MIGRANT SMUGGLING IN ASIA

An Annotated Bibliography
Volume 2

Cover photo: UNODC

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

ADB	Asian Development Bank
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
EU	European Union
GAT	Gerakan Anti-Trafficking
GDP	gross domestic product
ILO	International Labour Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
Lao PDR	Lao People's Democratic Republic
NGO	non-government organization
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PATROL	Partnership Against Transnational Crime through Regional Organized Law Enforcement
RCM	regional coordination mechanism
SIEV	suspected illegal entry vessel
Migrant Smuggling Protocol	Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air, Supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime
Trafficking in Persons Protocol	Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime

Introduction

The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) conducted the research for this annotated bibliography in support of the Bali Process on People Smuggling, Trafficking in Persons and Related Transnational Crime, which is a regional, multilateral forum to improve the coordination against criminal activity related to migrant smuggling and human trafficking. The research focused on a total of 45 Bali Process member countries (the project countries).

The research had three objectives:

(1) identify existing knowledge about migrant smuggling regarding the project countries;

(2) summarize and synthesize existing knowledge about migrant smuggling, thereby making it easier for decision makers to access key data and information; and

(3) identify knowledge gaps, thereby making it easier to clearly identify research priorities.

The research involved a systematic search of multiple bibliographic databases, library catalogues and websites to locate empirically based information about migrant smuggling in the project countries published from late 2010 to early 2014.

The research initially found 278 sources that met the research criteria, and this list was narrowed to 146 sources. The research criteria are described in tables I and II.

A summary of each of those 146 sources is provided in this publication. The researcher allocated key words for each source that reflect the research criteria.

The research was conducted within the framework established by the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, supplemented by the Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air (Smuggling of Migrants Protocol). Migrant smuggling is understood to mean:

"The procurement, in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit, of the illegal entry of a person into a State of which the person is not a national or permanent resident" and "enabling a person who is not a national or permanent resident to remain in the State concerned without

Table I: Key words for subjects covered

Key word	Description
Irregular migration	Movement that takes place outside the regulatory norms of the sending, transit and receiving countries
Smuggling	Facilitating the illegal entry and/or stay of another for profit, with document offences to achieve this
Concepts	Use and usefulness of concepts of migrant smuggling or irregular migration
Methodology	Research methodologies used in research on irregular migration or migrant smuggling
Quantitative assessment	Size of irregular migration or smuggling flows
Routes	Geography of irregular migration or migrant smuggling
Profiles of smugglers	Geographical, demographic, socio-economic characteristics of smugglers and/or their motivations
Profiles of irregular migrants	Geographical, demographic, socio-economic characteristics of irregular migrants and/or their motivations
Profiles of smuggled migrants	Geographical, demographic, socio-economic characteristics of smuggled migrants and/or their motivations
Smuggler–migrant relationship	How migrants portray or perceive smugglers; the nature or quality of the relationship and/or factors that impact on that relationship

Organization of smuggling	The organizational or business structures in smuggling operations; relationships between actors in smuggling operations; involvement in their criminality; specialization and professionalism of smugglers; influences on their organization
Modus operandi of smuggling	Methods of recruitment, payment, transfer of criminal proceeds, transportation, use/misuse of documents in smuggling process, role of corruption; factors that result in changes to modus operandi of migrant smuggling
Fees and payment for smuggling	Fees paid by migrants, factors that determine fees, how migrants mobilize fees
Human and social costs of smuggling	Death toll, trauma, stranded migrants and socio-economic impact of mobilizing fees for smuggling
Factors that fuel irregular migration	Push-and-pull factors for irregular or smuggled migrants; the risks and rewards for smugglers (factors that drive them towards involvement in migrant smuggling or away from it)
Afghanistan	Geographic focus: from/to/through
Australia	Geographic focus: from/to/through
Bangladesh	Geographic focus: from/to/through
Bhutan	Geographic focus: from/to/through
Brunei Darussalam	Geographic focus: from/to/through
Cambodia	Geographic focus: from/to/through
China	Geographic focus: from/to/through
DPR Korea	Geographic focus: from/to/through
Fiji	Geographic focus: from/to/through
Hong Kong, China	Geographic focus: from/to/through
India	Geographic focus: from/to/through
Indonesia	Geographic focus: from/to/through
Iran	Geographic focus: from/to/through
Iraq	Geographic focus: from/to/through
Japan	Geographic focus: from/to/through
Jordan	Geographic focus: from/to/through
Kiribati	Geographic focus: from/to/through
Lao PDR	Geographic focus: from/to/through
Macau SAR	Geographic focus: from/to/through
Malaysia	Geographic focus: from/to/through
Maldives	Geographic focus: from/to/through
Mongolia	Geographic focus: from/to/through
Myanmar	Geographic focus: from/to/through
Nauru	Geographic focus: from/to/through
Nepal	Geographic focus: from/to/through
New Caledonia	Geographic focus: from/to/through
New Zealand	Geographic focus: from/to/through
Pakistan	Geographic focus: from/to/through
Palau	Geographic focus: from/to/through
Papua New Guinea	Geographic focus: from/to/through
Philippines	Geographic focus: from/to/through

Republic of Korea	Geographic focus: from/to/through
Samoa	Geographic focus: from/to/through
Singapore	Geographic focus: from/to/through
Solomon Islands	Geographic focus: from/to/through
Sri Lanka	Geographic focus: from/to/through
Syria	Geographic focus: from/to/through
Thailand	Geographic focus: from/to/through
Timor-Leste	Geographic focus: from/to/through
Tonga	Geographic focus: from/to/through
Turkey	Geographic focus: from/to/through
United Arab Emirates	Geographic focus: from/to/through
United States of America	Geographic focus: from/to/through
Vanuatu	Geographic focus: from/to/through
Viet Nam	Geographic focus: from/to/through

Table II: Definitions of research methodology applied in allocating key words

Key word	Description
Quantitative	"Quantitative research is a means for testing objective theories by examining relationships among variables. These variables can be measured, typically on instruments, so that the numbered data can be analysed using statistical procedures."[1]
Qualitative	"Qualitative research is a means for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem. The process of research involving emerging questions and procedures; collecting data in the participants' setting; analysing data inductively; building from particulars to general themes and making interpretations of the meaning of data."[2]
Mixed	A mix of both quantitative and qualitative methods was used.
Unknown	It is not clear from the source precisely what research method was used. However, there is some information in the source to suggest that it involved primary research.

complying with the necessary requirements for legally remaining, through any illegal means" (articles 3(a) and 6(1)(c) of the Smuggling of Migrants Protocol).

A note on language: The UNODC refers to a person who crosses a foreign border in a movement that takes place outside the regulatory norms of the sending, transit and receiving countries as an 'irregular migrant' who is moving in the process of irregular migration. Although several of the works cited use the terms 'legal' and 'illegal' to refer to irregular migrants, the terms have been changed for the purposes of this annotated bibliography, except in cases in which the author was specifically calling attention to the use of those terms.

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[1] Creswell, J.W., *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods approaches* (Third edition), Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, CA, 2009, p. 233.
[2] ibid., p. 232.

Annotated bibliography

Agunias, D. R., Aghazarm, C. & Battistella, G. *Labour Migration From Colombo Process Countries: Good Practices, Challenges and Way Forward.* **Geneva: International Organization for Migration, 2011.**

Key words
Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, Myanmar, Republic of Korea, Thailand
Irregular migration

Research method
Mixed

Summary
This report highlights several good practices in labour migration management from Colombo Process countries that may be replicated within national contexts. (The Colombo Process refers to the Ministerial Consultation on Overseas Employment and Contractual Labour for Countries of Origin in Asia and is a forum to discuss issues and exchange information and experiences.) The report underscores that, despite recent migration policy successes, challenges remain to better protecting migrant workers, including reducing their vulnerability to irregular migration, safeguarding against illicit recruitment practices, providing welfare support to migrant families and offering reintegration support upon return to their country of origin.

The authors explain that in preparation for the 2011 Dhaka Ministerial Consultation and at the request of several Colombo Process countries, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) carried out research that takes stock of the current labour-migration dynamics. The information for the study derived from 11 country assessments that IOM field missions performed in each of the Colombo Process countries between August and November 2010. The template the field mission researchers used included indictors related to current migration flows, in particular labour migration, in addition to specific requests for good practice examples and challenges in all three migration phases. Field missions based the assessments on existing research studies, official data and policy documents provided by a range of government ministries.

Despite an increasing number of policy measures emphasizing regulation of the recruitment process, irregular migration in Asia continues to persist, according to the report. Irregular migrants easily travel over the borders between Bangladesh and India and between Myanmar and Thailand. Other migrants easily overstay their visas in Japan and the Republic of Korea. The report points out that the largest number of irregular migrants has been documented in Malaysia, where low-skilled jobs in the plantation industry attract irregular migrants, mainly from Indonesia.

Additionally, labour migration within and from the Colombo Process countries is significant and increasingly complex. An overwhelming majority of migrants leave on a temporary basis, and many are considered vulnerable because they migrate without documentation and frequently take on low-paid jobs in less skilled and largely unprotected sectors of the economy.

The report notes that Colombo Process countries have taken proactive steps to manage labour migration. In recent years, eight of the 11 Colombo Process countries amended regulations or adopted new legislation concerning labour migration; seven Colombo Process countries created new government structures dedicated to manage labour outflow and the welfare of overseas migrants; and 10 countries signed 59 bilateral agreements and memoranda of understanding with popular destination countries. Also, Colombo Process countries have launched specific programmes and activities at different levels of government to disseminate essential information, regulate the recruitment process, provide welfare support at origin and destination and maximize the benefits of labour migration. The authors highlight that through the review of these national programmes, a number of good practices have emerged that other Colombo Process countries can adopt and replicate. The report also, however, highlights some of the challenges that persist, particularly in implementing programmes. Challenges include information dissemination, managing recruitment, providing welfare support and maximizing the benefits of labour migration.

The report provides recommendations for Colombo Process countries to respond to current challenges, including improving existing pre-departure orientation programmes; developing existing migrant-resource or information centres and related services; developing and harmonizing regulations concerning recruitment agencies; expanding the use of standard contracts with explicit provisions on mutually acceptable placement fees, minimum or reference wages, job descriptions and skills accreditation; supporting self-regulation among agencies; further developing government-managed labour-migration schemes; improving the administration of and access to welfare funds and insurance schemes; enhancing welfare support provided at the destination, particularly by strengthening the capacity of diplomatic missions and partnering with the authorities in destination countries; reducing remittance transaction costs on remaining 'high-cost' corridors and providing information on cost-effective sending alternatives; and facilitating the reintegration of returning migrants.

The strength of the report is its discussion of those good practices in labour migration management, which can be studied, adopted and replicated within national contexts. Because the report focuses, for the most part, on regular migration, it does not make a significant contribution to the body of knowledge on irregular migration.

Amnesty International. *This is Breaking People: Human Rights Violations at Australia's Asylum Seeker Processing Centre on Manus Island, Papua New Guinea.* **Sydney, 2013.**

Key words
Afghanistan, Australia, Iraq, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Sri Lanka
Factors that fuel irregular migration, human and social costs of smuggling, irregular migration, modus operandi of smuggling, profiles of smuggled migrants, routes, smuggling

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This report examines human rights violations committed at Australia's asylum seeker processing centre on Manus Island in Papua New Guinea through the individual stories of asylum seekers, their motivations for leaving their countries of origin and their experiences during the journey to Australia, including their treatment at Manus Island.

Amnesty International researchers visited the Manus Island Regional Processing Center in Papua New Guinea from 11 to 16 November 2013. Three researchers, accompanied by professional interpreters of Arabic and Farsi, spent five days at the facility. They conducted in-depth individual interviews with 58 asylum seekers and spoke with many more on an informal basis during tours of the detention centre at several points during the week. The researchers also conducted three group sessions with asylum seekers. In addition, the researchers met with representatives of Australia's Department of Immigration and Border Protection, Papua New Guinea's Immigration and Citizenship Service Authority and the contracted security and service providers: G4S, International Health and Medical Services, the International Organization for Migration, the Salvation Army and Survivors of Torture and Trauma Assistance and Rehabilitation. In Lorengau, Manus Island's main town, the researchers met with medical staff at the Manus Hospital's dental, pathology and X-ray clinics and the senior Catholic priest. In Port Moresby, the researchers met with the Acting Chief Migration Officer, Papua New Guinea Immigration and Citizenship Service Authority, a representative of the Papua New Guinea Immigration and Citizenship Service Authority, the Medical Director of the Pacific International Hospital as well as medical staff and staff of the United Nations Development Programme. The researchers also conducted group and individual interviews in three Papuan communities, the population of which predominately consisted of individuals who had left the Papua region in Indonesia to seek asylum in Papua New Guinea for political reasons. The researchers also communicated by phone and email with the Australian Department of Border Protection and United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees officials based in Canberra.

The report examines the background to the offshore processing centre at Manus Island, noting that on 19

July 2013, the Australian Government, under then Prime Minister Kevin Rudd, and the Papua New Guinea Government, under Prime Minister Peter O'Neill, announced a new policy — the Regional Resettlement Arrangement. Under this policy, all asylum seekers arriving in Australia by boat who were sent to Papua New Guinea would be processed in Papua New Guinea and would never be resettled in Australia. All asylum seekers processed in Papua New Guinea and found to be refugees ultimately would be settled in Papua New Guinea unless the Government there chose not to accept them, in which case they would be resettled in a third country (but not Australia). The report explains that the stated aim of the Regional Resettlement Arrangement was to undermine the migrant smuggling industry by providing a deterrent to asylum seekers attempting to travel to Australia by boat.

The report presents details from the interviewed asylum seekers regarding their clandestine journeys to Australian territory. The majority of the interviewed asylum seekers were individuals fleeing ongoing armed conflict or other violence in such places as Afghanistan, Darfur, Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan, Somalia and Syria. They had often travelled through countries that lack refugee protection and had endured harrowing ocean voyages to Australia, sometimes as long as a week or more, in boats that were often dangerously overcrowded, poorly supplied for the journey and unseaworthy. A common motivation to travel to Australia was that the asylum seekers had heard that Australia was a strong supporter of human rights.

The report also covers the abuse of smuggled migrants and coercion by migrant smugglers. The researchers found that, due to their precarious status, asylum seekers frequently suffer abuses during their journey, whether at the hands of the smugglers they are paying to arrange their travel, at the hands of the employers for whom they may work if they spend extended periods of time in transit countries or at the hands of police and other officials. According to the report, asylum seekers are in an unequal bargaining position with smugglers and are often unprepared to deal with them.

The report discusses conditions on Manus Island, safety and security, medical services, refugee status determination, asylum claims on the basis of sexual orientation, unaccompanied and separated children and how Australia's policy of moving asylum seekers to the offshore processing centre at Manus Island breaches international law. It concludes with recommendations to the governments of Australia, Papua New Guinea, various countries of origin of asylum seekers, and transit and destination countries of asylum seekers regarding the human rights violations committed at the centre.

Through extensive interviews with asylum seekers residing in the offshore processing centre at Manus Island, the report provides insights into the modus operandi of migrant smuggling from a number of countries to Australia, smuggling routes and fees and payments for smuggling services. The report is a valuable resource because it is the only publication to examine the human rights abuses of asylum seekers at Manus Island.

Andrevski, H. & Lyneham, S. *Experiences of Exploitation and Human Trafficking Among a Sample of Indonesian Migrant Workers.* **Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology, 2014.**

Key words
Indonesia, Malaysia
Human and social costs of smuggling, smuggling

Research method
Mixed

Summary
This paper examines the experiences of exploitation and instances of human trafficking among a sample of Indonesian migrant workers in Malaysia.

The authors analysed data on Indonesian human trafficking victims obtained from the International Organization for Migration (IOM) Counter-Trafficking Module. This data was analysed alongside the review of existing literature on the exploitation and trafficking of Indonesian migrant domestic workers. The authors explain that this particular subset of data was chosen for analysis because half of trafficked Indonesians recorded in the Counter-Trafficking Module data reported being exploited as domestic workers in Malaysia.

The paper discusses the role of agents in organizing travel and employment of female Indonesian domestic workers in Malaysia. The authors explain that to avoid high costs, lengthy waiting periods and complex paperwork associated with legal migration, a substantial number of migrants seek alternative migratory pathways. This is made possible by large numbers of unlicensed brokers and recruitment agents who frequently make illegal arrangements to enable Indonesians to migrate via unofficial routes or by using fraudulent documentation.

The paper presents that nearly all of the Indonesian domestic workers in the data module who had worked in Malaysia revealed that they had been recruited by agents to work abroad. Six percent of the respondents indicated that they were recruited by a 'legal recruiting agent', and 70 percent indicated they were also recruited by an agent. However, the authors contend that it is unclear whether these agents were operating legally or without a license. More than half of the research participants declared that their documents were forged in order to travel, and half of them declared that they had not signed an employment contract. The authors found that respondents (the article has no clear reference to a survey) who reported travelling with forged documents and working without an employment contract were most likely to be recruited by an agent, including legal recruiting agents. Although nearly all respondents reported that they were in possession of their travel documents while travelling, half of them reported that their documents were later held by a labour agent or an employer once in Malaysia. Only 3 percent of the respondents reported that they maintained possession of their documents upon arrival at their final destination.

Through their analysis of existing data, the authors found a variety of indicators of exploitation as well as considerable levels of abuse among the sample of trafficked Indonesian domestic workers in Malaysia. As much as 91 percent reported that they had been totally denied freedom of movement. At the more extreme end of the spectrum of exploitation and abuse, 86 percent reported being psychologically abused while employed in Malaysia and 63 percent reported being physically abused. As well, 16 percent reported being sexually abused or raped during the course of their employment.

The authors conclude that the analysis of the IOM Counter-Trafficking Module data reveals the experiences of a largely hidden group of trafficked and exploited workers. The authors also conclude that a large proportion of Indonesians in the sample were trafficked for domestic service, which suggests an increased vulnerability to human trafficking for workers in this sector.

Through the analysis of the IOM Counter-Trafficking Module data, the paper provides insights into the range of risks that Indonesian domestic workers in Malaysia have encountered as well as new insights into the recruitment and placement practices of agents and deception and coercion related to employment.

Asian Development Bank & International Organization for Migration. *Facilitating Safe Labor Migration in the Greater Mekong Subregion: Issues, Challenges and Forward-Looking Interventions.* **Mandaluyong City, 2013.**

Key words
Cambodia, Lao PDR, Myanmar, Thailand, Viet Nam
Factors that fuel irregular migration, irregular migration, quantitative assessment, smuggling

Research method
Unknown

Summary
This report examines the facilitation of safe labour migration in the Mekong subregion. The report is a product of the collaborative partnership between the Asian Development Bank (ADB) and the International Organization for Migration (IOM). ADB commissioned IOM to review the trends and patterns of labour migration in the Mekong subregion and contribute to the dialogue process that would analyse labour migration as contributing to and resulting from the regional integration dynamics. The report outlines the main trends of labour migration in the Mekong subregion in terms of the constantly evolving economic and social dynamics that characterize them. Attention is brought to issues of intra-subregion migration,

rural–urban migration, border-related migration and migration outside the Mekong subregion.

The research methodology is not discussed; however, the report quantifies migrant stocks in the Mekong subregion and draws on quantitative and qualitative data and information from migration experts and IOM statistics. The report also incorporates inputs and insights from an expert-level workshop attended by academics and representatives of civil society organizations and international organizations as well as country and regional consultations under the auspices of the Greater Mekong Subregion Working Group on Human Resource Development.

The report examines migration patterns, including push-and-pull factors for irregular migration. It highlights issues of labour migration in the Mekong subregion and offers recommendations for increasing the social protection of migrants, such as increasing protection mechanisms for migrants in cross-border settings; strengthening capacity and legal framework in managing labour migration; enhancing social protection for migrants and their families; promoting ethical recruitment and employment; strengthening the return and reintegration support to migrants; and promoting the effective use of remittances.

The strength of the report is its discussion of labour migration trends in the Mekong subregion, including the migration drivers. The report does not directly contribute to the body of knowledge on irregular migration because the subjects of migrant smuggling and irregular migration are only addressed to a limited extent.

Asia–Pacific RCM Thematic Working Group on International Migration including Human Trafficking. *Situation Report on International Migration in South and South-West Asia: Asia–Pacific RCM Thematic Working Group on International Migration Including Human Trafficking.* **2011.**

Key words
Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Iran, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Turkey
Factors that fuel irregular migration, irregular migration, quantitative assessment

Research method
Mixed

Summary
This report examines characteristics and issues of concern regarding migration dynamics across 10 countries: Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Islamic Republic of Iran, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Turkey. Although the report mainly discusses migration issues in those countries, it also touches on issues associated with migrant smuggling and irregular migration.

The report is the result of a collaborative research effort by members of the Asia-Pacific Regional Coordination Mechanism (RCM) Thematic Working Group on International Migration including Human Trafficking, co-chaired by the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP) and the International Organization for Migration. The goal of the Thematic Working Group is to support the Millennium Declaration and the Millennium Development Goals in Asia and the Pacific by examining the links between migration and development.

The report analyses migration issues through 10 country chapters and eight thematic chapters. The thematic chapters contain an analysis of regional migration trends and issues from various standpoints, including the environment and climate change, gender, health, labour migration, policy and international cooperation, protection of the rights of migrant workers, refugees and stateless persons, and remittances.

The report discusses the size of migration flows in South and South-West Asia and posits that while the regions have large numbers of regular labour migrants, they also have the largest irregular and refugee populations in the world. These regions are forced to constantly contend with the complexities and dynamics of a migration context involving large populations of refugees or those in a refugee-like situation, large numbers of irregular migrants and large-scale human trafficking and migrant smuggling. Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka continue to be primarily countries of origin of migration in the region, while India, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Pakistan and Turkey are countries of origin and transit for regular and irregular migration,

in addition to being countries of destination of regular and irregular migration.

The report concludes that migration policies in the region should be gender-sensitive and take into consideration the specific needs of men and women. The report suggests that countries of origin and host countries of migration should work more collaboratively to create a structure that facilitates safe migration and provides skills training to boost the potential of migrant women.

The strength of the report is that it enhances the understanding of migration issues in South and South-West Asia by providing comprehensive reference material on international migration to assist scholars, policy makers and practitioners. The report provides detailed summaries of the migration situation in each of the 10 targeted countries, including push-and-pull factors for irregular migration and quantitative estimates of the size of the regular and irregular migration flows. Although the report's conclusion is brief, the report makes recommendations throughout the body of the text on how migration systems and policies can be improved to benefit migrants and States.

Bagaric, M. & Pathinayake, A. 'Mandatory Harsh Penalties for People Smugglers in Australia: Time for Reform'. *Journal of Criminal Law,* **vol. 76, No. 6, 2012, pp. 493–511.**

Key words
Australia
Human and social costs of smuggling, irregular migration, smuggling

Research method
Unknown

Summary
This article examines the subject of mandatory penalties for migrant smugglers in Australia. The authors argue that migrant smuggling offences in Australia carry long mandatory terms of imprisonment and that the penalties are so severe that many members of the judiciary in Australia have taken the unusual step of criticizing them.

The research methodology is not discussed but appears to have consisted of an analysis of migrant smuggling offences and mandatory penalties for migrant smugglers in Australia.

The article analyses the current sentencing principles and practice associated with punishing migrant smugglers. The authors suggest that the current legal position is unsound, that the penalties are too severe and that the penalties are incapable of achieving the principal objective of general deterrence. The authors argue for a reform of the penalties for migrant smuggling and suggest that such reform should consist of either abolishing the lengthy mandatory prison terms or, if the fixed term is maintained, reducing the minimum period of imprisonment to somewhere in the range of three months' imprisonment.

The authors also argue that the current Australian laws do not target the organizers of the smuggling journeys. They point out that the persons prosecuted in Australian courts are generally poor and illiterate Indonesian fishermen who are exploited by the smuggling organizers. The offenders have no understanding of the possible consequences of their actions and there is no evidence that the laws are deterring other boat journeys to Australia.

The article concludes that a three-year mandatory minimum non-parole term for the 'garden-variety' migrant smuggling offence is disproportionate to the seriousness of the offence. The authors also argue that what is likely to deter migrant smugglers is not the harshness of the penalty but the prospect of being apprehended and the knowledge that this will result in some form of criminal punishment.

The article provides insights into the subject of mandatory penalties for migrant smugglers in Australia. Even though the offences discussed in the article relate specifically to Australia, the principles discussed in the article have wide-ranging application.

Barker, C. *The People Smugglers' Business Model.* **Canberra: Parliament of Australia, 2013.**

Summary
This research paper examines the 'business models' of migrant smugglers, particularly in the context of migrant smuggling to Australia. The author analysed recent international research on migrant smuggling business models as well as relevant Australian case law to determine whether there is essentially one business model. The article brings together literature on smugglers' business models to determine how approaches to combating migrant smuggling can best be tailored to the Australian context.

The article defines migrant smuggling according to the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime and the accompanying Smuggling of Migrants Protocol. The report does not define a smuggler's business model but suggests that it includes such factors as an organization's structure and processes, how it interacts with competitors and customers and how it ensures its profitability.

To collect information, the author conducted a review of recent literature on the subjects of migrant smuggling and the business models of migrant smugglers. The author also referred to Australian migrant smuggling case law and recent migrant smuggling cases in Australia.

The examination of recent open-source research and Australian case law revealed that there is no single people smugglers' business model to explain how migrant smugglers operate, either internationally or in going to Australia. Certain themes are evident, however, including the predominance of fluid networks over more hierarchical organizations and the flexibility, adaptability and resilience of those involved. The author finds that the use of the singular terms 'the people smugglers' business model' or 'the people smuggling business model' gives the impression of a homogeneous market for which a single measure or one-size-fits-all solution might exist. The author concludes that the reality of a variety of business models operating at different stages of the supply chain between source countries and destination countries, including Australia, points to the need for a more tailored and considered approach to migrant smuggling.

The variety of business models employed by smuggling organizers is based on their particular circumstances and the services sought by irregular migrants. According to the article, smuggling networks appear to be widespread, migrant smuggling is primarily motivated by profit and migrant smuggling groups are flexible and resilient.

The strength of the article is that it draws on legal cases of smuggling to Australia to describe business models and subsequently determine tailored approaches to combating migrant smuggling. The article makes a contribution to the body of knowledge on migrant smuggling through its discussion of those legal cases, which provide insights into the modus operandi of migrant smuggling to Australia as well as fees and payments for smuggling services.

Summary
This article examines why and how young migrants go to the United Kingdom and the ways in which they enter the country. The article also considers the use of different immigration statuses, the role of the asylum system in migrants' strategies and the extent to which young migrants have agency in negotiating the complex immigration regime.

For data collection purposes, the researchers conducted in-depth qualitative interviews with

75 undocumented migrants, including 35 women and 40 men, aged 18–31, living in Birmingham, London and Manchester or the surrounding areas in the United Kingdom. Interviews were carried out with 16 young migrants from Brazil, China or Zimbabwe, 14 interviews with Kurds from Turkey and 13 interviews with Ukrainians. The research participants were accessed through a broad range of social networks and gatekeepers to ensure variety and diversity of migratory networks and experiences. Interviews were carried out between July and November 2008 by experienced field workers with relevant language fluency for each community.

The article examines the diversity between undocumented migration experiences and strategies as well as the motivations for irregular migration to the United Kingdom. The researchers found that the discrimination that young Kurdish undocumented migrants experienced as a minority group, such as police oppression and violence against them, and their fear due to their political activities and views were evident in their reasons for leaving. Avoiding military service was also an important reason to leave for some of the young male research participants. The researchers also found that the migratory decisions of Chinese young people were much more economically motivated than the reasons among Zimbabweans and Kurds. For most of the research participants, migration was led by a personal decision of the young person but was often taken in the context of economic considerations in relation to family and household circumstances.

In looking at the modus operandi of migrant smuggling into the United Kingdom, the researchers found that most of the Chinese undocumented migrants they met had entered the United Kingdom with forged documents or without any documents, having employed the services of smugglers.

The authors conclude that being undocumented intersects with migration and immigration trajectories as well as the motivations and experiences of young migrants. Some groups tend to arrive in an irregular way, notably Kurdish and Chinese migrants, whereas others arrive on visas with the intention of overstaying. The strategies used and the decisions made by the young undocumented migrants directly correlated with pre-migration experiences and the prevailing situation in their country of origin.

Through the analysis of interview data, the authors provide a detailed account of the complex interplay of youth and other factors in shaping young undocumented migrants' agency and the ways in which they negotiate and move between different statuses in the context of increased immigration controls.

Bonanno, G. 'Development Dynamics in the Greater Mekong Sub-Region: Trans-boundary Routes of Human Insecurity'. *Greater Mekong Subregion Academic and Research Network International Journal,* **vol. 6, No. 3, 2012, pp. 97–103.**

Key words
Myanmar, Thailand
Factors that fuel irregular migration, smuggling

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This article examines how new development dynamics in the Mekong subregion have prompted an increase in migration for survival. The author argues that the expansion of markets inevitably includes the internationalization of labour markets as well, which fosters increased intraregional mobility.

Data collection for the research involved analysis of official data published by the Mekong subregion countries on development and migration patterns and extensive field work activities. The author conducted interviews, both officially and privately, particularly in the northern part of the Mekong subregion, where transborder migration and smuggling have been occurring with high incidence. Through prolonged and direct contact with the situation and with local people, the author collected raw data and first-hand impressions on events related to migration. The article responds to its guiding analytical questions: What is happening in these cross-border communities? And what kind of new dynamics have emerged? Two case studies are highlighted in the article: one on the situation of Myanmar migrants along the Thailand–Myanmar border at Mae Sot, Thailand and the other on human trafficking and smuggling in the Mekong Delta region. These two case studies are used to

demonstrate the existing connections between transboundary issues, particularly those belonging to the sphere of illegality: irregular migration, human trafficking and drug smuggling.

