

**Politics of Border Control: A Study in the Intersection of
Migration, Securitization and New Surveillance
Technologies**

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DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation entitled “POLITICS OF BORDER CONTROL: A STUDY IN THE INTERSECTION OF MIGRATION, SECURITIZATION AND NEW SURVEILLANCE TECHNOLOGIES” submitted by me for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy** of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this university or any other university.


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Dedicated to My Friends and Family.....

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ABBREVIATIONS

ABC	Automated Border Control
AI	Artificial Intelligence
ALPR	Automated License- Plate Recognition
ARP	Alien Registration Programme
ASI	America's Shield Initiative
ATS	Automated Targeting System
CBP	Customs and Border Protection
CCTVs	Closed- Circuit Television
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
DHS	Department of Homeland Security
DNA	Deoxyribo Nucleic Acid
EU	European Union
FOS	Fibre Optic Sensors
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GIS	Geographic Information System
GPS	Global Positioning System
IAFIS	Integrated Automated Fingerprint Identification System
ICAO	International Civil Aviation Organization
ICC	International Criminal Court

IDs	Identity Documents
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISIS	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
IT	Information Technology
IVA	Intelligence Video Assessment
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender
POE	Ports of Entry
PRD	Personal Radiation Detectors
RFID	Radio Frequency-Identification
R-RVSS	Relocatable-Remote Video Surveillance System
RVS	Remote Video Surveillance
RVSS	Remote Video Surveillance System
SARS	Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome
SIS	Schengen Information System
TARS	Tethered Aerostat Radar Systems
TIS	Thermal Imaging System
TNCs	Transnational Corporations
TSP	Terrorist Surveillance Programme
U.A.E.	United Arab Emirates
U.K	United Kingdom
U.S.A	United States of America
UAVs	Unmanned Aerial Vehicles

UDHR	Universal Declaration Of Human Rights
UNEP	United Nations Environment Program
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNHRC	United Nations Human Rights Council
VBR	Vehicle Born Ratios
VRT	Voice Recognition Technology
WHO	World Health Organization
WTO	World Trade Organization

Chapter-I

Introduction

Changing forms of the technology of surveillance on the border has been historically linked to changing politics of border control. This research project maps this history especially focusing on contemporary politics of border control in relation to the movement of migrants in the context of globalization and securitization. The research project has explored 'Bordering' and 'surveillance' conceptually, but by grounding them in the concrete and double-edged politics of opening up of borders, mobility of capital and worldwide communication and sharing of technology on the one hand, the anxiety around security, mobility manifested in concerns of migrant influx of human trafficking and loss of identity, uniformity and consolidation.

1.1 Background

The research project seeks to understand the phenomena of surveillance at borders. There has been a gradual shift in the nature of borders with the passage of time. With the emergence of globalisation, life has become easy as communication and transportation has become very fast, therefore, it appears to us that border is diminishing. Border is being shaped by forces of culture, society, economics and the institutions. In security matters, the new challenges that the governments are facing today regarding borders have to be dealt with by having clear goals and policy objectives.

Meaning and nature of surveillance have changed over time. Traditional surveillance in the 15th century was mostly regarding religion. Therefore, that time it was mainly known as religious surveillance. But with the emergence of nation-state, religious surveillance has been replaced by political surveillance, and there has been a shift towards "policed" society.

There are also many differences between traditional and new techniques of surveillance as in past the surveillance was mainly at a particular point done by a man. While on the other hand new surveillance is much more vast and complicated and

includes the use of technologies. New surveillance is much more inclusive and comprehensive.

After 9/11 the issue of Border Security has become the main agenda for most of the countries. In the 21st century the Governments are being confronted with managing secure borders along with high levels of cross-border flows of people and goods. The border is an element of security and identity. After the end of cold war, the border was being understood as an inclusive concept which provides and produces security. Whereas, with the emergence of supra-state regions there has been the emergence of a concept 'borderless world'. Most of the research and work on the border have focused on the characteristics of the opening process by which borders have become porous and more permeable. Nevertheless, 9/11 brought a turnaround of the post-cold war security procedure. The study of securitization has become very important as the governments of nations have emphasized more on protection and reclosing of borders. With the escalation of cross-border chaos such as terrorism, there has come up new challenges for border management policies. There is increasing concern that country's security can be challenged and how a nation can ensure successful border management. More and more states to make their citizens secure and feel protected have hardened and fenced their borders and also installed advanced surveillance systems. The state as well as non- state actors act as the eyes and ears of the state. Borders are not just mere lines on sand or ground or the map rather they have become an integral part of our imagination. In a way, by protecting borders, the state ensures that sovereignty is being upheld. By fencing the border or by constructing the wall State believes that security issue can be tackled by itself. As security is the centrepiece of geopolitical discourse.

Stricter surveillance mechanisms have come up to cope up with disruptions of a globalized world. Borders do not just exist at the boundary but seem to appear everywhere if we see in the mainstream sense that border also exists at offices where travel documents are provided not only this it also exists at online sites. For efficient control of the border, the mechanisms of surveillance and border management techniques have gradually changed and increased with the improvement of technology as we see that border includes barbed wire, minefields, sensors, patrolling vehicles, surveillance cameras etc. The border market accepts the erection of weapons systems, land-based, intelligence and aerial components such as drones and radars.

Surveillance mechanisms are developed to increase the power of the nation-state. With the advancement of technology use of Biometrics, DNA testing has come into the picture as it is not just the line of demarcation where the impact has been made, but it also includes the body of a person. Thus, surveillance technologies and biometrics are intertwined. And with the widespread use of technology we see that personal data of anyone can be easily used and accumulated or gathered anywhere thus we say that borders exist everywhere. Use of surveillance mechanisms on borders depends a lot on the foreign policy as well as the political system of the state. Not only the government sector but also private companies play an important role as they preserve and provide detention centres, they also provide food and uniforms to the guards at the border. Border policing happens at both not just inside the territory of the state but also outside the territory of the state. This all is done for the erection of national space as a safe and smooth space. Borders are at the heart of nationalist discourse as who is the resident of a nation and who is not all comes within it and even the meaning of the nation.

In short, we see that the border is a political apparatus which includes barriers, border guards, detention centres. Surveillance mechanisms differ for each country as each state resource available differs, and the resources include not only material or budgetary but also political will. Border walls or techniques of border management are in a way a luxury which only rich and powerful states can afford. However, the choice for having stricter surveillance mechanisms is not an option but is done under extreme pressure from outside situations and opinion from residents of the state. Border defence continues to increase in areas of dispute. With the advancement of technology, there has been a shift towards Smart Borders. Many praiseworthy things about borders have been that it in a sense provides security and freedom to the people and also provides them with the citizenship status and people residing within the same area have a same national identity.

Border management is regarding the strategy by which border crossing is either relaxed or constrained. The opening or closing of borders serves the concern of some powerful people only. With globalization we see that on one hand movement of capital has become very easy, but the movement of labour has become very difficult. Therefore, for some, there is the emergence of the borderless world while for others it is not. Politics of border influences the movement of labour, but they don't enjoy the

same freedom which capital enjoys. Thus, the meaning of borders is not the same for everyone as some people feel secure about walls and fences while there are some people like the immigrants who would feel suppressed about the idea of borders. In short, it can be said that border management nowadays, is not to have authority or control over territory but mobility. Thus, controlling the movement of labour is a strategy to control and patrol borders. The border in a way becomes the marker of differentiating between them and us and it is through borders that the concept of belongingness emerges. For them, the parallel between border and prison stands true as a border for them is actually like a prison which hinders the movement of migrants and separates communities from each other. In a way, this also relates to border and poverty as when free movement of labour is restricted this leads to poverty.

When borders are closed for immigrant's then exploitative conditions are being created for them their life becomes precarious and very unsafe. In case of the movement of capital, the borders become soft, but when a person comes into the picture, the border becomes hard. Thus, area at borders is the effect of the state's bordering politics.

1.2 Literature Review

1.2.1 Studies on Border

Most of the scholars argue that, with the coming up of globalisation the role of borders have taken a significant turn. Borders get configured and re-configured by a range of agents, situations and several kinds of processes (Pickering and Weber 2006). The Borders are not just physical such as mere lines on the ground or map but are dynamic social progress which have an impact on our daily lives. Border essentially is a process through which 'othering' takes place, as they get configured and reconfigured dictated by political and security concerns. It is through this dynamic process that borders perform a major role in shaping identities and creating new loci of belonging, according to Newman (2006). Border management involves several issues like those of migration and security. Another crucial aspect is that through a complex set of procedures and their effects new surveillance technologies, as they have evolved, have led to management of crime and unwanted migration in the United States. This is an important area of concern and will be one of the foci of our study. While it is not possible to arrive at a commonly accepted theory of borders,

it is important to point out that in recent times owing to the enhanced significance of issues around borders and migration, a decent amount of books and other works have been published on these themes. One thing that unites such diversity of works on a single theme is the fact that they all point out in some way or the other that borders and bordering practices play a significant role in the articulation of political, cultural and security concerns. As mentioned earlier, the drawing and re-drawing of borders more often than not lead to shaping and re-shaping of identities. In this context, a cultural studies perspective on borders emphasizes and investigates such issues. It can be seen here that such interaction of borders and identities is two-way traffic. While bordering and re-bordering affects the way identities are shaped and re-shaped, in turn, ethnic and ascriptive identities too partly determine the way borders are drawn and redrawn (Miller and Hashmi 2001). This approach allows us to look at borders and to border regarding segregations put in place by identities (Pickering and Weber 2006). It is also well known that classical geographers have always studied borders in their functional aspect, i.e. regarding the purpose, they serve rather than looking at the definition or meaning of the border per se. The main purpose served by borders is, of course, that of security and protection, and serving as a filter for movement of people. A border, therefore, is a specific kind of site. It is this aspect of the border that is the main concern of security studies (Rumford 2006 in Pickering and Weber 2006). I will focus on the concept of borders from a more political and moral perspective, approaching borders as institutional sites of governance (Walters 2006). Pickering and Weber grasp this approach in the following statement: “The border can be identified as an expression of state power and alternative forms of power in late-modern societies under conditions of globalisation” (Pickering and Weber 2006). The relation of state power and borders suggests that borders are an important site where the sovereignty of the state is expressed, in the protection of its territory and in determining and controlling the movement of people through it. There are academic writers authors like Salter (2004), Sassen (1999) and Pickering and Weber (2006) who elaborate upon the filtering function performed by borders, as they become an important site in the trans-national movement of persons and things (Salter 2004; Sassen 1999 in Walters 2006).

“Borders are now to be regarded as processes, practices, discourses, symbols, institutions or networks through which power works” (Johnson et al. 2011 in

Dijstelbloem and Broeders 2014). There is a lot of truth in this idea. The phrase 'border control' itself has a singular significance in the context of politics. This term, while referring to the control and management of the movement of people and goods, also suggests a specific mix of relations of power. (Walters 2006). The dissertation shall devote sufficient space to a discussion of 'border controls' through the use of new surveillance technologies. In this connection, it will also explain the importance of public-private partnerships.

1.2.2 Trans-national border control and Public-Private Partnerships

The increased trans-national role played by public-private partnerships has brought them under the scrutiny of research on borders (Borzel and Risse 2002). Even French thinker Gilles Deleuze has studied issues related to border control. Deleuze suggested a marked change in relations of power as they played out in border control. He saw that there was a qualitative transformation from centred to highly fluid power operations (Caluya 2010). Deleuze's formulation provoked a discussion on similar terms, where no order control rather than being the provenance of government had become highly decentred and showed the involvement of some other players. In this context, the role of non-state actors in management and control of border came to be emphasized, and writers like Borzel and Risse identified a range of non-state actors which shared the management and control of borders along with the state. Such non-state actors majorly included international organisations and agencies which registered an influential and heavy presence in the rule over borders. There is a consensus among scholars that states increasingly delegate certain functions to non-state actors, which leads to the growing role of private companies in international politics. Now, non-state actors in the form of international organisations are seen by many scholars as a possible solution to several problems of governance which arise owing to trans-national nature of borders, and which are difficult to be resolved by nation states themselves (Reinicke and Deng 2000 in Borzel and Risse 2005). Authors like Papademetriou and Collett (2011) delineate a new infrastructure of border control where partnerships between public and private entities and non-state actors like international organisations play a very important role. For instance, the homogeneity of a consortium of private companies was noted by Steden and Sarre (2007) which worked and had major stakes in the private security business. All these business entities had major stakes in offering security services as well as selling and installing

new surveillance technology. Based on the literature reviewed above it can be contended that securitisation and use of new surveillance technologies fundamentally alter the processes of bordering and the meaning of border itself is radically transformed.

1.2.3 Surveillance Processes and Technologies

There has been a growing phenomenon of securing borders and enabling border protection with the best and latest of modern technology, especially surveillance technologies. The use of surveillance technologies on borders has been so high that surveillance itself has come to be re-conceptualized regarding a border practice, “a portal that monitors people and allows for categorization” (Vaughan-Williams 2007). In the aftermath of 9/11, there has been a proliferation of surveillance technologies across various domains. However, there has also been a discernible shift in the use of surveillance technologies from monitoring immigrants within a state’s territory to concentrating on the debarring of migrants at the borders of the state. Thus, surveillance technologies have now given rise to a crucial biopolitical aspect of border control.

1.2.4 Biopolitics of Border Control

Biopolitics can be understood as a modern form of exercising power by categorizing, regulating and disciplining people (Duffield 2007). Duffield shows how biopolitics operates by constituting and hierarchizing the binaries of developed life and underdeveloped life, and how these binaries have been mapped on to and re-configure, the north and south divide regarding “civilized/barbarian, advanced/backward, active/passive, industrious/sensuous” (Duffield 2007). The global south not only gets framed regarding underdeveloped life but also as a constant threat to developed forms of life, i.e. the global north. This threat is most significantly located and sought to be regulated at borders. However, the extremely heightened paranoia of controlling the movement of people across the global north and south has been given the language and legitimacy of international security concerns (Duffield 2007). Surveillance technologies have thus become technologies of containment which ensure and maintain the separation of people across developed and underdeveloped countries. Containment is re-defined biopolitically as the approach adopted by the First World in dealing with the “genuine fears of ordinary people in the global north over the destabilizing effects of the global south” (Duffield 2007).

In light of the Foucauldian notion of technologies of power, we see that surveillance technologies are now a tool of governance on borders which govern and control people seen as a form of threat, especially when they attempt to cross borders, and who are thus rendered into the most marginalized subjects of global society (Duffield 2008). With the advancements in surveillance technologies, the technologies of power in border management have also become more and more refined, targeted, innovative and comprehensive. Pickering and Weber (2006) have explored the changing nature of border control with the increased use of surveillance technologies regarding evolved practices of sorting, new criteria and forms of exclusion, and the emergence of various kinds of state actors in the processes of border management. The overall shift can be understood as one towards “remote and calculative technologies of power with their powers of simplification, manipulation and simulation” (Duffield 2013). Duffield draws our attention to the various threats and abuses that flow from such distant yet highly intrusive exercise of power through surveillance technologies.

1.2.5 Towards “Global apartheid”?

In Walters (2006) understanding borders serve an important purpose in the contemporary world. What borders do is somewhat similar to a weeding process where based on previously known dualities for example, good and evil, legal and illegal, productive and unproductive people are segregated. There are some like Walters and Lyon, Pickering and Weber (2006) indicate a complex filtration process which is attentive to social and economic hierarchies and segregates the elites from the needy masses. They argue that this network of filtration can construct “an emerging class of the mobility poor, to protect the developed and secure world from the incursions of the poor and insecure”. The new border creates a phenomenon which could be termed as the “global apartheid”. This separation is created through a mix of innovations in surveillance technologies and new security measures which are efficient in the selection and checking facts against a previously stored database argued by Richmond et al. (1994). Surveillance technologies and securitization have raised some issues around the human body especially those, related to biopolitics. These issues often pertain to human right violations, infringement of privacy and also the erasure of known elite identities. All of this in consonance with the idea of biopolitics as explained by Duffield’s. Duffield brings out the social significance and concern which arise owing to the biopolitical dimension of surveillance technologies.

Related to the theory of biopolitics, Duffield (2008:146) also discusses the process of legitimization of technologies of power. In line with Duffield, Zettel (2007) argues that technologies of power are often justified and accepted as necessary means for the defence, stability and security of the welfare state. Duffield (2008) states that the portrayal of immigrants as a locus of a threat to the security of the developed life can be seen as a means to legitimize certain forms of containment. Other scholars in the field of international migration and security studies (such as Buffino 2004; Stritzel 2007; Emmers2007) also focus on the portrayal of immigration as a security threat but refer to it as the securitization of immigration.

The basic notion of securitization is expressed in the work of Copenhagen school: “The articulation of security entails the claim that something is held to pose a threat to a valued referent object that is so existential that it is legitimate to move the issue beyond the established games of normal politics to deal with it by exceptional” (Stritzel 2007). There should be more comprehensive and inclusive understanding of securitization which focuses more on the entire process of articulations and the performance of actions. Securitization in a way puts certain actors in a strong position, which enables them to cope with a particular security issue in a way they prefer.

1.3 Definition, Rationale and Scope of Study

Borders are political constructs, varying widely in their physicality from mountain ranges to walls, understood to be organic, relatively constant and sealed off. Thus, borders appear natural (because forbidding geographical formations such as mountains, mighty rivers, etc. take on the quality of a ‘natural barrier’ and remain largely unchanging regarding historical time) and politically constructed at the same time. However, we also know that perceiving and rendering natural formations regarding barriers and more formally as borders, are themselves political acts. Further, on the one hand, borders are created (or pre-existing geographical features become or get declared as borders) in the course of political history, and on the other hand, the creation or demarcation of borders is known to be among the constitutive and critical features of politics. Balibar explains this tautological problem in defining borders:

“The idea of a simple expression of what is a border is by definition an absurdity. Marking a border means staking out a territory, declaring its frontiers and therefore defining or imposing an identity. But likewise, defining and identifying, in general, is nothing more than drawing up a border and laying boundaries (in Greek

“hours”, in Latin “finis” or “terminus”, in German “Grenze”, in French “frontière” etc.). A theoretician who wants to define the term border is caught in a loop, as the representation of the border is the condition for any definition” (Balibar 2002).

An even closer look at this paradox shows that a border is a line or site of separation while also being a zone of contact for what it separates. This constitutive paradoxical feature of a border is what makes it a site that has to be guarded. This paradox of separation and contact is extremely heightened in our contemporary globalized world with more and more borders and more and more movement and contact at and across borders. This has made borders into not only a site that has to be guarded, but also a site that has to be minutely controlled, regulated and governed. The primary technique of doing this in the contemporary world is through surveillance.

Modern surveillance works by “transcending natural (distance, darkness, skin, time, and microscopic size) and constructed (walls, sealed envelopes) barriers that historically protected personal information” (Marx 2004). Modern surveillance is a technique of governance in which the state does not physically watch over, but rather monitors and controls from a distance, giving rise to both state and non-state actors in the practices of surveillance. Unlike pre-modern forms of surveillance in which select individuals were monitored and targeted, modern surveillance, by breaking into personal information, collects and maps information of entire populations, thereby monitoring entire populations and individuals as units of a population (rather than as select or unique individuals) (Finn 2009). A further shift in modern surveillance practices with the deployment of networked electronic technologies and highly fragmented and aggregated data has enabled the monitoring of mobile masses instead of only spatially confined or delimited populations. This has been understood as a shift in mode and effect within modern surveillance, from an earlier one of disciplining to a recent one of controlling (Deleuze 1992; Haggerty and Ericson 2000). It has been argued that surveillance ‘involves assorted forms of monitoring, typically for the ultimate purpose of intervening in the world’ (Haggerty and Samatas 2010). In light of the shifts within modern surveillance technologies and the contexts of their use, we found that in the earlier scenario largely stable and circumscribed ‘populations’ were mapped and the data thus collected and categorized was used to subsequently intervene and act upon that population; however in the recent scenario of electronic and digital data and highly mobile and less circumscribed ‘masses’, what

is generated is “actionable intelligence” (Gandy 2012). We can say that now surveillance itself acquires its intelligence, mobility and application.

