

ATLAS OF
MIGRATION
IN EUROPE



A critical geography
of migration policies

*migr*europ__ New Internationalist

Contents

Atlas of Migration in Europe: A Critical Geography of Migration Policies

Published in the UK by New Internationalist Publications Ltd
55 Rectory Road
Oxford OX4 1BW, UK
newint.org

Co-ordinated by Olivier Clochard for Migreurop with the collaboration of Emmanuel Blanchard, Violaine Carrère, Alain Morice, Pierre-Arnaud Perrouty and Claire Rodier

The right of Migreurop to be identified as the author of this work has been asserted in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1998

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, electrostatic, magnetic tape, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior permission in writing of the Publisher.

Cartography: Olivier Clochard, Thomas Honoré and Nicolas Lambert, with the collaboration of Françoise Bahoken, Agathe Etienne, Frédéric Piantoni, David Lagarde, Nicolas Pernet, Julie Person and Laurence Pillant.

Translation of texts: Katie Booth and Alexandra Pomeon O'Neill. Migreurop is grateful for the support of the European Programme for Integration and Migration (EPIM) in making the English translation of the Atlas possible.

Translation of maps: Jasper Cooper (Migreurop); Agathe Etienne; Olivier Clochard; Thomas Honoré; David Lagarde; Nicolas Lambert; Martin Marie (migration policy analyst, Statewatch, Migreurop); Alain Pierre; Eleanor Staniforth (Migreurop).

Migreurop would like to thank Barbara Harrell-Bond for her helpful editing of the Atlas of Migration in Europe.

Printed by PBTisk s.r.o., Czech Republic, who hold environmental accreditation ISO 14001.



British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data.
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data.
A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

ISBN 978-1-78026-083-9

Introduction	5	Increasing detention of migrants: analysis of the 2008 Directive	86
A critical chronology of European migration policies	6	Permanent protest in the camps	91
Part 1		EU readmission policy: co-operation to increase removals	95
Migration: globalized but impeded		“Voluntary returns”: European consensus around a numerical and political artifice	100
Migrants in the world	12	Detention of migrants in France: words hide the reality	104
Exiles, refugees, displaced people, rejected applicants... Towards a world without asylum?	16	“Detention centres” in Belgium: state-sponsored violence against human rights	107
The ecological crisis: an increasing factor in migration	20	In the EU but outside Schengen: the United Kingdom detains migrants without shame	109
Vexed freedom of movement	22	Detention of migrants in Eastern Europe: human and financial costs	112
Unaccompanied migrant children in Europe	6	Exiles in Greece: scapegoats for the economic crisis	114
Labour migration: communitizing precariousness ...	29	European Islands: the Canaries, Malta and Sicily	116
Part 2		Migrant holding centres in Spain: a story of human rights abuses	118
Controlling international migration: towards greater protectionism?		Part 4	
The Schengen system: highly problematic freedom of movement	36	Impact on departure and transit areas	
Implications of European visa policies	40	Buffer zones around Morocco: Oujda, the enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla, and Western Sahara	122
Liaison officers: intervention and “co-operation” to control migration	44	Wanderings and encampments	126
The European Neighbourhood Policy and migration: the cases of Moldova and Ukraine	48	In Africa, the EU disrupts migration that does not concern it	130
Frontex: at the margins of Europe and the law	52	Three to four million Afghan exiles held hostage by international power relations	132
Libya: an outpost of externalized migration controls	56	International conventions called into question?	136
Dublin II: asylum in orbit	61	Counting migrant deaths	140
Biometric databases and border controls	65		
The border security economy	69	List of maps	145
French fortresses in faraway seas	73	Authors	147
What do we know about the International Organization for Migration?	78		
Part 3			
Detention at the heart of asylum and immigration policies			
Developing open and closed camps in Europe and beyond	82		

Introduction



Demonstration demanding the closure of the detention centre in Madrid, Spain, November 2010.
Photo: Olmo Calvo Rodriguez

