HOW NOT TO MIGRATE –
AN ANALYSIS OF ANTI-MIGRATION INFORMATION CAMPAIGNS

by

Georgia Weiss-Elliott

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the

SCHOOL OF GEOGRAPHY, DEVELOPMENT & ENVIRONMENT

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

In the Graduate College

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

2021

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
GRADUATE COLLEGE

As members of the Master's Committee, we certify that we have read the thesis prepared by: Georgia Weiss-Elliott
titled: How Not to Migrate - An analysis of anti-migration information campaigns

and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the thesis requirement for the Master's Degree.

Jeffrey Banister
Jeffrey Banister — Date: May 10, 2021

Chris Lukinbeal
Chris Lukinbeal — Date: May 10, 2021

Jill M. Williams
Jill Williams — Date: May 13, 2021

Final approval and acceptance of this thesis is contingent upon the candidate's submission of the final copies of the thesis to the Graduate College.

I hereby certify that I have read this thesis prepared under my direction and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the Master's requirement.

Jeffrey Banister
Jeffrey Banister — Date: May 10, 2021
Thesis Committee Chair
School of Geography, Developement and Environment

Signature:
Email: gwe@email.arizona.edu

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis is dedicated to my Grandmother Leona Iris Weiss (1926-2021). With a bachelor's in social work and a fortuitous career in technical writing, she was an immensely caring, strong, and fiercely independent woman. I am proud to have inherited her creative and feisty spirit.

I would also like to express my gratitude for the direction and support of Jeffrey Banister, my chair. Thank you for encouraging and helping to progress my creative vision for this thesis.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES & TABLES

ABSTRACT

As borders are patrolled in increasingly distant places, Public Information Campaigns (PICs) are frequently utilized by the Global North as part of larger strategies of migration deterrence. Using extravagant and emotionally targeted imagery and stories, PICs are used to ostensibly “inform” and deter migrants (often refugees and asylees) by warning them against making dangerous and “illegal” journeys. As the result of extensive internet research as well as textual analysis of a robust sample of campaign materials, this paper identifies three common tropes utilized in PICs: the dangerous landscape, the dangerous smuggler, and the dangerous migrant. While these tropes – and the narratives promoted and embodied by PICs, along with the government policies which produce them – are inherently contradictory to their stated intent, they nonetheless support a globalizing ideology that naturalizes anti-migration discourses and the institutions that sustain and support them.

1 INTRODUCTION

> *These are efforts. Efforts don't have to succeed. But what we're talking about is the massive extraordinary effort that goes into creating wants, shaping opinion, ensuring that doctrines are not questioned. A separate question is whether it works. Well, that's a mixed story. Sometimes, it does. Sometimes, it doesn't. But underlying it is the fact that one of the major factors components of our social order is a huge attempt to manufacture consent to create wants, to ensure doctrinal conformity. And it often does work.*
>
> — Noam Chomsky (Klein, 2021)

It may not be surprising to learn that borders are patrolled far away from national boundaries. Moving increasingly outward (externally) and inward (internally) since the late twentieth century, the locations of border enforcement have expanded exponentially across the globe. The "100-mile border zone," "Frontex," "migrant detention centers," "family separation," "refugee crisis," these are now prominent phrases in news reports as the number of displaced persons continues to grow worldwide and nation-states struggle to control and stabilize their borders. With state-of-the-art technology and military innovations, protecting the border is akin to the frontlines of a war-time operation: ships, aircrafts, drones, sensors, and detention centers patrol land, sea, and sky. Receiving less attention from the media and from scholars, however, are the "softer" strategies that accompany these security operations, including Public Information Campaigns (PICs), sometimes also referred to as Communication Campaigns.

Since the 1990s, PICs have become a common feature of border enforcement in the Global North (Nieuwenhuys & Pécoud, 2007). In videos, on billboards, radio, and splashed across other media, these campaigns are usually distributed in foreign countries as a compliment to larger and typically more militaristic operations meant to dissuade and stop migrants before or during their journeys. PICs operate as a "humanitarian effort" within these larger strategies of migration deterrence and "buffering" – an attempt by the Global North to enlist neighboring and often smaller countries in regulating the flow of migrants before they can reach their borders. They also target diaspora and "ethnic" communities within their borders, attempting to infiltrate transnational information pathways between family members and friends. Using affective messaging (emotional targeting), they ostensibly "inform" and deter migrants (often refugees and asylees), warning them against making dangerous and "illegal" journeys.

As outlets for (curated) information, PICs take an "intimate" approach to border enforcement. "Intimate," draws upon the work of feminist geopolitical scholars who use the term to refer to the spaces we inhabit (e.g. our homes) as well as how we inhabit them through our identities – filtered through the discourses of race, gender, culture, socioeconomic status, etc. (Mountz & Hyndman, 2006). As our identities confront and are influenced by national and international politics and legislation, and as these agendas enter our homes and shape how we live, we are reminded that the geopolitical is also the intimate (Massaro & Williams, 2013). PICs are visible representations of this phenomenon, typically imbued with gendered, familial, and culturally targeted messages, distributed across airwaves, through the internet and into homes, in movie theaters, even confronting people at bus stops and in places of worship. As mechanisms of geopolitical control, PICs are oftentimes inserted far from national borders

and into lives and these everyday spaces. These intimate messages are spread across the globe, reminding people that they are "others," outsiders and therefore unwelcome, that they are victims, or even criminals, and that they and their decisions to migrate are impulsive and ignorant.

By sending anti-migration messages, PICs maintain an active presence in places where border personnel typically do not reach, reflecting and perpetuating what Angelica Neville calls a broader "philosophy of deterrence" (2014). The stories they project – often as parables or testimonials – tell of the dangers of illegal border crossing, money lost to smugglers, of shame brought upon families, the realities of detention, and the opportunities lost by leaving one's home. In their attempt to control migration, PICs seem to offer a humanitarian-flavored technique at a low risk and comparatively low cost (Pécoud, 2010).

Australia's long running (2013-2016) *No Way* campaign (Fig. 1) is perhaps the most (in)famous example, even receiving praise from former President Trump on Twitter (Tovey, 2015). Posters, videos, and factsheets from the campaign feature the words "No Way. You Will Not Make Australia Home" emblazoned in bold red letters with a stormy ocean and ominous clouds as backdrop. According to research conducted for the present study, the campaign was distributed in 15 foreign countries and translated into seven different languages. *No Way* appeared across the ocean in the form of: billboards, posters, leaflets, factsheets, advertisements in newspapers, YouTube videos and TV broadcasts, a graphic novel, and community events with theatrical performances. Distributed in phases until 2016, Australia's spending on the campaign would ultimately total $50 million (USD) and also include the production of a feature length film titled "The Journey."

Figure 1 - *No Way* billboard in Karachi airport in Pakistan (Abbas Changezi, 2014)

Not all PICs are as blunt as the *No Way* campaign, yet many contain similar sentiments and circulate equally bogus information (Heller, 2014). From slogans like "Stay Out, Stay Alive" to "people smuggling is a sin," and with content urging people to stay home, the information curated within PICs is misleading at best (Bishop, 2020). Proponents of these campaigns point to their humanitarian focus, arguing that they combat misinformation from human smugglers and warn potential migrants of the dangers they could face. Yet, a relatively small niche of scholars from diverse fields, whose work I draw upon for this essay, have noted consistently that such campaigns have little effect other than spreading misinformation and sparking racist anxiety against "unwanted" migrants in both transit and destination countries (Bishop, 2020; Heller, 2014; Hightower, 2013; Pécoud, 2010; Schloenhardt & Philipson, 2013; Watkins, 2017). As products of complex political relationships, then, PICs tend to promote ethnocentric narratives, reducing the migrant and their experience into simple stereotypes and a small set of tropes.

Research on PICs spans many disciplines and sub disciplines: film and media studies, sociology, politics, geography, etc. My work is situated within the sub disciplines of feminist geopolitics and critical border studies. While these also span different fields, my analyses and descriptions of the border and bordering practices originates within Geography. It is here that the border is conceptualized as a process as well as a place (Coddington, 2020; Menjívar, 2014; Mountz, 2013) which can be invoked through media representation (Lukinbeal & Sharp, 2015) and creates identities and spaces of othering (Johnson, 2021; Williams, 2019). While my research concerns, and is interested in, state sovereignty – much like the work of Williams, Coddington, Menjívar and Mountz, and many others – I focus more heavily on the feminist geopolitical argument concerning intimacy and its relation to national or international state policies. It is here that I feel that I contribute a unique analysis, illustrating the strategies of both US and Australian PICs and how their similarities are performative actions of hegemonic norms of everyday life (resonating also, as does the scholarship of my predecessors, with the work of Judith Butler, Roland Barthes, and Louis Althusser, among others).

This study was born out of the NSF-sponsored research project, *Comparative Examination of Public Information Campaigns as a Mechanism of Border Enforcement in the United States and Australia* (#1853652). Dr. Jill M. Williams (University of Arizona) is project PI, and Dr. Kate Coddington (University at Albany), Co-PI. Over the course of 16 months, I helped collect and analyze data for this project, working as a graduate research assistant. We conducted extensive online research to collect campaign and related materials produced by the US and Australia. From archived websites to released government reports, over 800 documents were coded for textual analysis using Atlas.ti to identify recurring thematic and visual strategies. Working with campaign materials, government emails and websites, news reports, social media posts, academic articles, and everything in between, I have been able to isolate three common tropes found in campaigns distributed world-wide: the dangerous landscape, the smuggler, and the migrant. These tropes are affective techniques, targeting emotions in an attempt to influence behaviors (Williams, 2019).

In what follows, I examine how each trope operates in contradiction to the campaigns' stated intent of providing objective and timely humanitarian information. While I have chosen only some of the most blunt images, it is important to keep in mind that they (and other images) are part of a much larger set of materials and campaigns not illustrated here. Additionally, I have chosen to highlight these tropes because they represent the main thrust of a robust (and contested) set of anti-migration policies. Dangerous landscapes, criminals and their enterprises, and the body and geographic location of the migrant are targets of a modern, highly militarized immigration strategy. Using examples from multiple

campaigns (listed in Table. 1), I also discuss how, in their attempt to control migrants' behaviors, PICs accompany and support hostile and anti-humanitarian immigration control apparatuses at the expense of the bodies and lives they purport to protect.

Table 1 Overview of Campaigns Discussed Here

Campaign Name	*Distribution Location*	*Dates Active*
Australian Campaigns		
Unnamed Malaysian Campaign	Malaysia	2009-2011
Aku Tau (I Know Smuggling is Wrong)	Indonesia	2009-2011
Don't be Fooled by People Smugglers/Say No to People Smuggling	Australia, Pakistan, Sri Lanka,	2009-2013
Don't Be Sorry	Australia, Sri Lanka, Indonesia	2012-2013
By Boat, No Visa	Australia	2013-2014
No Way	Australia, Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Burma, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Levanon, Malaysia, Pakistan, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Thailand, Vietnam	2014-2016
Anti-people Smuggling	Vietnam, Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, India, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia	2016-2018
You Will Be Tuned Back/Zero Chance	Iraq, Sri Lanka	2016-Present
US Campaigns		
Stay Out, Stay Alive	US, Mexico, Guatemala	1980s-1990s
No Más Cruces	Mexico	2004-2012+
No Arriesgues La Vida De Tus Hijos, La Migración Infantil También Es Un Abandono	Honduras	2014+
No Pongas En Riesgo Sus Vidas / No Le Creas Al Coyote	US, El Salvador	2014-2018+
La Fábula del León y el Coyote	Costa Rica and Central America, Mexico, Caribbean	2017
Nuesta Patria, Nuestro Futuro	Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador	2016-2018

Outside of Europe, the US and Australia are very likely the top producers of PICs in the Global North. Both are former settler colonies and current dominating powers with neocolonial relations in their respective regions (Latin America and Southeast Asia). Both countries have a history of interdiction within these respective geographical areas as well as a military presence within the Middle East. As both nations have rapidly increased their militarized responses to undocumented migration in the name of securing (read securitizing) their borders, both, too, have ratified the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which provides government protection for refugees and asylees, making them viable countries for resettlement. Their wealth and democratic ideals should allow them to provide for the safety of these

migrants, who may be unlikely to find protection elsewhere. In this essay, I use these similarities not simply to compare PICs from each country, but to paint a picture of what is happening at a global scale and by many other countries as well.

The primary tropes that I analyze here, I suggest, are indicative, therefore, of national and global narratives which embody and support a larger myth, or grand narrative, about global order. Told by powerful states, these myths represent the border and border enforcement as largely absent of the contradictions that beset them. PICs, as "excessive performative actions" of these narratives, make them (and the structures that maintain them) seem ubiquitous and natural (Lukinbeal & Sharp, 2015, p. 6). Presented as reason and truth, these structures then come to feel normal and part of everyday life in their performance (take passports, for example), yet they affect and govern the lives of billions of people. It is therefore important, if not imperative, to record, interrogate and understand these myths as they not only govern international relations, but also our personal and daily mobilities.