This dissertation will explore the issue of border control and surveillance by limiting it to the emergence of new technologies of surveillance and their relation to regulating the movement of people and the context of political – economic and security concerns. The theme of our dissertation requires us to present and understand the movement of people on a global scale. It also requires us to look upon emerging technologies of surveillance in the context of such trans-border migration. Our explication of such technologies “which is a central theme of our dissertation” will be limited to their role as far as their function and effect are concerned. In short, the dissertation will not go into the technical and technological evolutions of such technology but rather, will focus on its use and effect. These effects and uses will of course, be those which are important for controlling the movement of people, identifying and discriminating individuals on bodily and other characteristics and maintenance of databases of such information. The evolution of such technology shall be presented regarding the transformation of their effects, and functionality rather than its technical details.

As migration is one of the main themes of our dissertation let us state here that we will focus mostly on trans-border migration and its control and management by nation-states. It is true that migration is an important issue within nation-states as well especially of labour. Although, this is also an area where surveillance technologies are heavily employed the dissertation will focus more on trans-border migration. As will be noticed in the course of the dissertation surveillance technologies as an expression of national security concerns come into play in a major way when movement of people is taking place from less developed to developed countries. It is such a movement of people across national borders that figures prominently in this dissertation.

While securitization figures as a preeminent concern in our research work it figures in connection with migration and use of surveillance technologies. These national security concerns as they unfold in the contemporary globalised world will be shown in the context of prevailing political, economic, cultural and social realities. One of our main concerns will be to see how these security concerns play out in the case of trans- border migration. The related concern will be to map at least briefly, the

technologies which are used in contemporary times to articulate such aims of securitization. Also the dissertation will highlight the way in which securitization and surveillance combine to produce borders not only within the nation-states but also borders which are mobile, Borders which are marked and identified on the features of immigrants body and can be read through such techniques.

The rationale of this study is to unravel the complicated ways in which security, migration and technology shape our contemporary lives on an everyday basis.

1.4 Research Questions:

- 1). How has technology changed surveillance mechanisms?
- 2). How politics of border control politics of movement?
- 3). How has movement become a question of security in an extremely globalised world?

1.5 Hypotheses

- In contemporary times, security concerns have led to the use of various kinds of surveillance technologies to control the movement of people across borders. It is interesting to note is that such surveillance techniques and technology is not only applied at the physical border of a country or the main entry/exit points. The new techniques of surveillance can also be applied to monitor and profile individuals within the border regardless of place in this context we hypothesize that -Surveillance within society works as a bordering process.
- While migrations have taken place throughout history in the contemporary globalised world especially after the Second World War movement of people is a major security concern. Thus, we find that nations invest a lot in securing their borders and filtering the kind of people they allow inside. At the same time, there is an increased push to facilitate trans-border movement of goods and capital. Given this, we hypothesize-In a Globalised World movement especially of people as opposed to capital, has become a movement of a security.
- Surveillance Technologies have undergone a major transformation in the last six to seven decades. A major characteristic of this transformation is the increased use of machines to read and detect the identities of individuals, instead of security personnel. This has led to the evolution of the human body

itself as a document which can be read by the security apparatus through surveillance technologies. Thus, we hypothesize-New Surveillance Technologies especially innovations like Global Positioning System (GPS), Biometrics have played a central role in transforming the movement of people into a question of security.

1.6 Research Methodology

This research is a qualitative and analytical study of issues around Security, Migration and New Surveillance Technologies in the contemporary global order. It tries to analyse the trends in the complex interaction of these three themes at the world level. This study employs a mixed method of research, integrating qualitative research and deductive reasoning. Secondary sources will include journals, research publications, articles, books, and online sources such as unpublished research papers.

The Qualitative aspect of the research focuses on literature which has a global orientation as far as the issues under our study are concerned. Even when such literature deals with laws and technologies of security and surveillance specific to a nation these aspects inevitably have a transnational concern because most of such security policies and surveillance technologies have been developed keeping in mind trans-border migration. For instance, the legislation around H-1B visa restrictions in the USA immediately calls into question the bordering technologies and security concern of the USA in relation with mostly third world countries mostly Asia. It can be easily seen through this that a preliminary investigation into the complex interaction of migration, securitization and surveillance will have to adopt a transnational approach and this is what is done in our dissertation. It is for this reason as well that our primary and secondary sources have been chosen from nations of almost every continent. One important fact should be kept in mind that most of these advanced surveillance technologies are deployed in a select number of countries and migration more often, than not happens from less well-off countries to those who are more developed. Given this context, most of the examples and details which occur in our dissertation shall be chosen from advanced and western countries which can develop and implement such technologies. This is not to say that the dissertation will not talk about third world countries because some of them have invested in such technologies as well to control trans-border migration.

1.7 Chapter Scheme

The first chapter gives an overview of the nature and definition of borders and surveillance and widely discusses the literature under review.

The second, chapter focuses on the theme of ‘security’ and introduces the concept in relation to a host of other phenomena. The chapter is divided into six sections after the first introductory section the second section attempts to mark a major shift from territoriality to globality from the perspective of security. This process has also been accompanied by a transformation in the role of sovereignty as well. In the preceding sections, the chapter raises the issue of migration. It shows how migration which at one point in time was instrumental in populating and forming the basis of national communities has now become a major security concern. In this context, the chapter highlights that how in a globalised world as the movement of goods and capital is being facilitated, at the same time the movement of people is increasingly monitored and regulated. These concerns also are explained in the chapter. The chapter also mentions the emerging security issues in a “borderless world”. This brings into sharp focus some issues which concern securitization at a global level. For instance, it widely discusses security issues as they are played out in global financial flows, transnational corporations, and global economic institutions like World Trade Organisation (WTO), and International Monetary Fund (IMF), Environmental issues, pandemics, transnational terrorism and human trafficking. In the same breadth the last section makes mention of security issues like human rights violations and transnational terrorism which are addressed through internationally recognised bodies like International Court of Justice (ICJ), and International Criminal Court (ICC). It also talks about how global issues like environmental challenges and pandemics are sought to be controlled by formulating various kinds of border control.

The Third chapter of the dissertation studies in detail the association of various migration-related issues with security and the technologies of surveillance. The introduction part of the chapter provides a background on the concept of migration as a concept as it evolved through different historical context to become a major security concern in modern times. The next part of the chapter looks at the problem of assimilation and integration which is simultaneously produced through migration. In modern times security concerns have most frequently been generated when people from the so-called third world migrate to the well-off first world countries. Such

movement of the people creates problems of assimilation and integration and often leads to criminalisation of immigrants, insecurity about demographic change, economic insecurity regarding employment, hate crimes and selective profiling of communities. The chapter also explicates the historical context of migration to Europe. It brings into sharp focus the fact that historically, migrants were encouraged to enter Europe and contributed in a major way to its industrial development. However, with the formation of nation-states based economies and till today migrants came to be seen as outsiders who threatened the domestic labour force and local culture. The last section of this chapter discusses the intersection of migration with security through a range of examples of migration to the developed world the chapter explains the various ways and categories through which the migrant population is classified and sought to control it highlights the fact that how domestic population and even government officials often fail to distinguish between refugees and migrants which often leads to the problem of fixing identity. This chapter also discusses at length the way in which racism works in the phenomenon of migration. Human trafficking in contemporary times is a major security concern, and various international conventions and treaties are in place to prevent and control such illegal activity. International organisations like International Labour Organisation (ILO), United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) are majorly involved in undertaking transnational projects to prevent human trafficking. Mention about the issues of refugee crisis which affects a lot of European countries such as the criminalisation of refugees owing to government policies, social and cultural prejudices and racial bias. Because of such factors most often refugees are forced to live impoverished and highly precarious lives, in constant fear of police and local residents. Their criminalised and second-class citizen status also makes them vulnerable to economic exploitation as they are forced to do work at very low wages. The category of refugee is not homogeneous and nor is the exploitation faced by various people who are refugees. The chapter highlights that compared to men women refugees face far more exploitation, threats and risks. The final section explains the intersection of migration and surveillance technologies control over migration takes place through the use of various technologies. This chapter explains in detail the use of detention camps, media and various kinds of advanced technologies to mark out and control the migrant population.

The Fourth chapter explains in elaborate detail the use of new surveillance technologies to implement security measures on various kinds of borders. The chapter traces a brief history of the evolution of surveillance technologies employed by the modern nations beginning from the evolution of passport beginning from the first passport which was issued in 17th century England, and the relatively modern phenomenon of internationally accepted passports, to the biometric passports of contemporary times. Such technologies and techniques have evolved in response to political and economic exigencies at various historical junctures. The First World War led to the formation of League of Nations which evolved a system of mutual recognition of passports by the member countries. It is this system which gradually evolved, and the passport now is a document which is recognized in almost all countries and is an essential possession to undertake cross-border movement. This chapter explains in detail some such technologies and also provides examples of nations or places where they are employed. For instance, Integrated Automated Fingerprint Identification (IAFI), Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAVs), Remote Video Surveillance (RVS), Automatic License Plate Recognition (ALPR), Radiation Detectors, Tethered Aerostat Radar Systems (TARS) a detailed explanation of these technologies is important to get a glimpse of the nature of surveillance technologies which are employed. These technologies are described in their functional aspect that is regarding the function they perform, rather than their technical aspect. The main section of the chapter explains the intersection of surveillance with security and migration. While describing the complex interrelation of surveillance with security and migration the section demonstrates how the advancement of technologies of surveillance has led to new configurations of borders and new bordering processes. For instance, new surveillance technologies which gather and maintains a database of personal and biometric information about various aspects of the human body like iris, retina imaging, fingerprinting, voice record etc. has the potential of segregating people on the basis of their racial identities and thereby creating and consolidating new borders within the society.} In this vein, the chapter contends that the emergence of new surveillance technologies has not only led to the formation of new kind of borders but has also generated newer security concerns. Fibre Optic Sensors (FOS), Intelligent Video Assessment (IVA), Tactical Reconnaissance and Counter-concealment Enabled Radar, Wolfhound Handheld Threat Warning System. Finally,

the fifth chapter will summarize the preceding chapters and make concluding analysis and observations.

Chapter-II

Changing Politics of Border Control: The Aspect of Security

2.1 Introduction

Since 21st century the people around the world have been divided across political, cultural, social and economic lines. In a sphere of territorial borders, the principal motive is to symbolize differences in space. Daily lives of people have been ordered by the ranking of the territorial borders. Even our lives have been ordered by a web of borders. It's not a prerequisite to physically cross the borders to have an impact in our daily lives because the idea of differentiation and concept of space comes from the concept of borders itself. We may not necessarily see the borders as lines of separation, but the borders are very much part of our daily lives. Newman (2006) states that borders not only strengthen our belonging with places and groups, they also perpetuate our notions of difference and 'othering'. The borders impact is that it regulates and structures the daily routines of people. Globalization has increased the significance of borders. Borders play a fundamental role in the identity and security of a state. The state takes every vital measure to develop strategies to ensure national security and justifies the use of force in the name of protection (Kolossoff 2005). With the changing social and political scenario, the meaning of boundaries has also varied accordingly. The concept of border security has changed majorly in the contemporary era, as earlier during the cold war period it was based on lines of separation and associated with military alliances. In the modern era, the concept of border security provides security in a fixed way which does not challenge the base of the state. Instead of simply examining borders like lines on a map, the diverse literature focuses on borders as spaces of cultural, security and political significance. According to Culture studies, identities are constructed and re-imagined through shifting borders. Further, Miller and Hashmi state that borders are maintained by cultural and ethnic distinctions. We see that how ethnicity, race, language among other things, changes when we cross borders. From this point of view, according to Pickering and Weber, borders are primarily viewed as indicators of culture and identity. Border is not just a

physical line but according to Cultural Studies, it is a symbol of power that imposes inclusion and exclusion. It denotes cultural differences, and thus one can argue that borders are socially constructed, but their origin is political.

Security studies mainly focus on borders as spaces that require protection and defence against external threats and thus control it (Rumford (2006) in Pickering and Weber 2006). Globally it has seen borders provide security against any human threat. For say, this has been intensified in the USA post-September-11 attack, and since then border security is dealt with regarding protection from terrorist attacks. This is largely related to the fact that immigrants are seen as trouble makers and thus controlling the physical space of a border is a priority now. For instance, this idea was seen in “Breaking Point” notice during the hot debate of Brexit. The notice in actual displayed the reality of demoralized refugees from Muslim countries. From the political perspective, there seems to be special attention to the concept of ‘border control’: a term that implies a very particular set of power relations (Walters 2006).

2.2 From Territoriality to Globality

The main function of borders is to enforce control and assert power over the society. Borders in a way construct territory and are also constitutive of territory. People connect to the territory by territoriality. In a way, it can be said that borders exist to give sense to space. Borders are seen as markers of identity and in a way to ensure the belongingness of a person inside the physical border. Therefore, territoriality is the procedure by which groups and individuals put claim to territoriality. Sack (1986) defined territoriality as “a spatial strategy to affect, influence and control resources and people, by controlling area.” Territories are defended and contested against others through territoriality. Therefore, territoriality can be understood as a form of power over space (Sack 1986). The territory is very crucial for political governance as it provides a point for exercising political authority. However, control over territory is typically asserted by the imposition of borders that are used to regulate access to the territory. The creation of physical borders marking the territories is a vital moment as it ensures the space appropriation which in a way ensures the maintenance of secure power in the community (Storey 2001). Most of the political power is ordered territorially by bounding fragments of space. Portraying Said’s (1978) work which conceptualizes that a notion of otherness emerges in space, present work on borders emphasizes that territorial identity is not generated naturally but is achieved through

the erection of borders by exploiting “us-versus-them” type discourses (Albert et al. 2001; Donnan and Wilson 1999; Paasi 1996).

There can be two different types of borders the one which is symbolic or social like the religious boundaries and people whereas the other type of border is territorial like the state borders. Thus they are evident on the ground and are visible. But sometimes the boundaries can be physical and symbolic at the same point. State borders are the borders which are symbolic and territorial at the same time. They have two meaning at the same time as it divides the two groups on the one hand, and also bring them together for contact on the other hand. Borders in the ancient times mainly had a commercial and defensive meaning. And the walls mainly were built to provide a defense to protect from any threat and to regulate trade and not to dot the sovereignty of the state. The meaning of sovereignty has also changed since that time. State borders did not carry a political connotation similar to the one that current borders do, and they were not understood as the limits of a state’s territorial power (Sahlins 1989). Borders in the medieval period were mainly fluid. And during this period, boundaries between religious affiliation, class and property ownership had more significance than the territorial border. Whereas, the modern borders are fluid in a way as a lot of exchanges take place every day. During the 18th century, the concept of the territorial border as a political line of separation between states gained increased importance due to the emergence of nationalism and the institution of the nation-state (Sahlins 1989). During the 19th and 20th century the nation-state became the main political form of organization of the territory. National borders play an important role in formulating certain myths which in a way imposes the notion of “superiority” of own people “us” and “inferiority” of aliens “them” (Dalby 1998; Paasi 1996, 2003a). After the 20th century the state borders were not seen as zonal frontiers. Border lines were seen as the procedure for organizing political space. Borders accumulated a multitude of functions, from the political, to the cultural, to the economic, until they were imposed as borders between societies as well, succeeding in the end in circumscribing the whole spectrum of social life.

At a theoretical level, a discrepancy began to take shape between the vision of a dynamic deterritorialized world of flows focuses on mobility and exchange, replacing the static world of places focused on bounded territoriality on the one hand, and the reality of the selective role of borders, allowing flows of capital but stopping flows of

labour on the other (Anderson et al. 2003). Given these circumstances, various lines of research in contemporary border studies show how understanding borders in the broader context of territoriality and their role in the production and reproduction of territorial entities contributes to the understanding of how borders are central sites where the international political system is produced (Anderson et al. 2003). The State is seen as a specific territory with recognized borders, whereas in a theoretical context the state is a set of institutions aimed at producing and reproducing society. Therefore, the state has jurisdiction over an area, and the mobility is controlled by border control. The concept of sovereignty comprises the linchpin linking states, borders and territories. A state's claim to the monopoly of power within its territorial borders has been codified in the modern principle of territorial sovereignty (Gottmann 1973). During the medieval period sovereignty was just associated with the emperor, but in the contemporary era, the sovereignty has been transferred to the territory of the state. And eventually, the political belonging of a person came to be associated with the borders of the state. And legally the borders delimit states sovereignty. Even the invisible borders matter because they are perceived by people who experience and then reproduce these borders in the form of visible borders. Therefore, the meaning and the understanding of Border differs from person to person. Three main border-making periods were as the first, was after the end of world war one, second was after world war second and the third period was after the cold war era in the 1990s. Two signifiatory imports from Europe have been nation-state and capitalism, and this has led to the globalization of modern state borders.

The shift to a 'borderless world' was seen with the emergence of supra-state regions and the ease in the movement of capital. The borders became more permeable and opened up with the emergence of globalization (Newman 2006). In a rapidly globalising world; territorial borders are taking on a new significance. Borders can be created, shifted, strengthened and deconstructed by a range of actors, events and processes (Pickering and Weber 2006). After 9/11, the state governments re-closed the borders and restricted the mobility due to the perceived security risks hence, marking the prominence of securitization discourse (Andreas 2003 b). The attacks of 9/11 mainly redefined the borders as the borders after the attack became prominent not just on the physical map but also on the mental maps of even in the minds of normal citizens. The borders became the sole guarantor of security since globalization

led to an increase in the flow of movements not just the people but also capital. Borders are seen as a spatial category. The widely accepted definition of the border is that of dividing two territorial entities, or that of marking the limit of a territorial entity (Newman 2003). If seen from a socialist perspective, then they see borders as a way of mediating the familiar people inside and while keeping the unfamiliar people out. And they are not just lines of contact and separation between people but also between territories. The institutionalization of borders legalizes the inclusion and exclusion into the society. Control and order of borders are maintained by the regulation of movement. Borders are dynamic and their meaning and nature change by the events taking place at local, national or global scales.

During the 1990s, some theorist equated globalisation with the advent of “borderless world”, but since 2000s we are experiencing Re-bordering of the state. Borders are transforming in nature and have also multiplied in number and have not faded away, despite the fact of opening up of various globalization movements. The Borders have acquired more network like and regional characteristics. Nowadays bordering practices have been done through the use of electronic devices and therefore have become ingrained in our bodies.

Globalization inspired border studies to cover a vast range of topics that raise the question of the future role of state borders confronted by the growing power of a transnational economy and by global cultural influences (Hakli and Kaplan 2002; Newman 2003). Initially, the “borderless world” thesis has provided an influential account of globalization’s impact on state borders (Ohmae 1990). Many geographers as criticized “The borderless-world” thesis because it presents a simplistic and idealized vision of globalization (Toal 1999). They claim that state borders have not faded away rather they have become more complex and intertwined. With globalization, numerous border functions are increasingly outwardly redirected to facilitate interconnection. Borders became more flexible and allowed the exchange of goods and services across borders. From a political economy perspective, the deterritorialization and de-bordering processes are understood regarding the spatial characteristic of successive rounds of Capital Accumulation. If the previous strategies of capital accumulation largely took place at the scale of national markets, the current ones favour global markets (Harvey 2000). Financial flows circle the globe at dazzling speeds via digital telecommunication networks, creating massive amounts of

wealth. Manufacturing and service firms are outsourcing jobs from developed to developing economies to compete in the global market.

