

## Australia's irregular migration information campaigns: border externalization, spatial imaginaries, and extraterritorial subjugation

Josh Watkins

To cite this article: Josh Watkins (2017) Australia's irregular migration information campaigns: border externalization, spatial imaginaries, and extraterritorial subjugation, *Territory, Politics, Governance*, 5:3, 282-303, DOI: [10.1080/21622671.2017.1284692](https://doi.org/10.1080/21622671.2017.1284692)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/21622671.2017.1284692>



Published online: 14 Feb 2017.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



Article views: 400



View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)



Citing articles: 3 View citing articles [↗](#)



# Australia's irregular migration information campaigns: border externalization, spatial imaginaries, and extraterritorial subjugation

Josh Watkins

## ABSTRACT

Australia's irregular migration information campaigns: border externalization, spatial imaginaries, and extraterritorial subjugation. *Territory, Politics, Governance*. This article analyses the Australian Government's 'Overseas Public Information Campaigns' (OPICs). OPICs are transnational marketing campaigns disseminating advertisements in asylum seeker source and transit countries to 'educate' people about the risks of irregular migration. The article argues that these campaigns are a practice of externalized border security extraterritorially acting on people's perceptions of migration in ways intended to discourage it. Specifically, the article demonstrates how campaigns are designed to reshape the symbolic and imaginative dimensions of the transnational space of irregular migration to Australia among ethnic groups the Australian Government deems at risk of asylum seeking. Campaigns do this by disseminating narratives about the spaces and places of clandestine boat travel to Australia. These narratives are designed to normalize a spatial imaginary deterring irregular migrants through portraying 'home' as safe and financially stable while irregular migration to Australia as dangerous and destined to fail, a financially irresponsible waste of time hurting families and leading to island detention. The article analyses the campaigns themselves and 103 Australian Government documents related to their use, shedding light on how campaigns are used to preemptively exclude undesired refugees paradoxically through including them as specific kinds of extraterritorial subjects.

## KEYWORDS

borders; border security; irregular migration; asylum seeking; refugee; transnational space; spatial imaginaries

## 摘要

澳大利亚非正规移民的信息倡议：边界外部化，空间想像与外部制伏。 *Territory, Politics, Governance*。本文分析澳大利亚政府的‘海外公共信息倡议’。此般倡议，是在寻求庇护者的来源国与中转国中散发广告的跨国宣传倡议，用以‘教育’人们有关非正规移民的风险。本文主张，这些倡议是外部化边界安全的实践，以企图阻挠移民的方式，在领土外影响人们对于移民的认知。本文特别证实，这些倡议如何设计来重构澳大利亚政府视为面临寻求庇护危机的族裔团体以非正规方式进入澳大利亚的跨国空间之象征性与想像面向。这些倡议，透过散佈有关案中偷渡进入澳大利亚的船隻的空间与地点的叙事进行之。这些叙事，透过描绘‘家庭’作为安全与财务上稳定的，而非正规移民进入澳大利亚是危险且注定失败的——并且不负责任的浪费时间与金钱，终将伤害家庭与导致在岛上的拘留，以此设计来常态化阻挠非正规移民的空间想像。本文分析这些倡议本身，以及澳大利亚政府使用该倡议的一百零三个相关文件，揭示这些倡议如何用来作为矛盾性地将不受欢迎的难民纳入作为特殊的领土外主体之类型，藉此先排除这些难民的方式。

## CONTACT

 [jrwatkins@ucdavis.edu](mailto:jrwatkins@ucdavis.edu)

Geography Graduate Group, University of California, Davis, CA, USA

**关键词**

边界; 边界安全; 非正规移民; 寻求庇护; 难民; 跨国空间; 空间想像

**RÉSUMÉ**

Campagnes d'information sur les migrations irrégulières en Australie: externalisation des frontières, fiction spatiale et subjugation extraterritoriale. *Territory, Politics, Governance*. Cet article analyse les «Campagnes d'information publique à l'étranger» du gouvernement australien. Ces campagnes sont des campagnes de marketing transnationales disséminant des annonces dans des pays d'origine et de transit des demandeurs d'asile, dans le but d'«instruire» les gens sur les risques que comporte l'immigration irrégulière. L'article soutient que ces campagnes sont une pratique de sécurité externalisée des frontières agissant sur la perception des gens concernant la migration, d'une façon conçue pour décourager les gens. Plus spécifiquement, il démontre la façon dont les campagnes sont conçues pour remodeler les dimensions symboliques et imaginatives de l'espace transnational de la migration irrégulière en Australie parmi les groupes ethniques considérés, par le gouvernement australien, comme étant susceptibles de demander asile. Ces campagnes le font par la dissémination de récits sur les espaces et les lieux de traversées clandestines en bateau à destination de l'Australie. Ces récits sont conçus pour normaliser une fiction spatiale dissuadant les migrants en situation irrégulière en décrivant leur propre pays comme étant sûr et financièrement stable, contrairement à la situation des migrants en situation irrégulière en Australie, qui, elle, est dangereuse et vouée à l'échec, une perte de temps financièrement irresponsable nuisant à leur propre famille et portant à la détention sur une île. L'article analyse les campagnes ainsi que 103 documents du gouvernement australien concernant leur utilisation, en mettant en lumière la façon dont les campagnes sont utilisées à titre préventif afin d'exclure les réfugiés par leur inclusion, de façon paradoxale, comme des types spécifiques de sujets extraterritoriaux.

**MOTS-CLÉS**

frontières; sécurité des frontières; migration irrégulière; demande d'asile; réfugié; espace transnational; fiction spatiale

**RESUMEN**

Campañas informativas sobre la migración irregular en Australia: externalización fronteriza, imaginarios espaciales y subyugación extraterritorial. *Territory, Politics, Governance*. En este artículo se analizan las 'campañas de información pública en el extranjero' del Gobierno australiano. Estas iniciativas son campañas de mercadeo transnacionales en forma de anuncios publicitarios en países de origen y de tránsito de solicitantes de asilo para 'educar' a las personas sobre los riesgos de la migración irregular. En el artículo se argumenta que estas campañas constituyen una práctica de seguridad fronteriza externalizada que actúa extraterritorialmente en las percepciones de las personas sobre la migración con el objetivo de disuadir estas prácticas. En concreto, se demuestra que las campañas se han creado para dar una nueva forma a las dimensiones simbólicas e imaginarias del espacio transnacional de la migración irregular a Australia para los grupos étnicos que el Gobierno australiano considera con riesgo de buscar asilo. En las campañas se divulgan historias sobre los espacios y lugares de los viajes en barco clandestinos a Australia. El objetivo de estos relatos es normalizar un imaginario espacial para disuadir a los emigrantes irregulares al retratar el 'hogar' como un lugar seguro y económicamente estable, mientras que la migración irregular a Australia es peligrosa y abocada al fracaso, una pérdida de tiempo financieramente irresponsable que hace sufrir a las familias y conduce a la detención en una isla. En el artículo se analizan las campañas y 103 documentos del Gobierno australiano que tratan sobre el uso de estas campañas y que arrojan luz sobre cómo se utilizan de modo preventivo para excluir a refugiados no deseados al incluirlos paradójicamente como clases específicas de sujetos extraterritoriales.

