

Introduction

The Carceral West

ABSTRACT This article is the guest editor's introduction to a special issue of *Pacific Historical Review* titled "The Carceral West." Whereas scholarship on the carceral state has traditionally focused on the U.S. South, the urban North, and post-war Los Angeles, scholars have more recently begun to focus on the long history of incarceration throughout the U.S. West. The West provides a rich environment for examining the carceral state, especially as it relates to race and immigration. Additional articles in this special issue include Elliott Young on immigrant incarceration at McNeil Federal Penitentiary between 1880 and 1930, Benjamin Madley interpreting the Spanish Mission system as a carceral regime, and Mary Mendoza examining the U.S.-Mexico border fence as a carceral environment that locks undocumented immigrants both in and out. **KEYWORDS** carceral state, U.S. West, prisons, borders

The Law and Order Gallery at the Autry Museum of the West in Los Angeles, California, features a nineteenth-century jail cell alongside images of infamous outlaws and iconic lawmen. The outlaws are dastardly. The lawmen are brave. In sum, the exhibit conjures the familiar myth of a few brave, white men wading into a frontier of lawlessness to clear a path for civilization. It's a Turnerian tale to the bone.

But the Autry Museum's Law and Order exhibit is about to change. Led by Josh Garrett-Davis, curators at the Autry Museum are now updating the gallery's content and revising its interpretation to address the "deeper, more difficult history of incarceration in the American West." The new exhibit—tentatively titled "Behind Bars"—is still in development, but Garrett and his team plan to complicate the story of law and order in the American West by displaying images and artifacts from Native American reservations, World War II incarceration camps, immigrant detention centers, and today's prisons. In other words, the Autry Museum is about to retire one of the West's most tenacious tales, replacing it with an exhibit of how the punitive

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power of the state has shored up inequity and advanced exclusion across multiple communities.

I've been told that two developments prodded the overhaul of the Autry's Law and Order exhibit. The first was the publication of my book, *City of Inmates: Conquest, Rebellion, and the Rise of Human Caging in Los Angeles* (University of North Carolina Press, 2017). If so, I'm thrilled to know that *City of Inmates* is helping to transform the public history of the American West. The second is the public discourse on mass incarceration in the United States today.

The United States imprisons more people than any other nation on earth. Today, an estimated 2.3 million people are caged in a jail or prison cell.¹ Another 4.5 million are on probation or parole, bringing the total human population under some form of direct carceral control to nearly 6 million.² By the end of the year, an estimated 8.5 million people will be arrested.³ And a staggering 70 million people, one-third of the adult population in the United States, has a criminal record.⁴

Contact with the U.S. criminal justice system bears massive consequences for arrested persons, especially those convicted of a felony. Felony disenfranchisement laws currently strip the right to vote from 6.1 million U.S. citizens.⁵ A felony record amounts to a 15 percent reduction in lifetime earnings.⁶ There are also many costs paid by the families of arrested persons. Just one arrest can drain a family's financial resources, requiring loved ones to take collect calls from jail, hire lawyers, pay a series of fines and fees, including money bail, make do without a breadwinner, and so on. A felony conviction compounds these costs and adds more, such as travel expenses to and from prison for visitation. Little of this expense is ever paid by the person arrested, convicted, and imprisoned. It is mothers and grandmothers who carry this

1. Peter Wagner and Wendy Sawyer, "The Whole Pie: 2018," *Prison Policy Initiative* (March 14, 2018), <https://www.prisonpolicy.org/reports/pie2018.html>

2. Ibid.

3. In 2016, the FBI recorded 8,421,428 arrests within the United States. See FBI: Uniform Crime Report 2016, Table 21A, <https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/2016/crime-in-the-u.s.-2016/topic-pages/tables/table-21>

4. The Sentencing Project, "Americans with Criminal Records: Poverty and Opportunity Profile," (2015). See <https://www.sentencingproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/Americans-with-Criminal-Records-Poverty-and-Opportunity-Profile.pdf>