It's not just the exchange of goods and services across borders, but also there has been an increase in the cultural exchange across borders with the advent of globalization. Social and cultural issues have spread across the globe and are no longer confined within the state borders (Appadurai 1996). The technologies of communication and movement of people have shaped the network of communities abroad and have reinvigorated the regional identities. (Leitner and Ehrkamp 2006) The hindrances in communication have been resolved with the emergence of social media like Instagram, Facebook, and Twitter and also on personal web blogs and through emails (Boyd 2010). And even if due to globalisation if there was a move towards a borderless world, even then the 9/11 attacks dashed the hopes of the borderless world. And the states after that changed their techniques to monitor and police the population and their data. Aftermath the attacks of 9/11, different states began to reform their policies to adapt to the new environment. There was a feeling of insecurity especially more in the North American States such as Canada, USA and Mexico who faced more and direct responses after the attack. Reactions to the terrorist attacks of 9/11 were the development of new surveillance technologies to be deployed at the borders to monitor the movement of people. However, these technologies that were adopted at the borders post-9/11, also affected and increased general surveillance practices, leading to what Lyon calls 'social sorting' (Arbaret-Schulz et al. 2004; Walters 2004). As a result, the developments post-9/11 have also become a prism to understand social, political and economic changes in surveillance societies.

There has been a shift of focus from borders as territorially fixed locations to more territorially fluid borders, which can assume multiple and changing locations. Diversification of borders has been such that there are now more kinds of borders such as metropolitan borders, supranational borders, special-purpose distinct borders, gated community private borders, regional borders.

2.3 Security Perspective

Security means to secure the individuals from fear or violence. There are several dimensions to the aspect of security. In the cold war era, security was seen more about the protection of the state. According to realist theorist, it is the job of the state actors

to provide security from any external threats. Realism talks about securitization which may include violence to protect the national security. Here the perception of borders is inextricably linked with the concept of national security and use in its ensuring of the state apparatus of violence. To put it simply, security is understood as a reliable life support system and lack of threat to the lives of people and protecting their respective activities too. It is a multidimensional concept encompassing military, economic, and environmental security, among others. Traditionally, the state borders were created to prevent any military threat, control trans-border flows and lastly to ensure the security of the state.

Before the 9/11 attack, governments all over the world faced challenges or threats related to security issues like smuggling, terrorism, migration from external factors and that's why state borders are seen as the fundamental line of protection for the societies. But the definition of security was modified after the 9/11 attack because threats to the state started to come from the internal factors as well. The 9/11 was an event which changed the definition of security for almost all the states and also led to changes in policies dealing with border management. Border securitization indicates a move towards strengthening state borders with advance technology to make them more difficult for people to cross it. On the one hand we have some states making stricter policies after the attack of 9/11 and on the other hand states like Canada did not implement harsher and stricter policies for border management with the USA. The border shared between the two till now is soft and porous making movements easy. Therefore, many theorists have argued that conventionally after globalization there has been the emergence of a borderless world, but that does not stand true, as after the attacks of 9/11 the borders became more politicized. As the governments often argue that the unrestricted use of new technologies such as the encryption and web undermines national security. After the 9/11 attacks security has been perceived in a novel way. As when an issue is securitized it becomes it becomes a main part of the agenda of political parties hence, justifying the special policies implemented. For example, in U.S. before the terrorist attacks of September-11 the movement of people was mainly seen as a risk to the society by the national government, but after the bombings the securitization discourse took a new turn as the threats were not just seen towards the society but also were directed against the core foundational values of the

state. After 9/11 the issues such as terrorism and transnational criminal networks have been seen as border security problems.

The modern state borders face contemporary challenges such as the economic processes. State borders after globalization became least interested in protecting the markets from outside competition. Globalization's main doctrine became a free to trade. Financial services have been the main sector of economic globalization. And the borders have been open to trading flows globally because of the economic globalization. The number of electronic financial transactions is astonishing. International financial markets are the main example of economic activity at the international level. The volatility and the speed of electronic money affect the inflation, exchange rates, interest, financial criminality, taxation revenues and some other issues that are main components of a state's sovereignty. And due to globalization these issues operate outside the authority of state government and are operations on a global scale. Therefore, the governments have little or no control over the movement of money which can either flow in or out of their economies because the investors may pull in and out according to favourable conditions in a national market in which they invested for capital accumulation. The investors' decision to pull in and out in a national market is also governed by political instability as it may lead to a loss in the market. For example, the financial meltdown of the 1990s in Mexico, Russia, and Southeast Asia; in 2008 the recession in the United States that swamped the whole global economy.

One of the main functions of Border is to provide security, and it is one of the oldest functions. Thus the security of a nation, in the beginning, was mainly seen in territorial terms as a "Geopolitical" issue whose main function was to protect the institution of the state. The traditional security functions performed by the state have been changed by the explicit mobility (Dillon 2007; van der Ploeg 1999a). Some authors agree on the point that now the security threats are more transnational and the danger of military aggressions has subsided (Terriff et al. 1999). Issues such as terrorism, electronic crime, environmental pollution, migration originate not only from outside but also from within the state. The distinction between internal and external security has become hazy to the extent that it's bothering the two realms. It is mainly after the end of cold war that the traditional conception of security was dropped down while becoming attached to the activities of everyday life. The security

discourse widened after the 1990s as there was a shift from the geopolitical security (Buzan 1993; Waever 1993). With the concepts like Human security, the focus is shifting from security of the territory to security of individuals first. It is the easy movement of people which poses a major security threat. Thus, the solution to control the everyday mobility has to be imagined on a wide scale as the paths of mobility cannot be easily restricted (Sheller and Urry 2006). Therefore, borders have appeared as the security guarantor for the state and also the part of everyday lives.

State border for security purposes acts as a filter in controlling the mobility to purify it. People are experiencing borders control management in new places. It is not confined at the physical borders only. Border control functions exist not just at the borders but also everywhere for example when we apply for a visa that is also part of the border control function taking place, not at the border. The increase in the use of expensive equipment makes the border control more complex. For example, personal data is used for profiling of every person who wants and requires a visa. Therefore, allowing states to deprive the right to cross-border if the person is seen as undesirable. And people are also confused about whom can they appeal if the computers create an unfavourable personal profile. By no means, we are degrading the importance of technology in securing the border. The USA is one of the important countries which gives importance to technology as well as military forces to protect the border. The USA made a lot of changes in the security priorities after 9/11 and invested billions of dollars in Border Control Management. The main concept of “SMART BORDER” also became effective after the attacks and for some after globalization.

In practice, the concept of security has become a slogan with which to justify any cost or emergency measures. The new Great Walls, minefields, tightening of visa regimes, strict measures for immigration are acts of public communication and the reaction of politicians to the phobia of public opinion. Borders are now seen as places where power is contained. Border control can be seen as a tool of power as stated by Donnan and Wilson. According to them, border landscapes with barbed wire, watch-towers, and checkpoints are a very visible aspect of this power. A country's security policy depends upon the priorities of the state. For some countries, security has an economic dimension (for example Canada). Thus, many states have a political dimension, but there are other states that have a purely commercial and economic dimension.

2.4 Movement of People

The movement of people is not mainly to flee from areas of political instability, but it can also be to improve their well-being. The immigrants do not pose a risk to the society so they should not always be associated with the threat for instance; it was the migrants who played a major role to boost up the production system in the colonial era. During colonial times, native Africans and Indians (cheap labour) were moved across borders for work, and thus since then, migration has been associated with capitalism. The change in the meaning of security took place along with the emergence of capitalism. The security concern during the 1950s was mainly on the factors that might instigate war. Cold War period is also known as the period where states lacked mutual trust and were constantly sceptical of each other's moves. Thus, the militarization of border was highly intensified during this period. Seeing migrants in a bad light and associating them with insecurity leads to the creation and execution of externalization policies used as a strategy to exclude such people which are seen as a threat (Husymans 2000). Linking of migrants with threat and false beliefs shows a chauvinist attitude. Thus, the above author has in a way shown a picture of migrants and the way they have been treated with a biased attitude. With the movement of capital and people, the threats associated have increased to a vast extent as the information can be easily manipulated. The migrants also have important effects on the macroeconomics as the markets become difficult to manage as it is the continuous movement of labour which in a way distorts the picture of actual employment and also the wage ratio.

The securitization discourse also sees that migrants support the political insurgencies and also play a key role in the coups and works to destroy the autonomy of the state. Some authors see migrants as supporters and contributors of political upheavals and illegal activities (Sheffer 1994; Smith 1995). Diasporic communities residing in foreign lands commit to "frequently support insurgencies in their homelands" (Byman et al., 2001). For instance, this argument can be seen in the contemporary examples where the Diaspora is believed to support the rebels in Sri Lanka where they are on the side of Tamils. Not just the supporting mechanism but Diasporas also provide financial support to the people in their homeland to fight and be part of the liberation movements. Thus, the above example illustrates that it was the reaction to the above

phenomena that the link between immigrants and security was built due to which if the migrants move to advanced regions to improve their economic lifestyle were seen as a security threat and the impact of their movement would be negative on the society. Once the migration problem was the headache of immigration or labour department, but with changing times, migration is seen as one of the factors causing political instability in a country. The bombings of September-11, 2009 increased the attachment of security threats with foreigners because the attacks were implemented by the people from the foreign land.

Globalization has increased the contribution of non-state actors and has undermined the sovereignty of states as state actors do not fully control the movement of people and capital across borders. The sovereignty is not challenged by the movement of capital but only by the movement of people as it is the individual around whom the questions of identity and belongingness revolve. Therefore, migratory flows are seen as a security threat and are not seen in a positive sense, as sometimes it is the movement of people which contributes to the development of the economy. People, unlike machines, have a direct effect on the question of identity. Not just this but also migrants if allowed to work are employed in informal sectors where they work in menial situations and for low wages have in a way increased the threat of risk being posed by the migrants. The controls imposed by the governments on the movement of people are done to provide order in the international system. The migrants are seen as intruders who invade the space of the country in which they enter because the migrants are seen to develop insecurity. Huge biased practices are seen towards the migrants.

State borders can be walled fortresses and spaces of othering one's neighbours, intended to keep insiders in and outsiders out, or they can be windows to the world and interfaces of interaction with neighbouring countries (Newman and Passi 1998). State borders allow free movement of capital while restricts the movement of labour. For example, when the border of North Korea and South Korea was closed at that time also the investment across the border was allowed. Borders have the authority to shape a sense of identity, and also to shape our lives and what we think about the neighbours. It was with the coming up of nation-states and the idea of nationalism that cross-border movement was controlled, and the significance of borders as markers of identity and sovereignty increased. Similarly, the wars and attacks have changed the

border policies. Migration has come to be understood as one of the most crucial security issues connected to globalization in contemporary times. Globalization has made the easy flow of goods, capital, production, trade and finance but on the contrary movement of people has been challenged and stopped by restrictive control and entry policies specially designed to deal with immigrants. The main turning point to link movement of people with security has been the terrorist attacks of September 11th. A proper structure was laid out in which the immigrants were seen as a threat to the security of the state. Therefore, their movement should be restricted to protect the state identity. The movement of people from the third world to the first world was portrayed as a security risk. The threat to a state was seen not just regarding attacks and increase in criminal activities but was also seen regarding attack to the identity and culture of a state by the immigrants. The citizens of first world countries were seen as educated and civilized whereas; immigrants were seen as uneducated and uncivilized. Thus, there is a stigma attached to the immigrants that they not just harm the core values of state but might also try to harm the state in other ways.

The movement of capital is easily allowed by the state actors, and the borders are usually open for trade and finance but if the movement of people is allowed then it might be a threat to the values of society hence the border for them are usually closed as the individuals might pose a threat to the collective identity of society. Every single time more controls are enforced upon the border to keep people away, but still some of the people will want to move in whether there are controls or not. Therefore, this occurrence describes the challenges of 21st-century issues like immigration and security at the borders. State Borders guide and bring various systems such as social, political and economic into contact. Borders have the authority to shape a sense of identity, and also to shape our lives and what we think about the neighbours.

Advent of globalization has made the borders more fluid as the movement of people has become comparatively easy as argued by many writers (Adamson 2006). The political anxieties have increased with the spread of globalization. Movement of people is seen as a threat to the security in the modern-era. The migrants are mainly seen as problematic as it increases the insecurities of state. Borderlands are areas located beside state borders. It can be said that after the attacks of 9/11 lot of states took a different range of actions not only at the international level but also at the domestic level to the emerging insecurities.

2.5 Emerging Security Issues in a Borderless World

In the contemporary world, the question of security is heightened and operated in the context of an unprecedented movement of people, money, goods, and ideas. At the same time, the question of security is not only a national and territorial concern which can be addressed only by self-interested nation-states and their governments, because of the rise and acknowledgement of shared global concerns such as environmental degradation, pandemics and epidemics, drug and weapons trafficking, international terrorism, etc. In light of these two new defining realities of globalization and shared global concerns, the concern of security has become primarily the concern of movement be it the movement of people, movement of capital, and movement of goods or global environmental processes; global epidemic flows etc. This phenomenon will be explored in this chapter. This has resulted in a global and national shift of modes of securitization through widespread, diffused, individualized, targeted, profiling and comprehensive techniques. The defining aspect of these new techniques is their working through and effort of surveillance. Modern borders have become more and more differentiated. Different social groups and activities have their borders and border zones. For the members of an international criminal group, stricter visa regimes are required. For multinational companies, customs fees and border formalities are required.

New surveillance technologies make it possible to address the specificity of security concerns today – the specificity of security today being the movement itself. Security itself is a question of movement, and this question is addressed and rationalized by the technologies of surveillance which works together through movement- such as by tracking, tracing, mapping etc. but these issues will be discussed in the third chapter. Between border security and the increasing need of all countries for greater volumes of trans-border flows, which have become a condition for economic development, there is an objective dilemma: security in the current sense often means limiting communications, as openness and increased communication across the border is in public opinion usually associated with new risks and threats.

Financial services have been the main sector of economic gloombalization. And the borders have been open to trading flows globally because of the economic globalization. The number of electronic financial transactions is astonishing. International financial markets are the main example of economic activity at the

international level. The volatility and the speed of electronic money affect the inflation, exchange rates, interest, financial criminality, taxation revenues and some other issues that are main components of a state's sovereignty. Due to globalization these issues operate outside the authority of state government and are operations on a global scale. Therefore, the governments have little or no control over the movement of money which can either flow in or out of their economies as the investors when seeing favourable conditions in a national market they invest for capital accumulation. But on the other hand, if the investors see political instability, they can also withdraw their money from the market. For example, the financial meltdown of the 1990s in Mexico, Russia, and Southeast Asia; in 2008 the recession in the United States that swamped the whole global economy.

2.5.1 Issues with Manufacturing

Transnational Corporations (TNCs) is one of the main examples of the tension as they are mainly capital-intensive industries and operate in not just one country but in some countries. In 2007 there were an estimated 79,000 TNCs employing over one hundred million people worldwide, and 790,000 foreign affiliates (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development 2008). They mainly operate the world trade displacing the states from acting as the primary agent of international trade. The biggest TNCs such as Toyota, Walmart, and General Electric have annual revenues more than the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of most of the countries. Therefore, to some extent, the politics and economy of a country are affected by TNCs investment decisions. They transcend the state borders easily, and they mainly function above the state's border. Thus, we can see how the local resources of a country are exploited and then these resources are transferred to another country to process them and then the final product is traded on the global market. For example, Volkswagen purchased in the United States, can be not called German-made car as the majority of parts are made in some other locations than Germany, and may be assembled in Canada. For this thing to work the borders has to be highly permeable.

2.5.2 Global Economic Institutions

International institutions such as the IMF, the World Bank, and the WTO are most famous and are an essential part of the structure of the global economy (Sassen 2006). These international institutions lend money to the local governments in need. These institutions also during the 1980s embraced neoliberal free-market policies as the

main principle. The main argument is that since a lot of developing countries have taken financial loans from the World Bank or IMF shows the strength and power of these institutions as they can reshape the international economy. The main purpose for establishing WTO was to set a multinational framework to supervise global trade. This also shows that how the national governments by adopting the agreements of WTO have led to decreasing strength of territorial borders to regulate trade flows.

2.5.3 Environmental Issues

Issues related to environment easily transcend state borders. For example, the floods or famine, acid rain, all types of pollution have little to worry about territorial borders. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, there are few if any truly global environmental standards that are legally binding. The network of state border continues to impart the main spatial framework for confronting global environment-related issues. Globalization has changed the relationship between the environment and border lines. The increase in the temperature of earth's atmosphere has been generated by human-made emissions like methane, carbon dioxide and other gases. Due to the greenhouse effect, the earth's temperature has risen. Deforestation is also the main reason for greenhouse gas emissions. Change of climate globally has a direct impact on the borders. For instance, the movement of people is also caused by a change in climate as the low-lying islands in the South-west Pacific are submerged by the high tides due to the rising ocean level, therefore; the move is towards advanced states like Australia, Canada (K.Marks 2006).

2.5.4 Pandemics and its impact on Security

In pandemics, the threat is targeted at several countries and continents which might encounter the outbreaks of viral. In January 2016, the Zika virus was declared as a public emergency of international concern. The outbreak of viral such as the swine flu, Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS), the avian flu has spread like wildfire. The global trade and travel make it easy for diseases to be spread easily. For instance, air travel facilitated the spread of the 2003 SARS outbreak in just a few days (Ali and Keil 2006). The state borders have limited effectiveness to control and manage the spread of viral outbreaks. These diseases also make it necessary for the state to take help from transnational institutions such as WHO.

2.5.5 Migration and Human Rights violation

Immigration controls impose harsh suffering on migrants and the refugees and therefore in a way sabotages the human rights of these people. And the Immigration controls also breach the provisions of many international treaties. The families are torn apart, and then they go into the hands of exploitative agents that they subject the migrants and refugees to detention and also manifest them to racial molestation and isolation. With Trump “zero tolerance” policy, more than 1500 children have been separated from their families according to The Department of Homeland Security. The stricter measures were enforced just to deter other migrants from crossing frontiers. A lot of literature discusses the aspect of vulnerability, for instance, the vulnerability of migrants increases with the violation of human rights. Migrants are not even seen as human beings and are seen as mere shadows, they are also devoid of basic moral rights and freedom and are also vulnerable to exploitation and discrimination tended towards them. Violations of migrants tend to increase with the adoption of externalization policies. Focus on tightening the border has been encouraged by political leaders and use of technical equipment has come up in countries which face more migration problem. The abuses faced by migrants in detention centres are many such as torture in all sense such as physical and mental. The vulnerability of women is more as they are raped and asked for sexual favours and are abused and tortured more physically.

2.5.6 Transnational Terrorism

Transnational terrorism is ideologically driven violence and involves the crossing the interstate border. It has both state and non-state actors. Non-state supported terrorism has increased post-cold war, and state-supported terrorism has reduced. Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) has been the expression of transnational terrorism. Al-Qaeda is also the type of transnational terrorist organization which has become the type of Islamic fundamentalist terrorism. Al-Qaeda is commonly described as “network of net-works” formed by loosely associated groups, dispersed, decentralized, and without a clear hierarchy of command. It uses tools like the World Wide Web, mobile telephones, satellite telecommunications, electronic banking, and jetliners to coordinate its actions, to enable movement through state borders without detection, and to disseminate its ideology (Watts 2007). The networks like Al-Qaeda and ISI are

types of networks which do not assert sovereignty over the territory of any particular state. Lot of Muslim quasi-states provide locations for territorial bases without any authority of territorial sovereignty.

