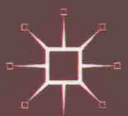
Migration, Diasporas and Citizenship

MIGRANT SMUGGLING

Irregular Migration from Asia and Africa to Europe

Anna Triandafyllidou and
Thanos Maroukis



Migrant Smuggling

Irregular Migration from Asia and Africa to Europe

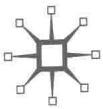
Anna Triandafyllidou
European University Institute, Florence, Italy

and

Thanos Maroukis
Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP), Athens, Greece

常州大学山书馆
藏书章

palgrave
macmillan



© Anna Triandafyllidou and Thanos Maroukis 2012

All rights reserved. No reproduction, copy or transmission of this publication may be made without written permission.

No portion of this publication may be reproduced, copied or transmitted save with written permission or in accordance with the provisions of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988, or under the terms of any licence permitting limited copying issued by the Copyright Licensing Agency, Saffron House, 6–10 Kirby Street, London EC1N 8TS.

Any person who does any unauthorized act in relation to this publication may be liable to criminal prosecution and civil claims for damages.

The authors have asserted their rights to be identified as the authors of this work in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

First published 2012 by
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN

Palgrave Macmillan in the UK is an imprint of Macmillan Publishers Limited, registered in England, company number 785998, of Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS.

Palgrave Macmillan in the US is a division of St Martin's Press LLC, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

Palgrave Macmillan is the global academic imprint of the above companies and has companies and representatives throughout the world.

Palgrave® and Macmillan® are registered trademarks in the United States, the United Kingdom, Europe and other countries

ISBN: 978–0–230–29637–4

This book is printed on paper suitable for recycling and made from fully managed and sustained forest sources. Logging, pulping and manufacturing processes are expected to conform to the environmental regulations of the country of origin.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1
21 20 19 18 17 16 15 14 13 12

Printed and bound in Great Britain by
CPI Antony Rowe, Chippenham and Eastbourne

Migration, Diasporas and Citizenship Series

Series Editors: **Robin Cohen**, Director of the International Migration Institute and Professor of Development Studies, University of Oxford, UK, and **Zig Layton-Henry**, Professor of Politics, University of Warwick, UK

Editorial Board: **Rainer Baubock**, European University Institute, Italy; **James F. Hollifield**, Southern Methodist University, USA; **Jan Rath**, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

The Migration, Diasporas and Citizenship series covers three important aspects of the migration progress. First, the determinants, dynamics and characteristics of international migration. Secondly, the continuing attachment of many contemporary migrants to their places of origin, signified by the word 'diaspora', and thirdly the attempt, by contrast, to belong and gain acceptance in places of settlement, signified by the word 'citizenship'. The series publishes work that shows engagement with and a lively appreciation of the wider social and political issues that are influenced by international migration.

Also published in Migration Studies by Palgrave Macmillan

Rutvica Andrijasevic
MIGRATION, AGENCY AND CITIZENSHIP IN SEX TRAFFICKING

Gideon Calder, Phillip Cole and Jonathan Seglow
CITIZENSHIP ACQUISITION AND NATIONAL BELONGING
Migration, Membership and the Liberal Democratic State

Huub Dijstelbloem and Albert Meijer (*editors*)
MIGRATION AND THE NEW TECHNOLOGICAL BORDERS OF EUROPE

Thomas Faist and Andreas Ette (*editors*)
THE EUROPEANIZATION OF NATIONAL POLICIES AND POLITICS OF IMMIGRATION
Between Autonomy and the European Union

Thomas Faist and Peter Kivisto (*editors*)
DUAL CITIZENSHIP IN GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE
From Unitary to Multiple Citizenship

Katrine Fangen, Thomas Johansson and Nils Hammarén (*editors*)
YOUNG MIGRANTS
Exclusion and Belonging in Europe

Martin Geiger and Antoine Pécoud (*editors*)
THE POLITICS OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION MANAGEMENT

