Xueyin Zha
Mediterranean Migration
Independent Project
Prof. Rose and Prof. Borges
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<center>The Paradox of Globalization: Europe's Border Control</center>

From 1970s to 1990s, the ideology of neo-liberalism and the process of globalization tremendously increased global interconnectedness and economic integration[1]. This process leads to the breakdown of many internal borders inside the First World[2]. In 1993 the European Union was formally established, and in 1985 the internal border-free zone: Schengen Space was created. Ten years later the Schengen area already included 27 European countries within which European citizens could travel freely without identity checks[3]. Moreover, the unification of Germany in 1989 also marks the disintegration of its regional border: the Berlin Wall.

However, at around the same time when the First World was increasingly liberated, the borders between the First and the Third World, the North and the South were becoming ever more present. From the 1960s to 1990s, with the development of border commerce across US-Mexican border, the militarization of this border also increased[4]. In Europe, individual states' effort in strengthening the frontier was closely followed by Europe-wide border control. For example, in 1974, France closed its frontier towards most refugees, asylum seekers and illegal migrants coming from the Third World[5]. In 1999, French border was

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[1] Molla, Rafiqul Islam, et al. "The Deceptive Game of Today's Capitalist Globalisation Evidence from Malaysia's Experience." *European Journal of East Asian Studies* 10, no. 2 (12, 2011): 170

[2] Ibid 170

[3] Linke, Uli. "Fortress Europe: Globalization, Militarization and the Policing of Interior Borderlands." *Topia (York University)* no. 23 (Spring2010, 2010): 110

[4] Heyman, Josiah. "Capitalism and US Policy at the Mexican Border." *Dialectical Anthropology* 36, no. 3 (12, 2012): 273

[5] Schain, Martin. *The Politics of Immigration in France, Britain and the United States : A Comparative Study.* (Basingstoke : Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 66.

militarized and a heavy police force was formed[6]. In 2008, EUROSUR, the common

European border surveillance system was created, aiming at obstructing any illegal border

crossing[7]. Yet even though these borders are heavily patrolled against migrants, the free

market and the circulation of capital between the South and the North are unaffected[8]. Thus

the borders between the South and the North have created a distorted form of globalization

from which the free circulation of people is excluded.

Globalization ideally refers to international integration – a process capable of creating a

"borderless" world[9]. In the sense of economic globalization, the integration of national

economy into global economy and the framework of international free market are in fact

closely related to international migration.[10]. As pointed out by IPA researcher Chris Berg,

international migration and free trade are "two sides of the same coin"[11]. Thus global

migration is an indispensable part of globalization. However, the reality that global migration

is a part of globalization is exactly what the North fears. More precisely, it is the

emancipating potential of globalization revealed by global migration that the North dreads.

Through global migration, the North envisions the future of its hegemony being challenged

by the incessant movement of the migrants from the South. So the North, with various kinds

of fear, started to build and reinforce economic, cultural and physical boundaries to secure

itself from the "invasion" of immigrants. As opposed to globalization, the North creates a

kind of parochialism that distorts the ideal form of globalization and leads to global

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[6] Ibid. 72

[7] Feldman, Gregory. . *The Migration Apparatus : Security, Labor, and Policymaking in the European Union. (*California: Stanford, 2012), 94

[8] Chambers, Iain. *Mediterranean Crossings : The Politics of an Interrupted Modernity (* Durham : Duke, 2008),3

[9] Molla, *The Deceptive*, 170

[10] Ibid. 170

[11] Berg, Chris. "Open the Borders." *Policy* 26, no. 1 (03, 2010): 4

capitalism, a tool for the North to exploit the South and perpetuate its underdevelopment[12].

As a result some scholar points out that today's globalization equal global capitalism, in which the capitalist component is inflicting disasters to the South while benefiting the North[13].

However, seen from the border control of the European Union, global capitalism is the irrational production of nation states in their attempts to distort globalization and to achieve their own ends. Such irrationality is visible in many ways. On the one hand, the distortion of globalization through the obstruction of free human mobility is constructed on Europe's fear and insecurity towards the outsiders, sentiments which are fundamentally irrational. On the other hand, such distortion exacerbates global inequality and only leads to more immigration, which makes the EU's border control untenable as a whole. To illustrate these points, I will first take an economic perspective and examine the selectivity of migrants at the EU border. I will show how the selective strategy in immigrant control is irrational in a pure economic logic because it is rooted in deeper social, political and historical insecurity and fear. Then I will analyze these different social, political and historical factors in the construction of Europe's securitized outlook, which ultimately leads to the fortification of Europe's physical borders – the militarization of border control and the creation of extraterritorial borders. Finally, I will examine how these immigration managements are fundamentally irrational because they not only ignore the root cause of South-North immigration but also exacerbate it, which only creates increasing incentive to migrate to Europe.

In another sense, this paper is also an exploration of the contradictions to the idea of

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[12] Molla, *The Deceptive*, 170

[13] Linke, Uli. "Fortress Europe: Globalization, Militarization and the Policing of Interior Borderlands." *Topia (York University)* no. 23 (Spring2010, 2010): 65

liberal democracy in Europe's border management. The border control is an outright denial of

migrants' freedom, equality and human rights which are all heart values in Western liberal

democracy. It is through exploring the contradiction that the relationship between states

borders and global capitalism becomes clear. I gained my initial inquiry from the article

written by Parvati Nair: "Europe's "Last" Wall: Contiguity, Exchange, and Heterotopia in

Ceuta, the Confluence of Spain and North Africa". Nair notes that there is a "rift" between

the ideology of liberal democracy and the democracy in practiced[14]. She contributes this

discrepancy to liberal democracy's dependence on late capitalism, which, according to her,

brings about global inequality. Iain Chambers in his book: *Mediterranean Crossings: the*