The author finds that transborder crimes are linked and that frequently smuggling, drug trafficking and human trafficking are phases of a single event, which might start as economic migration but become human trafficking and drugs smuggling. The article also points out that a series of external factors, including globalization and the intervention of the international community, alongside rapid local development, have led to interdependency between smuggling and human trafficking.

The strength of the article is the use of field data to draw links between migrant smuggling and human trafficking and other crimes. The article demonstrates that, although there might be different reasons behind the single issues, often they are closely connected and influence one another.

Bradimore, A. & Bauder, H. 'Mystery Ships and Risky Boat People: Tamil Refugee Migration in the Newsprint Media'. *Canadian Journal of Communication,* vol. 36, No. 4, 2011, pp. 637–661.

Key words
Canada, Sri Lanka
Routes, smuggling

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This article examines how the Canadian newsprint media portrayed a 2009 event in which 76 Tamil refugees arrived off the coast of Victoria, British Columbia. The authors reviewed articles published in several Canadian newspapers to identify issues of framing and representation and to understand how Tamil refugees had been represented in the media. They found a negative representation of the Tamil refugees, who were constructed as irregular migrants, terrorists and carriers of disease.

The research involved an extensive review of Canadian newsprint media. The authors investigated the dominant narratives and thematic frames used to contextualize and characterize Tamil refugees and to understand how the refugees were perceived and why they were understood in this manner. In particular, the authors analysed the coverage of the 2009 boat arrival of the Tamil refugees in several prominent Canadian newspapers: the *Toronto Star*, *The Vancouver Sun* and the *National Post*.

Through their analysis, the authors identified a pattern regarding Canada's response to accepting maritime refugee arrivals, or 'boat people'. The authors found that Canadian newspapers relied heavily on terms of 'illegality' to describe the Tamil refugees. Links to terrorism and infectious disease were highlighted, with the result that the media contributed to creating an image of refugees as "illegal" migrants and criminals. The authors argue that this media representation serves to legitimize the detention of the refugees and to establish the necessary political environment in which the Canadian Government could usher in a controversial bill to reform Canada's refugee system.

The authors conclude that the Canadian media is intrinsically linked to political processes in Canada and that this is potentially dangerous when both media and political discourses are based on information that is biased and in which important facts are omitted and refugees' voices are totally silenced.

The strength of the article is that it contributes to scholarship on how refugees are racialized, securitized and situated within a discourse of risk. The authors add to the body of knowledge on how international media may contribute to practices of racialization, subordination, immigrant exclusion and national identify formation.

Cameron, M. 'From "Queue Jumpers" to "Absolute Scum of the Earth": Refugee and Organised Criminal Deviance in Australian Asylum Policy'. *Australian Journal of Politics & History,* vol. 59, No. 2, 2013, pp. 241–259.

Key words
Australia
Smuggling

Research method used
Unknown

Summary
This article discusses Australian asylum policy and representations of asylum seekers in recent decades. The author argues that the Australian Government no longer uses the characteristics of asylum seekers arriving by boat in Australia to represent them as a threat but, rather, it is the involvement of migrant smugglers.

The research methodology is not explained, but it appears that the author reviewed the Australian Government policy on asylum seekers and Australian Government rhetoric on asylum seekers and migrant smugglers.

The article presents the position that organized crime and migrant-smuggling discourses serve to externalize the asylum seeker 'problem' and maintain punitive responses. The author argues that punitive responses are more effectively maintained by the portrayal of migrant smugglers rather than asylum seekers as threatening because such a portrayal appeals to a broader spectrum of voters. It allows punitive policy responses to be presented as the culmination of international cooperation and fulfilment of international legal obligations, thus obscuring the continued suffering of asylum seekers.

The author argues that sustainable regional policy approaches should not be aimed at the eradication of irregular migration and the transnational organized crime of migrant smuggling but should instead aim to provide protection for those seeking asylum. Effective protection in this context should involve the maintenance of adequate human rights protection and efficient processing in transit countries and the provision of greater opportunities for resettlement in destination countries. The author concludes that until regional arrangements are modified and an approach based on protection rather than crime control is adopted in Australia and South-East Asia, there is little hope that the treatment of asylum seekers will improve.

The article provides insights into how asylum seeker discourses serve to externalize the asylum seeker 'problem' and maintain punitive policies. Because the article focuses on the subject of discourse, it does not make a direct contribution to the body of knowledge on irregular migration or smuggling.

Castles, S., Cubas, M., Kim, C. & Ozkul, D. 'Irregular Migration: Causes, Patterns and Strategies'. *Global Perspectives on Migration and Development*, I. Omelaniuk, ed., vol. 1, 2012. Netherlands: Springer, pp. 117–151.

Key words
Italy, Malaysia, Mexico, Republic of Korea, Turkey
Factors that fuel irregular migration, irregular migration

Research method
Unknown

Summary
This book chapter looks at the flows of irregular migration across the globe as well as the motivations and strategies employed by irregular migrants to reach destination countries. It also examines the policy responses of various States to irregular migration and highlights the flaws in these policies. The authors advocate a more humane approach to irregular migration that safeguards the rights and legitimate interests of migrants and a shift in public attitudes towards irregular migrants.

The authors discuss the concepts of illegal, undocumented, unauthorized and clandestine migration. They argue that public perceptions of irregular migration have become highly politicized and that these terms are now value-laden and often negative.

The chapter discusses the national laws and regulations that many States have introduced to restrict entry for asylum seekers, despite being signatories to the United Nations 1951 Refugee Convention and its 1967 Protocol. The authors argue that this creates the paradox in which asylum seekers have a right to apply for asylum but cannot enter a country legally to do so and therefore have to enter in an irregular way, sometimes with the assistance of migrant smugglers. The authors also discuss globalization as a cause of irregular migration and argue that irregular migrants help provide the labour market flexibility central to neoliberal globalization.

The chapter presents the position that many of the strategies and measures adopted by States and intergovernmental organizations to combat irregular migration are concerned with identifying, apprehending, detaining and deporting irregular migrants. These strategies lead to violations of the human rights of migrants and can be counterproductive because they force migrants underground and make them even more vulnerable to exploitation and abuse by smugglers and unscrupulous employers. The authors state that the main cause of irregular migration is not disregard of regulations by migrants but rather the growth of inequality within and between countries and the failure of States to create adequate migration regimes to meet economic demand. They contend that strategies to respond to irregular migration need to address its fundamental causes while safeguarding the rights and legitimate interests of irregular migrants. The chapter discusses some recent practical responses to irregular migration, including assisted voluntary return and reintegration programmes, regional consultative processes and circular or temporary migration schemes.

The authors also call for a fundamental change in attitudes as an important step towards fairer and more effective migration policies. They argue that migration should be seen not as a threat to state security but as a result of the human insecurity that arises through global inequality.

The chapter provides insights into the causes and flows of irregular migration and examines available data on irregular migration in various world regions. Through the analysis of this information and the case studies on Italy, Malaysia, Mexico, Republic of Korea and Turkey, the chapter contributes to the body of knowledge on irregular migration.

Chimienti, M. & Solomos, J. 'Social Movements of Irregular Migrants, Recognition and Citizenship'. *Globalizations***, vol. 8, No. 3, 2011, pp. 343–360.**

Key words
China, France, United Kingdom
Human and social costs of smuggling, irregular migration

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This article explores the mobilization and activities of irregular migrant social movements in France and the United Kingdom. It analyses the impact of irregular migration on conceptions of rights and citizenship and examines the role of mobilization by irregular migrants and their supporters to stress the importance of irregular migrants' everyday struggle for existence.

The authors define an irregular migrant as someone who migrates for work purposes and has both entered and worked irregularly since arriving in a country; someone who migrated legally but subsequently lost their permit of stay because their request for asylum was rejected or finished their studies or their tourist visa expired; or someone who migrated irregularly then requested asylum but was rejected and thus returned to irregularity.

The research methodology is not discussed, but a quote from a Chinese irregular migrant in the article suggests that the authors conducted interviews with irregular migrants in France and the United Kingdom for the research. The authors also analysed interview data presented in other studies, in addition to analysing the literature on irregular migration and irregular migrant social movements.

The authors describe the mobilization of irregular migrants in France in the 1980s; for example, the Turkish and Chinese irregular migrants in the Sentier neighbourhood of Paris, who organized and went on hunger strike in reaction to Bonnet's Circular (which led to the large-scale forced deportation of irregular migrants). They note that in the United Kingdom in 2007, a number of police raids occurred in Chinese restaurants in London's Chinatown and among enterprises that employed irregular migrant cleaners. Chinese irregular migrants were mobilized as the result of a campaign that aimed to organize low-paid workers in the London to secure better work conditions. These campaigns were led by unions, community networks and faith institutions and involved all categories of workers, including irregular ones for whom the main concern was with regularization. The authors argue that these cases highlight the ways in which irregular migrant

mobilizations are often triggered by a specific context, such as an event or action that is perceived as unjust and as creating subjective suffering.

Through their analysis of recent irregular migrant mobilizations, the authors find that irregular migrants are not a uniform group and that their social and economic rights vary according to the history of migration, the kinds of policies aimed at restricting migration and the demand for particular kinds of labour. The authors conclude that irregular migrant mobilizations have limited transformative potential; however, the micro changes they provoke may contribute to deeper social changes that can increase a society's ability to coordinate its diversity.

Due to the analysis of interviews conducted with irregular migrants, the article provides new insights into the factors that fuel irregular migrant mobilizations in destination countries.

Chu, C. 'Human Trafficking and Smuggling in China'. *Journal of Contemporary China,* vol. 20, No. 68, 2011, pp. 39–52.

Key words
Canada, China, Mexico, United States of America
Factors that fuel irregular migration, fees and payments for smuggling, modus operandi of smuggling, smuggling

Research method
Unknown

Summary
This article examines the causes, nature and impact of human trafficking and migrant smuggling on Chinese citizens, paying special attention to the two most seriously affected Chinese provinces—Fujian and Yunnan. It also discusses the efforts by both the Chinese authorities and international and domestic non-government organizations to combat migrant smuggling and human trafficking.

The article discusses the concepts of migrant smuggling and human trafficking in relation to the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, the Trafficking in Persons Protocol and the Smuggling of Migrants Protocol.

The research methodology is not made explicit, but it appears that the author conducted a review of recent literature on migrant smuggling and human trafficking in China and a review of recent trafficking and smuggling offences in and from China.

The article focuses its discussion on migrant smuggling and human trafficking incidents in Fujian and Yunnan provinces and discusses China's concentration of "human snakes". The article also examines the motivations for smuggled migrants to leave China, the costs for smuggling services and the modus operandi of smuggling networks. The article draws parallels between migrant smuggling and human trafficking and suggests that the two phenomena involve the same criminal networks and means and often contribute to identical crimes and social consequences.

The strength of the article is its discussion of the 'snakehead' network in China and the flows and routes of migrant smuggling and trafficking in persons from China to the United States, via Mexico or Canada. The article also provides insights into the response of the Chinese Government and NGOs to migrant smuggling and human trafficking and cites recent interagency collaborative efforts between, for example, the Chinese Government and international organizations, such as the International Labour Organization.

Crouch, M. & Missbach, A. *Trials of People Smugglers in Indonesia: 2007–2012.* Melbourne, Australia: Centre for Indonesian Law, Islam and Society, 2013, pp. 1–54.

Key words
Australia, Indonesia
Profiles of smuggled migrants, profiles of smugglers, routes, smuggling

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This paper looks at how the contemporary Indonesian legal system is dealing with migrant smuggling. It presents the findings of a survey of court cases from May 2011 to December 2012, which was the first 18 months of implementation of Indonesian Law

6/2011 on Immigration. The paper cites patterns in court cases in terms of the location of people smuggling operations, profiles of the accused, the criminal charges laid against them and the severity of penalties handed down by the courts.

For the study, the authors conducted an extensive survey of migrant smuggling cases, which are listed in the appendix to the paper. The authors looked for patterns in migrant smuggling cases being brought before the courts to demonstrate that some judges and prosecutors have disregarded the new penalty range of 5–15 years of imprisonment stipulated by article 120(1) of Law 6/2011 on Immigration.

The paper provides a brief overview of the Indonesian legislative framework as it addresses migrant smuggling and highlights the changes that have taken place. It considers arrests and prosecutions for various criminal offences of migrant smugglers between 2007 and 2011, prior to legislative reform. It highlights trends in cases brought to the courts after the reforms of May 2011 and December 2012. It concludes its illustration of the implementation of Law 6/2011 by analysing the Trenggalek Case, in which seven people, including four military officers, were tried and convicted for the offence of migrant smuggling. The authors argue that this case is important because it was the first time military personnel were convicted for such an offence, and it demonstrates the potential of the law to address complicity in migrant smuggling by law enforcement and government agencies.

The paper concludes that it is imperative that efforts to increase cooperation with Indonesia in terms of law enforcement take into consideration the important legal reforms that have taken place in addition to the recent increase in prosecutions. The authors argue that such efforts must go beyond a focus on how many people are prosecuted to consider programmes that will address the issue of who is being convicted for migrant smuggling and how the cases are dealt with by the courts. The paper also concludes that any efforts to increase the scope and depth of cooperation between Australia and Indonesia must take into account the progress made by law enforcement agencies in prosecuting migrant smugglers in Indonesian courts as well as the challenges they confront.

Through the survey of migrant smuggling cases and analysis of Indonesian law on migrant smuggling, the paper provides insights into the profiles of smuggled migrants and migrant smugglers, migrant smuggling flows and routes, fees paid for smuggling and the modus operandi of smuggling. It also highlights good practices in cooperation and legislative reform on migrant smuggling.

David, F. 'Organised Crime and Trafficking in Persons'. *Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice,* No. 436, 2012, pp. 1–12.

Key words
Australia
Concepts, profiles of smuggled migrants, profiles of smugglers, smuggling

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This article reviews the existing research on the organization of human trafficking and migrant smuggling internationally and, in particular, in Australia. The article highlights key concepts related to organized crime in relation to the trafficking of persons and migrant smuggling.

The article adopts the terminology of 'trafficking in persons' and 'smuggling of migrants' as defined in the Trafficking in Persons Protocol and the Smuggling of Migrants Protocol. The article posits that migrant smuggling is a related but distinct legal concept to trafficking in persons. Although the article focuses on trafficking in persons and the extent to which organized criminal groups are involved, it also discusses the intersection of human trafficking and migrant smuggling.

The author reviewed Australian and international literature to locate sources that seek to examine the people and processes involved in human trafficking. The review involved a keyword search of three social science bibliographic databases and two EndNote libraries. Following a review of the content of the sources picked out by the initial search, sources were included in the literature review for the article if they were published in or after 2000, reported findings from primary research and shed light on the

organization of human trafficking, the motivations of offenders and the intersections between human trafficking and other forms of criminality, such as migrant smuggling or drug smuggling.

The article discusses the findings from the literature review and examines several themes, including organized crime, organized crime models, the concept of financial or other benefit and the relationship between migrant smuggling and human trafficking. The article concludes that the Australian and international literature note an intersection between the services provided by intermediaries in the migration process, such as the provision of recruitment and migration services, and those involved in human trafficking. According to the author, this suggests a potential overlap between at least some forms of migrant smuggling, such as visa fraud, and human trafficking.

The strength of the article is its discussion of the areas of intersection between human trafficking and migrant smuggling.

Dimitriadi, A. *Migration from Afghanistan to Third Countries and Greece.* Athens: IRMA, 2013.

Key words
Afghanistan, Greece, Iran, Pakistan
Factors that fuel irregular migration, human and social costs of smuggling, modus operandi of smuggling, routes, smuggling

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This research report discusses irregular migration from Afghanistan to Iran, Pakistan and through Greece to the European Union. It examines the reasons for migration and explores the composition of asylum seeker and irregular migrant arrivals in Greece.

The author explains that because the migrants studied for the research were considered a mixed migrant group and for reasons of convenience the report uses the generic term 'migrant' to refer to refugees and persons in need of subsidiary and/or humanitarian

protection. The term 'asylum seeker' is used only for those individuals who have lodged an asylum claim.

Data collection for the study took place over a six-month period between December 2012 and May 2013. The author conducted semi-structured interviews to confirm and expand on the available literature on Afghan irregular migration. Interviews were conducted with the presidents of two Afghan associations that are active in Athens as well as with agencies that monitor irregular entry and exit from Greece, such as the police and Frontex. In addition, interviews were conducted with organizations involved with protection and access to asylum, such as the UN High Commissioner for Refugees office in Greece and the Greek Ombudsman.

The report explains that although Pakistan and Iran have historically welcomed Afghan refugees and provided them with access to education and health care, due to the ongoing influx of Afghans into their territories, Pakistan and Iran have both, in recent years, created measures to combat Afghan irregular migration. As a result, Afghan migrants are turning to new destinations, aware of the changes taking place in the reception and hosting policies of traditionally preferred destination countries. The report points out that new Afghan migrant flows are mixed in nature—they include Afghans who are migrating for the first time in search of protection, security or even financial reasons and refugees from Pakistan and Iran of second and/or third generations who can neither remain in their hosting countries nor return to Afghanistan.

The author examines the routes taken by irregular migrants through Greece as a transit country to the European Union. The author contends that the routes are partly determined by the points of departure and geography. For example, those Afghan migrants who depart from the southern and eastern parts of Afghanistan tend to enter Pakistan first, whereas those situated in the western areas tend to travel to Iran. The author highlights the dangers associated with the journeys and argues that the passage in both cases is difficult—from the Pakistani side because of the mountains of the Hindu Kush that those entering from the North-East will encounter and also because of the desert and steppes for those heading to the south-western end, towards Iran.

The report also describes how Greece, in response to the rapid increase in irregular migrants transiting its territory, has sought EU assistance to protect its borders from unwanted irregular migrants. In response to the new border protection efforts, there has been a dramatic drop in apprehensions of irregular migrants over the past two years. However, the author suggests that while EU cooperation on preventing irregular migration has improved and irregular migrant numbers have decreased, reduced numbers do not mean that immigrants have stopped trying to enter Greece.

The report concludes that, due to existing immigration policies, a fragmented asylum system, racist violence, social exclusion and the economic crisis, Greece is not considered a country of destination for Afghan asylum seekers and irregular migrants but merely a country of transit. Difficulties in finding residence in Greece and achieving integration have even led those who have received the much-sought-after refugee status or residency permit to consider migrating to another EU Member State. The author points out that, simultaneously, leaving Greece is becoming harder for irregular migrants, with intensification of checks at major ports and airports. The result is the emergence of an Afghan migrant population that is urged to return 'home', even if that home is unsafe or it has been many years since the migrants have seen their country of origin.

Through the collection and analysis of qualitative information on irregular migration from Afghanistan, the report makes a contribution to the body of knowledge on Afghan irregular migration, the motivations for leaving and the routes taken to various EU countries.

Duvell, F. 'Irregular Migration'. In *Global Migration Governance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Key words
United States of America
Concepts, factors that fuel irregular migration, irregular migration

Research method
Unknown

Summary
This book chapter covers the emergence of the regional and interregional governance of irregular migration in the context of Europe and the Americas. The chapter argues that the focus of the emerging governance has been predominantly on security, to the detriment of the human rights of irregular migrants.

The author discusses the concepts of irregular migration and illegal migration. 'Illegal migration' is defined as clandestine entry, overstaying or irregular employment. It covers serious offences, such as falsifying documents. According to the author, irregular migration is often conflated with refugees, asylum seekers, migrant smuggling and human trafficking.

The research methodology is not explicitly discussed but appears to have consisted of a review of recent policy developments in Europe and the Americas on irregular migration.

The chapter explains that, despite the development of an array of new policy initiatives to combat irregular migration, the number of irregular migrants has not decreased. Looking specifically at the Americas, the chapter notes that immigration policies have had little or even no discernible effect on the overall flow of migrants who enter a country illegally and, instead, have had significant unintended consequences, such as the settlement and constant increase of the irregular immigrant population in the United States.

The chapter finds that the dynamics of regionalization processes in the field of irregular migration are complex. A number of patterns are identified: a receiving country approaches a transit or sending country, arguing that they have an irregular migration problem because the other country does not properly secure its borders; the International Organization for Migration or another actor explains to a government that it has a problem with irregular migration; or a transit or receiving country believes that it has problems with irregular migration and invites others to address the issue.

The chapter concludes that the governance of irregular migration combines a number of paradigms that aim at the prevention of irregular migration, at frustrating irregular migrants' journeys and their

return home. The author concludes that these controls lead irregular migrants to cross international borders in increasingly hazardous ways, which raises important ethical issues for such policies.

The chapter makes a contribution to the body of knowledge on irregular migration through its analysis of irregular migration and migration policy development in the two case study regions.

Duvell, F. & Vollmer, B. *European Security Challenges.* **Oxford, UK: Centre on Migration, Policy and Society, University of Oxford, 2011.**

Key words
Algeria, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Egypt, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Libya, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, Poland, Russia, Slovakia , Spain, Syria, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukraine
Factors that fuel irregular migration, irregular migration

Research method
Unknown

Summary
This paper discusses the scope of migration in the European Union, the various types of migrants, including regular and irregular immigrants and asylum seekers, as well as the routes and methods of irregular migration.

The paper addresses the concept of illegal stay. It references EU law on its definition of 'illegal stay', defining it as the presence on the territory of a Member State of a third-country national who does not fulfil or no longer fulfils the conditions of entry as set out in article 5 of the Schengen Borders Code or other conditions for entry, stay or residence in that country.

The research methodology is not discussed but appears to have involved an extensive review of irregular migration literature, policies and statistics.

The paper first discusses the different types of migration to the European Union, including irregular migrants and asylum seekers. Second,

it sketches the definitions, types, patterns and geographies of irregular migration in Europe. Third, it considers EU and regional policies, politics and institutions as well as operations and resources that address irregular migration. It concludes with a discussion of the impact of the global economic crises and recent political upheaval on the irregular migration phenomenon.

The paper also examines the different types of geographies of irregular migration in Europe and countries or regions of origin; routes of (irregular) migration towards the European Union; hubs of clandestine migrants, transit migration and points of entry; onward migration within the European Union; and countries of destination. It identifies four quadrants of transit migration: the Eastern quadrant (Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Azerbaijan), the South-East European quadrant (Turkey, Syria, Cyprus, the Balkans), the Central Mediterranean quadrant (Mali, Niger, Libya, Tunisia) and the Western Mediterranean and Atlantic quadrant (Morocco, Algeria, Mauritania). The article also identifies a number of key routes, including from sub-Saharan or West Africa towards Cape Verde, Canary Islands and/or Morocco towards Spain; from sub-Saharan, East and West Africa via Libya and the Central Mediterranean Sea towards Malta and Italy; from sub-Saharan, East and West Africa and from Central and South Asia through Turkey to Greece and sometimes to Bulgaria; from West and East Africa and from Central, South and South-East Asia through Russia and Ukraine to Hungary, Slovakia and Poland. Other minor routes are also described, such as the route from Turkey to Cyprus and from Egypt to Greece and Italy and through the Balkans.

The paper concludes with a discussion of various irregular migration controls. It criticizes the theory that a decrease of irregular migration flows implies that integrated policies, concerted actions and technological advances have a substantial impact on irregular migration and deter migrants and smugglers from continuing to use certain routes. The author concludes that individuals who are committed to irregular migration and who have the resources to afford smugglers will eventually manage to overcome the controls.

The strength of the paper is its discussion of the various routes of irregular migration and the modus operandi of migrant smuggling to Europe.

Düvell, F. 'Irregular Immigration, Economics and Politics'. *DICE Report,* **vol. 9, No. 3), 2011, pp. 60–67.**

Key words
Factors that fuel irregular migration, irregular migration

Research method
Unknown

Summary
This article discusses irregular migration from a global perspective. It argues that there are numerous benefits to irregular migration, including its contribution to economies of scale and increased domestic product.

The research methodology is not discussed, but it appears to have consisted of a review of recent literature on irregular migration, including the author's previous research publications.

The article discusses how a number of combinations of regularity and irregularity are possible and demonstrates these in a table. This discussion and the corresponding table are used to support the author's argument that there are several types of irregular migration and that one form can lead to another. The author concludes that 'irregularity' is not a clear-cut category.

The author finds that few irregular immigrants live an 'underground life'. Rather, they generally live in the midst of societies but are almost unrecognizable. The author points out that irregular migration can contribute to economies of scale, larger domestic markets, higher gross domestic product values and an enriched and more dynamic environment. The author argues that irregular migration is, in fact, an alternative to closing down or outsourcing and helps to maintain industries and protect indigenous jobs.

The strength of the article lies in its discussion of the variations of irregular migration and its argument that irregular migration is not necessarily the burden to societies that it has been presented as in recent literature.

Düvell, F. 'Transit Migration: A Blurred and Politicised Concept'. *Population, Space and Place,* **vol. 18, No. 4, 2012, pp. 415–427.**

Key words
Iraq, Turkey
Concepts, irregular migration

Research method
Unknown

Summary
This article examines the concept of transit migration and argues that this term is a blurred and highly politicized concept that merits further critical analysis.

According to the author, the emergence of the concept of transit migration is closely related to political motivations and it is often negatively connoted and highly politicized. As well, the way the concept is applied by some supranational, international and intergovernmental organizations is often grossly simplified and misleading.

The research methodology is not discussed but appears to have consisted of a review of recent literature on transit migration and a review of international and regional policies and processes designed to curb transit migration.

The article first addresses the question of the emergence and construction of the concept of transit migration and the political framework and discourses that brought about this concept. It then proceeds to analyse how the transit migration term reinforces the European Union's efforts to externalize its migration policy and integrate non-EU countries into a comprehensive migration control policy. The article critically analyses the causes and conditions of transit migration, describes transit migration geography and discusses some methodological and analytical pitfalls and difficulties of researching transit migration.

The article also examines "alarmist" figures on transit migration that have been published since the 1990s. The author finds that the blurred and politicized concept of transit migration, combined with the alarmist figures on transit migration, has led to the increasingly militarized control of land and sea borders.

The strength of the article is that it illustrates the sometimes inappropriate use of the concepts of transit migration, transit migrants and transit countries. It demonstrates that what is considered transit migration often is not or is a simplified, biased and misleading expression of the types of migration at stake. Because the article focuses on a conceptual exploration of transit migration, it does not make a direct contribution to the body of knowledge on irregular migration.

Ellis, R. E. 'Chinese Organized Crime in Latin America'. *PRISM,* vol. 4, No. 1, 2013, pp. 65–77.

Key words
Canada, China, Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico, Netherlands, Peru, Suriname, United States of America
Routes, smuggling

Research method
Unknown

Summary
This article examines four current domains of criminal activity between China and Latin America—the extortion of Chinese communities in Latin America, trafficking in persons from China through Latin America into the United States or Canada, trafficking in narcotics and precursor chemicals and trafficking in contraband goods. The section on trafficking in persons from China through Latin America into the United States or Canada also looks at migrant smuggling from China to the same destination countries and provides a brief but informative synopsis of the typical routes and modus operandi of migrant smuggling.

The research methodology is not discussed. It appears the author reviewed recent literature on trafficking in persons and migrant smuggling, analysed recent migrant smuggling events and cases and analysed States' border control policies in response to migrant smuggling.

According to the research, there are a number of routes of migrant smuggling to Europe and different parts of South America. In the case of Suriname, for example, many immigrants travel through the Netherlands, although the Dutch authorities have recently taken steps to combat those flows. Many immigrants begin their trip through South America in the Pacific coast nations of Colombia, Ecuador or Peru. Nationals crossing through the southern border of Mexico enter mainly at Frontera Corozal, in the state of Chiapas, into Tapachula, where there is a sizable ethnic Chinese community. They then journey by train to the Atlantic coast through territory controlled by Los Zetas. Separately, Chinese migrants enter directly from Asia, passing through ports on the Mexican Pacific coast.

The article argues that part of the worrisome dynamic created by illicit flows is the opportunities for interaction they create between the mafias linked to China, such as the Red Dragon, which manage the journeys of these immigrants, and the Latin American–based criminal groups that control the territory through which they pass, such as Mexico-based transnational criminal organizations.

The article concludes that Latin American law enforcement is unprepared to meet the challenge of increasing criminal ties between the two regions. The author recommends collaboration on organized crime among the United States, China and the countries of Latin America as an important vehicle for building confidence and capacity to combat criminal activity, such as irregular migration and migrant smuggling.

The strength of the article is its discussion of the routes taken by Chinese smuggled migrants to South America. Due to the brevity of its discussion and its focus on a number of elements of organized crime, the article does not make a direct contribution to the body of knowledge on migrant smuggling.

Ensor, M. & Gozdziak, E. *Children and Migration.* Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

Key words
Canada
Irregular migration, smuggling

Research method
Mixed

Summary

This book discusses various aspects of child migration, including irregular migration and migrant smuggling, and explores the crossroads of challenges and opportunities in the field of child migration. It also revisits key terms to search for conceptual frameworks and research strategies that would enhance the understanding of the multifaceted nature of child migration. The book also examines the vulnerability and agency of migrant children as well as emerging trends in policy and practice related to child migrants.

The book defines 'children in migration' as referring to, often uncritically, a variety of circumstances in which children find themselves with increasing frequency—child refugees, asylum seekers, unaccompanied minors, trafficked children, children displaced by disaster, street children and economic child migrants. The book defines migrant smuggling according to the Smuggling of Migrants Protocol.

Much of the research presented in the book is qualitative and ethnographic in nature, seeking to trace movements of children and understand the experience of migration from their perspective. A few chapters also draw on quantitative surveys carried out in source and destination countries.

The essays in the book are organized into four themes. In the first section, the writings address the issues of research, voice and representation. In the second section, the role of policy, legal provisions and human rights frameworks in shaping the lives of migrant children are explored. The third section of the book examines questions of practice, coping and agency. The fourth section looks at the numerous push-and-pull factors that lead to unaccompanied children being forced to migrate. The fifth section examines child migration as a search for better opportunities. In the final chapter, lessons from the case studies of child migration around the world are explored for research gaps and to make recommendations for improving child protection policies and practices.