**PALABRAS CLAVES**

fronteras; seguridad fronteriza; migración irregular; solicitar asilo; refugiado; espacio transnacional; imaginarios espaciales

**HISTORY** Received 4 May 2016; in revised form 26 December 2016

## INTRODUCTION

This article examines the Australian Government's 'Overseas Public Information Campaigns' (OPICs). OPICs are marketing campaigns disseminating advertisements in migrant source and transit countries to preemptively deter irregular migrants. Australia's OPICs engender border externalizations through extraterritorially acting upon people's perceptions of migration, depicting irregular migration in a negative light. Put differently, Australia's OPICs attempt the ideational remote control of irregular migrants by disseminating narratives to reshape the symbolic and imaginative dimensions of the transnational space of clandestine boat travel to Australia. These narratives are designed to normalize a spatial imaginary deterring irregular migrants through portraying 'home' as safe and financially stable while clandestine boat travel to Australia as dangerous and destined to fail, a financially irresponsible waste of time inevitably leading to island detention. Australia's use of OPICs has corresponded to increases in asylum seekers arriving to Australia by boat since the late 1990s, from a few hundred in 1998 to over 20,000 people in 2013. Most asylum seekers are from Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. The Australian Government has responded through a number of border externalizations (Dickson, 2015), including OPICs, reducing irregular maritime arrivals to 157 people in 2014 and none since. This article analyses Australia's OPICs through 2014, the campaigns themselves and 103 primary data sources related to their use mostly from the Australian Customs and Border Protection Service and the Department of Immigration and Border Protection, the departments responsible for campaigns.

Dean (2010) sees power, truth, and identity as the axes of government, arguing that to analyse governance is to consider practices trying to shape the choices, desires, needs, and wants of people (pp. 20–27). Using this schema, OPICs should be understood as extending the subject-making power of the Australian state beyond its sovereign borders to redefine the 'truth' of irregular migration. This redefinition aims to modify the 'choices, desires, needs, and wants' of potential irregular migrants in ways discouraging them from migrating. However, as the editors in the Introduction of this Special Issue caution, scholars should not assume migrants holistically internalize efforts to govern them. Rather, subjects are overdetermined and this article does not assert direct causation between OPICs and how their audiences think or behave. Rather, the article's goal is to examine the symbolic associations OPICs attempt to establish about the spaces and places of irregular boat migration to Australia, the use of a 'positive power' by the Australian Government to normalize human behaviour (Foucault, 1990, pp. 92–95). The article proceeds by first contextualizing OPICs within the border externalization literature, followed by an examination of Australia's OPICs. This section documents how OPICs disseminate narratives designed to convince viewers irregular migration is undesirable. The concluding discussion contrasts OPICs' targeting of specific groups with notions of 'borders as everywhere'.

## BORDER EXTERNALIZATION

As this Special Issue's Introduction details, there is now a rich literature examining border externalizations. Scholars (Coleman & Stuesse, 2014; Hyndman, 2012) have usefully characterized this literature as broadly emphasizing two different aspects of extraterritorial bordering: the securitization of territory adjacent to physical borders and the topologies of biopolitics governing 'othered' bodies. Works have documented the extraterritorial 'stretching of borderwork' (Casas, Cobarrubias, & Pickles, 2010) through transnational statecraft manifesting securitized territories as 'buffer zones', alternatively termed frontiers (Bigo, 1998), archipelagos (Bialasiewicz, 2012; Mountz,

2011), limboscaples (Ferrer-Gallardo & Albet-Mas, 2013), or borderscapes (Neilson, 2010), among others. Meanwhile the biopolitics literature has emphasized the disciplining of undesired migrants through deportation and detention (Collyer, 2012), biometrics and data-based profiling (Amoore, 2013; Sparke, 2006), preemptive policing (Dickson, 2015) and surveillance (Bigo, 2002). Studies focusing on the respatialization of territory often demonstrate the assemblages of actors, policies, agreements, and practices necessary to engender extraterritorial border management. On the other hand, research documenting the biopolitics of bordering tends to emphasize corporeality and the toll deflection, detention, and deportation takes on migrant bodies.

What requires greater attention is how states attempt the ideational control of undesired migrants, the use of extraterritorial subjugation as a practice of preemptive border security. In their exceptional review, Collyer and King (2015) connect the production of transnational spaces of international migration to states' externalized policing of migration. These transnational spaces are argued to be socially produced through the interconnected material, symbolic, and imaginative practices of international migrants and states (Collyer & King, 2015, p. 190). Beyond physical territoriality, the authors (Collyer & King, 2015) argue states extraterritorially disseminate spatial imaginaries to symbolically normalize certain territorial relationships (pp. 192–196). For example, Collyer and King (2015) emphasize studies documenting states' role in controlling symbolic connections between national imaginaries and 'home' amongst transnational communities (pp. 194–195). Collyer and King (2015) also point to states' efforts to normalize certain transnational imaginaries, mostly through cyberspace, shaping how groups think about distant places (pp. 195–196). What is clear from Collyer and King's (2015) review is that compared to studies documenting material borderings the research analysing the symbolic and imaginary dimensions of border externalization is underdeveloped. Correspondingly, OPICs are efforts by states to govern international migration through spreading imaginaries to symbolically reshape certain spatial associations, yet OPICs have received little scholarly consideration. A few notable exceptions, however, have identified OPICs as border externalizations and to a lesser extent examined their messaging (Carling & Hernández-Carretero, 2011; Hightower, 2013; Nieuwenhuys & Pécoud, 2007; Pécoud, 2010). Analysis of messaging has focused on the representation of the legal right to asylum (Hightower, 2013; Nieuwenhuys & Pécoud, 2007; Pécoud, 2010; Schloenhardt & Philipson, 2013) or in Andrijasevic's (2004) case an anti-trafficking campaign. Detailed analysis of anti-irregular migration OPIC messaging is lacking. To address this gap, the sections below focus directly on Australia's OPIC messaging to shed light on the symbolic territorial associations articulated and resulting spatial imaginary disseminated.

## OVERSEAS PUBLIC INFORMATION CAMPAIGNS

Nation-states have used OPICs since the early 1990s (Pécoud, 2010, p. 188). Australia's OPICs began in 1994 with a TV and radio campaign in Beihai, China to discourage asylum seeker boat arrivals (ANAO, 1998, p. 60). Beyond reference to the campaign no public records of its duration or messaging are publicly available. Australia's next known OPIC is the 1999–2001 *Pay a people smuggler, you'll pay the price* campaign, corresponding to an increase in South Asian and Middle Eastern asylum seekers arriving by boat. The campaign was implemented to 'warn people of the risks associated with trying to enter Australia illegally' through 'videos, radio news clips, posters and special information kits' (Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs [DIMA], 1999b, p. 17). In late 2001, Prime Minister John Howard (1996–2007) implemented a number of anti-asylum seeker policies entitled the 'Pacific Solution' and in 2002 when no boats arrived OPICs ceased. The Pacific Solution was dismantled under Prime Minister Kevin Rudd (2007–2010; 2013) and in 2009 asylum seeker boats again resumed. In 2009, OPICs also resumed. Through 2014, there have been at least 15 campaigns in 19 countries corresponding to the origins and routes of irregular migrants (Table 1).

