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Border Games: Policing the U.S.-Mexico Divide

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### Authors

Coutin, Susan Bibler

Andreas, Peter

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designed to satisfy politicians and the public, rather than an effective deterrent against the influx of illegal drugs and aliens. This argument is grounded in recent debates over whether globalization erases or reinforces borders. Andreas notes that paradoxically, as barriers to free trade and economic integration have been dismantled, the policing of international borders—particularly those that separate rich and poor nations—has increased. Andreas explains this seeming paradox by contending that, rather than disappearing, borders have been reconfigured through globalization. Thus, free commerce and economic integration, which seem to diminish borders' significance, are accompanied by a rise in illicit movements and transactions, which seem to demand increased border policing. In fact, these trends are interconnected, as legal economic integration is accompanied by increased integration of illicit economies, and as efforts to prevent illegal transactions can make such transactions more profitable. Thus, although policing may not actually prevent the smuggling of people and drugs (activities on which states, Andreas notes, to some degree, depend), policing borders is a way of "recrafting the image of the border and symbolically reaffirming the state's territorial authority" (p. x).

Andreas' analysis of border policing draws on an impressive array of sources, ranging from interviews with U.S. officials in a variety of immigration and drug enforcement departments, Mexican officials in foreign affairs and law enforcement, European officials in charge of policing the German-Polish and Spanish-Moroccan borders, and journalists, policy analysts, and NGO members. This interview data is supplemented through government documents and secondary reports. Andreas' analysis is presented in seven succinct chapters that focus on the narratives that underpin escalations in border policing, the political economy of smuggling, the history of clandestine activities along the U.S.-Mexico border, the increase in narcotics policing along this border, the escalation in immigration control, border control in the European Union, and the border recraftings wrought by globalization. The historical and comparative dimensions of this book make it particularly valuable. Andreas notes, for example, that calls for regaining control of the borders are characterized by historical amnesia in that the

## SOCIAL CONTROL AND LAW

*Border Games: Policing the U.S.-Mexico Divide*, by **Peter Andreas**. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000. 192 pp. \$26.00 cloth. ISBN: 0-8914-3796-2.

**SUSAN BIBLER COUTIN**  
*University of California-Irvine*

In this interesting and useful book, Peter Andreas argues that recent efforts to police the U.S.-Mexico border are a performance

U.S.-Mexico border has long been a site of both migration and of illicit economic transactions. Moreover, by comparing enforcement policies along the U.S.-Mexico, German-Polish, and Spanish-Moroccan borders, Andreas is able to identify the historical and political differences that shaped these policies.

Andreas' decision to characterize border policing as a "performance" and as a "game" has certain advantages. This characterization draws attention to the fact that although border policing does not achieve its stated goals—namely the elimination of illegal immigration and drug smuggling—policing is nonetheless deemed successful by policymakers. This is accomplished, Andreas demonstrates, through defining success in achievable terms, such as by amounts of drugs seized, shifts in rates of apprehensions along the border, and increased cooperation between U.S. and Mexican law enforcement officials, rather than through reductions in the size of the undocumented immigrant population or in drug use in the United States. Importantly, however, Andreas does not depict border enforcement as *only* a game. Rather, he notes the unintended consequences of U.S. immigration and drug policies, including the professionalization of smuggling operations, the rise in smuggling costs for illegal migrants, and increased crime along the U.S.-Mexico border. The result of this complex approach to analyzing drug and immigration policies is a fascinating account of policy discourse.

Despite the overall strength of Andreas' analysis, it would have been helpful if he had addressed a few additional topics in greater depth. For example, the adverse consequences of U.S. immigration and drug enforcement policies are well known to those who oppose these policies. Where are opponents' voices within these policy debates, and how are their criticisms deflected by policymakers? Do opponents ever succeed in challenging policymakers' definitions of success? I would also have liked to have seen greater discussion of the human consequences—ranging from having to become clandestine, to long periods of incarceration, to death—of these policies for would-be migrants and for drug users. Finally, in characterizing the 1996 changes in U.S. immigration law as ineffective in closing the border, it would have been helpful to discuss the ways that these changes

made legalization more difficult for those already within U.S. borders. In other words, the barriers that prevent undocumented immigrants from legalizing may well have been strengthened by the 1996 changes, even if territorial boundaries were not.

Nonetheless, *Border Games* is an important book and deserves the attention of scholars and policymakers interested in immigration, drug policies, criminology, law enforcement, policy studies, globalization, border studies, Mexico, and Europe. By showing how state policies can give rise to illegal practices, and how legal and illicit economies and movements are intertwined, Andreas makes it difficult for anyone to take the category "crime" for granted.