One chapter in particular examines the subject of migrant smuggling—Unaccompanied Minors at the Crossroads in British Columbia: Migration and Trafficking. This chapter discusses the minors who came under the care of the Migrant Services Program in Canada between 1991 and 2005, including the year in which they arrived, their countries of origin, the type of transportation used and whether they entered through unauthorized means.

The chapters in the book address theoretical, methodological and ethical considerations of research with migrant children and examine aspects of health, education and gender issues as well as the special circumstances presented by forced migration. A common thread that unifies the chapters is the understanding that conceptualizations of childhood and acceptable roles for children at different ages vary over gender, class and space and need to be examined from both local and global perspectives.

The strength of the book is its examination of migrating children's vulnerability and agency in the migration process. The chapter on unaccompanied migrant children in Canada provides information regarding the modus operandi of smuggling.

Summary
This article examines the irregular sea migration of Rohingya Muslims who flee from Myanmar to escape state-sponsored persecution. Reflecting on the recent deaths of thousands of Rohingya Muslims who sought protection in neighbouring countries, such as Thailand, Malaysia, and Indonesia, the author analyses the question of States' right to border control via their obligations to irregular sea migrants under the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea, the International Convention on Maritime Search and Rescue, the International Convention for the Safety of Life at Sea, the Refugee Convention and various other international human rights instruments.

The article examines the plight of the Rohingya refugees of Myanmar and Asian States' responses, in particular, the cases of Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia and India's Andaman Islands. The article describes how Thailand has adopted a number of draconian measures to prevent Rohingya refugees arriving on Thailand's shores, including pre-border interception and a highly criticized boat 'push back' policy. The author notes that in the case of Malaysia, there is no asylum system, and even if Rohingyas were granted refugee status, under Malaysia's general immigration law, they are not distinguished from other undocumented workers and are, rather, considered as migrants who entered the country "illegally" and thus face the constant threat of deportation. Indonesia has also denied the right of asylum to Rohingyas. The author explains that Rohingya men, rescued by the Indonesian Coast Guard, were transferred to Bangladesh following a prolonged detention at naval camps on the northern part of the archipelago. In the case of India's Andaman Islands, Indian officials have been lax in monitoring the organized migrant smuggling operations in their territory.

The author concludes that Rohingya refugees are not treated as refugees who must be accorded protection but are considered undesirable aliens who are to be prevented entry into various States' territory through pre-border interception or are to be repatriated back to their country of origin.

The article advocates a paradigm shift from individual state responsibility to regional burden sharing. Countries in the region must make an effort to establish systematic refugee identification processes as well as an effective appeals system. The author also suggests that national programmes for the integration of Rohingya refugees should be advanced and that there must be a renewed commitment by South and South-East Asian States to ratify the various international legal instruments, particularly the 1951 Refugee Convention and the 1976 Protocol.

The strength of the article is its analysis of how Rohingya refugees are turned into "illegal" immigrants by the countries to which they seek refuge. The author highlights the poor treatment of Rohingya refugees who are unable to claim asylum in Asian States because they are effectively blocked from landing or repatriated to their home country.

Financial Action Task Force. *Money Laundering Risks Arising from Trafficking in Human Beings and Smuggling of Migrants.* **Paris: Financial Action Task Force, 2011.**

Key words
Human and social costs of smuggling, smuggling

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This report reflects a study of the money laundering risks arising from trafficking in persons and migrant smuggling. It assesses the scale of the money laundering problem, presents trends in human trafficking and migrant smuggling, trends in money laundering (from case studies) and discusses the possibility of locating and confiscating the proceeds from human trafficking and migrant smuggling.

Migrant smuggling is defined in the report within the definition provided by the Smuggling of Migrants Protocol.

In preparing the report, the project team drew on literature and initiatives from the Financial Action Task Force and the Asia/Pacific Group on Money Laundering. The researchers also analysed reports produced by international organizations, such as the United Nations Office on Drug and Crime and the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, and research initiatives undertaken by individual jurisdictions either jointly or separately or by NGOs and the private sector. The project team also developed a comprehensive questionnaire that was distributed to Financial Action Task Force members and observers, which resulted in 52 responses.

The report describes the main trends detected for money laundering that are similar to those of other offences, including the use of cash-intensive businesses, money service businesses, hawala (informal banking) systems, cash couriers, front companies, the commingling of funds, aliases, straw men and false documents. Investments in real estate, in cars or in supporting a lifestyle were also most frequently reported.

The study found a lack of adequate information about the number of persons being trafficked and smuggled and that there is even less information about the income generated by these activities and how it is laundered. The report discusses region-specific trends and distinctions that can be drawn among countries of origin, transit and destination. The criminals involved in human trafficking and migrant smuggling are particularly engaged in the handling of and movement of cash. According to the report, there are links between trafficking in persons and migrant smuggling and other forms of organized crime.

The report identifies several challenges, in particular in limited international cooperation and the difficulty to detect funds and gather evidence. The report concludes that a number of issues require further consideration, including the need for more data and the need for more focus on money laundering rather than the predicate crime itself. The effective pursuit of money laundering activity from human trafficking and migrant smuggling will require cooperation among all relevant agencies.

The strength of the report is in its discussion of migrant smuggling trends, including countries of origin, and analysis of the scale of the migrant smuggling problem. The report provides new insights, through the analysis of questionnaire responses, into the question of where money laundering is occurring and what form it is taking.

Ford, M. & Lyons, L. 'Outsourcing Border Security: NGO Involvement in the Monitoring, Processing and Assistance of Indonesian Nationals Returning Illegally by Sea'. *Contemporary Southeast Asia,* **vol. 35, No. 2, 2013, pp. 215–34.**

Key words
Indonesia
Irregular migration, smuggling

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This article considers the role of the Indonesian NGO Gerakan Anti-Trafficking (GAT) in performing border security work in the Riau Islands of Indonesia. The authors focus on GAT to build on the knowledge of emerging modes of non-state involvement in border regulation.

For the study, the authors conducted interviews with GAT staff to create a case study of the NGO's operations.

The article discusses how, since the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, Indonesia's national and local authorities have been under immense pressure from the international community to develop and implement programmes that address border security concerns. The authors found that much of the groundwork for both government and international initiatives is performed by NGOs. The article suggests that most of these NGOs work to locate and assist repatriated migrant workers or victims of trafficking; however, in the case of GAT, the NGO has gone far beyond this kind of identification and protection work by developing a system to apprehend undocumented labour migrants who use the services of migrant smugglers to return to Indonesia without passing through immigration.

The authors describe the work of GAT, including its involvement in monitoring labour-sending companies in Batam island and identifying trafficking cases in the flows of irregular migrants returning through unofficial routes to Batam. The authors also describe how, with the assistance of villagers who report the arrival of irregular migrants, GAT staff facilitate the processing of these arrivals. They collect the names and birth dates of the returnees and send this information to relevant government offices in the Riau Islands every three months. The article examines GAT's other border security activities, such as performing a kind of 'customs check' on all arrivals to detect contraband goods (such as illicit drugs and weapons). GAT also collects fingerprint data to compare with biometric data contained in passports and other documents for the purpose of gathering information on the number of times an individual crosses the border illegally, whether he or she possesses a valid passport and where the passport was issued.

The article argues that GAT's main aim in processing the arrival of returnees is to facilitate their return to their provinces of origin, thus bringing the

undocumented migrants back into the very system they had sought to avoid by entering Indonesia illegally.

Even though there is some cooperation between GAT and the Ministry of Social Welfare, the state functionaries most closely involved in policing the border have chosen not to act on the information GAT passes on to them. The authors conclude that, although undoubtedly novel, GAT's activities ultimately neither support the activities of the State nor challenge the legitimacy and efficacy of its border protocols.

The strength of the article is that the GAT case study provides an interesting example for reflecting on the role of non-state actors in border control in Indonesia. The case study is also useful for examining the extent to which the activities of NGOs support government regulation or challenge the legitimacy and efficacy of state regulation of borders more generally.

Francis, A. & Maguire, R. *Protection of Refugees and Displaced Persons in the Asia Pacific Region.* **Farnham, UK: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2013.**

Key words
Australia, Bangladesh, China, Hong Kong (China), Indonesia, Malaysia, Myanmar, Thailand
Factors that fuel irregular migration, irregular migration, routes, smuggling

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This book examines the development and enforcement of international refugee protection standards in the Asia–Pacific region. It presents a number of case studies and provides a comparative analysis of refugee protection provisions in Australia, Bangladesh, China, Indonesia, Malaysia, Myanmar and Thailand. The chapters assess the challenges confronting the implementation of international refugee protection law in the region and highlight opportunities for extending protection norms into national and regional dialogues. Although the book focuses on the question of refugee protection, it also

discusses irregular migration to various Asia–Pacific countries as well as state policies and responses to irregular migration.

The chapters explore the developments of regional arrangements in Asia and the Pacific that deal with refugees and other displaced persons. The early chapters examine the Refugee Convention and the equitable sharing of responsibilities for refugees, the role of civil society in the fight for refugee rights in the region and existing protection mechanisms for refugees in South-East Asia. Other chapters focus on refugee protection in specific countries, including China, Hong Kong (China), Indonesia and Malaysia. The final chapters address the issue of Australia's anxieties regarding migrant smuggling, the situation of internally displaced persons in northern Thailand and the international regulation of persons displaced by climate change.

The book seeks to respond to a number of important questions regarding refugee issues for Asia–Pacific States. For example, why should the Asia–Pacific States seek regional solutions to refugee flows? What should this kind of regional agreement look like? What lessons can the Asia–Pacific region learn from other regions of the world? What role can civil society take in refugee protection? To respond to these questions, the chapters take stock of regional and global developments and explore the historical and political environment for the reception of protection norms in the Asia–Pacific region. They assess the challenges confronting the implementation of international refugee law in the region as well as the new opportunities for extending protection norms into national and regional dialogues. The chapters also explore how protracted refugee situations in the region have been handled. The book draws parallels between the refugee issues within the Asia–Pacific region and other regions.

The strength of the book is that it raises critical questions regarding the protection of refugees and other displaced persons for the Asia–Pacific region. It examines the links between different people movements, including refugees, irregular migrants and smuggled migrants. It provides insights into the challenges confronting the protection of refugees and displaced persons and provides recommendations on the way forward.

Frontex. *Unaccompanied Minors in the Migration Process.* **Warsaw, 2010.**

Key words
Afghanistan, Brazil, China, Greece, India, Iraq, Nigeria, Sri Lanka, Somalia, Viet Nam
Factors that fuel irregular migration, irregular migration, routes, smuggling

Research method
Mixed

Summary
This report explores the phenomenon of unaccompanied minors claiming asylum in the European Union.

The report is the result of the European Commission's request to Frontex to launch a fact-finding study to assess the situation of unaccompanied minors arriving irregularly in the European Union. Frontex was asked to include a separate paragraph on vulnerable groups and to assess the modalities of this migration and the weaknesses it exploits. The backbone of the study consisted of EU Member States' replies to a questionnaire on unaccompanied minors claiming asylum, sent out from the Centre for Information, Discussion and Exchange on the Crossing of Borders and Immigration in the second half of 2009. The questionnaire collected information on: trends, modus operandi, pull factors, profiles of victims, unaccompanied minors who do not apply for asylum, disappearance of unaccompanied minors, preventive measures, return to countries of origin and major challenges in protecting unaccompanied minors. The data integrated and evaluated in the report was collected through the questionnaire as well as in-house resources and fact-finding missions to partner organizations and countries of interest. The initial data set was also complemented with statistics from the European Migration Network.

According to the report, an estimated 15,700 unaccompanied minors sought asylum in the European Union in 2008; the top-five nationalities among them were Afghans, Iraqis, Somalis, Indians and Nigerians. They were mainly young males, aged 16–17.

The report explains that the smuggling routes, modus operandi and the kind of facilitation vary according to the nationality of the minors. For example, those from Afghanistan, Iraqi and Iran favoured the land route towards the European Union, crossing Turkey in small groups with adults. They then entered through the Greek sea or land borders. Minors from Brazil, China, India, Sri Lanka and Viet Nam travelled by air using false documentation or/and false pretences as organized groups, students or for reasons of family reunification.

The report also discusses the push-and-pull factors, finding that unaccompanied minors claiming asylum are pulled by the prospects of employment in destination regions and the perceived level of social welfare and protection offered by a Member State. They are also drawn to already-settled family, relatives or clan members.

The report concludes that smuggled children are much more likely to become victims of sexual, economic and/or criminal exploitation. Family members are sometimes among the exploiters who take advantage of the children. The authors argue that unaccompanied minors constitute a sensitive population that should be more efficiently protected from any form of abuse.

Through analysis of the data collected through the questionnaire on unaccompanied minors claiming asylum, the report provides new information on irregular migration trends and profiles of irregular minors and highlights the major problems associated with managing the irregular migration of unaccompanied minors.

Ganguly-Scrase, R. & Sheridan, L. 'Dispossession, Human Security, and Undocumented Migration: Narrative Accounts of Afghan and Sri Lankan Tamil Asylum Seekers'. Wollongong, Australia: University of Wollongong Research Online, 2012.

Key words
Afghanistan, Australia, Sri Lanka
Factors that fuel irregular migration, profiles of smuggled migrants, routes, smuggling

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This article provides a narrative account of the migrant smuggling experiences of Afghan and Sri Lankan Tamil asylum seekers. Through the voices of the asylum seekers, it provides analysis of Afghans' and Sri Lankan Tamils' experiences of the asylum seeker application process, their frustrations with the legal migration processes and their decisions to resort to migrant smuggling.

To understand the complex decision-making processes of internally displaced people intending to travel via undocumented means to seek asylum, a qualitative methodological framework was adopted. Data collection was performed through semi-structured in-depth interviews with people in their countries of origin. Interviews were conducted over a period of several months in 2010 and 2011 among Sri Lankan Tamils in Jaffna, and Afghans in Kabul and Jalalabad. The Afghan research participants were drawn from several minority ethnic groups, such as the Baluchis, Hazaras and Tajiks.

All Sri Lankan Tamils interviewed were planning to undertake unauthorized travel to a Western country to seek asylum, but a number of Afghan respondents expressed the desire to settle in nearby countries, to which they had previously travelled. The difference is explained as being, in part, due to the diverse socio-economic and cultural backgrounds of the Afghans, ranging from wealthy businessmen who had fallen on hard times to professionals to petty traders. In comparison, the Sri Lankan Tamils were from much poorer, working class backgrounds. Many also had relatives in Western countries and were prepared to risk the undocumented journey.

The strength of the report is its description of the complex push-and-pull factors for migrant smuggling and the description of smuggled migrant profiles and migrants' experiences in seeking asylum. The report explains the asylum seekers' attempts at legal migration and how these individuals turn to migrant smugglers as a last resort. The report makes a contribution to the body of knowledge on how asylum seekers, due to the lack of opportunity to migrate through regular channels, are forced to use irregular means to reach destination countries.

Ghosh, B. The Global Economic Crisis and Migration—Where Do We Go From Here? Geneva: International Organization for Migration, 2010.

Key words
Factors that fuel irregular migration, irregular migration

Research method used
Qualitative

Summary
This book explores the global recession's impact on migration policies and patterns. It discusses the recent decline in global economic growth and examines the subjects of international trade, capital flows, development aid and remittances. The author links the global recession to issues of joblessness and incomes, changes in the labour force and growing poverty and inequality. The author draws on experiences of past recessions, highlights trends in job market recovery, economic recovery and government reactions to economic crises. The author discusses how these trends affect countries of the global North and the global South and overall migration patterns. Although the book largely focuses on regular migration, it also includes a discussion of the impact of the global economic crisis on irregular migration.

The book is the result of international organizations' increasing concerns, in 2009, of the impact of the economic crisis on international migration. The International Organization for Migration requested the author to carry out a comprehensive analysis of the migration issues involved with the economic crisis and possible ways to address them. The book was mostly written as the global recession unfolded and in its immediate aftermath.

The first chapter starts with reflections on the world economic background that shaped the recent recession. This chapter also examines the dynamics and ramifications of the global economic crisis. The discussion analyses the effects of the global crisis on jobs, wages and workforces, including trends in poverty and inequality worldwide. The second chapter looks at the impact of the economic crisis on the patterns and policies of international migration. The third chapter discusses the question of how these changes are likely to affect migrant-sending

and migrant-receiving countries and the world economy. The fourth chapter puts forward a set of specific policy and operational measures to address the potential perils and pitfalls embedded in the recession-driven changes in migration. The book concludes with a discussion on what the future of world migration might look like. It proposes that an increase in South–South migration may occur over time alongside a gradual lessening of tension in South–North migration.

The author argues that in times of economic crisis, some irregular migrants may decide to move to countries or areas that already host large migrant communities. Irregular migrants will travel to these areas because they can receive support from social networks, even if the job prospects in these locations are not particularly encouraging.

During times of economic crisis, the number of visa overstayers increases. Many unemployed workers with temporary, job-related visas will be unable to find new jobs in a recessionary environment either in the host country or in a new one. For these irregular migrants, the option of returning home either may be too costly or the situation there may be even worse than in the irregular migrant's current location. Therefore, irregular migrants may be left with no other option than to remain in an irregular status and to try to secure work in the informal sector. Additionally, in the absence of opportunities for legal entry and legal employment, those seeking to emigrate are most likely to opt for irregular channels, which in turn may encourage smugglers and traffickers.

The book concludes that some of the negative effects of the global economic crisis can be minimized through preventive measures that States adopt, including flexible immigration policies congruent with current and anticipated labour needs; the avoidance of populist, inward-looking policies, including trade protectionism; and proactive labour market measures. The author suggests that special emphasis should be placed on direct job creation. He urges origin countries of irregular migrants to anticipate and prepare for an increase in return migration by establishing programmes for those who want to return home. The author also urges countries to develop an agreed framework of multilateral cooperation to improve the governance of human movement.

The strength of the book is its discussion of the links between the economic crisis, migration patterns and policies, poverty and inequality. Drawing on the experiences of previous economic crises, the book provides insights into the possible effects of the recent global recession on regular and irregular migrants. Because the book mostly discusses regular migration, it does not make a significant contribution to the body of knowledge on irregular migration.

Grewcock, M. 'People Smuggling and State Crime'. In *Crime, Justice and Social Democracy,* **K. Carrington, M. Ball, E. O'Brien & J. Tauri, eds., pp. 327–343. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.**

Key words
Australia, Indonesia
Smuggling

Research method
Unknown

Summary
This book chapter examines the Australian Government's policy responses to migrant smuggling. The chapter outlines the main elements of the Australian anti-smuggling legal regime, the Australian prosecution experience and the emerging criticisms of it. Drawing on state crime literature, the chapter critically analyses the models of deterrence and punishment that underpin present border policing policy. The chapter presents the argument that because border controls ensure that smuggling operates as an integral part of the refugee experience, the smugglers' 'business model' will only be broken by governments facilitating entry rather than devoting enormous resources to policing measures designed to disrupt the free movement of refugees.

The methods used to collect information are not made clear, but it appears that the author conducted a review of recent literature on migrant smuggling to Australia, a review of Australian migrant smuggling case law and an analysis of recent migrant smuggling events and government responses. The chapter is broken into several subsections covering such issues as Australia's prosecution regime, policing smuggling boat crews and 'kingpins', mandatory detention and

offshore processing, other Australian anti-smuggling efforts and analysis of two recent smuggling cases.

The chapter puts forward the argument that Australia's policy response to migrant smuggling has been largely ineffective. The author believes that rather than using migrant deaths as a rationale for preventing asylum seekers from exercising their rights to enter Australia and claim protection, Australia should focus instead on the criminogenic role that border policing has in generating risks for those forced to make illicit border crossings. The chapter also contends that boat tragedies will not always operate as a deterrent to desperate people and, in fact, for many refugees faced with the prospect of being stranded in camps or in transit countries, unauthorized boat travel is considered a risk worth taking.

The author adds that from a criminological perspective, Australia's highly punitive anti-smuggling laws have failed because the punitive impact of the anti-smuggling regime outweighs any deterrence value attributed to it. Most of the 'smugglers' arrested and prosecuted to date have been crew members, typically drawn from impoverished fishing communities and marginal to any smuggling organization or lower-level organizers who are also refugees. The author suggests that positioning these people within a paradigm of transnational organized crime obstructs the understanding of the sociology of forced migration. It also obscures the humanitarian role offered by some smugglers and distorts meaningful understandings of transnational crime.

The chapter concludes that instead of pursuing policies of deterrence, detention and punishment of asylum seekers, state resources should be deployed to facilitate entry through an expanded resettlement programme and through state-sponsored transport arrangements, which would enable asylum seekers to arrive safely and live in the community while their claims for protection are processed.

The chapter provides information on Australia's policy responses to asylum seeker arrivals and a unique perspective regarding the way forward for responding to the smugglers' 'business model', which, the author argues, will only be broken by governments facilitating the safe entry of asylum seekers.

Key words

Research method
Unknown

Summary

This article chronicles the developments in Australian border policing policy since November 2007. The article argues that, despite the formal cessation of the Pacific Solution, there are fundamental continuities in asylum seeker policy that ensure systemic human rights abuses by Australia against asylum seekers. In particular, attempts by the Labor Party administration to forge a regional solution have increased the risks of travel for asylum seekers, exacerbated abuses within Australian and regional detention facilities and diminished the long-term prospects of asylum seekers for resettlement.

The method of data collection for the article is not made clear, but it appears that the author reviewed recent migrant smuggling events that have affected Australia and Australia's border policy responses and processes of mandatory detention as well as Australia's various regional solutions to managing asylum seekers, including the Indonesia Solution and the Malaysia Solution.

The article focuses on the various attempts by Australia to forge a new regional solution that is policed on Australia's terms, outside of its jurisdiction and designed to prevent 'unauthorized' refugees gaining access to its refugee determination processes. The author considers key elements of the Labor Party's policy, such as the closure of immigration detention centre on Nauru island and the opening of one on Christmas Island. The author also examines the failed attempt to secure an agreement for an Australian-funded immigration detention centre in Timor-Leste, the stalled attempt to implement a refugee swap agreement with the Malaysian Government and Australia's renewed offensive

against people smuggling. The author also explores recent migrant smuggling events in Australia, such as the Jaya Lestari and Oceanic Viking incidents.

The article concludes with a look at the proposal to return to offshore processing on Nauru and argues that debates on Australia's border policing strategies should be reframed to reject the politically manufactured imperatives of deterrence and instead focus on the legitimacy of refugee movement.

The strength of the article is its analysis of recent migrant smuggling events in Australia and its analysis of the border security policies and how they are counter-productive and may negatively affect asylum seekers.

Gunasekaran, P. 'Malaysian Port Security: Issues and Challenges'. *Australian Journal of Maritime and Ocean Affairs,* vol. 4, No. 2, 2012, pp. 56–68.

Key words
Afghanistan, Cambodia, Malaysia, Thailand
Smuggling

Research method
Unknown

Summary
This article singles out the issues and challenges associated with Malaysian port security from a Malaysian perspective. Specifically, it focuses on the post-2001 period during which, under United States pressure, a range of international security initiatives were introduced in Malaysia.

The methods for collecting information for the article are not discussed, but it appears that the author reviewed recent port security challenges in Malaysia and the Government's efforts to introduce new security initiatives.

Issues and challenges associated with Malaysian port security measures cover costs, human resource requirements, loopholes in security and porous borders. In the discussion on the issue of porous borders, the author examines the subject of migrant smuggling. The article finds that migrant smuggling

has become the major criminal activity in Malaysian waters since 2011. It has drawn international attention and affected Australia to a greater extent than other countries because Malaysia is a transit point for migrant smuggling to Australia.

The article explores the motivations for migrant smuggling and concludes that the majority of smuggled migrants transiting Malaysia originated from economically poor countries, including Cambodia, Indonesia, Myanmar, Philippines and Viet Nam, as well as war-torn countries, such as Afghanistan and Sri Lanka and Afghanistan. The article also discusses the issue of corruption in relation to port security in Malaysia, concluding with recommendations to further strengthen the security of the ports.

The article provides insights on Malaysian port security and how the challenges may affect migrant smuggling. Because the article focuses on the specific issue of port security, it does not make a direct contribution to the body of knowledge on migrant smuggling.

Hall & Partners. *A Sociological Investigation of Illegal Work in Australia.* Canberra: Department of Immigration and Border Protection, 2013.

Key words
Australia
Irregular migration

Research method used
Qualitative

Summary
This study explores the nature of illegal work in Australia. It analyses the push-and-pull factors that lead to illegal work from the point of view of irregular workers and their employers as well as the perceptions, attitudes, behaviours and experiences of the general Australian community towards non-citizens working illegally. The report also identifies ways to improve the management of illegal work.

The authors were commissioned by the Australian Department of Immigration and Border Protection

to conduct a sociological investigation of irregular workers and their employers in Australia to determine the psychological, situational and behavioural drivers that facilitate illegal work, leading to recommendations on how to improve its management. The methodology for the study was qualitative in nature, involving a small number of individuals from specific target audiences. Fieldwork was conducted in regional and metropolitan Victoria and New South Wales between August and October 2012. The authors conducted 20 in-depth interviews with a range of irregular workers, stakeholders, employers and members of the general public. The report's findings also take into account three relevant studies conducted by Hall & Partners for the Department of Immigration and Border Protection in recent years.

The authors draw out key themes underlying the diverse experiences of illegal work described in the study. They cover the importance of personal agency and intention on travelling to Australia to undertake illegal work; the importance of networks, both in understanding connections to and ways to disrupt illegal work and a common community framing of the conversation about illegal work to focus on the negative consequences.

The report highlights two important dimensions in distinguishing irregular workers. The first differentiates between those who have intentionally travelled to Australia to work knowing that it is illegal and those who 'fell into' opportunities to work once they were in Australia. Whether they initially came in on a student, holiday or tourist visa, those who came to Australia specifically intending to work beyond their visa entitlements appear to use different networks, experience work quite differently and view the nature of their activities from different perspectives. The second distinction concerns the level of personal agency or control the irregular worker perceives over his or her work. The authors find that workers who perceive the situation as one they want and feel in charge of will describe themselves as the 'hero' of their stories and the government, in trying to intervene, as 'the villain'. Those who feel unable to break free of the illegal work situation they are in see themselves as 'victims' and the Australian Government as a potential 'saviour'. Examples of how they are victims include the criminal action of employers, family expectations or other outside circumstances that render them impotent to change their situation.

The report highlights the importance of online networks, such as job search websites, for facilitating illegal work. The report explains that, in addition to their role in facilitating illegal work, networks are a potential setting for disrupting work opportunities or discouraging potential workers from accepting illegal employment.

The authors conclude that a common characteristic of many irregular workers is the high degree to which their travel to Australia for illegal work is facilitated by others. These facilitators include legitimate education, migration and travel agents as well as less legitimate agents who deal in debt bondage and trafficking. These agents organize everything for irregular workers, from travel papers to air tickets and accommodation, study, and employment. The report finds that these agents promote illegal work in two ways—migrants are not necessarily aware of their work rights before or even after they arrive in Australia and migrants may arrive into a situation that they had not expected.

The strength of the report is its discussion of the motivations for migrants to undertake illegal work in Australia and the motivations of business owners to employ irregular workers. The article also provides insights into the role of agents and facilitators in organizing illegal work in Australia.

Han, C. *Is the Immigration of Korean Sex Workers to the United States Sex Trafficking or Migrant Smuggling?* **Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 2012.**

Key words
Canada, Mexico, Republic of Korea, United States of America
Factors that fuel irregular migration, human and social costs of smuggling, modus operandi of smuggling, routes, smuggling

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This paper considers whether the immigration of Korean sex workers to the United States constitutes sex trafficking or migrant smuggling. It describes the situation of Korean sex workers in the United

States, the relationship between migrant smuggling and human trafficking and the modus operandi of migrant smuggling from the Republic of Korea to the United States.

The concepts of human trafficking and migrant smuggling are explored, with the paper adopting the definitions used in the Trafficking in Persons Protocol and the Smuggling of Migrants Protocol. Similarities and differences between human trafficking and migrant smuggling are highlighted, with three basic differences between the two concepts singled out: the source of profit, victimization and the illegality of migration.

Korean sex workers who are willing to go to the United States to work in the entertainment industry were the target population of the study. Because the subjects of the study were considered elusive due to their likely illegal and sex worker status, the author opted to use an 'unconventional' approach to address the question of the trafficking of Korean sex workers into the United States. Thus, the author studied virtual communities on the Internet. The author used Korean Internet search engines to locate a number of websites and Internet communities concerning overseas employment and narrowed the focus to one website that was still operational during the research period and that had many users. The author investigated three discussion forums that specialize in overseas work—'overseas experience talk', 'question and answer about working overseas' and 'friends to work with'. To examine social interactions concerning the transnational movement of sex workers that occurred in the discussion forums of the website, the study adopted netnography as the research method. Netnography is explained as ethnography on the Internet, which is a new qualitative research methodology that adapts ethnographic techniques to study the cultures and communities that are emerging through computer-mediated communications. The study also drew on a trust model to explain why prospective immigrants trust smugglers or business owners under uncertain conditions.

The paper discusses the various push-and-pull factors for Korean women migrating legally or illegally to the United States to engage in sex work. The paper posits that the emergence of Korean sex workers in American society has been influenced by two main factors: the importation of the Korean entertainment culture in immigrant communities and the movement of Korean sex workers into the United States. As the Korean entertainment culture in the United States has grown, so has the supply of Korean sex workers.