2.5.7 Human Trafficking

Human trafficking is a vast concept where all types of individual are traded by the traffickers for money like children, women; organs are forced into menial jobs. The restrictions imposed upon the movement of people makes it difficult for the individual to cross borders hence a situation comes into picture where even the state has little authority, and an illegal market is created which helps the movement and circulation of people and services easily. This market which comes into the picture is mainly operated by the traffickers. For instance, the women immigrants they are forced into the sex trade. Female traffickers enslave women to extort money, and false promises are made by the traffickers to force them into prostitution.

It's not just the women who are at risk, but even the children and men are forced into practices of slavery. The children and men abide by the forced slavery because they don't have any other alternative and the only people they know are the traffickers. The children are also kidnapped and used for exploitation by sex tourists. They are also deployed in low-paying jobs and in informal sectors such as brick industries. Thus, the trafficker in a way manipulates and tricks the individuals to satisfy their means and ends. The migrants all over the globe are at a huge risk of falling prey to human trafficking. The condition of people stuck in human trafficking is very horrifying as there are only a few chances to escape this illegal structure. Human trafficking is one of the worst forms of modern day exploitation, and various means are used to force the individuals which can be threats and abduction. Thousands of women and children are victims of this criminal trade.

2.6 Addressing Global Security Issues

2.6.1 Human Right Violations

To provide security to people, the Government and the Global organizations have enacted several acts and provisions to protect them. If we look at the case of human rights violations, then we can see that the enforceability of human rights has t been neglected by the international community. And the treaty if signed by states obliges them to incorporate those norms into their national laws. Since the 1990s the situation

has changed, as not just the national governments have been the ultimate source of enforcement for protection of human rights but several International Human Rights Courts have come up and are endowed with the jurisdiction to prosecute human right abuses committed inside the borders of a state. One of the main functions of a government is the responsibility to protect the human rights of citizens to maintain its legitimacy and sovereignty. In this scenario, sovereignty is seen as a responsibility, and therefore, the government is understood to be responsible for the protection of rights and freedoms of citizens, and if the state fails to carry this responsibility, then the sovereignty can be limited and external intervention becomes necessary. Intervention in such cases is not seen in the form of right to intervene but as a duty to intervene. Even if every state accepts non-intervention as the central principle governing international relations, but external interference has become acceptable on humanitarian grounds if there is proof of massive human rights violations. Universal jurisdiction sometimes becomes a point of conflict between international human rights regime and bordered state sovereignty. The point is that the possibility of external jurisdiction over alleged human rights crime indicates the challenges human rights regime raises to state borders.

2.6.2 International Criminal Court (ICC)

It was setup in 2002 and was setup to implement and ensure justice on a global scale. It has jurisdiction over severe crimes such as genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity. For example, in 2009, the ICC indicted Sudanese president for crimes against humanity.

Not just this there are many international treaties and institutions set up to deal with human right violations such as UNHRC at the supranational level to regional bodies such as European Court of Human Rights, to national human rights laws and transnational nongovernmental organizations such as Amnesty International.

2.6.3 Transnational Terrorism

If the state is attacked by a terrorist organization then it shows incapacity of the border to tackle global terrorism. The first step was taken by the U.S. government officials after 9/11 was the immediate closing of state borders so that the border lines might restore the insecurity which people felt. “Global War on Terror” was launched to tackle transnational terrorism. U.S. war on terrorism extended to a global scale. This

strategy conflated the presence of terrorist bases inside the borders of a state with the commitment of that state to supporting terrorism, overlooking the fact that in some instances the government officials may not be in a place to fight against the risks of transnational terrorism and other criminal activities as they may not be in a position to control the whole territory of state (Elden 007). The U.S. launched air bombing campaign upon Pakistan's northwest tribal borderlands which had al-Qaeda and Taliban strongholds. The above-mentioned operations were defended to prevent the movement of terrorist networks. The Geneva Conventions that codify the rules of interstate war provide certain human rights protections for prisoners of war that captor states are expected to uphold. After 2001, the Bush administration claimed that persons picked up in the Global War on Terror are not entitled to the legal protections granted by the Geneva Conventions since they do not belong to the regular army of another state. Instead, the Bush administration has labelled them "unlawful enemy combatants," a designation that places these prisoners outside the jurisdiction of U.S. and international law. This has allowed their indeterminate detention without civil rights and independent judiciary oversight (Gregory 2007).

Geographically, this policy has resulted in a global archipelago of U.S. military and Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) detention centres extending from Afghanistan, Bigram; to Iraq, to Guantanamo, Cuba. Among these, the saga of the Guantanamo Bay prison stands out because of the spatial logic used to select this site as the location of the main detention centre in the Global War on Terror (Gregory 2006). One of the examples of U.S. government's attempt to deal with transnational terrorism was the Guantanamo Bay where the government itself tried to exceed its boundary and territory. "Extraordinary rendition" is another practice that has shaped the geography of the U.S. Global War on Terror. It implies clandestine operations in which the suspects are exported to covert interrogation sites in the territories of another state where they are tortured (Gregory 2007). The purpose of the above mentioned practice is to keep the suspects outside the borders of state and law. Such infrastructure includes secret interrogation sites in outside countries and inside the United States as well. CIA-operated Secret detention centres, transfer sites, and flight routes served by civilian aircraft to avoid suspicion (Marty 2006).

2.6.4 Environmental Challenges

Climate Change is one of the critical global challenges of our time. Worldwide acknowledgement of harmful potential by global climate change brings the necessity for the introduction of transnational action to deal with the pressing challenges and therefore, the situation led to the adoption of the 1977 Kyoto Protocol under the UN framework. This is the first ever international treaty to look after the concern of reduction of greenhouse gas emissions and it includes legally binding commitments to cut down the emissions. Governments, in order to address the pressing environmental challenges, have developed a number of action plans, most important being Agenda 21, which sets the goals for sustainable development. Another important convention to deal with climate is the Montreal Protocol which sets standards for the use of Chloro Fluoro Carbons (CFCs) and methyl bromide. The United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) is the main international environmental agency. It facilitates international cooperation in the environmental field. To deal with unprecedented environmental challenges such conventions and bodies come up to ensure sustainable development and to combat climate change. The role of every agency such as media, government, technology, private sector and role of other actors such as Non-governmental organization is required to deal with environment and to improve the resource efficiency.

2.6.5 Measures to Address Pandemics

The inability of a country to identify and maintain outbreaks increases the chance of diseases and infections to spread at a fast pace and also beyond the borders of the state. The more a disease spreads beyond its source, the harder and more costly it is to contain. This stands true for both natural epidemics and biological attacks. Therefore, the main responses from the state governments include conducting research of the viral, banning travels, looking for a solution to fight over the issue and to tighten the border control. There have been more than six types of public health emergencies. Not just this but transnational institution capable of effectively tackling pandemics, such as UN's World Health Organization which provides global coordination to fight against the outbreaks. Worldwide cooperation is required to fight and develop solutions for the emerging diseases. International engagement is important to address disease threats. Trans-border cooperation is a response to the

limitations of state border lines in negotiating global mobility's. It consists of a series of processes and practices that seek to enhance border permeability to address challenges that borderlines pose to the circulation of flows. Para diplomacy is also common to maintain cross-border contacts circumventing central governments.

Global flows have in a way challenged the nation-states to a great extent. The need for territorial borders to reconcile mobility with security is not the only possible response to changes introduced by globalization. The "open borders" and "border securitization" discourses are outcomes of this "battle of globalization versus globalization". When borders open, not all social groups and all places stand to benefit in equal measure. In both developed and developing countries, some groups may reap clear economic and political benefits, while others may bear the brunt of the costs. The groups that find themselves at a disadvantage may choose to fight back by demanding the "securitization" of borders. The idea of banning the movement of people does not ensure security. This view creates a false choice between mobility and security (Lyon 2003) that hinders finding innovative solutions for reconciling the territorial logic of movement and spatial rigidity. Initially, the economically inspired "open borders" discourse dominated the debate regarding the role of state borders in globalization. During the last decade, the emphasis has shifted, and the politically and culturally inspired "border securitization" discourse has become the main driving force behind contemporary bordering processes (Andreas 2003; Newman 2006b). "Border securitization" is directed not towards the complete closure of borders but to increase the selection procedure of borders.

The selectivity procedure of borders allows a certain category of people and goods to move while restricting the movement of some people and goods. Border securitization seems poised to tighten control over movement across borders but not too severe it (Sparke 2006). The borders have to function in such a way which will allow the movement of capital easily while restricting the movement of unskilled individuals (Anderson and O'Dowd 1999). In keeping up with the information age, borders have recently been likened to "firewalls" designed to allow the smooth functioning of legitimate traffic while blocking unwanted intruders (Walters 2006).

A global border regime of highly selective permeability would appear. Put differently; fixed borderlines have the task of reconciling the contradictory spatial logics of mobility and territorial security.

Chapter - III

Migration and Changing Politics of Border Control

3.1 Introduction

Throughout history, we can see that human beings have migrated from different places. In the ancient era, the rulers and the people in their kingdom tried to exclude people from their domain. Immigration control is a modern phenomenon. Border controls are proliferating and are becoming more oppressive and extensive. We can also see how the states use ‘externalizing strategies’ to keep people out of their domains. It should be kept in mind that there is momentous migration from “Third World” countries to the First World countries. “The reality is that many people leave their home countries for a combination of political, economic and other reasons, and do not fit neatly into categories.” (Kissolewki, 2005) Migration has to be seen as “the movement of human beings across geographic space” (Doty 2003).

Declaration on human rights also does not mention the right of free movement across the frontiers. The Governments all over the world use different measures and resources to emit, stop and exploit the migrants. The treatment which these people receive is very different from the treatment which the citizens in those territories receive, and which sabotages the human rights, rules of liberal democracy and the rule of law. Even the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is silent on the issue of movement if the proof of their identity is confirmed. It is clear the migrants, and other displaced people move out of the less developed and the conflict-ridden regions into rich and stable regions of the globe. But the rich and powerful countries do their uttermost to prevent refugees from entering their domains. Migrants wish to flee their home countries to improve their lifestyle but entering another foreign land is extremely. But if the people are already well-off and are exceptionally talented, then the entry becomes comparatively easy. Movement of people freely is not possible and does not stand true. As people who try to cross frontiers in search of work are seen as

illegal migrants and are ill-treated, and they are seen as 'illegitimate'. There are many consequences of harsh border control as this gives no freedom of movement and that leads to the inequality of wealth among nations which is consistently growing. During the 16th century the industrialised countries such as Europe became wealthy by the exploitation of people and resources of the other countries of the world. Economic Liberalisation which was supposed to spearhead to the welfare but in reality led to crisis and polarisation. High level of inequality causes people to migrate in search of the better workplace. According to this, free movement of labour and capital should be included in economic liberalisation. The main reason for polarisation is that Immigration control is differing from its aim and the free market does not exist in reality. Since the freedom to move in-search for better opportunities is denied. Therefore, in short, it can be said that there has been the globalisation of capital and not the globalisation of the economy.

Nation states are the result of waves of immigration which took place before the 20th century. Migrants face unrivalled levels of cutback and are abused. Therefore, to reject the authenticity of migrants is to deny a part of social nature of human beings. During the period of industrial revolution, the migratory movements resulted from the need for labour in mines, industries or plantations. After the second World War when workers were recruited from foreign countries, mainly from Switzerland and Germany, they were employed on contracts which rejected their right to change occupation and were given only a few rights compared to the rights enjoyed by the local workers.

The whole period of migratory movements can be divided into four main phases. The first period of migration (16th to 19th century) was forced. The European people forced transportation of labour to work in plantations and mines and therefore, more than 20million people were transported from Africa mainly. In the second period the migration was mainly partial which included bonded labour, and therefore slaves came mainly from China and India for providing cheap labour in their places of destination. The agreement which they signed was not forced but was signed according to their own free will. Sadly, the contracts gave them no human rights or political rights. For example, millions of indentured labour went to South-East Asia from India to work in the plantations and mines. So some people would return to their own country after the contract is over whereas others refused due to their own choice.

In the third period, the migration was mainly voluntary and included migration of Europeans to Australia and America during the 18th century to 20th century. The experience of these migrants was mainly positive. The migration in the fourth period was mainly mixed, and it was mainly to the industrialised countries after the war, and the number of migrants steadily increased after 1945. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, there were around 4 million refugees found in the industrialised countries. The main motive of immigrants to move to Europe was that the industries in that region were flourishing and they needed labours. Initially, the workers were within the country only, but later the workers from mainly Africa and Asia started coming. The ratio and the number of migrants moving to European countries reduced after the late 1970s and started moving to America and Australia due to the implementation of immigration controls. In Germany, these foreign workers were, mostly mentioned as guest workers. The working conditions of these guest workers were miserable, and they were forced to work in miserable conditions as the contracts which they signed also gave them no flexibility of shifting their jobs.

The guest worker system was not just prevalent in Germany but was spread throughout Europe. During the 20th century the number of immigrants entering the USA increased steadily. The migration is not just towards the west but can be seen within third world countries as well. A large number of migrants can be seen in oil-producing states as well. Other variation can be seen that they also migrate from slower growing economy to faster-growing economies.

The different definitions attached to a migrant are exclusionary which in a way leads to the creation of insecurities. There is no difference between the purposes of entry of migrants, and therefore migrants are recognized by “their status as persons to be one of exclusion from the political sphere of rights”. In the process of distinguishing between legal and illegal migrant, a notion of ‘Other’ is produced which in a way creates several insecurities.

3.2 Problem of Assimilation or Integration

During the colonial period, the governments would use force to get workers from Africa and India. Europe also after the Second World War used to hire foreign workers to work in their industries. The key argument would be that immigration would not just cause economic problems but would lead to “culture shock “or would

cause social problems”. The problem of assimilation was not just seen about future immigrants but also with the already present migrants in the society. The ‘cultural differences’ of immigrants from Muslim countries were seen as a threat and to the culture and identity to the countries of the west. Therefore, a threat was seen connected to the immigrants who could only be wiped away if they would integrate with the society. More precisely, this led to the common conceptualization that migrants are seen in a way that they try to bring their inferior culture in line with the superior culture they have moved to. The practices which are mostly shown as practices of integration and acceptance are mainly and in reality are exclusionary and racist (Doty 2003). Most of the states have adopted the idea of cross-culturalism and assortment, while other non-state actors do not believe in diversity and see the immigrants as a threat to the individuality and core principles of society.

In a wide sense, integration is the procedure by which people become integral to the society of a new country. The main problem why the immigrants take a long time to assimilate can be seen by an example if a migrant residing in the foreign country for more than one year and still if they could not understand the language of natives is the main hindrance factor because this happens due to less interaction between the immigrants and the natives. But if they don’t learn the culture, history and language of the new country, then they face problem in assimilating. For instance, Trump also wants the immigrants coming to the country to learn the foundations and values of the country and also they should invest and believe in America. Thus, assimilation is adapting to the already existing social order. The immigrant themselves have to start adapting to the process of assimilations it is just a one-way process starting and ending with immigrants. The migrants have to change especially in the public domain so that they can fit into the pre-existing social order. For instance, if any Muslim woman is employed in any European country, then they have to work without their headscarves so that the customers should not feel estranged.

More emphasis should be placed on assimilation so that they should not feel like strangers and should be seen as a part of the community. Sometimes, the racial origin of an immigrant makes it problematic for them to assimilate. In the contemporary era, we see that there is a huge diversity in the democratic countries and there is no monolithic culture to which the societies have to assimilate to. The process of integration is not a simple and easy process rather it is a long process, and also

there is no static finish point of integration. There are two sides of the coin some would argue that if the immigrants assimilate then it is part of getting rid of their own culture and heritage whereas on the other side if you don't assimilate then, it is seen as problematic. As some communities put pressure on the immigrants to assimilate while the others are not in agreement with it. For instance, assimilating to a new society is not an easy process, and one of the main difficulties apart from discrimination is that the values and customs of advanced countries keep changing and is dynamic.

Immigration issues were not just the issue of an uncontrolled number of immigrants but mainly it was a problem of racism, and intolerance like the North Americans, Europeans and other white nations had towards other nations. For example, during 1962, immigration controls in Britain were racist towards particular foreigners; in short, the immigrants were profiled. The anti-immigration racism is described by the affirmation that the Afro Americans and Asians are the ones who are easily recognizable as immigrants. The main victim of ethnocentrism and racism are the refugees. After the 1970s there has been an increase in a number of people going to Britain and other wealthy countries to seek asylum and how the refugees' influences politics of control as the governments see the asylum seekers as economic migrants demanding to misuse the escape clause in immigration control. It is unfair on the government and media to assert or declare mostly the asylum seekers are bogus. As the regions from which they come are areas where civil wars and violent conflicts have happened.

Rather than seeing the migrants and refugees as a problem we should look at the reasons for their movement because there is a high possibility that it can be forced. The people who attempt to migrate to improve their lives and sometimes to protect their life and liberty often face harsh sufferings, and that is why the immigration controls are often questioned. The question is whether the purpose of immigration control justifies the imposition of cruelties and the crisis faced by the migrants. Border control in a way is made to ensure that it stops the influx of migrants into their domain which imposes them. The governments in a way want to maintain and enhance the wealth and richness of their countries against the threats postulated by immigration, and also to give a sense of security to their people that the migrants won't reduce them to the conditions which the third world countries face. They want to preserve and control cross-border crime. But reality differs, as they have not

decreased the issue of crime and racism but in a way have increased it and not only this, they have also undermined the human rights of refugees and migrants but also of the people of their own countries who raise their voice about the miserable conditions which the migrants have to face and try to exclude the border control.

3.3 Historical Background: In Context of Europe

If we look into the history, then we can see the irony that how the colonial powers firstly forced migrants to migrate into their domains and later on how they banned their entry. Any country is a product of immigrants' work; even if we see the case of Britain, we can observe that how migrants in the form of hunters, conquerors, cultivators, refugees, and workers came and settled there. The main reason for the prosperity of the industrial revolution in Britain was because of the rural population who came and worked as cheap labour because they were displaced during the war hence working for Britain free of cost. Firstly, they tried to recruit people within Britain only, but early immigrants came before the colonial period because of ornaments, weapons, artefacts. Later, the need for slaves in the country led to a large number of workers being transported from Africa, and the Dutch people came to Britain to help in setting up the textile and pottery industries. Lastly, post-war they recruited foreign workers to work in factories indicates that it was mainly the immigrants who in a way led to the prosperity of the European land. When they figured out that unemployment was a major concern, then they imposed staunch immigration policies which restricted their movement. Thus, to deal with the labour scarcity, they started recruiting within the country itself.

The conditions which the migrants had to experience were worst because despite possessing skills and experience in work they were denied high paid jobs and were forced to work in harsh and unbearable conditions.

New discourses such as securitization and protection from illegal have been added into the discourse after the onset of Globalization. Although, borders are seen as more flexible in the era of globalization hence, marking ease of travel. But the flexibility and openness of borders have raised the questions of sovereignty and territoriality of states (Doty 2003).

