

practical guidebook for practitioners precisely because of its lack of systematism and the absence of an easy-to-use format. At the same time, it does not qualify as academic as it does not provide synthesis and new approaches. Some parts of the book are written in a well-structured way, whilst other parts use a different style and content, with even minor technical things like references being put in different ways. Perhaps the real beneficiary of this book is the possible “examinee” who could (by skipping the first theoretical parts) get rather a good idea on how to pass proceedings with “clean records”?

After Deportation: Ethnographic Perspectives

**Edited by Shahram
Khosravi**

Published by Palgrave Macmillan (ISBN-13: 978-3319572666; ISBN-10: 3319572660).

Louise Victoria Johansen, PhD, Ass.Prof.*

In *After Deportation: Ethnographic Perspectives*, thirteen chapters by different authors provide strong accounts of what happens when migrants and rejected asylum seekers are deported from countries in which they have resided for shorter or longer periods. This anthology highlights a phase of deportees’ lives that is seldom ethnographically studied when compared to the much larger interest given to immigration detention and deportation. The ethnographies highlight post deportation phases from different geographic, gendered and social perspectives. Some of the narratives include deportation from EU countries to countries such as Nigeria, Cameroun, Mali and Togo, while other chapters analyze experiences of deportees from the United States to the Caribbean, from Australia to Samoa, or even from Iran to Afghanistan. The authors show how the very different circumstances in which people are deported shape their constraints and possible strategies.

*) Faculty of Law, University of Copenhagen, Denmark

Correspondence to: louise.victoria.johansen@jur.ku.dk

Many of the contributions cite Natalie Peutz's call for an 'anthropology of removal' (2007), focusing on spatial and temporal dimensions of deportation. The authors thus distance themselves from the general notion of deportation as a movement from one nation state to another. While politically, deportation is couched as *ending* migration, deportation is for many migrants just part of a migration cycle in which new possibilities for migrating will continuously be explored. Therefore, the present book argues that deportation involves longer periods of time, geographical spaces, institutions, and people than perhaps expected. Deportation is seen as a transnational, intercontinental and postcolonial phenomenon. Through its involvement with individual deportees, the book shows how they are part of larger sociopolitical and economic agendas. The so-called 'Global North' needs labor from the 'Global South' but wishes to regulate this flow through possibilities of importing and deporting laborers. The authors criticize the official rhetoric surrounding deportation through the use of concepts like 'home country', 'family' and 'reintegration'. These discourses serve to depoliticize deportation which is precisely characterized by separating families in the country of deportation. Similarly, programs of 'assisted voluntary returns' are mostly not voluntary nor are they perceived as a 'return' by deportees themselves. The book pinpoints how 'assisted voluntary returns' are instead part of neoliberal governing practices through which deportees are perceived as self-governing subjects who are able to handle decisions about their own deportation.

Methodologically, most of the chapters use qualitative or mixed methods, although the volume of qualitative data varies somewhat from chapter to chapter. The studies often involve a longitudinal

approach, following people through different phases of their deportation. As a consequence, most studies are multi-sited and use different kinds of communication technology such as Skype and other internet media, underlining how an ethnography of deportation cannot just be about 'places' to study, but also about *who* to study and *how* to follow people on the move.

Several of the contributions analyze gendered aspects of post-deportation. For instance, gender is crucial to understanding female sex worker migrants from Nigeria, who have been deported from an EU country. Not all sex workers are victims of human trafficking, but they are often depicted as such. By accepting this categorization, they may gain access to some kind of economic support from the deporting countries, but at the cost of having to perform 'the good victim' as entrepreneurs in the country of return.

The problem of receiving economic support in the process of deportation, called 'pay-to-go' models, is also addressed in other chapters of the book. The relative success or failure of this model is dependent on several issues. A key to success is if migrants have had the chance to plan their departure. Unfortunately, this is precisely not the case for deportees, who are often picked up without notice by police and transported directly to migration detention. Furthermore, rejected asylum seekers often return to countries still at war, making it almost impossible to set up a business or the like. These obstacles highlight how pay-to-go initiatives are political legitimations for deporting people, but with little or no positive outcomes for either deportees or receiving countries. One further interesting perspective put forward in another chapter is the fact that deportees have a better chance of coping with deportation if they have been

imprisoned in the deporting country than if they have been in immigration detention. Being in prison may involve access to education and the possibility of planning their own deportation.

A criminal conviction is one of the recurring reasons for deportation. Authors show how this may have particular negative consequences for deportees because they have often been long-term legal residents in the country of deportation, where they also have families. As deportees, they feel total estrangement, loss, and regret over past actions. At the same time, their new community often meets them with fear and hostility.

Running through all chapters is the overall description of loss, separation and failure following deportation. Some informants describe how it is more stigmatizing to be a deportee than to be a sex worker because it is perceived as a sign of downward social mobility. The economic and social situation may also have changed for the worse in the country of return, making it extremely difficult for deportees to cope. Deportation is depicted as a life-changing event, placing deportees in strenuous situations of liminality because of their role of being in-between different countries, cultures and communities.

The anthology renders detailed portraits of people who live in these post-deportation situations. Each chapter provides different perspectives on their hardships and the coping strategies they develop. Authors as well as informants insist on the fact that deportees are not victims but actors trying to navigate in the new situations they encounter, for instance by developing 'transnational survival strategies' and using their skills from the 'Global North' in their receiving environments.

As such, *After Deportation : Ethnographic*

Perspectives conveys strong accounts of people who experience the period post-deportation and its consequences on their own lives, their families, and the communities they form part of. Nevertheless, it might be interesting to pursue further aspects in future post-deportation studies. For instance, the book analyzes single aspects of gender or age and their impact on how people experience deportation, but it would be interesting to analyze in a more in-depth way how intersections between race, age, gender and class influence deportees' life situations in different ways. Several chapters mention the legal aspects of deportation, for instance, that insufficient knowledge about how to renew a residence permit may lead to deportation. In addition, the 'externalization' of border controls by the 'Global North' to places of departure is shown to create new criminal categories such as 'illegal *emigration*', and thus also new legal norms in 'Global South' countries. These legal and often quite technical aspects of (post) deportation would be rewarding to study further since they both visibly and covertly shape deportation processes.