The paper presents several models for entering the United States to engage in hostessing or sex work. Some women enter with the appropriate visas, whereas others rely on smugglers to facilitate forged or fraudulent documents or they enter neighbouring Canada and cross illegally into the United States. The paper argues that smugglers have various roles in the irregular immigration process. The basic role is to broker transactions between prospective immigrants and business owners. Some brokers work as managers of certain entertainment businesses, while others work as freelancers without belonging to specific shops but maintain networks with several business owners. The paper points out that some entertainment business owners work as smugglers to directly recruit sex workers for their businesses.

The paper concludes with a discussion of the policy implications of human trafficking and migrant smuggling for the Korean and United States Governments and provides options on how both governments can respond to sex trafficking.

The paper contributes to the body of knowledge on migrant smuggling through its examination of the modus operandi of irregular migration of Koreans to the United States by using fraudulent or forged documents and the routes taken, for example, via Canada or Mexico.

Hatziprokopiou, P. & Triandafyllidou, A. *Governing Irregular Migration: States, Migrants and Intermediaries at the Age of Globalisation.* Greece: Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy, 2013.

Key words
Concepts, irregular migration, smuggling

Research method
Unknown

Summary

This paper takes on the subjects of irregular migration and migrant smuggling within a wider theoretical framework of globalization studies.

A number of concepts are discussed, including globalization, trafficking in persons, migrant smuggling, illegal migration, irregular migration, unauthorized migration and undocumented migration. The paper defines migrant smuggling according to the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime. An 'irregular migrant' thus is a migrant who, at some point in their migration, has contravened the rules of entry or residence. The term 'undocumented' migrant is defined as a person without the required and appropriate residence or identification documents.

The research method for the paper is not explained, but it appears that the authors reviewed recent literature on migrant smuggling and irregular migration.

The paper starts with the concept of globalization, its social and political facets and their development during the past century. It argues that migration is deeply entrenched with processes of globalization and that globalization shapes the main features of international migration today. The authors also examine the features of irregular migration and the factors that create and influence the phenomenon.

The authors note that irregular migrants typically are found in areas, sectors or businesses characterized by both a demand for cheap and flexible labour and a tendency to escape regulations or controls: multi-ethnic cities and rural areas, construction, tourism and personal services, small enterprises and households. They present evidence of a variety of pathways into irregularity, including legal entry on a visa and overstaying after expiration, legal entry and stay using fraudulent documents, legal entry and stay on a visa but breaching its terms, legal entry and staying but working informally, bureaucratic failure in processing residence and work permit applications resulting in the loss of former status, irregularity by birth, refused asylum seekers who are not removed and clandestine entry. The authors suggest that 'cracking down' on irregular migration appears to initiate a vicious circle in that it increases the risks and costs undertaken by migrants and their dependence on smuggling networks, which turn to more sophisticated methods to avoid controls, thus providing reasons for even more restrictions. The authors highlight the risks to irregular migrants, including exploitation in the labour market and discrimination from social services, physical abuse and racial prejudice.

The authors propose an interactive perspective for analysing the irregular migration dynamics that bring together into a single explanatory framework migration policies and States (structural factors), migrants and their families (human agency) and intermediate factors (such as smuggling networks, international or other organizations, ethnic networks). The authors also suggest that, beyond state policies, it is necessary to take into account the behaviour of employers, for whom irregular migration reduces the transaction costs of hiring foreign labour by avoiding the paperwork associated with visas, formal contracts, legal permits and social benefits.

The paper provides insights into the various paths into irregularity and highlights the need to examine irregular migration in light of contemporary globalization and its many impacts.

Haugen, H. 'Nigerians in China: A Second State of Immobility'. *International Migration, vol. 50, No. 2, 2012, pp. 65–80.*

Summary
This article turns to the dynamics of South–South migration to China through the study of Nigerians in Guangzhou city (in Guangdong Province), which is a major international trading hub in China.

The author introduces the concept of a 'second state of immobility' to describe the situation of people who have managed to emigrate but end up feeling trapped in new ways in their destination country.

The article is based on four months of fieldwork in Guangzhou conducted between May 2009 and May 2010 and carried out in conjunction with a larger study on African migration to China. The author collected data through participant observation and semi-structured interviews. Participant observation allowed the author to obtain first-hand information about how migrants relate to one another, non-migrants and government officials and their travelling patterns and behaviour in public spaces. The semi-structured interviews were conducted with 70 migrants, of whom 34 were Nigerian. During the interviews, research participants were asked to recount their migration histories, discuss experiences of immobility in China and comment on their risk management strategies.

The article cites two areas of Guangzhou that are particularly influenced by African migration and trade—Guangyuan West Road and Yuexiu District. According to the article, Nigerians prefer to live in areas outside city boundaries where there is less police control. The Nigerian population in Guangzhou appears to be dominated by men in their 20s and 30s, many of whom are unmarried and aim to earn enough money to have a family. Some of them eventually settle with a family in China, either marrying a Chinese woman or bringing a spouse from Nigeria.

The author says that China is rarely the preferred destination of the Nigerians but is, rather, a palatable alternative when their aspirations to enter Europe and North America are curtailed by restrictive immigration regimes in those regions. The article describes entry into China as relatively easy but by no means accessible to all. Travel agents and hotels in Guangzhou supply brokers with supporting documents for visa applications, such as hotel reservations and invitation letters. The paper also discusses the fees and payments for visas, noting that all migrants would prefer to travel with a legitimate passport and visas, but the inability to access legal migration avenues pushes Nigerians into irregular migration channels.

Nigerians often escape situations of involuntary immobility in their home country through short-term visas that are obtained with the help of migration brokers. However, opportunities for visa renewals are scant under the current Chinese immigration policy. Undocumented migrants thus find their mobility severely inhibited and must carefully assess how, when and with whom they move about to avoid police interception. A substantial number of irregular migrants are unable to pay the expensive fee that is required to leave China and are unsure whether, if they exit the country, they will ever be allowed to return.

The article concludes that irregular Nigerian immigration to China epitomizes global migration trends towards a diversification of migration flows, commercialization of the migration process and increased policing of foreigners within national borders.

The article makes a contribution to the body of knowledge on irregular migration with its analysis of data obtained through interviews with irregular Nigerian migrants residing in Guanzhou. The interviews revealed interesting phenomena concerning the modus operandi of irregular migration, fees and payments for migration services as well as insights into the motivations and frustrations of irregular Nigerian migrants in China.

Hoffman, S. 'Living in Limbo: Iraqi Refugees in Indonesia'. *Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees,* vol. 28, No. 1, 2011, pp. 15–24.

Key words
Australia, Indonesia, Iraq
Factors that fuel irregular migration, human and social costs of smuggling, modus operandi of smuggling, routes, smuggling

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
The article's author conducted interviews with Iraqi refugees in Indonesia and Australia to explore the themes of security and insecurity faced by Iraqi refugees in Indonesia and Australia. The article centres the refugee voice in the discussion of Iraqi refugees in transit and destination countries.

As part of the her doctoral research in 2006 and 2007, which examined the journeys of Iraqi refugees from the Middle East to Australia, the author interviewed

Iraqi refugees in both Australia and Indonesia. The research adopted a grounded-theory approach.

The research participants' reasons for leaving Iraq and the timing of their departures varied. Some had fled or been forced out of Iraq by the ruling regime up to 20 years earlier, suspected of having Iranian connections at the time of the eight-year war between Iraq and Iran. Others fled Iraq during the late 1990s after becoming persons of interest to Iraqi intelligence because of the actions of the family member or because they refused to spy on colleagues or inform upon neighbours.

The first countries of asylum for interview participants were Iran, Jordan or Syria. Of those who went to Iran, some made a decent life for themselves while others remained on the margins of society. However, in the late 1990s, Iranian authorities started to reject Iraqi refugees and withdrew work and other rights to reinforce the message. Because neither Jordan nor Syria provided safety or stability for Iraqi refugees, they turned their attention towards Australia. The route to Australia for almost all the interviewed Iraqis involved a brief sojourn in Malaysia, then travel to Indonesia with the intention of taking a boat to Australia.

The interviewed Iraqis still residing in Indonesia recounted why they were still there rather than in Australia. For some, their plans to reach Australia had been thwarted when they were caught by Indonesian authorities and imprisoned. A few ran out of money to pay smugglers or were unable to get a passage on a smuggler's boat. Some changed their minds about travelling onward on smugglers' boats to Australia after bad experiences at sea or after hearing about others' experiences.

The author found that, for all interview participants, fear was a constant at all stages of their stay in Indonesia. Some Iraqis were reluctant to venture outside because their appearance and dress made them highly visible. Having been moved from detention centre to detention centre, with no explanation about whether they would be allowed to remain in Indonesia, no right to work and totally reliant on the International Organization for Migration and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the Iraqis felt powerless and unsure whether they would ever reach Australia or be granted asylum elsewhere.

The strength of the article is its focus on the Iraqi refugee voice in the discussion of migrant smuggling. The article provides insights into the circumstances that lead refugees to consider migrant smuggling as a means of reaching destination countries, the decision-making processes regarding destination countries and the fear associated with migrant-smuggling journeys.

Howie, E. 'Sri Lankan Boat Migration to Australia'. *Economic & Political Weekly,* vol. 48, No. 35, 2013, pp. 97–104.

Key words
Australia, Sri Lanka
Modus operandi of smuggling, profiles of smuggled migrants, routes, smuggling

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This article presents the motivations and challenges of Sri Lankans migrating clandestinely by boat to Australia. It explores the complex reasons for Sri Lankan migration as well as the reasons that Australia has become a popular destination country for smuggled migrants from Sri Lanka.

For data collection, the author conducted interviews with Sri Lankan boat migrants who had been intercepted by Sri Lankan authorities en route to Australia. The author describes several case studies, including a Tamil woman living in a militarized area of a northern province who tried to leave Sri Lanka by boat with her three children but was intercepted; and a young Tamil man in the northern province who tried and failed to go to Australia to improve the financial situation of his family.

The article cites several reasons for Sri Lankans to resort to migrant smuggling methods to reach Australia outside of the economic motive argument. For example, former Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam combatants said they felt threatened because they were monitored by the security forces and harassed by frequent visits to their homes. In addition, they had difficulty obtaining financial loans or employment opportunities because of prejudice or fear in the community. For some of the migrants, the

impact of unchecked operations of pro-government paramilitary organizations had driven them to flee. Differential treatment of people in war-affected areas and the failure to devolve power to the Tamil-majority areas in the North and East had created livelihood challenges and a sense of frustration, hopelessness and despair about any change in the future. Others believed that there was no future for Tamils in Sri Lanka. Boat migrants also cited livelihood issues, concern for their own and their family's safety, fear of sexual violence, fear of being arrested and detained, discrimination in the job market, poor employment and educational opportunities, land acquisitions and exclusions, the need for medical treatment, the fear of war returning, harassment and interrogation by security forces, fear of reprisals for political activity or speech, the need to secure their family's future and the need to rise above the financial situation they found themselves in. The article also explains that the pull factors were a major motivation for Sri Lankans to seek migrant smuggling services to reach Australia. By 2012, Australia was the cheapest and easiest destination for people wanting to leave by boat to the West.

The article also discusses the routes that the boat migrants used to leave the country. Boats bound for Australia depart from locations all over Sri Lanka: from Negombo in the West to Batticaloa and Trimcomalee in the East, from Galle, Mirissa and Hambantota in the South to Port Pedro in the North. The boat migrants who were interviewed did not necessarily depart from a location near their village, and some were transported overland to a coastal town of departure where they stayed in a guest house awaiting the call that their boat was ready to leave.

The article makes a contribution to the body of knowledge on migrant smuggling through its discussion of the stories of smuggled migrants from Sri Lanka. The stories provide insights into the reasons for leaving Sri Lanka and demonstrate that the economic concerns that are motivating people to leave are inextricable from the effects of the war, post-war struggles, political problems, persecution, systemic discrimination and other forms of injustice.

Howie, E. *Can't Flee, Can't Stay: Australia's Interception and Return of Sri Lankan Asylum Seekers.* **Melbourne, Australia: Human Rights Law Centre, 2014.**

Summary
This report examines the response of the Australian Government to Sri Lankan asylum seekers who attempt to reach Australia by boat. It provides a background to Sri Lankan irregular migration to Australia in recent years, analyses Australia's work on border control activities in Sri Lanka, examines the question of boat interceptions and Australia's international obligations to assist Sri Lankan asylum seekers and highlights the dangers associated with Australia's current policy of turning away Sri Lankan asylum seekers without assessing their refugee claims.

Data collection for the study was conducted over a five-month period in 2012 and 2013 in Sri Lanka. The author interviewed people who had tried to leave Sri Lanka to travel to Australia by boat but had been intercepted by Sri Lankan authorities. The research focused on the motivations behind the surge in boat migration from Sri Lanka and the experiences of those Sri Lankan smuggled migrants who were intercepted. The research also involved the analysis of public information, documents obtained through freedom of information requests and interviews with Australian government officials to understand the nature and extent of the Australian Government's work with Sri Lanka to intercept boats that are headed to Australia.

On the basis of recent migration flows and research, the author believes it is likely that 50–90 percent of people going to Australia on boats from Sri Lanka are genuine refugees. However, Australia's close cooperation with Sri Lanka is expressly aimed at resourcing and supporting Sri Lankan authorities' interception of boats and preventing asylum seekers from leaving their country. At times, Australia

may even share intelligence that leads directly to interceptions. The author argues that interceptions frustrate the right that every individual has to leave their country and seek protection and they also expose the intercepted Sri Lankan migrants to the risk of torture and maltreatment.

The author argues that there is little transparency about the laws, policies or guidelines that apply to Australian officials acting abroad in supporting boat interceptions. Furthermore, it is unclear what basic laws, policies and standards apply to Australian officials in their cooperation. The result is that there is scant information about exactly what Australian officials are doing on the ground in Sri Lanka or the extent to which they might be directly complicit in any wrongdoing by Sri Lankan military or police.

The report concludes that the overall impact of Australia's actions regarding the return of Sri Lankan asylum seekers seriously diminishes its international standing and undermines Australia's ability to promote good governance, human rights and security in Sri Lanka and the Asia–Pacific region. According to the report, although Australia has a sovereign right to control its borders, that right is not absolute and Australia must conduct immigration control in accordance with its international legal obligations.

The report presents data obtained through interviews with Sri Lankans who have tried to travel to Australia by boat but have been intercepted by Sri Lankan authorities. It makes a contribution to the body of knowledge on migrant smuggling by providing insights into the motivations of Sri Lankans who attempt to travel clandestinely to Australia by boat and the dangers they face in Sri Lanka.

Human Rights Watch. *"They Deceived Us at Every Step"—The Abuse of Cambodian Domestic Workers Migrating to Malaysia*. New York, 2011.

Key words
Cambodia, Malaysia
Factors that fuel irregular migration, irregular migration

Research method
Qualitative

Summary

This report focuses on the abuse of Cambodian domestic workers in Malaysia. The report focuses on the past decade during which demand for Cambodian domestic workers in Malaysian sharply increased, particularly since 2009 when the Indonesian Government responded to several high-profile abuse cases by imposing a moratorium on its nationals migrating to Malaysia for employment as domestic workers. In particular, the report examines the deceptive practices of labour and migration agents.

Data collection for the study was conducted in Cambodia and Malaysia in April and May 2011. A total of 80 interviews were conducted with migrant domestic workers, their families, government officials, NGOs and recruitment agents.

The report explores the various push-and-pull factors for domestic worker migration to Malaysia. Large cash advances to impoverished families, wages that greatly exceed what can be earned in villages and the promise of work in a home rather than a sweatshop or brothel are attractive incentives. There are Cambodian women who have had positive employment experiences in Malaysia and whose earnings contributed significantly to family income. But the difficult prospect of migrating to a foreign country, far from home and without any contact with family, is often compounded by poor and illegal practices of recruitment agencies, which fail to disclose the tasks that workers will be expected to perform, their lack of rest days and avenues of assistance should they encounter problems or abuse. As a result, Cambodian women and girls often suffer a harsh and isolating experience in Malaysia.

The report finds abuse at every step of the migration cycle for Cambodian domestic workers, who receive little or no protection from the Cambodian Government. The report finds that private labour recruitment agencies in Cambodia control most aspects of the migration process, including recruitment of prospective domestic workers, training, employment placement, transit and return. Through imposed debts, forced confinement for months in training centres and threats, some labour agents in Cambodia coerce women and girls to migrate, even if they no longer want to work abroad.

The report notes that a large number of girls who migrated from Cambodia to work as domestic workers did so illegally because they were underage. The report also states that some brokers and officials at recruitment centres falsified documents to list children as 18, the minimum legal age required in Cambodia to migrate for employment.

The report provides insights into the deceptive practices of agencies that recruit young Cambodian girls and women for domestic work in Malaysia. It outlines the fees and payments for recruitment agencies, recruitment strategies and the exploitive practices of labour recruitment agencies that, in a number of cases, have led to instances of human trafficking.

Human Rights Watch. *Barely Surviving: Detention, Abuse and Neglect of Migrant Children in Indonesia.* New York, 2013.

Key words
Australia, Indonesia
Fees and payment for smuggling, human and social costs of smuggling, modus operandi of smuggling, profiles of smuggled migrants, routes, smuggling

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This report delves into the situation of unaccompanied migrant children in Indonesia who were to be smuggled to Australia. The report describes the journeys taken by migrant children to reach Indonesia and Australia, the lack of protection for unaccompanied migrant children in Indonesia, abuse in Indonesian detention, problems associated with obtaining refugee protection and options for the future, including risky boat journeys to Australia.

The report defines an 'unaccompanied child' as a person younger than 18. Migrant children travelling without their families are 'unaccompanied children'. The term includes children seeking asylum or those granted refugee certificates from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

For data collection, two researchers conducted interviews in August and September 2012 with 102 migrants between the ages of 5 and 66, including 36 women and girls. According to their own accounts or those of their parents, 42 of the interviewees were children when they entered Indonesia; 38 were still children when they were interviewed; and 11 were unaccompanied when they entered the country. Human Rights Watch interviewed the parents of six children younger than 5 to understand the experiences of very young migrant children. In total, 43 percent of interviewees were from Sri Lanka (mostly Tamils); 26 percent were from Afghanistan (mostly Hazara Rohingya); 17 percent from Myanmar; and 7 percent from Somalia. The other interviewees were Nepali and people born in Iran of Afghan descent. The researchers met a number of government officials concerned with migration who worked for the police, Imigrasi (directorate general of immigration) and the Ministry of Social Affairs. In addition, the researchers met with representatives from intergovernmental organizations, including the International Organization for Migration, as well as staff of NGOs, migrant community leaders, journalists and human rights lawyers and activists.

The report discusses the growing number of asylum seekers, primarily from Afghanistan, Myanmar, Somalia and Sri Lanka, who enter Indonesia in search of safer lives. In 2012, 1,178 unaccompanied children entered Indonesia, the largest number in recent years. The report argues that the real number of migrant children is likely to be far greater because many migrants and asylum seekers, including children, do not register with UNHCR, preferring to remain out of sight to try to make their way clandestinely to Australia.

All the migrant children interviewed, both those who travelled with families and those who travelled alone, had stopped in Indonesia en route to Australia. Most migrants and asylum seekers interviewed could not fly directly to Australia because they lacked the visas needed to board planes. Instead, the journey typically involved a smuggler. The report explains the fees and payments for migrant smuggling services, with the costs varying. For example, around $2,360 for one unaccompanied boy who travelled from Sri Lanka to Indonesia; $12,000 for unaccompanied boys who travelled from Afghanistan to Indonesia; and $3,200 for a Rohingya family of three who travelled from Malaysia to Indonesia. The report also discusses the routes for migrant smuggling from Indonesia to

Australia; boats leave from many locations, including Jakarta, towns in southern Java and Kupang in West Timor.

The risks associated with the clandestine journey to Australia for young migrants are severe. Because Indonesian law permits immigration detention for up to 10 years without judicial review, many children remain in detention for years, facing an array of abuses, including physical violence from immigration officials, bribery and confiscation of property and lack of basic necessities. The authors argue that the impact of prolonged, indefinite immigration detention is particularly severe for children, many of whom experience post-traumatic stress disorder or depression.

The report concludes with a number of policy recommendations to the Australian and Indonesian Governments on how to improve protection efforts for unaccompanied migrant children in Indonesia. Human Rights Watch argues that while Australia and Indonesia do have the right to control irregular immigration into their countries, they must do so in a way that respects children's rights and provides protection for some of the most vulnerable new arrivals.

This report makes a contribution to the body of knowledge on migrant smuggling by providing new information, derived through interviews with young smuggled migrants, on the motivations and experiences of unaccompanied migrant children in Indonesia. It provides insights into the modus operandi of migrant smuggling, the fees and payments for smugglers' services and the smuggling routes taken to Indonesia as a transit country and Australia as a destination country.

Human Rights Watch. *Turned Away: Summary Returns of Unaccompanied Migrant Children and Adult Asylum Seekers from Italy to Greece.* **New York, 2013.**

Key words
Afghanistan, Greece, Iraq, Italy
Human and social costs of smuggling, modus operandi of smuggling, profiles of smuggled migrants, routes, smuggling

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This report highlights the issue of summary returns of unaccompanied migrant children and adult asylum seekers from Italy to Greece. Based on interviews with migrants and asylum seekers who had been returned to Greece by Italian border officials, the report documents the journeys of migrants and asylum seekers who stow away on ferries from Greece to Italy—a journey repeated thousands of times every year.

Data collection for the report was conducted in Italy and Greece in late November 2011 and between late June and early September 2012. Human Rights Watch researchers interviewed 29 men and boys who had been returned to Greece by Italian border officials under the expedited port procedure as well as with other migrants who were in Greek port cities and intended to make the crossing. Twenty of those interviewed had been returned in the six months prior to the research period. All interviews were conducted in Greece, with the exception of one interview with an adult in Italy who had managed to reach Italy and apply for asylum after repeated attempts. Of the 29 interviewees, 10 were minors when they were returned from Italy to Greece and at the time of the interview; three were minors when they were returned from Italy to Greece but adults at the time of the interview. And 16 interviewees were adults when they were returned from Italy to Greece and at the time of the interview. The youngest person Human Rights Watch interviewed was 13 years old (accompanied by his 16-year-old brother) and the oldest person interviewed was 44. By nationality, 17 of those interviewed were Afghans, nine were Somali, two were Moroccan and one was an Iraqi Kurd. Human Rights Watch also accessed port facilities and conducted in-depth interviews with border police officials in Bari, Italy and Patras, Greece as well as the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees field officers in Greece and Italy and staff members of various NGOs in Italy and Greece.

The research recorded that both economic migrants and asylum seekers go to Greece and Italy from countries as varied as Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Iraq, Somalia, Syria and Tunisia. Since the early 2000s, Greece has become the major gateway for

undocumented migrants and asylum seekers from Asia and Africa, in part because its islands are just off the Turkish coast and it shares a land border with Turkey, a major transit route into Europe. The ultimate goal for many of those interviewed, whether they were economic migrants or asylum seekers, was to transit through Greece and Italy to other countries in the European Union. Hundreds of foreigners congregate in the Greek port cities of Patras and Igoumenitsa looking for a chance to stow away on daily ferries bound for the Italian ports of Ancona, Bari, Brindisi and Venice.

The report examines Italy's obligations regarding asylum seeker processing and protection. Under international law, Italy is obligated to determine whether anyone who expresses a fear of return is in need of international refugee protection or would encounter human rights abuse if removed. However, once they arrive at the Adriatic ports in Italy, unaccompanied child migrants and adult asylum seekers undergo inadequate or non-existent screening proceedings that violate national and international law, including by failing to consider age and by failing to provide access to information about their rights. Instead of screening migrants and ascertaining their refugee status, Italy conducts a significant number of summary returns of migrants to Greece. Many migrants who undergo summary returns experience abuse and maltreatment during the journey. Many of the migrants interviewed for the report, including unaccompanied children, complained of being confined in poor conditions that included being handcuffed for the duration of the journey without access to adequate food, water or toilets during the return journey.

The research findings suggest that summary returns of migrants to Greece are ineffective because smuggled migrants will repeat their attempts to make the journey clandestinely to Italy to reach their ultimate destination of Italy or neighbouring European countries.

The report makes a contribution to the body of knowledge on migrant smuggling through its examination of the modus operandi of migrant smuggling to Greece, as a transit country, and to Italy, as a popular destination country in Europe. Through the analysis of interview data, the report offers insights into the motivations of smuggled migrants and their experiences of the smuggling process.

Human Rights Watch. *Unwelcome Guests: Iran's Violation of Afghan Refugee and Migrant Rights.* New York, 2013.

Key words
Afghanistan, Iran
Factors that fuel irregular migration, irregular migration

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This report examines the situation of Afghan refugees in Iran who have become an increasingly unwelcome population in recent years. Based on interviews with 90 Afghans with recent experience of living in Iran as well as Afghan officials and refugee and migration policy experts, the report highlights the deteriorating conditions for Afghan refugees in Iran and whether Iran is meeting its obligations to Afghan refugees and undocumented migrants under both Iranian and international law.

The report uses the term 'migrant' when referring to Afghans in Iran who have not been registered as refugees or asylum seekers. Human Rights Watch contends that, in the context of the report, 'migrant' is simply the broadest, most inclusive term to describe the Afghans entering, residing in and leaving Iran and does not exclude the possibility that some migrants might be refugees or have grounds for asylum. This report defines 'refugees' as people who meet the international definition of refugee in the 1951 Refugee Convention. An 'asylum seeker' is defined as a person who claims to be a refugee and has asked to be recognized as such or has been registered as an asylum seeker.

The report is based primarily on interviews conducted with Afghans deported from Iran to Afghanistan at the Islam Qala border crossing in April 2012 and April 2013. Human Rights Watch researchers conducted a total of 90 interviews with family groups and individuals. The majority of those interviewed were undocumented migrant workers. A total of 41 of the interviews were with unaccompanied children ranging in age from 12 to 17, and the remaining interviews were with adult men or families. Interviewees were primarily deportees, although a small number of people returning voluntarily

to Afghanistan were interviewed. Additional information was obtained by interviewing members of the Afghan government, Afghan parliamentarians, representatives of civil society organizations and representatives of international organizations.

The report traces Iran's changing response to Afghan asylum seekers. After years of welcoming Afghan asylum seekers, in the early 2000s in particular, the Iranian Government began to reject the presence of Afghans. The report outlines how, in 2003, Iran introduced a new system, known as Amayesh, to re-register all Afghan nationals in Iran who had been granted residency rights based on their Afghan nationality in the 1980s and 1990s. The Amayesh cardholders now face an increasingly complex and bureaucratic process with the Iranian authorities to retain their status, in which the smallest mistake could result in the permanent loss of refugee status. Amayesh cardholders are regularly required to renew their cards, and since the original registration of several hundred thousand Afghans in 2003, there have been nine re-registration exercises. The cards, which refugees must pay for, are generally valid for one year, and when the cards expire, the card holder is considered to be unlawfully present, or undocumented, in Iran and may be deported. The researchers found that the Amayesh system has been abused to deport significant numbers of Afghan asylum seekers.

The report also examines the abuses of Afghans living in Iran. Case studies are used to illustrate Afghans' denial of access to education, citizenship and marriage rights and limitations on Afghans' right to work. The report also considers the abuses of Afghans during the deportation process and includes a number of case studies of abused Afghans to highlight salient points regarding poor detention facilities, the detention and abuse of unaccompanied children, family separation and deportation fees.

The report concludes that Afghans in Iran are in a precarious situation. Unable to return home and unable to stay in Iran, Afghan refugees must choose between staying in Iran in an irregular and thus precarious status or returning to Afghanistan.

Through the analysis of interview data and case studies of Afghan refugees, the report provides new information about the motivations of Afghan

refugees in migrating to Iran, the human and social costs of their irregular status and their fight for protection and access to basic human rights in Iran.

İçduygu, A. *The Irregular Migration Corridor Between the EU and Turkey: Is it Possible to Block It with a Readmission Agreement?* Florence, Italy: European University Institute, 2011.

Key words
Turkey
Factors that fuel irregular migration, irregular migration, routes

Research method
Unknown

Summary
This report discusses how a shift from migration control to migration management has become an integral part of the political discourse and policy practices relating to irregular migration in European Union over the past decades. The report suggests that the debate over irregular transit migration from Turkey to the European Union is a perfect case study for analysing how the phenomenon of irregular migration is affecting the European migration and border regimes.

The methodology for the report is not explained. The report appears to be part of a broader study on EU and US immigration systems' capacity for responding to global challenges, which is co-funded by the European Commission in the framework of the pilot projects on Transatlantic Methods for Handling Global Challenges in the European Union and United States. The report elaborates on the recent status of irregular migratory flows from Turkey to Europe, referring to their changing volumes, trends and patterns. It also relates the irregular migration through Turkey to the recently negotiated Readmission Agreement between the European Union and Turkey, which targets the return of apprehended irregular transit migrants in the EU Member States to Turkey.

The report examines irregular transit migration to Turkey and includes a discussion of key routes and estimates of irregular migration stocks and flows.

According to the research, Turkey has become a major country of destination and transit for irregular migrants. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, regime change in Iran in the 1970s, the legal turmoil and wars in the Middle East in the late 1980s and early 1990s, together with the increasing intensity of globalization processes in this period, have contributed to Turkey becoming a migrant-receiving country. A complex migration system has evolved, involving irregular migrants, transit migrants, asylum seekers and refugees in Turkey.

Transit migration in Turkey heavily accelerated from the mid-1990s to the early 2000s. Whereas only about 11,000 irregular migrants were apprehended in 1995, this figure reached 47,000 in 1999, and by 2000 it was more than 94,000. There are three main groups of people among the apprehended migrants: i) irregular migrants who intend to use Turkey as a transit country to migrate into the Western world, particularly Europe; ii) irregular migrants who went to Turkey to live and work without any valid documents; and iii) rejected asylum seekers who were supposed to leave Turkey but who had not. The first five migrant-sending countries to Turkey are Iraq, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran and the State of Palestine.