3.4 Migration and Its Intersection with Security

3.4.1 Lumping of refugees and migrants

According to UNHCR, there is a clear difference between a migrant and refugee. A migrant is someone who chooses to move, i.e. based on self-will to improve their lives in some way for instance, in search of better work opportunities. Whereas, Refugee is someone who is fleeing because of arms conflict or persecution (which forces them to move) and have fewer chances of safely returning to their home because of the well-founded fears of being persecuted. Refugees are protected under the International law and have the right to proclaim asylum as in their case the matter of safety becomes significant. Whereas, migrants have to go through the normal immigration procedures after entering the foreign country. The main focus of Immigration controls is to keep the Economic migrants out and is also used to differentiate them from refugees. There are various taboos attached to both terminologies such as migrant seen as a bad thing and the refugee seen as good thing in some contexts. It is upon the Government to decide who is a genuine refugee and who is not. But in the current period, very few people are seen as refugees.

The world had known refugees since the millennium, but the modern definition of the word Refugee was drafted in “1951 UN CONVENTION” which deals with all the issues of refugees and makes sure that refugees do not return to their respective countries where they face a threat to their life. The International Law only identifies the persons are fleeing situations of conflicts and violence as Refugees. The journey of Refugees is usually long with limited access to food, water and shelter. Since their departure is sudden and unexpected, therefore, their belongings are usually left behind which results in no authentic identity proof. Since they flee from the harsh political and economic condition, they don't have enough money and documents to travel legally. Therefore, they usually travel by land and sea and sometimes entrust the smugglers to help them to cross borders. Therefore, the first step after entering another country is to apply for asylum and some governments behave sympathetically.

The Conventions such as “International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights” and “Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment” mentions the need to protect the refugees. The Grass is not always green for refugees in the countries where they have come as the Government

sometimes detain them and don't even let them apply for asylum. Therefore, the conditions are very bad where the refugees have to stay such as in filthy areas without any proper sanitation facilities. The introduction of Visas and other proof and travel documents have made it impossible for the refugees to enter the country legally. Authority of the Immigration officers was increased as by a suspect they could arrest any alien.

Governments use the technology to check and verify the documents of refugees seeking asylum. The political parties as a part of the election manifesto use the issue of illegal refugees and to garner the support of people, devise new measures for proper checking and entry of refugees. The Government would enforce several identity checks on the people moving around the world. Since most of the Immigration officers are not well versed in all the languages and does not have appropriate skills, therefore, due to miscommunication and poor understanding of the circumstance, make mistakes in identifying the refugees.

Women are in a more vulnerable situation as they face sexual harassments and several other kinds of violations and abuse. While crossing the borders also women are sometimes asked for sexual favours in return to pass the border. Therefore, there is "Gender-based" against women. Role of women is mostly seen in informal sectors such as agriculture, industry or as domestic help. Thus, Migrants and Refugees should not be confused as both have different meanings.

3.4.2 Racial Profiling

Racism in simple words means discrimination of colour. Racism has not disappeared within countries, but it has been the base of the foundation of a country. The issue of who to let in and who to not let in is debated in America since early 19th century although, it has merely admitted people from most of the countries, but it has not been an even admission process. The immigrants seen as a threat to the foundations of a country are generally banned and denied entry. As during the 1880s Chinese were mainly banned to enter the United States. In 1910 U.S. banned the entry of Asian immigrants except Japan and Philippines.

The main argument against immigrants is that they bring a "culture shock" and are racist. Thus, the mobility of people is restricted by the imposition of Immigration controls which also authorizes and approves racism in a way. Seeing the immigrants

as mediocre is also racist. If we look at the history of how racism was conceived for instance, earlier during the World War period Jews were the main target of racism. Then after the 1950s, Blacks became the victims of racism. The racism is very much prevalent in today's era, as immigrants in the detention centres also face racism and the officers mainly catch non-white persons and tag them as criminals. In 1517, riots took place as dissent against the foreigners residing in London popularly known as 'Evil May Day'.

Later in the 19th century, the main focus of racism shifted to Irish immigrants who were classified as criminals and diseased, therefore, they were forced to work in severe conditions, but the situation of Jewish immigrants was much worse than them. It was in the 19th century that Jews were mainly seen as aliens and the blacks were identified as an immigrant. In the aftermath of First World War hostility towards Jews increased as they were held liable for the spread of communism. Hence, the Jewish members were deported from European countries. It was mainly blacks after Jews on whom the prejudice increased and they were seen as mere individuals who were good for nothing. To justify the slavery system prevalent in the West during this time, senseless reasons were given to employing blacks as the masters saw them as inferior and argued that they are in a way also helping the blacks to civilise.

For instance, if we look at the situation of blacks they were very fearful and insecure during that time as nobody liked them and wanted them. In 1958, racial riots took place in Notting Hill because of the disparity white men had towards blacks. But the blame was put on the immigrants, and they were seen in a bad light. But the reality was different because it was the white men who assaulted and attacked the blacks, therefore, blacks were victims of racism. Sometimes, the hostility and attack on the blacks would lead to their death. The media often showed misleading information and facts about them. The News would largely portray the blacks as criminals and report their incidents of crime in a large number.

There has been a shift from Old Racism to a New Racism, and the racism is not the same as Colourism. Old Racism was generally very discriminatory, in which the blacks were seen as inferior, and the white men saw themselves as superior which was the objective reality (there was a notion of "biological superiority") and were not even treated as humans. Whereas, the new racism does not support the "Slave Trade"

which the old racism supported but racist remarks are very much part of it, for instance, most of the coloured men are trolled on the social media. Now, the New Racism is based on notions of “Colourism”. Black people in old racism were seen to be lower on the evolutionary scale. There is a shift from a biological and medical language of racism to a social discourse of racism, which includes issues such as crime, housing, unemployment and security and this is known as neo-racism. In its most insidious form, new racism involves the creation and consolidation of ‘differences’ thought to be irreconcilable and a threat to maintaining one’s own group identity. Such consolidation of differences is done to actively forge identities and create a sense of belongingness to that identity. Therefore it inherently involves the creation of an ‘Other’ who/which gets perceived as a threat to one’s group preservation, survival and even feeling of belongingness. In a global system of nation-states, neo-racists aggressively use such a language of differences to create a ‘genuine’ worry of ‘incompatible’ immigrants to whip up and politically use the insecurities of the dominant national identity. Seemingly one of the prominent case of ‘neo-racism’ is Samuel Huntington’s article “Clash of Civilizations,” in which he asserts that there is definitely a “sharp line between Western culture and Western ideas of individualism, liberty, equality, the rule of law, democracy, and non-Western ideas that are incompatible with these and pose the potential for conflict” (Doty 2003). Lately, he recommended that immigrants pose a danger to “the cultural integrity” of most of the West countries.

It is mainly the Politicians who showcase the immigrants in a bad light to increase their vote bank. For instance, the “SUS LAWS” of the 1970s were immensely discriminatory in the sense that police at any moment could pick and arrest the blacks mainly because there was a strong impudent relationship between young blacks and the police. The laws increased the vulnerability of the blacks as the laws instigated violence against them. It almost took three years for the ladies who were the main actors in leading to the scrapping of “SUS LAWS” which were institutionally racist.

Border Control used to filter people on the basis of their productivity hence; the unproductive people were seen as unwanted. Legal legislations were enacted to prevent the entry of unwanted immigrants. As seen earlier, due to the need for labour in Britain the movement of people was acceptable, and it was the immigrants who helped in the development of industries in Britain.

Immigrants not only influence the policies of Government but also the electoral policies of political parties. Immigrants from the first world countries were allowed but not from the third world countries, and this clearly shows a racist attitude in Britain. The vulnerability of the immigrants' further increases, when they are refused to be accepted legally, therefore, they end up working illegally to survive.

The main impact of immigration control was also on the families as the new immigration rules which were formulated during the 1980s cancelled the entry of husbands and fiancés. Entry for students and family reunion became very difficult to even the elders had to pass dependency tests. British Nationality Act of 1981 replaced the 1948s Act as it abolished *jus soli* which means that anyone born on the British soil is entitled to British citizenship, but this act was in favour of *jus sanguinii* which means that only the persons who have British parents would be entitled to British Citizenship. The cases of migration and nationality issue have created a messy situation. So, the movement of migrants to search for better work is not only denied but is seen in a criminal sense as discussed above.

“The Shadow Report on Racism” found out that it is the immigrants who are the victims of racist hostility. The issue of migrants was mainly securitized and criminalized, and most of the advanced countries also prohibited the movement from Muslim dominated countries which was again racist and discriminatory in nature. For instance, the United States “Travel Ban” is equated with “Muslim Ban”. Racial profiling or coloured profiling was mostly against the Africans in the present era, who are also framed as “Economic Migrants” by the politicians and other officials in charge. Thus, the movement of people around the globe and the harsh and restricted policies adopted by the western countries for immigrants, and the linkages between “race” and culture is part of the conditions which fosters “Neo-Racism”. Mostly the immigrants from “third world’ are seen on an evolutionary scale, and thus, their ranking seems to be very low, therefore, they are mainly seen as lazy and undesirable persons, unifying ‘new racism’ with ‘old racism’ (Doty 2003). The threats to the democratic identities of nation-states are propounded by the ‘neo-racist’ policies of the western world which mostly challenge the ‘cultural’ aspect of immigrants. It is the securitization of migration which even justifies the bizarre policy and policing measures to handle it. Sarrazin in his book while looking at the neo-racism tried to compare the Turkish and German Culture and hence stated “no immigrant group other

than Muslims is so strongly connected with claims on the welfare state and crime,” (Evans 2010) and also looked at the Turkish immigrants on evolutionary scale as less capable than the German immigrants which recommended the ‘hereditary factors’ accountable for disappointment of ‘Turkish immigrants’ in the education system of Germany. Hence, he has combined the traditional and cultural aspects of racism in his example to showcase the ‘Turkish population’ as inferior.

Racial attacks are very much common on the refugees, migrants and asylum seekers. Seeing migrants from the perspective of securitization discourse, and thus to deal with the influx of people, the measures adopted to control and prevent their movement is also a way of racial profiling of the immigrants.

In most of the ‘first-world’ countries, patrol agents and the cops mainly target the coloured people. Harsh and restrictive policies are being framed for the ‘racialised migrants’ that leads to abuses and discrimination in their everyday lives and especially in the areas where they are employed, for instance, the labour markets.

There is a kind of ‘systemic discrimination’ against the blacks as they face biases which is constant and idiosyncratic. In western countries, one can observe biases in small issues such as the taxi drivers won’t stop and let the blacks cross; rules and punishment for a white student are different from a black student where the former gets less penalised for their actions. In the service sector, the applications of blacks are rejected on the basis of their ethnicity and thus find themselves unemployed most of the times in the west. If the blacks get the job, the wage disparity between black men and the white men is huge. The police often, equate the blacks as criminals, and they are more likely to use force against the blacks rather than the white person and if the black is convicted of the crime, then the period of their punishment is generally high and strict. In some case, they have less political freedom as compared to the rest of the majority where they are even denied the basic right to vote. Some caveats, such as not just the blacks but even the Asians, Hispanics and other migrants from less developed countries face discrimination too.

For instance, Indians face a lot of racial discrimination in the United Kingdom as they are the largest ethnic minority in U.K. They are also more vulnerable than the other people in U.K and also face most of the racial attacks. Indians also face racial profiling in Australia. There were recently many racial attacks where Indians were

attacked in Australia which was highly covered worldwide. Hence the people in western countries face stereotypical 'racist attitude'.

3.4.3 Human Trafficking

Human trafficking is a process where the trafficker lures the victims in accordance to his/her interest. It does not happen in a short period and involves a series of procedures such as employing, transporting, harbouring and receiving. The reason why the individual doesn't resist this process is that the traffickers use certain means by which the victims cannot say no as they use threat and arouse the fear of abducting or deceiving them, and sometimes the traffickers promise the victims a certain amount of payment in order to manipulate them for abusing the individuals. In short, it is a process used by certain means to fulfil the objective or purpose of trafficking. Thus, the traffickers trick the individual and attract them so that they can easily influence them.

Abuses against the individuals include poor conditions at workplace where the individual is paid very less fraction of money for hard work, in the case of women they are forced to perform several sexual acts in front of other men in order to please them, even children of minor age are kidnapped and are forced to work day and night with bare facilities available. Varieties of trafficking comprise of forced labour at dingy locations, sexual exploitation of women where they are manipulated and treated as a slave due to whom deep insecurities develop in the minds of women. Another common type of this form includes 'Organ Trafficking' where the organs are taken out and are bid for trade in the black, as the organs have a huge monetary value there is a different price list of different organs circulated in the market. Here again, the black people are at risk for organ trafficking because the amount of melanin is way lot more in blacks than the whites, therefore, most of the black men and women go missing. For instance, the heart is the highest priced organ, and the main reason for which they are used are organ transplanting, research and for certain voodoo practices. Thus, it is a process where a lot of people are involved in this racket, and it is not just the trafficker. It is mainly the immigrants who are more vulnerable to these trafficking practices. The demand for organs is so high in the market that this business has become a huge profit drawing, although the system has not been legalised. Sometimes, the immigrants come from other countries in search of a better work as

promised by the trafficker instead they end up working in conditions which they did not imagine and thus get stuck in the racket of human trafficking.

The exercise of violence and coercion is used by the traffickers to ensure the conformity of immigrants, it just not end here but the immigrants are also made aware of the fact that the traffickers can harm their family and friends if they try to escape or if they tried to report the incidents to any legal official. Thus, it is the fear of protecting and keeping their loved ones safe which drives the individual to stick to the harsh realities and complying without resisting any change. Traffickers also take advantage of the refugees and migrants who land up in a country without legal documents and even if they possess some legal identities the traffickers forcefully take them away thus increasing their pain and leaving them with no option but on listening to what the trafficker has to say and hence, they succumb to whatever they are said as nobody in the foreign country would understand their language or provide them help without the legal documents and money. In short, the main purpose of trafficking is to draw economic gains.

A lot of exploitation is also done in the name of sports. ‘Camel jockey’ is the national sport in U.A.E. is the sport of sheikhs. Children are used in this sport to ride the camel; the main reason behind this is that the children can drive the camel faster due to their short height. It is an important example of trafficking where most of the children are kidnapped from Pakistan and Bangladesh to amuse the sheikhs of Middle-East. This is also in a way part of slavery where the children are mainly slaves and performs the tasks mentioned by the traffickers. The children live in miserable conditions; they are kept in camps which are no less than prison and are locked behind the door. Not only this the boys are also given very less food so that they do not put on weight and if a boy becomes fat then that particular boy is starved and forced to work more so that weight can be lost. Trafficking can be equated with modern day slavery. Migrants, as discussed earlier, are more prone to becoming a victim of trafficking.

3.4.4 Criminalisation of refugees/Smuggling

The major crisis is that migrants and the asylum seekers are often, seen as the identical. There is a large influx of refugees as the people become angry and mad at the politicians if they allow refugees to come inside the country. For instance, if

refugees have to claim access to asylums then they have to pass through Hungary; one other misunderstanding is between asylum seekers and refugees. For instance, the ISIS also threatened the Europeans by issuing a statement that they will send almost 6,00,000 immigrants as a 'psychological weapon' to spread chaos. This leads most of the countries to prevent the immigrants just to ensure they don't let people disguised as a criminal or a terrorist. What makes them refugees is that they are fleeing from danger, for instance, in some cases, the refugees are not even interested in the money of European nations as they have the latest gadgets. In the name of diversity, sometimes the migrants are accepted by a country, but the migrants are not integrated into the system of the country. Like the rise of jihadist groups in the middle-east has led to a large wave of legitimate migrants who flee from the political turmoil present in those countries and since the turmoil is never ending the movement of people migrating would also never end.

It was during the 1980s that the migrants and the refugees were seen as terrorists in disguise. This criminalisation of refugees and linking them to the smugglers lead to the misuse of workers. The system of how the refugees are linked to criminals or smugglers is that there are a lot of restrictions on the entry of a person as the officials go through all the legal documents and identify of the individual. Therefore, the refugees fall prey to the smugglers who help the refugees to forge the documents. Thus, it is the governments who indirectly compel the refugee to forge visas as it is the most important document needed to prove identity and entry. But the fake visa is quite expensive for which they become victims of smugglers. There are many ways in which refugees try to cross the border which includes they either cross borders by walking on foot, sometimes in cars, lorries, in small boats, or in the undercarriage of aeroplanes. Some refugees die in the attempt to cross the razor-wired fences. There are many strange borders, and they have different rules regarding the verification and entering of refugees for example if we see the border of Sor-varanger (Norway) just a few miles away from the arctic circle and is very close to the Norway-Russia border. So this border has some of the unconventional rules such as the refugee doesn't need a visa and proper documents if you cross the border while riding a bicycle but if you cross the border in a car or by foot then you need all the documents to prove your identity. Therefore, asylum seekers in large numbers trying to cross the border by riding the bicycle.

The usage of 'illegal' can be prevented if the immigrant can prove their identity. The criminalisation of refugees is more because they often forge the documents and often lie, as advised by the agents who help them in entering the country. Internal checks within the territories are becoming more and more pervasive as the legal officials use regular internal checks to identify the entrants who have entered not in a legal way. For instance, the officials in Britain can search on the streets to keep an eye on illegal immigrants. Such regular and continuous checks from time to time lead to the criminalisation of refugees. Thus, in a way a criminal network is created as a lot of agents come into the picture which in a way portrays to help the refugees, but sometimes the help is beneficial to the illegal migrants and sometimes not. And how there becomes a chain of human smuggling as there were instances where a Chinese gang kept the immigrants as a prisoner to extort money from them.

The travel stories of male and women migrants are different if we see the case of women in secretive escapes then they are more vulnerable compared to men as there are many instances where they are raped and physically abused and tortured. Even asylum seekers are often seen as 'illegal' migrants and as the convention has provided them with a legal right to claim asylum but still they are seen and identified as criminals. The criteria for recognition of refugee are very strict and qualified.

3.4.5 Impoverishment

When people flee their countries to escape victimization they usually don't find jobs which suits their skills and thus, there is a further drop in the level of their living. As the immigrants once being at the highest positions of the job profiles in their countries does not ensure the chances of landing up with a good job in the countries to which they flee, for instance, a doctor might end up being a security guard. Thus, their skills are undermined, and somehow they are not allowed to realise their potentials in the new country fully. While the main reason given for their impoverished condition is that they don't get good jobs because the officials don't want them to seize the opportunities of their citizens. For instance, European country like Germany has put restrictions that they won't allow the immigrants to work on any condition. Even if the immigrants, try to work illegally then they are caught and put in jails for not complying with the laws of the nation hence, leaving them in a pity condition. There were no welfare rights assigned to the refugees, and even the medical aid provided to them is discriminatory and not up to the mark. There are certain

provisions in the countries that refugees while entering the country should be provided with some housing facilities for instance, in European countries like Germany and Switzerland are kept and housed in certain centres, where the living conditions are same as the living conditions of people residing in detention centres. The irony is that Governments spends millions of money to increase the sufferings upon immigrants but don't even spend enough amount of money to provide the immigrants with basic supplies. Thus, to survive in the advanced countries the immigrants end up working in informal sectors which pay them very less as compared to their calibre, but that is the only option they have.

The immigrants are also not trusted by the banks, so they don't even approve their loans. Hence, they also don't have the option to start their venture. Being excluded from the good opportunities creates depressing effects on the self-support and livelihoods of refugees. In some cases, due to deficient work opportunities, the immigrants might look for other ways and end up being trapped in the evil of trafficking. The need for money to be self-reliant forces them to end up as a beggar, sex worker, or sometimes they might get involved in serious crimes.

Seen in the introduction part, the main motive for labour movement was capitalism. As the immigrants provide cheap labour as compared to the local workers therefore, some firms are keen on hiring them as they won't even complain and would agree to work in conditions which are less hygiene. They without any hesitation commit to the policy of working for more hours and don't even claim welfare rights.