2 FALSE FACTS, FALSE IMAGES, FALSE NARRATIVES

> *Migrants do not only die at sea, but through a strategic use of the sea … [E]ven when they drown following a shipwreck or starve while drifting in currents, there is nothing "natural" about their deaths.*
>
> — (Heller & Pezzani, 2017, p. 96; see also Bui et al., 2020)

Unlike security and detention policies that track and physically control the movements of migrants, PICs attempt to infiltrate and influence their decisions and behaviors. According to a handbook published in consultation with the International Organization for Migration (IOM), PICs can:

> …advise potential migrants of the risks of irregular migration, change perceptions regarding safer methods of migration, empower migrants with information about how to protect themselves in destination countries, educate the public and promote a more positive image of migrants, and encourage the reporting of suspected trafficking incidents. (*Addressing Irregular Migration Through Effective Information Campaigns*, 2015, p. iii)

The IOM here seems to suggest that a humanitarian concern drives such strategies, but they ignore a paradoxical truth at the heart of many current humanitarian crises: "safer methods of migration" are likely out of reach, while staying put, might bring immediate harm. For many migrants, legal pathways are simply inaccessible as they exacerbate an existing lack of resources and time (Johnson, 2021; Nieuwenhuys & Pécoud, 2007; Slack, 2016). For refugees and asylees, PICs draw attention away from the legal right to claim these protections while the many nations of the Global North, some of the most prosperous in the world, go to great lengths to prevent these claims from ever being made on their soil in the first place. Information campaigns against unwanted migration thus rarely achieve humanitarian gains. Often, they cause greater harm to the most vulnerable. As the following sections will show, by combining harmful rhetoric with shocking images, PICs perpetuate false narratives of dangerous landscapes, dangerous people, and of migrants themselves.

2.1 DANGEROUS LANDSCAPES

From 2009 to 2013, Australia ran a series of eight YouTube videos translated into seven languages as part of the social media campaigns, *Don't Be Fooled by People Smugglers* and *Say No to People Smuggling* (Fig.2). The 30-second "Left Behind" video is filmed from the perspective of someone drowning. As the camera bobs above and below the water, showing dark and obstructing waves, text appears in between the sounds of choking and gasping: "No one knows where you are… No one can hear you… No one should go through this… No one can trust a people smuggler" (ADIBP, 2010). Foreboding clouds and stormy seas, frequent actors in the Australian and European PICs, produce images of danger, isolation, and helplessness.

Along the US-Mexico border, the sea becomes a desert. The *No Más Cruces* (No More Crosses/Crossings) campaign (Fig.3) tells of its dangers. The text and images appeal to both families and individuals, with messages for both men and women. One poster depicts a fallen male figure in a Sahara-like field of dunes. Orange and red tones suggest extreme desert heat. In Spanish, the text reads: "*Rajarse es cosa de hombres. Antes de cruzar pa'l otro lado recuerda: de valientes y machotes estan llenos los panteones*" (It's manly to turn back. Before crossing to the other side, remember: cemeteries are full of the brave and the macho). Sometimes without imagery of the desert, NMC details narratives of death caused by attempted journeys north: "*El desierto la dejó sin las cosas que más quería, su hija y su vida*" (The desert left her without the things she loved most, her daughter and her life). Accompanying the text are images of rosaries, tombstones, and *ofrendas*, important objects of material culture in Latin America. The combination of images and text attempts to attach strong emotions of fear, sorrow and regret to a particular landscape as a way to incite a sense of caution and fear amongst target audiences. Indeed, the double meaning of the campaign name is menacing enough: *you will not cross anymore*, and *no more crosses (over graves and in the desert)*.

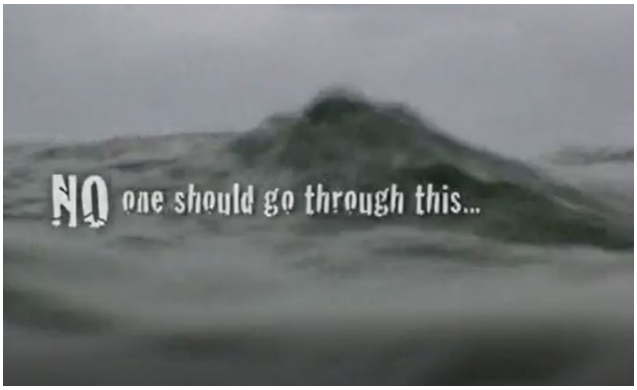


Figure 3 *(above)* - A still from the Australian "Left Behind" video (ADIBP, 2010)

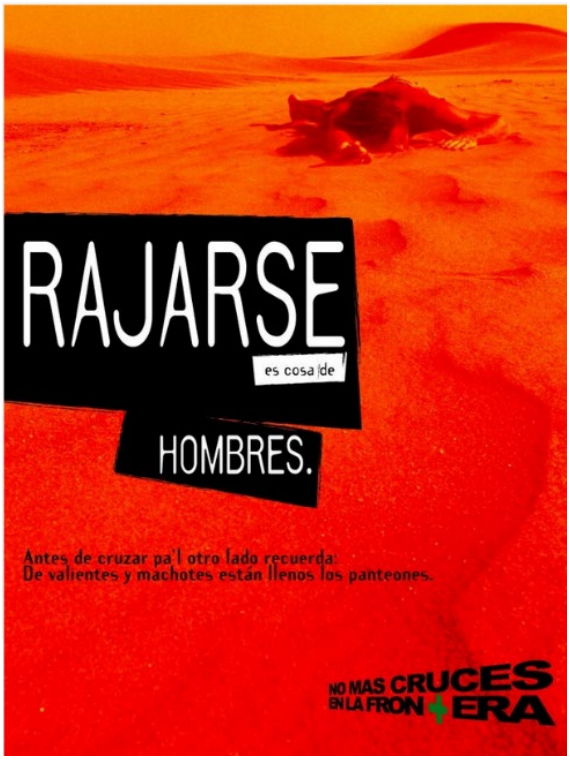


Figure 3 *(right)* - *No Más Cruces* poster produced by the US (*No Más Cruces en La Frontera*, 2015)

The focus on extreme landscapes however, obscures the manifold ways in which government immigration-control strategies themselves provoke, create, and enhance the very same threats to human life that PICs highlight and warn against (Ferrer-Gallardo & Houtum, 2014; Jones, 2016). There is certainly great risk and peril in traversing an unknown desert or sea, ill-equipped with limited resources while trusting a smuggler who is likely a stranger. But the perilous ocean or desert narrative presented within PICs erases (or is somehow, incredibly ignorant of) the reasons for these risks and why people are forced to take them in the first place (Bishop, 2020; Johnson, 2021; Nieuwenhuys & Pécoud, 2007; Watkins, 2017).

The rise of Prevention Through Deterrence (PTD) policies across the Global North is another reflection of these ideals – indeed, PICs and PTD are mutually reinforcing approaches. In 1994, President Bill Clinton oversaw the first implementation of PDT policies in the US This initiative heightened security along the border with Mexico by relying on the most rugged and expansive areas of the desert to serve as a 'natural barrier' to immigration. Although apprehensions of migrants increased, attempts to cross did not decrease as officials had hoped. Deaths in the desert began to rise as migrants were funneled into the most isolated and dangerous places (Boyce et al., 2019; Kelety, 2021). The legacy of PDT policies continues today: Border Patrol has recorded 8,000 deaths since the year 2000 – although this is estimated to be only 50% of the total human remains in the Sonoran Desert corridor (Critchfield, 2019; Verini, 2020).

Figure 4 - Stills from "Campaña de Prevención de la Migración de Niñez y Familia (Video Juego)" (Alianza Joven Honduras - USAID, 2014)

In 2004, the NMC campaign emerged (the second campaign to be produced by the US and a much larger campaign than its predecessor *Stay Out, Stay Alive*) as a response to the skyrocketing death toll along the border and the growing political pressure to do something about it (Williams, 2019). Not surprisingly, the content of NMC campaign largely glosses over the history of migration in the region, showing little-to-no understanding of its root causes (e.g. economic downturn and political upheaval largely caused by historical US influence and direct interdiction in Latin and Central America). Instead, just as with *Say No*, it essentializes and does more violence to the migrant experience while also obfuscating the government's role in creating a dangerous landscape and the humanitarian crisis that followed.

Ten years later, campaigns continue along the same path. In 2014, the *No Pongas En Riesgo Sus Vidas / No Le Creas Al Coyote* (Don't Put Their Lives At Risk / Don't Believe the Coyote) produced videos aimed at children and their parents (Fig. 4), one imitating arcade-game animation. Instead of King Kong and magic boxes, a young character "Cipotex1" fights a Coyote, then a Zeta cartel member, before being picked up by *La Migra* attempting to cross what is presumably the Rio Grande, before eventually dying of heat in the desert. The heat is produced by a demonic-looking sun which scowls down at the protagonist. The game is over and words appear: "*La migración no es un juego. Tu única vida está en juego*" (Migration is not a game. Your only life is at stake) (Alianza Joven Honduras - USAID, 2014). *Cipote* is Honduran for "kid" (mostly used by adults to get the attention of small children) and another way of relating to Honduran audiences while also featuring "familiar" looking actors (Dominguez, 2021).

PDT practices, and what scholars and activists have termed the 'weaponization' of natural landscapes, have also led to dangerous enforcement and apprehension tactics (Johnson, 2021). As the crisis continues, recent reports have found that the US Border Patrol "is twice as likely to cause a person to become lost and in distress in the desert than they are to rescue anyone" (Devereaux, 2021). "Chase and scatter" tactics employed by Border Patrol on the ground and in helicopters, for instance, continue to cause bodily harm and death. A multi-year report by La Coalición de Derechos Humanos and No More Deaths – *Disappeared: How the US border enforcement agencies are fueling a missing persons crisis* – details the damage of these tactics. Migrants are injured by the environmental hazards of the terrain while being chased and also assaulted by agents (2016, p. 3). Scattering groups of border crossers by chasing and flying helicopters low over the landscape, whipping dirt and debris into the air, "causes spatial disorientation, separation from one's guide and companions, loss of supplies and belongings, and exposure to the hazards of hostile terrain"(p. 3). "In the remote wilderness," the report continues, "this directly leads to death and disappearance"(p. 3). A concluding sentence in Part 1 brings into sharp focus how the already hostile terrain is made even more dangerous by border enforcement:

> Whether by pursuing individuals into rivers, over cliffs, or deep into the desert, what may be framed as a 'never-ending game' by agents on the ground contributes, in the end, to a disturbing pattern of state-sanctioned disappearance. (La Coalición de Derechos Humanos & No More Deaths, 2016, p. 23)

The funneling of migration routes through more dangerous parts of the desert and the state sanctioning of deadly patrol tactics are, unsurprisingly, not part of the story pictured in communication campaigns despite being common risks for migrants. It is not simply the *naturally* harsh terrain and climate that migrants should fear, or gang members and smugglers; it is also the US Border Patrol.

Similarly, PICs published by Europe and Australia depict a menacing ocean and greedy smugglers in an attempt to "(re)shape social perceptions about places even among people who have not visited them" (Musarò, 2019, p. 633; see also Watkins, 2015). Here too, migrant deaths have increased despite the heightened surveillance by local and international forces. Boat tow-backs,[1] in addition to the lack of rescue call responses, are all state sanctioned policies (Coddington, 2020; Loughnan, 2019; Musarò, 2019). What Loughnan (2019) details as "active neglect," describes how the absence of care and also the creation of inhumane and unlawful conditions have made governments a known and complicit actor in migrant suffering:

> In this sense, neglect is imbued with passivity even while it refers to a failure to care for something/someone for whom we have responsibility. The implication is that the state holds no responsibility for the suffering which emanates from neglect; services are merely withdrawn. However, this failure is more adequately described as an active practice: states *intend* to produce suffering. (Loughnan, 2019; emphasis in original)

Once again, we can find landscapes of intentionally created danger while legal pathways that are off limits to so many migrants leave people with few other choices but to take the risk. In this way, PICs come to reflect a dominant worldview that reduces the great complexities of immigration to a simple matter of personal choice, and immigration enforcement to an ideal (although false) of saving lives.

Forensic Oceanography – part of the Forensic Architecture (FA) research agency – has produced reports detailing just a few of these crimes of intentional neglect. In their 2012 report – "The Left-to-die Boat" – FA investigates how 72 passengers (an entire boat) were, as the title suggests, coldly left to die after they ran out of fuel in international waters, "[d]espite several distress signals relaying their location, as well as repeated interactions with at least one military helicopter and a military ship" (2012). Left to remain adrift for 14 days as a result of international (NATO) and state (Italy) inaction, only nine passengers survived (2012).

In 2015, over a thousand migrants died in attempted rescues by large commercial ships as the result of "changing EU policies toward at-sea rescue, particularly the retreat of state rescue operations and a resulting onus on commercial vessels to fill the 'rescue gap'" (2016). Following a 2018 incident, an FA report details how a private merchant ship hired by the Italian and Libyan coast guards "rescued" a vessel carrying 93 migrants by simply towing them back to Libya. Once there, the passengers were "violently removed from the vessel by Libyan security forces, detained, and subjected to multiple forms of ill-treatment, including torture" (2019).

While oceans are difficult to navigate, their dangers are greatly exacerbated by immigration agency approaches. The examples above of state neglect and outright hostility are only a small fraction of those that have occurred on the water. They do not reflect upon the deplorable and unlawful conditions onshore that border enforcement has created for children and adults housed (some might

[1] Tow-backs, here, refer to a few different practices. When governments refuse to accept or resettle migrants coming by boat they will: tow them back to where traveled came from, tow them to offshore detention facilities, or give just enough fuel for the boat to navigate its own way back. More recently however, less powerful governments in Europe have started resisting their position as migration buffers and the acceptance of migrants by actually abandoning boats as well as sending already arrived migrants back into boats to be rescued by another country (Kingsley & Shoumali, 2020).

say, warehoused) in detention centers and camps (some might say, cages), yet they are similarly dangerous to migrants. These, too, receive the blessing of governments.

