alexander Aviña is an Associate Professor of History in the School of Historical, Philosophical and Religious Studies at Arizona State University. He is the author of *Specters of Revolution: Peasant Guerrillas in the Cold War Mexican Countryside* (Oxford University Press, 2014).

Ethan Blue is Senior Lecturer in History at the University of Western Australia. He is the author of *Doing Time in the Depression: Everyday Life in Texas and California Prisons* (New York University Press, 2012) and most recently, *The Deportation Express: A History of America through Forced Removal* (University of California Press, 2021).

David Hernández is Associate Professor of Latinx Studies and Critical Race and Political Economy at Mount Holyoke College. His research focuses on immigration enforcement, the US detention regime, in particular. He is completing a book on this institution for the University of California Press. He is also co-editor of *Critical Ethnic Studies: A Reader* (Duke University Press, 2016).

[5] Robin D.G. Kelley, *Freedom Dreams: The Black Radical Imagination* (Beacon Books, 2002).
[6] Inga Clendinnen, "'Fierce and Unnatural Cruelty:' Cortés and the Conquest of Mexico," *Representations* 33 (Winter 1991), 71.

Ayanna Legros for the past seven years has worked as the sole preservationist of *Lè Ayisyen*, a weekly Haitian Creole radio program that ran from 1969 to 2002 at WKCR 89.9 FM New York. She is an advocate of radio preservation as a member of the Library of Congress' Radio Preservation Task Force board and previously served on the Latin American Studies Association (Haiti/Dominican Republic section) and Haitian Studies Association boards. Her writing is in the *Journal of Latin American and Latinx Visual Culture*, *Journal of Haitian Studies*, and *Journal of the Global South*. Legros' collage art has been published in the American Anthropological Association's *Journal of Consciousness.* She completed a BA at Northwestern University (African American Studies & International Studies), a MA at New York University (Africana Studies), and a MA at Duke University (History).

Michele Waslin is Interim Director of the Immigration History Research Center at the University of Minnesota Twin Cities. Previously, she was the program coordinator of the Institute for Immigration Research at George Mason University, senior policy analyst at the American Immigration Council, manager of the Immigration and the States project at the Pew Charitable Trusts, and director of immigration policy research at UnidosUS. She received her PhD in government and international studies from the University of Notre Dame.

Review by Ethan Blue, University of Western Australia

Kristina Shull's *Detention Empire* is an urgent, insightful, and deeply researched study that assesses immigrant detention and control during Ronald Reagan's presidency. The book conceptualizes immigrant detention as a material interface between domestic and international politics. It unpacks the specific historical, administrative, and material processes by which the Reagan administration enfolded the racialized imperial militarism it pursued in Latin America and the Caribbean within a sprawling, haphazard, and terrifying immigrant detention system that was geographically within the United States but served the ends of the United States' capitalist empire. While attentive to the longer trajectory of American imperialism and anti-immigrant politics, Shull argues that the Reagan years were a particularly important period characterized by dialectical movement between the expansionary powers of US empire and the struggles of peoples for justice and wellbeing across the globe.

Reagan rejected President Jimmy Carter's politics of Cold War détente and worked aggressively in Latin America and the Caribbean basin through targeted counterinsurgencies against leftist governments while delivering "aid and trade" programs that bolstered anti-Communist regimes in the name of economic development. Shull addresses the brutal consequences of those overseas adventures and how Reagan's administration sought to direct hemispheric political economies toward US business interests. But more than this, her focus is on the people displaced by tumult across the region who sought better and safer lives in the US, only to be captured, subject to agonizing scrutiny, racialization, detention, and in many cases forced to return to the violence they fled. Given the book's focus on the 1980s, the main subject populations it discusses are Cuban and Haitian immigrants, who were criminalized, attacked for non-normative sexualities, and thoroughly racialized in the name of highly restrictive definitions of US national security and wellbeing.

Analytically, structurally, and methodologically, *Detention Empire* crosses many boundaries. Beyond the wealth of empirical detail it presents—based on the author's research involving political correspondence, marginalia in governmental memos, and life and death in detention in the words of those who were caged—Shull identifies a series of binary oppositions that structured immigration control and analysis: interior/exterior; citizen/alien; refugee/immigrant; criminal/non-criminal; punitive/humanitarian; personal/scholarly. She then either crosses or subverts those binaries by demonstrating the ways in which they are mutually constitutive. While Shull does not frame these as dialectical relations, or her work as synthesizing these oppositions, that is how I read it, and with considerable admiration. Foremost among the oppositions is one between what she calls the "Reagan imaginary" and "abolitionist imaginaries" (1, 4). It is notable that Shull treats the Reagan imaginary in the singular, which follows its monolithic aspirations—a cis-heteronormative, pro-business, racially stratified, imperial state that weaponized detention as deterrence against migrant arrivals in the interest of population control. In contrast, the abolitionist imaginaries that Shull channels are plural rather than singular. Abolitionist imaginaries are conjured by the imprisoned and the displaced and are less a prescriptive plan than a collective and collaborative praxis. Abolitionist imaginaries promise diverse, and sometimes divergent, visions for building just futures without detention, and Shull's deep and considered attention to, and amplification of,

imprisoned peoples' voices is genuinely inspiring. The book's discussion of activisms moves back and forth across carceral barriers, mirroring the processes through which imprisoned peoples and their non-imprisoned allies struggled for justice. By extending collective critical capacities to understand (and thus challenge) the United States efforts to secure its status as global hegemon, Shull's study joins the engaged scholarship of abolitionism, critical refugee studies, and is itself an act of grounded, deeply researched, empathetic challenge to empire.[1]

Returning to the Reagan administration's perspective, however, Shull identifies and analyzes systemic patterns in Reagan's policies and particularly as its networks targeted Mariel Cubans, Haitians, and Central Americans. The pattern is more or less the following: late Cold War foreign policy interventions were quickly followed by panicked invocations of an emergency of mass migration into the US, which, in turn, were claimed to justify an expansion of repressive state powers that included maritime interdiction, mass detention, and heightened border policing; all of which were bolstered by for-profit security firms.

It is a compelling formulation, which Shull built through very impressive archival spadework. Indeed, Shull's visits to more than a dozen archives and exploration of multiple collections within each is a model of scholarly practice. As one might expect, Shull made excellent use of the Reagan Presidential Library in Simi Valley, California, along with some outstanding use of the federal Department of Justice records in College Park, Maryland. Among these, the papers of then-Associate Attorney General Rudolph Giuliani provided frankly remarkable insight. Moving across these multiple source bases, she critically examined the materials produced by the ideologues and designers of this branch of the carceral state, the entrepreneurs who sought to profit from human caging, and the agents on the ground who implemented those policies. She also offers deeply empathetic readings of the materials that were produced by imprisoned peoples and their allies. She also conducted interviews with activists, and successfully submitted FOIA requests for records on protests, rebellions, and their suppression. Throughout, Shull's work amplifies imprisoned peoples' voices, interprets their art, and critically unpacks their analyses. She extends their calls for justice into abolitionist imaginaries, which Shull, following the fugitive radical Black Panther activist and intellectual Assata Shakur, identifies as the *seeds of resistance*, and contributes to what historian Kelly Lytle-Hernández has called a rebel archive in the histories of the carceral state.[2]

[1] Consider Patrisia Macías-Rojas, *From Deportation to Prison: The Politics of Immigration Control in Post-Civil Rights America* (New York University Press, 2016); Rachel Ida Buff, *Against the Deportation Terror: Organizing for Immigrant Rights in the Twentieth Century* (Temple University Press, 2018); A. Naomi Paik, *Bans, Walls, Raids, Sanctuary: Understanding U.S. Immigration for the Twenty-First Century* (University of California Press, 2020); Jessica Ordaz, *The Shadow of El Centro: Migrant Incarceration and Solidarity* (University of North Carolina Press, 2021); Elliott Young, *Forever Prisoners: How the United States Made the World's Largest Immigrant Detention System* (Oxford University Press, 2021).