Politics of an Interrupted Modernity, explores the historical root of the contradictions to

liberal democracy. He points out that the North's power hegemony is founded on the

historical exploitation of the South, which leads to the underdevelopment of the South and

the exclusion of the poorer people from the "modernity", "progress" and liberal democracy of

the Western world. Gregory Feldman takes a closer looks at the functioning of European

border apparatus in his book: *The Migration Apparatus: Security, Labor, and Policymaking*

in the European Union. He closely examines how by utilizing different border apparatus and

applying liberal rhetoric as justifications, Europe leaves the structural inequality untreated

and in turn tries to maintain its hegemony. Finally, Josiah Heyman, by analyzing capitalism

and the US-Mexican border, explores the relationship between global capitalism and the

territorial nation states[15]. He points out that the border management is created to maximize

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[14] Parvati Nair, "Europe's 'Last' Wall: Contiguity, Exchange, and Heterotopia in Ceuta, the Confluence of Spain and North
      Africa," in *Border Interrogations: Questioning Spanish Frontiers,* ed. Benita Sampedro (New York: Berghahn, 2008), 18.
[15] Heyman, Josiah. "Capitalism and US Policy at the Mexican Border." *Dialectical Anthropology* 36, no. 3 (12, 2012):
      263-277

the capitalist interests of Western nation states. However, he also advocates the adoption of a

holistic view in examining states' actions in border control, because these actions do not

always make sense in a pure capitalist logic. The scholars' works form the basis of the

perspective I take to examine Europe's border management. However, there is not enough

distinction made between the ideal form of globalization, which includes global migration as

part of its self, and global capitalism, which is more of a nation states' production. Therefore,

my analysis seeks to incorporate this aspect into the discussion and extend on the question of

how Europe's border control reflects the North's distortion of globalization and its

self-benefiting capitalist approach, and how this action is irrational and unsustainable.

Selectivity of Migrants: Creating the Economic Boundaries

With the tightening up of immigration control in recent years, the selectivity of migrants

becomes an intense process taking place at the European borders[16]. By setting an economic

boundary that molds the incoming foreign labor according to national economic needs, the

selection strategy was designed to maximize the EU's capitalist interests. However, there is a

loophole in the EU's logic of selective immigration. In trying to secure its interests by

strengthening such economic boundaries, there is a tendency to over-intensify the selective

process to the extent that it is not entirely rational in a pure capitalist logic. This leads to the

need of considering non-economic factors in the background of states' behaviors in border

management.

Because the selection of immigrants at the EU borders is an outright rejection to the

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[16] van Houtum, Henk and Roos Pijpers. "The European Union as a Gated Community: The Two-Faced Border and
     Immigration Regime of the EU." *Antipode* 39, no. 2 (03, 2007): 294

liberal values of human rights, equality, and liberty, it is one of the focuses of liberal scholars'

criticism. The demarcation of "wanted" and "unwanted" immigrants based on their skills, the

possession of capital, and often their ethnicity underscores the unequal treatment of human

beings[17]. The restriction of people's movement according to those categories further adds on

the counter-liberal nature of immigrant selection. Thus border selection becomes the

manifestation of border's arbitrariness which liberal scholars condemn. Iain Chambers

criticizes European states' unjustified authority at the borders by stating: "the border is not a

thing but, rather, the materialization of authority"[18] Harald Bauder condemns the

international migration control as untenable because it violates "equal economic opportunity"

and "global justice"[19]. The European states' dominance over immigrants' freedom of

movement thus reflects the liberal democracy impaired by the force of global capitalism,

which according to Parvati Nair, encourages inequality[20].

The liberal scholars' views are certainly justifiable in that the European states' selection

of immigrants is fundamentally based on their capitalist interests. With the liberalization of

the market and trade, the global competition for highly-skilled labor increases[21]. Starting

from the 21 century the European countries are trying to attract high-skilled immigrants to fill

in the vacancy in job market such as health services, sciences and information technologies[22].

A blue-card system was proposed in 2007 by European Commission which granted card

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[17] Chebel d'Appollonia, Ariane. *Frontiers of Fear : Immigration and Insecurity in the United States and Europe*(Ithaca : Cornell 2012),222
[18] Chambers, *Mediterranean Crossings* 6
[19] van Houtum, *Gated Community* 294
[20] Nair, *Europe's 'last' Wall.* 39
[21] Panizzon, Marion. "Migration and Trade: Prospects for Bilateralism in the Face of Skill-Selective Mobility Laws." *Melbourne Journal of International Law* 12, no. 1 (06, 2011), 99
[22] Ibid.,224

holders high level of freedom to move and work in the entire EU[23]. In addition, individual

European states are also applying their own recruitment strategies. Netherlands is using a

fast-track work permit procedure to facilitate the recruitment of desired professionals. The

United Kingdom adopted the "point system" to help recruit managers and entrepreneurs. The

circumstance of those highly-skilled immigrants differs vastly from the less-skilled

immigrants, who are perceived as superfluous labor for the host society[24]. Every year,

thousands of African immigrants were detained, deported, and dehumanized at the border of

the EU whose logic is to protect its own economy against the "invasion" of "cheap" labors[25].

However, besides blocking the unwanted immigrants out of the external frontier, the EU's

border also has its unique function in labor exploitation[26]. By applying stringent immigration

control on the unwanted immigrants, the states render these immigrants defenseless upon

their entry and all the more exploitable by the state economy[27]. Anthropologist Josiah

Heyman thus argues: "border and immigration enforcement is a well-designed mechanism to

increase capital's ability to exploit the proletariat, at least in immigrant heavy sectors"[28].

Therefore the less-skilled immigrants, often coming as illegal immigrants, become the

extremely squeezable and victimized workforce in informal markets and temporary work

force, filling the job vacancy of the state's market but nevertheless criminalized. Hence it is

reasonable to say that the profit-driven, self-serving agenda of capitalism leads to European

states' unjust selection of immigrants and the transgression of the ideal of liberal democracy.