John R. Hinnells (*editor*)
RELIGIOUS RECONSTRUCTION IN THE SOUTH ASIAN DIASPORAS
From One Generation to Another

Ayhan Kaya
ISLAM, MIGRATION AND INTEGRATION
The Age of Securitization

Marie Macy and Alan H. Carling
ETHNIC, RACIAL AND RELIGIOUS INEQUALITIES
The Perils of Subjectivity

George Menz and Alexander Caviedes (*editors*)
LABOUR MIGRATION IN EUROPE

Laura Morales and Marco Giugni (*editors*)
SOCIAL CAPITAL, POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND MIGRATION IN EUROPE
Making Multicultural Democracy Work?

Prodromos Panayiotopoulos
ETHNICITY, MIGRATION AND ENTERPRISE

Aspasia Papadopoulou-Kourkoula
TRANSIT MIGRATION
The Missing Link Between Emigration and Settlement

Vicky Squire
THE EXCLUSIONARY POLITICS OF ASYLUM

Anna Triandafyllidou and Thanos Maroukis
MIGRANT SMUGGLING
Irregular Migration from Asia and Africa to Europe

Lucy Williams
GLOBAL MARRIAGE
Cross-Border Marriage Migration in Global Context

Migration, Diasporas and Citizenship
Series Standing Order ISBN 978–0–230–30078–1 (hardback) and 978–0–230–30079–8 (paperback)
(outside North America only)

You can receive future titles in this series as they are published by placing a standing order. Please contact your bookseller or, in case of difficulty, write to us at the address below with your name and address, the title of the series and one of the ISBNs quoted above.

Customer Services Department, Macmillan Distribution Ltd, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS, England

此为试读，需要完整PDF请访问：www.ertongbook.com

To my big boy Evgenios and the little ones Dionysis, Iasonas, Kimonas-Demetris and Alexandros

To Tess, Ruben and Rosa

Acknowledgements

This book builds on a number of related research projects on which the authors have worked during the past five years. In particular, the most recent data on migrant smuggling from and via North Africa to Greece come from a study carried out by the authors that was commissioned by the United Nations Organisation for Drugs and Crime in 2009–10. The study was coordinated by Paola Monzini, and we would like to thank her for her comments on our early work on the smuggling and trafficking of migrants from and via North Africa to Greece. The data and analysis presented here build also on the CLANDESTINO project funded by the European Commission's Sixth Framework Programme for Research in the Socio-Economic Sciences and the Humanities (Priority 8.1 Scientific support for policies, Contract no. CIS8-044103) in the period 2007–9. Research on Asian immigrants in Greece has also benefited from our earlier work in the context of the IDEA project on new migrant destination countries, also funded by the European Commission's Sixth Framework Programme for the period 2007–9 (Mediterranean and Eastern European countries as new migration destinations, Contract no. CIS8-044446). However, much of the fieldwork presented in this book has been conducted without any particular project funding, with the generous assistance in conducting and transcribing interviews of two young researchers (and friends), Kleopatra Yousef and Kostas Koukouzikis. Kleopatra also carefully copy-edited the final manuscript. Christina Ntouni, trainee researcher at ELIAMEP, also gave generously of her time, transcribing interviews and checking references.

Preface

The idea for this book dates back to 2007, when Thanos Maroukis joined the ELIAMEP migration research team to work on an EU-funded project called CLANDESTINO. While the CLANDESTINO project involved little fieldwork with irregular migrants it provoked many questions as to why and how migrants arrive in Greece from distant countries, how the Pakistani or Bangladeshi communities survive in Athens, and whether community leaders are involved in the smuggling of relatives or co-villagers. Answers to these research questions found the appropriate soil in which to develop and mature when we agreed to conduct a qualitative assessment study on the smuggling of migrants via North Africa to Greece. That study was commissioned by the United Nations Office for Drugs and Crime (UNODC) and coordinated by Paola Monzini. The fieldwork for that study forms part of the findings presented in this book on the smuggling of migrants from Africa to Greece. The initial fieldwork was further extended through the spring and summer of 2009 with the help of Kostas Koukouzikis and Kleopatra Yousef, both then trainee researchers at ELIAMEP.