**Table 1.** Chronology and countries of Australia's OPICs.

Years	Campaigns	Countries
1994	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Unnamed Beihai, China campaign</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Afghanistan</li> <li>• Albania</li> <li>• Bangladesh</li> </ul>
1999–2002	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Pay a people smuggler, you'll pay the price</i></li> <li>• <i>Illegal travel: It's not worth the risk</i></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• China</li> <li>• India</li> <li>• Indonesia</li> <li>• Iran</li> </ul>
2009–2011	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Unnamed Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Indonesia, and Afghanistan campaigns</li> <li>• <i>No to people smuggling</i></li> <li>• <i>Don't be fooled</i></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Iraq</li> <li>• Jordan</li> <li>• Malaysia</li> <li>• Myanmar</li> <li>• Pakistan</li> </ul>
2012	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>No advantage</i></li> <li>• <i>Say no</i></li> <li>• <i>Don't be deceived by the lies of people smugglers</i></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Papua New Guinea</li> <li>• Somalia</li> <li>• Sri Lanka</li> <li>• Sudan</li> </ul>
2013	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>You won't be settled</i></li> <li>• <i>Don't be sorry</i></li> <li>• <i>By boat, no visa</i></li> <li>• <i>New rules</i></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Thailand</li> <li>• Turkey</li> <li>• Vietnam</li> </ul>
2014	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>No way</i></li> <li>• <i>Don't throw your money in the water</i></li> </ul>	

Since their resumption, Customs has generally been responsible for international OPICs and Immigration domestic campaigns. According to the Australian Customs and Border Protection Service (2012), the rationale for resuming OPICs in 2009 was to induce 'behavioural change' amongst potential migrants through modifying their opinions about irregular migration, thereby 'dissuading' them from boat journeys. OPICs have included a variety of formats: radio; TV; newspaper; internet ads; street performances; community workshops; billboards; posters; leaflets; comic books; branded merchandise; and, YouTube videos. Campaigns are administered domestically, internationally, and online. OPICs have been administered under both of Australia's major political parties. During the 2009–2010 fiscal year, A\$7.8 million was budgeted for OPICs through 2014 (Australian Customs and Border Protection Service [ACBPS], 2011, p. 4). Yet in 2013 OPIC budgeting was increased by A\$30 million, presumably in response to increased boat arrivals that year, while in 2015 another A\$39.9 million was allocated through 2019 (Whyte, 2015).

## AUSTRALIA'S OPIC MESSAGING

Collyer and King (2015) point out that spatial imaginaries, or imaginary geographies, work to normalize symbolic associations between people, spaces, and places, arguing states deploy spatial imaginaries to aid the policing of migration. Spatial imaginaries are performative discourses, socially held narratives about spaces and places circulated in language and performed in material practice

(Watkins, 2015, p. 509). Through their normalization, spatial imaginaries (re)shape social perceptions about places even among people who have not visited them (Gregory, 2004, p. 18; Said, 2003). Elsewhere, I (Watkins, 2015) have observed there to be three kinds of spatial imaginaries, those of specific places, generalized kinds of spaces like 'island paradises' or 'developed countries', and spatial transformations like globalization (p. 512). I (Watkins, 2015) argued these three to be relationally interconnected, together working to normalize ideas about the past, present, and future characteristics of places (pp. 512–514). In the sections below, I analyse the narratives disseminated by Australia's OPICs, arguing these are being deployed to normalize a spatial imaginary of irregular migration to Australia and the places comprising it, particularly this space's transformation into a militarized zone of impenetrable securitization.

### Financial Responsibility

Australia's OPICs present a proclaimed 'truth' that irregular migration is a waste of money, symbolically associating irregular migration with financial disaster and 'home' with financial stability. Other factors known to influence asylum seeking irregular migration like violence or persecution are absent from Australia's OPICs. OPICs frame irregular migration as economically motivated, an investment associated with the risk of financial failure. As Figure 1 demonstrates, the circumscription of irregular migration as an economic decision was present in the 1999–2001 *Pay a people smuggler, you'll pay the price* campaign.

The potential irregular migrant in Figure 1 dreams not of safety from persecution but a prosperous cityscape, only to be returned home having lost their money. OPICs consistently present



**Figure 1.** Chinese language *Pay a people smuggler, you'll pay the price* campaign poster. Read from right to left, top to bottom.

Source: DIMA (1999a).

images of irregular migrants gathering vast sums of money, only to be lost in repatriation. Consider Figure 2, images from a 2014 OPIC graphic novel targeting Hazaras from Afghanistan and Pakistan. The OPIC presents a visibly poor family, a son toiling as a mechanic, parents dreaming of a better life for him. The son is given a handful of cash only to lose it later in the story through interception by Australian authorities and island detention.

The story arc is clear: irregular migration is a financial decision bound to backfire. The ‘Don’t throw your money in the water!’ campaign further demonstrates the attempted normalization of irregular migration as financially motivated. The campaign’s signature video, *Boat people campaign TVC (2014)*, opens with a little girl breaking her piggybank and giving the money to her parents, followed by a series of adults gathering money, travelling to the sea only to literally throw money in the ocean (Figure 3). The only words come at the end: ‘Throwing away your hard earned money is a waste. The journey to Australia by boat without a visa is futile’. Most Australian OPICs use a variety of media to disseminate messaging and Figure 3’s bottom image is of campaign stickers translating to ‘Don’t throw your money in the water!’

The Department of Immigration’s *No to people smuggling (2010a)* YouTube channel has many similar videos, translated into the languages of ethnic groups associated with irregular migration. Financial risk is a prominent narrative. Nearly all the videos speak in an active voice directly to potential irregular migrants, the message being: if *you* are thinking about irregular migration *you* will lose *your* money. *Homeward bound (2010b)*, a fictional testimonial, is a good example. The protagonist Ramasami, a Sri Lankan IT engineer, goes into debt being smuggled to Australia, is intercepted at sea by Australian authorities, detained and ultimately repatriated. Ramasami’s



**Figure 2.** Excerpts from a 2014 OPIC targeting Hazaras.  
Source: Australian Customs and Border Protection Service (2015).





**Figure 3.** Stills from the Boat People Campaign TVC YouTube video (top) and stickers from the *Don't throw your money in the water!* campaign (bottom).

Source: ACBPS (2014) and Dissanayake (2015).

first line in the video is that he wanted 'to go to a better place' indicating he was an economic migrant not an asylum seeker. After his asylum claim is denied he cries because he 'paid so much money', exclaiming 'the people smugglers just want the money'. Upon learning he will be charged A\$18,500 for his detention and repatriation Ramasami responds, 'I must work really hard, try to do something in Sri Lanka first, save the money, and then come the right way'.

### Family Responsibility

OPICs also frame irregular migration as mismanaging family finances and risking familial well-being. Messaging targets both potential migrants abroad and Australian residents for funding family members (Department of Immigration and Border Protection [DIBP], 2010c, 2012a; Mcnair Ingenuity Research [MIR], 2013). Familial themes are also present in Figure 1. In the bottom left frame of Figure 1, the 'snakehead' counts the lost money while the wife and child cry, implying the father's poor financial decisions negatively impacted them. Figures 2 and 3 also present narratives of how parents' irregular migration decisions negatively affected their child's welfare. The 2010–2011 *Don't be fooled* OPIC incorporated strong depictions of irregular migration hurting families (Figure 4).