However, viewed in pure capitalist logic, European states' actions are not entirely

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[23] Ibid.,225
[24] van Houtum, *Gated Community* 300
[25] Ibid 298
[26] Chebel d'Appollonia, Ariane. *Frontiers of Fear* 223
[27] van Houtum, *Gated Community* 299
[28] Heyman, Josiah. "Capitalism and US Policy at the Mexican Border." *Dialectical Anthropology* 36, no. 3 (12, 2012): 270

rational. Josiah Heyman notes that there is a "balance" that states maintained between restricting immigrants and enabling the continuous inflow of immigrants[29]. The desirable effect will be the production of just enough of disposable and exploitable foreign work force for the state economy. However, according to Heyman's illustration, the tendency to continuously strengthen border control threatens to weaken the later part of this balance: the regular inflow of immigrants[30]. Europe, with its aging population and local youth unwilling to work in some sections of the economy, almost has an unceasing need for the so-called "cheap labor". Therefore in a pure capitalist logic, the over-intensified immigration control does not benefit European economy at all. In fact, there are already signs showing that the states' selective immigration policies do not always work for the benefit of state economy. In search for high-skilled workers, European countries tend to recruit too many immigrants in some sections and cause the over qualification of some workers in other sections[31]. Furthermore, as the global competition for high-skilled workers has increased, it becomes increasingly costly and unwise for European countries to try to hire and keep more high-skilled workers[32]. Moreover, simple economic logic will suggest that in order to protect native skilled workers, the state should raise entry barriers for highly-skilled immigrants instead of for unskilled ones, but in reality it is the reverse of it[33]. While the states are trying to reduce low-skilled immigration, the sections of seasonal, agricultural and informal markets are in great need of foreign labors and employers are forced to recruit more illegal

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[29] Ibid 270

[30] Ibid 270

[31] Ibid. 227

[32] Ibid. 226

[33] Russo, Giuseppe. "Voting Over Selective Immigration Policies with Immigration Aversion." *Economics of Governance* 12, no. 4 (11, 2011): 327

immigrants[34]. Also, while the unskilled labors are seen as a burden for the economy and a threat to the social welfare, they are apparently the remedy for the social security system in the long term as Europe is facing an aging population[35]. Thus, thinking in terms of pure capitalist logic, the EU states' selection of immigrants and border management do not always make sense.

Selective immigration is the EU strategy to maximize its capitalist interests from the foreign labor resources. It reveals the EU's desire to secure capitalist interests to its interior space while maintaining the economic inferiority of the incoming undocumented immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers[36]. The disparity established by the economic borders allows the states to make the most of the restrained inflow of "cheap" labors while relishing the intake of skilled labor. Such skill-based discriminative immigration control fundamentally violates the liberal values of freedom and equality. It is therefore vehemently criticized by liberal scholars for its capitalist motivations. However, looked closely, the tendency to overly reinforced this economic borders could not be entirely explained by a capitalist logic, as such process apparently does not benefit state economy in the long term. Therefore in order to explain the irrationality involved in this process, states' social, political and historical background should also be examined.

Securitization of Immigration: Building the Cultural Border

The securitization of immigration reflects Europe's "fear" and protectionist outlook

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[34] Ibid.,229
[35] Ibid. 328
[36] Feldman, M*igration Apparatus* 78

towards immigrants that run deep in Europeans' attitudes[37]. Embedded in the history of

Europe, the insecurity and fear towards the perceived outsiders draws a rigid cultural

boundary around Europe that powerfully influences policymaking and public opinions in

regard to immigration control. As a result border control is continuously pushed towards

harsher stance. However, the sense of fear and insecurity is largely unfounded and

exaggerated according to the reality of immigration in Europe. Therefore, the securitization

of immigration forms the basis of Europe's irrationality which is evidence in the practice of

the EU's border control. Here the focus of analysis will be on the two Mediterranean EU

states: France and Spain, as they respectively represent the older and newer immigration

countries. Also, their physical location in the Mediterranean region is also where the

historical and cultural linkage between Europe and Africa is most significant.

During the recent years in the EU, the security concerns attached to immigration has

become a hot topic in political and social arenas[38]. The media often uses words and phrases

like "invasion", "flood", "wave of mass migration", and "being deluged with refugees" to

describe immigration, evoking the feeling of fear among the general public[39]. Moreover, such

fear and antipathy towards immigrants are especially targeting the perceived cultural "other":

non-European immigrants. In France, survey shows that a large and growing percent of

French people think that there are too many North African immigrants, and the view that

North Africans are inassimilable prevails[40]. In Spain, the news of the captured North African

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[37] Chebel d'Appollonia, Ariane. *Frontiers of Fear.*
[38] van Houtum, *Gated Community* 295

[39]Driessen, Henk. *The 'new immigration' and the transformation of the European-African frontier.* Wilson, Thomas M. and
 Hastings Donnan. *Border Identities : Nation and State at International Frontiers* (New York: Cambridge,1998,) 107

[40] Schain, Martin. *The Politics of Immigration* 75

immigrants coming from the little boats "patera" could be seen almost every day, and

immigration is publicly referred to as a "problem", becoming the third national problem

following unemployment and terrorism[41]. Together with the problematization of immigration

is the criminalization of immigrants. The global terrorist events such as the September 11

attacks in the US, the March 11 attack in Madrid, and the July 7 attack in London strongly

impacted European public opinion towards Muslim immigrants. As a result the governments

were pushed to apply stricter immigration quota towards North African immigrants[42].

However, in reality there is no direct correlation between immigration and terrorism in the

EU, and immigrants are not the main source of crime[43]. Moreover, the perceived "invasion"

of immigrants is largely groundless in that the total immigrant population living in the EU is

below 5.5 percent of the total population, which is even low comparing to historical

percentage[44]. Thus the securitization of immigration is irrational and groundless in the sense

that it is based on pure exaggeration of threat and insecurity that cannot stand a simple data

analysis.