Such neglectful and willfully harmful actions produce situations of humanitarian crisis within these landscapes which are in turn used to justify further interventions of "military-humanitarianism" (Musarò, 2019, p. 637). Borderlands have in many places become focal points of violent struggle as governments fight to maintain colonial and ethnocentric (or worse, nativist) standards of sovereign control (Coddington, 2018). While they help to create both real and imagined landscapes that are "ubiquitously militarized," hostile, and unwelcoming (Watkins, 2017), PICs have begun to use militarization itself as another set of tropes – a glaring and highly public contradiction to their supposedly humanitarian intent. Since 2009, for instance, Australia has begun to use images of mighty naval ships along with abhorrent island detention conditions in a threatening presentation (Fig. 5). As a continuation of the *Say No* and *Don't Be Fooled* campaigns, newspaper ads and videos from the *By Boat, No Visa* campaign (Fig. 6) depict Australia's offshore detention camps and migrant processing procedures with the slogan, "This is the Australian Government's message for anyone associated with people smuggling: If you come here by boat without a visa, you won't be settled in Australia" (Australian Government, 2013b, p. 18). These newer tropes paint a narrative of an omnipresent, omniscient security force intended to incite wariness amongst migrants, and safety amongst citizens.

Recent videos from the *Zero Chance* campaign (a format taken from *No Way*) feature Rear Admiral Mark Hill saying,

> Australia's borders are patrolled all day, every day. Our borders are stronger than ever. If you attempt an illegal boat journey to Australia, you will be intercepted, returned, and you will face the consequences. Don't waste your money and don't risk your life on a pointless journey. You will not make it here and you will be banned for life. (ABF TV, 2021).

The narration accompanies images of helicopters and naval ships patrolling and capturing migrant boats on what Coddington (2018) terms "Australia's settler colonial frontier" (p.188). The dangerous land- and

Figure 5 – Zero Chance flyer picturing Australia's large military response to small and crowded "illegal" boats (ADHA, 2019a)

seascapes are developed as icons for creating collective imaginaries of these places and who governs them. In producing a spatial imaginary of imminent and certain danger, the narratives intend to produce fear while also curating and attempting to control the range and quality of knowledge available to migrants. By defining Australia or the law as "white, lawful, rational, and masculine" these images also serve as "a mechanism…to render others as brown, illegal, irrational, and feminine" (Lukinbeal & Sharp, 2015, p. 6). In this way, PICs also dictate the range of roles and/or characters (archetypes) migrants are allowed to play by attaching their human dignity to the legal status they bear.

NEWS

Pump up the volume

Corey Sinclair

STUDENTS from Yirara College are taking over the 8CCC airwaves with their own show aptly titled 'Yirara Radio.'

Course facilitator Vivienne Prebble said every Tuesday and Friday lunch time, the students get their chance to learn the skills of the radio trade.

"At the moment, they choose their own music and prepare their own show," Ms Prebble said.

"I'm scripting for them to hopefully get to the stage in a community situation where they can banter freely.

"It's the start of something bigger."

One of the students taking part in the course is Derryn Wurungmurra Bentley Poulson, who also happens to be blind.

Ms Prebble said the course has given Derryn extra confidence and she hopes to teach him how to use the panel.

"It has given him an opportunity to look at what he could do very well as a career," she said.

The course will run for the rest of the year, honing the students' skills up to the point that they can take them back into the community with them.

"We take the children there to give them skills that they can learn and perhaps take up as a vocation," she said.

Ms Prebble said the course is also giving the students a chance to branch out in their music taste.

"From what I can gather, they love the Chris Browns and Alicia Keys that sort of stuff, but it's giving them a wider outlook," she said.

"It's opened their eyes to a wider range of music. Anything from top 40 to Bob Seger. Country, rock and roll, everything."

She hopes the course will inspire some of the students to continue on in radio after they leave school.

Dougie Webb and blind student Derryn Wurungmurra Bentley Poulson

Picture: COREY SINCLAIR

Advertisement

Australian Government

This is the Australian Government's message for anyone associated with people smuggling:

IF YOU COME HERE BY BOAT WITHOUT A VISA

YOU WON'T BE SETTLED IN AUSTRALIA

www.australia.gov.au/novisa

THERE'S NO POINT GETTING ON A BOAT ANYMORE

Authorised by the Australian Government, Capital Hill, Canberra.

Thousand cuts chop into author's artistic history

Author Rod Moss

CENTRALIAN author Rod Moss's new book *One Thousand Cuts: Life and Art in Central Australia* was launched in Alice Springs on Saturday.

Moss won the 2011 Prime Ministers Award for nonfiction and the NT Book of the Year with his first book *The Hard Light of Day*.

One Thousand Cuts is a frank and powerful memoir illustrated with his paintings and photographs of friends and family.

His relationship with the Indigenous community is unique, based on decades of friendship and trust.

He paints and writes about them with their permission and participation.

One Thousand Cuts is available at Dymocks in Alice Plaza.

Book aims to help close gap on life expectancies

THE wombat in the room is the key focus in a book addressing the issues of closing the gap on Indigenous life expectancies.

Indigenous Australians and Health: The Wombat in the Room flags the importance of "getting it right" when working with Aboriginal people living in urban and remote areas.

Authors Ronald Hampton and Maree Toombs outline the fundamental and underlying components that continue to influence good health for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples.

It is available as an e-book and further seeks to provide an understanding of Indigenous Australian perspectives of their own health and the historical connections between health and the impacts of colonialism.

18 — Centralian Advocate, Friday, August 23, 2013

Figure 6 – *(left)* Newspaper advertisement from the By Boat, No Visa campaign in English, Arabic, Dari, Farsi, Pashto, Tamil, Sinhala, and Vietnamese (Australian Government, 2013)

Figure 7 – *(below)* Racialized depiction of a people smuggler by the Australian Government (Kanagasabapathipillai, 2013)

2.2 DANGEROUS PEOPLE

Like the backdrop to a play, dangerous landscapes also provide a setting for a cast of characters. The metaphor of a theater has been used by scholars to describe how certain identities are scripted and staged at the border. Hightower (2013), for example, writes: "…the border operates 'theatrically' in the sense that it is the place where characters appear – 'it is the only place where they *can* appear'"(p. 13, emphasis original). As bodies come in contact with *The Border*, they are cast into specific and limiting roles – usually either a "migrant" or a "smuggler." As people move away from the border (physically or relationally) – i.e., by not migrating or not looking for plane tickets, not applying for visas, etc. – these archetypes disappear. The migrant or smuggler is once again a person with their own complex identity. Operating as a stage for these border theatrics, PICs portray and reify these created and highly superficial characters as they delineate and patrol the border within intimate spaces.

The characters appearing in PICs are flat stereotypes with simple choices and experiences. Migrants become both "victim" and "criminal/smuggler" at the same time (Hightower, 2013, p. 14) – people who are either "voluntary/forced, desirable/undesirable and legal/illegal" (Musarò, 2019, p. 631). Because of their inaccuracies, the simplicity of these enforced characteristics make them easy to portray in campaigns. As they are scripted both as victims in need of saving and as security threats to the state, these characters are integral to building a larger narrative about migration that benefits a continued and "necessary" militaristic response. Such narratives, and the enforcement tactics that accompany them, focus on smuggling as the key to reducing the influx of undocumented immigrants, yet the "smuggler," as defined by the Global North, seems to rarely exist in reality (Zhang et al., 2018).

"People smugglers" or "coyotes" commonly appear as untrustworthy, greedy criminals who should be reported and detained. According to 2001 People Smuggling Fact Sheet produced by the Australian Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, people smuggling is: "the organised illegal movement of groups or individuals to another country" and "…occurs when there is a lack of economic opportunity, a reduced availability for legitimate migration and the lure of a better lifestyle" (DIMA, 2001). As research by Zhang et al. (2018) has shown, however, the term "smuggler," and its use within official discourse, perpetuates a predator-victim binary used to vilify an often mutually beneficial interaction. Empirical studies by the authors show that so-called smugglers are often relatives, friends, associates, or acquaintances within the same communities as migrants (p. 13). This means that "smuggling facilitators" are held accountable by the moral and social obligations within these communities and therefore most do not deliberately engage in acts of violence (p. 9). Additionally, migrants themselves are not passive victims, but are "active in vetting and procuring smuggling services, evaluating the reliability of [smugglers], and learning through failed journeys which smugglers are worthy of trust and why" (p. 9). The identity of the "smuggler" is often fluid "with migrants often taking the role of [smuggler] and vice versa" (p. 9) [2].

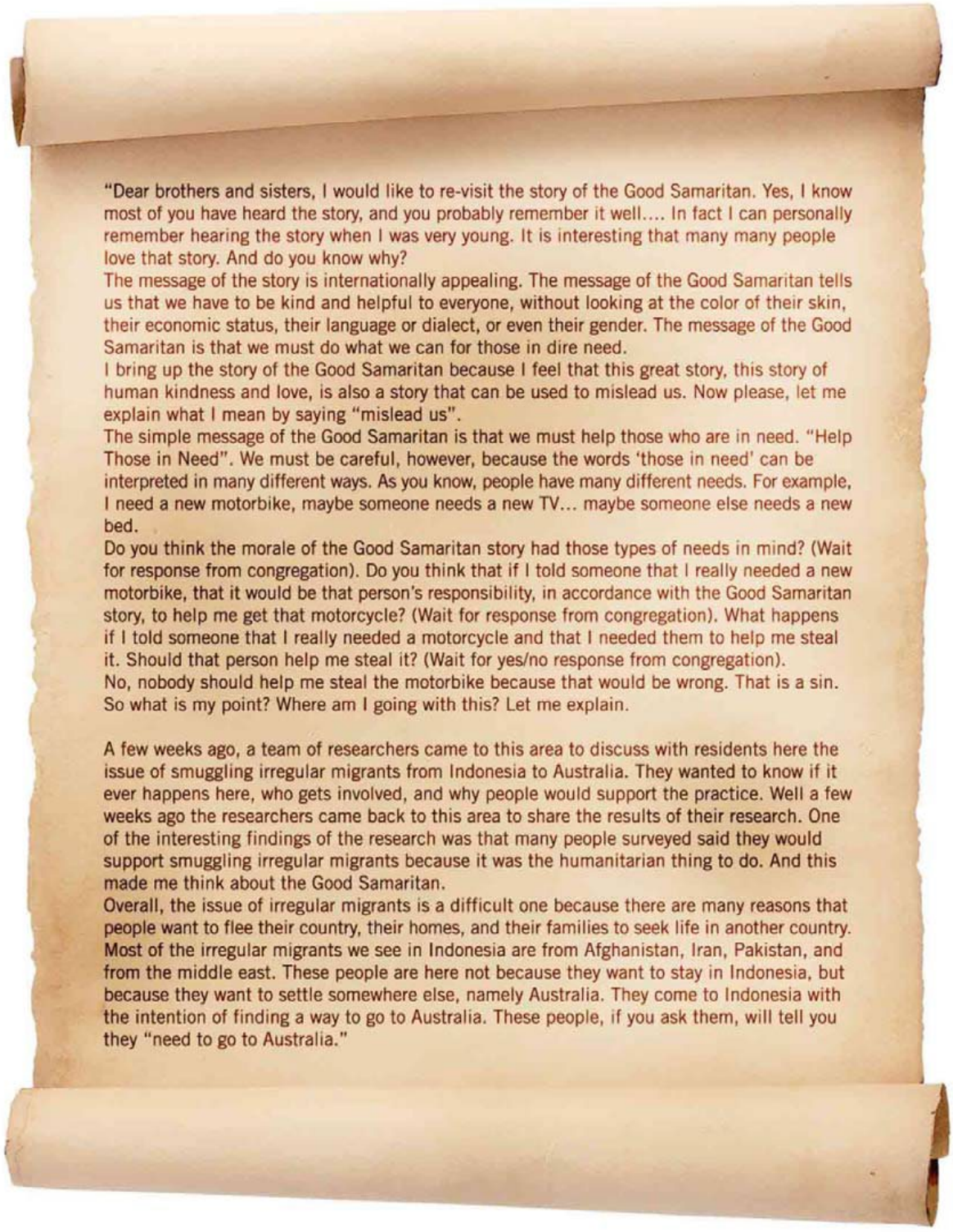
Despite being framed by the Global North as "the main cause of the human misery witnessed along migration routes worldwide" (p. 8), the authors go on to note that the majority of smuggling operations "run uneventfully, with little fanfare" (p. 14). PICs are integral to this broad painting of illegality across the migrant experience by maintaining a focus on the inhumanity and danger of human smugglers. As Schloenhardt & Philipson (2013) note, "for many smuggled migrants, the illegal services offered by their smugglers represent the only way to escape death or other harm; for others, migrant

[2] The authors use the term "smuggling facilitator" instead of "smuggler."

smuggling is seen as the only or most immediate avenue to a better life for themselves or that of their family" (2013, p. 3; also see Musarò, 2019). Both the "greedy smuggler" and "illegal migrant" are therefore productive tropes, easy to translate into criminalizing legislation in favor of harsh penalties for undocumented migrants, while also offering a plausible story that governments do in fact care about migrants' safety (Garelli & Tazzioli, 2018; Zhang et al., 2018). At least one thing is missing from this narrative, however: smugglers are only needed when the border becomes hard to cross. The legislation and humanitarian façade, together, help open the door further for penalizing vulnerable populations.

From 2009 to 2010, Australia ran a short yet elaborate PIC in Indonesia to educate "potential smugglers" and government authorities (Fig. 8). The campaign, "*Aku Tau Penyelundupan Imigran Ilegal Itu Salah*" (I Know Smuggling Irregular Migrants is Wrong), targeted poor fishing communities in 14 villages across four Indonesian regions (Weiss-Elliott, 2020). The goal of the *Aku Tau* campaign was to educate and persuade the fisherman to refuse selling their boats to smugglers looking to transport "irregular migrants" to Australia, or being hired by them as crew members. Christian and Muslim religious leaders were brought together to help craft anti-smuggling sermons that were later preached to congregations in every village (2020). The campaign including three basic messages: "people smuggling is against the law"; "people smuggling is a sin"; and "people smuggling reduces self-worth" (IOM, 2010b, p. iii). There was also an additional moral tone: "doing the right thing helps irregular migrants who are victims of smugglers" (2010, p.3). During community outreach and training events, concerns and questions about helping those in need were frequent, prompting a frequent scripted reply: report suspicious activity first, then provide help, but don't break the law (2010, pp. 7,19,20). Although somewhat unique in its targeting of potential smugglers, the framing of migrants as criminals and the decision to provide aid as 'sinful,' paints the typical picture.