The report concludes that this kind of irregular migration is a broad problem that requires a variety of actions, regulations and programmes to which both the European Union and Turkish sides need to contribute solutions. The report suggests that a possible Turkey–EU readmission agreement would bring an extra substantial weight to the mechanism of migration management in Turkey.

The report provides insights into the flows of irregular migration through and to Turkey and information regarding the motivations of irregular migrants in travelling through Turkey to other European Union countries. A strength of the report is its discussion of the actions that may be taken by States to respond to irregular migration, including the development of a Turkey–EU readmission agreement.

İçduygu, A. & Yükseker, D. 'Rethinking Transit Migration in Turkey: Reality and Representation in the Creation of a Migratory Phenomenon'. *Population, Space and Place, vol. 18, No. 4, 2012, pp. 441–456.*

Key words
Iran, Iraq, Turkey
Factors that fuel irregular migration, irregular migration, routes

Research method
Quantitative

Summary
This paper looks at the extent and dynamics of transit migration in Turkey and documents the irregular and transit migration experience over the past 30 years. Although there is a reality of transit migration in Turkey, there are also other forms of irregular labour migration. The paper also examines the ways in which transit migration in Turkey has been approached in Europe in the context of the country's accession negotiation process with the European Union.

Even though the authors do not attempt to settle on a definition of the concept of transit migration, they argue that the term is a blurred and highly politicized one.

The methodology for the study involved analysis of quantitative data sets supplied by international organizations, such as the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, and public sector organizations, such as the Ministry of the Interior.

In looking at the phenomenon of transit migration in Turkey, the authors argue that there are other important irregular migration flows, including circular labour migration. The migration flows in and through Turkey, such as transit migration and asylum seeker flows, may be entangled. The authors note that Turkey's former singular position as a migrant-sending country, which until recently continued due to family reunification and the flow of asylum seekers, is now supplemented with that of a migrant-receiving country. More recently, Turkey became a transit country or transit zone for migrants seeking to reach third countries.

Political issues and security concerns arising in neighbouring countries, such as Iran and Iraq, have been among the main reasons driving people to migrate to Turkey. The paper discusses the routes and flows of irregular migration to and through Turkey and suggests that Turkey's position as a transit route also partly derives from its geographical location at the crossroads of Asia, Europe and Africa.

The paper argues that the political construction of transit migration in the European sphere should be interpreted through the intertwined processes of securitization and economization of international migratory regimes, which are not only becoming more restrictive and selective but also more dynamic and multifaceted. Turkey's visa regime seems to contribute to irregular labour migration from the Commonwealth Independent States, yet it tends to prevent flows from various African and Asian countries and, consequently, pushes the citizens of those countries to enter the country illegally.

The paper makes a contribution to the body of knowledge on irregular migration through its detailed discussion of the reasons for and dynamics of transit migration and other forms of irregular migration to Turkey and through Turkey to the European Union.

Ifantis, K. 'Addressing Irregular Migration in the Mediterranean'. *European View*. Brussels: Centre for European Studies, 2012.

Key words
Afghanistan, Turkey
Factors that fuel irregular migration, irregular migration, routes

Research method
Unknown

Summary
This paper focuses on the dynamics of irregular migration in the Mediterranean region in relation to the broader argument that improved border management is required to combat irregular migration. The paper argues that the overall political mandate and the operational planning and contingencies of organizations, such as Frontex, need to be better defined and extended.

The methodology for the paper is not explained. The author appears to have analysed quantitative data on irregular migration flows in recent years from Asia and the Western Mediterranean region to Europe.

The paper describes the changing irregular migration flows in the Mediterranean region, noting that records of irregular migration indicate border crossing by sea has traditionally been the preferred route; however, recent figures suggest an increase in land-border crossings. The identity of most irregular migrants is not easily determined because they enter the region with false documents or none at all to avoid deportation.

The author advocates that a sound European immigration policy should not only be oriented towards the protection of its external borders but should also address the roots of the irregular migration problem, including the push factors that force people to migrate. The author urges the European Union to find ways to deal with a renewed wave of irregular migrants and asylum seekers while elaborating a revamped regional response that provides the means to cooperate with its southern partners.

The paper concludes that special attention should be paid to the upgrading of Frontex. This requires providing access to information, pooling technical equipment under the agency's management, cooperating with international organizations and continuous control and surveillance operations in the Mediterranean.

The strength of the paper is its discussion of the evolving routes and flows of irregular migration from Asia and other regions, via the Mediterranean and other transit zones to Europe.

International Organization for Migration. *Country Migration Report: The Philippines 2013*. Makati City, 2013.

Key words
France, Malaysia, Philippines, Syria, United States of America
Irregular migration, quantitative assessment

Research method
Mixed

Summary
This report analyses all aspects of migration from, through and to the Philippines to provide a comprehensive roadmap for policy makers to ensure that migration is for the benefit of all.

The report was produced under the International Organization for Migration initiative – Migration Profile Development Project for the Philippines – and is the result of a series of consultations, which included technical working group meetings, meetings of six thematic clusters, national workshops and conferences and numerous one-on-one institutional meetings involving more than 30 government agencies, civil society organizations and private sector representatives over a period of nearly 20 months. The methodology involved analysing migration data and statistics.

The report examines both regular and irregular migration flows and stocks. In spite of the comprehensive regulation of overseas labour, irregular migrants are estimated to represent approximately 10 percent of the total stock of Filipinos abroad. Irregular migrants from the Philippines are mostly present in Malaysia, especially in the disputed territory of Sabah, which has traditional ties with the southern Philippines and which remains in an unresolved international dispute concerning sovereignty. The report finds that the Mindanao region in the southern Philippines appears to be a prominent source of irregular migrants, particularly females, to Malaysia and the Middle East. The lack of or weak implementation of overseas employment regulation by the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao, which has a separate autonomous government and executive agencies, considerably contributes to this pattern. Other factors also include the aspiration of Muslim Filipinos to fulfil their pilgrimage to Mecca via overseas employment; movements driven by conflict, poverty and climate change disturbances; and the facilitation by informal brokers who are usually known to prospective migrants and their families, relatives and community peers.

The United States, Singapore and some European countries have sizable populations of irregular Filipino migrants. In the case of Malaysia, France and Syria, irregular migrants outnumber legal ones. Some irregular migrants from the Philippines have been illegally recruited and trafficked.

Although the Philippines has established a system to regulate labour migration, irregularities still occur, and migrants frequently suffer as a result of unscrupulous practices. At pre-departure, the most common violation is the excessive placement fee demanded by recruitment agencies. Illegal recruitment and scams can victimize aspiring migrants and derail their dreams of working abroad and set them back with debts, or they may be able to work abroad, but under precarious conditions and without safety nets. In the country of employment, migrants can encounter contract substitution, delayed, underpayment or non-payment of wages, or they may be stranded. In addition to difficult work conditions, migrants may suffer prejudice and discrimination in the destination society and face occupational safety and health risks.

The report concludes with a series of policy recommendations for the Government, including the necessity to implement and build on existing policy arrangements, especially policies aimed at the protection of irregular migrants.

The report makes a contribution to the body of knowledge on irregular migration through its extensive analysis of mixed data on irregular migration from, through and to the Philippines. It provides valuable statistical evidence of the extent of irregular migration from the Philippines and provides insights into the push-and-pull factors for irregular migration from the Philippines to other regions of the world.

International Organization for Migration. *Assessing Potential Changes in the Migration Patterns of Myanmar Migrants and Their Impacts on Thailand.* **Bangkok, 2013.**

Key words
Myanmar, Thailand
Factors that fuel irregular migration, irregular migration, routes

Research method
Mixed

Summary
This report considers the potential changes in the migration patterns of Myanmar migrants and the impacts that these changes may have on Thailand, a major receiving country of migrants from Myanmar. The report provides an evidence-based understanding of how the evolving migration patterns of Myanmar migrants will affect the migrants, their employers and other stakeholders.

The authors explain that they conducted the study because they believe that the migrant workforce has a crucial role in the economy of Thailand and that migrant workers from Myanmar constitute the majority of this workforce. They contend that such a study is important because, as a result of unprecedented economic and political change in Myanmar, an evolution of migration patterns is to be expected, and Thailand's economy and society will invariably be impacted by such changes. It is to Thailand's benefit to proactively understand, forecast and prepare for these changes. After reflecting on the growing possibility of migrants returning to Myanmar in large numbers in the coming years, the authors considered it important to conduct an evidence-based assessment and analysis of the potential changes in the migration patterns of Myanmar migrants in Thailand before such large-scale returns take place. The authors also wanted to better understand how the timing of and the reasons for the return may vary among the migrant population, and how this could affect different parts of the employment sector of Thailand in different ways.

The study involved quantitative and qualitative surveys of Myanmar migrants and the local population in seven border and non-border provinces of Thailand that host large numbers of migrants. The assessment framework, methodology and questionnaires were jointly developed by the Asian Research Centre for Migration and the International Organization for Migration, pre-tested prior to the implementation of the surveys, and translated into Burmese and Thai. The quantitative and qualitative data were collected by staff members of six partner NGOs who could access the migrant communities in the targeted provinces. The research participants were asked for information pertaining to demographic characteristics, their main reasons for migration, how they entered the country and their current legal status, the number of years they have been staying there, their living and working conditions (disaggregated by geographical area and employment sector), the skills they gained while living and working in Thailand and reasons for wanting or not wanting to return to Myanmar.

The report looks at the stocks and flows of irregular migration from Myanmar to Thailand. At the time of the research, an estimated 3.5 million Myanmar migrants and refugees were in Thailand in either regular or irregular status, and approximately 3 million of them were in the labour market. The report examines the documentation status of the irregular migrants, noting it varies between sectors and locations. The agriculture, fisheries and construction sectors had lower proportions of documented migrants than other sectors. However, larger portions of documented migrants were detected in employment sectors where the workers are concentrated in fixed locations, such as factories.

The majority of the surveyed migrants, regardless of sex, economic and social backgrounds prior to migration, ethnic group, place of origin, reasons for migrating, current job in Thailand or current income level, were willing to eventually return to Myanmar. Myanmar migrants considered their stay in Thailand as a temporary phase during which they may take advantage of available economic opportunities. The authors point out that the migrants who are less likely to opt for return to Myanmar include those who have stayed in Thailand for a long time and those who possess legal options to remain permanently.

The report concludes that although a future constraint in the supply of migrant workers from Myanmar may prove to be a challenge for Thailand, the recommended strategy is to provide migrants with the opportunity for documentation and to have decent wages and working conditions to make their migration experiences more positive and increase their willingness to remain employed in Thailand.

Through the collection and analysis of mixed data on the motivations and activities of undocumented Myanmar migrants in Thailand the report makes a contribution to the body of knowledge on irregular migration. It is the first comprehensive assessment in Thailand to produce a broad understanding of the characteristics of Myanmar migrants in the country as well as an understanding of the whole cycle of migration and the conditions of migrant workers before their decision to migrate, during migration and after migration.

International Centre for Migration Policy Development. *Yearbook on Illegal Migration, Human Smuggling and Trafficking in Central and Eastern Europe.* **Vienna, 2011.**

Research method
Mixed

Summary
This 13th Yearbook edition examines quantitative data on the stocks and flows of irregular migration, migrant smuggling and trafficking in persons in and to Central and Eastern Europe.

Information for the report was collected through a questionnaire that was disseminated to border agencies, ministries of interior and other national authorities dealing with issues related to irregular migration. The questionnaire contained qualitative and quantitative questions. The qualitative questions focused on the main legal and institutional developments in the area of irregular migration policy and border management as well as on the experiences of authorities with migrant smuggling and human trafficking in 2009. In addition to the standard questions of the Yearbook, special questions about the return and readmission of persons found to be illegally staying in a country were included. Responses to the questionnaire for the 2009 Yearbook represent 23 countries and territories.

The Yearbook includes available statistical data on the number of apprehensions of irregular migrants. Although some countries registered decreases in apprehensions, other countries, such as Greece and Turkey, registered significant increases in migration-related border apprehensions.

The report discusses the modus operandi and routes of migrant smuggling; the majority of migrants found to be illegally entering or staying in Turkey are from Afghanistan, Iraq, State of Palestine and Somalia. Migrants from Afghanistan, Pakistan or Iraq enter via Iran at the mountainous green border to Turkey in the East. Palestinians and Somalis usually enter Turkey via Syria on land or sea routes. Transport of smuggled migrants on the road is usually done in closed vehicles, such as vans or trucks. Generally, no changes in the routes and methods of migrant smuggling were observed in the two years prior to the research.

The report makes a contribution to the body of knowledge on irregular migration and migrant smuggling through the collection and analysis of quantitative data on irregular migration and migrant smuggling in, from and through an array of regions and countries.

Jayasuriya, D. & McAuliffe, M. *Placing Recent Sri Lankan Maritime Arrivals in a Broader Migration Context.* **Irregular Migration Research Program Occasional Paper Series. Canberra: Department of Immigration and Border Protection, 2013.**

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This paper explores the reasons behind the clandestine migration of Sri Lankans to Australia and places the discussion within a broader migration context.

The paper is one of a series of occasional papers produced as part of the Australian Department of Immigration and Border Protection's Irregular Migration Research Program. The stated aim of the Occasional Paper Series is to provide information on and analysis of specific irregular migration issues of relevance to Australia, within a broader migration and/or global context.

The paper was prepared in response to the recent substantial increase in Sri Lankan maritime arrivals to Australia. Its objective was to provide factual evidence in a broader migration context and interpret the findings. The methodology sought out the views of potential irregular migrants in Sri Lanka through two large-scale surveys that were conducted in early 2013; the questions aimed to determine the motivation behind the large-scale irregular maritime movements to Australia in 2012.

The paper presents the available data on irregular Sri Lankan migration to Australia, both by air and by

sea. In 2012–2013, Australia received a total of 8,308 applications for asylum by people who originally arrived by air, which represented an increase of 18 percent from 2011–2012. Between 2008 and 2011, fewer than 500 Sri Lankans arrived illegally by sea annually; however, in 2012 that number jumped from fewer than 100 in the first quarter of 2012 to around 2,600 in the third quarter. The authors note that this increase was sudden and unusual in the global context in which Sri Lankan asylum seeker numbers had remained relatively steady.

The paper discusses the motivations for the irregular migration of Sri Lankans, noting that those with a desire to travel by boat to Australia were overwhelmingly motivated by multiple, interrelated factors related to protection, visa access, employment, migrant smuggling, geography and family and community links.

Through extensive surveys with irregular migrants, the paper provides new information on the motivations and activities of Sri Lankan irregular migrants travelling to Australia. The paper makes a contribution to the body of knowledge on irregular migration from Sri Lanka through the presentation of empirical evidence of irregular migration activity.

Kagan, C., Lo, S., Mok, L., Lawthom, R., Sham, S., Greenwood, M. & Baines, S. *Experiences of Forced Labour Among Chinese Migrant Workers.* London: Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2011.

Key words
China, United Kingdom
Concepts, factors that fuel irregular migration, fees and payment for smuggling, irregular migration, modus operandi of smuggling, routes, smuggling

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This research report chronicles the experiences of irregular Chinese migrant workers in the United Kingdom. It considers the themes of forced labour and exploitation, the role of family and social relationships and examines how far migrants are able to exercise control over their lives when they live in an irregular status in the United Kingdom. The report outlines contemporary patterns of migration for work from China to the United Kingdom. It considers the factors that render low-skilled migrant workers from China vulnerable to forced labour and identifies actions that can be taken by the Government, civil society organizations, trade unions and employers to improve the protection of irregular migrants.

The report refers to forced migration according to the International Association for the Study of Forced Migration's definition: "the movements of refugees and internally displaced people (people displaced by conflicts) as well as people displaced by natural or environmental disasters, chemical or nuclear disasters, famine, or development projects". The report also examines forced labour according to the International Labour Organization's definition: "… all work which is extracted from any person under the menace of any penalty for which the person has not offered himself voluntarily".

The research drew on the experiences of 32 Chinese migrant workers, who were interviewed and who mostly were working in the catering and hospitality sector in the United Kingdom, to understand the ways in which they exercised control over their lives as well as the risks associated with entering forced labour and the roles of families and social relationships. The continuum of exploitation, from decent work to forced labour, was used to consider the balance between the risk of and protection from forced labour.

Although the focus of the report is on forced labour, the authors also examined migrant smuggling and found that travel to and entry into the United Kingdom relies on the services of professional facilitators and that agents assist migrants with obtaining visas. The fees charged by travel facilitators vary considerably but are between 100,000 RMB and 300,000 RMB (between £9,500 and £28,700), and the fee is usually raised from family and friends. Once the migrant arrives in the United Kingdom, family members usually pay the fee to the agent or facilitator in China. Thereafter, the migrant owes money to family and friends rather than to the 'snakeheads' (migrant smugglers). Most journeys to the United Kingdom involve workers being

smuggled by chains of snakeheads across several national borders.

For many of the interviewed migrants, there were times on the journey when they were frightened, exhausted, mistreated, confused and vulnerable. At these stages, some wanted to return home but they were trapped because they were obliged to pay off the original loan, which would be impossible to do if they returned to China. In addition, they would incur further expenses for the assistance they would need to return. Therefore, they had no option but to continue to travel as planned. Either people were smuggled into the country without detection at a point of entry, as was the case for five participants, or they arrived at a port or airport without identity or entry documents, were detained, questioned and then released, as was the case for 20 participants.

The report describes widespread exploitation of Chinese migrant workers by employers who were not compliant with immigration, business or employment regulations. For most Chinese migrant workers, there seemed to be no way out from exploitive work without regularizing their immigration status. The irregular status of workers meant that they were denied access to employment tribunals and other means of challenging their employment conditions or levels of pay.

The report concludes that Chinese migrant workers had little understanding of the immigration rules, asylum system or good business practices and had been deceived by the travel facilitators, who charged large amounts of money to enable them to reach and enter the United Kingdom. The research also indicates that the Chinese migrant workers' families influenced their lives in many ways, including their decision to travel, their enduring the exploitive working conditions to pay off debts and maintain remittances and their aspirations to stay, or leave, the United Kingdom.

The report makes a contribution to the body of knowledge on migrant smuggling through its examination of the modus operandi of clandestine migration from China to the United Kingdom. Through the interviews conducted with irregular Chinese migrants, the report provides insights into the workers' motivations for leaving China, the smuggling methods adopted and instances of

maltreatment when living in an irregular status in the United Kingdom.

Kalir, B. 'Illegality Rules: Chinese Migrant Workers Caught Up in the Illegal but Licit Operations of Labour Migration Regimes'. In *Transnational Flows and Permissive Polities: Ethnographies of Human Mobilities in Asia,* B. Kalir & M. Sur, eds. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012, pp. 27–54.

Key words
China, Israel
Factors that fuel irregular migration, fees and payment for smuggling, irregular migration, modus operandi of smuggling, smuggling

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This book chapter explores the immigration of Chinese migrant workers to Israel. It examines the distinction between the licit migration of people who believe they are migrating legally and the subsequent illegal nature of their irregular status in Israel. It looks at immigration flows from the Chinese migrant workers perspective who go through the numerous informal and illegal stages in the process of recruitment and employment and then turns to the work of the formal authorities in China and Israel.

Although the chapter explores the concepts of licit and "illegal" migration, it does not define the terms.

Data collection involved interviews with 40 Chinese migrant workers in Israel. Most of them came from a poor economic and educational background in China. They usually earned a pre-migration salary of $100 per month from work in construction or agriculture and then earned between $800 and $1,200 per month in Israel.

The research discovered that Chinese workers in Israel are predominantly employed in the construction sector, with a small percentage also working in factories, agriculture and caregiving for disabled people. The workers who were interviewed

were recruited from villages in Fujian, Jiangsu, Anhui, Hubei and other provinces. The author argues that only a thin line divides the legal work of unauthorized recruiting companies and the illegal work of the informal migration industry in China. The chapter explains how, normally, all Chinese workers going to Israel pursue a legal immigration channel and receive a passport with a work visa issued by the Israeli embassy in Beijing specifying the name of the Israeli company and the job for which workers are recruited. This process is fraught with informality and illegality—workers are charged large illegal fees by Chinese recruitment companies for the opportunity to work in Israel, often around $30 000. Chinese recruitment companies take advantage of the fact that many Chinese workers are illiterate and desperate to emigrate and thus offer no written contract to migrants who are too afraid to insist on it or are unaware of their rights to a contract. An illegal practice frequently occurs in which employers 'sell' their Chinese workers to other firms, a practice that falls within the legal definition of human trafficking. It is often the migrant workers who lose their legal status prior to being deported back to China, when they find themselves in the difficult position of trying to pay back the loans they took for paying the illegal fee to recruitment agencies.

The chapter notes that migrants regularly perceive their own actions as well as those of recruitment agencies and employers to be licit; this perception is often the product of a culturally infused confusion or ignorance regarding the obliging legal systems in China and Israel. Instead of there being an institutional attempt to diffuse the confusion, it is systematically compounded by manipulations of Chinese and Israeli recruitment companies and employers.

The chapter concludes that there is a need to broaden the scope of the licit activity in the migration process to counter the peculiar situation in which state authorities act in an illegal manner according to the national law as well as international conventions but are perceived as licit by a majority within the country. The role of the State should not be confined to policy-making and the fixing of legal boundaries but instead should include a treatment of executive powers within the field of immigration.

The chapter makes a contribution to the body of knowledge on irregular migration through its examination of the motivations and activities of "illegal" Chinese workers in Israel. The interviews with 40 irregular Chinese migrants brought to light a number of issues in the migration process to Israel— lack of awareness among migrants of the illicit nature of recruitment fees; the exploitation of workers, such illegal practices as worker on-selling, which is in some cases akin to trafficking in persons; and poor intervention on the part of both the Chinese and Israeli Governments.

Karen Human Rights Group. *Abuse Between Borders: Vulnerability for Burmese Workers Deported from Thailand.* **Myanmar, 2010.**

Key words
Myanmar, Thailand
Irregular migration

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This report documents the extent of the abuse of Myanmar irregular migrants deported from Thailand. The Karen Human Rights Group argues that, based on extensive research conducted by the organization, irregular Myanmar migrants experience considerable abuse at Thai border checkpoints. This abuse includes forced payment of excessive deportation fees, forced labour, beatings, murder and rape.

Data collection for the report involved interviews conducted by the Karen Human Rights Group with irregular Myanmar migrants between November 2009 and February 2010.

The report describes the extent of irregular migration from Myanmar, particularly to Thailand, and the irregular migrants' subsequent abuse. The report argues that most Myanmar migrants do not possess working visas, work permits or other forms of legal permission to work in foreign countries, making them vulnerable to exploitive abuse by trafficking agents, unscrupulous employers, police and government officials.

The report illustrates how checkpoint officers earn money from irregular migrants from Myanmar. The Myanmar workers deported by Thai officials are transferred to Myanmar via checkpoints, where they must make large payments before being released into Myanmar or returning to Thailand. The report finds that the payments differ according to the location from where a worker is deported. For example, workers deported from Bangkok, where they can be expected to have earned a higher income, are charged more than workers deported from Mae Sot or other areas.

The report concludes that Myanmar workers in Thailand are an intensely vulnerable population, subject to abuse by a range of groups including government officials and human traffickers. It argues that the Governments of Thailand and Myanmar as well as international agencies should acknowledge the legitimate protection concerns of Myanmar migrants living outside of officially recognized refugee camps and lacking legal refugee status.

Through the analysis of empirical material, the report provides new evidence on the abuse of irregular Myanmar migrants in Thailand. It also provides insights into the excessive fees charged by unscrupulous border checkpoint officials who aim to profit from the irregular status of Myanmar migrants.

Kassim, A. & Haji Mat Zin, R. *Policy on Irregular Migrants in Malaysia: An Analysis of Its Implementation and Effectiveness.* **Discussion Paper Series No. 2011–34. Makati City: Philippine Institute for Development Studies, 2011.**

Key words
Bangladesh, Indonesia, Malaysia, Myanmar, Pakistan, Philippines
Concepts, irregular migration, modus operandi of smuggling, smuggling

Research method
Mixed

Summary
This research report analyses Malaysia's policy on irregular migrants and specifically examines the foreign worker policy, which was implemented in 1992 to regulate the inflow of foreign workers and stem the inflow of irregular migrant workers. The report argues that although the policy has led to a spectacular increase in the number of legally recruited migrant workers, it has not curbed the expansion of irregular migrants; rather, their numbers have risen in parallel with that of legally recruited migrants.

The report notes that the term 'irregular migrants' is rarely used in official and academic discourse in Malaysia, compared with the popular term of 'illegal immigrant' or 'illegal immigrant workers'. The report uses illegal immigrants and irregular migrants synonymously, with the former including foreign nationals who entered Malaysia clandestinely without any travel documents; children born to foreign nationals in Malaysia and whose births have not been officially documented; foreign workers whose work passes have expired; pass abusers and contract defaulters; overstayers who may or may not be in the workforce; foreign nationals in possession of false documents or holding genuine documents obtained fraudulently; and asylum seekers and refugees (Malaysia is not a signatory to the Geneva Convention on Refugees).

For their research, the authors adopted a triangulation method that combined a quantitative and qualitative approach based on interviews and focus group discussions. Their study covered both East and Peninsula Malaysia; interviews were carried out in seven depots (detention centres) and several other places between March and June 2011. The survey covered 404 respondents (340, or 84 percent, of whom were detained at the Ministry of Home Affairs depot and 64, or nearly 16 percent, of whom were detained in other places). The respondents at the Ministry facility comprised irregular migrants who had been apprehended and were awaiting deportation. Interviews were also carried out with various government agency representatives in charge of keeping out, controlling and managing irregular migrants and foreign workers.

The authors found that the irregular migrants interviewed had been going to and from Malaysia over a 20-year period, although most of them had come more recently. Most of them arrived by boat, entering the various sea ports around the country. A large proportion came directly to Malaysia rather

than using transit countries, and approximately two thirds used legal documents to enter the country because they considered it cheap, fast and easy or documents were provided by their agents. Those without documents came mainly from Indonesia, Philippines and Myanmar, the latter mainly claiming to be refugees fleeing their country. The total cost to immigrate to Malaysia could be expensive, especially for those from Bangladesh and Pakistan, and the fees charged by the employment agents in their home countries appeared to be more than those charged by the Malaysian agents.

The role of social networks was important in facilitating the journeys of irregular migrants to Malaysia. Most of their relatives interviewed for the research were foreign workers also, although some had gained permanent resident status in the country. Some respondents had been going in and out of Malaysia numerous times, using the same tactic of entering with a legal document and then violating its conditions and so becoming irregular migrants. The report concludes that Malaysia's foreign worker policy has had a measure of success to the extent that it has decelerated the expansion of irregular migrants to a manageable level.

The report draws important conclusions from the interviews, including the motivations of irregular migrants, their work status in the country, patterns of re-entry, instances of exploitation and migrants' movements in response to the migration policy. Through the collection and analysis of the empirical material, the report provides insights into the motivations of irregular migrants and the methods adopted for entering Malaysia.

Kevin, T. *Reluctant Rescuers.* Canberra: Self-published, 2012.

Key words
Australia, Indonesia, Malaysia
Factors that fuel irregular migration, human and social costs of smuggling, irregular migration, modus operandi of smuggling, routes, smuggling

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This self-published book explores the Australian border protection system's safety record in detecting and intercepting asylum seeker boats between 1998 and 2011. It has a specific focus on the issue of the obligation of Australia's intelligence-based border protection system to protect all human life at sea, including the lives of asylum seekers. The author argues that this obligation is not always honoured by the Australian border protection system. The book addresses urgent policy and operational issues to do with how Australia's border protection system handles safety-of-life-at-sea issues in the course of its regular duties of detecting, intercepting and taking into custody the smuggled migrants who reach Australian shores.

The methodology involved an examination of public data on Australia's record of suspected irregular entry vessel (SIEV) detections and interceptions in the past two decades. The author studied recent failures in Australia's record of successfully detecting and intercepting SIEVs. The author's motivation for the research was to contribute to the Australian official inquiry processes into the Christmas Island SIEV 221 shipwreck on 15 December 2010, in which approximately 50 asylum seekers drowned. There have been four inquiries, two of which two were mostly in public. The last and most detailed of them took place in the Coroner's Court of Western Australia, which reported on 23 February 2012. A wealth of diagnostic public-access material emerged from the public inquiry and from an earlier parliamentary inquiry.

The book describes what the author considers the 'moral confusion' of Australia's policy regarding the arrival and interception of asylum seeker vessels in Australian territory. Many examples of such moral confusion occurred in late 2001 during then Prime Minister John Howard's Operation Relex, which represented his determined mobilization of Australian Defence Force resources to deter and repel asylum seekers' boats. According to the author, moral confusion examples include the significant and still unexplained tragedy of SIEV X; the near-tragedy of Palapa (the overloaded asylum seekers' boat in distress located by Australian authorities some 60 nautical miles from Christmas Island and finally rescued by a Norwegian merchant vessel); Australian efforts to repel SIEV 4 (the 'children overboard'

boat); and other potentially lethal confrontations during attempted forced turn-backs of other SIEV boats to Indonesia. A similar moral confusion afflicts Australia's Border Protection Command today, as seen in official evidence tendered at the coronial inquiry into the 2010 shipwreck of SIEV 221 at Christmas Island and in official responses to public questioning about two asylum seekers' boats that went missing in 2009 and 2010.

In examining the Australian border protection system's safety record in detecting and intercepting asylum seekers' boats, the author finds that the intelligence-based border protection system routinely collects large amounts of human-sourced and signals-sourced data on boats that may be on their way towards Australian territorial waters. However, it sometimes declines to acknowledge and act on that intelligence when it indicates the possibility of a 'suspected irregular entry vessel' in peril at sea.