However, the policymakers and the public all seem to feel contented with such

exaggeration because it push forwards stricter immigration control that further blocks out the

unwanted foreigners, as noted by Iain Chambers: "[Europe] frequently feels secure only

when purged of 'foreign' bodies"[45]. Therefore, the securitization of immigration

fundamentally reveals the protectionist outlook of the EU, which results in the strengthening

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[41] Agrela, Belen. *Spain as a Recent Country of Immigration: How Immigration Became a Symbolic, Political, and Cultural Problem in the "New Spain"*: eScholarship, University of California 2002-08-01, 6

[42] van Houtum, *Gated Community* 295

[43] Cornelius, Wayne A., Philip L. Martin, and James Frank Hollifield. *Controlling Immigration : A Global Perspective* (California, Stanford,1994) 367

[44] Chebel d'Appollonia, Ariane. *Frontiers of Fear.* 23

[45] Chambers, *Mediterranean Crossings* 13

of not only Europe's physical but also cultural contour as opposed to the outsiders. Although

such protectionist outlook is signified by the defense against the perceived insecurity and

economic burden from immigration, to a deeper level it is closely related to cultural and

social terms such as national identity, social cohesion, and national values, as exemplified by

France and Spain[46].

    The cultural border of France is established by the reinforcement and attachment to the

national identity and Republican values. The French integration model: "assimilation model"

underpinned by the Republican values stipulates that being French means full acceptance of

French cultural and political values[47]. The goal will be the creation of a fully integrated

society in which the ethnic origins of immigrants are erased[48]. Despite the apparent

ethnocentric and xenophobic nature of this approach, it was highly recognized by French

authorities, as expressed by people from the scholarly and political circle: "[The model's]

principles continue to inspire government policy towards immigrants"; to withdraw from it

"would break with a long tradition of national integration in France and weaken (and perhaps

even dissolve) the social fabric"[49] The assimilation model thus reflects French people's rigid

attachment to the French national identity and to the Republican values, which are perceived

as under siege by the inflow of North African immigrants. Furthermore, because the goal of

the model has never been fully achieved in reality, perception of North African immigrants as

inassimilable prevails, coupled by the nearly paranoid public reaction towards the presence of

cultural "others". The climax of such reaction was the "Scarf Affair" which aroused

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[46] van Houtum, *Gated Community* 291
[47] Schain, Martin. *The Politics of Immigration* 77
[48] Ibid 78
[49] Ibid 78

unprecedented national attention. In 1989, three young Moroccan school girls wearing

Islamic head scarves were expelled. It was agreed upon in the country that the "Scarf Affair"

stood for disrespectful challenges to the Republic values and French national identity[50].

Therefore by clearly separating those who belong and those who do not, the cultural borders

of French society is firmly established.

Similar cultural exclusion of North African immigrants could be seen in Spain. Albeit a

relatively newer immigration country with close historical and cultural link to North Africa,

Spain is also marked by the apprehension of the cultural "others". Since the Franco's death in

1977, Spain has been emphasizing its newly established "liberal and pluralistic" democracy

and therefore avoided political extremism in the treatment of immigration[51]. As a result

xenophobic notion such as the threatened national identity was dismissed and the idea of a

multicultural modern society was embraced[52]. However, in reality, it is exactly the shunning

of the Franco past that constructs the special form of Spanish "national identity", one that

demarcates the cultural "others" as counter-modern and threatening to democracy[53].

Consequently, immigrants from North Africa are unjustifiably and stereotypically seen as

representing totalitarian culture, religious extremism, and gender inequality[54]. For example,

to the Spanish public, the linking of Islam with pre-modernity and ignorance has produced

the general hostility towards Islamic practices including the hijab[55]. The wearing of hijab is

seen as challenges to the liberal gender politics in Spain, the hard-won free womanhood

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[50] Green, Nancy L. "Le Melting-Pot: Made in America, Produced in France." *Journal of American History* 86, no. 3 (12, 1999): 1198

[51] Encarnación, Omar G. "The Politics of Immigration: Why Spain is Different." *Mediterranean Quarterly* 15, no. 4 (Fall2004, 2004):178

[52] Ibid. 180

[53] Driessen, *The 'new immigration'* 100

[54] Driessen, *The 'new immigration'* 100

[55] Taha, Maisa C. . *The Hijab North of Gibraltar: Moroccan Women as Objects of Civic and Social Transformation*. Vol.15, 2010. 465

liberated from the Franco dictatorship[56]. Since the Muslim women are presumed as suffering

the patriarchal control, the hijab they wear remind Spanish society of its Franco past, a

patriarchal society in which women's freedom was restricted and the stereotypical "roles" for

women in the society were reinforced. As a result many Spanish women felt insulted when

they saw veiled Muslim women in public, perceiving the hijab as a threatening religious

symbol subverting the liberal norm of the Spanish society[57]. Thus, although Spain touts its

institutional goal of interculturalism, its demarcation of the cultural alterity nevertheless

reveals its increasingly prominent cultural boundary securing itself from the perceived

invasion of the outsiders.

From the social exclusion of the cultural "others" as exemplified by France and Spain,

there emerge Europe's cultural boundaries that seek to, according to Chambers, "separate this

multiplicity and diversity [of the Mediterranean region] into quarantined realms, leading to a

subsequent 'clash of civilizations'"[58]. In other words, Europe is drawing rigid cultural

boundaries to single itself from North Africa, severing the complex cultural and historical

connections with the African continent which Europe perceives as pre-modern and backward.

Such boundary, moreover, is the result of a lingering colonial mentality that contemporary

Europeans are numbly unaware of, as argued by Chambers:

> Today's xenophobia – increasingly concentrated in the West on the fear of militant
> Islam…– has much to do with the failure and unwillingness to work through a still
> largely unconscious European past in which colonialism and empire were (and are)
> distilled into national configurations of "identity", "culture", "modernity", and
> "progress"[59].