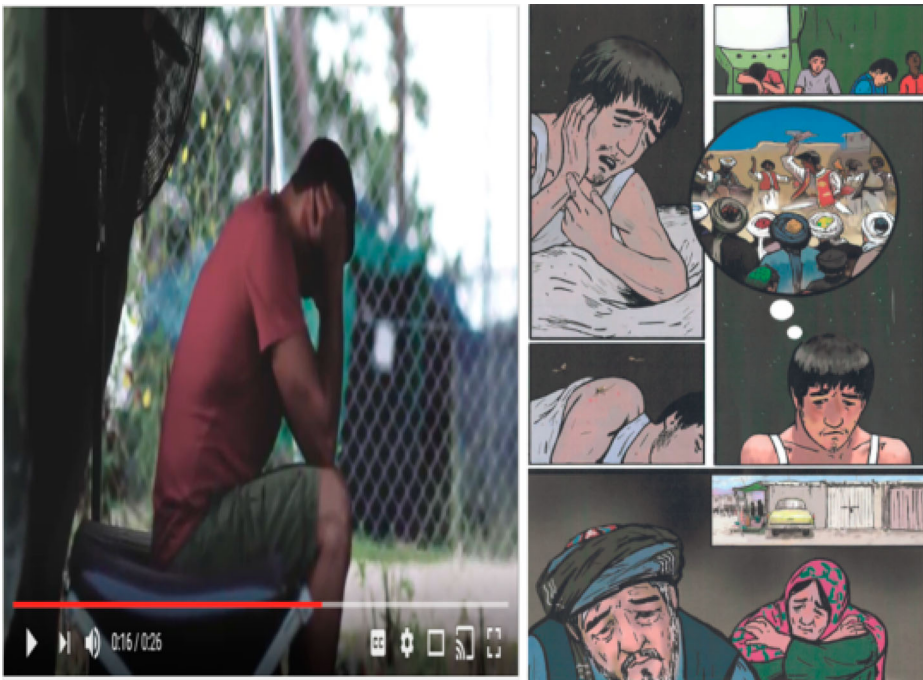
**Figure 4.** Posters from 2010 *Don't be fooled* campaign.

Source: Australian Customs and Border Protection Service, available in Porter Novelli (2011).

Similar to Figure 2, these advertisements inform parents about the dangers they impose on their children when forcing them into irregular migration. As these examples demonstrate, OPICs use shock and sorrow to symbolically connect irregular migration to financial and familial ruin, places of Australian territoriality to risk and death, not hope. Financial and familial ruin is associated not only with the ocean voyage but the time and money wasted through detention, debt, and repatriation. Consider Figure 5.

The image on the left of Figure 5 is from the *Transfers to PNG begin* (DIBP, 2013b) YouTube series. The video states that irregular migration to Australia by boat is 'buying a ticket to another country' since migrants will be intercepted at sea and detained in Papua New Guinea. The image on the right side of Figure 5 is another image from the previously mentioned graphic novel OPIC targeting Hazaras. Note the detainee dreaming of home while the parents visibly mourn their son's absence. The repair shop, previously open for business in Figure 2, is now closed as their son unproductively sits in detention. In both ads offshore detention is associated with unproductive waiting, regret, despair, longing for home and family.

Whereas some ads target potential irregular migrants abroad, others target what Immigration calls 'domestic diaspora communities'. Domestic minority communities are targeted for advertising under the assumption they will serve as conduits, circulating campaign messaging to family and friends abroad (the 'diaspora'). The *Pay a people smuggler, you'll pay the price* campaign first incorporated this strategy, encouraging ethnic minorities in Australia to 'spread the message in their country of origin' (DIMA, 1999b, pp. 17–18). As Figure 6 shows, the image on the right from the 2013 *Don't be sorry* campaign and image on the left from the 2014 *No way* campaign (both also used abroad) incorporated similar messaging.



**Figure 5.** Campaign images of irregular migrants in detention.  
Source: DIBP (2013b) and Australian Customs and Border Protection Service (2015).

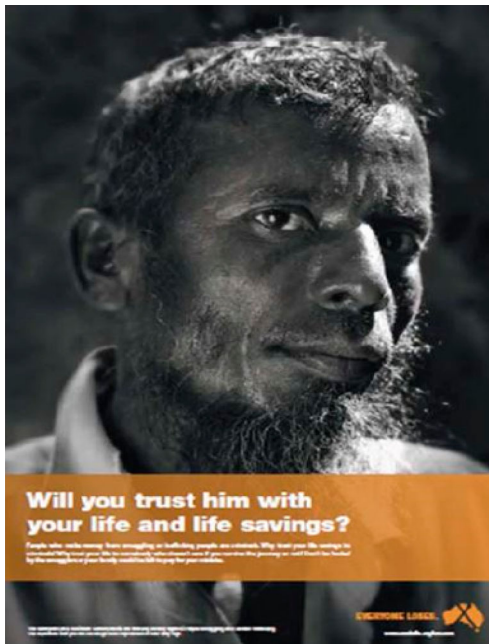
Ads targeting a domestic audience have also specifically disseminated narratives of the financial and familial risks of irregular migration. Take the 2012 *Family deception* (DIBP, 2012a) YouTube ad. This ad suggests the naiveté of a man in Australia who paid for his brother's family to travel to Australia clandestinely by boat, dramatizing the supposed misalignment between the man's expectations of the sea voyage and its 'truth'. The ad ends with the text, 'The risk of drowning, losing family, or losing your money and being cheated by people smugglers, is real'. Alternatively, OPICs present immobility and, as *Homeward bound* and the *Don't be sorry* poster in Figure 6 depict, legally sanctioned migration as the only physically and financially safe decisions. In domestically targeting certain ethnic groups the internal minority 'other' becomes a bordering technology to exclude external undesired 'others'. The 'domestic diaspora community's' transnational communication practices are harnessed as border externalizations circulating a spatial imaginary of the transnational space of irregular migration to Australia in a negative light, symbolically associating its places with unproductive waiting, regret, and longing for home.

OPICs also present a 'truth' that people smugglers are thieves. In Figure 7, viewers are given a supposedly frightening face to 'the people smuggler'. OPICs frame people smugglers as the 'bad guys' almost to a cartoonish extent. In fact, a series of OPIC billboards in Sri Lanka literally depict people smugglers as grinning, clearly untrustworthy cartoons offering unsuspecting potential irregular migrants only exploitation (Ellis & Bronstein, n.d.). The YouTube video *Safety gear* (2012b), in another example, depicts two people smugglers systematically taking all safety equipment out of boats despite an incoming storm.

Such examples, and indeed nearly all Australian OPICs, construct people smugglers as shrewd thieves, who carelessly or ineffectually allow boats to sink or be intercepted. Interestingly, this narrative neglects the dramatic increase in successful asylum seeker boat arrivals. During the 2007–2008 fiscal year, 25 asylum seekers arrived on three boats (Phillips & Spinks, 2013, p. 23). Yet during the 2012–2013 fiscal year, 18,119 asylum seekers arrived on over 200 boats (DIBP,



**Figure 6.** Posters encouraging minorities in Australia to advise family and co-ethnics abroad not to attempt irregular migration to Australia.  
 Source: Australian Customs and Border Protection Service (2013) and DIBP (2016a).



**Figure 7.** Poster from 2010 *Don't be fooled* campaign.  
 Source: Australian Customs and Border Protection Service, available in Porter Novelli (2011).

2013a, p. 24; Phillips & Spinks, 2013, p. 23). Despite OPICs' representation of people smugglers as ineffectual and exploitative, one can argue that during certain time periods they have been quite successful in gaining asylum seekers access to Australia's refugee regime. This is not to valorize people smugglers, nor make light of tragic conditions, events, or the estimated 1,000 drownings (Border Crossing Observatory [BCO], 2015). Rather, it points to OPICs' representation of people smugglers as ineffectual thieves despite significant numbers of successful boat arrivals. Regardless of people smugglers' success rates or morality, OPICs present them as unnecessarily risky, poor investments endangering yourself and family.