Australian public officials and politicians regularly foster a false public impression that SIEV boats are getting lost or sunk, that large numbers of people are drowning on a regular basis, and that migrant smugglers are almost entirely to blame when this happens. The author considers these 'myths' as corrosive to truth and decency in Australia's border protection doctrine and operational culture and in Australian public life generally.

The author concludes that the Australian border security system, as a complex intelligence-based system, has lost its moral compass. Neither the Labor Party nor the Coalition government (at the time of publication) had dealt well with the responsibility of incorporating into the border protection system's doctrine and operational protocols the obligation to strive to protect all human life at sea. The complex layering and bureaucratic compartmentalization of intelligence-sourced data in the present national security-classified border detection system allows important truths to be legally concealed or obscured by witnesses testifying in parliamentary and coronial inquiries.

The book concludes with some recommendations for reforms. Border Protection needs clear and explicit operational protocols that, at any time when aerial surveillance sweeps of the main SIEV approach routes to any Australian territories are

technically unavailable for weather or other reasons, the top operational priority for the Border Protection surface response vessel on station should be to stay on station across these approach routes until normal aerial surveillance coverage can resume. Additionally, in cases in which an asylum seeker boat has disappeared, there should be full and prompt public disclosure of all Australian intelligence holdings and the system's judgements as to the likely fate of that missing boat. The author also makes an appeal to politicians from all parties to not be tempted to use deaths at sea as ammunition to bolster preferred boat-people processing policy solutions.

The strength of the book is its unique attempt to analyse Australia's policies on border protection and to measure the Australian Government's failures to protect asylum seekers arriving in Australian territory by boat. Through the analysis of recent maritime migrant smuggling incidents and public data on Australia's record of SIEV detections and interceptions in the past two decades, the book provides insights into the fate of smuggled migrants, and the effectiveness, or lack thereof, of Australia's maritime smuggling policies and practices.

Khosravi, S. *"Illegal" Traveller*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

Key words
Afghanistan, India, Iran
Profiles of smuggled migrants, routes, smuggling

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This book explores the issue of border crossing in the current era of globalization and transnationalism, analysing how the nation State system regulates movements of people. The author examines how migrant "illegality" is configured in the contemporary world and explores what it means to be an irregular migrant.

This book is written in an auto-ethnographical style, with personal experiences interjected into ethnographic writing. Based on the author's own migration journey and the informants' border experiences, the book explores the nature of borders,

border politics and the rituals and performances of border crossing. The author explains that auto-ethnography was adopted as the methodology for the book because it lets migrants contextualize their accounts of the experience of migrant 'illegality'. Fieldwork for the book was conducted by the author between 2004 and 2008.

The book is divided into nine sections, encompassing an introduction, seven chapters and a Coda. It includes an appendix detailing the destinations of the migrants discussed in the book and a preface that discusses the issues to be dealt with in the book through the description of two separate events: the author's own descent into "illegality" at the Iran–Afghanistan border and the suicide of an Iranian asylum seeker in a Swedish detention centre. The first chapter examines the author's own migration experience and journey into "illegality", as he defines it. The author is an Iranian young man driven into a clandestine existence before he decides to flee the country. He highlights elements of choice in contexts of 'forced' migration. The next two chapters discuss issues of migrant illegality in which the author explores his own attempts to exit Iran and his life as an "illegal" migrant (as he describes it) in Pakistan, in transit to the West. In the final sections the author explores the perils and dangers associated with fleeing to the West, his shift from asylum seeker to refugee and the issue of refugees' rights.

Although the book does not set out to highlight any findings or conclusions, the author explores the experience of asylum seekers, the reasons that asylum seekers are forced into clandestine existences and underlines how the experience of border crossing does not end when the final destination is reached. The book provides information on the fees and payments for migrant smuggling services and the modus operandi and routes of smuggling, particularly from Iran to the West. It also discusses the various factors that fuel irregular migration, such as war and political strife.

The strength of the book is the way in which the author presents ethnographic data, which provides rich empirical insights and raises important points in relation to irregular migration and migrant smuggling. The book makes a contribution to the body of knowledge on migrant smuggling with its insights into smuggling networks, the modus operandi of migrant smuggling and the human rights abuses of irregular migrants.

Killias, O. '"Illegal" Migration as Resistance: Legality, Morality and Coercion in Indonesian Domestic Worker Migration to Malaysia'. *Asian Journal of Social Science,* vol. 38, No. 6, 2010, pp. 897–914.

Summary
This article picks up the dominant discourse on "illegal" migrants in the context of Indonesian labour migration to Malaysia and discusses recent political decisions made by both Indonesia and Malaysia to regularize migratory movements from Indonesia and finds that these state decisions and efforts at regularizing migration have been promoted as combating human trafficking and "illegal" migration but have in fact led to the legitimization of a migration scheme that is similar to colonial indentured labour.

The arguments presented in the article are based on the author's 14 months of multi-sited fieldwork as well as on the analysis of several recent studies that have addressed the question of general assumptions about "legal" and "illegal" labour migration in Asia. The article also examines the narrative of an Indonesian domestic worker in Malaysia to argue that "illegal" migration can be seen as an act of voluntarily circumventing institutions, such as recruitment agencies, which are leading workers into legal but bonded labour arrangements.

The article describes the labour migration patterns between Indonesia and Malaysia in recent years and explains how the Indonesian Government has endorsed the long-standing practices of private recruitment firms by making it compulsory for all prospective migrant workers to register with a recruitment agency. The article finds that commercial recruitment agencies are key players in the increasingly formalized, bureaucratized and

legalized transnational 'maid trade'. These agencies organize the recruitment process, the issuing of the required documents and the compulsory training of the prospective domestic workers before sending them to their partner placement agencies in the countries of destination. Agencies also advance the money to cover all expenses related to the migration of Indonesian domestic workers until the domestic workers arrive at their destination. Upon employment abroad, the domestic workers' debt is transferred from the Indonesian agency to the Malaysian employers, who, subsequently, deduct payments from the workers' wages for several months.

The author argues that, from the very beginning of the migration process, the repayment of the migration debt is conditioned by restrictions on the domestic workers' freedom of movement. As soon as the domestic workers enter the camps owned by Indonesian recruitment agencies to undergo the week-long, compulsory training, prospective migrant domestic workers are completely isolated from their social networks.

The article highlights the abuse of domestic workers and how they are forced into situations of irregularity. The author explains that domestic workers are legally entitled to change employers once during their two-year contracts in the event of abuse. Standard employment contracts of Indonesian domestic workers in Malaysia state that workers may change employers if they have "reasonable grounds to fear for [their] life, [are] subject to abuse or ill-treatment by the employer or if the employer has failed to pay [their] wages". The study found, however, that Indonesian domestic workers were often kept from holding a copy of their contracts, were sometimes prevented from even seeing the contents of the contracts when signing them and were, as a consequence, often completely unaware of their rights. Furthermore, while some migrant workers may choose to run away if suffering abuse by their employers, they are routinely subject to arrest and deportation by police.

The author notes that any attempt to migrate independently, outside of this state-sanctioned recruitment scheme, is declared by Malaysian and Indonesian authorities as a form of irregular migration. The author concludes that the legal,

state-sanctioned migration system gradually leads domestic workers into legal but bonded labour arrangements and that the labour contract needs to be analysed as an instrument of subordination.

The strength of the article is that it provides insights into the discourse on "legal" and "illegal" migrant workers and questions whether state intervention has improved Indonesian migrant workers' access to better working conditions, better wages and justice or made the workers more vulnerable to exploitation.

Koser, K. 'Dimensions and Dynamics of Irregular Migration'. *Population, Space and Place,* vol. 16, No. 3, 2010, pp. 181–193.

Key words
Irregular migration

Research method
Mixed

Summary

This article critically reviews irregular migration data and recent sources to provide an overview of the dimensions and dynamics of contemporary irregular migration.

For the study, the author collected and analysed irregular migration data and reviewed recent literature on the subject of irregular migration.

The article examines the challenges associated with counting irregular migrants and the conceptual challenges of differentiating irregular migration stocks from flows; addressing the variety of routes into irregularity; distinguishing migrant smuggling from human trafficking; and separating asylum from aggregate statistics. The discussion includes the practical challenges of dealing with a series of direct and indirect methods for collecting statistics and highlights the difficulties researchers experiencing when accessing official statistics.

The article also reviews the available explanations for irregular migration. The author distinguishes macro-level explanations that focus on structural causes from meso-level explanations that are primarily concerned with the role of policies and intermediaries in irregular migration. The author

highlights the shortage of micro-level explanations concerned with individual and family decision-making in the irregular migration process. In the final section of the article, the author discusses the consequences of irregular migration. In particular, the author focuses on the issue of security and finds that although irregular migration may undermine state sovereignty, the implications of irregular migration for the 'human security' of those involved should not be underestimated.

The article concludes that irregular migration researchers are greatly constrained by the lack of accurate, verifiable, up-to-date and comparable data on irregular migration. In many cases, this is due to difficulties in collecting accurate statistics but it is also due to the fact that important data is not made available to researchers by states. The author concludes that, considering the inherent weaknesses in the current methods for enumerating irregular migration, new and innovative methods for collecting data should be pursued, such as ethno-surveys.

The article provides insights into the barriers associated with collecting irregular migration data. The article does not make a direct contribution to the body of knowledge on irregular migration because of its focus on the issue of data collection.

Koser, K. *Transition, Crisis and Mobility in Afghanistan: Rhetoric and Reality.* Geneva: International Organization for Migration, 2014.

Key words
Afghanistan, Iran, Pakistan
Factors that fuel irregular migration, irregular migration, routes

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This report provides insights into migration transitions in Afghanistan and outlines strategic priorities for International Organization for Migration (IOM) and its partners.

The report is based on three main sources of data: a review of published articles and reports as well as internal IOM and UN documents; interviews with IOM officials and a range of government, civil society and private sector representatives in Afghanistan, Pakistan and Geneva; and feedback on each draft, including during a roundtable discussion in Kabul in January 2014. The author visited Pakistan (Islamabad) and Afghanistan (Kabul) to familiarize himself with the migration context. Interviews were conducted in person or by telephone and occasionally by email with representatives from government, international organizations, academia, civil society and the private sector. Several interviews were also conducted with IOM and other officials outside Afghanistan and Pakistan, including in countries likely to be affected by migration and displacement from Afghanistan. The report is structured according to the IOM Migration Crisis Operational Framework, which is organized around two pillars that focus, in turn, on distinguishing the phases of a crisis (before, during and after) to direct the type of response required and identify the sectors of assistance required at each stage.

Although the report focuses its discussion on mobility in Afghanistan mostly on asylum seeker flows, it also discusses the subject of undocumented migration. The report examines Pakistan's efforts to register undocumented migrants; in August 2013, the Pakistan Government requested IOM to proceed with the registration of undocumented migrants while indicating its continuing support for their eventual return to Afghanistan. In Iran, the Government adopted a policy of formalizing the presence of undocumented Afghans by issuing short-term visas, work permits and travel documents. Even though a significant number of Afghan undocumented migrants were formalized in this way in recent years, a large number of deportations have been carried out.

The report concludes that the most likely displacement outcome of the Afghanistan transitions in the immediate future will be more internal displacement. The report suggests that, for a substantial proportion of Afghans, internal displacement has become a common survival strategy. If further displacement occurs outside Afghanistan, most migrants and refugees are expected to cross into Pakistan using official border crossings, whereas Iran may close its border with Afghanistan.

The report offers insights into migration transitions in Afghanistan over the next year, including internal and external migration consequences. But because its discussion of undocumented migration is limited to two short paragraphs, it does not contribute to the body of knowledge on irregular migration.

Koser, K. & Marsden, P. *Migration and Displacement Impacts of Afghan Transitions in 2013: Implications for Australia.* **Irregular Migration Research Program Occasional Paper Series. Canberra: Department of Immigration and Border Protection, 2013.**

Key words
Afghanistan, Australia
Irregular migration, routes, smuggling

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This paper assesses the impact of Afghan migration and displacement trends in 2014, particularly on Australia. The report suggests that 2014 is expected to be a year of political, security and economic transition in Afghanistan and that instability and insecurity during and after 2014 are likely to exacerbate current migration and displacement trends.

For the study, the authors reviewed recent research and analysis on projections for security, political stability and economic growth in Afghanistan during and after 2014. The paper is one of a series of occasional papers produced as part of the Australian Department of Immigration and Border Protection's Irregular Migration Research Program. The aim of the Occasional Paper Series is to provide information on and analysis of specific irregular migration issues of relevance to Australia but within a broader migration and/or global context.

The authors examined the flows of irregular migration from Afghanistan in recent years and thus write about two key flows of Afghan migration beyond the hinterland: migrant workers to Saudi Arabia, the Gulf States and other parts of the Middle East; and irregular migrants and asylum seekers to industrialized countries in Europe and North America. The report also finds that, more recently, such countries as Turkey and Australia have become important destinations for Afghan asylum seekers.

The report analyses the flows of Afghan migrants to Australia, particularly clandestine maritime arrivals, and Australia's policy response. In recent years, Australia initiated additional resettlement quotas and provided increased support to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, including for the acceptance of Afghan Hazara refugees from Pakistan. The purpose of these initiatives was to encourage safe and legal migration to Australia. However, the report explains, despite those initiatives, the number of Afghan irregular maritime arrivals continued to increase in 2013. The report concludes that it is likely that Afghan Hazaras will remain a major irregular maritime arrival group to Australia in 2014 and beyond.

Through the analysis of current research on projections for security, political stability and economic growth in Afghanistan during and after 2014, the paper provides insights into the projected patterns of irregular migration of Afghans to Australia.

Koser, K. & McAuliffe, M. *Establishing an Evidence-Base for Future Policy Development on Irregular Migration to Australia.* **Irregular Migration Research Program Occasional Paper Series. Canberra: Australian Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2013.**

Key words
Afghanistan, Australia, Pakistan
Factors that fuel irregular migration, irregular migration, modus operandi of smuggling, routes, smuggling

Research method
Mixed

Summary
This paper was drafted in response to a recommendation of the 2012 Expert Panel on Asylum Seekers, which encouraged the Australian Government to establish an Irregular Migration

Research Program. It is the first paper in a series of Occasional Papers published by the Program to support its work and was specifically designed to help identify gaps in knowledge and research on irregular migration in the Australian context by comparing it with international research and to make recommendations about how to fill these gaps, drawing on international experience.

The methodology was based on four main sources of information. The first was Australian data and information on irregular migrants, particularly those who arrived by sea. The second was an extensive literature review, including academic publications, policy reports and a few unpublished sources. The third source was the authors' research in relevant areas. This yielded publications that form part of the review but also unpublished data that are used for the basis of some of the conclusions and recommendations in the paper. Finally, the paper drew on a series of informal discussions with relevant stakeholders in Australia and elsewhere, including with members of the Irregular Migration Research Advisory Group.

The paper is structured in two parts. The first part provides information and some observations on irregular maritime migration to Australia and articulates some of the underlying reasons why it is such a contested topic. The second part addresses the knowledge and research gaps by focusing on the various stages of the irregular migration process.

The paper describes the irregular migration process in four stages: the decision to leave the country of origin; the choice of destination; transit (including migration routes, organization of the journey and experiences in transit countries); and return. The paper also refers to experiences in the destination country where these experiences may have an impact on the other stages. These stages are not always discrete or necessarily sequential—an irregular migrant may select his or her destination before leaving the country of origin and experiences in destination countries may influence return motivations.

Analysis of case studies on the decision to migrate, specifically in the Pakistan context, revealed that the decision to migrate with a smuggler was not often an individual decision. In most cases, the decision

was made in consultation with a family member, including in a majority of cases, family members outside Pakistan. Cost is a crucial influencing factor in family decisions to use the services of a smuggler.

One of the major policy implications that emerged from the research is the importance of recognizing that family members are critical actors in making and facilitating the migration decision and thus are as important a target for policy interventions as are would-be migrants or returnees. Further research is required, especially in Australia, writes the author, to answer questions about why irregular migrants choose Australia as a destination, at what stage of the migration process this choice is made and what the evidence is regarding information campaigns and how they can be more effective.

The paper provides insights into the modus operandi of migrant smuggling, the push-and-pull factors for irregular migration and the influence of family members in the migration decision process.

Kumar, R. 'Broader Implications of Open Border: The Case of India and Nepal'. *A Biannual Journal of South Asian Studies*, 2012, pp. 98–111.

Key words
India, Nepal, Pakistan
Irregular migration, routes, smuggling

Research method
Unknown

Summary
This paper looks at the implications of the open border situation between India and Nepal and the uncontrolled activities, including irregular migration, that are occurring as a result of the open border. The paper suggests that the open border arrangement has been instrumental in shaping the age-old relationship of mutual interdependence between the two countries, reiterating friendliness and proximity; however, the unrestricted flow has produced a number of negative implications with it as well, including the illegal movements of goods and people.

The methodology for the article is not explained, but it appears to have consisted of a review of recent literature and analysis of recent border incidents.

The author cites a number of benefits for cross-border migration between India and Nepal. These include access to health services, education, entertainment and other activities for the Nepalese people living in the border areas, which are extensively dependent on India, especially for health-care and education. The paper also highlights the negative implications of the open India–Nepal border and free movement across the international boundary. Easy cross-border migration has led to smuggling of all kinds of goods, terrorist activities and citizenship problems. After 2001 and as the internal armed conflict in Nepal intensified, the flow of migrants from Nepal to India heavily increased. From the Nepalese side, it was alleged that citizens of other countries entered Nepal to avail of the opportunities under the guise of Indians. Because the border is open, it becomes difficult to check the flow of movement of the population and to determine whether migrants are from India or some other South Asian country.

In principle, both Nepal and India have positively agreed to control illegal activities along the border, but there is no effective and practical approach to achieving this goal. Furthermore, the multiplicity of routes along the border, the existence of ready markets on both sides and the relatively thin presence of law enforcement agencies on the ground make the task of countering these illegal activities difficult. The paper concludes that to reduce illegal border activities, a more regulated border arrangement is needed. An immediate solution would be a substantial increase in the number of official border crossings to stem the open flow of human movement between the countries.

The paper provides insights into illegal activities occurring at the India–Nepal border; however, due to the lack of empirical material included in the analysis, it does not make a direct contribution to the body of knowledge on irregular migration.

Lanza, E. & Pasculli, M. A. 'The Condition of Foreigner as a Contact Between Illegal Immigration and Trafficking in Human Beings/Smuggling of Migrants: A Report About Italian Legislation'. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science,* **vol. 2, No. 19, 2012, pp. 101–114.**

Summary
This article highlights the relationship among irregular migration, human trafficking and migrant smuggling. The article positions these crimes as global phenomena that affect both industrialized and developing countries and as a 'national emergency' involving organized crime in Italy. The article examines the national laws regarding these offences, compares European and international juridical instruments and proposes solutions to combating such transnational crimes.

The article discusses trafficking in persons according to the Trafficking in Persons Protocol, which Italy has used to describe human trafficking and non-trafficking cases in its legislation.

The methodology is not explained in detail, but the authors mention that they examined national laws on irregular migration, migrant smuggling and human trafficking, and compared national and regional laws, policies and other instruments that aim to combat these crimes.

The article examines the push factors for irregular migration and suggests that the reasons for migration to Europe are multiple and include the lack of work in less developed countries; the hope to change social, financial and professional conditions; natural catastrophic events and civil wars. The article suggests there is also a political factor—governments and their domestic policies have caused large numbers of people to emigrate. The author finds that where and when populations are politically suppressed and violence is widespread, irregular migration becomes attractive, and migrants are more open to accepting the services offered by migrant smugglers.

The article also examines the routes taken by irregular migrants to Europe, describing the route that links North Africa and Sicily. On this route, Tunisians and Maghrebians, in particular, move into Pantelleria and Lampedusa in Italy. The second is the clandestine route that links Sri Lanka and Sicily and the Calabria regions, crossing the Suez Canal. On this route, Sri Lankans leave their country in small boats to avoid customs before travelling to the high seas where they are collected by smugglers in bigger boats. These ships travel to southern Italy, circumnavigating the Arabic Peninsula and across the Suez Canal. The third route is the clandestine route that links Albania and the Puglia region and vice versa. Other routes described include the route that links Greece and Turkey and the Adriatic Sea through the ferry lines; and the Italic-Slovene frontier, the main illegal route by land that links the Eastern and Western European countries.

The article concludes that the increase of transnational organized crime, including irregular migration and the huge illegal profits it generates, creates a significant problem that is not easily solved. The article concludes that the best way forward is to develop sound policy responses to transnational crime.

The article provides insights into the clandestine routes taken by migrants to Italy; however, the discussion on irregular migration in the article is brief and empirical material is not presented, therefore the article does not contribute directly to the body of knowledge on irregular migration.

Latham, K. & Wu, B. *Chinese Immigration Into the EU: New Trends, Dynamics and Implications.* **London: Europe China Research and Advice Network, 2013.**

Key words
China
Irregular migration, routes

Research method
Mixed

Summary
The report draws a general picture of Chinese immigration into the European Union over the past decade, examines the new trends and characteristics of Chinese immigration since 2000 in terms of type, status and distribution by major destination and highlights the key issues, factors and dynamics related to Chinese immigration and integration into the European Union. The report also highlights a number of policy issues for scholars and policy makers.

The report addressed research questions through a review of official information, an interpretation of data from fieldwork conducted by one of the authors in Italy, China, the United Kingdom and Italy and through a review of the latest research studies of other scholars, both in the European Union and China. Additional fieldwork was conducted by the authors in China and Italy in 2011 to collect updated information and to verify their research findings. This fieldwork principally consisted of structured and semi-structured interviews with Chinese association representatives, EU and European government officials or representatives, Chinese officials at the local and national levels and scholars from Europe and China working on Chinese international migration and immigration into Europe. A number of experts and research centres in Guangdong, Wenzhou, Shanghai and Beijing were also contacted. The authors also undertook a systematic collection of secondary data, including the latest relevant publications in English, Chinese and Italian. To compile the statistical data presented in the report, the authors used European Union and European Commission reports and statistical data sets publicly available online or in published documents; the annual reports of the European Migration Network; statistical reports and data published by EU national governments and by China; published statistical data in academic works in Chinese, English and Italian on Chinese migration and immigration into Europe; and data from the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development.

In the 1990s and early 2000s, as the report explains, the development of irregular immigration routes and structures of operation facilitated the irregular immigration of Chinese nationals into many European countries. Illegal operations run by 'snakeheads' (migrant smugglers) from Fujian and Zhejiang provinces in south-eastern China smuggled immigrants via a number of routes through the Middle East, Eastern Europe and, in some cases, via

Africa and South America. These operations often offered work and accommodation in the destination country in exchange for large sums of money, either paid up front in China or contracted as debts to be paid off through labour on arrival. The report finds that irregular immigration was not an easy way into Europe and could involve many dangers and risks for the smuggled migrants, including exploitation by the snakehead gangs, treacherous sea and land journeys that could end in death and the risk of discovery and deportation by European or other authorities. However, the authors argue that for many poor Chinese, smuggling groups, which were able to circumvent legal requirements and processes, offered a possibility of immigration that previously did not exist. Since the late 2000s, irregular Chinese immigration, particularly people smuggling, has been in decline, and the authors credit this to the increasing number of alternative, safer ways for Chinese immigrants to reach Europe legally.

The report concludes that various important trends and issues in Chinese immigration into the European Union have emerged since 2000 that have important implications for the future of Chinese communities, for relations between Chinese immigrants and local populations and for relations between China and the European Union and its member countries. The issues cited for consideration include the mixed impacts of the global and European economic crises on Chinese immigration into Europe; the importance of changes in immigration and other policies in different member countries; the continuing transformation of the Chinese business landscape and the nature of Chinese communities in many member countries; working conditions and forced labour in some Chinese businesses; and high degrees of mobility and transnationality among Chinese communities in Europe and beyond. Chinese immigration into the European Union will continue to rise; however, its rate of growth is slowing down, and this trend will continue, owing to the worsening economic environment and the decreasing economic opportunities in some of the countries hit hardest by the financial crises.

The report recommends that EU and Member State policies related to Chinese immigration into Europe need to pay careful attention to the specific local circumstances and constitution of each Chinese community there. The authors also suggest that the

European Union should encourage and support Member States in the empowerment of Chinese immigrant workers and other vulnerable groups through the establishment of various voluntary support networks and mechanisms.

The report contributes to the body of knowledge on irregular migration through the EU Member State profiles, which provide statistics on irregular migration flows and information on the routes and methods of irregular migration from China to individual European countries.

Latt, S. S. W. 'Managing Migration in the Greater Mekong Subregion: Regulation, Extra-Legal Relation and Extortion'. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, vol. 34, No. 1, 2013, pp. 40–56.

Key words
Thailand
Irregular migration

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This article reviews the regulation, extortion and deportation of irregular migrants in the Mekong subregion, with a focus on Thailand. The author argues that extra-legal relations between migrants and state/para-state agents constitute a crucial part of migrant regulation. The author also argues that the Asian Development Bank (ADB), in its responsibility for transferring the regulation of migration to the national scale, inadvertently reinforces national differences between Thais and migrants, and that the often complex and ad hoc implementation of national migration regulations leaves migrants vulnerable to violence and extortion from state officials in Thailand.

Data collection for the study was conducted in Thailand's Chiang Mai Province between June 2010 and October 2011 and involved migrant workers, government officials and NGO representatives. The research cohort included 130 research participants, nine Thai and Myanmar officials, eight NGO representatives and two employees from Thai broker companies that service migrant workers. The author

conducted in-depth interviews with government officials, NGO representatives and staff members, and both in-depth and semi-structured interviews with migrant workers. The snowball method was used to recruit government officials and migrant workers for the study. The author also drew on professional relationships to access ethnic migrants other than Shan to ensure that the research sample included members of different groups, and men and women of different ages working in various sectors in Chiang Mai.

The article examines the ADB's approach to migration. There is a gap between the ADB's stated encouragement of migrant regulation at the national scale and its actual financial and programmatic focus on human trafficking and disease control. The article also examines formal migrant regulations in Thailand, which are considered highly exploitive. The often complex and ad hoc official processes of migrant regulation create circumstances in which state officials are able to extract money from migrants. Migrants in Thailand are obliged to pay money for migrant registration in various steps. In addition, they are required to pay money for semi-legal registration programmes and to corrupt officials who exploit the migrants' 'deportability'. Such interactions between authorities and migrants are everyday occurrences, which significantly deplete migrants' financial resources. The result is that migrants remain poor and are forced to accept low wages and poor working conditions.

The author concludes that the ADB is more concerned with regulating mobility than addressing inhumane and restrictive national control of cross-border populations. Therefore, the ADB ends up focusing on human trafficking and disease control while avoiding any intervention on how governments deal with migrant workers. The result, says the author, is that cross-border migrants remain the most invisible, vulnerable and exploitable members of the Mekong subregion.

The article provides insights into how the ad hoc implementation of national migration regulations leaves migrants subject to violence and extortion from state agents in Thailand. Because it focuses on regulations and the ADB's role in the nationalization of migration regulation, the article does not make a direct contribution to the body of knowledge on irregular migration.

Lindley, J. & Beacroft, L. *Vulnerabilities to Trafficking in Persons in the Pacific Islands*. **Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology, 2011.**

Key words
Fiji, Palau
Human and social costs of smuggling, routes, smuggling

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This paper presents the details of a study on the vulnerabilities to human trafficking in the Pacific Islands.

The paper uses the definition of trafficking in persons found in the Trafficking in Persons Protocol.

In addition to an analysis of recent literature and reports on trafficking in persons and related crimes, the authors also analysed information from Pacific Island stakeholder forums and consultations conducted by the Australian Institute of Criminology with regional partners in 2008 and 2009. The study sought to address the gap in knowledge by providing an overview of vulnerabilities and approaches to countering them.

The paper examines the push factors for migration in the Pacific Islands, noting that increased movement within or out of the region by nationals is, in part, due to population drivers. Growth rates in the majority of the Pacific Islands, particularly Melanesia, generally exceed average economic growth rates, increasing the pressure to migrate to find work. In addition, natural disasters, poverty or disparities in economic and security conditions, together with other push-and-pull factors, have led to a substantial people movement in the region.

The Pacific region has a history of migration without adequate documentation; migration in these circumstances makes migrants more vulnerable to exploitation or trafficking. Some Pacific Island nations have enacted anti-trafficking legislation, and model legislation to support the enactment of sound domestic legislation is becoming available. However, many other Pacific Island nations rely on often

inadequate criminal law provisions in which human trafficking is not recognized as a specific crime.

The paper concludes that what is necessary to prevent human trafficking in the Pacific Island region is a renewed focus on domestic as well as transnational trafficking in persons and local specialized anti-trafficking legislation and law enforcement support. Additionally and considering the transnational element of vulnerabilities in the Pacific Islands, strengthening border controls and the regulation of people movements into and out of each country and the wider region may be a critical part of prevention.

The strength of the paper is its discussion of the links between irregular migration cases and trafficking in persons crimes in the Pacific Islands. However, because the focus of the paper is on human trafficking, the paper does not make a significant contribution to the body of knowledge on irregular migration.

Lowes, S. 'The Legality of Extraterritorial Processing of Asylum Claims: The Judgment of the High Court of Australia in the "Malaysian Solution" Case'. *Human Rights Law Review*, vol. 12, No. 1, 2012, pp. 168–182.

Key words
Australia, Malaysia
Irregular migration, smuggling

Research method
Unknown

Summary
This article analyses Australia's policy of offshore processing of asylum seekers and the Australian High Court's decision in what has become known as the Malaysian Solution.

The methodology is not explained, but it appears that the author reviewed Australia's policy of offshore processing and available documentation concerning the Malaysia Solution.