This second edition of the Atlas on asylum and immigration policies in the European Union cannot ignore the dramatic events that have taken place at its borders, on a daily basis, throughout 2012. Each year hundreds of migrants die, through drowning or exhaustion, stranded at sea on overcrowded and ill-equipped vessels. Migrants fleeing countries in crisis or at war are unable to use legal routes, as a result of tightened surveillance of European borders, especially to the south and east. International law is often applied restrictively, or not applied at all. The beginning of the 21st century, marked by the global economic crisis, has brought little hope of improvement: policy makers, lacking solutions, promote the militarization of borders and the reinforcement of controls. This hostile climate is illustrated by mass arrests of immigrants in the streets of Athens and Rabat, as well as declarations made by political leaders, across Europe and neighbouring States, on the “dangers” presented by immigration.

For the past 10 years, the Migreurop network has been closely following this tragic demonstration of the selfish approach of European States to the movement of migrants and has regularly alerted EU bodies to violations of migrants’ human rights. The fieldwork on which this publication is based has enabled us to discover, measure and comprehend the factors that have marked European asylum and immigration policies since the 1980s. For example, increasing obstacles to obtaining “Schengen” visas from consulates; tightened controls at internal and external borders and their relocation to neighbouring countries, including Libya, Turkey and Ukraine; the creation of the European agency Frontex and the gradual increase in operations aimed at intercepting “illegal” migrants; the construction of walls, as in the Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla in northern Morocco and along the Evros River in the northeast of Greece; the multiplication of means of detaining migrants; the regular organization of “charter”

flights for deportations; and the marked reduction in the exercise of the right to asylum. All these processes create ever greater obstacles to legal immigration into EU territory.

The measures taken by European States to control migratory flows do not operate independently: they are linked by various mechanisms, with detention centres playing a pivotal role. Frontex, which co-ordinates surveillance operations at the EU’s external borders and organizes joint flights for deportees (euphemistically referred to as “joint returns operations”), is also in charge of establishing links between various control units. The same applies to computer networks such as the Visa Information System (Vis), the Schengen Information System (Sis) and Eurodac.