### Danger, Death, Militarized Surveillance, and Detention

Equally prevalent in Australia's OPICs are narratives of the physical danger of clandestine boat travel to Australia. The Department of Immigration argues ominous ads emphasizing the risk of drowning, along with scary ocean and dangerous boat visuals, beneficially generate emotions of 'fear, sadness, hopelessness, panic and tragedy' among potential irregular migrants (DIBP, 2013a, p. 10). Thus, from the *Pay a people smuggler, you'll pay the price* campaign forward OPICs have disseminated narratives symbolically linking the ocean and even Australia with danger and death. In 2000, Immigration disseminated videos entitled *Illegal travel: It's not worth the risk* which included images of the ocean surrounding Australia as filled with sharks and the remote northern territories where irregular migrants often land as covered with deadly snakes and crocodiles. OPICs from 2009 forward have extensively associated the ocean voyage with danger and drowning. As Figures 6 and 8 show, the boats are depicted as old and rickety, the waters violent and storming. Across campaigns, there are constant references to boats sinking and people drowning. The left side of Figure 8 provides images from the *Left behind* (DIBP, 2010d) YouTube video.

The ad is a first person simulation of drowning complete with gasps and gulping sounds and a view of bobbing above and below water. It is true that since the late 1990s, while there have been



**Figure 8.** Campaign images depicting scary ocean waters and drowning.  
Source: DIBP (2010d, 2016b).

over 40,000 arrivals, due to boats sinking, tragically, there have been an estimated 1,000 drownings of irregular migrants en route to Australia (BCO, 2015). Further, all evidence points to the boats used as being fairly similar to those shown in Australia's OPICs. Yet what Australia's OPICs fail to depict are the situations asylum seekers from war-torn South Asian and the Middle Eastern countries are fleeing, or alternatives for these people beyond irregular migration. As referenced above, the goal of Australia's OPICs is merely deterrence, to symbolically link the transnational

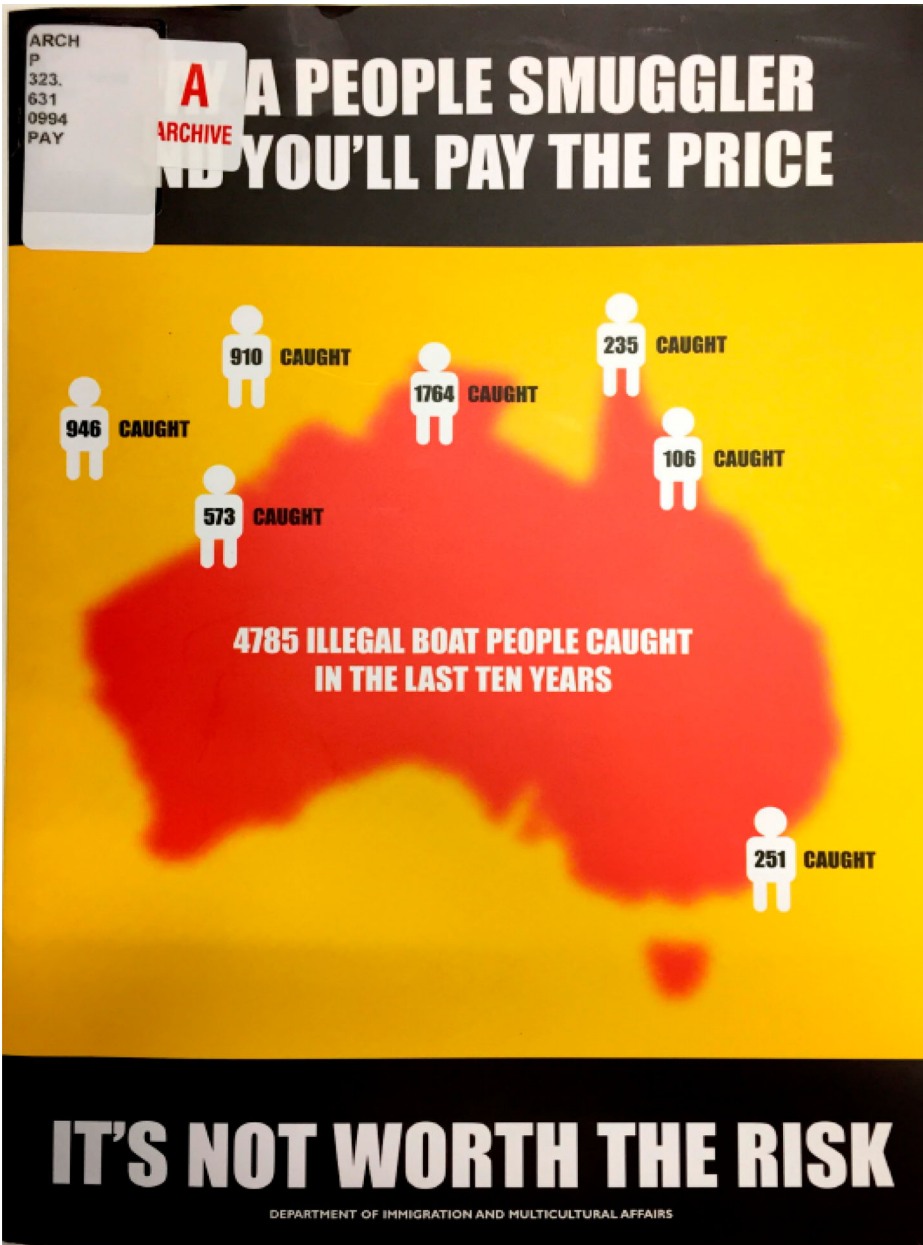


Figure 9. *Pay a people smuggler, you'll pay the price* campaign poster. Source: DIMA (1999a).

Downloaded by [Texas A&M University Libraries] at 11:04 19 November 2017

spaces and places of irregular migration to Australia to emotions of fear, sadness, hopelessness, panic, and tragedy.

Another dimension of this symbolic association is narratives communicating a militarized securitization of this transnational space in an attempt to convince potential irregular migrants that they will be intercepted and incarcerated by Australian authorities. Figure 9 is a poster from the *Pay a people smuggler, you'll pay the price* campaign. The image backgrounds the Australian landmass while foregrounding representations of 'caught' irregular migrants, showing their numbers and relative location of capture. The message being, Australia is out of reach, you will be caught just like these others: 'It's not worth the risk'.

This poster was supplemented with the campaign's 'information kit' providing detailed information on arrivals – their origins, locations of interception or discovery by Australian authorities, and even a crude map of source and transit countries and irregular migration routes for that time period (Figure 10).

The sense conveyed is that Australian authorities are all-seeing, all-knowing. Potential irregular migrants – their spaces of travel, places of origin and intended destination – are under surveillance by Australia: 'It's not worth the risk'. Since the 2013 inception of Operation Sovereign Borders, OPICs have emphasized the spatial transformation of this space into a militarized zone of even more intense securitization. As Figure 11 shows, the military leadership of Operation Sovereign Borders, first led by Lieutenant General Angus Campbell (top left side of Figure 11) then Major General Andrew Bottrell (Figure 11 top right side), has become the face of Australian border security in OPICs.

Further, the technological sophistication and sheer size of Australia's naval vessels (Figure 11 bottom image) is counterposed to the decrepit boats used by people smugglers. This contrast deepens the message that irregular migration to Australia is a hopeless form of transnational migration, and that Australian border security forces are insurmountable. The top left side of



**Figure 10.** *Pay a people smuggler, you'll pay the price* information kit map documenting irregular migrant routes.

Source: DIMA (1999a).



**Figure 11.** Images depicting the militarization of Australian border security. Source: DIBP (2010e, 2016b) and Australia Border Force (2014).