The article provides a brief historical overview of Australia's policy of offshore processing of asylum

seekers and traces the evolution of Australia's attempts to reduce the number of asylum seekers arriving on its territory. The article gives a brief background to the Malaysia Solution and the 2011 joint announcement between the Malaysian and Australian Governments regarding the Malaysian Solution. The joint announcement set out the Australian Government's plan for a one-off 'pilot' project in which Malaysia would agree to accept a fixed number of asylum seekers from Australia in exchange for Australia agreeing to expand its humanitarian programme for resettling refugees residing in Malaysia. The article considers the features of the arrangement and highlights the concerns raised at the time over the Malaysian arrangement; in particular, that Malaysia was not a party to the Refugee Convention and had no refugee status determination procedures of its own in place and that under Malaysian law, asylum seekers and refugees were treated in the same way as other irregular migrants and may face penalties, including fines, imprisonment and caning for immigration violations.

The article explores the High Court decision regarding the Malaysia Solution, which concluded that for Australia to remove a person from its territory to a third country without having first decided whether the person has a well-founded fear of persecution for a 1951 Refugee Convention may put Australia in breach of its international obligations, particularly the non-refoulement obligation set out in article 33(1) of the Refugee Convention. The article concludes that the High Court decision cast doubt over the Australian Government's regional processing framework.

The article highlights Australia's difficulties in managing the offshore processing of irregular migrants as well as the ongoing fragility of the protections afforded to asylum seekers under Australian law. However, because the article's focus is on the specific issue of the Malaysia Solution case, it does not make a direct contribution to the body of knowledge on irregular migration.

Lu, Y., Liang, Z. & Chunyu, M. D. 'Emigration from China in Comparative Perspective'. *Social Forces*, 2013, pp. 1–28.

Key words
China, United States of America
Factors that fuel irregular migration, irregular migration

Research method
Mixed

Summary
This paper looks at trends and patterns in emigration from China to the United States and Europe in recent years. The paper provides a historical overview of Chinese irregular migration to the two regions since the 1970s and analyses the social, human and political factors that influence irregular migration from China.

The study involved systematic data collection in 2002–2003 from two regions in Fujian Province, which was chosen because it has become one of the most prominent migrant-sending regions in China. The data collection design adopted an ethno-survey approach and was implemented similarly in the two sending regions in Fujian to allow useful comparisons between Chinese immigration flows and non-Chinese immigration. The authors employed event history analysis with time-varying covariates to capture the dynamic migration process.

The paper investigates the roles of three types of resources relevant to the migration process: migrant social capital, political capital and human capital. The paper assesses the ways in which kinship migrant networks and village migrant networks moderate the costs and risks of emigration across contexts and over time. It examines how political capital as accumulated through cadre status, interacts with context to shape the formal and informal conduct of emigration. Of particular interest is the context characterized by different and changing local state policies in sending areas and the extent to which the availability or restrictedness of migration opportunities conditions the role of human capital characteristics in emigration.

The paper also examines the policy response to irregular migration and smuggling and finds that since the 1990s, the Chinese Government has stepped up measures against migrant smuggling. The author concludes that the Chinese Government's initiatives have made irregular emigration increasingly difficult while doing little to reduce the desire for migration. And the unintended consequences of the Chinese Government's restrictive migration measures include increased demand for smuggling services and rising smuggling fees.

The paper provides insights into the dynamics of irregular migration from Fuzhou Province to the United States and the European Union. The paper contributes to the comparative migration research that incorporates different sending and receiving contexts within a common framework.

Mallia, P. *Migrant Smuggling by Sea: Combating a Current Threat to Maritime Security Through the Creation of a Cooperative Framework*. Boston, MA: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2010.

Key words
Australia
Modus operandi of smuggling, routes, smuggling

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This book is concerned with the issue of whether the existing framework governing jurisdictional powers in the law of the sea is adequate to deal with the maritime migrant smuggling issue. The author argues that while it is possible to respond to maritime migrant smuggling within the existing framework of international law, it is not altogether easy or straightforward due to the human rights considerations.

'Migrant smuggling by sea' is outlined as a particular offence, recently defined in international treaty law, in which individuals are assisted in their attempt to enter a State's territory via the sea in a covert manner in violation of its laws, evading detection by its border control officials. Individuals seeking to enter countries in this way include those who are attempting to flee conflict, persecution or natural disaster crises as well as those seeking to circumvent migration and border controls, often to improve their economic circumstances. The book defines migrant smuggling according to the Smuggling of Migrants Protocol.

This book is based on the author's doctoral thesis, awarded by the International Maritime Law Institute in 2009. For the thesis, the author collected and assessed a wealth of material on maritime smuggling state practice and subjected it to incisive legal analysis.

The book provides a factual account of migrant smuggling by sea and presents the crime as a threat to national security and as a facet of organized crime. The book examines how States pursue their maritime migrant smuggling policy interests and aims and outlines various operational and technical approaches adopted by States to overcome practical problems inhibiting action on migrant smuggling. The book also discusses the opportunities for state action on maritime migrant smuggling and the constraints on state responses. In this discussion, the author analyses the jurisdictional powers of States as well as the humanitarian element of migrant smuggling, including human rights principles and the duty to rescue those in distress at sea. Examples of international cooperation on maritime migrant smuggling are explored, and the book illustrates examples of similar cooperation in the fight against other crimes, such as maritime drug trafficking and maritime terrorism.

The book concludes with a discussion on whether it is possible to work within the current legal regime to combat maritime migrant smuggling. The book uses case studies from Australia, the United States and the European Union to illustrate salient points and support the author's argument that States have strayed beyond what is strictly necessary and legal in the fight against migrant smuggling by sea. There is a pressing need to define the circumstances in which a State is obliged to assume responsibility for processing the asylum claims of those rescued at sea.

The book makes a contribution to the body of knowledge on migrant smuggling through its discussion of the modus operandi of maritime migrant smuggling and its detailed examination of the international legal obligations regarding migrant smuggling by sea.

McAdam, M. *Exploitation and Abuse of International Migrants, Particularly Those in an Irregular Situation: A Human Rights*

Approach. **Geneva: Global Migration Group, 2013.**

Key words
Concepts, factors that fuel irregular migration, human and social costs of smuggling, irregular migration, smuggling

Research method
Unknown

Summary
This paper outlines rights-based approaches to addressing the exploitation of irregular migrants. It devotes considerable attention to examining the different categorizations of irregular migrants, although the central argument is that all exploited migrants are entitled to protection and assistance, irrespective of their 'label' or migration status.

The paper discusses a number of concepts, foremost among them is exploitation. Even though the term is widely used in migration discourse, there is no international legal definition, yet the concept is amorphous. The paper draws on the International Organization for Migration's Glossary on Migration definition of exploitation to provide examples of the types of exploitation. The paper also discusses the conceptual challenges in understanding exploitation and examines the questions of the degree or severity of exploitation, consent to exploitation and vulnerability to exploitation.

The methodology for the paper is not discussed but it appears that the author reviewed literature on irregular migration and assessed States' policy responses to irregular migration.

The paper examines the types of exploitation suffered by migrants, including sexual exploitation, debt bondage, labour exploitation, forced marriage and forced adoption. The paper analyses each type of exploitation, considering the legal and policy frameworks around the issues and ends each discussion with a series of questions designed for policy makers. The author argues that even before they leave home, migrants are exploited. Recruitment agencies overcharge migrants for their services or misrepresent the journey and the employment waiting for them at the other end. Irregular migrants also may be exploited by corrupt border guards and

other officials who facilitate their passage through borders or turn a blind eye in exchange for bribes or other benefits. Migrants may be robbed, extorted, assaulted, held to ransom, beaten or even raped by traffickers, smugglers, border officials or others during their journey. Women and girls as well as men and boys may be compelled to sell sexual services in exchange for smuggling services or basic needs, such as food or accommodation, during the journey.

Migrants who use the services of smugglers are particularly at risk of experiencing such treatment. The paper argues that smugglers may put the lives of migrants in danger, charge exorbitant fees and threaten migrants or their families who fail to pay them. Additionally, smuggled migrants are often at heightened risk of being exploited, given that they may have incurred debts to smugglers and have to pay them off through work. Migrants in irregular situations are particularly vulnerable to exploitation relative to their counterparts in regular situations and are less able to defend themselves against exploitation.

The paper concludes by arguing the case for a coordinated approach by relevant agencies and individuals to respond to irregular migration and ensure the protection of irregular migrants.

The paper presents a useful discussion of concepts and legal frameworks as well as some important considerations for protecting irregular migrants.

McKay, F. H., Thomas, S. L. & Warwick Blood, R. '"Any One of These Boat People Could Be a Terrorist for All We Know!" Media Representations and Public Perceptions of "Boat People" Arrivals in Australia'. *Journalism,* **vol. 12, No. 5, 2011, pp. 607–626.**

Key words
Australia
Irregular migration, smuggling

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This article investigates media representations of asylum seekers in Australia who arrived by boat from Indonesia in the five days after the 2009 suspected irregular entry vessel (SIEV) 36 incident in which a boat carrying 49 Afghan asylum seekers exploded off the north coast of Australia. The article investigates how the media presented asylum seekers in print and online editions, how the public responded to the issues through the use of online forums, and whether the Australian press is complying with Australian Press Council reporting guidelines on asylum seekers.

The authors drew upon a number of social theories to guide the study, including the theory of 'moral panics', the theory of 'risk society' and framing theory. Data for the study comprised newspaper and online media reporting of the SIEV 36 incident from 16 to 20 April 2009 in two Victorian-based newspapers—the *Herald Sun*, *The Age* and one national paper, *The Australian*. These papers were chosen because they have a substantial share in both the online and print circulation in Victoria. They also provide an example of the diversity within Australia's print media, between broadsheet dailies (*The Age* and *The Australian*) and tabloids (*Herald Sun*). The authors searched print-based newspapers by hand, including the Letters to the Editor section, and set up alerts to inform them of any new online additions or reports of the SIEV 36 incident. The authors also checked online forums for responses from the public at the end of each day. The authors looked at the overall tone of the articles (positive or negative) by searching for key terms and frames and used a thematic analysis to identify the key themes to describe asylum seekers and the SIEV incident.

The authors found that the most prominent frame in the early reporting of the SIEV story was the 'illegality' associated with individuals involved in the incident and their method of arrival in Australia. Reporters regularly used such terms as "queue jumpers" and "illegals" to describe those aboard the boat, while the phrase "people smugglers" was used to describe those aiding the asylum seekers. Rarely did any other perspective appear in the *Herald Sun*. *The Age* gave the most balanced presentation of the story in its print edition, publishing two articles that were dominated by a counter frame or a positive tone that presented the statistics and discussion of

policy in an attempt to dispel some of the common myths relating to asylum seekers.

Asylum seekers arriving by boat were reported and responded to as a risk to Australian society. This view was common in both press reports and online responses. The discourse surrounded two issues—the first was that asylum seekers arriving by boat and the individuals involved in smuggling them were exploiting Australia and Australian people. This occurred through reports of the 'illegality' of the asylum seekers and the 'dishonest' way in which they were seeking asylum in Australia. Despite the expert opinions used within articles presenting the reality of the experience of asylum seekers in their home country, public opinion and press articles often portrayed asylum seekers as wealthy individuals from poor countries who wanted to exploit Australia for economic reasons. The authors believe these arguments reinforced the social anxiety that 'waves' of asylum seekers were an economic risk to Australians by taking their jobs or their hard-earned tax dollars though the provision of state-based welfare services. The second issue linked asylum seekers with risks to Australian security. The authors argue that this suggests that while there has been a shift in the focus of media reporting, the focus of public opinion continues to link asylum seekers with terrorism.

The article concludes that some journalists followed and applied industry guidelines on the reporting of the SIEV 36 incident; however, the *Herald Sun* tabloid commonly used the term "illegals" or "illegal immigrants" deemed by The Australian Press Council as inaccurate and typically suggesting criminality. The authors conclude that the use of this term served two purposes: i) to sensationalize the issue away from humanitarian plight and ii) to reinforce the conservative opinions of some *Herald Sun* staffers. The authors conclude that if negative and incorrect terms are still used by influential journalists, there is all likelihood that they will be used by those who read these columns and contribute to the ongoing debate through their responses and vice versa.

The study is particularly novel and innovative because it explores the link between media reporting of asylum seeker issues and subsequent audience opinions about these issues. The article provides valuable insights into how the public responds to newspaper reporting and the role of online forums in stimulating debate and discussion about irregular migration and migrant smuggling. Because the article focuses on media reporting on asylum seekers, it does not make a direct contribution to the body of knowledge on migrant smuggling.

Mekong Migration Network. *No Choice in the Matter: Migrants' Experiences of Arrest, Detention and Deportation.* Chiang Mai, Thailand: Mekong Migration Network, 2013.

Summary
This report updates the on the arrest, detention and deportation of irregular migrants in Thailand. The report builds on the Mekong Migration Network's 2008 resource book, *Migration in the Greater Mekong Subregion—In-depth Study: Arrest Detention and Deportation*. Based on interviews with migrants and officials, the report provides an in-depth and systematic analysis of migrants' arrest, detention and deportation.

Data collection for the study included both primary and secondary research methods. Primary research included case collection through interviews with migrants using a standard reporting format, and key informant interviews with ministry and embassy officials, legal representatives and practitioners, health care professionals and others. Secondary research involved news monitoring; analysis of official statistics from relevant government departments and ministries; analysis of official documents concerning official arrest, detention and deportation procedures; desk study on relevant policy documents in the public domain in Thai and English; and reports, conclusions and statements about Thailand issued by all relevant UN mechanisms.

The report highlights a number of findings. Based on the interviews, the researchers found that the cases of arrest, detention and deportation of migrants remain

common in Thailand. Migrants are commonly abused, and there is an ongoing disregard for their human dignity. The report argues that despite recent efforts to regularize migrants and to introduce formalized guidelines regulating arrest, detention and deportation, the process remains ad hoc and frequently runs counter to human rights standards.

According to the report, fear of arrest invokes a great psychological toll on migrants. Irregular migrants in Thailand can be arrested anywhere at any time; night-time and dawn raids are not uncommon. The result is that irregular migrants live in constant states of fear and anxiety. Migrants also experience frustration at what they find are expensive and time-consuming registration programmes that do not offer any protection from arrest and deportation. Only rarely do Thai authorities ask migrants questions to screen them as labour abuse victims, trafficked persons or refugees. A significant number of migrants reported that they were deported immediately on transfer to the detention centre. These migrants had no trial, and there was no time to appeal their case or to adequately assess their status.

The report concludes that that in line with international standards, the Thai Government needs to adopt genuine alternatives to arrest, detention and deportation in managing its irregular migrant population. The report argues that arrest, detention and deportation should be used only as a method of last resort; as well, in the small number of cases where it is necessary, reform is required to ensure a humane, transparent process in line with international human rights standards that is also subject to independent legal oversight. The report includes a number of recommendations to the Thai Government for enhancing and strengthening efforts to facilitate regular migration and promote decent working and living conditions with the aim of preventing situations in which immigration enforcement action becomes necessary.

Through the interviews conducted with irregular migrants and officials in Thailand, the report provides insights into the plight of irregular migrants and the policies and procedures in place to govern the arrest, detention and deportation of irregular migrants in Thailand.

Migreurop. *Aux Frontieres de l'Europe: Controles, Enfermements, Expulsions.* **Paris, 2010.**

Key words
Afghanistan, Greece, Iran, Iraq, Italy
Factors that fuel irregular migration, human and social costs of smuggling, irregular migration, routes, smuggling

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This report (in French only) examines the consequences of EU Member States' policies of border security, irregular migrant detention and deportations of migrants. Migreurop argues that these policies of detention and expulsion serve only to place irregular migrants in precarious situations, unable to access safety and essential services.

For data collection purposes, the researchers conducted field surveys on the Italian and Greek coasts.

The report discusses the geographical flows of irregular migrants into the European Union: the irregular migration route via Ceuta, the migration of sub-Saharan refugees, the irregular migration patterns from and through Poland and Romania, irregular migration via Greece and Italy and irregular migration at the Greece–Turkey border. The report analyses how changes to border security in EU Member States have led to irregular migrants turning their attention to other borders of the European Union to facilitate their clandestine entry.

The report criticizes the migration policies implemented by EU Member States and argues that the containment strategy they have adopted to keep migrants from entering their borders is ineffective and inhumane. EU migration policies leave migrants in exile with nowhere to go and subject to racist violence and, in some cases, death. The report emphasizes that the main goal of EU Member States should be to ensure the upholding of asylum seekers' rights, as enshrined in international law. According to the report, changes in border security, in particular EU Member States, do not stop irregular migration but instead force migrants to use new and potentially

more dangerous smuggling routes into the European Union.

Through the collection and analysis of field survey data, the report provides insights into the motivations of irregular migrants in travelling to the European Union and information regarding the modus operandi of migrant smuggling from Asia, the Middle East and Africa to the European Union.

Miller, R. & Baumeister, S. 'Managing Migration: Is Border Control Fundamental to Anti-Trafficking and Anti-Smuggling Interventions'. *Anti-Trafficking Review,* vol. 2, 2013, pp. 15–32.

Key words
Irregular migration, smuggling

Research method
Unknown

Summary

This article discusses the extent to which border control is fundamental to counter human trafficking and migrant smuggling interventions. The authors situate the debate on migrant smuggling, human trafficking and border security within the wider nexus of globalization and the securitization of migration.

The methodology for the article is not discussed in detail, but the authors explain that the article is based on their work with the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, Regional Office for South-East Asia and the Pacific.

The article discusses two factors that have shaped migration policies and the priorities of States. The first factor is the increased flow of goods, capital, ideas and information as a result of globalization. The authors argue that labour markets have internationalized, and new opportunities have opened up in potential destination countries for a growing supply of both skilled and unskilled migrants from less developed source countries. For migrant-sending countries, urbanization, expanding working-age populations, rising education attainment, widening income disparities and environmental change have become critical aspects influencing a person's decision to migrate. The second factor is the growing concern over security issues, including transnational crime and terrorism. The article suggests that migration has risen to the top of many governments' agendas, and a rapid tightening and regularization of borders has occurred in an attempt to keep 'undesirable' migrants out of potential destination countries. In this sense, migrant smuggling and human trafficking have increasingly been identified by States as border security problems.

The article also discusses States' efforts to prevent irregular migration and questions whether restrictive borders and migration systems are part of the smuggling and trafficking problem rather than the solution. The article concludes that most state border controls, as they currently exist, are neither preventing human trafficking nor upholding the human rights of victims. It also concludes that States need to address the practical obstacles they face in terms of translating the Trafficking in Persons Protocol and Smuggling of Migrants Protocol obligations into effective actions, especially in relation to border controls and managed migration systems.

The recommendations to States include the improved collection and analysis of human trafficking and migrant smuggling data, the appointment of non-partisan anti-trafficking commissioners to bring consistency and accountability to government interventions, the development of efficient victim identification systems, the training of experienced frontline border and immigration officials and the maximizing of available resources provided to border and immigration enforcement. The report also highlights the need to improve the governance of migration systems in both source and destination countries. The authors suggest that institutional mechanisms should be developed to protect migrant workers, including frameworks to ensure the protection of migrant workers' rights, the licensing and regulation of recruitment agencies, the negotiation of bilateral agreements and the training of migrant workers prior to departure as well as the provision of protection and repatriation programmes that take the principle of non-refoulement into account.

The strength of the article is the consideration that is given to how States might reconcile conflicting

agendas to develop more effective anti-trafficking and anti-smuggling responses. A useful finding of the article is that it is indeed possible for States to combine managed migration and strict border controls with the protection of human rights in the current context of globalization.

Minghuan, L. 'Making a Living at the Interface of Legality and Illegality: Chinese Migrant Workers in Israel'. *International Migration,* **vol. 50, No. 2, 2012, pp. 81–98.**

Key words
China, Israel
Factors that fuel irregular migration, irregular migration

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This article discusses the situation of Chinese migrant workers in Israel and the regular and irregular elements of their status. The article also explores how the changing political and economic situations in both sending and receiving areas have shaped Chinese migrants' motivations.

Data collection for the study involved three villages in Fujian Province in China as field research sites. In addition, the author conducted interviews with Chinese returnee migrants who had been in Israel, family members of the migrants, relevant village leaders and a few intermediaries who were working on transnational labour brokerage. To compensate for his inability to do any research in Israel, the author conducted phone interviews with migrants who were still in Israel and also searched for information on the Internet. Two websites were found as useful sites from which to draw relevant information— the website of the Economic and Commercial Counsellor's Office of the People's Republic of China in the State of Israel, which has a section to provide Israeli labour market information in Chinese and the website of Kav LaOved, an Israeli NGO dedicated to the protection of workers' rights.

The article explores the reasons behind migration from China to Israel, the channels used to bring Chinese villagers to work in Israel and how the process of migration has been carried out at the interface between regularity and irregularity. Chinese migrant workers in Israel are caught in contradictions between legality and illegality, crime and labour, and regulated and unregulated statuses. For example, some Fujianese migrant workers travelled to Israel under legal contracts but had to pay extortionate fees to the relevant authorities, which are technically illegal. Some migrants, instead of holding work visas, entered Israel on a business or tourist visa and overstayed the visa expiry date. The article notes that deals between Israeli employers and Chinese workers also occur at the interface of legality and illegality and that deals are often made in cash for tax evasion purposes.

The article concludes that, unlike other crimes, labour migration through irregular channels to Israel has been regarded as something irregular but understandable and that all the relevant groups have an interest in maintaining current arrangements— Israel needs migrant workers to fill the low end of the domestic manual labour market, foreign workers expect to earn higher incomes through working in Israel, the local authorities in the sending area are willing to see the economic betterment of the migrants' families and the intermediates make profits from running their businesses. Although no one is publicly supporting irregular migration, all these factors interact and result in a permissive situation that allows this particular combination of illegal but licit activities to persist in transnational labour migration.

The strength of the article is in its unique study of the interface between the regularity and irregularity of Chinese migrant workers. The article provides insights into the supply and demand of migrant labour and the role of intermediaries, such as recruitment agencies, in employing migrant workers.

Minghuan, L. '"Playing Edge Ball": Transnational Migration Brokerage in China'. In *Transnational Flows and Permissive Polities: Ethnographies of Human Mobilities in Asia,* **B. Kalir & S. Malini, eds. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012, pp. 207– 229.**

Summary:
This book chapter chronologically traces the historical trajectory of migration brokerage in China while examining the function of emigration in creating migration networks.

The research methodology is not discussed in detail. The author mentions performing field work in some villages known for outmigration in Fujian Province in China in 2005 as well as conducting interviews with village locals.

The chapter examines how, from the perspective of 'helping' transnational migration, Chinese brokers have basically functioned in two ways: send people in groups or one by one. The chapter explores the two models by describing the case of Israel, as an example of sending people in groups, and the case of North America, as an example of sending individual migrants.

Through an analysis of the famous case of Sister Ping in the United States, a settled Chinese migrant who operated a wide transnational network for bringing Chinese workers, the chapter makes the argument that migration brokerage in China is not evaluated according to its formality or legality but according to its effectiveness. In other words, it is the end result that matters to the migrants, not the fees they paid or the work they had to endure before they become regularized or legal by some other means in the destination country.
The Sister Ping case demonstrates that while the US authorities considered her a human trafficker, in China she was celebrated as a successful migration broker who helped many Chinese to migrate to the United States for what the migrants considered a fair price.

The chapter concludes that while irregular migration is illegal, both sides actually benefit: the Chinese migrants who want to earn more money than they normally receive in China and the destination State that needs cheap labour to increase its profits.

Through the analysis of empirical material, the chapter provides insights into the motivations and activities of Chinese irregular migrants who have made their way to the United States. The chapter makes a contribution to the body of knowledge on the role of migration brokers in facilitating the irregular entry of Chinese migrants to the United States.

Missbach, A. 'Essay: Transit Migrants in Indonesia—Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea'. *Pacific Geographies,* vol. 39, 2012, pp. 30–35.

Summary
This paper traces the story of a young Iraqi man who, at the time of writing, had been living in transit in Indonesia for more than nine years. The paper describes both his journey to the archipelago and his failed attempts to leave again to his desired final destination of Australia to highlight the difficulties endured by refugees who are in a long-term state of transit. Because many of them cannot return to their conflict-ridden home countries and local integration into Indonesian society is legally not permitted and resettlement options to safe third countries are only available to a few, these refugees become trapped between what the author refers to as "the devil and the deep blue sea".

The paper discusses the concept of transit migration and suggests that it can be understood as a "chaotic, disordered process with tremendous uncertainty and extreme material discomfort or danger at every stage". The author posits that the main trouble of transit migration is being trapped in it, when one's mobility becomes so restricted that neither returning nor moving forward is an option.

The methodology is not discussed, but it is apparent that the author conducted informal interviews with

an Iraqi refugee, Rahim (pseudonym), and analysed recent policy responses to migrant smuggling, particularly in Australia.

Rahim is identified as one of the 'long-stayers' among the Iraqi refugees in Indonesia, having arrived in the early 2000s. He had been waiting for more than nine years for resettlement after the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees found him to be a genuine refugee. His journey started in Iraq and then progressed to Syria, Jordan and then by plane to Malaysia and on to Indonesia by boat. He made a number of failed attempts to be smuggled by boat to Australia. The paper uses Rahim's case to discuss how Indonesia's geographic position, its accessibility and the relative political stability in the past decade have attracted thousands of transit migrants from Iraq, Afghanistan and Sri Lanka, who use the Indonesian archipelago as a starting point for self-organized and smuggler-assisted voyages to Australia.

According to the paper, little is known about the dynamics of transit migration. The author highlights the fact that a binding definition of transit migration in international policy or international law is still missing, despite the fact that the International Organization for Migration (IOM) has been urging its member States since the early 1990s to recognize transit migration as an important matter in international migration and, in particular, in irregular and asylum migration.

The paper contributes to knowledge on the difficulties that asylum seekers, refugees and irregular migrants trapped in transit destinations experience. Using the case of Rahim, the paper highlights the complexities for refugees who are left in a state of limbo in transit countries for many years, reliant on IOM and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees support and vulnerable to the constantly changing border policies of destination countries such as Australia.

Missbach, A. 'Doors and Fences: Controlling Indonesia's Porous Borders and Policing Asylum Seekers'. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, 2014, pp. 1–17.

Key words
Australia, Indonesia
Modus operandi of smuggling, routes, smuggling

Research method used
Qualitative

Summary
This article explores the issue of border protection in Indonesia and the State's attempts to police its vast borders to, primarily, prevent asylum seekers from travelling to Australia. Using three cross-border mobility case studies and focusing on the Indonesian perspective, the article highlights the numerous challenges associated with border protection in Indonesia.

Data collection for the study involved 10 months of fieldwork in Indonesia in 2012. The author conducted 90 formal and informal interviews with asylum seekers and refugees as well as representatives of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the International Organization for Migration and Indonesian police officers, investigators and prosecutors in three provinces of Indonesia: West Java, Nusa Tenggara Timor and the Riau Islands.

The article describes the challenges for Indonesia in patrolling a vast archipelago consisting of more than 17,000 islands. It outlines how, in addition to contending with this exceptional geography, Indonesia's state authorities are also challenged by the political constellation with Australia in regard to irregular cross-border movements of asylum seekers. With this background information in mind, the article presents findings from the three fieldwork sites to elaborate on what border control and anti-smuggling of people initiatives look like at a subnational level.

The author found that, as a result of Australia's funding for state-led border control, state-society cooperation for border surveillance in Indonesia had increased. The Indonesian Government has encouraged civilians in many hotspots for irregular border crossings to report on 'suspicious foreigners', specifically asylum seekers. The author argues that this kind of expensive state-society cooperation for border control has not resulted in a significant decrease in asylum seeker efforts to leave Indonesia

to reach Australia but, rather, has resulted in new opportunities for migrant smugglers who simply pay off civilian spies or corrupt border authorities. The article points out that despite Australian funding to the Indonesian Government to prevent asylum seekers from travelling to Australia with the assistance of migrant smugglers, efforts remain largely ineffective as Indonesia's borders are extremely porous and only partly policed.

Reflecting on arrest statistics in Indonesia, the article contends that the number of arrests across Indonesia compared with the number of asylum seekers who have managed to arrive in Australia indicates that only a small proportion of asylum seekers are stopped from entering Australia. Australia's push for expensive state-society collaboration on the border protection issue in Indonesia may be leading to the exploitation of asylum seekers by Indonesian civilians and officials. The author concludes that the solution to the issue of irregular cross-border mobility will not be found within stricter border control and law enforcement to interrupt the flows of asylum seekers but in more appropriate ways to quickly assess refugees' claims for protection in Indonesia.

Through the analysis of the fieldwork data, the article provides insights into the Indonesian perspective on the challenges associated with preventing irregular migrants from leaving Indonesia for Australia. The article highlights the flaws in Australia's costly attempts to prevent irregular migration to Australia and advocates a more humanitarian approach. The article contributes new knowledge on the modus operandi of migrant smuggling to Australia and the ways in which smugglers circumvent States' efforts to prevent their clandestine activities.

Missbach, A. & Crouch, M. 'The Criminalisation of People Smuggling: The Dynamics of Judicial Discretion in Indonesia'. *Australian Journal of Asian Law*, **vol. 14, No. 2, 2013, pp. 1–19.**

Key words
Australia, Indonesia
Smuggling

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This article focuses on the criminalization of migrant smuggling in Indonesia. The authors examine how new offences have been introduced since 2011 to criminalize migrant smuggling in a major transit country for migrant smuggling to Australia. The article analyses the legal framework that has been established to combat migrant smuggling in Indonesia, both before and after the reforms of 2011. The authors reflect on how arrests for migrant smuggling have been managed by both the public prosecutor and the judiciary in practice and how sentencing practices in migrant smuggling trials are influenced by a range of factors including corruption, judicial discretion and broader social attitudes towards migrant smugglers.