[2] See Assata Shakur, *Assata: An Autobiography* (Lawrence Hill Books, 1987) and more recently, Donna Murch, *Assata Taught Me: State Violence, Racial Capitalism, and the Movement for Black Lives* (Haymarket, 2022); Kelly Lytle-Hernández, *City of Inmates: Conquest, Rebellion, and the Rise of Human Caging in Los Angeles, 1771–1965* (University of North Carolina Press, 2017).

Shull's assessment of the spatialities of punishment is also impressive. While her discussion focuses on the period of the Reagan years, she outlines the historical practices whose foundations shaped the material, practices, spaces, ideologies, and networked infrastructures of immigrant detention, the carceral palimpsests which shaped and inflected more recent forms (5). Students of carceral geography will find much to learn from here, such as Shull's assessment of the political debates around prison site selection and design in Oakdale, Louisiana and Fort Allen, Puerto Rico, among many, many others. Shifting to the corporeal scale of detained peoples' bodies and their movement or spatial seizure, Shull shows how imprisoned peoples and their allies developed dynamic protests across the many spaces of detention and tried to make these peoples at least a bit freer—at the border, within the proliferating detention archipelago, or through the diverse and at times contradictory Sanctuary movements that sought protected status for refugees from the consequences of US empire and local incarnations of racial capitalism. In so doing, Shull brings to light the haphazard, often poorly planned, and reactive (as well as reactionary) ways that multiple agencies and institutions like the Immigration and Naturalization Services, Border Patrol, Bureau of Prisons, county jails, and private contractors, scrambled to deepen their budgets, hire more staff, and then offload responsibility and shift blame when new protests or crises arose.

Overall, this is a deeply impressive book. There is not room here to detail the many times I scribbled in the margins marveling at the depth of Shull's research, the remarkable sources she found, her interdisciplinary methodological acumen, and the stories she tells. *Detention Empire* is a vital contribution to critical literatures on the carceral state, immigrant detention, and the unabating struggles for justice in the Reagan years and beyond.

Review by David Hernández, Mount Holyoke College

In summer 2023, National Public Radio produced an investigative report about cruel and abusive conditions in immigrant detention centers across the United States. The report, generated after a lengthy tug-of-war with the Donald Trump and Joe Biden administrations vis-à-vis the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA), examined federal inspection reports that documented "barbaric" practices between 2017 and 2019, violating, according to inspectors, the "basic principles of humanity." These include "negligent" medical care, "unsafe and filthy" conditions, punitive treatment of mentally ill detainees, and racial abuse.[1]

How do such incidents become widespread practices across a carceral institution? What explains government efforts to keep such abuses out of the public eye? Are these the contemporary practices of a single presidential administration, or well-grooved institutional abuses linked to the nation's vexed history with the treatment of migrants? For a blended carceral population of undocumented persons, migrants associated with crime, and persons seeking asylum and refuge, what other social forces—such as immigration law and enforcement practices, foreign and economic policies, as well as racial anxieties—displace persons abroad, produce migrants and detainees, and hone the punitive strategies of immigration enforcement?

Kristina Shull's *Detention Empire: Reagan's War on Immigrants & the Seeds of Resistance* takes readers a half-century backward to help explain the barbarity of today's detention regime during the critical years of the Ronald Reagan administration (1981–1988).[2] The book is more than an analysis of migrant detention in that it also frames this state power (as well as grassroots resistance) within the Reagan years as the US engaged in Cold War counterinsurgency in the Americas and white supremacist retrenchment at home. Each chapter explores the struggle between immigrants and asylum-seekers—in particular Cuban, Haitian, and Central American detainees—and what Shull calls the "Reagan imaginary," or the ideological foundation of contemporary detention and deportation practices that were forged in the context of US imperialism, white nationalism, neoliberal economic policies, and mass incarceration (1).

Shull's use of the "carceral palimpsest" masterfully explains the various layers of immigration enforcement policies, brick and mortar facilities, and racial politics that constitute the detention empire (6). In popular discussions of migrant incarceration, the underlying layers of legal authority, detention infrastructure, or

[1] Tom Dreisbach. "Government's own Experts Found 'Barbaric' and 'Negligent' Conditions in ICE Detention." *National Public Radio*. August 16, 2023. https://www.npr.org/2023/08/16/1190767610/ice-detention-immigration-government-inspectors-barbaric-negligent-conditions

[2] There are several books on immigrant detention that focus on a particular migrant "crisis" or era or detention. *Detention Empire* is situated alongside two contemporary studies and one older one addressing the 1980s, the Cold War, or the populations that Shull examines. These are Carl Lindskoog, *Detain and Punish: Haitian Refugees and the Rise of the World's Largest Immigration Detention System* (University of Florida Press, 2019), Jenna Loyd and Alison Mountz, *Boats, Borders and Bases: Race, the Cold War, and the Rise of Migrant Detention in the United States* (University of California Press, 2018), and Robert Kahn, *Other People's Blood: U.S. Immigration Prisons in the Reagan Decade* (Westview Press, 1996).

racial animus are present but obfuscated, as today's detention and deportation regimes operate within a crisis framework that Shull's "carceral palimpsest" contextualizes.

Shull exposes these deeper layers through careful archival analysis of three refugee groups—Cubans, Haitians, and Central Americans. The archival research, especially into the machinations of Reagan administration, is outstanding. In addition to the National Archives and Records Administration, Shull utilized the Carter and Reagan presidential libraries, archives and special collections in nine states and the District of Columbia, materials derived from a Freedom of Information Act request, and digital and multimedia sources. Shull's archival analysis demonstrates the knowing animus of the administration and other public officials against nonwhite migrants, as well as grassroots and legal advocacy on migrants' behalf. As such, Shull illustrates that migrant/refugee crises are not exceptional, but layered one upon the other.

The chapters on Cubans and Haitians drive the majority of the *Detention Empire*. The catalyzing event of Shull's text is the Mariel Boatlift, when between April and October of 1980 (during the Carter administration), Fidel Castro permitted a large-scale emigration by sea through the Port of Mariel, largely organized by Cuban Americans who charted boats to aid travel to the United States. After the Mariel Boatlift produced 125,000 Cuban asylum seekers (29) contemporaneous with 22,499 Haitian so-called "boat people" (265, n. 6), fears and expectations of future refugee crises, which had been caused by the Reagan administration's own foreign policies, led the administration to plan for future contingencies, hone its anti-immigrant rhetoric, and construct the legal vulnerabilities that would limit asylum seekers. Most importantly, the experiences of Cuban and Haitian asylum seekers, especially their resistance to detention and deportation, led the administration to plan for future prison construction with the capacity to hold immigrants beyond the short-term—that is, they planned for a permanent migrant crisis. This infrastructure included domestic and colonial military bases, public and for-profit facilities, and off-shore sites such as Guantánamo Bay Naval Base in Cuba.

The Cuban and Haitian case studies (chapters 2 and 3) demonstrate a stark inequality between Cuban and Haitian asylum seekers in terms of detention conditions and asylum approval rates. According to Shull, racialization and criminalization are sharply weaponized within the asylum system, demonstrating in particular amongst and between Cubans and Haitians "the anti-Blackness at the heart of the United States' return to systematic detention" (27). Shull further argues that for the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), "Haitian migrants symbolized a larger specter of mass migration and an imagined need to hold the line" (74).

The Cuban and Haitian case studies, as elucidated by Shull, led to critical innovations in enforcement practices, such as interdiction at sea, prototypes of economic neoliberalism, such as the Caribbean Basin Initiative, and precedential enforcement actions, such as mandatory detention of asylum seekers, denial of work permits, perfunctory processing, and other methods to deny due procedural rights. These are forms of an administrative violence carried out by an empowered executive branch, utilizing asylum policy as a tool of foreign policy.

The relatively privileged embrace of Cuban asylum seekers in relation to Haitians at the time of the Mariel crisis demonstrates the shifting Cold War dimensions of the asylum system. For Cubans, 1980 represented the onset of a diminished and reluctant reception that they had previously not experienced. For example, Mariel also produced, as Shull explores, a small but critical population of Cuban detainees, numbering as high as 5,500, who were rejected by both the United States and Cuba (190). Their indefinite detention ultimately catalyzed an unprecedented dual federal prison takeover by detainees discussed in later chapters.