Such linkage between today's exclusion of the "others" and Europe's colonial past could be

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[56] Ibid 469
[57] Ibid 474
[58] Chambers, *Mediterranean Crossings* 3
[59] Ibid.7

seen from a quick examination of the history of France and Spain. French people to this day

deeply believe in the rational human nature and the universal human rights, concepts that

were implanted during the French Revolution[60]. However, during the Third Republic, when

French colonialism was at its height, the Republican values of progress and equality were

used to represent a sense of national and cultural superiority that justified French people's

conquest of the North African colonies, which are perceived as backward and in need of

salvation from Western civilization[61]. Therefore, conclusion was reached that the Republican

values of universalism and egalitarianism had no relevance in the pre-modern colonies, and

the racial inequality should justifiably exist[62]. Although today's French people are far less

explicit about racial and ethnic differences (in fact they engage in a rigorous denial of

differences) in adherence to the Republican values, the vestige of colonial mentality is still

embedded in the French psyche, which speaks for the conscious and unconscious exclusion

of North African immigrants.

In the case of Spain, the current relationship between Spaniards and North African

immigrants involves the complex historical animosity that continues to influence the attitudes

of Spaniards today. The current inflow of Muslim immigrants is associated with the Muslim

conquest of the southern Spain eight hundred years ago[63]. The North African immigrants and

especially their religious presence are perceived as the "ghostly returns of the Moors"[64].

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[60] Juteau, Danielle. "Forbidding Ethnicities in French Sociological Thought: The Difficult Circulation of Knowledge and
    Ideas." *Mobilities* 1, no. 3 (11, 2006): 400
[61] Ibid 401
[62] Ibid 401
[63] Encarnacion, The Politics of Immigration, 172

[64]Flesler, Daniela. *The Return of the Moor : Spanish Responses to Contemporary Moroccan Immigration (*Purdue University
    Press, 2008,) 55.

According to Daniela Flesler, scholar in Spanish Cultural Studies, Spaniards' perception of

Moroccans as "Moors" "becomes a symptom of the ghostly slippage between the present and

the past they produce, and the unsolved historical trauma they awake"[65]. Adding to this

historical trauma and embitterment is the Spanish colonization of part of North Africa

centuries later, whose continuation is today's Spanish control of Ceuta and Melilla in the land

of North Africa[66]. Therefore, besides Spaniards' post-colonial mentality which produces the

perception of North African immigrants as pre-modern, the immigrants coming to seek better

lives are perceived as "invaders" returning from the remote past.

The intensifying securitization of immigration could thus be seen as rooted in the

historical and social construction of cultural boundaries which seeks to exclude and eliminate

the cultural "others". The often irrational sense of insecurity and fear that fueled the

painstaking exclusion of the "others" is therefore embedded in the social and historical

background of Europe. Such cultural border explains why the border management of the EU

has the tendency to become over-intensified to the extent that it is even irrational in an

economic sense. The fact is that Europe is rigorously creating an enclosure that protects itself

from the perceived threat to its cultural and national identity. The strong protectionist

mentality even outweighs the rational consideration of the pros and cons of immigration.

Thus some scholars accurately describe today's Europe as a "gated community" which is the

product of fear[67]. Because the feeling of fear and insecurity, in the case of the EU, is

fundamentally irrational, so are the stringent border management and the exclusion of

immigrants.

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[65] Ibid. 56
[66] Encarnacion, The Politics of Immigration, 172
[67] van Houtum, *Gated Community* 291

The Distortion of Globalization and the Increasing Presence of Physical Borders

The strengthening of EU's physical borders is the materialization of Europe's economic and cultural borders. It is also the congregated manifestation of Europe's fear and insecurity and thus is again irrational in nature. Moreover, a deeper sense of irrationality could be seen from the global repercussion of the EU's border reinforcement. The militarization and enlargement of Europe's border is the direct apparatus the EU uses to deter the effect of global migration on its inner space. It is thus a tool of the EU to distort the emancipating nature of globalization and to achieve its own capitalist ends.

In a sense, Europe is building various boundaries to protect itself from the modern migrants. Although the migrants are vulnerable entities easily held in limbo by state authorities, it is for reasons that Europe fears them. Chambers describes the modern migrants as challengers of the "planetary order" and its stipulated boundaries[68]. They are fearless individuals who are, according to Nair, propelled by the "the larger global factors of economic push and pull that compelled [them] to violate international law"[69]. Therefore, migrants from the South are tiny economic entities whose movements are driven by global disequilibrium. However, global migration, although triggered by global inequality, also reverses and alleviates global inequality[70]. Each year, approximately US$300 billion is transferred to the Third World as remittances from migrants in the First World. According to the UN's statistics, this amount far outweighs the amount per year spent on foreign aids[71].

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[68] Chambers, *Mediterranean Crossings* 7
[69] Nair, *Europe's 'Last' Wall,* 38
[70] Moya, Jose C. and McKeown, Adam, *World Migration in the Long Twentieth Century,* (Washington DC: AHA, 2011) 19.
[71] Open the borders 4

Those remittances spare the side-effects of international aid programs and greatly boost the developing countries' economy[72]. However, the emancipating potential of globalization revealed by global migration is exactly what the North strives to prevent. Žižek helps articulate the North's logic: "the present model of late capitalist prosperity *cannot be universalized*"[73].Throughout the years we see the incessant effort of the North to separate international migration from the range of globalization and render globalization an exclusively capitalist term.

The reinforcement and increased presence of physical borders is the most direct manifestation of Europe's desire to limit global free movement to only capital and exclude people[74]. The militarization of borders, the pervasiveness of border violence and the EU's extraterritorial borders together make up the states' border apparatus. With these tools, the EU strives to deter the disruptive effect of globalization on its power hegemony and to complete the distortion of globalization. Involved in this process is a series of states' behaviors that defies reasons, including the EU's own contradictions to its heavily touted liberal discourse. However, beyond the various unjustified practices in border management the greatest form of irrationality lies in the challenges to the ideal of globalization itself. By going against the emancipating potential of globalization, Europe is exacerbating global inequality and in turn leads to more immigration. This irrationality reveals the questionable nature of Europe's border strategies in maintaining its global hegemony.