It was then that we decided to extend this research to Asians smuggled into Greece via Turkey and also to study what happens on the other side of the Mediterranean, at the Spanish and Italian sea borders. We thus divided the workload. As Thanos, with the help of Kleopatra and Kostas, continued the fieldwork on Asians in Athens and Thessaloniki, and in Evros, Anna started researching the western and central Mediterranean. By the time we arrived at the point of writing up the book, the situation had dramatically changed twice, testifying to the dynamic nature of irregular migration and smuggling networks: first, the main smuggling routes from Turkey to Greece had moved from the Greek/Turkish sea border at the Aegean islands to the Greek/Turkish land border in the northeast part of Greece; second, the Arab Spring erupted just when we started writing in January 2011, turning, to some extent, our findings and analysis upside down as the routes to Italy were opened again, although we had no time to engage in a new round of fieldwork.

Researching for this book has been a mind-expanding experience. Interviews with smuggled migrants and asylum seekers can make for uncomfortable reading. As Thanos noted after visiting the detention

centres in the Evros region in the northeast of Greece in August 2010: 'I just cannot do it, I cannot ask something from people that are in such need, with their babies unfed and covered with mosquito bites, with their lives thrown up in the air without knowing where they will land.' The stories that a researcher hears and the realities of the people's lives that she/he encounters sometimes leaves her/him no option but to get involved. At the same time the researcher has the duty to keep a distance and be able to accept and filter what she/he hears so that she/he contributes to the understanding of the subject matter.

Our biggest thanks go to all the migrants and refugees who accepted to share their life stories with us, to our interpreters Farhad, Kazami, Ahmad, Wajed, Aly, Elias and Abdulrashid, who became friends through a year of intensive fieldwork, to our junior colleagues Kostas and Kleopatra, who spent days and nights with us conducting and transcribing interviews. We would also like to thank the Afghan Community in Greece, the Somali Community in Greece, ASANTE, the Bangladeshi Immigrant Workers' Union of Greece, the Kenyan Community in Greece, the United African Women Organisation, the Sudanese Refugee Association, the Communities of Guinea and Gambia in Greece, the NGOs KLIMAKA, Solidarity and EKKA, the shelters Storgi and Phoebe, the Greek Coastguard and the Greek Police for their substantial help at various stages of our research.

A big hug and warm thanks go to our families, to Tess and Evgenios, and to Ruben, Dionysis, Iasonas and Kimonas-Demetris, for having always supported us and for having been very patient when we were spending days and nights in fieldwork or in reading and writing. This book is dedicated to our new 'arrivals', Rosa Maroukis (9 May 2010) and Alexandros Theodoropoulos (11 January 2010).