Figure 11 provides further visual and textual evidence of this message. The Australian landmass is crossed out indicating that the viewer cannot reach this place. The text furthers this message: *No way. You will not make Australia home.*

OPICs also communicate a message about what will happen to those attempting to reach Australia by boat – island detention. Since Australia resumed OPICs in 2009, references to island detention, first on the Australian territory of Christmas Island then on Nauru and Papua New Guinea once they were reopened, have increased. Images (Figure 12) showcase island detention centres’ remoteness and, as seen in Figure 5, symbolically associate island detention with longing for ‘home’.

OPICs emphasize the distance necessary to get to the island detention centres. As Figure 13 shows, this is represented through frequent images of detainees being flown to the islands. The image on the far right of Figure 13 depicts how this involuntary transnational mobility is associated with helplessness and humiliation, even confusion in being taken to seemingly unknown islands.

For example, in the *Homeward bound* video discussed above the detainee Ramasami speaks about detention in a hazy way, explaining that he did not know how long he was detained on Christmas Island before the processing of his asylum claim, ‘maybe one month, maybe less, I do not know, at this time you do not know what is happening’, nor did he know how long it took to process, ‘maybe one month, two months ...’. What is made clear is that the centres are not part of Australia, they are different places separated by vast distances. This furthers the point that irregular migration is ‘buying a ticket to another country’, that irregular migration provides ‘no way’ to ‘make Australia home’. Whereas the idealized space of ‘home’ is associated with freedom, family, and control, detention is associated with lack thereof, represented through Australian authorities’ domination of irregular migrants in maritime interception and island detention. As the four images of Figure 14 show, Christmas Island is presented as an ultramodern prison.





**Figure 12.** Imagery depicting the isolation of island detention.  
Source: DIBP (2010b).

However, as the Nauru and Papua New Guinea centres became repopulated in 2013, imagery of high-tech prisons have been replaced with tropical prison-camps. As depicted in Figure 15, camps are presented as primitive, tropical, places where detainees are forced to live and eat mostly outside, sleep in small trailers or tents open to the weather.

Note that in the top right image of Figure 15 the detainees are perspiring while in the bottom image the detainee is having a dental issue, sweating, and being bitten by insects. Island detention is symbolically framed as an unwanted return to nature, a threatening foreign and harsh tropical



**Figure 13.** Images using flight to depict the remoteness of island detention centres.  
Source: DIBP (2013b) and Australian Customs and Border Protection Service (2015).

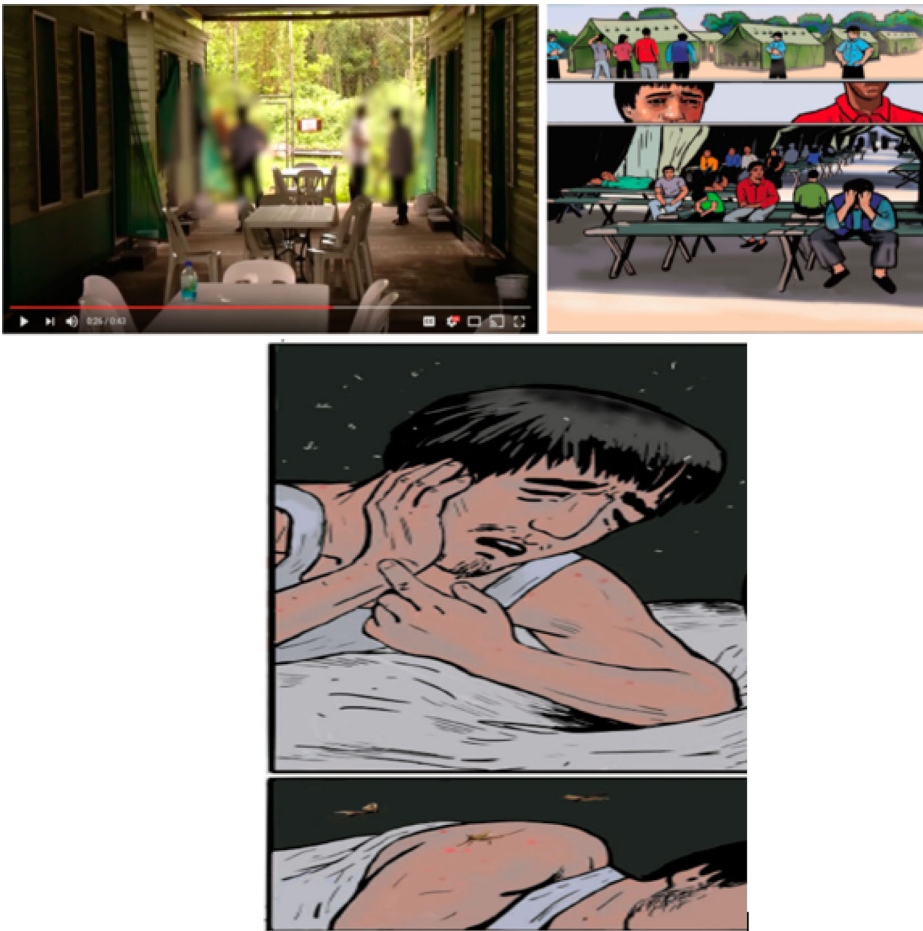


**Figure 14.** Campaign images showcasing island detention as a high-tech prison.  
Source: DIBP (2010e).

environment. OPICs communicate to potential irregular migrants the certainty of imprisonment within this generalized space of tropical hell, stressing detention is ensured through the transformation of the transnational space of irregular migration to Australia by boat into a ubiquitously militarized borderscape of absolute securitization.

## DISCUSSION: CAMPAIGN TARGETING AND IMPACT

Documenting the symbolic associations and resulting transnational imaginary Australia's OPICs circulate is not to claim OPICs ubiquitously manifest the border *everywhere*. As the Introduction to this Special Issue argues, theorizations of borders as everywhere fail to account for the specific assemblages of state power manifesting border externalizations and the resulting uneven



**Figure 15.** Campaign imagery representing island detention as a tropical hell. Source: DIBP (2013c) and Australian Customs and Border Protection Service (2015).

geographies of exclusion. A clearer way to describe the complicated expansion of borderwork is the term bordering, or the targeted application of power upon specific people in particular places to deter, delay, or punish certain forms of migration. Australia's OPICs target specific people in particular places to deter asylum seeking irregular migration. To help achieve this targeting Customs hires multinational and foreign firms, and the International Organization for Migration, to design, administer, and evaluate campaigns abroad. Private firms hired include Porter Novelli, Universal McCann, McNair Ingenuity Research, TBWA/TAL, WISE Strategic Communications, Leo Burnett, STATT Consulting, Manhattan International, and Saatchi & Saatchi, among others. For example, in 2010 Porter Novelli, a multinational communications firm, was hired to design and administer the *Don't be fooled* campaign in Malaysia. Porter Novelli subcontracted advertising to a firm in Kuala Lumpur and campaign evaluation to another Malaysian firm, the Merdeka Center (2011, pp. 4–34). They also consulted the Malaysian Government, local NGOs, community leaders, the UNHCR and International Organization for Migration to better focus the campaign (Porter Novelli, 2011). Customs refers to OPICs intended target audience explicitly as 'potential irregular immigrants' (ACBPS, 2011). Pre-campaign research is used to identify these people, 'potential irregular immigrants', in source and transit countries, informing OPIC design. Post-campaign evaluations are used to develop targeting best-practices for future

campaigns. Surveys, interviews, and focus groups, qualitative and quantitative methods, all have been used in pre-campaign and post-campaign research. An OPIC contractor call by Customs (ACBPS, 2009) characterizes pre-campaign research in the following way:

The Contractor will obtain ... the demographics and psychographics of a select range of target communities/groups ... The research will:

- (1) Determine the size and locations of the target groups;
- (2) Determine motivations of the target groups;
- (3) Determine appropriate communications channels and methods;
- (4) Determine the most effective key messages to be delivered;
- (5) Identify potential methods for campaign effectiveness evaluation.