5. Ibid., "Felony Disenfranchisement," <https://www.sentencingproject.org/issues/felony-disenfranchisement/>

6. Devah Pager, *Marked: Race, Crime, and Finding Work in an Era of Mass Incarceration* (University of Chicago Press, 2007).

load, draining their savings and accumulating debt to support their loved ones in jail or prison.⁷

But all communities are not equally impacted by the costs and consequences of mass incarceration. African Americans and Native Americans followed by Latinos comprise a stunningly disproportionate share of the people under carceral control, making mass incarceration a deeply racialized form of governance in post-Civil Rights America. Across the United States, 1-in-13 African American citizens has lost the right to vote due to felony disenfranchisement laws.⁸ As legal scholar Michelle Alexander has put it, mass incarceration is the “New Jim Crow.”⁹

For nearly two decades now, scholars have deeply researched the rise of mass incarceration in the United States. A good portion of this work has focused on the American West, namely California. Led by the pathbreaking work of geographer Ruth Wilson Gilmore, this body of scholarship details how deindustrialization, the War on Drugs, and globalization fueled the rise of mass imprisonment in the Golden State.¹⁰ California played a major role in the rise of mass incarceration across the country. California built twenty-three prisons between 1982 and 2000, invented solitary confinement, and spearheaded sophisticated financing schemes to fund the carceral build up.¹¹ Moreover, California police departments, led by the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD), filled the state’s expanding prison system by inventing aggressive law enforcement tactics—such as SWAT teams and gang injunctions—that quickly escalated the numbers of arrests made every year.¹² Police departments across the country adopted LAPD innovations. Yet California was not a lone ranger on the carceral frontier. Texas and Arizona also played important roles in the rise of mass incarceration. In particular, Texas and

7. Lottie Joiner, “How Families Pay the Never-Ending Price of a Criminal Conviction,” *The Atlantic*, December 15, 2015, <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2015/12/how-families-pay-the-never-ending-price-of-a-criminal-record/433641/>

8. The Sentencing Project, “Felony Disenfranchisement,” <https://www.sentencingproject.org/issues/felony-disenfranchisement/>

9. Michelle Alexander, *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness* (The New Press, 2010).

10. Ruth Wilson Gilmore, *Golden Gulag: Prisons, Surplus, Crisis, and Opposition in Globalizing California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).

11. *Ibid.*; Keramit Reiter, *23/7: Pelican Bay and the Rise of Long-Term Solitary Confinement* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016).

12. Joe Domanick, *Blue: The LAPD and the Battle to Redeem American Policing* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2016); Max Felker-Kantor, *Policing Los Angeles: Race, Resistance, and the Rise of the LAPD* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018).

Arizona helped haul the nation's prisons away from rehabilitation and redemption, leaving behind little but harsh penal labor programs.¹³

Much of the scholarship on mass incarceration is anchored to a post-war chronology, leaving deeper histories of policing and punishment in the American West largely untouched while longer histories of the carceral state in the U.S. South and urban North have flourished.

To date, core texts in the long history of mass incarceration in the United States are largely focused on the urban North and the American South. Those texts brilliantly analyze how the U.S. criminal justice system operates as a “social institution.” As the sociologist David Garland explains, criminal justice is more than a set of bureaucratic and administrative responses to crime.¹⁴ What is outlawed, who is policed, and how they are caged is thoroughly embedded within broader trends in social, political, cultural, and economic life.

As historians of the U.S. South have documented, imprisonment in post-Civil War southern states operated as a means of controlling black labor, restricting black mobility, and denying black political freedom. The Thirteenth Amendment, after all, abolished coerced labor “except as a punishment for crime.” Into the 1930s, as Douglas Blackmon has put it, imprisonment and convict labor allowed “slavery by another name” to endure within the U.S. South. The criminal justice system, in other words, functioned as a social institution that profoundly shaped the lives of individuals and impacted the dynamics of race, labor, and citizenship across the U.S. South between the era of black emancipation and World War II.¹⁵ Similarly, historians of the urbanizing North have documented how

13. Robert Chase, *We Are Not Slaves: A Southern History of Prison Rights, Labor, and Carceral Violence* (forthcoming); Robert Perkinson, *Texas Tough: The Rise of America's Prison Empire* (New York: Picador, 2010).