3.4.6 Violation of LGBT rights

Sometimes the movement is not based to escape conditions of political turmoil but to escape from the areas where you just have to stick to the norms, and people with different viewpoints won't be accepted. Therefore, people who have different sexual orientation often flee their countries to protect themselves from becoming the victims of homophobia. Some countries often see Homosexuals people as contagious, and are portrayed in a bad light and therefore are not deemed fit for the society. There are certain questions in the mind of people to behave like a straight person. Homosexuality is seen as a crime in most of the countries, and in several Muslim countries, the punishment for homosexuals is sentencing them to death.

LGBT refugees and asylum seekers often find themselves facing racist bias in their own countries hence; they are looked with doubt by their communities and the neighbours. They face double stigma as immigrants one is of the illegal movement and the other based on their sexual uniqueness. According to the report by UNHCR, LGBT refugees and asylum seekers are questioned to “severe social exclusion” and aggression in countries of asylum by “both the host community and the broader asylum seeker and refugee community”.

3.5 Migration and Its Intersection with Surveillance Technologies

Use of technology is made to control the movement of immigrants, and the way technology works foster biases and excludes certain ethnic and racial groups. The main initiatives to enhance security and control mobility are the uses of the Internet, Sensors, and Radars etc. which will be discussed in the next chapter. It is through the use of new technology and the internet the ratio of crime increases. As when the migrant children are separated from their families, they tend to be caught by certain criminals and used for making them money. For instance, the children become victims of ‘cyber-sex trafficking’, which is the other name of slavery and includes the exploitation of children. In this, the underage girls and boys are forced to perform sexual acts with adults or other children. The show is live-streamed to the customers in western countries; the predators use the internet to abuse children in homes and cybercafés. All the children involved are, therefore, “victimized”. Migration plays a supplementary role in cyber-sex trafficking. Another type of trafficking, which has to remain unobserved is the contemporary slavery of domestic help. As the migrant would work by a worker’s visa which is for very short tenure but after the expiry of visa the migrant ends up as a trafficked person.

Media especially Social Media plays a strong role in shaping public opinion. Responsible reporting should include the opinion of migrants and the communities in which they live. Stories of Migrants are generally complex, nuanced and deeply personal. Rise in widespread media and everyday conversation demeaning language is used to describe migrants terms, such as illegal or criminal or procreative and inaccurate. An economic migrant is ostensibly used to distinguish from Refugee used proactively as someone less deserving or welcome. Other disaster imagery such as worms, invasions and floods or even when innocently used serve to pollute the public opinion. This continued attachment of negative labels to migrants leads to harmful

stereotyping and is often accompanied by calls to halt or restrict migration altogether. Even when the news of illegal's been arrested is shown conveys that the amount of resources and technology has been tremendously increased to catch the unwanted. This all is the result of Media which shapes the public opinion and to some extent the policies of Government. To detect the illegal's better and advanced technologies are being created to maintain and safeguard the security of the State. The media also exaggerates the number of immigrants.

Several Detention Centres were built to deal with the question of immigrants. The individuals who have violated the terms of the visa, or overstayed the period of visa, or illegally enter the other country without a visa are taken to detention centres. It was mainly after the 1980s that more and more detention centres were opened and built. If we look at the case of U.K., then we can see that more and more detention centres were built under the tenure of Tony Blair. The life inside the detention centres is not less than a horror film, and the detainees who are mostly illegal immigrants are beaten and batted. Thus, a culture of brutality can be observed in the Detention Centres. For instance, countries such as the United States have separate detention centres for children who are mainly between the ages of six to seventeen. The main thing which the children are told by the Government is that "It is not a detention centre". There are more than hundreds of detention centres for children where they are kept separated which is a live example of families torn apart, and they become victims of isolation and "racial molestation".

For instance, "Campsfield House an immigration removal centre" was mainly a youth detention centre but after 1993 worked as a high-security prison which was managed by an outsourcing company and is one of the worst detention centres. It is located in England, where other human being keeps other human beings under key and lock. Many people kept here are asylum seekers, and the torture on them is not physical but mental. The people kept in detention centres are tagged as "danger to the society". Life in the detention centre is hell on earth, and the detainees are monitored under surveillance cameras whole day and night, and this leads to a feeling in the detainees that they are penalised. Even if any relatives come to visit the detainees, they have to pass through several "remote controlled" gates. Human beings in detention centres are not seen as living beings but as mere objects or paperwork which the government have to look after. In camps field, the detainees are not even sure about when they

will be released from there. Medical facilities are very poor, and during past years the torture faced by persons in the centre and their deaths amount to the breach of Article 3 of “European Convention on Human Rights”. The resources and money allocated to the centres are not used to improve the life of detainees but to increase the surveillance technologies. Thus, in short, it is just the private company which manages in a “win-win” situation as it makes a lot of profit out of this.

One of the problems with the Immigration centre is that it tarnishes the reputational image of the immigrant who is being detained. One of the main reasons for detaining a person is overstaying the visa for one reason or another. But if we look at the national statistics for those who overstay in the country, then the vast majority of them are white people. But the detention centres very rarely get white men who have overstayed their visas. Therefore, there is an element of racism in a lot of this immigration control centre. The life inside the detention centre is so tough that some people die, while some try to commit suicide, and also some people go mentally ill. In a way, the conditions sabotage the human rights of people. The detainees also protest for the inhumane treatment, and also they are not sure about the duration for which they will be kept. The women in detention centres are in a more vulnerable situation as compared to men as they can be raped by the officials working in the detention centres. Several authors have argued that detention centres are same as concentration camps.

To deal with the people who move around the world, Government officials started deciding on the measures. One of the areas where change was felt was obviously on Border Patrol and also huge investments in New Surveillance Technologies. “The Integrated Surveillance Information System” was couple the remote cameras with “Global Positioning System” and “Geographic Information System”. Huge amount of money was spent to deploy advanced surveillance systems so that they could act as extra ears and eyes of the State.

Giorgio Agamben has shown how sovereignty can allow states to manipulate their laws to produce a paradoxical “state of exception” in which people are legally stripped of the protections offered by the juridical system while remaining legally under the control of the state, thus exposed to the abuses of its powers. He points to prison camps- from Nazi concentration camps to Guantanamo, to immigrant detention

camp- as archetypical “spaces of exception” where human beings exist in a state of in-betweens, at once outside and inside the bounds of the law. In these spaces, human ceases to be seen as subjects of state power that bear political rights. They are reduced to their condition as biological life-forms, mere bodies that are alive.

One of the reasons why asylum seekers end up being in a destitute situation is that they are not allowed to work until the visa is granted to them, but it is very difficult for the individuals to survive in cities like Oxford without working. Hence, to survive and live they start working which increases their vulnerability as they have broken the law and face serious charges. “Externalization policies” of the Government violates the human rights of migrants. And when the Government official, politicians talk about migrants, they do so only from one side of the coin and do not talk about both sides of the story. Thus use of technical facilities to protect borders only help the security giants from making more money, thus leaving the migrants more vulnerable, and every measure is taken to control their mobility.

If the immigrants think that they can easily swim across the river from Mexico and enter the United States, then it is not true as the Border Patrol won't let people enter its territory. For instance, Lasers, Graphical Positioning System (GPS) coordinates. Sensors and agents on horsepower keep a check at the border day and night. Countries around the globe have started building Walls and fences to safeguard the area even though, after the wall of Berlin wall other walls and fences have come into the picture. Thus there are almost hundred miles of the physical wall between U.S. - Mexico which is a wall of technology and surveillance where people, technology and the infrastructure state at the Borders. It's not just the surveillance technologies which are useful but also the skills of Border Patrol at looking at the signs is very important as it is the signs and symbols which helps in tracking down the migrants.

If we look at the case of Libya, then the migrants there lack protection and are often detained indefinitely under extremely poor conditions. The detention Centres are usually filthy and overcrowded. There is no unified government in Libya, and also some parts face a threat from the Islamic state. Technology has also played a significant role in violating the rights and freedoms of immigrants for instance, in Britain asylum seekers are monitored by “Biometric tagging” which keeps a watch on the detainees using GPS. The Airport authorities mainly target immigrants from

Muslim dominated countries and also certain ethnic groups are targeted for instance, after the 9/11 attacks, the Muslims were mainly targeted at the U.S. airports even the Bollywood superstar Shahrukh Khan was detained by the immigration officers for 90 minutes and he has been detained thrice at the U.S. airport and even our former President of India APJ Abdul Kalam was frisked at the U.S. airport. Another instance is of Hardeep Puri who was an Indian diplomat he was too detained at the airport for refusing to remove his turban.

The use of technology has also led to “Function Creep” as the data which was mainly stored to provide security and to prove the identity of individuals is also accessible to other officials and can be used in tracking other things as well. Moreover, the hackers can also hack the data available with the government and thus can lead to an increase in fraud cases. Therefore the questions of privacy remain. The argument given by Government officials for collecting the data is that it is necessary for security. Thus, whether openly or through “Function Creep” the data is stored. Migrants are mainly at a greater risk of “Function Creep”. In several countries “Entitlement cards” are issued to the immigrants, but the nature and the operations of these cards are also exclusionary. For instance, people without entitlement cards cannot seek medical care thus increasing the vulnerability of the migrants.

But the Governments only talk about the needs of Immigration control because it is seen as eminent to safeguard the interests of its citizens. Immigration controls in the United States now call for deportations and a 50% cut in the legal immigration renewal visas. Although, the arguments, given that immigrants lead to unemployment shows no correlation in the developed countries. Hence, governments by imposing harsher immigration controls are restricting the “Freedom of People’s Movement”. The Governments by imposing and showing harsh restrictions also want to curb the movement of other people who are planning to enter. The irony is that the movement of capital is not restricted it is just the movement of people which is controlled.

The situation of controlling Border is just like a dam as when the holes from which water comes out is blocked leads to other ways of opening up of ways as the advancement in technology which led to the introduction of “Facial Recognition Technology” led the migrants to work out for solutions so that they could not focus on

ways to forge identity. The Border Controls if examined from a critical viewpoint may disobey the main principle of 'Non-Refoulement', as the deportations and the policies force people to return to their war-zone countries. For instance, the United States and Turkey deport Afghans despite the awareness of the severe situation in Afghanistan. As some of the Rohingyas in India argue that they can be deported back by the Indian government to Myanmar once the killings are stopped. For instance, the Syrian refugees came to Lebanon during the times of war to live for their children and themselves. They live in a difficult situation and reside in "refugee ghettos". They also have to pay money to remain legally in Lebanon. Immigrants are victims of human right violations as they go through physical and psychological abuse.

The migrants do not always flee for economic reasons as it is only very few people who migrate in search of work. And sometimes there are other political reasons for their movement. Therefore, immigrants have to leave their families behind and are not even welcome in the countries where they arrive. Reason for economic migration is also the need for labour in the western countries. As Capitalism has been the main reason for labour movement if seen as during early periods labour was forced. One of the main arguments given for denial of work right to an immigrant is the rise in unemployment. The illegal migrants are sometimes easily accepted because they provide cheap labour in comparison to the local workers. Immigration both legal and illegal is good for the employers of any country as they don't claim welfare rights and easily agree to work for long hours and also in poor working conditions. The countries with more number of immigrants progressed more because the immigrants maintained inflationary pressures down on wage levels. And the argument that immigration increases unemployment is baseless. Another reason given by government officials is the existence of a welfare state, and the influx of migrants would be a burden on it. Whereas, it is the other way around as the immigrants contribute to the welfare state more than they take from it. They also pay taxes, and these states get the labour to expand its economy. Thus it is another way round the burden is put by the government on asylum seekers as firstly, they don't even let them work freely, and secondly, they deprive them of the basic work entitlement thus transferring the expense on much-cut social services.

Chapter-IV

Changing Politics of Border Control: The Aspect of New Surveillance Technologies

4.1 Introduction

The main driving force to setup advanced surveillance system was the movement of immigrants in tremendous numbers to the West. Therefore, technological solutions were seen as a powerful and ingenious method to deal with the complex problems that arose because of such migration. To control global terrorism, issues of migration and transnational crime states have started preferring technological solutions. But technological solution provokes questions of democratic norms. In the aftermath of 9/11 attacks, the Bush government launched a program "Smart Borders" designed to screen any terrorist intrusion either by land, air or sea. Use of diverse technologies is made such as biometrics, e-passports, information technology to filter out the unwanted persons or goods while at the same time these technologies help in the entry of legitimate travellers. This shows the example of "securing through technology," which makes use of knowledge to identify threats.

Border control has now emerged as a complex high-tech process from the mere protection of territory by the border persons thus, leading to a wider model of border security. One of the earliest efforts to restrict the movement of immigrants was seen in the United States during the late 1800s, where inspection stations were setup along the southern border at Ports of Entry (POE). Some of the persons were deployed at the borders in 1904 to stop illegal crossings, but the resources during that time were very limited, and the efforts of the "mounted watchmen" were irregular. Later, in 1915 the number of border guards increased and they were given motorcycles, automobiles, horses and boats and they were referred to as "mounted inspectors". These patrolmen were assigned to look after immigrants but due to limited resources and deficient technology they could not keep an eye on borders every time and even the army men would perform the functions of border patrol.

Origin of the passport can be traced to the biblical era, and such documents were present since 1450 Before Common Era (B.C.E.). It was during 1540 that the term “passport” was used for the first time and was used to enter the foreign territory and mainly was used by traders to pass the gates of a state. A passport signed by Charles 1 during 1641 still exists today. Therefore, he is credited with the having invented the passport in a modern sense. In the aftermath of the First World War the idea of a worldwide passport emerged for travel purpose and also the expansion of railway infrastructure led to an increase in the volume of international travel. It was in the 1920s, that the League of Nations held its first conference on a passport from which the guidelines for the passport emerged. Therefore, it was during the 20th century, that the passports began to be used. For instance, the first British passport consisted of a single page and was valid only for two years and the descriptions on a passport would include a photograph and the signature. The passport was seen as an object of freedom for the advantaged whereas; it was seen as a burden by the disadvantaged. Passports emerged in a west-centric notion and were more about creating control within the borders and less about creating a democratic society for world travellers.

The Nicaraguan passport had eighty-nine security features, including bi-dimensional barcodes, watermarks and was seen as one of the least forgeable document. The Israeli passport is not accepted by most of the Muslim countries and even North Korea and Cuba. During the 1980s the passports were regulated by International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO). The Passports in this era with the technological invention contains biometric data and embedded microchips. The first country to introduce this technology was Malaysia and later on New Zealand, UK, Germany, USA, Poland, Sweden, Australia followed.

In 1924 The United States started its first operations in Border Patrol. During the outbreak of Second World War, the number of persons deployed at the borders increased in the countries involved in the War and mainly in Europe. Most of the changes seen after Second World War were a double increase in the number of patrol agents and also the system of recording and taking fingerprints of a person who was seen as alien through the “Alien Registration Programme” (ARP), organization of detention camps for enemies, increased patrolling operations etc. Majorly it was during times of war and emergency, that interest in border control and security would translate into rapid advancement in technology and law enforcement people. For

example, during 1930s Los Angeles and Dallas used “vehicle-borne radios”. During the Second World War, the priority of Patrol was to prevent Nazi infiltrators. Another important tool for surveillance of boundaries on both land and sea were aeroplanes for example; the autogyro was a highly developed technology of this era.

During the 1950s increase in national insecurity led to the deportation of migrants seen as illegal via commercial aviation but this programme could not last for a longer period due to the high cost of flying home illegal immigrants. Slowly and slowly magnetic sensors, seismic sensors’ came into the picture and detected movement along the borders. For night time “Low-light night vision” goggles were given to agents so that they could easily detect with great efficiency any illegal movement and activity taking place.

During the 1980s, there was a great leap in technology like desktop computers, compact disks, phones and phone lines laid the establishment of the Internet. Due to the crisis and insecurities in large hometown influx of people started moving towards North due to which new patrol agents were employed, and new deterrence strategies were focused on the borders. For example, operations such as “Hold the Line” in El Paso, “Gatekeeper” in Sand Diego etc. Not just the Deterrence measures but also new technological initiatives came into the picture. “The Integrated Surveillance Information System” was seen as the installation of cameras tied to the “Global Positioning System” technology and “Geographic Information Systems”. For example, between the protests in Audubon Society and Sierra Club mobile stadium light were deployed.

The attacks of 9/11 instilled fear in the minds of people so this “Fear Go Away” demanded more security. In the aftermath of, the 9/11 attacks the U.S. government realised that it had not kept pace with technology hence; soon after the “Terrorist Surveillance Programme” was launched. Therefore, after attacks of 9/11, the focus of American border patrol shifted to terrorist interdiction and homeland security. This change in the U.S. shifted the focus and divided the Naturalization Service and Immigration into two bureaus. In 2004 ISIS system improved. “American Shield Initiative” developed which looked at certain objectives such as to diminish crime and work upon the quality of life and economic vitality, to stop the entry of illegal, and to influence “Smart Border” technology.

Now if we look at the current measures of technology, then we can see that lot of investment and time has been spent on developing cameras and ground detection sensors. For example, U.S. Border Patrol uses seismic sensors and infrared camera's combination which gauge the movement of people with great efficiency. The developments of remote cameras have taken a long time as initially the first remote camera was analogue and was the low-grade camera. Whereas, the latest cameras are far better as they recorded everything and are not analogue but digital. For example, earlier when analog computers were in use the operator had to decide which camera to watch but now with the advent of digital computer, the task has been simplified as instead of watching camera feeds all the time, you can just playback the video at any time as the digital computers record each and everything.

The latest developed systems have direct access to GIS and GPS information and will permit individual agents to access to location information which was previously accessible only to officers. Today's "Remote Video Surveillance" (RVS) cameras have better ranges than the traditional cameras, and also it operates both night and day. For example, if some incident takes place, then it's all recorded as the cameras have the infrared ability and also you can pan and zoom the cameras to watch the incident.

Identifying aliens have always been a big issue. As detainees with many family names and foreign names pose a threat to the processing of information system. Whereas, fingerprints don't change and remain the same. Therefore, this makes finger prints ideal for identification. Integrated Automated Fingerprint Identification System (IAFIS) was designed to give better information about the people as initially the person has to go through a digital live-scan of all the ten fingers. Fingerprint system also eventually evolved with time as earlier during the 1900s the fingerprints were analysed by persons who would usually take months to identify the prints, but now with the advancement in technology this process has been simplified as now computers process the prints within seconds. This process is very effective considering the pace of recidivism among the illegal immigrants crossing borders. This system has been important in making thousands of arrests which earlier went undetected and also in identifying immigration violators.

UAVs, mainly known as drones are like the several eyes in the sky and provides with a wide-based surveillance. UAV are mainly pilot-less planes used to survey a wide range of area. Drones were mainly developed during First World War for anti-aircraft gunners. They are now operated via GPS or by a remote operator and are seen as a vital component in border control strategy. Drones usually stay in the air for more than forty-eight hours and allow border agents to efficiently monitor miles of border with use of specific cameras and sensors which can provide the minute details like a bird's eye view. For example, the UAVs deployed in Iraq and Afghanistan has been able to detect and smack the enemies.

Even systems such as ALPR are solutions which record data of car license plates and then compare them against the stolen vehicles database. These systems have been deployed at the border and would capture the image of a vehicle's license plate when the vehicle would travel across the sensors. The result of this data was compared to stolen vehicle database. Now, this technology has become available in advanced and smaller versions. And this version does not require the tripped sensor to start their night-vision cameras. Thus these systems have been deployed and play an important role in providing the details of the vehicle owner and the vehicles. This system also plays an important role in theft interdiction role.