Missbach and McNevin's (2014) research in Indonesia suggests poor fisherman who, after accumulating "debts to boat owners that can't be repaid after disappointing catches," may be pushed to crewing migration boats, as "[t]he sum promised…is enough to break the cycle of poverty" (2014). Along with the economic incentives of smuggling, many fishermen believed themselves to be helping vulnerable people in need trying to access a safer and better life. Australian immigration officials have tried to change this attitude, but find it hard to combat the economic incentive and social and cultural practices of helping one's neighbor (Zhang et al., 2018).



"Dear brothers and sisters, I would like to re-visit the story of the Good Samaritan. Yes, I know most of you have heard the story, and you probably remember it well.... In fact I can personally remember hearing the story when I was very young. It is interesting that many many people love that story. And do you know why?

The message of the story is internationally appealing. The message of the Good Samaritan tells us that we have to be kind and helpful to everyone, without looking at the color of their skin, their economic status, their language or dialect, or even their gender. The message of the Good Samaritan is that we must do what we can for those in dire need.

I bring up the story of the Good Samaritan because I feel that this great story, this story of human kindness and love, is also a story that can be used to mislead us. Now please, let me explain what I mean by saying "mislead us".

The simple message of the Good Samaritan is that we must help those who are in need. "Help Those in Need". We must be careful, however, because the words 'those in need' can be interpreted in many different ways. As you know, people have many different needs. For example, I need a new motorbike, maybe someone needs a new TV... maybe someone else needs a new bed.

Do you think the morale of the Good Samaritan story had those types of needs in mind? (Wait for response from congregation). Do you think that if I told someone that I really needed a new motorbike, that it would be that person's responsibility, in accordance with the Good Samaritan story, to help me get that motorcycle? (Wait for response from congregation). What happens if I told someone that I really needed a motorcycle and that I needed them to help me steal it. Should that person help me steal it? (Wait for yes/no response from congregation).

No, nobody should help me steal the motorbike because that would be wrong. That is a sin.

So what is my point? Where am I going with this? Let me explain.

A few weeks ago, a team of researchers came to this area to discuss with residents here the issue of smuggling irregular migrants from Indonesia to Australia. They wanted to know if it ever happens here, who gets involved, and why people would support the practice. Well a few weeks ago the researchers came back to this area to share the results of their research. One of the interesting findings of the research was that many people surveyed said they would support smuggling irregular migrants because it was the humanitarian thing to do. And this made me think about the Good Samaritan.

Overall, the issue of irregular migrants is a difficult one because there are many reasons that people want to flee their country, their homes, and their families to seek life in another country. Most of the irregular migrants we see in Indonesia are from Afghanistan, Iran, Pakistan, and from the middle east. These people are here not because they want to stay in Indonesia, but because they want to settle somewhere else, namely Australia. They come to Indonesia with the intention of finding a way to go to Australia. These people, if you ask them, will tell you they "need to go to Australia."

Figure 8 - A Christian sermon from Australia's *Aku Tau* campaign (IOM, 2010a)

The criminalization of human smuggling remains dangerous for everyone involved. Small fishing boats may in fact be the first responders to crises at sea. Yet, for fear of being detained and prosecuted as 'smugglers,' a moral dilemma often ensues:

> As fishermen, they knew their own safety was tied to the maritime culture of rescue at sea; at any point in the future it could be their own vessel in distress. Yet they could not risk the destruction of their fishing boats – which they didn't own and couldn't afford to pay for – if Australian authorities intercepted them with rescued people on board. No matter how close to Australian territory they might be, their only option, as they saw it, would be to return rescued "immigrants" to Indonesia. But the costs involved, including extra fuel and the loss of several days' work to police investigations, represent a genuine incentive not to rescue. The reality of this dilemma is supported by accounts from two asylum-seekers we interviewed who survived when their vessels sunk at sea (one having spent three days in the water) and reported that fishing boats had passed by without assisting. (Missbach & McNevin, 2014)

Aku Tau offers one of the most blatant examples of the extent to which PICs will go, pushing out heavily moralizing rhetoric through the conflation of man-made laws and divine logic. As the fishermen are less motivated by 'greed' than by economic incentive and humanitarianism, PICs portray false realities of migration experienced by both "smugglers" and "migrants" while implying that to choose either is an indication of a person's immoral or sinful character. These narratives conflate political and moral purposes, especially in places where immigration laws have only recently been implemented and at the behest of Australia and other powerful nations (Weiss-Elliott, 2020).

The year after *Aku Tau*, 2010-2011, Australia distributed materials targeting Afghan and Sri Lankan migrants in Malaysia (Fig. 9). The post-implementation report summarizes the campaign's justification thus:

> The major focus of the public information campaign was to help reduce the ability of people smugglers to use Malaysia as a transit and destination country, thus reducing the number of potential irregular immigrants heading to Australia from Malaysia. The communication objectives were to: a) Increase community awareness of people smuggling and human trafficking activities and the need to report such activity to the appropriate authorities. b) Dissuade…potential irregular immigrants…from attempting irregular migration to Australia either directly or indirectly through third countries… (Porter Novelli, 2011, p. 4)

Using both photographs and bright, vibrant colors, Australia's Malaysian campaign seems to support the use of Malaysia as a migration buffer through attempts to dissuade migrants from continuing to Australia and to influence them to avoid and even report human smuggling themselves. Targeting two separate communities, campaign creators used two distinct if still somewhat similar sets of photographs of community members. "Images of people from Afghan and Sri Lankan communities were used in the posters to make sure they understood the campaign messages were directed at them," the report states (2011, p. 14). A woman, a man, and a small child were pictured on one set of posters, in addition to three brightly colored posters with bold text. The text in both sets of posters were translated into three different languages (Malay, Farsi, Tamil). The text featuring a sad-faced woman reads:

> I lost my son. The people smuggler's boat sank half way. The boat was overcrowded, nobody survived. People smugglers will lie to get your money. They don't care if you get to Australia or not. You are the same to them dead or alive. It's not worth the risk. (2011, p. 57)

The poster featuring a male face reads in bold letters: “Will you trust him with your life and life savings?” Even the toddler has something to say about people smugglers:

> I dreamed of a good future in Australia. But now I may be sent back to Afghanistan [or Sri Lanka]. The people smugglers told me it was easy once I got to Australia. But they lied to me. The Australian Government is getting tougher. My money is gone, my dreams are gone. My family will pay the price. (2011, p. 57)

3,000 Tamil, 3,000 Farsi, 2,400 Malay and 2,400 English posters, plus 15,000 Tamil, 15,000 Farsi, 1,200 Malay and 1,200 English leaflets were placed at high traffic areas: charity-funded schools attended by Sri Lankan and Afghani children, apartment blocks where they live, and local health clinics and bus stops (pp. 14, 16). This accompanied eight weeks of full-page Tamil-language newspaper advertisements as well as online videos which were shown during community meetings as well as to children at school whose teachers received campaign training materials. Cross-referencing suggests these numbers are highly accurate. To be confronted unexpectedly at both your place of residence and your child’s school illustrates a common, highly aggressive strategy of PIC distribution.

The Malaysian campaign is also one instance where the identifying logos of government and contracted public relations organizations are intentionally left off. Here, the absence of “campaign branding” was “a deliberate strategy to get the attention of Afghan and Sri Lankan PIIs [migrants] who may have thought these notices (leaflets) were placed by people smugglers advertising their services, and may have been seen to be more credible than the official campaign posters” (Porter Novelli, 2011, p. 15). This strategy of disguise is meant to obscure the state’s direct role in shaping the information used to influence migrants’ decision (Bishop, 2020). This disguise, the use of community members as models, and placements of campaign material within public, yet unexpected and regulated spaces, allows the Australian government to intimately target audiences with misleading information.

In 2017, in conjunction with the IOM, the US published a story-book campaign in Costa Rica. Retelling a true story of how a musical band attempted to cross into the US with the help coyotes, *La Fábula del León y el Coyote/ The Tale of the Lion and the Coyote* was published as an illustrated children’s book in both English and Spanish (Fig. 10). The songs narrating the story tell of clever and deceptive coyotes and of the bands’ capture by US authorities. Happy to have been deported back to their home country, the book’s final song goes:

If you don't travel the right way,
and you don't ask for official information,
things can go very badly at the border.
The danger lies hidden,
the Coyotes take advantage of everyone.
They steal your dreams and your smile.
They won't let you call your family,
and they will destroy your hope in an instant
…
When the way out seems quick and easy,
don't trust so quickly.
Ask for information at the embassies and consulates,
at the government offices,
because the easy way out can lead you right into the
jaws of the monstrous Coyote. (Arias, 2017, p. 18).

Through the medium of a children's book, the tropes become even more tropish – vivid and cartooned over-the-top stereotypes clearly differentiate the good guys from the bad guys. It is the coyotes, portrayed as gangsters with gold chains, who are to blame for stolen dreams and smiles. The images of happy deportees taking the "easy" route serves to erase the government neglect and subsequent experiences of trauma migrants face along the journey, in detention, and during and after deportation.

As the US and Australian governments remain committed to deterrence policies and strategies while simultaneously continuing to deport people at alarming rates, they also compound the existing insecurity driving undocumented migration (Johnson, 2021; Weber & Pickering, 2014). With struggling economies in Latin America, residents look to US wages for support. According to research by Johnson (2021) and Johnson and Woodhouse (2018), securitization of the border has dramatically increased the risks and the costs of migration, making deportations more consequential. As migrants take out loans to pay for passage to the US, Johnson writes, "elevated costs often bind migrants to cycles of debt-driven return migration to pay smuggling loans" (Johnson, 2021, p. 18). As migrants are returned to their country, unsuccessful in paying off their debts or improving their economic situation, they or their family members are again forced to seek work abroad.

Deportations have also been shown to lead to the kidnapping, violence against, and/or the death of the recently deported. Extremely vulnerable when released across the border or in their attempt to make their way back north, recently deported persons become easy pray for cartels and smugglers (Slack, 2016; E. Green & Hamilton, 2021; Mora & Green, 2021). Deportation is yet another example of how increased border enforcement has "at times perpetuate[d] the very unauthorized migration they seek to impede, while also helping to reproduce the border itself by deepening the marginalization that drives migration decisions" (Johnson & Woodhouse, 2018, p. 1). For those who have been detained and/or deported, PIC messaging only serves to compound their anguish (Missbach & McNevin, 2014; Johnson, 2021). Unlike *La Fábula del León y el Coyote*, deportations only worsen an already insufferable situation thereby making already difficult decisions even harder. The only "easy" decision *would be* to travel legally, if that option were indeed available – because almost nothing about undocumented migration is easy.

Figure 9 - Both sets of Afghan-targeted posters displayed at the entrance of an apartment building in Malaysia. Photos depict a mother who lost her son, a smuggler, and a child. The colored posters (without campaign branding) read from the left to right in Farsi: "Want to Migrate Cheaper?" "Call me. I will get you to another country;" and "Easier Way to Migrate." (Porter Novelli, 2011)

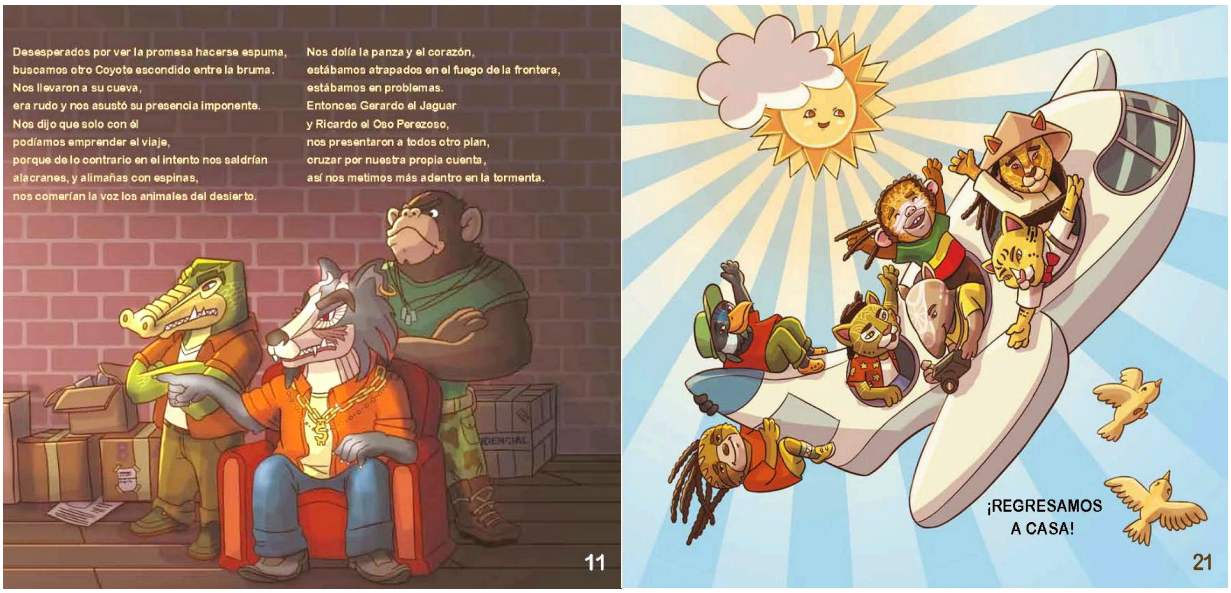


Figure 10 - The smugglers (pp. 10-11) and the band being happily deported back to Costa Rica with the quote "We came back home!" (pp. 20-21) in *La Fábula del León Y el Coyote* (Arias, 2017)

PICs promote a desire for, and an ideal of, orderly migration through legal pathways. Therefore, they are inherently limited in their ability to represent factual and complex narratives without also incriminating the states from which they issue. As governments maintain and build obstacles to legal migration pathways, Zhang et al. note that the market for "migrant smuggling is manufactured not by criminal enterprises or obscure mafia organizations but by governments themselves" (Zhang et al., 2018, p. 10; see also Hightower, 2013). As the role of the government in curating information is obscured, sometimes intentionally, the content is also meant to decenter or make invisible the right to seek asylum. To include this information would not only work against broader political objectives but would also pushing governments to reconcile their own conflicting foreign policy decisions. These actions by the Global North – certainly the US and Australia – has been brought to light by scholars and politicians alike, openly critiqued in popular media, and publicly admonished in various U.N. hearings for violating international law. In creating the dangers that they are supposedly fighting, and because they meet with little-to-no consequences, their actions portend heavy consequences for the people they portray as others.