If chapter 4 could be considered the "Central American chapter," following Cuban and Haitian chapters 2 and 3 respectively, it is different in that except in the opening anecdotes and a few pages toward the chapter's end, there is less attention to Central American incarceration. Shull, to be sure, is critically attentive to the legal plight of asylum seekers, but the narrative attention on how detention affects Central Americans is more sporadic than that on the treatment of Cubans and Haitians. The later chapters, which are more acutely focused on the inner-workings of migrant detention, also emphasize Cubans and Haitians over Central Americans.

Chapter 4, instead, analyzes the Reagan administration's foreign and economic policies that drove Central Americans abroad, including to the United States. That is, Reagan's "war on drugs" merged spatially and rhetorically with its Cold War counterinsurgency in Latin America to produce "feet people" according to Reagan (129). Shull's critical focus on the foreign policy of the Reagan administration demonstrates the knowing displacement of Central Americans and its fear of "another Mariel" (55). The asylum system, with detention as a central tool, was according to Shull, "an extension of Reagan's counterinsurgent warfare in Central America" (133).

The final two chapters are dedicated to both resistance against the detention empire and the Reagan administration's revanchist (a term Shull uses often) carceral practices, or what Shull also terms "counterinsurgent forms of retaliation" (149). Behind bars, these range from physical and emotional abuse and retaliatory transfers to overuse of solitary confinement, as well as flouting detention standards and impeding legal support.

While resistance, which includes individual and organized responses to the conditions of detention to the detention regime is discussed throughout the book, it is central to chapters 5 and 6. It encompassed hunger strikes, suicide and collective threats of suicide, public storytelling, and a wide range of case-by-case and collective legal activism. For Shull, resistance and advocacy are complex. She notes that organizing is "messy, rife with politics, white saviorism, and in-fighting" (12). Shull examines in detail the faith-based and secular Sanctuary Movement that supported Central American refugees, exploring the internal struggles of activists and the government's explicit counterinsurgent attacks on the movement. The INS's Operation Sojourner, for example, which involved government infiltration, paid informants, and indictments of sanctuary leaders, reflected a punitive shift in the government's previously delicate treatment of religious activists (181).

These final two chapters and the carceral palimpsest as a whole beget new innovations in migrant imprisonment including a shift from short-term processing to long-term detention, a prison construction

boom of public and private facilities, and a close alliance between civil detention and criminal imprisonment. Shull carefully documents—through her analysis of largely asylum-seeking migrants—a renewed focus on the "criminal alien" and their role in the budgetary expansion of the detention regime (188, 190). The explanation of these cultural and tactical shifts are major contributions of *Detention Empire*.

The Oakdale Federal Detention Center in central Louisiana in the mid-1980s is the ultimate symbol of the new carceral landscape, where the federal Bureau of Prisons, which is dedicated to criminal imprisonment, meets the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), which is dedicated to administrative, not criminal, detention, in a new carceral partnership. *Detention Empire* foreshadows contemporary state anxieties with migrant detention, where the locality of detention sites stirs economic and social arguments about crime and race, whilst also creating local prison economies that are desirable to some communities. Shull also explains the parallel growth of prison privatization nationwide and the historical emergence of key industry leaders, Tennessee's Corrections Corporation of America (now CoreCivic) and Florida's Wackenhut (now GEO Group). These corrections corporations flourished financially on the backs of migrants and criminal prisoners.

These carceral trends clash with an old problem within the Reagan administration that is explored earlier in the book; that is, the ongoing incarceration of Mariel Cubans, some of whom were detained since the moment they arrived and many others who served criminal sentences for crimes committed in the United States, but who together languished in indefinite detention as undeportable detainees. The result was a simultaneous, organized, and cooperative prison takeover by the Cuban prisoners in November 1987 of the Oakdale facility as well as the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary. For almost two weeks, the detainees collectively, and across facilities, protested the conditions of INS policies, their custody, and their potential deportation to Cuba—what Shull terms "transnational anti-deportation politics" (217). The results were mixed. The detainees successfully negotiated new individual reviews of their cases, but three years later according to Shull, only half of those cases resulted in release from imprisonment (226).

The detailed emphasis on asylum-seeking in the 1980s in *Detention Empire* begs the question about the book's relationship to Mexican detention and deportation, a key historic layer of the "carceral palimpsest." Even during the crises under study, Mexican detention stands out for two reasons: 1) Mexican migrants were the majority of detainees during the period, usually as recently apprehended migrants or as "criminal aliens"; and 2) Mexicans are the least likely national group to be granted asylum in the United States.[3] A related issue is the discussion of the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA), which was signed by Reagan in 1986. Shull discusses IRCA briefly across four pages (193, 211-12, 230), with a particular focus on the enforcement elements of the law—which to be fair, are often obscured by the amnesty provision. Nonetheless, it is not clear how the amnesty process of the law (legalizing 2.7 million undocumented migrants, but also with parameters that made most Central Americans of the period ineligible) figure into

[3] David Hernández, "'3 Mexican Countries': When All Latin American Migrants Become Mexicans," *Radical History Review*. The Abusable Past Forum: The Border is the Crisis. September 10, 2019. https://www.radicalhistoryreview.org/abusablepast/forum-3-4-3-mexican-countries-when-all-latin-american-migrants-become-mexicans-by-david-hernandez/

Shull's characterization of the "total war" on immigration by Reagan (178). IRCA also created a legal guest worker program that is still with us today that rivals the size and impact of the infamous Bracero Program for Mexicans (1942–1964). These queries are not meant to suggest limitations of the book, which is flush with critical insights and valuable insider-details of an obscure carceral regime.

Overall, *Detention Empire* is a powerful deep dive into an extended, multi-layered, and consequential chapter in the development of today's detention regime, including its current abusive institutional practices. Shull's archival labors and rich analysis illustrate the Reagan administration's painstaking efforts to effect its policy goals at the expense of asylum seekers. That its Cold War policies helped drive migrants into asylum only increased the administration's resolve to punish migrants while simultaneously obscuring that punishment. Kristina Shull's careful elucidation of these complex dynamics exposes powerfully how a vindictive state can turn asylum—that is, the provision of life-saving refuge—into a "tool of empire building" (15).

Review by Ayanna Legros, CUNY Hostos

My copy of Kristina Shull's *Detention Empire: Reagan's War on Immigrants & the Seeds of Resistance* is stained with tears from both laughing and crying. Shull's book embodies the expression, "Turn your pain into purpose." The book opens with a family tragedy. Shull's husband, Andi, was denied a bid for asylum and soon after sent to a for-profit immigration prison in New Jersey. Andi's rejected asylum pleas, Shull's fight to uncover his whereabouts, her grief, and her confusion with US immigration policies led her into research, activism, and a writing path. Failed advocacy efforts on his behalf, inadequate legal counsel, and cut communication lines prompts a well-timed study about the origins of the for-profit detention system in the US. Her undisguised positionality and leftist political views reverberate throughout the book. The rawness, honesty, and vulnerability of her writing, paired with research, will certainly push future generations of historians to unpack myths of objectivity and detachment from research projects.

The legacy of President Ronald Reagan is simple in Shull's formulation. Reagan is the architect of detention as deterrence. She argues that by using prisons as storage units for unwanted migrants, Reagan mastered a new strategy for the United States' management of its "neighbors" from Latin American, Caribbean, and Central American nations who sought entry into the US. Shull notes that "Immigration crises become opportunities—to define the contours of US empire, to strengthen border controls, and even to profit from the confinement of those subject to removal" (16). Utilizing a bottom-up analytical framework, Shull intertwines carceral studies, diplomatic history, hemispheric politics, and transnational history from the viewpoints of the marginalized.

Shull provides a helpful crash-course in US history within the theoretical framework of racial capitalism.

In the first chapter, "Constructing the Carceral Palimpsest," Shull explains how the US Constitution's categorial exclusions of non-white peoples created a framework for a white settler colony. The chapter's strength is Shull's ability to track the development of crisis narratives dating back to 1790 which include Native American removal, post-Civil War African American convict leasing, nativism, contagion paranoia about immigrants, Chinese exclusion, Japanese internment, Mexican borderland politics, diplomacy driven by anti-Communism, and government surveillance that cataloged non-white people as ideal candidates for imprisonment. Shull clarifies terminology like "parolee," "entrant," "refugee," and "asylum-seeker" with respect to the evolving debates in US law and international law which ultimately reached a critical turn in 1980. The chapter's conclusion provides a smooth transition into tenuous Cold War politics, Cuba-US relations, and the chaotic aftermath of the 1980 Mariel boatlift.