14. David Garland, “Sociological Perspectives on Punishment,” *Crime and Justice* 14 (1991): 161.

15. Douglas Blackmon, *Slavery by Another Name: The Re-enslavement of Black Americans from the Civil War to World War II* (New York: Doubleday, 2008). See also Mary Ellen Curtin, *Black Prisoners and Their World: Alabama, 1865–1900* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2000); Sarah Haley, *No Mercy Here: Gender, Punishment, and the Making of Jim Crow Modernity* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016); Talitha LeFlouria, *Chained in Silence: Black Women and Convict Labor in the New South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015); Alex Lichtenstein, *Twice the Work of Free Labor: The Political Economy of Convict Labor in the New South* (New York: Verso, 1996); Matthew J. Mancini, *One Dies, Get Another: Convict Leasing in the American South, 1866–1928* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1996); David Oshinsky, *Worse than Slavery: Parchman Farm and the Ordeal of Jim Crow Justice* (New York: Free Press, 1996); Robert Perkinson, *Texas Tough: The Rise of America's Prison Empire* (New York: Picador, 2010); Karin Shapiro, *A New South Rebellion: The Battle against Convict Labor in the Tennessee Coalfields, 1871–1896* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

incarceration operated as a mechanism to warehouse and discipline the underemployed of the industrial era and, as Khalil Muhammad has made clear, cast working-class African Americans as criminals.¹⁶

The rigorous and critical study of the carceral state in the U.S. West has been slower to develop.¹⁷ During the 1930s, the historian Blake McKelvey made an early attempt at the history of law enforcement in the U.S. West. Entrenched in the frontier thesis, McKelvey described the rise of “penology” in the U.S. West as a story of Anglo Americans civilizing the untamed region. In his words, policing and imprisonment constituted the “institutional conquest of the last frontier.”¹⁸ This interpretation is the Turnerian storyline about to be retired from the Law and Order exhibit at the Autry Museum.

The social history revolution of the 1960s tossed the frontier thesis flat on its back. In 1987, Patty Limerick and Vicki Ruiz buried it whole, highlighting the experiences of Native peoples, women, migrant workers, and people of color in the U.S. West. Then, the rise of a new generation of borderlands scholarship similarly defied attempts to impose vectors of unilateral and progressive national incorporation upon the region, while new explorations of sexuality and the environment rooted out the once overlooked intimacies and devastations of life in the U.S. West. By the 1990s, the verdict was in: the frontier thesis is a myth, not history.¹⁹

16. Kali Gross, *Colored Amazons: Crime, Violence, and Black Women in the City of Brotherly Love, 1880–1910* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006); Cheryl Hicks, *Talk with You Like a Woman: Urban Reform, Criminal Justice, and African American Women in New York, 1890–1935* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010); Rebecca McLennan, *The Crisis of Imprisonment: Protest, Politics, and the Making of the American Penal State, 1776–1941* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Khalil Gibran Muhammad, *The Condemnation of Blackness: Race, Crime and the Making of Modern Urban America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010).

17. Some of the more recent works on criminal justice in U.S. West prior to World War II include Ethan Blue, *Doing Time in the Depression: Everyday Life in Texas and California State Prisons* (New York: New York University Press, 2012); Shelley Bookspan, *A Germ of Goodness: The California State Prison System, 1851–1944* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991); Anne M. Butler, “Still in Chains: Black Women in Western Prisons, 1865–1910,” *Western Historical Quarterly* 20, no. 1 (Feb., 1989): 18–35; Anne M. Butler, *Gendered Justice in the American West: Women Prisoners in Men’s Penitentiaries* (Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1999); Miroslava Chávez García, *States of Delinquency: Race and Science in the Making of California’s Juvenile Justice System* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012); Judith R. Johnson, *The Penitentiaries in Arizona, Nevada, New Mexico, and Utah from 1900 to 1980* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellin Pr., 1997).