Contents

List of Tables viii

List of Figures ix

Acknowledgements x

Preface xi

1 Irregular Migration and Human Smuggling from Asia and Africa to Europe 1

2 Migrant Smuggling from Africa to Spain, Italy and Malta: A Comparative Overview 33

3 The Southeastern Mediterranean: The Greece–Turkey Irregular Migration System 66

4 Human Smuggling from/via North Africa and Turkey to Greece 89

5 Human Smuggling from/via Asia and Turkey 116

6 From Greece to Europe: Migrant Smuggling from Greece Onwards 150

7 Trafficking in Human Beings 177

8 Migrant Smuggling: A Social Business 195

Annex I: List of Interviews with Professionals 206

Annex II: List of Interviews with Smuggled Migrants 208

Annex III: List of Interviews with Asian Migrants and Smugglers 213

Notes 215

References 223

Index 235

Tables

1.1 International (documented and irregular) migrants, worldwide, 1970–2010 3
2.1 Migrants apprehended at Spanish sea borders, Spain, 1999–2010 37
2.2 Countries of nationality of irregular migrants apprehended at sea borders in Spain, 2006–8 39
2.3 Migrants apprehended at Italian sea borders, 1999–2010 43
2.4 Main nationalities of apprehended migrants at Italian sea borders in 2008 44
2.5 Arrivals of irregular migrants in Malta, 2001–9 45
3.1 Apprehensions of irregular migrants per sea and land border, 2002–6 67
3.2 Irregular migrant apprehensions in Greece, per year, per border and within the country 70
3.3 Migrants apprehended for illegal entry and stay, per border, 2008 74
3.4 Apprehensions by the Hellenic coastguard of migrants illegally crossing the Greek–Turkish sea borders, per nationality, 2001–9 74
3.5 Apprehended smugglers by nationality, 2002–9 75
3.6 Penalties for smuggling migrants, 2005–9 78
3.7 Greek requests for re-admission by Turkey, 2002–10 80
3.8 Asylum applications in Greece, 2000–9 83
3.9 National composition of the asylum-seeking population in Greece, 2009 85
4.1 Distribution of migrant interviewees by country of nationality 91
4.2 Main smuggling routes to Greece via North Africa and Turkey 107
5.1 Migrants apprehended irregular for illegal entry and stay, 2005–9 117
5.2 Main smuggling routes to Greece from Asia via Turkey 120
5.3 Migrants apprehended for illegal entry and stay, 2009–10 128
7.1 Victims of human trafficking, 2003–8 189
7.2 Human trafficking suspects, 2003–8 190

此为试读，需要完整PDF请访问：www.ertongbook.com

Figures

1.1 Estimated number of international migrants by major area, 1990–2010 2
1.2 What is trafficking? 8
1.3 Irregular migration, migrant smuggling and asylum seeking 9
2.1 Malta and its territorial waters 46
2.2 Italy and North Africa 51
2.3 Migration routes to Europe from the South 53
2.4 Migration routes to Europe from the East 54
2.5 Mauritania and the Canary Islands 59
3.1 Greece and Turkey 67
3.2 Points of debarkation of irregular migrants entering through the Greek sea borders 72
4.1 Smuggling route no. 1: from North Africa to Greece 93
4.2 Human smuggling routes from East Africa to Greece 93
4.3 Smuggling routes from West Africa to Greece 94

1

Irregular Migration and Human Smuggling from Asia and Africa to Europe

1. Introduction

International migration has intensified during the last two decades across both the East-to-West and the South-to-North axes: Europe has been receiving increasing numbers of migrants from developing countries in Africa and Asia (and also Latin America) (see Figure 1.1).

Part of this international movement of people takes place illegally, notably involving either unlawful border crossings or overstaying (with or without a visa). This books looks at a specific aspect of the wider irregular migration phenomenon, namely the organization and role of migrant smuggling networks in aiding irregular migration from Asia and Africa to southern Europe (and from southern European countries to the wider EU area). It also discusses how migration control policies in southern European countries may inadvertently foster the migrant smuggling phenomenon and the smuggling 'business'.

The book is inscribed in the wider literature on migrant smuggling and irregular migration while it also discusses trafficking in human beings both in relation specifically to sex trafficking and to the extent that migrant smuggling sometimes involves labour-trafficking (namely the exploitation of the smuggled migrants under conditions that approximate slavery). A detailed overview of the routes and modalities of migrant smuggling across the Mediterranean is provided. Moreover, both the 'business' and the social-cultural aspects of the phenomenon are analysed in the chapters that follow.