The oceanic waters sitting between Key West, Florida and Mariel Harbor, Cuba were center stage in the diplomatic crisis in 1980 when an exodus of hundreds of thousands of Cuban refugees who were deemed "undesirables" by Cuban leader Fidel Castro strained already tense relations between the US and Cuba.[1]

[1] "Undesirables" as defined by Fidel Castro's regime included QTGNC (queer, trans, and gender nonconforming) peoples, Afro-Cubans, political opponents and more. Shull's book enrichens discussions about Castro's "undesirables" by exploring identity politics which includes color, gender, sexuality, and class. Shull is in a cohort of

Chapter 2, "Nobody Wants These People: Mariel Cubans and the Specter of Mass Migration," fulfills the core goal of Shull's book, which is to focus on resistance movements within and outside of prisons rather than the political actors who made decisions that deeply impacted the lives of the marginalized. Shull opens the chapter by narrating a spring prison break at Fort Chaffee, Arkansas. She writes, "Fort Chaffee provides a fitting beginning for an exploration of the 'mass immigration emergency' that the administration of Ronald Reagan, who entered office in 1981, felt it inherited" from former President Jimmy Carter (32). Shull shows how Carter's administration did indeed shape Reagan's policies and helped develop a language around migration and asylum. Yet Reagan's ideologies, unlike Carter's, aggressively addressed race. Reagan "deem[ed] immigration a crisis, not for migrants *but for the nation itself*, [as it] declare[d] bodies who do not have a 'right' to occupy this land a threat to the body politic" (16). Ultimately the infiltration of a racial "other" was viewed as having polluted the identity of the US as a democratic nation free of social ills like crime, drug use, broken families, and disease.

Shull acknowledges the necessity of laying out Carter and Reagan's administrative decisionmaking practices, yet she boldly takes many opportunities to explore disregarded voices in prisons. Using archival photographs from Fort Chaffee in 1981, Shull explores the lives of gender nonconforming individuals who engaged in self-care, leisure, intimacy, self-expression, and grooming to affirm their humanity inside barracks. The images draw readers into the intimate daily lives of migrants who find ways to counter their trauma with self-autonomy and resistance in unique and clever ways. While QTGNC (queer, trans, gender non-conforming) voices are vibrant throughout the chapter, further analyses of hair styles in the photographs would have been a welcome addition. When reading this section, I thought of Ginetta Candelario's classic text, *Black Behind the Ears: Dominican Racial Identity from Museums to Beauty Shops*, which discusses identity and hair in beauty shops and Jasmine Cobb's book, *New Growth: The Art and Texture of Black Hair*.[2] Shull's careful attentiveness to multi-disciplinary sources like oral histories, queer theory, visual culture, and photography will allow future scholars space to think more about beauty politics, grooming, gender, and makeup when writing about the carceral state.

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scholars interested in the explicit relationship between Caribbean migration and detention like Monika Gosin, Naomi A. Paik, Karma R. Chávez, and Carl Lindskoog, who are publishing more detailed studies about the different treatments of Cuban and Haitian entrants, the limited translation services for detainees, and failed asylum claims. See Monika Gosin, *The Racial Politics of Division: Interethnic Struggles for Legitimacy in Multicultural Miami* (Cornell University Press, 2019); Naomi A. Paik, *Rightlessness: Testimony and Redress in U.S. Prison Camps since World War II* (University of North Carolina Press, 2016); Karma R. Chávez, *The Borders of AIDS: Race, Quarantine, and Resistance*(University of Washington Press, 2021); and Carl Lindskoog, *Detain and Punish: Haitian Refugees and the Rise of the World's Largest Immigration Detention System*. 1st ed., (University Press of Florida, 2018); Julio Capó, Jr., "Queering Mariel: Mediating Cold War Foreign Policy and U.S. Citizenship among Cuba's Homosexual Exile Community, 1978–1994." *Journal of American Ethnic History* 29:4 (2010): 78–106; Eloy Gonzalez and Fernando Chang-Moy, LGBTQ Marielitos Oral History Project: https://digital.wilcoxarchives.org/islandora/object/islandora%3A461.

[2] For more on this topic see Ginetta E.B. Candelario, *Black Behind the Ears: Dominican Racial Identity from Museums to Beauty Shops* (Duke University Press, 2017) and Jasmine Cobb's *New Growth: The Art and Texture of Black Hair* (Duke University Press, 2022).

Shull's prose smoothly dabbles in and out of the Carter administration's role in shaping Reagan's future politics. She interlinks the two administrations and shows how Carter mapped new frontiers of imperial expansion while Reagan mapped new carceral landscapes. Reagan's win in 1980 marked a critical shift towards US conservatism and enabled the for-profit prison complex. The Mariel Cuban migration saga of 1980 justified conservatives' embrace of what Shull refers to as the Reagan imaginary, an ideology which enforced hegemonic and conservative ideas about whiteness and the nation-state as the means for handling "illegal" bodies who entered the United States. Yet, Shull's central interest lies in the transnational resistance strategies that Cubans developed inside of the camps that caused Fort Chaffee to shut down. Additionally, a hunger strike at Fort Libertad on Eglin Air Force Base in Florida led to demonstrations and open confrontations with authorities.

Strikes, riots, and demonstrations between Cuban refugees and detention camp administrators strengthened the US public's fear that migrants posed a national security threat. To prove this point Shull analyzes administrative notes from the Federal Bureau of Prisons, the Immigration and Naturalization Services, the Federal Control Center, the Central Intelligence Agency, the presidential libraries and museums of both Carter and Reagan, political cartoons, photographs, poems, newspaper clippings from the *New York Times* and *Washington Post*, and even Reagan's diary entries and one hand-drawn map made by administrative officials. Shull demonstrates that the multiple security offices across the US government were more concerned with placating public perceptions of poor nation-state border security than resolving hostile relations between the US and Cuba. The Cuban-Haitian Task Force, which was founded during the Carter administration, "weighed options for handling four 'problem' groups that were hampering the resettlement process and receiving an outsized amount of media attention: the 'criminal element,' 'unaccompanied minors,' those with 'mental illness,' and 'homosexuals'" (39). Much like today, sensationalism about crimes committed by refugees and migrants justified new detention center architecture and construction sites. Immigrant detention became a part of a larger national security strategy which led to the proliferation of military bases, heightened defense, temporary camps, counterinsurgency, and anti-communism campaigns against Central American, Caribbean, and Latin American political leaders. In sum, the Mariel crisis legitimized permanent prison facilities, set the stage for the expansion of US detention facilities, and "prepared" the US Coast Guard to handle Haitian and Central American migrants. Tropes of immigrants stealing labor from US workers, posing danger to US citizens, and committing crimes flourished in these government narratives.

Chapter 3, "We Have Been Unable to Find Any Precedent: Haitian Interdiction and Detention," discusses the Reagan administration's legal justifications for Haitian detention, deportation, and interdiction. Shull argues that "although political and economic conditions in Haiti intertwined to displace migrants, Associate Attorney General Rudy Giuliani forged diplomatic relations with Haiti to de-link politics from economics in order to justify interdiction and systematically deny Haitians asylum" (69). Despite having been labeled as economic rather than political refugees, Haitians articulated the multidimensional reasons for fleeing the ruthless Duvalier regime and advocated for themselves with protests and hunger strikes at Immokalee and Belle Glade Florida prisons. Organizers inside and outside of prison walls discussed international human rights law, countered Communist projections by US officials, analyzed differential

treatment towards Cubans, and built coalitions with African American activists like Reverend Jesse Jackson.