Thus, research identifies the geographic, sociological, and psychological characteristics of those who might irregularly migrate to focus OPICs on a certain target audience accordingly. Sociologically, pre-campaign research identifies the demographic characteristics and social networks of those most likely to irregularly migrate (Wise Strategic Communication [WSC], 2010). Geographically, sites are selected through surveys and expert consultations identifying the places *containing* people who may desire to migrate (ACBPS, 2011; Porter Novelli, 2011; WSC, 2010). Psychologically, pre-campaign research identifies migration motivations, surveying what people think about Australia, asylum seeking, and people smugglers to inform OPIC messaging (ACBPS, 2011, p. 13; DIBP, 2013a, pp. 2–3; WSC, 2010). Post-campaign evaluations assess campaign efficacy, measuring recognition of slogans, visuals, and whether OPICs influenced behaviour (MIR, 2013; Porter Novelli, 2011). Customs, however, rejects assertions of direct causation between OPICs and reductions in boat arrivals (ACBPS, 2011, p. 2). In 2011, Australian Customs (ACBPS, 2011) claimed OPICs' sole causal ability to deter migration cannot be assessed 'with any certainty' (p. 2).

Relatedly, this article has not attempted to demonstrate OPICs' direct causal ability to deter migration. Rather, OPICs have been analysed as communicative mediums circulating symbolic narratives about, and associations between, places and spaces; bordering technologies used to normalize a transnational imaginary. What is clear from analysis of the narratives circulated by OPICs is that the Australian Government seeks to normalize this transnational imaginary to modify the way potential irregular migrants think about the risk-reward calculus of hiring people smugglers to transport themselves or family members to Australia by boat. Yet spatial imaginaries are only normalized through social acceptance. Despite Australia's circulation of this spatial imaginary it is unclear to what extent viewers accept the symbolic territorial associations, and other narratives, communicated. In fact, increased periods of OPIC use have corresponded with periods of increased boat arrivals, particularly from 2009 to 2013. A 2010 OPIC evaluation even concluded there to be 'indications' that specific OPICs inadvertently advertised Australia as a destination to potential irregular migrants instead of deterring them (ACBPS, 2010, p. 1). In 2011, another post-campaign evaluation concluded effective 'behavioral change' reducing irregular migration required communication through OPICs be supplemented with even more restrictive border security policies (Porter Novelli, 2011, p. 31). Boat arrivals did drop from 2014 onwards, corresponding to OPIC's increased use and their messaging's shift towards greater emphasis on interception, death, and detention. Yet this drop in arrivals was indeed coupled with the implementation of other border securitizations as part of Operation Sovereign Borders, perhaps most significantly offshore detention on Nauru and Papua New Guinea. This article has not presented evidence supporting or rejecting OPIC's ability to influence migration decisions. What has been presented is an analysis of the spatial imaginary circulated through OPICs, the depiction of this transnational space's transformation into a ubiquitously militarized borderscape comprised of places of death and financial loss, interception and detention. Further research is required to

examine if and how Australia's OPICs causally affect behaviour, if the spatial imaginary disseminated by OPICs is manifesting in other discursive mediums and/or being performatively materialized.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the editors of this Special Issue for including my work in this thoughtful and timely collection. I also want to thank them for their encouragement and insightful suggestions over the course of this article's development. I also thank Michael Rios and Robert Saper for their close readings of earlier versions of this manuscript. Finally, I thank the *Territory, Politics, Governance* reviewers for their input and direction in crafting this article.

## DISCLOSURE STATEMENT

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

## REFERENCES

- Amoore, L. (2013). *The politics of possibility: Risk and security beyond probability*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Andrijasevic, R. (2004). *Trafficking in women and the politics of mobility in Europe*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Utrecht, the Netherlands.
- Australia Border Force. (2014). *No way. You will not make Australia home*. Retrieved August 1, 2015, from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rT12WH4a92w>
- Australian Customs and Border Protection Service. (2009). *Malaysian counter-people smuggling communications campaign statement of requirement*. Retrieved July 29, 2015, from [http://www.border.gov.au/AccessandAccountability/Documents/FOI/2012-018673\\_Document15\\_Released.pdf#search=Malaysian%20Counter-People%20Smuggling%20Communications%20Campaign%20Statement%20of%20Requirement](http://www.border.gov.au/AccessandAccountability/Documents/FOI/2012-018673_Document15_Released.pdf#search=Malaysian%20Counter-People%20Smuggling%20Communications%20Campaign%20Statement%20of%20Requirement)
- Australian Customs and Border Protection Service. (2010). *People smuggling – proposed new direction for strategic communications*. Retrieved July 29, 2015, from [https://www.border.gov.au/AccessandAccountability/Documents/FOI/2012-018673\\_Document04\\_Released.pdf](https://www.border.gov.au/AccessandAccountability/Documents/FOI/2012-018673_Document04_Released.pdf)
- Australian Customs and Border Protection Service. (2011). *Strategic assessment of counter people smuggling communications activities*. Retrieved July 29, 2015, from [https://www.border.gov.au/AccessandAccountability/Documents/FOI/2012-018673\\_Document04\\_Released.pdf](https://www.border.gov.au/AccessandAccountability/Documents/FOI/2012-018673_Document04_Released.pdf)
- Australian Customs and Border Protection Service. (2012). *Maritime people smuggling strategic communications strategy 2011/2012 and 2012/2013*. Retrieved November 17, 2016, from [https://www.border.gov.au/AccessandAccountability/Documents/FOI/2012-018673\\_Document03\\_Released.pdf](https://www.border.gov.au/AccessandAccountability/Documents/FOI/2012-018673_Document03_Released.pdf)
- Australian Customs and Border Protection Service. (2013, March 4). *Campaign brief*. The Dept. of immigration and citizenship launches new 'Don't be sorry' anti-people smuggling campaign via Y&R Group Sydney and Diverse. Retrieved September 8, 2016, from <http://www.campaignbrief.com/2013/03/the-dept-of-immigration-and-ci.html>
- Australian Customs and Border Protection Service. (2014). *Boat people campaign TVC*. Retrieved August 1, 2015, from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pYt17LL1LDY&feature=youtu.be>
- Australian Customs and Border Protection Service. (2015). *Storyboard Afghanistan*. Retrieved February 2, 2017, from <https://www.border.gov.au/about/access-accountability/freedom-of-information-foi/log/2015>
- Australian National Audit Office (ANAO). (1998). *The management of boat people: Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, Australian Protective Service – Coastwatch*. Canberra: Australian Government.
- Bialasiewicz, L. (2012). Off-shoring and out-sourcing the borders of Europe: Libya and EU border work in the Mediterranean. *Geopolitics*, 17, 843–866.