18. Blake McKelvey, “Penology in the Westward Movement,” *Pacific Historical Review* 2, no. 4 (1933): 418–38. See also, James A. Wilson, “Frontier in the Shadows: Prisons in the Far Southwest, 1850–1917,” *Arizona and the West* 22, no. 4 (Winter 1980): 323–42.

19. The literature is now extensive and deep. Just some examples of work that I have relied upon include William Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe: The Rise of Los Angeles and Remaking of its Mexican*

The historiography of the U.S. West now includes varied analyses of the region's regimes of conquest as well as the multiple layers of legal exclusion, political marginalization, and spatial gatekeeping. This work dispels old myths of the U.S. West as a frontier of grit, freedom, and democracy, especially along the axes of race, gender, sexuality, and immigration status.

However, the carceral state has long remained a minor subfield of exclusion and inequity in the historiography of the U.S. West. As historians of the U.S. South and urban North have made abundantly clear, the U.S. criminal justice system constitutes a legal regime that strips individuals of civil and political rights, limits their mobility, and exposes incarcerated persons to the only legal form of forced labor in post-Civil War America. Similarly, although labor historians have noted the frequent arrest and chain gang convictions of migrant workers throughout the U.S. West—particularly those with radical political views—and chronicled other unfree labor systems in the region, they have stopped short of offering focused analyses of the criminal justice system as a social institution that generates unfree laborers, marginalized workforces, lesser citizens, and deportees.

But this oversight is beginning to change. A rich field of historical scholarship is now churning at the intersection of carceral studies and the U.S. West. Leading historians of the carceral state are looking at western domains, especially California. Donna Murch is examining the drug war in Los Angeles.²⁰ Elizabeth Hinton is researching police reform in San Jose, California. In collaboration with the Clements Center, Robert Chase will soon publish an edited volume on policing and incarceration in the Sunbelt. Meanwhile, leading historians of the U.S. West are picking up the carceral lens. Adria

Past (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); Erika Lee, *At America's Gates: Chinese Immigration During the Exclusion Era, 1882–1943* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1987); Natalia Molina, *How Race Is Made in America: Immigration, Citizenship, and the Historical Power of Racial Scripts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014); Vicki Ruiz, *Cannery Women, Cannery Lives: Mexican Women Unionization, and the California Food Processing Industry, 1930–1950* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987); George Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900–1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); Stacy L. Smith, *Freedom's Frontier: California and the Struggle over Unfree Labor, Emancipation, and Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013); Quintard Taylor, *In Search of the Racial Frontier: African Americans in the America West, 1528–1990* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1998).

20. Donna Murch, “Crack in Los Angeles: Crisis, Militarization, and Black Response to the Late Twentieth-Century War on Drugs,” *Journal of American History* Special Issue: “Historians and the Carceral State” 102, no. 1 (June 2015).

Imada's forthcoming book examines the Molokai Lepers Colony as a carceral project.²¹ Ethan Blue's first book compared prison life in California and Texas during the Great Depression.²² His forthcoming book examines race, exclusion, and human caging on deportation trains.²³ There is also an emerging cohort of graduate students working on everything from police killings of Chicana youth to the drug war in Texas.

This recent and emerging scholarship is making the U.S. West one of the most exciting regions in which to study the long and short history of the carceral state. Indeed, just three years ago, when I first proposed this special issue on "The Carceral West," very few historians were focused on policing and punishment in the American West. Now some of the best-attended sessions at the annual meetings for the Western History Association and the Pacific Coast Branch–American Historical Association feature papers on the carceral state.

This volume is dedicated to supporting the continued development of carceral studies as a vital optic in the historiography of the U.S. West. In particular, this volume demonstrates how carceral studies can enrich our analysis of key concepts, subjects, and topics in the historiography of the American West. Topics such as borders and reservations. Subjects such as immigrant exclusion and deportation. Concepts such as settler colonialism and borderlands.