While Shull does an excellent job of using oral histories for the Cuban case, oral histories that included Haitian voices could have strengthened discussions about the Haitian case. In an oral history interview conducted by Laura Wagner, former archivist for the Radio Haiti Collection at Duke University, with radio journalist Michèle Montas, Montas recounts the impacts of the US presidential power transition from Carter to Reagan on human rights in Haiti. She recounts the night of Ronald Reagan's 28 November 1980 win. Montas states:

> November 1980 the government decided that they could strike for one simple reason—because of the US elections. You had had elections where Ronald Reagan had become the president of the United States. It was the end of the Carter administration that was demanding that human rights be respected. At the time I remember the US elections we were covering that at the radio in the middle of the night we heard people from our studios downtown, people shooting in the air, and they were macoutes saying, "Human rights are over. The cowboys are back in the White House.[3]

Tonton Macoutes, violent secret police which engaged in journalistic repression, used this expression to celebrate Ronald Reagan's cinematic cowboy persona in films related to American Western in which a "tough guy" took down dissidents.

In chapter 4, "This Time, They'll Be Feet People: Central American Wars and Seeds of Resistance" Shull explains how detention became a form of counterinsurgency for the United States. The strength of this chapter is her discussion of the mental health of immigrants in facilities and refugee camps where Guatemalans, Mexicans, Salvadorans, Costa Ricans, Cubans, South Americans, and Pacific Islanders were housed. Shull's title of her book comes to life as she considers "seeds of resistance" and the experiences of Central American peoples with civil war, unrest back home, US covert operations, counterinsurgency, anti-communism, Cold War intensity, upsurge in immigration raids, family separations, and US intervention. Shull's discussion about inconsistent terms used to discuss detainees earlier in the book resurfaces during an analysis of reports about a California state prison in which one report uses the term "refugee camp," the second report uses "detention center," and the third report uses "service processing center." The crux of Shull's argument is found in this chapter when she states:

> Salvadorans at El Centro were not passive recipients of mistreatment, as the report of Arizona Senator Dennis DeConici's aide seemed to indicate. Rather, their experiences of migration and confinement sowed the seeds of a growing transnational, solidarity politics

[3] See https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5RSqWwJf5SE&t=1476s. Michèle Montas-Dominique, Oral History Part 1 (English). September 16. 2014. Interview by Laura Wagner for the Radio Haiti Archive at the David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library at Duke University.

> of resistance and inside-outside organizing that raised public awareness about detention conditions (107).

The rest of the chapter flawlessly details how migrant detention was tied to counterinsurgent warfare, border surveillance, drug, and immigration interdiction policies. Families of Salvadoran, Nicaraguan, and Guatemalan migrants experienced family separation, immigration raids, and heavy surveillance in the US. Yet the migrants' reasons for leaving their home nations were a result of the US military strategies that had been taught to Central American military academy students, who learned methods like interrogation techniques, bomb handling and detonation, political propaganda campaigns, policing and surveillance, and drug trade enforcement.

This chapter flows seamlessly into the subsequent chapter, "Give Us Liberty, or We Will Tear the Place Apart! Detention as Counterinsurgency." Discussions about injustice inspired transnational social movements between two demographics that should more often be placed into dialogue together: Haitians and Guatemalans. Further, Shull shows how African American activists such as Reverend Jackson played key roles in movement work. He visited Krome detention facility in Florida, appealed to the Pope, wrote opinion pieces, and led a march against the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). Confinement sowed the seeds of solidarity politics. Shull offers multiple examples of coalition building initiatives which show the multiple seeds of resistance against Reaganism. Shull circles back to themes of resistance within prisons by reviewing various food strikes, covert border crossing of migrants, and activism during the Sanctuary movement. She pairs images of caravans of children and adults who were seeking to build new chapters of their lives in small towns with debates about white savior politics. Churches which served as refugee hubs for migrants intentionally stifled violent raids by US federal agents as debates about tent cities encampments heated up on the state and national level. This led to public discussions about humanitarian action, public responsibility, and human rights. Shull's ultimate goal in this chapter is to demonstrate what she refers to as "'inside-outside' resistance to immigration detention" (184).

The final chapter, "Somos los Abandonados: Prison Uprising and the Architectures of Erasure," is arguably the book's most exciting chapter. Shull's discussions of US capitalism and neoliberalism are sharp. She includes the unexpected voices of Oklahoma's El Reno denizens who deliberated the opening of prisons in a Congressional hearing. Debates about the privatization of prisons, INS contracts, and housing took place at all levels of government. Shull packs in the FBI's psychological obsessions with migrants. Taxonomy charts about identity, race, color, and psychoses are embedded within US understandings of the country's "neighbors." Shull successfully connects Haiti, Cuba, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Mexico in one sweep while offering refreshing ways to think about resistance, radicalism, and activism. In this chapter Shull offers a unique example of comedy as a form of resistance inside of prisons. Cuban detainees played with an INS guard's lack of Spanish knowledge and engaged in what Shull refers to as a "humorous act of defiance" (192). Tears fell onto the pages of my book as I read about prisoners' jokes and linguistic code-switching. Laughter, even in the darkest hour, is a form of resistance against a prison industrial that is bureaucratic, complex, and obsessed with controlling the livelihoods of migrants inside of detention centers and prisons. After detailing so much sadness and heaviness, Shull shows how historians can find unique ways to poke fun at oppression and collect unique stories in archival collections.

Kristina Shull's book successfully chronicles the close correlation between the rise of for-profit prisons and immigrant detention during the latter years of the twentieth century. By focusing on Reagan's administrative decisions within a larger backdrop of Cold War politics, the book outlines how detention became a mechanism to assuage US citizens' anxieties about the arrival of Cubans, Haitians, Nicaraguans, Salvadorans, and other Latin American and Caribbean migrant groups. The author does not hide her leftist politics and activism, including her commitment to social justice throughout different life chapters. In the postscript, Shull mentions her intellectual contributions to a successful lawsuit filed by Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington (CREW) against the approval of the National Archives and Records Administration of the US Immigration and Customs Enforcement's petition to destroy records of sexual abuse and assault, cause of death reviews, and the use of solitary confinement in detention. Her decision to contribute an affidavit is one more example of her commitment to activism and her own resistance to carceral record gatekeeping. Shull states at the start of her book that "I became a historian because I needed to find out for myself how our nation got to this point of mass incarceration" (xiii). For Shull, a historian's job is to open Pandora's Box. She succeeded.

Review by Michele Waslin, Immigration History Research Center, University of Minnesota

Kristina Shull's book features the arrival of asylum seekers from Central America and the Caribbean at the Southern border of the United States and the backlash to their arrival; increased numbers of immigrants in detention suffering atrocious detention conditions; and Rudy Giuliani churning out policies with questionable legal justifications. Proving that the more things change, the more they stay the same, the book does not take place in 2023, but in the 1980s US under President Ronald Reagan, when Giuliani served as Associate Attorney General in the Department of Justice. Shull writes that, "This book zeroes in on the 1980's, a critical turning point when detention transformed in tandem with a larger transformation of US empire—through proxy wars and new forms of economic coercion and cultural hegemony—that appeared to make US state power less visible, yet it remained no less violent" (1). This well researched book connects the dots between the War on Drugs, the Central American proxy wars of the Cold War, and immigration enforcement, illuminating how they combined to create the origins of today's expansive immigration enforcement and detention regime.

The book begins by shedding light on the decisions made by the Jimmy Carter and Reagan administrations regarding boatloads of migrants fleeing Haiti and Cuba, the racialized responses to these populations, and how the two nationalities were pitted against one another. She examines how interdiction and detention were said to be temporary solutions to a "crisis," but became long-term, expansive policies. Shull then turns to the Central American wars of the 1980s, the role of the US in those wars, and the relationship between the conflicts and migrant flows (16). The next section looks at the resistance to interdiction, detention, and deportation and the linkages to the wars in Central America. The postscript examines the decades since Reagan and the lingering impact of his immigration policies.

Shull's research comes from a deeply personal space, as she recounts in the preface. Her meticulously detailed account of the rise of immigration detention is informed by personal experience with the immigration industrial complex and the loss of a loved one to deportation. Her firsthand encounters with the detention and deportation systems started her on a path of researching the origins of these modern systems—and resistance to them—in the 1980s. The result is a book that is extremely accessible, well organized, and supplemented with photos that capture the era.