The increased physical presence of European border is marked by the militarization of borders, a relatively recent process taking place in the EU. As Europe began to reconsider the

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[72] Berg, Chris. "Open the Borders." 4
[73] Feldman, *Migration Apparatus,* 78
[74] Linke, Uli. "Fortress Europe" 106

definition of security after the Cold War era, the perceived source of insecurity in Europe was increasingly shifted towards immigration[75]. As the securitization of immigration reached its zenith after the series of terrorist attacks in the early 2000s, strong public reactions pushed the governments to reinforce physical borders[76]. As a result, various border agencies became active during this period to perform the surveillance of the EU's external borders. For examples, in 2008 the European border agency: Frontex started actively engaged in the coordination between member states with their border security in the Mediterranean Sea[77]. It is also in charge of "risk analysis" which takes into account various factors of immigration to estimate the probability of illegal crossings[78]. In order to perform the tasks Frontex integrated a number of agencies into its border operations. These agencies include EUROPOL, the European Union Satellite Center (EUSC), the European Defence Agency (EDA), and the European Maritime Safety Agency (EMSA)[79]. The result is a rigorous border surveillance system that encompasses land, sea and air and incorporates various infrastructures like satellite and radar systems, vessel patrol systems, and hardware systems with airplanes and helicopters[80]. In fact, most of the border agencies are military in nature and reflect a post-Cold War military approach[81]. Frontex officials even openly embraced the view that the strategies used to handle military threat in the Cold War could be directly transferred to border control system[82]. Border scholar Timothy Dunn thus compares border control to

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[75] Benam, ÇiG D. E. M. H. "Emergence of a "Big Brother" in Europe: Border Control and Securitization of Migration." *Insight Turkey* 13, no. 3 (07, 2011): 193

[76] Linke, Uli. "Fortress Europe" 109

[77] Francesca Bertin, Elena Fontanari, IP Journal, DGAP, Last modified July 1, 2011,
https://ip-journal.dgap.org/en/ip-journal/regions/militarizing-mediterranean

[78] Feldman, *Migration Apparatus*, 90

[79] Ibid 84

[80] Ibid 96

[81] Ibid 89

[82] Ibid 89

low-intensity warfare waged against non-military enemies[83]. In the case of the EU, this is

undeniably true.

Another important aspect of border militarization is the unification or solidification of

European border control. Slavoj Žižek points out that the EU's goal is to: "establish an

all-European border police force to secure the isolation of the Union territory and thus

prevent the influx of immigrants.[84]" This could be seen from the creation of

EUROSUR(European Border Surveillance System) in 2008, which is a common European

border surveillance system[85]. This system aims at detecting and intercepting all illegal

immigrants, who are openly referred to as "targets", before they could reach the European

land or sea area[86]. The solidification of border management in the EU could also be seen in

the development of Europe-wide detention zone in the early 2000s[87]. Common rule for

expelling undocumented immigrants was set by the European Parliament in June 2008 which

allows the detention of immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers for up to eighteen months[88].

At that time, however, detention camps are already prevalent throughout the EU borders,

where migrants' lives are held in limbo. Thus with the common desire to forestall "risk" and

"crisis" brought by the outsiders, the European states formed a social "solidarity" and

exclusive common space whose physical boundaries are ever accentuated and militarized[89].

Furthermore, the militarization of border management is closely associated with brutality

and violence, which reveals the crack in Europe's liberal democracy. On the most surface

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[83] Heyman, Josiah. "Capitalism and US Policy" 273
[84] Feldman, *Migration Apparatus*, 79
[85] Ibid 94
[86] Ibid 94
[87] Linke, Uli. "Fortress Europe" 110
[88] Ibid 111
[89] Feldman, *Migration Apparatus*, 114

level, such brutality is reflected by the objectification of human being. In the surveillance

system, biometric information technology renders migrants faceless individuals and risk

analysis turns migrants into "targets" and statistics[90]. Such dehumanization is accompanied

by the disregard of migrants' lives. On March 25, 2011, a troupe of European military vessels

including a NATO vessel ignored the distress call from a boat with 72 illegal immigrants and

caused the death of 63 people[91]. It was estimated by humanitarian organizations that between

1993 and 2007, nearly 9,000 people have died from Europe's border militarization[92]. A large

number of them, often young black males, were even intentionally tortured and killed in the

detention camps under the police custody[93]. Uli Linke sums up the most frequently ways of

killing as suffocation (or hanging), the use of sedatives, drowning, being set on fire or dying

in a fire, and the denial of medical treatment[94]. However, such deaths are officially recorded

as accidents or suicides. The extreme inhumanity and violence involved in border

militarization thus fundamentally undermine the touted human rights, equality, and freedom

that make up the heart of Western liberal democracy.

On the whole, the EU's militarization of border fosters the creation of a capitalist space

which guards the capitalist way of life, economic prosperity, and the financial circulation but

brutally restricts migrants' movement which is the result of global inequality[95]. What the EU

is trying to achieve is exactly the maintenance of this inequality and the securing of its power

hegemony. However, ignoring the structural inequality and blindly obstructing global

immigration, the EU's actions are fundamentally irrational, for what the EU obstructs are not

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[90] Ibid 74
[91] Benam 191
[92] Linke, Uli. "Fortress Europe" 112
[93] Ibid 112
[94] Ibid 112
[95] van Houtum, *Gated Community* 292

just vulnerable individuals, but an entire natural process mending the North-South imbalance and propelled by globalization. Such irrationality is further manifested by Europe's creation of extraterritorial borders in North Africa. The thickening of Europe's border into the Third World reflects the EU's distortion of globalization into the self-beneficial global capitalism, which exacerbates global inequality instead of repairing it.

