

An important aspect of the contemporary boom in criminology, and the attendant risks noted by contributors like Garland, is teaching-related. Student interest and an increasingly market-driven university sector have seen the rapid rise of undergraduate criminology majors, criminology degree programmes and stand-alone criminology departments. Yet, with a few notable exceptions (including Brown, Garland and Hannah-Moffat), the contributors avoid explicit discussion of the teaching part of the contemporary criminology enterprise. This is also an area where the professionalization of criminal justice interacts with popular representation (in shows like *CSI*, *Silent Witness* and seemingly endless variants) to increase the attractions of criminology. Not surprisingly, this could provide another source of ambivalence, another factor feeding into the widely shared sense that success is double-edged.

This voyeuristic quality is another reason why criminology is accused of being populist, according to Braithwaite, but he makes some telling points in response. Beyond these surface attractions, he suggests, there is something deeper that can hold the attention of students (and, of course, not only students): ‘. . . a more basic appeal that criminology shares with fiction – narratives of lives that transgress.’ This, he argues, also makes criminology a potentially powerful vehicle for engaging the ‘sociological imagination’, for connecting the domain of theory to everyday life—a task that it often performs more effectively than the core disciplines upon which it draws.

The subject matter of criminology is after all directly connected into the central concern of modernity with the constructedness of social order, with society as a human invention (cf. Larry Sherman’s chapter), and of course with the old Durkheimian question of boundary maintenance—that is, with what transgression tells us about not only the lives of transgressors, but also the life of the wider society, its culture and political and legal institutions. In his chapter on experimental research in criminology, Mike Hough points out (at p. 203) ‘that many of the most important questions to which criminal policy needs answers are more akin to those about culture and moral performance . . . they have a subtlety and complexity that places them beyond the reach of experimental research’.

He is far from dismissing a role for the latter, but this is a nice, further reminder of that plural and open vision of the criminological field that links it theoretically and methodologically to other disciplines and politically and ethically to the realms of policy and government and which must count as its core strength.

It is confirmation that the house of criminology has many rooms. This volume affords the opportunity for readers to visit a variety of the most interesting of them.

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GLOBALIZATION AND BORDERS: DEATH AT THE GLOBAL FRONTIER. BY LEANNE WEBER AND SHARON PICKERING (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011, 264pp. £55)

Weber and Pickering’s book unravels a striking and largely under-researched facet of immigration as a growing global phenomenon: the death of many of those who

embark on that journey. The analysis is focused on three main sites dividing the 'Global North' from the 'Global South': the United States–Mexico border, Australia and Europe. The central thesis of the book is that these deaths are no accidents, nor are they unforeseeable causalities. Weber and Pickering claim that they should be considered as 'border-related' deaths, as they are the tragic outcomes of increasingly stringent immigration control policies in Western, rich countries. These policies have, in their words, 'played a formative role in creating the conditions leading to the deaths' (p. 161).

They consider 'border-related' deaths broadly, covering not only those who perish during border crossing, but also those who succumb in deportation operations or in custody (mainly immigration detention). This is because borders, as sites of enforcement, are not limited to the geographical border (the national frontier). They also include a range of other locations situated both off-shore and inland. The authors call them 'functional' borders because they serve enforcement purposes and, as opposed to the geographical borders, they are increasingly de-territorialized. Not surprisingly, the exercise of counting—and accounting for—these fatalities is an arduous and, perhaps, impossible task. As Weber and Pickering explain, the wide conceptual scope of border-related deaths requires looking at different databases and archives, from data collected in prisons and detention centres to that gathered by employers, border officers, transportation companies, hospitals, etc. This information is not always compiled and not easily retrieved. When it is, questions of reliability often arise. Yet, the most important challenge researchers face is that these deaths and the circumstances in which 'illegalized travellers' die are likely to remain unknown because of the very nature of illegality. The term 'illegalized travellers' is used throughout the book to designate migrants and asylum seekers. The authors choose it because it 'explicitly recognizes the legal and political power of those who define who is to be included and who excluded at the border' and reflects 'a more fluid conception of contemporary migration and mobility patterns' (p. 4).

Making people illegal puts them outside the protection of the law and pushes them to a life of clandestinity to evade state controls. Indeed, according to expert estimates, 'For every dead body washed up on the shores of the developed world, ... there are at least two others that are never recovered' (p. 1). As such, the quantification of this phenomenon can only be sketchy and fraught with inaccuracies. These are thus 'ignored massacres' and remain largely invisible to the population of the countries in the Global North. Although the everyday tragedies of irregular migrants go largely unreported, the authors show that, occasionally, certain emblematic catastrophes—such as the shipwreck near Christmas Island in December 2010—capture the attention of the public. However, in these instances, the 'chain of responsibilities' and in particular the policies which contributed to them are hardly questioned. In fact, as the authors show, border-related fatalities are often considered by the media and official discourse in isolation, leaving unquestioned the role of state policies in creating the conditions for their occurrence. As such, the role of the state in creating harm by pushing people to undertake riskier journeys remains largely unexamined (also Anderson 2011; Weber and Grewcock 2011).