As I wrote this essay, Transactional Records Access Clearinghouse released new data showing that more than 30,000 noncitizens are currently being held in immigration detention facilities in the United States, and 63 percent of them have no criminal record. Four detention facilities have averaged more than 1,000 immigrants in detention each day in fiscal year 2023.[1] Many of today's detention centers are in rural areas where they are far from attorneys, advocates, and legal services organizations. And the federal government continues to outsource detention to private prison corporations as well as state and local jails who benefit financially from increased immigration enforcement. According to Detention Watch Network, between 2009 and 2017, Congress required the incarceration of 34,000 immigrants at a given time. Today, these

[1] Transactional Records Access Clearinghouse, "Detention Facilities Average Daily Population," updated 2 July, 2023, https://trac.syr.edu/immigration/detentionstats/facilities.html

federal detention quotas are gone, but local guaranteed minimums continue to exist, forcing the federal government (and US taxpayers) to pay for inflated numbers of detention beds.[2] These obligations to detain set numbers of migrants undermine the Department of Homeland Security's "enforcement priorities" which are intended to focus enforcement resources on select subsets of noncitizens.[3] It is difficult to stick to priority cases if the true goal is to fill beds (a euphemism for bodies). And thousands more noncitizens are in "alternative to detention" programs—electronic monitoring programs used to surveille them outside of detention facilities.[4] In other words, Shull's book provides a necessary context for an issue that has only continued to worsen in the decades since the 1980s. It is no longer a question of whether noncitizens should be detained, but rather how many more can be detained and who will profit from it.

The Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA), which signed by Reagan, offered a path to citizenship for approximately three million unauthorized immigrants.[5] Shull's book reminds us of Reagan's role in creating refugee flows because of his foreign policy, then using those refugees as political pawns to push for additional funding to fight the war on drugs as well as the wars in Central America, while also advocating harsher immigration deterrence and enforcement measures in the United States. In Shull's words:

> The refugee crisis created by US interventions in Central America also took on symbolic overtones in the Reagan imaginary, with migrants often reduced to pawns—or worse—in US political and public discourse. Refusing to give in, the administration continued to hide its role in contributing to violence in the region by maintaining the lie that communist agitation was the sole cause of migrant displacement (129).

Shull also foreshadows the long history of immigration "crises," including the current "border crisis" as well as politicians' and policymakers' use of a perceived crisis to build US national security infrastructure, chip away at civil rights, and consolidate their own power. Shull warns, "As this book shows, immigration

[2] Detention Watch Network and Center for Constitutional Rights, "Banking on Detention: Local Lockup Quotas & The Immigrant Dragnet," 2015, https://www.detentionwatchnetwork.org/sites/default/files/reports/DWN%20CCR%20Banking%20on%20Detention%20Report.pdf

[3] Michele Waslin, "ICE's Enforcement Priorities and the Factors that Undermine Them," American Immigration Council, 9 November, 2010, https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/research/ices-enforcement-priorities-and-factors-undermine-them; Michele Waslin, "The Secure Communities Program: Unanswered Questions and Continuing Concerns," American Immigration Council, 29 November, 2011, https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/research/secure-communities-program-unanswered-questions-and-continuing-concerns

[4] American Immigration Council, "Alternatives to Immigration Detention: An Overview," 11 July 2023, https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/research/alternatives-immigration-detention-overview; Robyn Sampson, and Grant Mitchell, "Global Trends in Immigration Detention and Alternatives to Detention: Practical, Political and Symbolic Rationales. *Journal on Migration and Human Security*, 1:3 (2013): 97–121. https://doi.org/10.1177/233150241300100302

[5] Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA), Pub. L. 99-603.

crises become opportunities—to define the contours of US empire, to strengthen border controls, and even to profit from the confinement of those subject to removal (16)."

The book recounts how the Reagan administration also initiated the practice of targeting "criminal aliens," creating immigration detainers in the IRCA, and initiating the Criminal Alien Program (CAP) in 1988. This allowed federal immigration authorities to partner with state and local police to identify noncitizens in the criminal justice system for deportation, thus kickstarting the "crimmigration" trend that subsequent administrations have expanded (5). Shull calls this Reagan's Cold War on immigrants:

> [A] suite of new, counterinsurgent enforcement measures adopted by his administration during its first term that cemented in place a globalized crimmigration regime. Hinging upon Cold War foreign policy aims and the administration's Mass Immigration Emergency Plan of 1982, these measures included the detention of asylum-seekers as a deterrent to migration, maritime drug and immigrant interdiction programs, the militarization of a more broadly imagined US border, and prison privatization (5).

Today, through CAP, 287(g) agreements, and the Secure Communities Program, the federal government continues to build its ability to use state and local police forces to identify noncitizens for potential deportation, resulting in the detention and deportation of tens of thousands of individuals, many of whom do not have criminal convictions.[6]

Notably, based upon using interviews, oral histories, memoirs, and contemporary news sources, Shull's account also includes the story of the resistance to the US government's actions. By including the stories of the detained, their loved ones, and advocates who are pushing back against harmful and dehumanizing government policies, she provides a more complex and human story. Chapter 5 describes how immigrants inside of detention centers staged hunger strikes and other actions to protest their imprisonment as well as the detention conditions. Shull also tells the story of the people who protested in solidarity with the detainees, and how this Sanctuary movement addressed both the ongoing conflicts in Central America and the victims of those conflicts who arrived in the United States only to suffer additional trauma. Importantly, Shull's account also touches upon the conflicts and discrepancies within the resistance movement, detailing the strategic and communications challenges faced by the movement as well as the notable lack of Central American voices in the movement's leadership. Today's immigrants' rights advocates continue to face similar divisions and may benefit from reading this history.

Reagan's policies toward Central America, which recounted so clearly by Shull, continues to have profound and widespread effects. My current research with co-author Carol Cleaveland explores the gendered repercussions of years of war and conflict in Central America. Our forthcoming book examines the struggles Central American women face when they apply for asylum in the United States after escaping

[6] Michele Waslin, "The Impact of Immigration Enforcement Outsourcing on ICE Priorities," in Maria Joao Guia, Maartje van der Woude, and Joanne van der Leun, eds., *Social Control and Justice: Crimmigration in the Age of Fear*. (Eleven International Publishing, 2012).

domestic and/or gang violence in their home countries.[7] In our analysis, we contextualize the question of "private violence" committed by non-state actors, and describe how decades-long civil wars, military coups, and the drug war cultivated the conditions for widespread gender-based violence. Critical to this analysis is the understanding of the role that the United States played to wage wars against the Soviets by proxy, leaving northern Central America haunted by almost unimaginable, grotesque violence by right wing forces and death squads against civilians.[8] By 2000, the civil wars had ended but hoped for reforms failed to materialize, leaving in their wake alienated, disenfranchised youth. Neoliberal polices that embraced privatization, a minimal welfare state, and prioritized production for export over consumption left much of the population living in poverty, lacking education and jobs. These conditions have led to the formation of gangs that serve as a *de facto* state in some areas of the countries.[9]

Unfortunately, these Central American countries have failed to protect their own citizens, notably women, through arrests and prosecution of those who commit crimes against them.[10] We spoke to 46 women who had escaped incomprehensible violence only to get ensnared in the US asylum system. We observed 36 asylum hearings and documented how difficult it is for women to prove they are worthy of protection in the US even though their persecution was, to some extent, rooted in the damage US policies inflicted on their home countries. As was the case in the 1980s, the US still needs to acknowledge its destructive role in Central America and take its own responsibility into account in its refugee and asylum policies.

As part of our research, we talked to female asylum seekers who were apprehended and detained at the border, often being held in freezing cold holding cells (*hieleras)* and/or metal cages (dog kennels or *perreras*). While not technically prisons, "In practice, detention looks and feels like prison, functioning within a larger context of mass incarceration in the United States" (3). Women frequently complained about Border Patrol officers' demeaning treatment, and assumptions that their asylum claims were fraudulent. After being released from detention, they were subject to wearing ankle bracelets and frequent check-ins with Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), imbuing them with quasi-criminal status. The detention and criminalization of migrants continues to be dehumanizing and sends a message to both asylum seekers and the broader public that this population is suspect—no matter their reasons for entering the United States without permission.