In the late 1990s and early 2000s, European countries have been building partnership with North African countries in controlling illegal immigrants[96]. Major North African countries like Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Libya successively signed readmission agreements or bilateral agreements with the EU[97]. In return, the EU has promised to give developmental aid and migration control assistance to the North African countries which has been turned into the "buffer zones" of EU[98]. In 2005, the Commission of EU Heads of State and Government commented on the EU migration policy that: "[i]t is based on genuine partnership with third countries, is fully integrated into the EU's other external policies, and addresses all migration and asylum issues in a comprehensive and balanced manner"[99]. It seems, therefore, that the "partnership" between Europe and the North African countries is functioning well.

However, in reality this is not the case. Instead of gaining real mutual benefits from the EU, North African countries are severely victimized, which could be seen from the situation of Morocco and Mauritania, two important "buffer zone" countries in North Africa. The EU is pressing Morocco to strengthen its border control towards sub-Saharan migrants, and

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[96] Benam, "Emergence of a "Big Brother" 197
[97] Baldwin-Edwards, Martin. "Between a Rock and a Hard Place: North Africa as a Region of Emigration, Immigration and Transit Migration." (2006) 11-13
[98] Benam, "Emergence of a "Big Brother" 200
[99] Ibid 201

Morocco dare not to disobey because of its own heavy reliance on emigration to Europe[100].

Not meeting the terms of the EU risks putting Morocco's large migrant population and the

source of remittances in Europe at stake. Morocco could not afford to lose the remittances, as

they have been the main income of Moroccan economy for years. On the other hand, as

Morocco is deporting illegal migrants and refugees from its neighboring African countries

back to their origin, Morocco is losing the diplomatic relationship with its neighbors which it

has been vigorously building since 1961[101]. A similar situation happens to Mauritania,

another major North African country transformed by the EU from a country receptive of

immigration to a barrier to African migration[102]. During this process, the European concept of

migrants as a threat was instilled into the Mauritanian public by European media. Such

concept oriented the public opinions in favor of the exclusion of immigrants. However,

Mauritanian economy is highly reliant on foreign labor. Such reliance could be seen from the

rapid economic decline of the major city Nouadhibou after 2007, when the transit route of

Canary Islands was completely closed by strengthened border controls. The closing of

Canary Islands marked the end of the inflow of migrants who are the main source of

economic prosperity for the city[103]. Therefore, the North African countries, turned into

"buffer zones" and external frontiers of the EU, are facing conflicts of interests which they

are unable to reconcile.

Thus, with more economic and political leverage, Europe extends its borders and part of

its member states' sovereignty to North Africa, interfering with North African countries'

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[100] Goldschmidt, Elie. "Storming the Fences: Morocco and Europe's Anti-Migration Policy." *Middle East Report* no. 239 (2006): 41

[101] Ibid 41

[102] Choplin, Armelle. "Mauritania and the New Frontier of Europe." McDougall, James and Judith Scheele. *Saharan Frontiers : Space and Mobility in Northwest Africa* (Bloomington: Indiana,2012), 166

[103] ibid 174

economic and political imperatives and reaping interests for itself. The self-serving, capitalist

logic behind such behavior is starkly observable. It could be seen when the EU uses its

hegemony to open up the market of the Third World and exploit the South while protecting

its own market[104]. An example for this would be Senegal's forced concession of fishing rights

to the EU through seventeen agreements[105]. Besides gaining the right to fish in Senegalese

waters, the EU set strict quota on Senegalese exports to the EU's markets. The EU thus

wreaked havoc on Senegalese economy while brought in huge economic benefits for itself.

The same logic applies to the construction of extraterritorial spaces in that the EU is gaining

social and economic advantages while victimizing the South. Firstly, by turning North

African countries into the "police" of illegal migration, Europe spares the need of doing the

"dirty jobs" and thus creates more room for liberal rhetoric and justifications. Because of the

recent closing-the-door of the EU, countries like Morocco were shifted suddenly from

immigrant sending to receiving countries, and they are ill prepared for the change of role. As

a result they frequently use violence to enforce deportation of illegal immigrants and refugees,

causing death and injuries to tens of thousands of sub-Saharan migrants[106]. More commonly,

Sub-Saharan immigrants are simply poorly treated and become the lowest class in Moroccan

society. One such example comes from actual fieldworks done in Morocco. A Nigerian

woman named Blessy fled to Morocco from Libya as a political refugee, walking in the

desert for 16 days pregnant and with two other young children. However, she had to beg to

survive in Morocco because the society has no job for her. She even expressed her wish to be

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[104] Thomas, Neil. "Global Capitalism, the Anti-Globalisation Movement and the Third World." *Capital & Class* 31, no. 92: 52
[105] Feldman, Migration Apparatus, 80
[106] Baldwin-Edwards, Martin. "Between a Rock and a Hard Place: North Africa as a Region of Emigration, Immigration and Transit Migration." (2006) 12

deported back to her home in Nigeria but, as she noted, deportation almost surely means being dumped in the desert and possibly, to die. Besides reaping social benefits by creating immigration buffer-zones, the EU also succeeded in containing the economic and political development of North African countries. In spite of the EU's rhetoric of partnership and comprehensive collaboration, it utterly ignores North African countries' social and economic needs[107]. Hence, the EU is perpetuating the underdevelopment of the South and furthering the gap between the African world and the "Fortress Europe".