Even "Radiation Detectors" are used in large numbers, and every patrol agent along the border is required to have a radiation device. These PRD (Personal Radiation Detectors) can vary in size as it can be small as a cell phone or a pen. And the speedy vibration system has been replaced by much less audible vibration. Whereas, at the airports, large detection devices are used to check cargo containers as large mobile X-ray and gamma scanners can be set up to scan hidden people, and dangerous materials along with the electronic packaged profiling develop an efficient system allowing billions of goods to enter.

"Tethered Aerostat Radar Systems" have been used for surveillance since the inception of First World War and also in Iraq to examine the insurgent activities. This System mainly remains tethered to the ground to watch any kind of movement. The TARS sites located along the border of U.S. provide relevant information regarding incursion into the airspace and also weather monitoring. They remain stationary and are capable of providing data of illegal traffic.

One of the major obstacles in interviewing and identifying people is Language. Therefore, to fill the gap, several language translators came into the picture. The desktop system offers free translation, and when you just speak into them, they translate and repeat the words in another language. But in today's era, handheld language translators are used which provide speech recognition abilities. Mainly this system was developed for U.S. military in Afghanistan and Iraq and was quite affordable and would help in assisting the personnel in communicating with other people in different languages. Other means to translate language is the use of Internet where several sites are available to translate the languages.

4.2 Embodied Borders in the Context of Security, Surveillance and Migration

Border securitization practices based on risk perception has now bought the human body in the picture. Borders are engraved on the bodies itself. The “embodied borders” are easily movable and absolutely individualistic which allows precise control even at small spatial scale. The body, therefore, makes the ideal border. The body has been continuously seen as a space for engraving border (Tyner 2006). For example, the fitness checkups of the migrant people at Ellis Island, where the infirm and sick bodies were denied entry. Till the contemporary era, absolute control over the body has been avoided. It has rather, been a loose frontier space intruded by several power remained a loosely governed frontier space, trespassed by many power processes. In the modern era, the body is embodied in borders (Sassen 2006). Therefore, the body itself has become the border, and the individual can be seen as a walking and talk border. Body therefore has become a heavily inscribed document that and can be read through the use of several kinds of technologies.

To enhance security and to verify the identity of migrants, lots of systems have been developed and implemented like naked machines, Biometric based e-passports and registers of passengers. Therefore, Surveillance technology is widely used to control the movement of people. New surveillance mechanisms have been deployed to manage the movement of people. Surveillance technology is increasingly used to control regular migration. The shifts from an individual guard standing at the border to technological progress by a shift towards Electronic passports and another host of measures have given control over the mobility. And these cutting-edge technologies provide power to track more people and data than ever before.

Travel documents are the main proof of nationality and citizenship. Identity has an important role in embodying borders as it is the identity of a person which contributes the base for determining the danger. Therefore, to safeguard society and space the business groups and policy makers to check the identities have put their trust and faith in surveillance technology. (Ackleson 2005a; Sparke 2006). For instance, it is by looking at the e-passport that the base of individuals can be identified and can be matched to what they say they are coming from.

Surveillance mechanisms are deployed to control the movement of people and significantly, reduce the number of illegal immigrants. Several technologies which are used include UAVs, GPS and GIS, Closed Circuit Televisions (CCTV), Sensors and PRD. For instance, major conflicts in the north part of Africa has led to a huge influx of migrants across the Mediterranean sea hence; leading to enhanced border control across the land and maritime borders of European countries. Biometrics, detection technologies, Data mining software in use poses serious moral problems. As misconduct and error might always occur and technology with the ability to track and trace can many times harm the fundamental rights of human beings like dignity and privacy, as surveillance might turn out to be discriminatory sometimes? Certainly, privacy, dignity, democracy and equality issues have been discussed about surveillance technology (Lyon 2003, Gandy 1993, Haggerty and Samatas 2010) but seldom about irregular migration.

BIOMETRIC bordering is to tackle the security aspect as biometrics is mainly for identifying the specific features of the individual which help in the identification and verification of an individual. Some authors argue that by looking at the unique features of an individual such as fingerprints, iris pattern, voice recognition, signature and face (Epstein 1998; Lodge 2007). The biometrics in old passports did not include the chips and were mainly less technology oriented (Salter 2003). Modern-day e-passports use new surveillance technologies to acquire the data, and then the data got encrypted and stored in a central database system (van der Ploeg 1999b). Therefore, when a person crosses the border, at the crossing point the individual has to present the e-travel document with the body part, to be recognized and identified. These new E-passports are highly secure and are difficult to tamper.

The main use of modern technologies was made almost two decades back, and its use was restricted to banks and for security in buildings and other areas. Ten years later, the use of surveillance technologies was made in advanced countries to control immigrants (Sparke 2006; van der Ploeg 1999a). After 2000, biometric technologies had become mainstays of Thailand, U.S., Nigeria, Australia border securitization regimes. Now biometrics has been widely used and has affected millions of people, mostly in the form of e-passports which are also known as biometric passports. The belief upon which the biometric system is based is that bodily characteristics can be accurately interpreted and captured and thus more unfaltering the personal identification becomes. As the e-passports contain microchips, which includes the biometric data of a person, the immigration officer has to confirm whether the person correlates with the information present in the system.

Fingerprints, Iris, voices are converted into readable “text”, and several meanings might be attached to the biometric body and the identity without the awareness of the individual. Retina scanning provides surplus information as compared to the iris scanning, i.e. more information such as traces of diseases may be identified. Therefore, iris scanning is a most ethical sound alternative. ‘Dataveillance’ is used to sort out the legal and illegal migrants (Broeders, 2007). This ‘dataveillance’ is the network of a vast database containing several types of valuable information about asylum/visa applicants. So, large-scale database has been established containing information and biometric data about visa/asylum applications to make possible profiling of migrants account of movements. That is, the database is intended to prevent irregular secondary movements (asylum-seekers who move irregularly from Schengen member states in which they have already gained protection), multiple asylum claims and simultaneous visa applications (Broeders, 2007).

Even though biometrics was in use for bordering practices before the attacks but the 9/11 attacks provided a critical impetus for the adoption of biometrics on a wide-scale. Officially adopted with U.S. Enhanced Border Security and Visa Entry Reform Act of 2002 and also the introduction of U.S. biometric travel documents. In 2003 a UN body also recommended the acceptance of biometric passports for international travel documents. The integrity of the E-passports is at the heart of national security which helps in screening out the criminals. Soon, due to increased security concerns, new features were added to the e-passports which included fingerprints and photo

(Epstein 2007). This condition has left the governments of the first world with no alternative and thus, they have also started investing in new surveillance technologies.

The deployment of new surveillance mechanism is a solution to widespread security concern. By use of biometrics the identity of an individual is identified which in a way ensures the verification of an individual thus, two functions of biometrics have come up which are to confirm and establish the identity of an individual (Lyon 2008; van der Ploeg 1999b). The most important function of e-travel documents is that they help in conforming a person's identity and seeing whether they have been telling the truth as they are who they say are. The body, on the other hand, works like a passcode which provides identification on the move so that the individual can access diverse services and spaces. And the Identity Documents (IDs) and Biometric passports are just updated versions of the identification documents used earlier. New biometric passports are more efficient, quick and precise.

A fact of biometrics is that it ensures security in a way, but it does not ensure the stopping of potential criminals who might even turn out to be criminals (Salter 2004). For example, even though biometrics would have confirmed Osama bin Laden's identity but his identity as a terrorist would not have been confirmed by the biometrics. For that to take place, the security systems should have previous information related to the actions of that person so that it can be linked to his passport chip and biometrics. Main use of biometrics is to recognize one person from a group of persons. Thus, there are a lot of databases maintained by security agencies from which the biometrics are checked and recognised. Therefore, for efficient use of biometric technologies, there should be a single database which contains a database of everybody on the earth and should be stored in digital banks for its easy availability. Ploeg was highly critical of the linking of biometric data with identity as the data alone cannot determine the identity of an individual (van der Ploeg 1999b). But once the biometrics of a person is recorded and stored, then their personal confidential report might be easily collected and used whenever the need emerges. Therefore, the person's digital identity is shaped every time without the information of that individual. Such systems have been introduced to prevent any mistakes and the repetitions of 9/11 situations, and they function in U.S. borders by the name of "Automated Targeting System" since 2002. In the U.S. there is also a simultaneous ATS system which assigns risk scores to goods which cross the border of USA. The

European Union is using a similar system known as Automated Border Control (Guild et al. 2008). This whole infrastructure which is in function at the borders reads the chip in the passport, the body parts and then matches it with the data stored in a bank and then when the identity profile is checked and analyzed it also assigns the amount of risk associated (Amoore 2009).

Two main important functions fulfilled by the biometric databases is that firstly, it catches unwanted people as in the first database includes information of almost all individuals like the travellers, asylum-seeker applicants. Whereas, the second function is to catch and detain the wanted. Database for the second type of a function includes the list of suspects or criminals from which the risky individuals can be targeted. The United States has the largest of such programmes which have the data stored of all the individuals who have entered the country (Amoore 2006; Epstein 2008). Not all biometrics focus on restricting the movement, there are some which help in enhancing mobility. Most of such programmes are based on public and private partnership, in which the rules are written by the state officials whereas; the rules are implemented by the private firms.

Networking of information related to migrants typically serves to identify and sort individuals who move across borders into categories: desirable/undesirable, safe/risky, admissible/inadmissible (Lyon 1993). Using surveillance regimes and classification, states not only control movements but enact the categories and divisions (legal/illegal, alien/citizen) they purport to represent and enforce (Walsh 2010). To some extent, surveillance-based control affects all migrants. However, whereas tourists and professional workers, in most cases, are subjected to momentary, light-weight border control - “thin surveillance”, undocumented workers, irregular- and illegal migrants, are subjected to intensive scrutiny - “thick surveillance” (Torpey 2007).

Some detection systems have been used to enable continuous and automated border control. Video Surveillance is mostly used at authorized border crossing points like seaports and airports, e.g. profiling individuals and selecting them for second-time checks. Not just the CCTV but also thermal imaging devices and infrared CCTV cameras are deployed. These technologies can capture the pictures and images even under low-light and in the dark. Smart cameras are also deployed to react to fast and quick movements. Smart CCTV is a variant of automated surveillance based upon stereotypical categories (abnormal behaviour) which draws attention towards

minorities. Therefore the technologies such as radars, thermal imaging devices, seismic sensors, unmanned aerial vehicles give rise to privacy intrusions without the awareness of data subjects, e.g. the movement of a person might be monitored without them being aware of the reason for refusal.

Radio Frequency Identification (RFID) it works on radio waves and helps in tracking objects. It has chips stored inside which works in a very smart manner. RFID includes chips embedded in the passport which contains data of the individual, and the data responds to special radio waves coming mainly from a short distance (Jules 2006). It comprises of a chip and does not have battery and stores information in the form of numeric code and receives information and power from a computerized reading system if activated and the chip is known as tags. RFID has two components known as RFID Reader and RFID tag. The RFID is a passive technology and is used in so many things no matter how big or small. The advantage of using RFID is that it identifies and provides a connection between the physical world and the digital world and this technology operates without any barriers and automatically identifies people on the go without even stopping them (Amoore 2009). This technology was mainly developed during the Second World War for military applications, but it was mainly after the 1990s that it was used to track the location of inventory and also has replaced the bar codes, and hence we can just walk out of the shop and RFID automatically deducts the amount from our credit card. The technology is also widely used in the human body, tracking the animals, credit card payments and also helps in tracking lost vehicles. The chips in RFID are very small and are also now implanted inside the skin of individuals to store personal information about them, and it can also help people during times of accident, as the hospital can easily retrieve the information and help in the better identification and treatment (Albrecht 2008; Juels 2006).

It was mainly that after 2005 that RFID technologies became interlinked with biometrics. RFID tags help in transferring biometric and persons' information present in the travel document. These tags are broadcasted as a unique encrypted code through which a computer system can access the personal biometrics from an e-passport microchip or a passport along with the ATS database which gets displayed on the border guard's computer screen before the person comes at the kiosk (Department of Homeland Security 2008). Further, while using automated border

gates and preferred traveller schemes, RFID technology helps in making the borderless world come true for those deemed “low risk” (Amoore 2009).

The optically machine-readable passports, residence permits, visas and Ids requiring manual swiping as been replaced by the RFID technology which is becoming standard in travel documents. Nonetheless, for making the system, a success on global level international interoperability must be achieved. Without interoperability, RFID technology has limited scope for using it in bordering practices. Integrating passport RFID technology means that required technical information, such as access codes, decryption algorithms, and databases, needs to be shared across borders to allow quick access to a person’s biometric identity.

It is the technology which helps the country to filter insiders and outsiders. Political marking of a border is shaped by different interests such as social, political, economic, and cultural. For Instance, if we look at the case of the United States, then we can see that millions of people immigrate to the United States. Out of which 41 million are legal, and 11.5 million are undocumented which includes 13% of the total population. How the United States deal with the flow of immigrants directly affects countries security and economy. Almost 18 billion dollars is spent on the immigration enforcement policy. Undocumented immigrants are the persons who enter illegally or overstay the legal limit. Some are brought to the US as children; many have U.S. borne children. The main problem of Undocumented immigrants is that they often settle and develop the deep roots in the society creating social and political complications such as gaps in tax collection and the amount of public service distribution also gets affected.

For instance, if we look at Donald Trump’s recently launched act known as “Reforming American Immigration for Strong Employment” act which aims “to cut the immigration by half from the current level of more than 1 million Green Cards granted.” It will mainly give an advantage to the U.S. workers thus, by putting “America First. The immigrants who have good skills and can contribute to the economy of the United States will be only employed. And this act will also raise the pay for American Workers by reducing unskilled immigration. Donald Trump’s new policy on “H-1b visa” has devastating impacts on immigrants and mostly the holders of this visa were Indians. Trump’s administration also called for deporting the

foreigners with “H-1 b visa”. This change was mainly to uphold his election promise which was “BUY AMERICAN, HIRE AMERICAN”, thus not just the immigrants but also the industries which would employ skilled individuals from outside countries suffered. This policy was so discriminatory and had an economic dimension to it that it only allowed immigrants with extraordinary skills and talents who would contribute to the economy of the United States. For instance, Silicon Valley still has extremely qualified individuals working in the United States such as Sundar Pichai who is the chief executive officer of the most famous company “Google”. Thus here the bordering of the body is determined by the economic aspect.

4.3 Securing Through Technology

Migrants and refugees have been moving in large numbers across the globe since the outbreak of world war second, emphasizing the politics and security capabilities of nations. Thus it took a lot of time for nations to handle and look for the solutions. The reason for this was that the movement of people was beyond the capability of manned checkpoints at borders, airports and seaports. The movement of people in large numbers cannot be controlled by human and dog patrols. The U.S.A. has more problems because it has the world’s longest border with Canada and with Mexico therefore, it is beyond the capability of traditional measures of controlling borders as criminals and terrorists try to enter the borders. Therefore, the main aim for any state is to build a smart barrier rather than a physical barrier where the use of new modern technologies can be made.

A physical wall is ineffective to reduce the number of undocumented people and the number of illegal trades happening across the borders. The more effective way to maintain the security of Border is the use of modern technology and increased border personnel. Therefore, instead of a wall most of the states use modern technology like use of cameras, fixed towers and underground and aerial sensors. Hence, the answer to controlling border these days is not walls and fences but the use of new surveillance technology. Border control operations now require standardized processes for reconnaissance and surveillance. The advancement in technology in 21st century has led to the use of faster, smaller, capable, and faster, sensor fusion, targeted distribution and data analysis. The focus in the modern era is on fingerprints, face, eyes and the imperfect environment.

Collaborations between countries have constructed a process which is political, material and financial and is based upon security perspective. Border control policy is constructed which does not refer to just surveillance and agents but also to the personality by physical actors such as political elites and federal agencies monitor the nature of the social environment and identify and take actions against risks and threats. “The Technology-Policy Nexus” looks at the roles set by political figures for science and technology for the fight against unwanted movement of people. Most of the states have set security as their priority. Border management system is developed in such a way that trade remains unaffected, but the border remains protected from other things such as illegal immigration, terrorist attack and illegal drug trading etc. Therefore, every state across the globe are shifting towards a smart and seamless border where more and more new advanced technologies are deployed. By analysing the budget of U.S. government on information technology, it can be observed that there is a 214% increase in funds for technology.

Even the “Epistemic communities” help in formulating solutions and in policy formulation. Epistemic communities are "networks of professionals with recognized expertise and competence in a particular domain and an authoritative claim to policy-relevant knowledge within that domain or issue area.” “Epistemic Communities” are also formed from industry, think tanks and research institutions like RAND also coalesced around the new security problem. Earlier the government was reluctant to adopt new technologies, but after the 9/11 event, there has been a rise in public-private partnerships also to formulate better policies for securing the borders. States all over the globe face the problem of arriving at a conclusion on how to control migration as a lot of financial investment is required to reach an efficient solution. But the main way to control the movement of people in today’s era is through the use of efficient technology. The theoretical framework has shown that every public-private partnership consists of different power relations in which the locus of governance constantly changes. The new architecture of border control involves both public-private partnerships. Therefore, there is privatization of border control because there is significant growth in the private industry. Private security firms involved in the role of securing borders frame immigration flows as a mounting threat against the countries and argues that only the defence and security industry can supply the

technological solutions. Therefore, there is a shift towards more advanced border control.

The governments all over the globe have looked for solving the problem of movement, and the solution is through technology as a lot of financial investment is required to control illegal immigrants. The technology does not always halt the movement of migrants but sometimes create spaces and areas of collaboration and competition by acting as a spark plugger or as a catalyst as sometimes the border in some areas is soft whereas, in other areas the border is hard.

Different types of technologies which are used to defend or guard the border can be seen for example, if we look at the case wherein 2013 the government of Spain started embellishing triple fencing in and around the country with razor wire for halting the entry of illegal migrants from the sub-Saharan region. And same in 2013, EUROSUR and FRONTEX were inaugurated as part of the newly surveillance system. Thus, one was mainly violent as seen in the Spanish scenario while the other of European had a more humanitarian nature. Thus to tackle illegal migrants, the countries had to make sure to invest billions of dollars to maintain the surveillance systems. Bureaucratic means and ways are deployed to maintaining the security of the state. Bordering technologies keep on developing from time to time and technology in a way is seen as a boon for social innovation. Due to the problem of movement of people across the borders, the security concern has grown, therefore. As a result, new security technologies have been developed for most of the states. In sum, for a surveillance system used to control migration (regular or irregular) to be ethically acceptable, it should be maximally efficient and minimally invasive. It must be based on a reasonable aim as well as make up an efficient means to obtain that aim. Furthermore, it must respect the fundamental rights and interests of migrants – irregular as well as regular - and must not impose any additional risks on those subjected to surveillance. Security forces and the Governments have complied around the security-focused control goals related to migrants. And how systemic features are developed to deal with migrants specifically the labour through intercommunication between people and technology. And how violent infrastructure is built which halts the movement of labour rather than facilitating it. Technology is used by the border workers in some ways as they police the migrants with the help of it and also rescue the migrants with

the use of technology. Different levels of border management practices from the hardwiring cooperation to fences and then hi-tech surveillance systems. Mainly the border acts as the wall in the modern world their consequences are often exclusionary and violent.

Changing forms of control, regulation and management have generated new forms of knowledge production which seeks to undermine the governmental partitions that delimit different forms of inclusion and mobility. And a major question is also that distinction between an asylum seeker and an economic migrant, or maybe someone with papers and someone without the papers, and then specific forms of juridical identities and different form of mobility are assigned.