The book is based on extensive empirical research (about 150 qualitative interviews with migrants, smugglers, state actors and civil

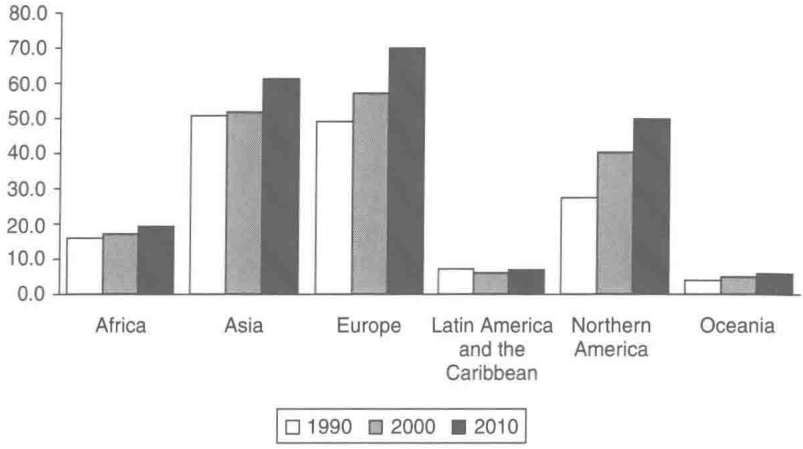


Figure 1.1 Estimated number of international migrants by major area, 1990–2010 (millions)

Source: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2009).

stakeholders), participant observation, the collection of statistical data, and other desk research on the smuggling of migrants from Africa and Asia to Greece (via North Africa and Turkey). Concerning the study of migrant smuggling from Africa (sub-Saharan and North Africa) to Spain and Italy we have mainly relied on recently published studies, statistics and qualitative data.

This introductory chapter presents the theoretical and empirical context within which the book is placed and the geopolitical and policy context within which migrant smuggling develops. It traces the contours of the human smuggling phenomenon and its development as a response to a mismatch between migration pressures (from the East and South) and (the lack of legal) migration opportunities to go west or north in the wider Mediterranean region and beyond. In the following section we discuss the two dominant perspectives in analysing migrant smuggling and discuss their relevance to the study of the smuggling of irregular migrants and asylum seekers from Africa and Asia to Europe. We also offer here a first overview of the irregular migration flows towards southern European countries with a view to highlighting the size of the phenomenon and in particular the relevance of human smuggling within the wider context of irregular migration and asylum seeking. Section 3 discusses the EU policy on irregular migration with a view to presenting the framework within which the related policies of

Spain, Italy, Malta and Greece will be considered (in Chapters 2–6). The chapter concludes with a summary of the contents of the remaining chapters.

2. Irregular migration and human smuggling

According to the most recent United Nations Development Report (UNDP, 2009, p. 21) it is currently estimated that around 214 million individuals are international migrants, representing some 3.1 per cent of the world's population (see also IOM, 2008, p. 2). Thus international migrants represent a rather small fraction of the world's population. Still, it is interesting to note that the percentage of international migrants is estimated to have doubled in the last 25 years even if the share of international migrants in the world's populations has risen only by 50 per cent (see data on 1985 and 2010 in Table 1.1 below).

Of course, such gross figures should be interpreted with caution as the computation of migration statistics differs widely between countries even within the European Union, let alone worldwide. Different countries have different naturalization laws: some 'convert' migrants to citizens and make them 'disappear' statistically; others count the foreign born and not just the foreigners, giving a fuller picture of migration trends (Triandafyllidou, Gropas and Vogel, 2007). The above factors show that global data on legal international migration may not be accurate because of differences in statistical definitions of who counts as an 'international migrant'.[1]

It is far more problematic to estimate the size of irregular migration, as, by definition, it is a non-registered phenomenon. The United

Table 1.1 International (documented and irregular) migrants (in millions), worldwide, 1970–2010

	Migrants	Total world population	%
1970	81.3	3,696	2.2
1975	86.8	4,074	2.1
1980	99.3	4,442	2.2
1985	111	4,844	2.3
1990	154.9	5,280	2.9
1995	165.1	5,692	2.9
2000	176.7	6,086	2.9
2005	190.6	6,465	3.1
2010	213.9	6,793	3.1

Source: ICHRP, 2010, p. 11.