2.3 STAY OUT, STAY ALIVE[3]

CBP's top priority is to keep terrorists and their weapons from entering the US while welcoming all legitimate travelers and commerce.

—US Customs and Border Protection

As we have already seen, highlighting the supposed fault of an individual for choosing to migrate is prevalent and in many instances drives PIC rhetoric. This rhetoric stems from a paternalistic and colonial structure that both draws strength from and supports these kinds of campaigns. Assuming that migrants need to be educated goes hand in hand with believing they are ignorant and that their decisions and actions are irrational. That PICs serve to reproduce narratives of "othering" – "them" versus "us" – and to effect a particular kind of education within far flung (and largely brown-skinned) populations, closely resembles colonial practices. As Heller (2014) argues, colonial education practices were intended to "civilize" subject populations while keeping them physically and politically separate as a means of social control. Here Heller's words are eerily familiar in the context of PICs: "The violence of colonization was legitimized by its self-proclaimed civilizing mission" (p. 308). Coddington (2018) also describes how the Indian Ocean, across which Australia has extended its border enforcement, has become its maritime frontier, "upholding settler colonial logics grounded in violence and exclusion as well as the excess of law" (p. 188). PICs, therefore, perpetuate mythologies that reinforce the right and responsibility of the Global North to police these spaces and the body of migrants that enter them (2018).

Originating with "18th-century criminologists," according to Boyce, "the logic of deterrence relies on the assumption that as individuals we make calculative behavioral choices by continuously monitoring our environment for information about risk and reward" (2021). "The Law" and the societal norms which follow are believed to be truthful representations of a natural, moral, and righteous order (Watkins, 2020). This ideology "appears 'natural' by presenting itself as reason" (Lukinbeal & Sharp, 2015, p. 6). If "human behavior" is in any way rational, or part of a logic we can broadly understand, replicate, and expect from others, then there is something illogical, or worse, backwards and wrong, in disobeying the law. This logic permeates and connects PICs to the other kinds of border policing

[3] This was the name of the first PIC put out by US Border Patrol (Williams, 2019).

strategies: armed agents, detention centers, national and foreign policy, and securitization. Working together to form a broad-based system of migration deterrence, PICs attempt unsuccessfully to quantify and decomplexify human behavior to create a sense among their target populations that the (often man-made) risks far outweigh the potential rewards.

It is therefore not surprising to find messages telling audiences to "stay home." "We can make it [if we stay] in Cameroon," says a Swiss funded IOM campaign picturing a sinking ship and a floating boot (Heller, 2014, p. 308). "Where I am is the best place on earth. I will not fall for smugglers' lies and illegally sail to Australia. I will not destroy my life," states a *Zero Chance* leaflet in mantra-like form (Fig. 11). (Australian Department of Home Affairs, 2019a, p. 22). "Home," meanwhile, is always depicted as calm and free of danger. As PICs tell audiences to stay and, in some places, to rebuild, harmful assumptions are masked behind these simplistic messages.

As detailed by Nieuwenhuys and Pécoud (2007), PICs assume, "first, that migrants lack information on migration; second, that their behavior is based on available information; and third, that information on migration is dark enough to discourage them from leaving" (p. 1684). As suggested by many studies, however, "…migrants are already aware of the risks outlined by information campaigns but decide, for various reasons, to migrate anyway…" (Oeppen, 2016, p. 3; see also Heller, 2014; Nieuwenhuys & Pécoud, 2007)[4]. Dissecting PICs and examining their elements helps to explain why migrants are continually cast in demeaning roles and as people in need of educating or direction (to be civilized).

The graphic novel (Fig. 12) disseminated for the *No Way* campaign follows a young man's journey from Afghanistan to an island detention center where he nurses a toothache and swats at mosquitos, dreaming about his family and the auto mechanic business he left behind (Operation Sovereign Borders, 2013). Also including representations of greedy smugglers, dangerous landscapes, and poor detention-center conditions, this story intends to illustrate how the young man made a poor decision and is now being punished for it. The decision cost him his family's business (in a quiet and calm town) and his physical and mental well-being, leading him to feel shame and despair. While some of these events happened to migrants, it is easy to see where the actual story likely ends and the bad assumptions begin. Here, migrants willingly commit to criminal actions because they either lack enough information or lack enough of a reason migrate legally. It is from this narrative we learn that migrants must be: faithless abandoners of family; reckless with their money; criminals and vagrants; too insatiable in their appetites to stay put; and too ignorant to understand the rules. We also learn that migrants who are unwilling or too stubborn to seize opportunities at home, are also undeserving of protection and good health.

[4] Oeppen goes on to describe why people from 'relatively safe' countries also take on the risks of undocumented migration.

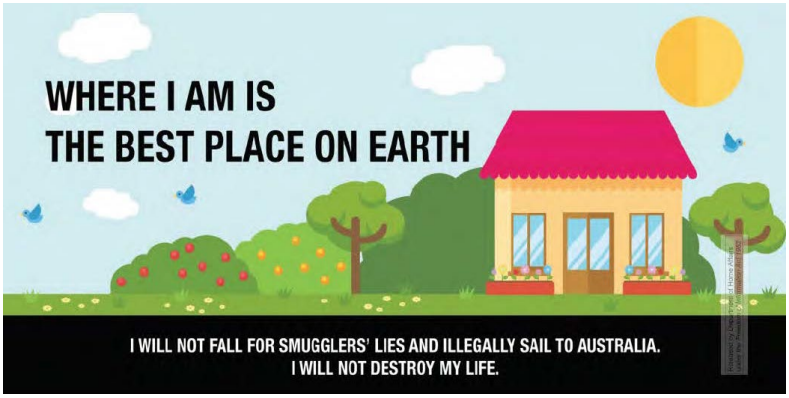


Figure 11 – Australian flyer with a western-looking, happy "home" (ADHA, 2019a)

Figure 12 – Page 16 from the Afghan-targeted graphic novel produce for the *No Way* campaign (ADHA, 2013)

Governments are eager to push responsibility for health and safety onto migrants and their families by blaming them for making poor decisions. Both Australian and US PICs urge families not to let their loved ones travel illegally, and to protect them from peril, by keeping them at home (Fig. 13). In 2014, the IOM, with "funds from the US Department of State's Bureau of Population Refugees and Migration (PRM) and UNICEF," launched *No Pongas En Riesgo Sus Vidas* (Don't Put Their Lives at Risk) in El Salvador (Ramirez, 2014). Intended to "warn parents of the risks faced by unaccompanied children migrating to the United States," the 30-second video, "El Cuento del Coyote" (The Tale of the Coyote), begins as if a child were reading and turning the pages of a story book. After Grimm-like pictures of children in cages being smuggled by werewolf-like creatures (Fig. 14), an *abuelita* (grandmother) closes the book and says to the camera, "…protejerles es nuestra responsibilidad" (protecting them is our responsibility) (El Cuento Del Coyote, 2014).

Insinuating that families willingly put their children in danger not only simplifies a very difficult situation but, here again, redirects blame from governments now callously using children as pawns. Under Presidents Obama, Trump, and now Biden, the US has continued to hold children in cages and detention facilities (Joffe-Block, 2021) and has a history of not only losing track of released children (Nixon, 2018), but also arresting undocumented residents who have come forward to sponsor them (Silva, 2018). Despite this, PICs continue to communicate the story that migrants have made the wrong choice and are therefore liable for legal and physical consequences. They, "rather than the European [and American] migration policymakers, can be blamed for the dangers they encounter on the way" (Oeppen, 2016, p. 10). Because governments have supposedly offered objective information and alternative pathways to undocumented migration – done their due diligence, as it were – it is then possible to blame migrants (and their communities or families as extensions of the migrant) even for their own deaths.

In some campaigns, the rhetoric is so blunt that it's hard to see how blaming migrants for their poor decisions *isn't* part of the strategy. Publications for *Zero Chance* also include a horoscope page (Fig. 15) and a poster of a woman and child crying (Fig. 16). Within the human silhouette on the poster, the text reads, "Before you lose everything and hurt your family/Stop. Think. Turn Back!"(Australian Department of Home Affairs, 2019c, p. 37). The horoscopes, attempting to target the belief in and use of astrology amongst Sri Lankans, include predictions like: "Taurus: You will be ashamed of your actions. If you illegally travel to Australia by boat, expect to be returned home where you will face the humiliation of failure in your community (Davidson, 2019). Bad luck will strike you if you try to perform this illegal deed" (2019a, p. 24). All of the signs on the horoscopes begin with, "you will…" followed by a seemingly inevitable tragedy – e.g. "Capricorn: You will put your life at risk" (p. 24). However inaccurate, these messages intimately target Sri Lankans' strong belief systems as well as their ties to their family. There is nothing we can do, the posters seem to imply, if you decide to migrate clandestinely. You take your life into your own hands.

Watkins (2020) argues that the *Aku Tau* campaign (mentioned above), which specifically targeted Indonesian fisherman through religious messaging, "framed immigration law as the ultimate determinant of moral and immoral migration, proclaiming a righteousness in immobilizing irregular migrants, regardless of circumstance" (2020, p. 1110). The migrant can then be depicted as a backwards and irrational character for disobeying not just the law but, more gravely, for violating a societal moral code as well. These campaigns imply that if you "do the right thing" by not migrating, you will be safe, happy and content. Perhaps seemingly innocuous, the advice can be fatal. Placing the blame on, and

punishing people for migrating, furthers irrational, wounding, and dangerous ideas about home and belonging.

Figure 13 – *(left) Don't Be Sorry* poster with a photograph of a near capsizing boat near jagged rocks (R. Green, 2013). *(right) Zero Chance* poster stating: "If your loved ones want to travel illegally…don't let them go!" (ADHA, 2019b, p. 9)

Figure 14 – Stills from "El Cuento del Coyote" showing children being led by a human-turned-coyote monster and an *abuelita* reminding audiences to protect their children (*El Cuento Del Coyote*, 2014)

Figure 15 – Horoscope made to target Sri Lankan migrants, encouraging them not to travel by boat to Australia (ADHA, 2019a, p. 24)

Figure 17 – A *Zero Chance* poster telling the audience to think before they lose everything and hurt their family (ADHA, 2019c, p. 37)

Figure 16 – A postcard from the Nuestra Patria Nuestro Futuro campaign says "Many of our children die or disappear as victim of La Bestia" (a freight train that migrants ride on top of through Mexico) (Nuestra Patria, Nuestra Futuro, 2017)

Both the US and Australia (and 191 other governments) have ratified the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which provides government protection for refugees and asylees. It is therefore possible for "illegal entrants" to make these countries their permanent place of residence (even if they come by boat) (Bishop, 2020). But messages like those crafted by Australia ("you will never make Australia home") are defiant and aggressive, actively advocating directly against potential refugees and asylees. Part and parcel of an entire suite of violent enforcement strategies, these campaigns allow governments to target and filter unwanted migrants well before they can reach the nation-state boundaries (Loughnan, 2019; Pécoud, 2010). Leading up to 2013, however, "as many as 95 per cent of those smuggled to Australia by boat were later found to be refugees" (Schloenhardt & Philipson, 2013, p. 22). The remaining 5% may have accounted for the fisherman hired to operate the boats.

Similarly, in 2011, 42 people were killed and 80 injured when a bomb went off during a Shia Muslim rally in Quetta, Pakistan. Photographs of the deadly aftermath show an Australian PIC on a billboard in the background (Hightower, 2013, p. 32). The attack, like the poster, was aimed at Hazara people who had fled to Pakistan after facing persecution in their home country of Afghanistan. In facing further threats to their safety, the Hazaras have a human right to seek protection under a government which can provide it. Yet Australia has made it clear, they are unwelcome.

Some have described this kind of aggressive enforcement against refugees and migrants as "presumptive refoulment" (Schloenhardt & Philipson, 2013), in which vulnerable migrants are told to remain in areas controlled by persecuting governments or ones that cannot provide them safety. It is therefore dangerous, even criminal, to suggest that people should stay or rebuild their countries, and sickening to portray their decision to do otherwise as immoral and backwards. An example of these tensions and profound injustices can be found in the words of Najma al-Khatib, a 50-year-old Syrian teacher who was recently quoted in the *New York Times* talking about her inhumane treatment as a refugee by Greek officials, saying, "I left Syria for fear of bombing - but when this happened, I wished I'd died under a bomb" (Kingsley & Shoumali, 2020).