However, the complete set of border apparatus: the militarization of the EU's external borders, the solidification of European borders and the extraterritorial borders all fail to stem the vibrancy of South-North immigration. Although agencies like Frontex succeeded in intercepting and returning a number of immigrants, there has not been much decrease in illegal attempts in recent decades[108]. Despite the increasing militarization of border control, South-North migration has even increased since the 1990s[109]. One reason is that border-crossing is not necessarily the main source of illegal entrance – a large number of undocumented migrants simply overstayed their tourist visas. Another reason is that more and more immigrants, faced with the increasingly patrolled European borders, are trying out longer and riskier routes such as the Canary Islands. Also, illegal networks are being professionalized and more immigrants are relying on human trafficking. However, a deeper reason is the exacerbation of structural inequality resulting from border management. In the case mentioned before, the devastation the EU caused to Senegal's fishing industry turned more Senegalese fishermen into venturesome immigrants who came to the EU to seek a

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[107] Ibid, 2
[108] de Haas, H. *Turning the Tide? Why Development Will Not Stop Migration*. Vol. 38, 2007. 820
[109] Ibid 820

better life[110]. While the politically and economically disprivileged immigrants are coming

from the South to the North often out of desperation and distress, Europe refuses to mend the

wound itself caused and blindly uses its border apparatus to worsen the wound. This reveals

the fundamental irrationality of Europe's border strategies.

Facing the apparent failure of restrictive management, some EU officials, politicians and

scholars abruptly stated that the "root cause" of migration should be tackled and a series of

"smart solutions" were put to use in the early 2000s[111]. These solutions mainly consist of

developmental strategies and the model of circular migration. The model of circular

migration also stands for temporary or return immigration strategy[112]. It views migrants as

entrepreneurs who temporarily come to Europe to seek better economic opportunities and

then return to contribute his skills and capital to his home country. This strategy is believed to

be able to reduce immigration by helping the South while avoiding permanent residency of

the migrants. Along the same vein, developmental aid and trade policies were push forward

by the EU to boost the development of the South and thus curb immigration. However, these

"smart solutions", according to Feldman, is a "fantasy" that obviously will not work but the

EU officials must pretend to believe[113]. Under the development and cooperation the EU's

security agenda still prevails which pushes more for "(forced) return" than for development[114].

This leads to the same effect as restrictive policies which make the immigrants stay

permanently just to be "on the safe side"[115]. More importantly, the structural inequality

underlying South-North immigration remains untreated, as the developmental aids are far too

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[110] Feldman, *Migration Apparatus,* 80
[111] de Haas, H. *Turning the Tide?* 820
[112] Ibid 827
[113] Feldman 150
[114] de Haas, H. *Turning the Tide?* 829
[115] Ibid 824

little to achieve any significant reduction in immigration. Hein de Haas makes the following

example:

> For Central America, for instance, it has been estimated that aid would have to amount to almost US$ 100 per person per year for a period of twenty to thirty years in order to eliminate economic incentives to emigrate.[116]

Therefore, developmental strategy does not fundamentally divert from the exclusive nature of

EU's immigration control. In reality, it is a legitimizing discourse used by the EU to treat the

symptoms of global inequality instead of curing it.

Overall, the increased physical presence of the EU's borders is the crystallized form of

fear and insecurity Europe feels towards the cultural and economic outsiders, a sentiment

aroused to an almost unprecedented height by Islamic fundamentalism and more importantly,

by the increased economic integration of the world in the recent decades. This economic

integration, with globalization as its underlying agenda, props up global migration from the

South to the North which threatens the North's power hegemony. However, by fortifying its

borders, Europe counters the force of globalization with parochialism. Its logic is therefore

fundamentally flawed not just because the border is the product of irrational sentiment of fear,

but also because through the distortion of globalization, the EU's border strategy only leads

to a vicious circle. Brutally and blindly obstructing the path of migrants, Europe exacerbates

global inequality and only leads to more immigrants.

Conclusion

In reflecting about the irrationality of Europe's border fortification, one might find that it

is also understandable in a sense. For the often paranoid and violent border fortification is by

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[116] Ibid 828

no means an isolated phenomenon: it is rooted in the historical and social construction of the alterity, the outsiders. Europe is thus entangled by the sense of fear and insecurity that was generated hundreds of years ago and continued to be fostered by current conflicts such as terrorism. These feelings lead to the strong protectionist outlook of Europe which even outweighs the rational consideration of the advantage of labor immigration. However, overemphasizing the concept of difference and the cultural boundaries risks falling into the misconception of the "clash of civilization", for what is really clashing is not so much of civilizations than of interests. In this sense the EU's border management is still fundamentally irrational. Unscrupulously dismissing and crushing the interests of modern migrants coming from the South, Europe seeks to secure its own interests and power hegemony by distorting the process of globalization. Stripped of free human mobility and dominated by the power of the North, globalization is reduced to global capitalism which instead of emancipating the South, perpetuates its underdevelopment. However, this only produces the vicious circle that generates more immigrants and in turn, more border violence.

At this point, therefore, is it even possible for the vicious circle to dissolve? In fact, the root of the question still exists in the irrationality of fear, which is unfortunately a part of human's nature. No matter how deeply rooted it is, the feeling of fear towards the migrants is unfounded in reasons. It is an exaggeration to perceive the migrants as an extreme source of threat, as Canadian political scientist Joseph H.Carens writes:

> Borders have guards and the guards have guns. This is an obvious fact of political life but one that is easily hidden from view—at least from the view of those of us who are citizens of affluent Western democracies ... Perhaps borders and guards can be justified as a way of keeping out criminals, subversives, or armed invaders. But most of those trying to get in are not like that. They are ordinary, peaceful people, seeking only the opportunity to build decent, secure lives for themselves and their families. On what

moral grounds can these sorts of people be kept out? What gives anyone the right to point guns at them?[117]

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Perhaps and most hopefully, with the flow of time that erodes and dilutes negative memories and historical animosity, one day people from the North will become more open-minded towards differences, realizing that ethnic plurality, instead of the source of insecurity, could be the opportunities for development and that free labor movement, instead of the source of social unrest or economic threat, is a natural and wholesome part of globalization.

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[117] Berg, Chris. "Open the Borders." 7

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