The authors in this volume are historians of the U.S. West. None of them primarily identifies as a carceral scholar. But they bravely accepted the challenge of re-examining their own research through a carceral lens. Elliott Young, an expert on immigration, writes about the rise of immigrant incarceration at McNeil Federal Penitentiary between 1880 and 1930. Benjamin Madley, a specialist in genocide and California Indian history, interprets the Spanish Mission system as a carceral regime. And Mary Mendoza, an expert in U.S. environmental history along the U.S.-Mexico border, casts the border fence as a carceral environment, locking undocumented immigrants both in and out of the United States. Each piece makes a major contribution to the study of the carceral state in the U.S. West.

21. Adria Imada's forthcoming book is tentatively titled, *An Archive of Skin, An Archive of Kin: Disability, Kinship and Life-making during Mexican Incarceration*.

22. Blue, *Doing Time in the Depression*.

23. Ethan Blue, "From Lynch Mobs to the Deportation State," *Law, Culture, and the Humanities*, October 12, 2017, <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/1743872117734168#articleCitationDownloadContainer>

Young's article pushes back against current trends to examine immigrant incarceration solely through the lens of immigration control. Using records from McNeil Island federal penitentiary, Young documents that drug and alcohol laws drove the early and disproportionate rise of Chinese and Mexican incarceration in the U.S. West.

Madley's article challenges a familiar refrain within the field of carceral studies. As I wrote with Heather Thompson and Khalil Muhammad in the introduction to the special volume we edited for the *Journal of American History* on the carceral state, mass incarceration constitutes a system of human caging that is "not only internationally unparalleled but also historically unprecedented." Not so, writes Madley, who documents that, when viewed as a carceral regime, the per capita impact of the California Mission system upon the lives of California Indians far outnumbers today's incarceration rates.

Mendoza's groundbreaking article firmly locates the U.S.-Mexico border within the U.S. carceral archipelago. Without eliding the significance of locking humans in 5×7 prison cells, Mendoza documents how the border fence locks undocumented immigrants, namely Mexican and Central American border crossers, within the United States. This insight expands our notion of who is under carceral control and how within the United States. If the U.S.-Mexico border fence and its crown of concertina wire is locking undocumented immigrants within the United States then millions more people are, in effect, under some form of carceral control within the United States.

These three articles also demonstrate the unique value of the U.S. West as a site for U.S. carceral history. Indeed, the U.S. West is primed to advance the historiography of the carceral state in at least the two following areas: First, there is the matter of racial disparities. Much of the literature on race and the carceral state focuses on the black/white divide, and there is good reason for that. Contemporary literature clearly documents that African Americans are the community that is most disproportionately impacted by the U.S. criminal justice system.²⁴ Indigenous peoples are often overlooked by criminal justice data collectors. In settler colonial terms, they are eliminated from the data. But when Indigenous men, women, and children are counted, arrest and incarceration rates for Native communities are often similarly high.²⁵

24. "Report of the Sentencing Project to the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Contemporary Forms of Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia, and Related Intolerance," March 2018, <https://www.sentencingproject.org/publications/un-report-on-racial-disparities/>

25. For incarceration rates by state as of 2010, see Leah Sakala, *Breaking Down Mass Incarceration in the 2010 Census: State-by-State Incarceration Rates by Race/Ethnicity* (Northampton,

When compared with African Americans and Native communities the arrest and incarceration rates for Latinos are typically lower. However, those rates are much higher than for whites.²⁶ Therefore, the study of racial disparities in the U.S. criminal justice system demands more than a black/white analysis. Historically speaking, there is no better place to examine the multiplicity of racial disparities than the U.S. West. In particular, the U.S. West presents an ideal location to explore Chicana/o and Indigenous engagements with the carceral state. Moreover, the U.S. West opens the opportunity to expand our exploration of African Americans and the carceral state. For me, one of the most important questions to ask and answer is the following: how are black people policed in communities where black labor is not the lynchpin of the local or regional economy? In other words, what happens with state violence when controlling black labor is less at stake?