Dangerous people and dangerous landscapes, often conjured into monstrous and oversized caricatures, are central to intimately targeted messages – messages about family values, messages for parents, for children, for migrants, for women, for men, for Sri Lankans, for Afghanis, etc. Governments are also pardoned in these narratives for their intentional neglect that directly creates conditions responsible for hundreds of migrant deaths every year. PICs thus also provide a medium through which governments project their values, offering a compelling story about the need to protect against migrants. They promote a norm of sedentary life which allows undocumented migration to be framed as an afront to some "natural, or national, order of things" (Watkins, 2020, p. 1110; see also Oeppen, 2016). While the need to combat misinformation gathered from informal sources and smugglers is real, PICs come to offer paternalistic advice instead of objective (and useful) information. "Cultivating ignorance through omission of discussion about the rights of asylum seekers" states Bishop (2020), "paves the way for governments' attempts to deter even migrants with credible claims" (p. 1106). As PICs embody and promote the construction of illegality of migration, the expansion of border enforcement has actively shrunk refugees' access to asylum and protection (Coddington, 2020; Mountz, 2013). Casting migrants as antagonists, governments have been able to create their own enemies and justify their fight against them as their own foreign agendas are progressed. Despite these efforts, PICs are unable, as governments are unwilling in changing institutions and policies, to effectively dissuade target audiences from migrating.

3 EFFECTIVE?

> *Australia's callousness is made larger when you realise that you won't get anywhere with the Australian Embassy in Pakistan or Afghanistan, that the United Nations Refugee Agency UNHCR is under resourced, overworked and often inadequate, if not inappropriate... at Australian Embassies, immigration applications made by refugees are simply and callously rejected.*
>
> – Jack Smit, Project SafeCom (Hightower, 2013, p. 32)

Thanks to FOI requests gathered for this investigation, it is possible to read the post-campaign market research reports for a few of Australia's campaigns. These reports contain post-implementation studies that show over and over a lack of causality between PIC messaging and the flow of migration (IOM, 2010b; McNair Ingenuity Research Pty Ltd, n.d.; Porter Novelli, 2011) – and scholars agree (Bishop, 2020; FitzGerald, 2020; Heller, 2014; Hightower, 2013; Oeppen, 2016; Pécoud, 2010; Williams, 2019). Despite the Malaysian campaign reaching nearly all of Afghan targets and many of the Sri Lankan targets as well, it was not effective in producing emotional or behavioral changes, in dissuading them from continuing to migrate undocumented to Australia:

> The communications campaign alone was not able to dissuade PIIs [migrants] from using people smugglers to attempt irregular migration to Australia. It was found that in general, negative messages such as "do not do it", "do not pay the smugglers", "it is dangerous" were not effective without corresponding policy responses about the PIIs asylum claims, because for many of the audience members, the risks seemed to be worth the rewards. (Porter Novelli, 2011, p. 34)

This passage reveals that the campaign was largely unsuccessful but also highlights that the Australian government possesses rather exhaustive empirical data on the factors which push and pull migrants. And yet, government agencies continue to push the same broken strategies. Additionally, it turns out that migrants often already have access to information about asylum and refugee processes, allowing them to see straight through the superficial and inauthentic campaign messages.

The post-implementation report of *Aku Tau* described the campaign as having produced lackluster results, at best. On one hand, the market researchers found the campaign tactics were successful in engaging the community members and leaders, and tens of thousands of people are estimated to have been reached (IOM, 2010b). On the other hand, change in behavior and reported actions (such as reporting smuggling to authorities, or refusing to partake in said activities) seemed to only indicate minor and/or temporary changes (Weiss-Elliott, 2020). A summary report states that the campaign saw "some positive signs such as reports of local police being informed of suspicious activity and attendance at community events was good, but neither can be assumed to indicate success or cost-effectiveness" (Australian Customs and Border Protection Service, 2012, p. 2). The same report draws similar conclusions for other campaigns:

> *Sri Lanka*: "For Sri Lankan communication activities, the first campaign did not provide strong evidence of target audience impact. For the second Sri Lankan campaign, awareness of campaign messages did increase over the four week period between the middle and end evaluations, demonstrating that rapid dissemination does not produce

> an immediate response... In an environment of mixed messaging from multiple sources recall of specific messages was limited." (2012, p. 2)
>
> *Pakistan and Afghanistan*: "…communication activities, dissemination of messages regarding changes in Australian Government policy was successful to some extent, with high impact being especially achieved with the 7 May announcement of a cooperative transfer arrangement with Malaysia." [The rest has been blocked out but this snippet suggests it was not effective in changing behavior either] (2012, p. 2).

A concluding sentence of the report acknowledges, perhaps prophetically, that "catalysing behavioural change requires a long-term approach even if, in the short term, awareness of a message is very high" (2012, p. 3).

Another official assessment highlights how the Australian government has reflected upon PICs as important migration deterrent mechanisms:

> In this context, the more formal and overt communication modalities we have been using, while serving to raise visibility of the issue, can be interpreted by the target as propaganda. This leads some PIIs to simply dismiss our messaging, or at least to take it with a grain of salt. They may also take counter-productive lessons…'make sure we get seaworthy boats.' A desensitisation effect is likely to grow if we continue with our saturation public advertising approach. In sum, 'more of the same' is considered a low-return option for achieving our strategic communications objectives and, based on recent research from Sri Lanka, may even be counter-productive. (Australian Customs and Border Protection Service, 2010, p. 1, emphasis in original)

A singularly revealing assessment of the US's *Nuestra Patria, Nuestro Futuro* (Fig. 17) campaign indicates, again, that campaign message recollection was moderate to high but there is no mention of any behavioral change (Elevation LTD, 2018). These reports suggest that in their ineffectiveness, PICs perhaps even work to counter their goal of deterring migration. These documents further illuminate how both the US and Australian governments are first to receive this information and yet, until now both countries have continued to produce PICs. Australia has produced at least *nine more* campaigns since the release of these documents, all of which seem to ignore entirely the counsel of the market research investigations (including *By Boat, No Visa, No Way* and *Zero Chance,* cited here). And because governments contract private advertising companies to research and produce campaigns, it is likely that reports like these exist for every campaign. There can be no doubt, therefore, that Australia's and other governments are well aware of how incapable PICs are in dissuading and preventing unwanted migrants. And surely by now they have some idea of the harm these campaigns cause as well. But while these campaigns have a relatively low cost in comparison to the militarized tactics with which they form a unified strategic field, they still take significant time and money. PIC campaigns must then serve other purposes than to deter migration or to offer humanitarian information.

Figure 19 - Anti-people Smuggling community screening event held by the IOM for 250 students at a vocational school in Quang Binh province, Viet Nam (IOM Viet Nam, 2016)

Figure 18 – An example of a street theater for the Anti-people Smuggling campaign in Nghe An province Viet Nam (IOM Viet Nam 2015)

4 FOR WHOM?

> *The main advantages of conducting an international information campaigns, funded and supported by a number of destination countries, are that it could be sustained over a period of time and would not attract attention to any one destination country. It would also ensure delivery of a consistent, coherent message which is important.*
>
> — (Minister for Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs, 2002)

Scholars have put forth a number of theories for the continued use of PICs despite their well-documented ineffectiveness. The bulk of these theories concern the processes of external- and internalization of borders (also called outsourcing and insourcing). These terms describe how powerful governments use increasingly remote mechanisms (remote from the border) to manipulate and control the movement of potential migrants (Menjívar, 2014). These processes also describe how powerful governments create pacts with less powerful governments, and agencies, as a way to outsource and delegate border protection to others (Pécoud, 2010). Existing asymmetrical power relations are reproduced within diplomatic agreements thereby complicating traditional ideas of state sovereignty (Coddington, 2020; FitzGerald, 2020; Menjívar, 2014; Watkins, 2020; Williams, 2019).

Williams (2019) builds upon this theory to describe how PICs expand the border, and therefore state sovereignty, beyond territorial boundaries. Because of their reliance on outside actors for their dissemination, borders are then policed in foreign countries by both public and private entities (externalization). As different states are coalesced into a migration buffer, PICs are intended to serve as filters, or what Loughnan (2019) terms "premeditated bordering practices," prescreening migrants within these zones before they can arrive in the "receiving" state (see also Menjívar, 2014). Internally as well, PICs work to enforce the border far from its physical location. "Taken as a whole," therefore, "domestic and international migration management tactics create transnational governances bordering both migrants' mobilities and places of belonging" (Watkins, 2020, p. 4). In this way, PICs allow the border to be enforced outside of sovereign boundaries and without the explicit presence of security forces.

Because of their complex nature, PICs necessitate, and likely help create, relationships between different actors: government, non-governmental and intergovernmental organizations, and private companies. The IOM, for example, has become a worldwide producer of PICs for many countries within the Global North. While the IOM became a branch of the United Nations in 2016, it has been vilified for harmful practices against the immigrants it supposedly serves, including with its ill-advised promotion of "voluntary returns" (Heller, 2014; Hirsch & Doig, 2018; Human Rights Watch, 2003; Nieuwenhuys & Pécoud, 2007; Pécoud, 2010; Watkins, 2020). The 2020 *IOM Communication Campaign Toolkit* book states that the "IOM is committed to the principle that humane and orderly migration benefits migrants and society" (Murphy et al., 2020, pp. 2, 13). Australia has a particularly long and close history with the IOM. Hirsch and Doig (2018) argue this has allowed the IOM to prioritize Australia's geopolitical deterrence agenda and compromise the rights of asylum seekers and refugees in Indonesia by detaining irregular migrants, facilitating the return of asylum seekers and refugees to their countries of origin, strengthening Indonesia's border controls, and producing public information campaigns. As IOM's presence has expanded, it is likely Hirsch and Doig's accusations are accurately descriptive of the relationships IOM has with other governments as well. The IOM has been a leading actor in more than a

few campaigns cited here and likely far more world-wide.[5] Under the pretense of supporting orderly and timely migration, the IOM has become a one-stop-shop for unaccountable migration enforcement.

This is likely a primary justification used by government for their continued publication of campaigns that are hardly effective on their own terms. Because funding appears to benefit humanitarian organizations, they allow governments to be seen "doing something" in the interest of migrants (Oeppen, 2016). Hirsch and Doig (2018) call this facade "blue-washing": creating an impression of a humanitarian organization while simultaneously carrying out migration control activities on behalf of donor states in the global north. Governments can therefore claim to be productive – and plausibly deny their own complicity -- in addressing humanitarian crises while continuing to ignore their larger and more important responsibilities. PICs are a popular strategy, to say the least. Beyond the IOM, unaccountable private firms and local NGOs also become "deputized" contractors of migration management worldwide (Watkins, 2020, p. 3). Outside of building international relationships, PICs play an important internal role as well.

In the past, campaign toolkits have suggested nation-states create campaigns for both migrants and "the public in receiving countries" in order to "counteract xenophobia"(quotes from an IOM Migration Report published in 2000) (Pécoud, 2010, p. 186; see also Schloenhardt & Philipson, 2013). This has certainly not been the case and these explicit instructions have since been removed (see Murphy et al., 2020). Instead, governments like Australia have targeted "ethnic" and diaspora communities with the same, or similar, PICs used offshore while also encouraging everyone to report so-called suspicious activities (ADIBP, 2014, p. 1,8; *Border Watch*, 2021).

In 2013, Australia did target the "public" by circulating *By Boat, No Visa* campaign materials "full of foreboding and imminent terror" in both "ethnic" and mainstream newspapers, television and radio stations across the country (Kenny, 2013). Full-page ads appearing with bold English slogans incited outcry from White Australians and government officials alike. Prime Minister Kevin Rudd was criticized and the campaign was audited for spending $7.3 million (USD) on the on-shore distribution of the campaign which ran from July 20 to September 5, 2013 (less than two months), dubiously close to the Federal elections on September 7 (Australian National Audit Office, 2016; Christensen, 2013).

Although the larger Australian public was considered a secondary target audience – the primary being diaspora communities – "[s]ome 90 per cent of media expenditure for the onshore *By Boat, No Visa* campaign was on mainstream advertising (domestic Australian English-language media)" (Australian National Audit Office, 2016, p. 60). The report from the audit continues:

> This approach contrasted with the approach taken for the two onshore anti-people smuggling campaigns that came before [*Don't Be Sorry*] and after [*No Way*] the *By Boat, No Visa* campaign. The two campaigns were targeted solely to specific diaspora communities, and the campaigns therefore used relevant culturally and linguistically diverse media, digital media targeted towards the specific communities, and community engagement. (2016, p. 60)

[5] Campaigns cited within this essay which have been created by or in conjunction with the IOM: Aku Tau, La Fábula del León y el Coyote, No Pongas en Riesgo Sus Vidas, Cameroon campaign (Heller, 2014)

This reminds us that PICs are not only intended for migrants and smugglers, they also intend to disrupt "the many other 'support personnel' within the smuggling network - the people who provide accommodation, transport, food, documents and so on"(Minister for Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs, 2002). And they can be used for domestic political purposes as well. Any association, therefore, with "illegal migrants," like delivering life-saving care, has also been criminalized. [6]

Schloenhardt and Phillipson argue the Australian campaigns did little to counteract, and sometimes deliberately built upon, the existing xenophobic sentiments of public debate and media reporting by emphasizing the "criminality of migrant smuggling and labelling smuggled migrants as unwanted illegal entrants"(Schloenhardt & Philipson, 2013, p. 11). Indeed, PICs have been bolstered by government information in Australia which states that "illegal migration" is "A PROBLEM FOR ALL" and that "undocumented or fraudulently documented arrivals may also constitute a threat to the national security of the countries they enter" (Minister for Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs, 2002; emphasis in original). The website continues:

> Illegal entry *is an assault* on states' capacity to exercise their sovereign right to decide who can enter and stay. Where illegal entry is accompanied by the attempt to choose their country of protection and achieve a simultaneous migration outcome, *it is the single most serious threat to the continued viability of the international protection system*: the fight against people smugglers diverts the resources of destination countries away from capacity building, integration and resettlement assistance in source countries or countries of first asylum; the supply of planned resettlement places offered by the few resettlement countries is drying up as these same countries grapple with the problems and costs of smuggled refugees; and where effective protection has already been provided within the international protection framework, forum-shopping results in unnecessary cost duplication in destination countries and diversion of resources from refugees lacking durable solutions. (Minister for Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs, 2002 emphasis mine)

Painting 'illegal' entrants as "threatening assailants" and "smugglers' clients" within official and convoluted discourses allows powerful nations like Australia to assume the role of victim who reluctantly and heroically spends precious funds to prevent the horror of smuggling. If anything, though, PICs are highly visible examples of governments doing just the opposite, as far less attention and money is given by these governments to people most in need.