Methodologically, the authors rely on 'core sampling', which consists of the identification of a particular example (core sample) that exposes key features about the whole—in this case, the phenomenon of border-related deaths. The book draws from

a comprehensive range of data—including official records, media reports, information collected by non-governmental organizations and other secondary sources. It relies heavily on reports and documents produced by practitioners and advocates who are critical of border control policies. Probably, this study would have benefited from a first-hand account from policy makers and border-enforcement officers. The book is divided into three parts: *border autopsy*, *border inquest* and *from finding truth to preventing harm*. The first part is formed by three chapters. The first chapter examines contemporary border control policies and their role in creating conditions of extreme vulnerability leading to death. In the second chapter, the book turns to explaining the process of counting (and discounting) deaths. The authors describe this counting exercise as highly political because it is embedded in the programme and goals of those who do the counting, particularly the governments. The official counting—it is argued—is often used to legitimize border policies and as a deterrent to would-be migrants. The third chapter analyses counter-narratives for accounting for people's deaths—such as memorials and other commemorative practices—which seek to challenge managerial methods of counting by rendering these bodies knowable, recognizable and human.

In the second part of the book, Weber and Pickering engage in an extensive and detailed examination of the causes of border-related deaths. They explore the different ways in which state policies are implicated in these fatal outcomes. First, they assert, certain facets of contemporary border controls produce violence which is largely unintended, even though some measure of pain is foreseeable. Deterrence-based policies—such as visa requirements, offshore interdictions and policies of immiseration—are examples of these 'structural forms of violence' because they force people to embark in ever more hazardous ways of travelling or push them into destitution, thus exposing them to death. In this regard, they point to the influence of these policies on the magnitude of the death toll and on the demographics of border fatalities. They find, for instance, that an increasing number of victims of border crossing are children and women. The second cause of death is more deliberate and may involve both government officials and private individuals. So, for instance, deaths may occur during 'forced' deportation operations, or when people are killed by criminal gangs who exploit migrants' vulnerability or by 'border vigilantes' who assume border patrol positions. Third, people die because of self-inflicted harm, namely suicide. Instances of self-harm are fairly common in detention centres and among those who receive deportation notices and are therefore due to be removed from the country. While individual responsibility by state officials, private individuals or the immigrant herself is involved in the last two groups of causes of death, the authors make the point that these deaths also manifest 'government culpability', as 'they are indicative of the punitiveness of migration systems and the helplessness and hopelessness' of unwelcome migrants (p. 145).

The final part of the book addresses the internal contradictions of immigration controls. Governments often justify stricter border controls, arguing that they will deter smugglers and as a consequence will protect migrants from exploitation and risk. The authors rebuff this justification head on and argue that making these controls more stringent cannot enhance safety for illegalized travellers, but quite the contrary. The goal of protecting the borders and repelling migrants is in stark contradiction with reducing the risk of harm to them. To the question of whether immigration surveillance can 'perform the dual function of pre-emption and protection', they respond in

the negative (p. 175). Even though humanitarian impulses to rescue do happen, they are often subordinated to the enforcement of immigration controls.

The book concludes by exploring normative solutions to prevent death and harm. The authors astutely pull together the literature on ‘state crime’ and ‘policy iatrogenesis’ as a theoretical framework to critically analyse immigration control strategies and discern the liability of the state over their dreadful effects. Yet, they fall short in developing a legal account of state responsibility for border-related deaths. This is arguably beyond the remit and scope of the book, but a necessary piece to develop legal avenues for state accountability and individual redress. As a more ambitious project, the authors advocate for the creation of a fairer and more human world order. In such world order, the mobility of people would be conceived as unavoidable and inherent under conditions of globalization and would be framed by an expansion of the scope of human rights beyond the dimensions of citizenship, and thereby less state-centric, more human-centric and truly universal. The authors claim that the recognition of the right to seek improvements to one’s life, through migration, will help to prevent an escalating death toll of illegalized migrants.

By building on the extensive work of the authors in the field, this book contributes to the growing scholarship on the criminalization of immigration. It is a well-documented research about the most pernicious consequences of border controls. By meticulously linking these tragedies to border measures, Pickering and Weber have presented a powerful insight that runs contrary to the dominant public discourse on ‘border protection’ in Western countries. It is a necessary read for both academics and policy makers.

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#### POLICING THE MARKETS: INSIDE THE BLACK BOX OF SECURITIES ENFORCEMENT.

By JAMES WILLIAMS (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012, 244pp. £75.00 hb)

James Williams’s book on *Policing the Markets* seeks to understand regulatory enforcement—and its limitations—in the field of financial services in Canada. The book is positioned so as to attract people working in the markets, especially those with compliance roles, as well as lawyers, regulators and social scientists.

The analysis is based on interviews with police, regulatory staff, Crown Counsel, market participants, service providers such as legal firms and accountants, journalists and