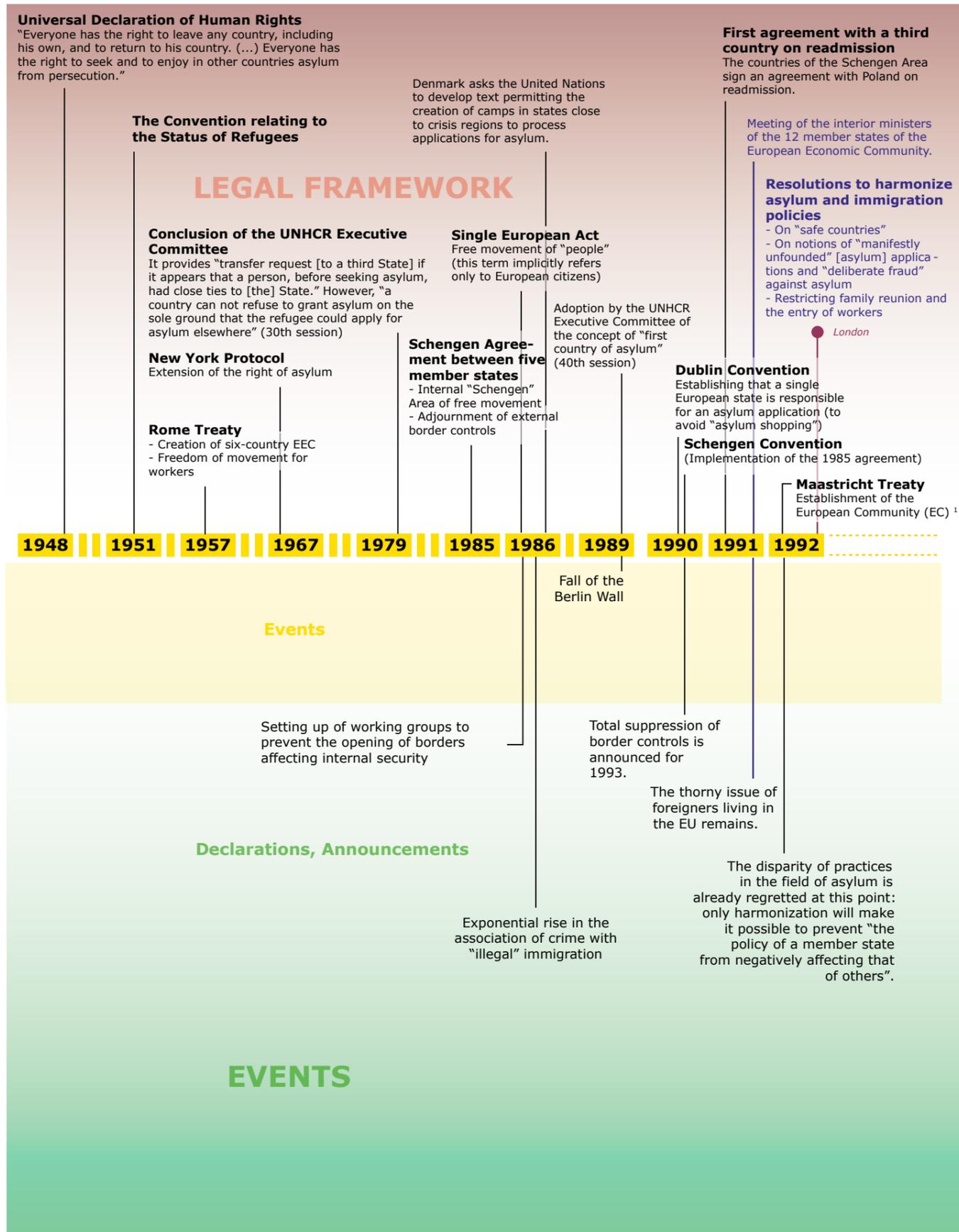
Thus, in response to a supposed “migratory risk”, the European border system follows an increasingly reticular pattern, with the establishment of surveillance measures all along the routes taken by potential migrants. These developments are causing the conventional border model to be called into question. The combination of various methods of control sometimes makes us forget this, while allowing the EU to drive forward its networking logic on a large scale.

This publication is structured around four main themes:

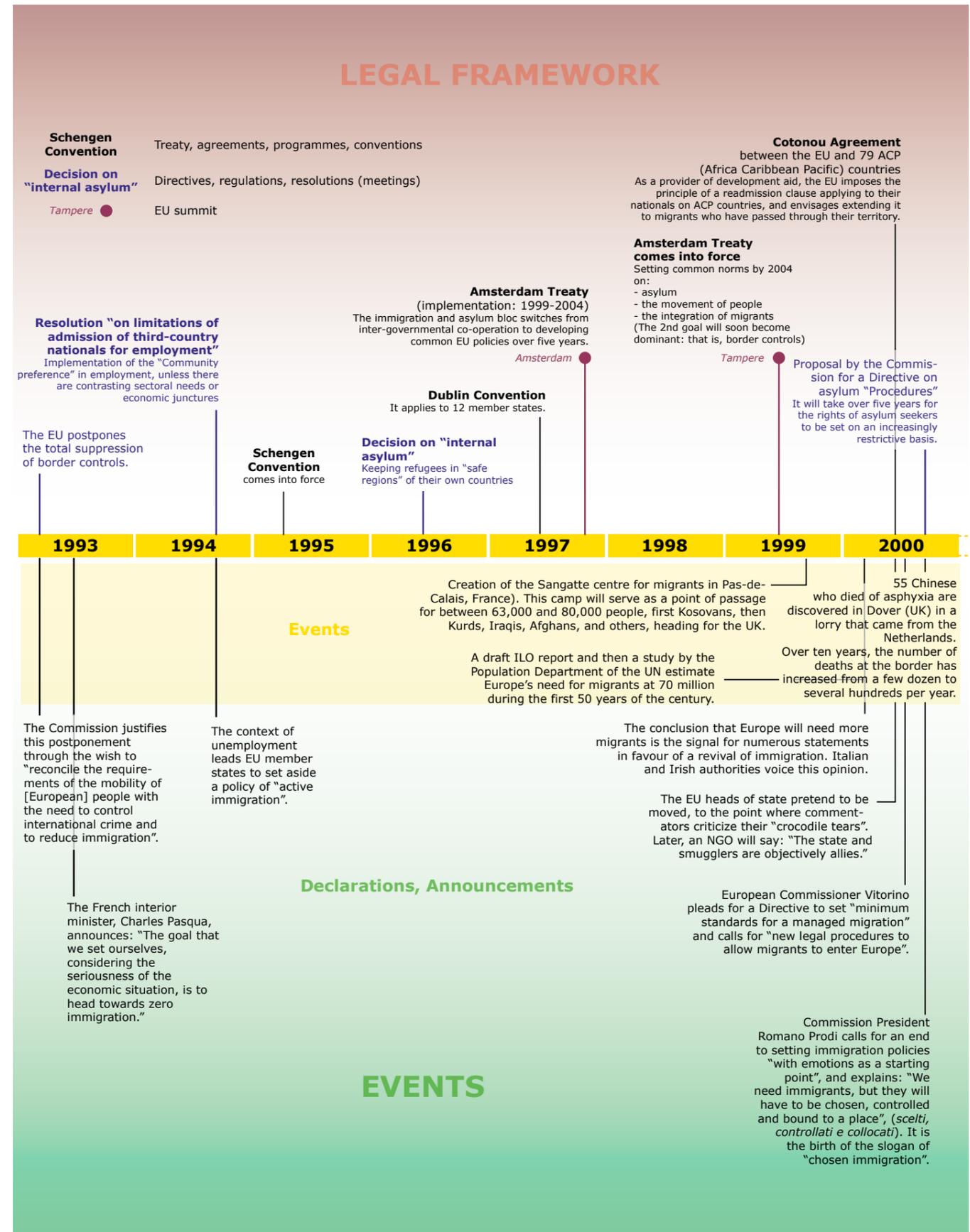
- Migration: globalized but impeded
- Controlling international migration: towards greater protectionism?
- Detention at the heart of asylum and immigration policies
- Impact on departure and transit areas

On each theme, the Atlas brings together texts, maps, charts, graphics and photographs in an attempt to change the way borders are traditionally represented, to contribute to an understanding of the displacement and externalization of controls, to reveal the infrastructure established to serve European migration policies and to illustrate the deployment of security measures around migration, based on observations in Europe and beyond.