Instead, these false and misleading campaigns provide additional images of detained of migrants promoting ideas of illegality and criminality (Coddington, 2020). This supplements the existing misinformation and animosity towards migrants, helping to unite citizens (domestic and foreign) against them (Coddington, 2020; Hightower, 2013). Hightower puts it plainly:

> Nowhere in the literature are the words 'asylum seeker' or 'refugee' mentioned. Instead…[t]he literature aims to convince Australians that the people trying to come to

[6] This has been a reality for humanitarian aid workers who have been arrested for providing services to undocumented migrants (Aguilera, 2019; King, 2019).

> Australia are *potentially* illegal, instead of *potentially* being asylum seekers or refugees. (Hightower, 2013, p. 17, emphasis in original)

Official Australian discourse, including snippets quoted within this paper, use the term 'potential irregular immigrant' (PII) to refer to undocumented migrants. "Irregular," as opposed to "regular," implies a type of migration that is outside a documented and regulated norm: illegal. Here, we see this narrative reproduced not only in the stories projected to others through media and PICs, but retold by governments to themselves. The US uses even more blunt demarcations such as 'illegal entrants,' 'illegal immigrants,' and 'illegal aliens.'

Border enforcement practices have accompanied the expansion of state sovereignty into distant countries. There, anti-migration propaganda has been used to promote ethnocentric and settler-colonialist values about identity and belonging while justifying the unnecessary and preventable violence and neglect inflicted upon adults and children. The ineffectiveness of PICs is not even a secondary concern, as the actors who produce them profit (directly and indirectly) from their continued existence. The need for a consistent message both domestically and across multiple countries (as the quote beginning this section states) allows for a narrative that both pardons and justifies the contradictory actions of the Global North in an attempt to create a united front against migrants.

5 CONCLUSION

> *In a sense, the border is a space that does not actually exist – that is to say it only exists in the human imagination; it has been created by man.*
>
> —Hightower (2013, p. 13)

I have detailed in this thesis a number of ways that the governments of the Global North, through diverse media, have attempted to intimately and intentionally target migrants, their families, communities, and others in hopes of stopping them from making claims of protection on their soil. By portraying migrants and their communities as either criminals or helpless victims, governments are able to further justify military responses to humanitarian crises. The tropes of a dangerous landscape obscures migrants' exclusion from legal pathways while also blacking out the role of nation-states in creating said danger. The "smuggler," too, is highly productive in vilifying migrants and further promoting a narrative of the heroic defense of national security against the ever-present threat of criminal networks. But no matter how they are portrayed, migrants are the ones who bear the consequences: not only of their supposed ignorance but also of state-sanctioned violence. Such campaigns deliver messages that delineate spaces of belonging and legality, confusing morality with powerful political agendas, and human dignity with migration status.

Through extravagant illustrations of imaginary identities and landscapes, PICS promote blatantly exclusionist narratives and criminal actions in a cyclical rationalization. As these narratives become commonplace within official discourse, policy and media, the myth of border protection is slowly naturalized within the minds of citizens, domestic and foreign. Border walls and check points, an "us" versus "them" mentality and the "need" for protection and security, all structure our ability to discern these apparatuses, let alone being able to imagine other forms of order and being. This is perhaps the

greatest power of PICs: to perform and promote ideologies near and far in and, thereby, justify and create a united front against migrants.

For these reasons alone, PICs must be simple and lacking in their details. As Roland Barthes (1972) explains:

> [Myth] abolishes the complexity of human acts, it gives the simplicity of essences, it does away with all dialectics, with any going back beyond what is immediately visible, *it organizes a world which is without contradictions because it is without depth*, a world wide open and wallowing in the evident, it establishes *a blissful clarity*: things appear to mean something by themselves. (cited in Lukinbeal & Sharp, 2015, p. 7; emphasis mine)

PICs do more than justify state actions; they are actions in and of themselves that work towards naturalizing ideology. They are both products of, and actions for, a globally dominating discourse – that is, a discourse about power, the power in sovereignty, for example, and the protection of that power. More than self-incriminating, therefore, accurate and helpful PICs produced by the state would undermine a much larger hegemonic project.

Perhaps PICs' only forthright quality is their recognition that information is a necessity in creating safer migration pathways and that the *right* information, at the right time, *can* save lives. This is why Heller, a practitioner of Forensic Oceanography, has worked alongside three other organizations to draft a flyer for potential migrants titled, "Risks, rights and safety at sea" (Heller, 2014, p. 315). It is distinctive from the PICs I have described in two important ways:

> …first, it does not consider migrants as irrational actors whose perception one should manage, but as equal subjects whom one may address based on the knowledge of the risks they take at sea; second, while the flyer does inform migrants on these dangers, it takes the starting point that many people will leave despite knowing them and, as such, it provides migrants with information as to key security measures and their rights at sea. (2014, p. 315)

The creators of this poster did not mix anti-immigrant messages, shocking images or insulting tropes with lifesaving information in an effort to grab the attention and provoke a reaction in their audiences. It acknowledges the dangers without hiding what they are or how and why they occur (watchthemed.net, n.d.). Importantly, Heller continues, "[t]his information will not make their crossing safe – *only visas allowing them to embark on safe transport means would do that* – but might save their lives" (2014, p. 315 emphasis mine). A vast majority of PICs have yet to be investigated. Those analyzed for this essay, however, reflect upon the campaigns which are still pushed by governments today. These, and their predecessors, cannot reasonably claim to save lives or even to offer useful information of any kind.

Instead, PICs teach us much more about the governments which produce them, about their racist and nativist values, and their deeper international agendas. There should be no surprise, then, to know that governments are churning out highly reductionist narratives of contemporary human migration, blasting them into living rooms and workplaces through affective messaging. There is no surprise, then, either, that PICS work to promote a façade of humanitarianism and protection of human dignity while other mechanisms of enforcement and deterrence do exactly the opposite. As part of the neocolonial apparatuses surrounding present-day battles of national sovereignty, PICs are indeed

harmful – harmful in their rhetoric and narratives of hatred they spread across the world and their clear ability to divert government funds and attention away from real solutions. Indeed, there is an overwhelming number of migrant deaths that could have been avoided, that *should* have been avoided. Instead, governments in the Global North have invested in distant and convoluted operations, violent military responses, and punishing and dehumanizing detention practices – profitable endeavors (for some) at the grave expense of much human suffering.

Bringing these campaigns to light, highlighting their inconsistencies and biases, and examining how complex and distant border enforcement practices can be, is thus meant to interrogate the often taken-for-granted and highly reductionist norms and narratives of contemporary migration policing. As foreign policy, PICs reflect the values of the Global North, yet they affect lives across the world. Moreover, while PICs appear to be simple enterprises, they serve as analytical entry points into complex enforcement systems and anti-migration strategies. While much remains to be learned, it is clear that borders – popularly imagined as walls, fences, and checkpoints – are being invoked, delineated, and patrolled in extremely intimate and faraway places.

WORKS CITED

Abbas Changezi. (2014, December 4). Nov 2014: #Australia's anti-immigration English/Urdu billboard in #Karachi Airport #Pakistan #auspol http://t.co/V0Y7z5V6xy [Tweet]. *@yugazra*. https://twitter.com/yugazra/status/540555606600712192

ABF TV. (2021, February 10). *You have zero chance—English*. https://youtu.be/3k6eb1TsNTE

Addressing Irregular Migration Through Effective Information Campaigns. (2015). [Handbook]. The Bali Process on People Smuggling, Trafficking in Persons and Related Transnational Crime. https://www.baliprocess.net/UserFiles/baliprocess/File/FINAL_Handbook%20on%20Addressing%20Irregular%20Migration%20Through%20Effective%20Information%20Campaigns_12052017.pdf

Aguilera, J. (2019, November 20). Humanitarian Scott Warren Found Not Guilty After Retrial for Helping Migrants at Mexican Border. *Time*. https://time.com/5732485/scott-warren-trial-not-guilty/

Alianza Joven Honduras - USAID. (2014, July 28). *Campaña de Prevención de la Migración de Niñez y Familia (Video Juego)*. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A9F_ByiJ9lg&t=29s

Arias, M. (2017). *La Fábula del León y el Coyote*. IOM Costa Rica.

Australian Customs and Border Protection Service. (2010). *Minute Paper: People Smuggling: New Direction in Strategic Communications* (p. 2) [FOI release].

– (2012). *Maritime People Smuggling Strategic Communications Strategy 2011/2012 and 2012/2013* [FOI release].

Australia Department of Home Affairs. (2013). *Afghanistan graphic novel*. Operation Sovereign Borders.

– (2019a). *Fa-190801764-document-released-p1.PDF* (p. 46) [FOI release]. https://www.homeaffairs.gov.au/foi/files/2019/fa-190801764-document-released-p1.PDF

– (2019b). *Fa-190801764-document-released-p2.PDF* (p. 15) [FOI release]. https://www.homeaffairs.gov.au/foi/files/2019/fa-190801764-document-released-p2.PDF

– (2019c). *Fa-190801764-document-released-p4.pdf* [FOI release]. https://www.homeaffairs.gov.au/foi/files/2019/fa-190801764-document-released-p4.PDF

Australian Department of Immigration and Border Protection. (2010, June 6). *Left Behind*. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4MP5vsTJvaE

– (2014). *Emails between DIAC UM diaspora communities phase 2 18pg.pdf* [FOI release]. Right To Know. https://www.righttoknow.org.au/request/advertising_on_new_asylum_seeker#incoming-1623

Australian Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs. (2001, August 6). *DIMA Fact Sheet 83: People Smuggling*. https://web.archive.org/web/20010806103733/http://www.immi.gov.au/facts/83people.htm

Australian Government. (2013a, July 26). Advertisement. *NT News*.
– (2013b, August 23). Advertisement. *Central Advocate*.
Australian National Audit Office. (2016). *Government advertising: March 2013 to June 2015: across entities* (Performance Audit No. 22; ANAO Report No.22 2016-17, p. 80). https://www.anao.gov.au/sites/default/files/ANAO_Report_2016-17_22a.pdf
Bishop, S. C. (2020). An International Analysis of Governmental Media Campaigns to Deter Asylum Seekers. *International Journal of Communication*, *14*, 23.
Border Watch. (2021). https://www.abf.gov.au/about-us/what-we-do/borderwatch
Boyce, G. A., Chambers, S. N., & Launius, S. (2019). Bodily Inertia and the Weaponization of the Sonoran Desert in US Boundary Enforcement: A GIS Modeling of Migration Routes through Arizona's Altar Valley. *Journal on Migration and Human Security*, *7*(1), 23–35. https://doi.org/10.1177/2331502419825610
Bui, M., Perera, S., Pugliese, J., Qwaider, A., & Singh, C. (2020). Every boat is the first boat. *Deathscapes: Mapping Race and Violence in Settler States*. https://www.deathscapes.org/case-studies/every-boat-is-the-first-boat
Christensen, N. (2013, August 2). Xenophon denounces $30m government advertising campaign. *Mumbrella*. https://mumbrella.com.au/xenophon-denounces-30m-government-advertising-campaign-170813
Coddington, K. (2018). Settler Colonial Territorial Imaginaries: Maritime mobilities and the "tow-backs" of asylum seekers. In K. Peters, P. Steinberg, & E. Stratford (Eds.), *Territory Beyond Terra* (pp. 185–202). Rowman & Littlefield.
– (2020). Fractures in Australia's Asia-Pacific border continuum: Deterrence, detention and the production of illegality. In *Handbook on critical geographies of migration.* (pp. 232–243). EDWARD ELGAR Publishing.
Critchfield, H. (2019, July 25). Death Toll Rises as Two More Migrants' Bodies Found Outside Tucson. *Phoenix New Times*. https://www.phoenixnewtimes.com/news/two-more-migrants-bodies-found-outside-tucson-11332524
Davidson, H. (2019, December 17). *Home affairs created fake horoscopes to discourage Sri Lankans from seeking asylum in Australia*. The Guardian. http://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2019/dec/18/home-affairs-created-fake-horoscopes-to-discourage-sri-lankans-from-seeking-asylum-in-australia
Devereaux, R. (2021, February 3). The Border Patrol Calls Itself a Humanitarian Organization. A New Report Says That's a Lie. *The Intercept*. https://theintercept.com/2021/02/03/border-patrol-migrants-humanitarian/
Dominguez, L. F. (2021, February 11). Talk Like a Honduran: Slang Words for Everyday Use. *Homeschool Spanish Academy*. https://www.spanish.academy/blog/talk-like-a-honduran-slang-words-for-everyday-use/
El Cuento del Coyote. (2014, July 15). https://youtu.be/Uu8d62Xe7rk
Elevation LTD. (2017). *Nuestra Patria, Nuestro Futuro.* http://nuestrapatrianuestrofuturo.com/
– (2018). *Nuestra Patria, Nuestro Futuro—Campaign Highlights*. http://nuestrapatrianuestrofuturo.com/img/campaign-highlights.pdf
Ferrer-Gallardo, X., & Houtum, H. van. (2014). The Deadly EU Border Control. *ACME: An International Journal for Critical Geographies*, *13*(2), 295–304.