Detention Empire struck many chords. As a child of the 1980s, I eagerly took in information about a period in time that I had lived through, yet had not fully absorbed. As a long-time policy analyst in DC, I was incensed by the language and politics of detention, and the way government officials justified their actions,

[7] Carol Cleaveland and Michele Waslin, *"Private Violence:" Latin American Women and the Struggle for Asylum*. (NYU Press, forthcoming).

[8] Deborah T. Levenson, *Adiós Niño: The Gangs of Guatemala City and the Politics of Death* (Duke University Press, 2013), 24-27.

[9] Susan Bibler Coutin, "Falling Outside: Excavating the History of Central American Asylum Seekers," *Law & Social Inquiry*36, no. 3 (Summer 2011): 569-596, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-4469.2011.01243.x

[10] Shannon Drysdale Walsh and Cecilia Menjívar, "'What Guarantees Do We Have?' Legal Tolls and Persistent Impunity for Feminicide in Guatemala," *Latin American Politics and Society* 58:4 (Winter 2016): 31-55. https://doi.org/10.1111/laps.12001.

and put in place policies and frameworks that still define our immigration system. As an immigrant advocate and a white woman, I was struck by the discussion of the challenges and successes of the resistance movement, particularly the paternalistic attitude taken by many within the leadership. As a migration scholar, I found that Shull's book brought my research on female Central American asylum seekers full circle, highlighting the motivations behind US actions that continue to resonate today.

Response by Kristina Shull, University of North Carolina, Charlotte

I am humbled that these five incredible scholars of migration and detention, Alex Aviña, Ethan Blue, David Hernández, Ayanna Legros, and Michele Waslin have taken the time and care to engage with my work so deeply. I extend gratitude and special thanks as well to Seth Offenbach and the H-Diplo editorial team for the opportunity to engage in this roundtable review of *Detention Empire*.

I write this having just returned from a conference hosted at University of Edinburgh in Scotland on "Carcerality and Resistance: Exploring Immigration Detention as a Failed Experiment." Organized by Ċetta Mainwaring, the gathering brought together academics and civil society actors and organizations predominantly in Europe, the United States, and Australia—locales that are colonial originators and perpetrators of exclusionary bordering and detention policies in the modern era. Executive Director of the International Detention Coalition Carolina Gottardo started us off, with mostly grim news: globally, economic shocks and downturns are on the rise, as is xenophobia and populist reactionary politics, and the normalization of "crimmigration," or the criminalization of migration.[1] What's more, governments and border security profiteers have co-opted rhetorics of care and humanitarianism in adopting so-called "alternatives to detention" (like e-carceration) that have only served to further expand border enforcement and surveillance systems.[2]

New Zealand-based journalist and author of the acclaimed memoir *No Friend but the Mountains* Behrouz Boochani joined us virtually due to immigration restrictions. Arriving in Australian waters by boat as a Kurdish asylum-seeker from Iran, Boochani was detained for six torturous years on Manus Island.[3] "For a refugee to be banished," he told us, elicits a sense of "deep violence" and betrayal as the historical echoes of colonialism reverberate between experiences of forced displacement, exclusion in the courtroom, and indefinite detention.[4] And yet, he also delivered a message of hope, in the power of testimonies of resistance such as his own, and the collective possibilities of a vast and growing body of knowledge created by those with lived experience of detention's violence and allied scholars.

Detention Empire is an attempt to tell a small but crucial piece of a longer, global history of carcerality and resistance, and how the 1980s marked a pivotal moment in the United States' leading the world in normalizing the use of ever-expanding asylum deterrence and detention regimes. The book originated in my dissertation research, which was prompted by my former husband's detention and deportation at the

[1] Juliet P. Stumpf, "The Crimmigration Crisis: Immigrants, Crime, and Sovereign Power," *American University Law Review* vol. 56, no. 2 (2006): 367-419; Suzy McElrath, Rahsaan Mahadeo, and Stephen Suh, "'Crimmigration,' with Tanya Golash-Boza, Ryan King, and Yolanda Vázquez," *The Society Pages*, February 24, 2014. https://thesocietypages.org/roundtables/crimmigration/.

[2] "ICE Digital Prisons," Just Futures Law, Accessed May 29, 2024. https://www.justfutureslaw.org/ice-digital-prisons; James Kilgore, *Understanding E-Carceration: Electronic Monitoring, the Surveillance State, and the Future of Mass Incarceration* (The New Press, 2022).

[3] Behrouz Boochani, *No Friend but the Mountains* (Pan Macmillan, 2019).

[4] Behrouz Boochani, "Carcerality and Resistance: Investigating Immigration Detention as a Failed Project," Conference, University of Edinburgh, May 24, 2024, 11:30 am.

start of my PhD program at UC Irvine and my ongoing organizing with people in and impacted by detention during my years as a graduate student and beyond. The core argument of *Detention Empire*, that detention operates as a form of counterinsurgency, arose out of my simultaneous witnessing of repetitive patterns of resistance and retaliation in detention in my work in real time that paralleled my archival research on the 1980s. Michele Waslin characterizes the book as "proving that the more things change, the more they stay the same." In the process of revising my dissertation for publication and as the US detention system continued to expand, I developed a praxis of "resistance archiving," which Jamila Hammami and I define as an intentional practice of documenting stories that counter the violent logics of prisons and borders.[5]

I am heartened by the overall praise that the reviewers give to *Detention Empire*. Ethan Blue's comments on my theoretical juxtaposition of a singular Reagan imaginary worldview with plural abolitionist imaginaries as "collective and collaborative praxis" is particularly uplifting as I intended for the book to convey exactly this. My conception of "seeds of resistance" in the book's subtitle comes not only from Assata Shakur or the common movement rallying cry of "they didn't know we were seeds" that is inspired by Greek poet Dinos Christianopoulos, but from a Guatemalan man named Alfredo speaking from Sanctuary in 1984 who said, "I know my words are like seeds" (13).[6] This statement embodies a central tenet in critical refugee studies approaches to migration scholarship—the need to center migrants as knowledge-producers and acknowledge the truths they tell in the face of state-sanctioned violence as counter-archive.[7]

Waslin's review draws helpful throughlines from the 1980s to today, from the growing role of interagency cooperation and local law enforcement during the "war on drugs" in the rise of crimmigration, to ongoing divisions within Sanctuary and today's social and immigrant rights movements, to how border crises are constructed (and re-constructed) through a repetition of myths and lies about immigration. Longstanding myths about immigration throughout US history include beliefs that it begets labor competition, crime, and disease.[8] One geopolitical lie at the center of President Ronald Reagan's imaginary was that Communism was the sole cause of displacement in the Central American wars. Waslin's forthcoming co-authored book on the gender-based violence that women asylum seekers from the Northern Triangle face reveals another enduring lie upheld by the immigration service and subsequent administrations since Reagan—that most asylum bids are fraudulent.[9] *Detention Empire* also joins Carole Cleaveland and Waslin's work in highlighting the gendered dimensions of xenophobic policy discourse. As Waslin writes, "The US

[5] Tina Shull and Jamila Hammami, "Resistance Archiving: Reflections on the IMM Print Detention Stories Project," in Eds. Arturo J. Aldama and Jessica Ordaz, *Resistance and Abolition in the Borderlands: Confronting Trump's Reign of Terror* (University of Arizona Press, 2024).

[6] Assata Shakur, *Assata: An Autobiography* (Lawrence Hill Books, 2001): 1; AX Mina, "On the Origins of 'They Tried to Bury Us, They Didn't Know We Were Seeds," *Hyperallergic*, July 3, 2018, https://hyperallergic.com/449930/on-the-origins-of-they-tried-to-bury-us-they-didnt-know-we-were-seeds/.

[7] Khatharya Um, Ma Vang, Lan P. Duong, Victor Bascara, and Yen Le Espiritu, *Departures: An Introduction to Critical Refugee Studies* (University of California Press, 2022).

[8] Erika Lee, *America for Americans: A History of Xenophobia in the United States* (Basic Books, 2019).

[9] Carol Cleaveland and Michele Waslin, *"Private Violence:" Latin American Women and the Struggle for Asylum*. (NYU Press, forthcoming).

still needs to acknowledge its destructive role in Central America and take its own responsibility into account in its refugee and asylum policies."