- Bigo, D. (1998). Frontiers and security in the European Union: The illusion of migration control. In M. Anderson & E. Bort (Eds.), *The frontiers of Europe* (pp. 148–164). London: Pinter.
- Bigo, D. (2002). Security and immigration: Toward a critique of the governmentality of unease. *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, 27(Special Issue), 63–92.
- Border Crossing Observatory. (2015). *Australian border deaths database*. Retrieved July 31, 2015, from <http://artsonline.monash.edu.au/thebordercrossingobservatory/publications/australian-border-deaths-database/>
- Carling, J., & Hernández-Carretero, M. (2011). Protecting Europe and protecting migrants? Strategies for managing unauthorized migration from Africa. *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 13, 42–58.
- Casas, M., Cobarrubias, S., & Pickles, J. (2010). Stretching borders beyond sovereign territories? Mapping EU and Spain's border externalization policies. *Geopolítica(s)*, 2(1), 71–90.
- Coleman, M., & Stuesse, A. (2014). Policing borders, policing bodies: The territorial and biopolitical roots of US immigration control. In R. Jones & C. Johnson (Eds.), *Placing the border in everyday life* (pp. 33–63). Burlington, VT: Ashgate.
- Collyer, M. (2012). Deportation and the micropolitics of exclusion: The rise of removals from the UK to Sri Lanka. *Geopolitics*, 17, 276–292.
- Collyer, M., & King, R. (2015). Producing transnational space: International migration and the extra-territorial reach of state power. *Progress in Human Geography*, 39(2), 185–204.
- Dean, M. (2010). *Governmentality: Power and rule in modern society* (2nd ed.). Los Angeles, CA: Sage.
- Department of Immigration and Border Protection. (2010a). *No to people smuggling channel*. Retrieved August 1, 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/user/notopeoplesmuggling>
- Department of Immigration and Border Protection. (2010b). *Homeward Bound*. Retrieved August 1, 2015, from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DqrPI6s38Sw>
- Department of Immigration and Border Protection. (2010c). *The smuggler*. Retrieved August 1, 2015, from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=18BbYN0sLn8>
- Department of Immigration and Border Protection. (2010d). *Left behind*. Retrieved August 1, 2015, from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4MP5vsTJvAE>
- Department of Immigration and Border Protection. (2010e). *Strengthened anti-people smuggling measures*. Retrieved September 8, 2016, from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dfITkKo7rI>
- Department of Immigration and Border Protection. (2012a). *Family deception*. Retrieved August 1, 2015, from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oUGfQZmE8u0>
- Department of Immigration and Border Protection. (2012b). *Safety gear*. Retrieved August 1, 2015, from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ja7DOO8YbWM>
- Department of Immigration and Border Protection. (2013a). *Certification statement – by boat, no visa*. Retrieved July 29, 2015, from <https://www.border.gov.au/AccessandAccountability/Documents/certification-by-boat-no-visa.pdf>
- Department of Immigration and Border Protection. (2013b). *Transfers to PNG begin*. Retrieved August 1, 2015, from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=itxJK6MFuS4>
- Department of Immigration and Border Protection. (2013c). *By boat, no visa*. Retrieved September 8, 2016, from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YiGDLkXepe0>
- Department of Immigration and Border Protection. (2016a). *Counter people smuggling communication*. Retrieved September 8, 2016, from <http://www.border.gov.au/about/operation-sovereign-borders/counter-people-smuggling-communication/english/in-australia>
- Department of Immigration and Border Protection. (2016b). *The Australian Government will not soften its tough border protection policy*. Retrieved September 8, 2016, from <https://www.border.gov.au/about/operation-sovereign-borders/counter-people-smuggling-communication/video-transcript>
- Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs. (1999a). *Pay a people smuggler and you'll pay the price* (Information Pack DIAC). Canberra: Australian Government.
- Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs. (1999b). *Protecting the border: Immigration compliance*. Canberra: Australian Government.
- Dickson, A. (2015). Distancing asylum seekers from the state: Australia's evolving political geography of immigration and border control. *Australian Geographer*, 46(4), 437–454.

- Dissanayake, C. (2015, November 8). Smugglers rely on Sri Lankan fishing captains and their boats to move migrants to Australia. *Global Press Journal*. Retrieved September 9, 2016, from [https://globalpressjournal.com/asia/sri\\_lanka/smugglers-rely-on-sri-lankan-fishing-captains-and-their-boats-to-move-migrants-to-australia/](https://globalpressjournal.com/asia/sri_lanka/smugglers-rely-on-sri-lankan-fishing-captains-and-their-boats-to-move-migrants-to-australia/)
- Ellis, E., & Bronstein, P. (n.d.). The smugglers' prey, *The Global Mail*. Retrieved September 8, 2016, from <https://markfinger.github.io/recent-work/sri-lanka/smugglers-prey.html>
- Ferrer-Gallardo, X., & Albet-Mas, A. (2013). EU-limbo-scapes: Ceuta and the proliferation of migrant detention spaces across the European union. *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 20(1), 59–76.
- Foucault, M. (1990). *The history of sexuality volume 1: An introduction*. New York, NY: Random House.
- Gregory, D. (2004). *The colonial present*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Hightower, B. (2013). Australian hospitality: Overseas information campaigns and the 'theatricalised' encounter. *Law Text Culture*, 17, 8–43.
- Hyndman, J. (2012). Introduction: The geopolitics of migration and mobility. *Geopolitics*, 17, 243–255.
- McNair Ingenuity Research. (2013). *Campaign evaluation 'By boat, no visa' – final report of findings*. Retrieved July 29, 2015, from <https://www.border.gov.au/AccessandAccountability/Documents/FOI/FA140100210.pdf>
- Mountz, A. (2011). The enforcement archipelago: Detention, haunting, and asylum on islands. *Political Geography*, 30, 118–128.
- Neilson, B. (2010). Borderscape: Between governance and sovereignty – remaking the borderscape to Australia's North. *Local-Global: Identity, Security, Community*, 8, 124–140.
- Nieuwenhuys, C., & Pécoud, A. (2007). Human trafficking, information campaigns, and strategies of migration control. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 50(12), 1674–1695.
- 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). Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Phillips, J., & Spinks, H. (2013). *Boat arrivals in Australia since 1976*. Parliament of Australia, Department of Parliamentary Services, background note.
- Porter Novelli. (2011). *Malaysian public information campaign: Post-implementation report: May 2011*. Retrieved July 29, 2015, from [https://www.border.gov.au/AccessandAccountability/Documents/FOI/2012-018673\\_Document12\\_Released.pdf](https://www.border.gov.au/AccessandAccountability/Documents/FOI/2012-018673_Document12_Released.pdf)
- Said, E. (2003). *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Classics.
- Schloenhardt, A., & Philipson, E. (2013). 'No to people smuggling': A review of Australia's anti-migrant smuggling awareness campaigns. The University of Queensland Migrant Smuggling Working Group, Research Paper. Retrieved July 25, 2015, from <http://www.law.uq.edu.au/documents/humantraffic/migrant-smuggling/som-awareness/Schloenhardt-Philipson-SoM-Awareness-Campaigns-2013.pdf>
- Sparke, M. (2006). A neoliberal nexus: Economy, security and the biopolitics of citizenship on the border. *Political Geography*, 25, 151–180.
- Watkins, J. (2015). Spatial imaginaries research in geography: Synergies, tensions, new directions. *Geography Compass*, 9(9), 508–522.
- Whyte, S. (2015, May 26). Immigration spends \$70 million on campaigns to deter boat journeys. *Sydney Morning Herald*. Retrieved July 25, 2015, from <http://www.smh.com.au/federal-politics/political-news/immigration-spends-70-million-on-campaigns-to-deter-boat-journeys-20150526-gha1ac.html>
- Wise Strategic Communication. (2010). *Afghanistan counter people smuggling scoping study*. Retrieved July 29, 2015, from <https://www.border.gov.au/AccessandAccountability/Documents/finalreport-wisestrategiccommunication.pdf>