A critical chronology of European migration policies

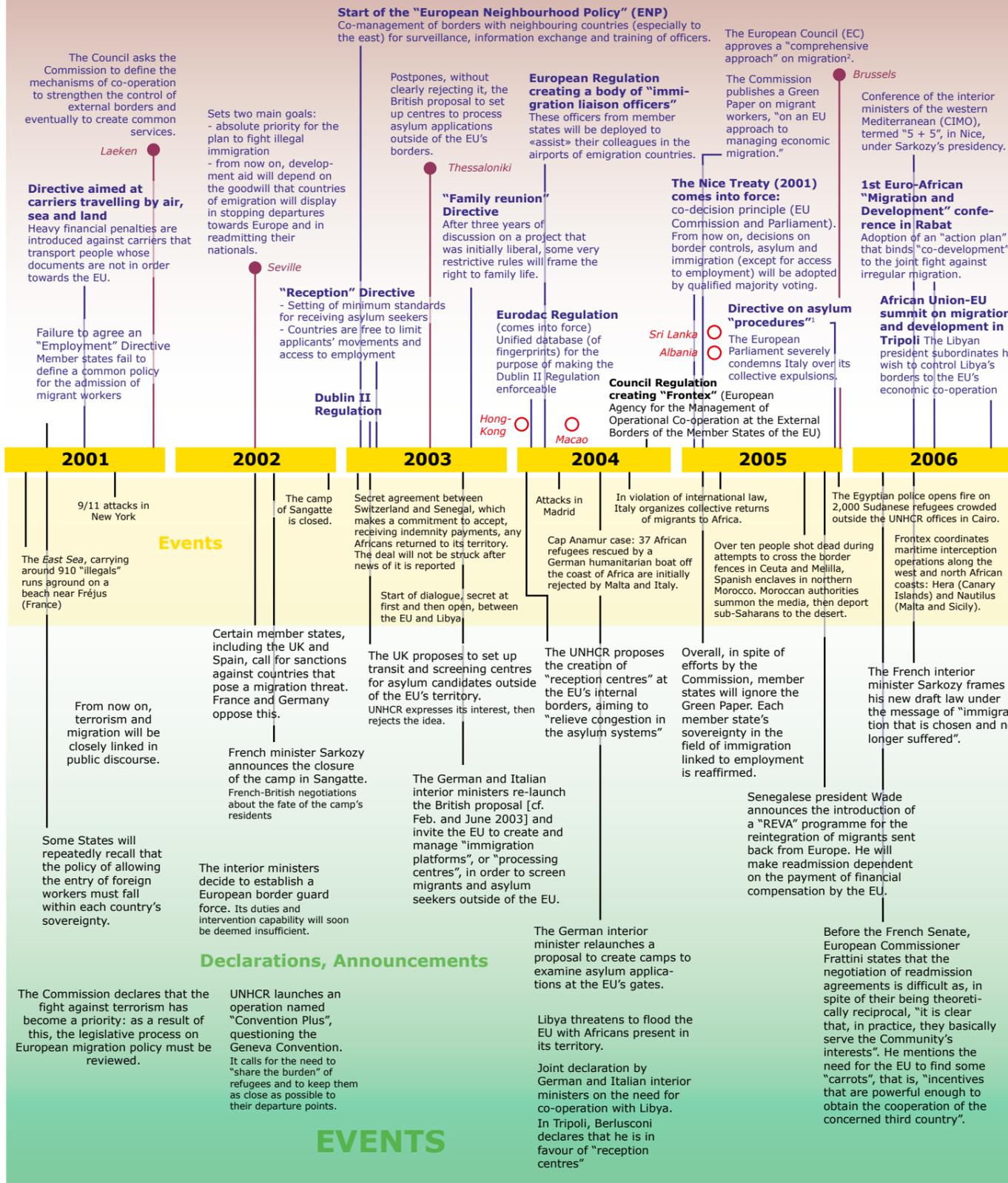


1. First step towards (art. 7A) a space without internal borders, ensuring the free movement of goods, capital and people.