FitzGerald, D. S. (2020). Remote control of migration: Theorising territoriality, shared coercion, and deterrence. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *46*(1), 4–22. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2020.1680115

Forensic Architecture. (2012, April 11). *The Left-to-die Boat*. Forensic Architecture. https://forensic-architecture.org/investigation/the-left-to-die-boat

– (2016, April 18). *Death By Rescue: The Lethal Effects Of Non-assistance At Sea*. https://forensic-architecture.org/investigation/death-by-rescue-the-lethal-effects-of-non-assistance-at-sea

– (2019, December 18). *Privatised Push-back Of The Nivin*. Forensic Architecture. https://forensic-architecture.org/investigation/nivin

Garelli, G., & Tazzioli, M. (2018). The Humanitarian War Against Migrant Smugglers at Sea. *Antipode*, *50*(3), 685–703. https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12375

Green, E., & Hamilton, K. (2021, April 20). US Companies Are Helping Mexican Cartels Get Rich Kidnapping Migrants. *VICE World News*. https://www.vice.com/en/article/n7bwdz/us-mexico-cartel-kidnapping-migrant-money

Green, R. (2013, March 4). The Dept of Immigration and Citizenship launches new "Don't be sorry" anti-people smuggling campaign via Y&R Group Sydney and Diverse. *Campaign Brief*. https://campaignbrief.com/the-dept-of-immigration-and-ci/

Heller, C. (2014). Perception management – Deterring potential migrants through information campaigns. *Global Media and Communication*, *10*(3), 303–318. https://doi.org/10.1177/1742766514552355

Heller, C., & Pezzani, L. (2017). Liquid Traces: Investigating the Deaths of Migrants at the EU's Maritime Frontier. In N. De Genova (Ed.), *The Borders of "Europe"* (pp. 95–119). Duke University Press.

Hightower, B. (2013). Australian Hospitality: Overseas information campaigns and the theatricalised encounter. *Law Text Culture*, *17*, 8–43.

Hirsch, A. L., & Doig, C. (2018). Outsourcing control: The International Organization for Migration in Indonesia. *The International Journal of Human Rights*, *22*(5), 681–708. https://doi.org/10.1080/13642987.2017.1417261

Human Rights Watch. (2003). *The International Organization for Migration (IOM) and Human Rights Protection in the Field: Current Concerns*. 18. https://www.hrw.org/legacy/backgrounder/migrants/iom-submission-1103.pdf

International Organization for Migration. (2010a). *Public Information Campaign Market-Research Review* (p. 73) [FOI release]. https://www.homeaffairs.gov.au/foi/files/2011-2014/2012-018673_Document07_Released.pdf

– (2010b). *Final Activities Report: Public Information Campaign to Curb Irregular Migration and People Smuggling in Indonesia*. https://www.homeaffairs.gov.au/foi/files/2011-2014/2012-018673_Document05_Released.pdf

– (2010c). *Public Information Campaign to Curb Irregular Migration and People Smuggling in Indonesia: Final Activities Report* (p. 98). https://www.homeaffairs.gov.au/foi/files/2011-2014/2012-018673_Document05_Released.pdf

International Organization for Migration Viet Nam. (2015, January). *Community Outreach Events To Deter Irregular Migration In Nghe An*.

https://vietnam.iom.int/en/news/community-outreach-events-deter-irregular-migration-nghe

– (2016, August). *IOM Viet Nam, in cooperation with provincial and local Border Guards, organised a community screening event for 250 students at a vocational school in Quang Binh province*. https://vietnam.iom.int/en/news/iom-viet-nam-cooperation-provincial-and-local-border-guards-organised-community-screening-event

Joffe-Block, J. (2021, February 26). Claim of 'kids in cages' hypocrisy is missing context. *AP News*. https://apnews.com/article/fact-checking-9970724533

Johnson, R. L. (2021). *Reversing Channels and Unsettling Binaries: Rethinking Migration and Agrarian Change under Expanded Border and Immigration Enforcement*. 18.

Johnson, R. L., & Woodhouse, M. (2018). *Securing the Return: How Enhanced US Border Enforcement Fuels Cycles of Debt Migration*. 21.

Jones, R. (2016). *Violent borders: Refugees and the right to move*. Verso.

Kanagasabapathipillai, D. (2013, August 22). The illegal boat ride to Australia. *Passion Parade*. http://passionparade.blogspot.com/2013/08/the-illegal-boat-ride-to-australia.html

Kelety, J. (2021, April 8). Arizona's Migrant Graveyard: Searching for Bodies and Bones in the Borderlands. *Phoenix New Times*. https://www.phoenixnewtimes.com/news/arizona-migrant-graveyard-desert-deaths-2021-11542178

Kenny, M. (2013, July 20). Ads warn off smuggler-boat users. *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 2.

King, E. (2019, July 11). Europe puts its good Samaritans on trial. *POLITICO*. https://www.politico.eu/article/europe-migrant-rescue-boat-captains-face-jail-dariush-beigui-carola-rackete/

Kingsley, P., & Shoumali, K. (2020, August 14). Taking Hard Line, Greece Turns Back Migrants by Abandoning Them at Sea. *The New York Times*. https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/14/world/europe/greece-migrants-abandoning-sea.html

Klein, E. (2021, April 23). Opinion | Noam Chomsky on Anarchism, Human Nature and Joe Biden. *The New York Times*. https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/23/opinion/ezra-klein-podcast-noam-chomsky.html

La Coalición de Derechos Humanos, & No More Deaths. (2016). *Part 1 Deadly Apprehension Methods: The consequences of chase & scatter in the wilderness* (Disappeared: How the US Border Enforcement Agencies Are Fueling a Missing Persons Crisis, p. 24). http://www.thedisappearedreport.org/uploads/8/3/5/1/83515082/fianlpart1.pdf

Loughnan, C. (2019, July 16). Active Neglect: The New Tool for the "Externalisation" of Refugee Protection. *Oxford Law: Border Criminologies*. https://www.law.ox.ac.uk/research-subject-groups/centre-criminology/centreborder-criminologies/blog/2019/07/active-neglect

Lukinbeal, C., & Sharp, L. (2015). Performing America's Toughest Sheriff: Media as practice in Joe Arpaio's Old West. *GeoJournal*, *80*(6), 881–892. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10708-015-9653-3

Massaro, V. A., & Williams, J. (2013). Feminist Geopolitics: Redefining the Geopolitical, Complicating (In)Security. *Geography Compass*, *7*(8), 567–577. https://doi.org/10.1111/gec3.12054

McNair Ingenuity Research Pty Ltd. (n.d.). *Campaign Evaluation 'By boat, no visa: Final Report of Findings* (p. 95) [FOI release]. https://www.homeaffairs.gov.au/foi/files/2011-2014/FA140100210.pdf

Menjívar, C. (2014). Immigration Law Beyond Borders: Externalizing and Internalizing Border Controls in an Era of Securitization. *Annual Review of Law and Social Science*, *10*(1), 353–369. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-lawsocsci-110413-030842

Minister for Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs. (2002, November 7). *Australia's Experience and Policy Responses—A background paper*. Border Protection. https://web.archive.org/web/20021107081208/http://www.minister.immi.gov.au/borders/detention/peoplesmugg_1.htm#prevention

Missbach, A., & McNevin, A. (2014, November 5). "Our boats, our people, our knowledge." *Inside Story*. https://insidestory.org.au/our-boats-our-people-our-knowledge/

Mora, D., & Green, E. (2021, February 23). Deported to Death. *VICE World News*. https://www.vice.com/en/article/epd9qk/edgar-lopez-murder-trump-zero-tolerance-immigration-policy

Mountz, A. (2013). Shrinking spaces of asylum: Vanishing points where geography is used to inhibit and undermine access to asylum. *Australian Journal of Human Rights*, *19*(3), 29–50. https://doi.org/10.1080/1323-238X.2013.11882133

Mountz, A., & Hyndman, J. (2006). Feminist Approaches to the Global Intimate. *Women's Studies Quarterly*, *34*(1/2), 446–463.

Murphy, H., Olinto, B., & Guven, A. E. (2020). *IOM Public Communication Campaign Toolkit*. International Organization for Migration. https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/iom-campaign-guidelines.pdf

Musarò, P. (2019). Aware Migrants: The role of information campaigns in the management of migration. *European Journal of Communication*, *34*(6), 629–640. https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323119886164

Neville, A. (2014, February 27). Australia: Deterrence propaganda? Australia's campaign of migration deterrence is not an effective method of addressing human trafficking. *Al Jazeera*. https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2014/2/27/australia-deterrence-propaganda

Nieuwenhuys, C., & Pécoud, A. (2007). Human Trafficking, Information Campaigns, and Strategies of Migration Control. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *50*(12), 1674–1695. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764207302474

Nixon, R. (2018, September 19). U.S. Loses Track of Another 1,500 Migrant Children, Investigators Find. *The New York Times*. https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/18/us/politics/us-migrant-children-whereabouts-.html

No Más Cruces en la Frontera. (2015, July 6). DVIDS. http://www.dvidshub.net/publication/issues/26016

Nuestra Patria, Nuestra Futuro. (2017). *La Bestia Postcard*. http://nuestrapatrianuestrofuturo.com/print/POSTCARD_6X4_LA_BESTIA/F_A_6X4_LABESTIA_POSTCARD_Honduras.pdf

Oeppen, C. (2016). 'Leaving Afghanistan! Are you Sure?' European Efforts to Deter Potential Migrants through Information Campaigns. *Human Geography*, *9*(2), 57–68. https://doi.org/10.1177/194277861600900206

Operation Sovereign Borders. (2013). *A Story Board of People Smuggling* [FOI release]. https://ia801205.us.archive.org/19/items/StoryboardAfghanistan/Storyboard-Afghanistan.pdf

Pécoud, A. (2010). Informing Migrants to Manage Migration? An Analysis of IOM's Information Campaigns. In M. Geiger & A. Pécoud (Eds.), *The Politics of International Migration Management* (pp. 184–201). Palgrave Macmillan UK. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230294882_9

Porter Novelli. (2011). *Malaysian Public Information Campaign: Post-implementation report* (p. 68). https://www.homeaffairs.gov.au/foi/files/2011-2014/2012-018673_Document12_Released.pdf

Ramirez, C. (2014, July 18). IOM Supports El Salvador Information Campaign Warning Parents of Risks Faced by Unaccompanied Children Traveling to USA. *International Organization for Migration, El Salvado*. https://www.iom.int/news/iom-supports-el-salvador-information-campaign-warning-parents-risks-faced-unaccompanied

Schloenhardt, A., & Philipson, E. (2013). "NO TO PEOPLE SMUGGLING": A REVIEW OF AUSTRALIA'S ANTI-MIGRANT SMUGGLING AWARENESS CAMPAIGNS. *University of Queensland Migrant Smuggling Working Group*, 26.

Silva, D. (2018, December 11). ICE arrested 170 immigrants seeking to sponsor migrant children. *NBC News*. https://www.nbcnews.com/news/latino/ice-arrested-170-immigrants-seeking-sponsor-migrant-children-n946621

Slack, J. (2016). Captive bodies: Migrant kidnapping and deportation in Mexico. *Area*, *48*(3), 271–277. https://doi.org/10.1111/area.12151

Tovey, J. (2015, October 5). Anti-Islam campaigner Geert Wilders video replicates controversial "No Way" campaign. *The Sydney Morning Herald*. https://www.smh.com.au/politics/federal/antiislam-campaigner-geert-wilders-video-replicates-controversial-no-way-campaign-20151002-gjzigx.html

Verini, J. (2020, August 18). How U.S. Policy Turned the Sonoran Desert Into a Graveyard for Migrants. *The New York Times*. https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/18/magazine/border-crossing.html

watchthemed.net. (n.d.). *Risks, Rights & Safety at Sea. Agean Sea:Greece/Turkey*. Retrieved April 16, 2021, from https://watchthemed.net/media/uploads/page/10/Safetyatsea-AegeanSea-English.pdf

Watkins, J. (2015). Spatial Imaginaries Research in Geography: Synergies, Tensions, and New Directions: Spatial Imaginaries. *Geography Compass*, *9*(9), 508–522. https://doi.org/10.1111/gec3.12228

– (2017). Australia's irregular migration information campaigns: Border externalization, spatial imaginaries, and extraterritorial subjugation. *Territory, Politics, Governance*, *5*(3), 282–303. https://doi.org/10.1080/21622671.2017.1284692

– (2020). Irregular migration, borders, and the moral geographies of migration management. *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space*, *38*(6), 1108–1127. https://doi.org/10.1177/2399654420915607

Weber, L., & Pickering, S. (2014). Constructing Voluntarism: Technologies of 'intent management' in Australian Border Controls. *New Border and Citizenship Politics*, 13. https://doi-org.ezproxy1.library.arizona.edu/10.1057/9781137326638_2

Weiss-Elliott, G. (2020, December 19). *Aku Tau: 2012 Australian Public Information Campaign in Indonesia*. ArcGIS StoryMaps. https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/84bb4277e9614cc7926c7595fec5f508

Williams, J. (2019). Affecting migration: Public information campaigns and the intimate spatialities of border enforcement. *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space*, 239965441983338. https://doi.org/10.1177/2399654419833384

Zhang, S. X., Sanchez, G. E., & Achilli, L. (2018). Crimes of Solidarity in Mobility: Alternative Views on Migrant Smuggling. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 10. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716217746908