



# Globalization and Borders

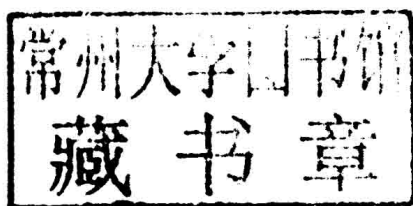
## Death at the Global Frontier

Leanne Weber

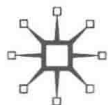
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Leanne Weber and Sharon Pickering (*editors*)

GLOBALIZATION AND BORDERS

Death at the Global Frontier

Linda Zhao

FINANCING ILLEGAL MIGRATION

Chinese Underground Banks and Human Smuggling in New York City

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*"Globalization and Borders: Death at the Global Frontier* is a must-read for anyone interested in rethinking the problem of policing migration beyond traditional approaches to migration, border controls and sovereignty." – *Punishment and Society*

"This is an ambitious book that brings attention to an understudied phenomenon, and attempts to develop a criminological explanation for deaths at the border. It pushes the emerging fields of the criminology of mobility and border criminologies (Aas and Bosworth, 2013) forward since it develops theoretical and empirical links between migration and crime. But, rather than focus exclusively on the criminalization of migration, the book highlights the crimes of the powerful that produce great social harm, a topic of renewed interest to criminology. As such, the book will appeal to readers in critical criminology, socio-legal studies, migration, human rights, international law and globalization among other related fields." – *Theoretical Criminology*

"Weber and Pickering's book unravels a striking and largely under-researched facet of immigration as a growing global phenomenon [...] It is a well-documented research about the most pernicious consequences of border controls. By meticulously linking these tragedies to border measures, Pickering and Weber have presented a powerful insight that runs contrary to the dominant public discourse on 'border protection' in Western countries. It is a necessary read for both academics and policy makers." – *British Journal of Criminology*

*"Globalization and Borders* is a comprehensive and insightful study of the deadly nature of border policing activities carried out in Europe and the US. As such, it provides a crucial resource for understanding the fate that awaits asylum seekers deterred from attempting to reach Australia." – *Current Issues in Criminal Justice*

"Migration and borders are deeply contested and political issues. Pickering and Weber are two of the most passionate and well informed academic voices in the debate. Drawing from a remarkable range of sources and brilliantly written, their 'border autopsy' is a must-read for any policy maker, student and academic with interest in migration. In fact, it should be read by anyone. The extraordinary human tragedies unfolding at the Western borders, which are masterfully documented and analysed in this book, should not be left to the especially interested." – *Katja Franko Aas, University of Oslo, Norway*

"The authors are two of the foremost researchers in the criminology of migration control – a specialist area that they have done much to create and set the agenda for. This book promises to become a standard work on this topic which will provide new and important insights." – *Ben Bowling, King's College, London, UK*

“So much of our work here at the Institute is about collecting information on deaths – racist murders, deaths in police custody, in prisons, deaths at the border, deaths in detention centres, asylum seekers who give up hope, hang themselves, jump off balconies. So this book makes me think why do we do it? [...] It’s as though, those of us who have been in the business of counting and accounting have, without our knowing it, provided a counter-balance to the processes of neutralisation, dehumanisation and distanciation that this book describes.’ – *Liz Fekete, Institute of Race Relations London, UK*

“Deaths at the migratory fault lines where rich and poor nations intersect are an almost taken-for-granted reality of our increasingly unequal times. Powerful nations ‘illegalize’ desperate migrants and subject them to ever more arduous journeys to prevent entry, but they prefer to keep the consequences of these actions out of public view. This thoughtful book, written in the style of an inquest, lays bare the violence that underlies contemporary border control and provides groundwork for a much-needed reconceptualization of national responsibilities.’ – *Doris Marie Provine, Professor of Justice Studies, Arizona State University, USA*

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Springer Science+Business Media B. V. for Weber, L. (2006) 'The shifting frontiers of migration control', in S. Pickering and L. Weber (eds), *Borders, mobility and technologies of control*, Springer, Dordrecht.