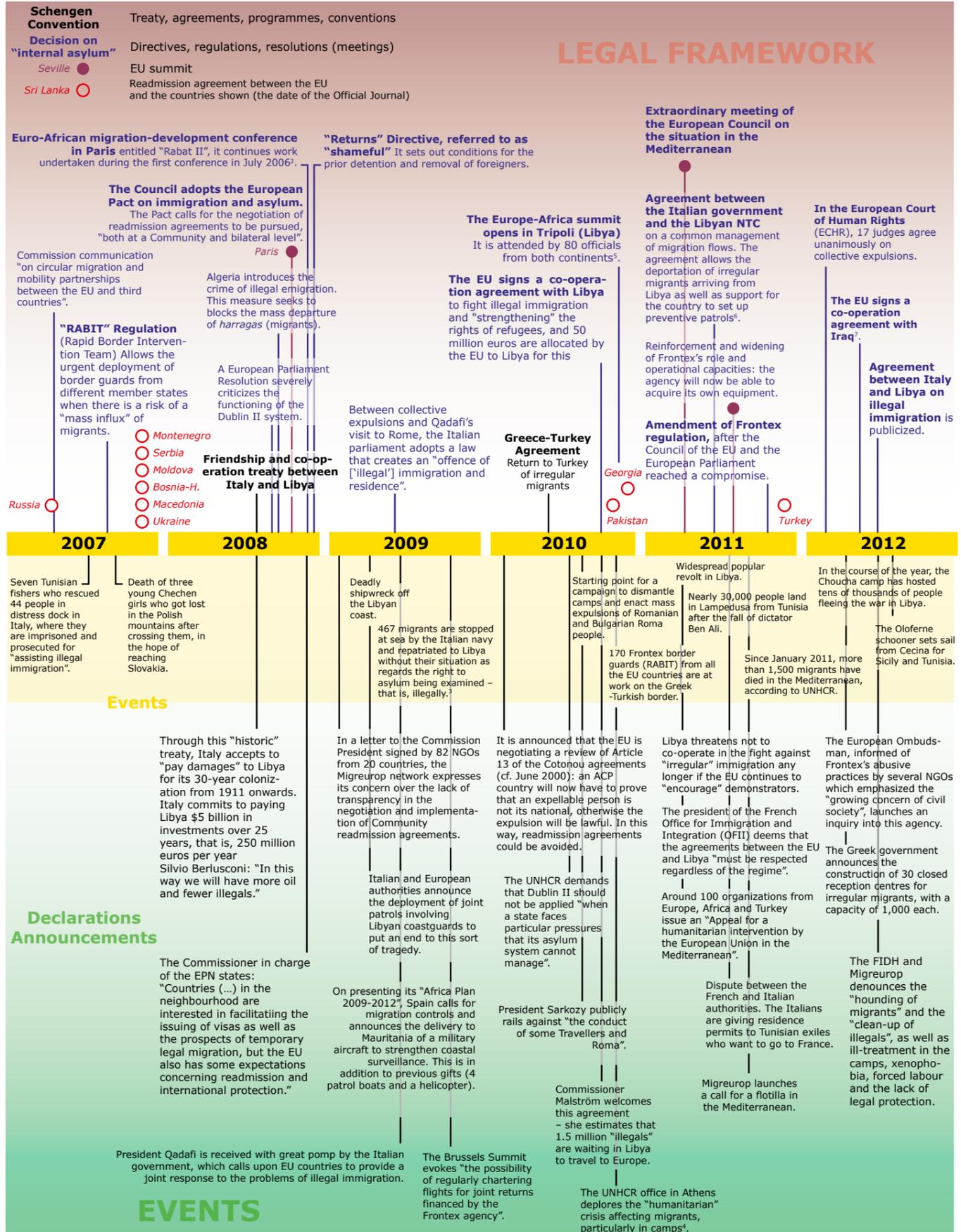


Source: Alain Morice (2012) *A Critical Chronology of European Migration Policies*, available in four languages (English, Spanish, French and Italian) on the website of Migreurop: www.migreurop.org

LEGAL FRAMEWORK



1. (2005) States may detain applicants in special facilities. Asylum requests may not result in the right to reside in the country. Exceptional procedures are envisaged: rejection of manifestly unfounded applications, fast-track and priority procedures. Among the criteria for rejection, notions of "safe countries of origin", "first countries of asylum" and "safe third countries" are placed in the spotlight. The right to an effective appeal clashes with the fact that this does not suspend deportation.
2. (2005) Spain commits to exchange readmission agreements for the opening of its employment market with quotas for migrants from the concerned countries (Africa Plan 1). The EC approach is based on work in partnership with third countries, co-development and the fight against illegal immigration.
3. (2004) Issues related to security will be predominant. The principle that the issue of the immigration of workers falls within the competency of each member state is recalled.



1. Among other things, this treaty decides: a reinforced joint action against "illegal" immigration, the establishment of an electronic surveillance system for Libyan sea borders, 50% of which would be financed by Italy (i.e., around \$500 million) and the other 50% by the EU.
2. The implementation of the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) and readmission agreements are at the core of discussions.
3. The number of expelled people will reach 2,000 in September.
4. It notes that the Greek government claims it no longer controls the situation, neither on land, nor on the islands of the Aegean Sea.
5. Qaddafi ups the stakes: he demands "at least five billion euros per year" from the EU to stop illegal immigration, otherwise "Libya will no longer act as Europe's border guard".
6. Italian decree-law extending the maximum length of detention to 18 months, in line with what is authorized by the "shameful directive".
7. Among other things, allows the readmission of Iraqis present illegally in EU and resolves to open negotiations for a readmission agreement applicable to Iraqis, third-country nationals and the stateless.