I appreciate Ayanna Legros's recounting of Michèle Montas's memory of an upsurge in violence in Haiti at the advent of Reagan's election. Activist Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, while working with the United Nations in Central America, recounts a similar spread of terror upon Reagan's election in her memoir, *Blood on the Border*.[10] These echo uncomfortably in the United States' contemporary election cycles, which raises another parallel between my historical research for *Detention Empire* and my work with the organization Freedom for Immigrants as a Soros Justice Fellow in 2016–2018 who supported people in immigration detention. As Legros suggests, I would have liked to have dwelt more in the book on the life created within detention walls, such as connections between the grooming of queer and trans Mariel Cubans in Fort Chaffee, Arkansas, barracks and a beauty salon run by Haitian women who were imprisoned in Alderson, Kentucky. The feminist collective *Off Our Backs*' show of solidarity with detained Haitian women through the publication of their stories in a newsletter of the same name is but one example of the power of such witnessing. Around the time of President Donald Trump's election in 2016, I worked with members of Freedom for Immigrants and various pen-pal programs around the country to publish stories from detention on a new platform and digital archive, *IMM Print*.[11] This experience led me to adopt a critical refugee studies approach in making important revisions to the book to incorporate more perspectives from within spaces of incarceration.

David Hernández raises an important and valid critique, asking why I did not focus a case study chapter on the detention of Mexicans, especially given that Mexican nationals comprise the majority of those in detention historically and face the highest rates of asylum denial. In short, I should have; but I will offer several thoughts in response. First, this omission reflects my initial "top-down" research approach. The three asylum-seeking groups focused on in the book, Mariel Cubans, Haitians, and Central Americans (primarily Salvadorans and Guatemalans, labeled as "OTMs" or "other-than-Mexicans" by immigration officials), featured most prominently in detention-specific policy discussions in Reagan administration papers. But there is something telling here, and I attempt to acknowledge this throughout the book where I do discuss the important positionality of Mexican migrants in Reagan's "war on immigrants." That is how foundational, and therefore taken for granted, Mexican deterrence and detention had become by the 1980s. Here, my concept of *carceral palimpsest* is helpful as it allows for an understanding of how, under Reagan, some policies and practices were continued from the past, others were ramped up sharply, while others marked new policy departures (namely: off-shore interdiction, private prisons, border militarization, and the systematic use of detention with an explicit intention to deter asylum seekers, all developed in specific response to one or more of these three migrant groups, but also including Mexicans).

The US-Mexico border also served as an important foil in Reagan's doublespeak that justified the expansion of immigration enforcement beyond US national boundaries. Reagan made seemingly contradictory promises on immigration, which may explain why his administration is often mistakenly

[10] Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, *Blood on the Border: A Memoir of the Contra War* (South End Press, 2005).
[11] IMM Print, https://imm-print.com.

remembered as being soft on it.[12] He courted migrant-hiring industries and the Hispanic vote by speaking of a peaceful US-Mexico border and touted the US as a "beacon of freedom" that embraced refugees fleeing communism, all while decrying a "third border" threat of Caribbean Basin migration and giving nods to vigilante violence in the borderlands that largely targeted Mexican migrants (2, 7). As Hernández points out, Mexicans were embroiled in this paradox in the Reagan imaginary—simultaneously as allegedly—welcomed guest workers and as excludable criminal aliens.

I fear my elision of Mexico as a chapter case study replicates a similar dismissal by Reagan-era policymakers of how foundational Mexican detention and migration deterrence were to the rise of the detention system. Also deserving of further analysis is how this relates to a more-often lighthearted treatment of Mexican migration and deportation in popular culture and in movement spaces such as Sanctuary. As the work of Kelly Lytle Hernández, David Hernández, Jessica Ordaz, Jennifer Cullison, Adam Goodman and others demonstrates, the racialized, violent, and systematic targeting of Mexican migrants in law and practice has facilitated the routinization of policing and crimmigration trends over the twentieth century and the detention system's expansion.[13]

Detention Empire also does not give enough space to telling more of the story of how the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) provided relief while also further terrorizing many immigrant communities, which is covered well in Ana Minian's book, *Undocumented Lives*.[14] As to the question of how IRCA figures into Reagan's war on immigrants, I would briefly say that its enforcement provisions provide another example of how immigration law was wielded as a tool of exclusion under a pretense of due process, similar to my discussion in chapter 4 of how the 1980 Refugee Act was weaponized against Central American asylum-seekers. Another shortcoming of the book is its "adult-centric" focus, or my lack of attention to the detention of children, which strengthens the case for the centrality of Mexican asylum-seekers in the story. Ivón Padilla-Rodríguez's work on family separation and the detention of unaccompanied Mexican and Central American minors in the US West in the 1970s and 1980s and her

[12] Rick Perlstein, "The Swamp, or, Inside the Mind of Donald Trump," *American Prospect*, March 27, 2024. https://prospect.org/politics/2024-03-27-swamp-inside-mind-donald-trump/.

[13] Kelly Lytle Hernández, *Migra! A History of the US Border Patrol* (University of California Press, 2010); David Hernández, "Carceral Shadows: Entangled Lineages and Merging Technologies of Immigrant Detention," in Robert Chase, ed., *Caging Borders and Carceral States: Incarcerations, Immigration Detentions, and Resistance* (University of North Carolina Press, 2019: 57-92; Jessica Ordaz, *The Shadow of El Centro: A History of Migrant Incarceration and Solidarity* (University of North Carolina Press, 2021); Jennifer Cullison, "Separating and Caging Immigrant Families: Case Studies in South Texas from the Postwar Era through Trump's Reign of Terror," in Arturo J. Aldama and Jessica Ordaz, eds., *Abolition and Resistance in the Borderlands: Confronting Trump's Reign of Terror* (University of Arizona Press, 2024): 44-69; Adam Goodman, *The Deportation Machine: America's Long History of Expelling Immigrants* (Princeton University Press, 2020).

[14] Ana Minian, *Undocumented Lives: The Untold Story of Mexican Migration* (Harvard University Press, 2018).

attention to regional Immigration and Naturalization Service documents makes more foundational connections not immediately apparent in my initial top-down research.[15]

A final mea culpa to offer is that I wish I had drawn out the environmental and climate connections that were emergent in my research more in *Detention Empire*. One example is the Reagan administration's internal acknowledgement of how the "disequilibrium" of land distribution and a US consumer demand for cattle exacerbated violence in El Salvador, leading the Department of Justice to emphasize the importance of disentangling "political reasons from demographic/ecological causes" in justifying Central American asylum denials (130). In my current and future research on climate migration, I examine detention as a locus of eco-fascism and climate denial.[16] The US government's recent labeling of COVID-19, and now climate migration, as border crises, are variations on a central theme in *Detention Empire* and echo the rhetoric of Reagan's 1982 Mass Immigration Emergency Plan.[17] The rise of border militarism, in turn, has had grave implications for fueling climate change and its disparate impacts.

By the close of the recent conference in Edinburgh, a consensus became clear—that there is no alternative to the abolition of detention. Towards this end, we agreed that we must embrace "abolitionist steps" versus "reformist reforms" that only give mandate for the expansion of carceral systems.[18] Finally, efforts to abolish detention must be led by those with lived experience of displacement, migration, and/or incarceration. Collective histories and testimonies of "seeds of resistance" can help provide a platform for this call.

[15] Ivón Padilla-Rodríguez, "'A Violation of the Most Elementary Human Rights of Children:' The Rise of Migrant Youth Detention and Family Separation in the American West," in Brenden Rensink, ed., *The North American West in the Twenty-First Century* (University of Nebraska Press, November 2022).
[16] See, for example, the Climate Refugee Stories digital history project. https://www.climaterefugeestories.com/.
[17] "Report on the Impact of Climate Change on Migration," A Report by the White House, October 2021. https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2021/10/Report-on-the-Impact-of-Climate-Change-on-Migration.pdf.
[18] Setarah Ghandehari, "Ending Immigration Detention: Abolitionist Steps v. Reformist Reforms," "Carcerality and Resistance: Investigating Immigration Detention as a Failed Project," Conference, University of Edinburgh, March 23, 4:30 pm.