4.4 New Surveillance Technologies

By “surveillance” we can understand that it is a practice which involves gathering information about individuals with the intention to influence their behaviour and control them. Mostly, border control and surveillance is automated and instrumented and is not traditional. Patrolling at sea is most often assisted with high-tech radar systems, camera surveillance systems and UAVs and night vision devices, thermal cameras and sensor alarm systems are used for land border control. The main difference between surveillance and monitoring is that surveillance is done for a specific purpose whereas; monitoring is done for non- specific purpose. Therefore, e-passports are nowadays used in more than sixty countries.

Migration control is a long process as it starts not just at the borders but before that for example, in pre-border control FRONTEX might patrol the waters in order to spot migrant vessels before they illegally try to enter their area , second step might be to control illegal and legal entry of people at authorized border crossing points, thus not just controlling illegal entries at authorized border crossings but also at unauthorized border crossings, next step would be to control external migration control, and also to keep an eye on the individuals who try to seek asylum procedure.

Surveillance for controlling borders is explicit surveillance. Technologies used for monitoring borders rarely involve personal data and are mainly based on scanner systems and vehicle detection and automatic personal like UAV, X-Ray, CCTV, knife Arches. The need and role of high-tech surveillance in border patrol were realised due to the diminishing correctness through human personnel. Thus the use of “Unmanned

Aerial Vehicles” for aerial surveillance, “Fibre Optic Sensors” for measuring the pressure waves to keep a check on intruders and these were mainly buried in the ground. Similarly, “Intelligent Video Assessment” systems with ground radar with visible wavelength sensors are used.

The governments of different states also try to find out what best and possible technology they can use for regaining control of their borders. Regulating and policing border is a priority in most of the western countries. The ongoing process of re-bordering and fortifying external borderlands includes a range of hi-tech security and surveillance technologies (Neal 2009) developed to strengthen EU flanks and prevent the arrival of migrants and asylum seekers to the Fortress Europe. Drones now patrol not only maritime borders of the EU, UK, Australia and deadly US-Mexico border but also green borders of Turkey, Ukraine, Chile and Serbia- new custodians of the order at the peripheral borders of Global North. And it is by the use of technology that the development of security and surveillance takes place.

Several new technologies used by the U.S.A. used are “Tactical Reconnaissance and Counter-concealment Enabled Radar” which helps in detection of targets under concealment, camouflage and deception conditions it also helps in detecting even small roadside targets by change detection. “VADER” is an advanced system which tracks the moving pedestrians and vehicles. It also provides forensic analysis detection of wide numbers of targets, moving target indication from wide to small area or from air to ground. “Wolfhound Handheld Threat Warning System” it helps in geolocation and observation posts. “Vigilant Pursuit” it is a combination of signals intelligence and human intelligence, and it helps soldiers to identify persons of interest. “Distributed Common Ground System-Army” is the main system for processing information, posting data and disseminating information used widely by Army. Though these systems have not been specifically developed for immigration or border control they can be applied by the army for overseas missions in both immigration control and border security. And can be modified by the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) for use in shorelines, coastal waters, land borders and official ports of entry. DHS is also converting the “Remote Video Surveillance System” into an improved version as it was 20 years old and converting it into the relocatable version. “RVSS” is stationary and is mounted on poles and towers

whereas, the new version known as “R-RVSS” is not stationary and can work for forty-five days.

“Customs and Border Protection” is signifying facial recognition technology at the airports and is also collaborating with the airlines to assimilate facial recognition technology into passenger gates. Not just the face but also the voice plays huge potential for elimination and improving interaction with the government. A lot of technologies are in continuous work to improve the accuracy, speed, and safety of securing borders. Examples of these include “Palm Prints” which can also be used to detect the prints on bombs and fragments. DeoxyriboNucleic Acid (DNA) plays a key role as it allows screening of refugees and also in identifying the family lines. “Gait” is how someone walks and if someone is walking very differently than it is thought that the suspect is carrying a dangerous load. Vehicle detection and license plate recognition can help in resolving most of the questions, and this method is also very famous in the U.S. After the 9/11 attacks effort was made to develop electro-optical threat sensors and their main focus was on perimeter security. Different departments are working together for improving speed, working on sensor resolution that will help them to identify targets more quickly and also by sharing of information. Use of Artificial Intelligence (AI) for different missions to enhance the controlling of movement. Even the security of surveillance technologies has to be kept in mind because their data can also be hacked. There has been a shift towards wireless connections from wired connections.

Miniaturization of sensors and power has helped the cameras to move away from fixed locations and be mounted on aerostats, UAVs, Unmanned surface vessels. Government standards have also been imposed to certify wireless networks which have become a key to cybersecurity. Therefore, all the technologies for border security and control are designed in a way to increase accuracy, speed, and safety while dealing with millions of people on the move across the globe.

The UK is the European country that, to the largest extent, has implemented surveillance technology in the field of migration management. Voice recognition technology is used for asylum seekers to report to an office, over the phone, at certain hours. Electronic tagging, including GPS, equipped bracelets and satellite tracking is used to monitor failed asylum seekers likely to abscond (Field, 2006) or

who are liable for removal (Rosenzweig et al. 2004). In the same way as criminals on early release, registered asylum seekers are put under thirteen surveillance requiring asylum-seekers to be at home at a certain time (Rosenzweig et al., 2004). Thus, new surveillance technologies are now increasingly deployed so that it can identify illegal migration, cross-border terrorism, human trafficking and smuggling. The new technologies which gather and maintains the database of personal biometric information about various aspects of the human body like iris, retina imaging, fingerprinting, voice record etc. has the potential of segregating people by their racial identities and thereby creating and consolidating new borders within the society.

Chapter-5

Conclusion

“WASHINGTON — President Trump on Friday closed the nation’s borders to refugees from around the world, ordering that families fleeing the slaughter in Syria be indefinitely blocked from entering the United States, and temporarily suspending immigration from several predominantly Muslim countries;

In an executive order that he said was part of an extreme vetting plan to keep out ‘radical Islamic terrorists’, Mr Trump also established a religious test for refugees from Muslim nations: He ordered that Christians and others from minority religions be granted priority over Muslims.”

-New York Times, January 27, 2017

Soon after his elections President of United States Donald Trump issued an executive order (see Annexure 1) titled “Protecting the Nation from Terrorist attack by Foreign Nationals” this order debarred entry of citizens from several Muslim- dominated countries into the United States. These countries were Iraq, Iran, Somalia, Libya, Sudan, Syria and Yemen. The ostensible reason for travel ban as suggested from its title was to prevent future terrorist attacks in the United States from people of countries which Trump portrayed as “Shit-hole nations”, which harboured and promoted criminal and terrorist activities. The executive order began by mentioning 9/11 gruesome terrorist attacks at several places in the United States.

The executive order justified itself by mentioning an infamous terrorist attack which resulted in the loss of lives of hundreds of United States citizens. This was also one of the campaign promises which Trump fulfilled through this executive order. This executive order immediately created a furore throughout the world and was widely criticised for its blatantly racist and anti-Muslim bias not least because none of the 9/11 attackers or suspects hailed from any of these seven countries.

The order immediately became infamous throughout the world as Trump’s “Muslim-ban”. Critics argued that the promulgation of this executive order was driven much more by parochial concerns of anti-Muslim sentiments and propagation of paranoia especially Islamophobic ideological orientation of Trump and his supporters. Those

critical of this “Muslim Ban” further stated that this executive order had hardly anything with genuine security concerns because it did not affect countries from where people who were involved in 9/11 attacks hailed.

In addition to this, it has also be shown by several experts that most terrorist attacks were planned by people residing in well-off countries including the United States who are also permanent residents rather than immigrants, refugees or visitors. The executive order immediately led to some serious legal petitions filed against it. But eventually, in June 2018, the Supreme Court of United States upheld the “Travel Ban”. The “Travel Ban” was implemented through heightened security checks at the airport, visa restrictions over a certain category of citizens and segregation of people based on their social, cultural and economic capital. The United States administration also suggested and eventually implemented the method of going through social-media profiles of visa applications from selected countries to gauge their ideological orientation. For instance, people who were green card holders or permanent residents of Iraqi or Syrian origin were exempted from provisions of “Travel Ban”. Most such individuals, who were well-off, educated in English and were contributing to the economy of the United States.

Thus, the “Travel Ban” ended up affecting people from mostly Muslim dominated countries who were not so well-off, nor possessed cultural capital or education capital, who were fleeing from war-like situations from their home countries. The recent incident of “Travel Ban” brings into sharp focus several things around the issue of migration, securitisation, surveillance and technology. This instance illustrates paradoxically, that as the world is tending towards “Globalization” severe control of the movement of the people is taking place indicating intense anxieties of national security, culture and economy. These anxieties get expressed through stringent border controls, restrictions over the mobility of people and filtration of the kind of individuals a nation admits and those individuals it debars.

These complex controls over mobility and right to reside are implemented through technologies which have undergone a drastic change for almost 400 years. In recent years, these technologies have shown a tendency towards evolving digital and electronic means of reading, measuring and identifying several features of the human body. This dissertation has attempted to discuss in detail all these issues- securitisation, migration and new surveillance technologies. We have attempted to

characterise major developments in the complex inter-relation of these three categories. We have further tried to identify dominant trends as far as securitisation, migration and surveillance is concerned.

In the post-1990s globalised world based on preliminary analysis of this development and trends, we are in a position to suggest several important conclusions. Before we do so, let us briefly go over the construction of our narrative and arguments in the dissertation. Essentially the second chapter focuses on the politics of border control which attempts to locate the shifts in security concerns as they emerge along with the advent of nation states towards a much more interconnected and dynamic inter-relationship of countries throughout the world, an overarching phenomenon is known as globalisation, In tracing this development of the idea of security the chapter reveals the transformation which even other related concepts go through. The chapter points out the re-signification of the border as one moved from a time of bounded territory as the mainstay of security to a reality where borders become fluid, and the notion of territory no longer remains confined to physical national borders. Most importantly, the chapter explains how security concerns are articulated in a world where boundaries and borders do not remain limited to their physical aspect but are also drawn and redrawn on a symbolic and social landscape as well. Concepts like territory, border and sovereignty undergo a major shift in their journey through history and are instrumental in shaping security concerns. The chapter also discusses the threats related to the environment, movement of people and international crime networks, global terrorism, global finance capital in a globalised world. The chapter focuses on how the issue of migration, gives rise to various social, cultural, economic and political anxieties. It shows how migrations which at one point of time were instrumental in populating and forming the basis of national communities, have now become a major security concern. Thus, irregular immigration has become a persistent phenomenon of our time. The main argument is also put that the territorial overlap between state sovereignty and the organisation of social relations has become unsustainable in the circumstances of globalization and thus, security is now a question of movement and how security is a question of technology.

The third chapter examines in detail the association of various migration-related issues with security and the technologies of surveillance. In the introductory section, the migratory movements in the history have been divided into four phases. It also

looks at the problem of integration and assimilation. As people from very different cultural and social context are brought into contact through migration, it leads to the emergence of various anxieties which are felt at societal, economic, psychological and cultural levels. In the contemporary period, security concerns have been generated when people from less advanced countries migrate to the advanced countries. Such movement of the people creates and generate the problem of assimilation leading to the criminalisation of immigrants, insecurity about demographic change, economic insecurity regarding employment, hate crimes and selective profiling of communities. A point has also been made that it was mainly the immigrants who helped European countries to prosper and boost their production in the old times but now the situation has significantly changed as the immigrants are no longer allowed and are seen as a threat to the stability and employment of the country. The way the migrant population is classified is also mentioned as the government officials, and the media people often fail to make a distinction between refugees and migrants which mainly leads to the problem of fixing the identity. A section of the chapter also discusses the matters of racial profiling of migrants in which it has been discussed that migrants from third world countries are discriminated and profiled by caste, colour and cultural habits. Use of technology is made in racial profiling and identifying migrants. Migrants from third world countries are profiled and discriminated by their colour, language and cultural habits. They are often confined to ghetto-like residential areas and are reduced to find employment in menial, low-paying, and informal jobs. Often by race migrants are denied basic rights and freedoms in the host country. This racial profiling is done by making use of technology and identification techniques. The issue of human trafficking has also been discussed in which examples of organ trafficking and bonded labour are shown. The chapter also in a way discusses the ways which lead to the criminalisation of refugees owing to racial profile and governmental policies. Likewise, LGBT people are often discriminated by their sexual orientation, and this increases their vulnerability compared to other members of the refugee community. Thus, migration is now seen as a question of security and also how migration is a question of surveillance technologies.

The fourth chapter looks at the brief history of the evolution of new surveillance technologies deployed by the modern nation-states beginning with the evolution of passport. The passport with the advancement of technology has acquired a host of

new features which identify specific features of the individual at the same time. While describing the complex interrelation of surveillance with security and migration the chapter demonstrates how the advancement of technologies of surveillance has led to new configurations of borders and new bordering processes. For instance, the examples given in the chapter has shown that the technological systems allowed the task of more people to be accomplished with great precision and with the help of few people only. All the technological advancements seen in the Introduction of the chapter have increased the productivity and have acted as “force multipliers.” It should be noted that technology alone does not result in change, but the active participation of people is also required. No cart ever moved materials by itself. And no person was ever apprehended by a remote sensing video. Hence, it also discusses how the emergence of new surveillance technologies has also raised new security concerns.

As the three chapters grapple with several questions around the theme of security, migration and new surveillance technologies, the first hypotheses Surveillance within society works as a bordering process stands true as with the emergence of new surveillance technologies bordering and reordering occurs within the society. As the emergence of surveillance technologies have also come up with the rise in security concern, therefore, surveillance is not only at borders but also very much present in the society. Through new Surveillance technologies refugees, visitors, migrant’s identity is constantly being manipulated.

The second hypothesis seems affirmed through our study we hypothesised that in a globalised world movement especially of people as opposed to capital has become a movement of a security. The first chapter illustrates how along with the increased pace of globalisation in national life, which has certainly led to easing of borders of several kinds and has simultaneously led to increased concern and expenditure over issues related to security. On the one hand, as there is a push especially, after the coming up of organisations like World Trade Organisations, to facilitate movement of capital and goods across national borders, on the other hand, this comparatively easy flow of capital is accompanied by detailed, graded and very stringent restrictions on the movement of people.

Everywhere, movement of people is the sort to be facilitated through special legislation we have seen in the course of the study that such legal measures seek to

filter out the unwanted and aim to allow only specific categories of people. In so far, as the study has forcefully shown this contemporary reality of migration and security, the hypotheses stands true. Further, our study has also shown that these restrictive controls over movement of people are deeply located in the specific politically-economic and cultural context. For instance, the discourse of Global Terrorism which is posed regarding national security is often employed to create borders and boundaries by marking out several kinds of people. Such drawing of borders for perceived security concerns is more often than not, as we have shown in our study is, based on highly political assessments rather than objective appreciation of the situation. In short, through our study especially in the first chapter, it was found how politically complex the discourse of security is which in the contemporary global reality plays an almost determinant role in global legislation over migration, and articulates itself through new surveillance technologies.

As far as the third hypothesis is concerned, the study shows that it also stands vindicated. So, it has been said that new Surveillance technologies especially innovations like GPS and biometrics have played a central role in transforming the movement of people into a question of security. Although all of the chapters deal with the issue of technology especially the transformation brought about through innovation in the field of security, it is the final chapter which forcefully illustrates the immense significance of new surveillance technologies in the increased securitization of contemporary times.

The discussion in the final chapter gradually reveals the fact that rapid innovation in technology has not only provided solutions for security concerns but at the same time has given rise to new security concerns. In fact, new surveillance technologies while addressing concerns of border security in national terms has in a way enabled to draw borders within the nation and among the people by allowing them to measure mark and quantify characteristics of the human body in great detail. While divisions based on bodily features might have existed vaguely. Earlier, new surveillance technologies have made such divisions much more concrete. For instance, countries like the United Kingdom and the United States maintain an excessive database of immigrants and refugees to exercise greater control over their movement and important life activities. In the case of this hypotheses as well, it is found that such maintenance of national and social borders through the extensive use of new surveillance technologies is also

determined in a major way by the political, economic, social and cultural context. It must be emphasised again here that new surveillance technologies have become a very important means to articulate security concerns as far as transnational migration is concerned.

Briefly, the dissertation in its entirety indicates that in a global reality of economic, political, cultural, competition and cooperation in new surveillance technologies are employed not simply for pre-existing security concerns but in fact, they also give rise to new domains of securitization, especially, when it comes to global movement of refugees, labourers and others new surveillance technologies through the use of biometrics, CCTV, etc. Give expression to new kinds of surveillance, security, anxieties and issues. Related to the above two hypotheses, the dissertation also reveals the complex journey of the human body, as an object of security becoming a document to be read by technologies of surveillance apparatus and embodying borders which keep forming and dissolving depending on the political-social, cultural and economic realities in which the body is placed. Observation of an interesting development where with the advancement of new surveillance technologies the human body itself becomes to be emerged as a deeply inscribed document as compared to earlier times paper-based documentation. This role of the human body especially becomes stark in the way states seek to control and restrict the mobility of people across borders.

Annexure 1



8977

Federal Register

Presidential Documents

Vol. 82, No. 20

Wednesday, February 1, 2017

Title 3—

Executive Order 13769 of January 27, 2017

The President

Protecting the Nation From Foreign Terrorist Entry Into the United States

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and laws of the United States of America, including the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA), 8 U.S.C. 1101 *et seq.*, and section 301 of title 3, United States Code, and to protect the American people from terrorist attacks by foreign nationals admitted to the United States, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. Purpose. The visa-issuance process plays a crucial role in detecting individuals with terrorist ties and stopping them from entering the United States. Perhaps in no instance was that more apparent than the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, when State Department policy prevented consular officers from properly scrutinizing the visa applications of several of the 19 foreign nationals who went on to murder nearly 3,000 Americans. And while the visa-issuance process was reviewed and amended after the September 11 attacks to better detect would-be terrorists from receiving visas, these measures did not stop attacks by foreign nationals who were admitted to the United States.

Numerous foreign-born individuals have been convicted or implicated in terrorism-related crimes since September 11, 2001, including foreign nationals who entered the United States after receiving visitor, student, or employment visas, or who entered through the United States refugee resettlement program. Deteriorating conditions in certain countries due to war, strife, disaster, and civil unrest increase the likelihood that terrorists will use any means possible to enter the United States. The United States must be vigilant during the visa-issuance process to ensure that those approved for admission do not intend to harm Americans and that they have no ties to terrorism.

In order to protect Americans, the United States must ensure that those admitted to this country do not bear hostile attitudes toward it and its founding principles. The United States cannot, and should not, admit those who do not support the Constitution, or those who would place violent ideologies over American law. In addition, the United States should not admit those who engage in acts of bigotry or hatred (including “honor” killings, other forms of violence against women, or the persecution of those who practice religions different from their own) or those who would oppress Americans of any race, gender, or sexual orientation.

Sec. 2. Policy. It is the policy of the United States to protect its citizens from foreign nationals who intend to commit terrorist attacks in the United States; and to prevent the admission of foreign nationals who intend to exploit United States immigration laws for malevolent purposes.

Sec. 3. Suspension of Issuance of Visas and Other Immigration Benefits to Nationals of Countries of Particular Concern. (a) The Secretary of Homeland Security, in consultation with the Secretary of State and the Director of National Intelligence, shall immediately conduct a review to determine the information needed from any country to adjudicate any visa, admission, or other benefit under the INA (adjudications) in order to determine that the individual seeking the benefit is who the individual claims to be and is not a security or public-safety threat.

(b) The Secretary of Homeland Security, in consultation with the Secretary of State and the Director of National Intelligence, shall submit to the President

Source: Executive Order 1313769 of January 27, 2017.

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