Second, the U.S. West is the best place to examine the rise of U.S. immigration control and border enforcement as a carceral regime. The U.S. immigration regime is not, legally speaking, part of the U.S. criminal justice system. Due to a series of U.S. Supreme Court decisions during the Chinese Exclusion Era, U.S. immigration control largely falls within the domain of administrative law. Therefore, being unlawfully present within the United States is not a “crime.” It is an “administrative” oversight. The human seizures conducted by U.S. Border Patrol and ICE agents are not called “arrests.” They are called “apprehensions” The immigrants forced into cages during their deportation proceedings are not “imprisoned.” They are “detained.” And deportation is “not a punishment for crime.” It is a “civil procedure.”²⁷ But these are all just sleights of hand, obscuring the fact that

Mass.: Prison Policy Initiative, 2014). See also Julian Brave NoiseCat, “Thirteen Issues Facing Native People beyond Mascots and Casinos,” *huffingtonpost.com*, July 30, 2015; Jake Flanagin, “Reservation to Prison Pipeline: Native Americans Are the Unseen Victims of a Broken U.S. Justice System,” *Quartz*, April 27, 2015; Dan Frosch, “Federal Panel Reviewing Native American Sentencing,” *Wall Street Journal*, April 21, 2015; Lakota People’s Law Project, “Native Lives Matter,” February 2015, <http://www.docs.lakotalaw.org/reports/Native%20Lives%20Matter%20PDF.pdf>; Healani Sonoda, “A Nation Incarcerated,” in *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai’i*, ed. Candace Fujikane and Jonathan Y. Okamura (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2008), 99–115; A. J. Vicens, “Native Americans get Shot by Police at an Astonishing Rate: So Why Aren’t you Hearing about It?,” *Mother Jones*, July 15, 2015; For a running count of the police killings, see “The Counted: People Killed by Police in the U.S.,” *The Guardian* (U.K.).

26. Jose Luis Morin, editor, *Latinos and Criminal Justice: An Encyclopedia* (Santa Barbara: Greenwood, 2016), 68.

27. Kelly Lytle Hernández, *City of Inmates: Conquest, Rebellion and the Rise of Human Caging in Los Angeles* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017). See also Mae Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press,

undocumented immigrants are subject to a shadow system of crime and punishment in the United States. They are criminalized, policed, caged, and punished. Immigration control, too, is a highly racialized regime of crime and punishment in the United States. Indeed, Latinos, led by Mexicans and Central Americans, comprise more than 90 percent of all the immigrants deported or otherwise forced out of the United States, while Black immigrants experience the highest deportation rates per capita.²⁸ The U.S. West is the key region for the development of a rich historiography on immigration control as a carceral regime.

These are just two areas of inquiry—racial disparities and the immigration regime—that need histories and historians of the U.S. West to fully develop. And, as the articles in this volume demonstrate, picking up the carceral lens can help historians of the U.S. West to deepen our analysis of inequities in the region while opening up familiar topics, such as borders, immigration, and the Spanish Mission system. What more we will learn at the junction of carceral studies and the U.S. West remains to be seen but some important changes are already afoot, such as the overhaul of the Law and Order exhibit at the Autry Museum. Therefore, I want to close by thanking the contributors to this volume—Elliott Young, Benjamin Madley, and Mary Mendoza—for risking to move this young marriage forward. ■

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NOTE

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2004); David Hernández, "Pursuant to Deportation: Latinos and Immigrant Detention," *Latino Studies* 6 (2008): 35–63.

28. Tanya Bolash-Goza, *Deported: Policing Immigrants, Disposable Labor, and Global Capitalism* (New York: New York University Press, 2015). See also Tanya Bolash-Goza and Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo, "Latino Immigrant Men and the Deportation Crisis: A Gendered Racial Removal Program," *Latino Studies* 11, no. 3 (2013): 271–92; Jeremy Raff, "The Double Punishment for Black Undocumented Immigrants," *The Atlantic*, December 30, 2017.