Nations has estimated that globally there are approximately 30 to 40 million irregular migrants, a number that amounts to between 15 and 20 per cent of all international migrants (ICHRP, 2010, p. 13; estimation refers to 2003). Naturally this is just an estimate. Data on undocumented migrants are usually derived from national censuses, which, although theoretically counting both legal and irregular migrants, are not likely to capture the total size of the irregular migrant population as undocumented residents tend to hide from census interviewers through fear of detection.

For the European Union, the CLANDESTINO Project produced in 2008 a scientifically rigorous calculation estimating irregular migrant residents in the 27 member states of the EU at 1.9–3.8 million (Vogel et al., 2009) in a total of approximately 498 million inhabitants,[2] that is less than 1 per cent of the total EU population. According to van Hook et al. (2005), undocumented migrants in the USA were estimated to be 10.3 million in 2005 (in a total population[3] of 307 million in 2009, that is just over 3 per cent of the total US population). According to Koser (2007, pp. 57–9), the percentage of irregular migration among total migration in Asia and Latin America might be more than 50. The above estimates show that irregular migration is a phenomenon of global concern. It has attracted much attention in Europe too among policy makers, the media and academics, even though the political importance given to it may be disproportionately high in relation to the percentage of irregular migrants within the total population (less than 1 per cent in 2008).

Naturally, not all undocumented migrants have been smuggled into a country. The data given above are meant to put our study into its global context and give a sense of the size of the phenomenon we are studying. Below we shall first provide working definitions of the terms 'human smuggling', 'migrant smuggling', 'human trafficking' and 'trafficking in human beings' and explain how they are used in the book. We shall thus identify the links between irregular migration, asylum seeking and human smuggling as well as trafficking. These clarifications will provide the necessary framework for our analysis of the empirical data in the chapters that follow.

2.1. Terms and definitions

In the world of nation states, where borders are fixed, international migration is regulated and often restricted. The existence of national borders that are relatively impermeable is supported by a border bureaucracy, which includes border crossing points, border guards, passport

controls, entry visas and passport stamps for those entering or leaving a country (Mountz, 2010). This bureaucracy involves also a range of 'border actors' including not only state authorities but also non-governmental organizations, international organizations and criminal networks for human smuggling and trafficking (see also Cassarino, 2006). Although Kyle and Koslowski (2001a, p. 1) consider that the smuggling of migrants has been officially recognized as a global problem only since 1998, it is important also to acknowledge that human smuggling is probably as old as migration restrictions.

People who wish to move to a new country in search of better employment and life prospects often do so without appropriate authorization if they do not have access to legal migration channels. They may, of course, organize their trip on their own or with the help of family and friends based in the countries of origin, transit or destination. However, the development of the border-related bureaucracies and control systems mentioned above or simply the geographical distance between the country of origin and destination (and the complexity of the trip) make it increasingly necessary for prospective irregular migrants to use the services of criminal 'agents'. In the process of migrating without appropriate documents, many prospective migrants use the services of individuals or entire networks, who facilitate illegal entry into and residence in another country.

Indeed, what is novel in the last decade with regard to human smuggling is the professionalization and global nature of the related networks and criminal organizations. Kyle and Koslowski argued about a decade ago (2001a, p. 5) that migrant smuggling was not new; what was new was the global spread and development of the phenomenon. The ten years to date have seen further development of the human smuggling and trafficking networks in terms of both the extent of their criminal activities and their 'business' turnover, and a corresponding growth in the efforts of governments and international organizations to combat these two related phenomena. Indeed, the smuggling of migrants in general as well as into Europe in particular has been a priority concern for the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) through its anti-smuggling and anti-trafficking training programmes. Also trafficking in human beings, an issue closely related to human smuggling, has become a priority concern[4] for international organizations like the International Organisation for Migration (IOM).

In the early scholarly works on migrant smuggling, and to some extent to this day, the terms smuggling and trafficking are used almost interchangeably. Salt and Stein, in their seminal article 'Migration as

此为试读,需要完整PDF请访问: www.ertongbook.com