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# List of Acronyms

AAP	Australian Associated Press
ACLU	American Civil Liberties Union
ACLUNC	American Civil Liberties Union of Northern California
ACM	Australasian Correctional Management
ADF	Australian Defence Force
AFP	Australian Federal Police
AI	Amnesty International
AIC	Australian Institute of Criminology
ASIS	Australian Secret Intelligence Service
BA	British Airways
BMI	Binational Migration Institute
BORSTAR	Border Safety Initiative Search Trauma and Rescue Team
BPC	Border Patrol Command
BSI	Border Safety Initiative
CPT	European Committee for the Prevention of Torture
CCTV	Closed Circuit Television
CNDH	Comisión Nacional de los Derechos Humanos
DIAC	Department of Immigration and Citizenship
DIMIA	Department of Immigration, Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs
ECRE	European Council on Refugees and Exiles
EDM	Early Day Motion
ERA	European Race Audit
EU	European Union
GAO	Government Audit Office
HMIP	HM Inspector of Prisons
HREOC	Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission
ICE	Immigration and Customs Enforcement
IND	Immigration and Nationality Directorate
IRR	Institute of Race Relations
LRP	Lateral Repatriation Program
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NAO	National Audit Office
NGO	Non-government organization
SAS	Special Air Services
SIEV	Suspected Illegal Entry Vessel

SOLAS	Safety of Life at Sea
TPV	Temporary Protection Visa
UKBA	UK Border Agency
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNITED	United Against Racism and Fascism

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# Introduction: Death at the Global Frontier

For every dead body washed up on the shores of the developed world, experts estimate there are at least two others that are never recovered. Nearly 14,000 people are known to have died between 1993 and 2010 trying to enter Europe, or while in detention or during forcible deportation. Across the three key border zones between the Global North and Global South (Europe, North America and Australia), drowning is by far the most frequent cause of death recorded by non-government organizations (NGOs) and official sources. Corpses frequently wash up on Mediterranean beaches. Other significant causes of death are suffocation, vehicle accidents and suicide. Men, women and children die from hypothermia while attempting to cross the border between Greece and Turkey, of dehydration in the Moroccan desert, or while trying to swim across rivers and bays. The hardships of unregulated modes of transport such as unseaworthy vessels, or unventilated and overcrowded lorries and containers, coupled with inadequate food and water, add to the misery and peril. Drowning is also the most frequent cause of border deaths for those trying to enter Australia, the most notable instances being the sinking of the SIEV X in 2001 and the shipwreck on Christmas Island in December 2010. On the United States (US)–Mexico border, deaths due to environmental exposure in the deserts of California and Arizona together with drownings in the Rio Grande account for a large proportion of those who die, but deaths also occur both before and after people cross borders. Illegally crossing borders has long been potentially fatal (Nevins, 2008). In this book we argue that people die because of the ways in which the borders between the Global North and the Global South are controlled. These deaths are often foreseeable and can occur by deliberate act or omission.



The explication of border deaths is not straightforward, and nor are the chains of responsibility or accountability for these deaths easily identifiable. A deeper understanding of the issues requires agility in shifting between local and international contexts and seeking to account for the various drivers for mobility and repulsion. Moreover, it necessitates consideration of the interplay between the individual and structural aspects of illegalized border crossing that create the conditions for, if not the cause of, death. While such interplays are complex, we acknowledge at the outset that conditions of security and insecurity are primarily driven by states and collective state interests subject to the demands of global capital. This is not to obfuscate the role of corporate responsibility or of powerful non-state institutions and actors, but rather to recognize that for the three key border zones we consider the state to be the primary actor, *dramatis personae*, in the performance of border control, even when that performance is devolved or contracted to corporate actors. We also recognize that the key drivers of mobility are at least shaped if not constituted by physical and economic insecurity in the relations between the Global North and Global South. Therefore, while we are indebted to rich, local empirical accounts of the border, such examinations cannot always engage with the global context of mobility or account for the international drivers aimed at achieving security for some groups by generating greater insecurities for others. Our concern with global frontiers is thus focused on drawing on the detail provided by local studies but locating them in the context of an international study of death and border control. To this extent we use the term global frontier to connote both a set of geographical sites and the politico-legal status of these sites.

On one level this book seeks to develop some of the conceptual and theoretical terrain of an interdisciplinary but primarily criminological study of border deaths. In this regard we gratefully extend the work of fellow travellers in the field who have sought to connect the traditional remit of criminology with the world of international relations, migration and international law. We pick up threads from the work on the sociology of denial by Stanley Cohen (2001) and state crime theorists such as Kauzlarich et al. (2003), and Green and Ward (2004); transnational policing scholars like Bowling (2010) and Andreas and Nadelmann (2006); border policing scholars Andreas (2001) and Nevins (2003, 2008); and most notably those who have specifically sought to explicate the criminalization–migration–security nexus, particularly Aas (2007), Pratt (2005), Michalowski (2007), Wonders (2006), Bosworth and Guild (2008) and Grewcock (2009). However, in developing this theoretical terrain we