The research methodology involved analysis of legal processes and practices concerning migrant smuggling in Indonesia. The authors surveyed the court cases between 2007 and 2012 that were accessible either at Indonesian courts or online. The authors also reviewed documents obtained from police and the Office of the Public Prosecutor and conducted interviews with officials working in those areas. Fieldwork was carried out over a period of eight months, between March 2010 and December 2012. The authors focused their research on the provinces of West Java and Nusa Tenggara Timor in particular because both areas are known exit points for irregular migrants to leave Indonesia on their clandestine sea journey to Australia.

Indonesian authorities managed to use Law No. 9 of 1992 on Immigration as well as the Criminal Code and Law No. 17 of 2008 on Shipping to prosecute some migrant smugglers. Individuals convicted under the old Law No. 9 of 1992 generally held low-to-middle positions within smuggling networks and were frequently employed as field coordinators, recruiters and boat crew. According to the authors, the low rate of smuggler arrests and the light sentences imposed on those found guilty reduced any deterrent effect the law might have had.

The article finds that the new Law, No. 6 of 2011 on Immigration, has the potential to be a more effective tool in the punishment and deterrence of migrant smugglers because it specifically criminalizes migrant smuggling. Law No 6. of 2011 does not, however, differentiate between the various actors involved in

migrant smuggling operations. This is problematic because it imposes a relatively high minimum sentence on anyone found guilty of smuggling offences, including those who have only had minor roles.

The authors also find that corruption and social attitudes towards asylum seekers influence a judge's exercise of discretion in sentencing. Law enforcement efforts, both pre- and post-2011, against migrant smuggling may be the result of corruption among government officials and that there is an absence of clear evidence that migrant smuggling trials have been conducted in a fair and transparent manner.

The strength of this article is its detailed analysis of recent Indonesian migrant smuggling cases and how Indonesian migrant smuggling law reform has affected the migrant smuggling phenomenon.

Missbach, A. & Sinanu, F. '"The Scum of the Earth"? Foreign People Smugglers and Their Local Counterparts in Indonesia'. *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs,* **vol. 30, No. 4, 2011, pp. 57–87.**

Key words
Australia, Indonesia
Fees and payment for smuggling, modus operandi of smuggling, profiles of smuggled migrants, profiles of smugglers, smuggling

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This article investigates how migrant smuggling occurs in Indonesia. It examines how deals are struck between smugglers and irregular migrants and how national authorities as well as international organizations may be involved in the smuggling process. The article contributes to the current debate on migrant smuggling by, first, shedding light on ongoing Indonesia–Australia bilateral cooperation on the migrant smuggling issue; and second, by providing empirical evidence from Indonesia that shows not only how migrant smugglers are adapting to bilateral restrictions but also how some Indonesian authorities are involved in the migrant smuggling

business. The article supports the argument that stricter immigration and asylum regimes have strengthened the demand among irregular migrants for professionally organized smugglers who arrange illicit transfers and passages.

'People smuggling' is defined as a consensual business transaction between an
irregular migrant customer and a provider of smuggling services, which usually terminates upon arrival at the destination location.

The article draws on material collected during several short-term field studies in Western Indonesia in 2010 and 2011 as well as open-source data collection. The field work involved the collection of accounts from informants who had been asylum seekers or were at the time of data collection. The authors approached asylum seekers in public spaces known as hang-outs for asylum seekers. After an initial conversation and informing the prospective informants of the authors' research intentions, the authors asked if they could meet with the asylum seekers for more formal conversations.

The article describes the process in which asylum seekers become smuggled migrants. Asylum seekers in Indonesia, on applying for refugee status, may have their applications rejected twice and appeal to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. If rejected three times, they can either accept 'voluntary' repatriation to their homeland or remain in Indonesia illegally. Formal integration into Indonesian society is out of question because Indonesian immigration policy does not permit refugees to claim permanent residency or citizenship. Some opt to return to their countries of origin; others, trapped between war-ravaged homelands and an unstable life in Indonesia, opt to risk a dangerous boat journey to Australia.

A considerable number of these irregular migrants pay various types of brokers or smugglers, at least at one stage, to enter Indonesia or to escape it. Although a substantial number of these migrants are detained in the immigration detention centres scattered around the Indonesian archipelago; many others roam freely, looking for opportunities for onward migration. However, due to the restrictive border protection arrangements between Australia and Indonesia and a number of bilateral intelligence

measures for deterring 'unwanted' migrants, migrant smugglers have been gradually forced to adapt strategies, routes and prices.

The article explores the activities of migrant smugglers and finds that smuggling networks are often operated from outside Indonesia, mostly from secure third countries or even destination countries. Sponsors for smuggling operations have the financial means to set up the infrastructure and cover the bribery and other costs involved in smuggling operations. These 'investors' occasionally travel to the home countries and transit countries to establish collaboration with subordinate smuggling recruiters and implementers who then coordinate day-to-day business. Generally, these smuggling sponsors rely on collaboration with members of the diaspora of the same ethnic background or on migrants from neighbouring geographic areas for the provision of safe houses, forged documents and transportation.

The article concludes that for more than a decade, refugees and their service providers in Indonesia have been opportunistic and cunning. Unless asylum seekers can count on faster help to find protection, some of them will continue to rely on the risky services of migrant smugglers.

Through the collection and analysis of empirical material, the article makes a direct contribution to the body of knowledge on migrant smuggling practices and processes in Indonesia. The article sheds new light on the modus operandi of migrant smuggling between Indonesia and Australia, the motivations of smuggled migrants and migrant smugglers and the fees and payment for smugglers' services.

Morar, R. & Brandibur, C. N. 'Analysis of Irregular Migrants' Trafficking After Romania Adhering to the EU'. *Journal of Criminal Investigations,* vol. 5, No. 1, 2012, pp. 88–95.

Key words
Afghanistan, Austria, Bangladesh, Bulgaria, China, Hungary, India, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Moldova, Pakistan, Romania, Syria, Turkey, Ukraine
Factors that fuel irregular migration, human and social costs of smuggling, irregular migration, modus operandi of smuggling, routes, smuggling

Research method
Unknown

Summary
This article examines the patterns of irregular migration to and through Romania after Romania adhered to the European Union and recent instances of trafficking in persons. The authors posit that irregular migration flows to Romania will thrive in the future because of the open EU borders and that irregular migration will be exacerbated by the worsening domestic situations in migrants' countries of origin, triggered by the 2008 global economic crisis.

The research methodology is not explained, but it appears that the authors reviewed recent literature on irregular migration and trafficking in persons and analysed quantitative data on irregular crossings and apprehensions of irregular migrants.

The article examines the flows of irregular migration to and through Romania. Crossing the national border by migrants is carried out in a number of ways: legally, via border crossing points, and illegally, by using forged travel and/or identity documents. Smuggling also occurs to Romania, with migrants hiding in containers or ships.

Because Romania is located on one of the international routes between Asia and Western Europe, it is frequently used by irregular migrants from the two continents. The article explains that, of those irregular migrants who travel to Romania, few intend to remain in the country, with the majority intending to stay only briefly before eventually traveling to a Western European country. The article discusses three major source areas of irregular migration affecting Romania: i) the Middle East (Lebanon, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, Syria), ii) China and iii) the Far East (India, Pakistan and Bangladesh). Various migrant smuggling routes are described, including the classic route, which involves travel from Ukraine to Moldova to Romania to Hungary and then to a Western European country via Austria; the route along the southern border from Iran to Iraq to Bulgaria to Turkey to Romania to Hungary and then to Western European countries via Austria; a newly identified route along the northern border from India to Pakistan to Ukraine and then to Romania; and a route used by some irregular migrants crossing the south-eastern Danube River border into Romania.

The article concludes that although Romania has been a country of transit for irregular migration flows from Eastern European countries on their way to the Western European countries, since adhering to the European Union, it has become a country of destination for irregular migrants. This is due to its EU membership status and the relative stability of the economic situation in the country. To respond to the new challenges of irregular migration, there needs to be enhanced cooperation between authorities at all levels in the country.

The strength of the article is its discussion of the irregular migration routes to and through Romania. The article provides insights into the challenges faced by Romania as it evolves from a transit country for irregular migration to a destination country.

Morehouse, C. & Blomfield, M. *Irregular Migration in Europe.* Washington, D.C.: Migration Policy Institute, 2011.

Key words
Greece, Turkey
Factors that fuel irregular migration, irregular migration, quantitative assessment, routes, smuggling

Research method
Mixed

Summary
This paper explores the scope and scale of irregular migration to the European Union as well as the various paths into irregularity and the routes used by irregular migrants to enter the European Union.

The paper discusses a number of concepts, taking the position that the terms 'illegal', 'irregular', 'undocumented' and 'unauthorized' for migrants have different connotations in national policy debates across the Atlantic. The paper does not define the terms but, instead, highlights that some organizations use the term 'illegal' while UN agencies, migrant groups and NGOs prefer the term 'irregular'. The authors prefer the term 'irregular' migration as well.

The methodology for data collection is not discussed, but it appears the authors conducted a review of quantitative data from Frontex on irregular migration to the European Union.

The paper presents irregular migration statistics and examines the various routes for irregular migration to the European Union, including the Central Mediterranean route, the Western Mediterranean route, the Western African route, the eastern borders route, the Western Balkans route the Albania–Greece circular route and the Eastern Mediterranean route.

The paper also explores the principal ways in which non-nationals become unauthorized migrants, such as illegal entry, entry using false documents, entry using legal documents but providing false information in those documents, overstaying a visa-free travel period or temporary residence permit, loss of status because of non-renewal of permit for failing to meet residence requirements or breaching conditions of residence, being born into irregularity, absconding during the asylum procedure or failing to leave a host State after a negative decision and a State's failure to enforce a return decision for legal or practical reasons.

The paper takes the position that irregular migration negatively impacts host communities by undermining the rule of law, fostering labour exploitation, increasing poverty (by taking jobs away from native workers or adding to the numbers of poor in a country) and putting pressure on public services. It concludes that as European economies recover from the recession and more jobs become available, irregular migration flows may increase. Additionally, the shifting regional hotspots and the responses to them, such as the intensifying clandestine entry through Greece's land border with Turkey, may have a collateral effect on the calm but vast Eastern border. The paper also concludes that the reactive nature of EU irregular migration to border management operations and return policies suggest that continued and large-scale investments in border enforcement are likely to be required alongside related policies that combat the root causes of such migration.

The article provides insights into the flows and routes of irregular migration to the European Union and draws useful links between the introduction of border controls and irregular migration patterns.

Mountz, A. 'The Enforcement Archipelago: Detention, Haunting and Asylum on Islands'. *Political Geography,* vol. 30, No. 3, 2011, pp. 118–128.

Key words
Australia, Canada
Routes, smuggling

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This article examines the subject of immigration detention on islands. It situates island detentions as one element of the 'securitization of migration' process in which migrants are subject to enforcement measures implemented by States to protect national security. The author argues that islands are an important part a broader enforcement archipelago designed to control migrants and reduce their chances to reach sovereign territory to claim asylum.

Data collection for the article consisted of fieldwork conducted between 2006 and 2008. The study involved semi-structured interviews with government and non-government employees, detainees, former detainees, attorneys, authorities, journalists and advocates. Fieldwork also included participant observation in the form of visits to detention centres with advocates and friends of detainees and the observation of asylum processes. Due to the difficulty of entering detention centres and the risks involved with interviewing those detained, most interviews were conducted with asylum seekers who had been released from detention.

According to the article, islands are increasingly used as sites where nation States exercise power through the management of global migration. The author argues that nation-States exploit legal ambiguity, economic dependency and partial forms of citizenship and political status on islands to advance their security agendas. Facilities on islands serve the purpose of isolating migrants from communities of advocacy and legal representation and, in some cases, from asylum claims processes that are only accessible by arriving on sovereign territory. The article concludes that in detaining migrants on islands, States effectively hide asylum seekers from the view of the media, human rights monitors and the public at large.

The strength of the article is its unique analysis of islands as a key component of a broader enforcement archipelago designed to control migrants. Although the article presents empirical material, its focus is on the ability, or lack thereof, of asylum seekers to claim protection and thus does not make a direct contribution to the body of knowledge on irregular migration.

Munro, P. 'People Smuggling and the Resilience of Criminal Networks in Indonesia'. *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism,* vol. 6, No. 1, 2011, pp. 40–50.

Key words
Australia, Indonesia
Factors that fuel irregular migration, modus operandi of smuggling, routes, smuggling

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This article focuses on migrant smuggling networks operating in Indonesia, noting that the networks that smuggle irregular migrants to Australia remained dormant in transit countries, such as Indonesia, in the early 2000s but were reactivated from 2008 when conditions again became favourable.

The methodology for the study consisted of field research conducted in Indonesia between 2001 and 2009 on migrant smuggling networks.

The article discusses the evolution of migrant smuggling networks in Indonesia and argues that during the 2000s, many migrant smugglers never left Indonesia. Some smugglers branched out into other criminal activities, some spent time in Indonesian prisons, and others waited for favourable smuggling conditions to return. Far from being ad hoc opportunistic ventures, migrant smugglers in Indonesia operate labour-intensive operations using support infrastructure throughout transit countries, such as Indonesia and Malaysia. The smugglers who remained in Indonesia during the lull period were able to commence their operations quickly and draw upon a pool of asylum seekers who had been languishing in Indonesia for several years, while other smugglers returned to Indonesia from their homes in the Middle East, West Asia and South Asia.

According to the article, there are three types of migrant smuggling networks common in Indonesia: Indonesian nationals operating in collaboration with nationals from sending countries; nationals from sending countries who have established themselves in Indonesia specifically to facilitate people-smuggling operations to Australia; and asylum seekers who have had their claims rejected by United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and have used the time in Indonesia to coordinate smuggling activities. The article also examines the modus operandi and routes of migrant smuggling and finds that the flows of people into Indonesia are through international entry points, such as Jakarta, Batam and Bali. From these entry points smuggled migrants are transported to a myriad of safe houses located across the archipelago, depending on the ultimate destination, which has generally been either Christmas Island or Ashmore Reef.

The article concludes that a greater focus on intelligence-led policing, drawing from the extensive International Organization for Migration's surveillance network, will be beneficial for dismantling migrant smuggling networks operating in Indonesia.

The strength of the article is its specific study of migrant smuggling networks in Indonesia and their resilience to border control measures. The article makes a contribution to the body of knowledge on migrant smuggling through its detailed discussion of the modus operandi of migrant smuggling from Indonesia and neighbouring countries to Australia.

Neske, M. *Comparative Research on Financial Flows Within Migrant Smuggling From Asia to Europe.* Bangkok: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2013.

Key words
Afghanistan, China, Germany, Viet Nam
Fees and payment for smuggling, smuggling

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This report summarizes comparative research carried out by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime on the subject of financial transactions in migrant smuggling operations from Afghanistan, China and Viet Nam to Europe.

The research drew on a variety of data collection methods, including a comprehensive literature review to establish assumptions about which forms of financial transactions are to be expected for migrant smuggling involving Afghan, Vietnamese and Chinese citizens; interviews with police experts in Germany; and analysis of original German court files, which contained 32 migrant smuggling cases. Each case contained information from suspected smugglers, the majority of whom had been arrested and questioned by police, as well as information on smuggled migrants. The files included transcripts of monitored phone calls between the migrant smugglers.

The report provides an overview of the money transfer mechanisms and systems in place in different regions of the world, including the Hawala system of money transfer; the modus operandi of migrant smuggling and the financial transaction systems used by Afghan, Chinese and Vietnamese smuggled migrants; and the similarities and differences among the three investigated countries.

Regarding smuggling methods, principal differences were found between East Asian and Central Asian countries. Virtually all smuggling operations from East Asia involved the use of fraudulent, forged or look-alike documents, while smuggling operations from Afghanistan were often performed clandestinely. Higher-level smugglers were often organized along common ethnic or national identity lines. To coordinate the various stages of the smuggling journey, a stage coordinator existed for each phase. The actual smuggling actions were carried out either by employees of the stage coordinator or by helpers hired for this purpose.

According to the report, the smuggling method and the organizational structure of the smuggling operation led to different national patterns of financial transactions. In cases of migrant smuggling from China, most smuggling expenses remained in the country of origin. The money was distributed via ordinary bank transfers among stage coordinator representatives, often to the wives of coordinators in China. To cover operational costs incurred in transit

countries, a partial payment was transferred by informal remittance systems. That the same pattern was common in smuggling cases from Viet Nam; however, the money that remained in the country of origin was usually cash from relatives of the migrants given to relatives of the smuggling coordinators. In the Afghan smuggling cases, a less sophisticated network of smugglers was present, which meant that migrants often had to pay cash for the next stage of the smuggling journey while already in a transit country. The money of smuggled Afghan migrants was generally transferred via informal remittance systems.

The report concludes that the financial transactions of migrant smuggling operations leave few traces in the transit countries and virtually no traces in countries of destination. Informal methods of money transfer still have a prominent role within migrant smuggling networks, although genuine bank accounts were used if available and regarded as safe.

Through the collection and analysis of empirical material on the financial transaction systems associated with migrant smuggling, this report provides valuable insights into the modus operandi of migrant smuggling. The report presents new information regarding migrant smuggling processes, the actors involved, the methods used and factors that influence and shape the nature of financial transactions within migrant smuggling operations. Thus it makes a significant contribution to the body of knowledge on migrant smuggling and, in particular, to the financial systems associated with migrant smuggling.

Nethery, A., Rafferty-Brown, B. & Taylor, S. 'Exporting Detention: Australia-Funded Immigration Detention in Indonesia'. *Journal of Refugee Studies,* **vol. 26, No. 1, 2013, pp. 88–109.**

Key words
Australia, Indonesia
Smuggling

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This article investigates Indonesia's policy of detaining refugees in immigration detention centres. The authors argue that Australia has actively encouraged immigration detention in Indonesia to reduce the number of migrant smuggling cases to its shores and that the detention of asylum seekers in Indonesia has grave implications for the ability of asylum seekers to find protection in the Asia–Pacific region.

The article draws on research conducted as part of the project, The Impact on the Human Rights of Asylum-Seekers and Host Communities of Australia's Border Control Cooperation with Indonesia and Papua New Guinea. The researchers collected information on Australian and Indonesian immigration law, policy and practice from Indonesian and Australian government sources and websites as well as national and regional media. The researchers also conducted interviews with asylum seekers, refugees and rejected asylum seekers in Indonesia and with Australian and Indonesian officials and individuals working in the area of human rights protection of asylum seekers. A total of 24 interviews were conducted in 2008 and 2009, including 12 interviews with Indonesian officials and Australian professionals, and 12 interviews with individuals who were in detention at the time of the interview or had spent some time in detention in Indonesia.

The article provides an overview of Australia's policy of preventing irregular maritime arrivals and examines the developing relationship between Australia and Indonesia that has, in recent years, facilitated cooperation on refugee and smuggled migrant issues. The article provides a chronology of Indonesia's asylum policies and discusses the transition of Indonesian refugee policy from a general position of tolerance of asylum seekers in the early 1990s to the introduction of more strict detention laws in 2011. The authors draw attention, in this historical overview, to areas in which Australia has influenced Indonesian policy on asylum seekers. The article also examines the major implications of immigration detention in Indonesia, including the lack of protection of the human rights of people subject to it and the reduced ability for asylum seekers to obtain protection in the Asia–Pacific region.

The article also highlights the poor conditions in Indonesia's detention centres and argues that they

fall far short of international standards. Despite its push for detention centres in Indonesia, Australia has been unwilling to contribute to the monitoring of Indonesia's immigration facilities. The article concludes that Indonesia's recent shift to a more strict response to asylum seekers is the result of Australia's influence and financial support. Indonesia has traditionally taken a relaxed approach to managing asylum seekers in Indonesian territory, but since Australia's intervention in its immigration matters, Australia has convinced Indonesia to adopt strict immigration policy in its own national interest.

The article provides insights into Indonesia's recent policy of detaining asylum seekers to prevent them from travelling clandestinely to Australia. Through the analysis of qualitative interview data, the article provides new information regarding the treatment of asylum seekers in Indonesian detention and the barriers in place that prevent them from seeking protection.

O'Connell Davidson, J. 'Troubling Freedom: Migration, Debt and Modern Slavery'. *Migration Studies*, **2013, pp. 1–20.**

Key words
China
Fees and payment for smuggling, modus operandi of smuggling, smuggling

Research method
Unknown

Summary
The focus of this article is on the role of debt in contemporary practices of human mobility. The article explores how the phenomenon of debt-financed migration disturbs the trafficking and smuggling, illegal and legal, and forced and voluntary relationships that are widely used.

The article refers to the definitions of human trafficking and migrant smuggling in the Trafficking in Persons Protocol and the Smuggling of Migrants Protocol.

The research methodology is not discussed, but it appears to have involved a review of recent literature and theory on the subjects of human trafficking,

migrant smuggling, irregular and regular migration and forced and voluntary debts in relation to migration.

According to the article, financing migration through debt can be a choice for migrants without also being a voluntary or autonomous choice. The author argues that migrants' decision to take on debt that will imply heavy restrictions on their freedom should be considered in the context of migration and other policies that severely constrain their alternatives. Additionally, migration debt can be a feature of legal as well as irregular systems of migration, and migrant-debtors are no more guaranteed protection, rights and freedoms when they move under state-sanctioned systems than they are when their debt is incurred in the course of unsanctioned, or irregular, movement.

Licensed recruitment agencies in migrant-sending countries and placement agencies in migrant-receiving countries often legally charge migrants fees for brokering their migration, even though regulation sometimes includes a cap on some of the fees that may be charged to workers. Therefore, it is not just illegal fees but also legal costs imposed on labourers that can be extremely high and when coupled with compound interest on loans advanced to pay them, many migrants find that they are never able to repay their migration debts. The article concludes that migrant indebtedness is in large part produced by the immigration policies pursued by States and the systems of labour import and export that States foster.

The article provides insights into the subject of fees and debt incurred in the migration process; however, because the article does not present empirical material, it does not make a direct contribution to the body of knowledge on irregular migration.

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. 'The Changing Role of Asia in International Migration'. In *International Migration Outlook.* **Paris, 2012.**

Key words
Malaysia, Thailand
Irregular migration

Research method
Unknown

Summary
This report chapter looks at emerging issues around migration within Asia and from Asia to countries within the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). Although it largely centres on legal migration flows, there is a brief discussion of irregular migration flows in and from the Asia region.

There is no explanation for the study methodology, but the research appears to have consisted of a review of publicly available statistics and material, such as previous OECD reports.

The chapter discusses the push factors for irregular migration in Asia and suggests that the drivers of irregular labour migration are both the limited availabilities for legal migration into low-skilled employment in receiving countries, and the cost and complexity of legal migration channels. As a result of limits on legal migration channels and the high costs imposed on workers, some non-OECD Asian countries have experienced difficulty regulating immigration for employment. Undocumented migration thus remains an ongoing challenge.

The chapter notes that irregular migration to Asian OECD countries is not associated with illegal border crossing because some Asian OECD countries have well-controlled entry points. Rather, the focus of enforcement is more on overstays or visa misuse. Enforcement of measures to combat irregular migration is generally confined to the destination country because most origin countries are reluctant to impose restrictions on the exit of their own citizens.

The chapter provides insights into irregular migration trends in Asia; however, because the analysis largely drew from statistics and material already published, it does not make a direct contribution to the body of knowledge on irregular migration.

Office Fédéral de la Police Fedpol. *Lutte de la Confederation Contre la Criminalité.* **Geneva, 2013.**

Key words
Afghanistan, Greece, Pakistan, Switzerland, Syria
Factors that fuel irregular migration, irregular migration, routes, smuggling

Research method
Mixed

Summary
This report (only in French) discusses various criminal issues in Switzerland, including migrant smuggling and the Government's response to crime.

The research methodology is briefly explained as consisting of the collection and analysis of information that was provided to the police through various data collection efforts. The report specifies that it drew on police statistics and intelligence bulletins.

One of the themes covered in the report is that of migrant smuggling. The report examines migrant smuggling routes to Switzerland and finds that these routes have changed recently, and migrants now prefer to travel to Switzerland via Greece or along the Balkan route. The report discusses the modus operandi of smuggling and notes that irregular migrants sometimes make multiple reservations to evade police and border controls.

The report discusses the various push-and-pull factors for irregular migration and posits that poverty, persecution, natural disasters and political instability are responsible for pushing millions of people to leave their countries. In addition, the barriers to legal migration to European countries, such as Switzerland, push irregular migrants to turn to smugglers. The report concludes that the majority of irregular migrants do not possess adequate information and resources to make the journey to Switzerland independently, and due to their vulnerable nature, they are at the mercy of exploitive smugglers.

The report provides insights into the routes and modus operandi of migrant smuggling to Switzerland; however, the discussion of migrant smuggling in the report is brief, and thus the report does not make a significant contribution to knowledge on migrant smuggling.

Orbeta, A. C. & Gonzales, K. *Managing International Labour Migration in ASEAN: Themes From a Six-Country Study.* **Makati City: Philippine Institute for Development Studies, 2013.**

Key words
Cambodia, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand
Modus operandi of smuggling, routes, smuggling

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This report presents a summary of the findings of a six-country study on managing international labour migration in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). The objective of the study was to explore and share international migration management issues from the perspective of both migration-sending and receiving countries.

The methodology for the research involved country studies undertaken between July 2009 and December 2011 under a project entitled, Different Streams, Different Needs and Impacts: Managing International Labour Migration in ASEAN. Country research teams were asked to study a specific migration management issue that was deemed current and reflective of the primary migration management experience of the country. For migration-sending countries, the Cambodia research team studied the high frequency cross-border crossings into Thailand that are dominated by irregular migrants. The Indonesian research team looked at the role of local governments in migration management. And the Philippines research team analysed the management of household service worker deployment flows. For receiving countries, the Malaysian research team looked at the country's experience with irregular migrants. The Singapore research team studied the interaction between the needs of the economy for migrant workers. And the Thai research team examined the country's experience at the crossroads of being both a receiving and a sending country of migrants.

The studies highlighted seven important themes on international labour migration management in ASEAN: the importance of integrating international migration into national and regional development efforts; the importance of both bilateral and multilateral agreements; the importance of recognizing differences in labour market policies in sending and receiving countries in designing protection for migrant workers; the need to consider general administrative capacities in designing migration regulatory efforts; the importance of involving subnational bodies in migration management; the need to broaden cooperation in handling irregular migration; and the recognition that the protection envisioned by the State need not be the one desired by the migrant, hence, the need to regularly analyse the effectiveness of protection measures.

The report provides insights into irregular migration patterns and activities in the ASEAN region. The report makes the important argument that it is useful to analyse international labour migration issues from the perspective of countries that send and receive migrants.

Ozcurumez, S. & Şenses**, N. 'Europeanization and Turkey: Studying Irregular Migration Policy'.** *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies***, vol. 13, No. 2, 2011, pp. 233–248.**

Key words
Turkey
Irregular migration

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This article analyses the reasons for difficulties in harmonizing efforts to manage irregular migration in Europe by analysing the case of Turkey's irregular migration policy during its accession process to the European Union.

For the data collection, the authors examined comprehensive secondary data, including the EU *acquis* on irregular immigration, to determine key areas of European policy and the *Progress Reports on Turkey* to trace the process of governance of irregular immigration in terms of definition, technical capacity and institutions. The authors also reviewed

reports within Turkish national programmes and the Asylum and Migration National Action Plan of Turkey. The authors supplemented this secondary data with interviews with policy makers and policy experts.

According to the article, Turkey is a critical case for examining the Europeanization of irregular migration because, first, it is an accession country and adoption of the EU *acquis* constitutes a strong incentive for achieving the goal of full European Union membership; and, second, because Turkey has evolved from a sending country of irregular migrants to a receiving country. The article traces the development of irregular immigration policy in Turkey and analyses how developments in each aspect of the policy are converging with EU policy priorities on irregular migration as stated in the *acquis*. The article highlights how policy outcomes are shaped by the European Union acting as an external pressure and 'anchor' in the irregular migration policy-making process. The article also discusses the domestic resistance in Turkey to certain aspects of the policy.

The article concludes that the European Union holds immense hope for influencing the course and content of Turkey's irregular migration policies. Domestic concerns and priorities constitute the main reason that European priorities do not completely define Turkey's emerging policy on irregular migration.

Because the article focuses on the development of irregular migration policy in Turkey and the European Union's influence in the development of this policy, it does not make a direct contribution to the body of knowledge on irregular migration.

Paitoonpong, S. *Different Stream, Different Needs and Impact: Managing International Labour Migration in ASEAN*. Makati City, Philippines: Philippine Institute for Development Studies, 2011.

Key words
Thailand
Factors that fuel irregular migration, human and social costs of smuggling, irregular migration, routes, smuggling

Research method
Mixed

Summary
This report explores international labour migration from South-East Asian countries to Thailand. It looks at the stocks and flows of legal and irregular migration, associated issues (such as human trafficking) and the various policies and border control responses that Thailand has enacted to respond to the heavy migration flows into the country.

Data collection for the study involved quantitative and qualitative sources and methods. Quantitative data included secondary sources from a socio-economic survey. Qualitative information was collected through interviews with key informants, focus group discussions with families of migrant workers, government officials, brokers and other groups.

The author examined the motivations for irregular migration in South-East Asia and found evidence that poverty and indebtedness are major push factors for both emigration and immigration, while higher income in the destination countries is a strong pull factor. The report notes that both emigration and immigration are beneficial in various ways, including increasing GDP in both countries of origin of migration and destination countries. Remittances are identified as an important source of country development, for increasing the level of national savings and for improving income distribution.

The report examines the human and social costs of irregular migration and explains that the illegality of much of the undocumented migration makes migrants vulnerable to exploitation. Migrants must pay brokers to help them enter the country, and they have virtually no information regarding their respective jobs. Some are coerced into forced labour or prostitution or are sexually assaulted. Many of the migrant workers suffer in very poor working environments and living quarters.

The report concludes that even though the Thai Government has many laws and policies regarding the protection of migrant workers, such as the Labour Law and Labour Protection Act, and various memoranda of understanding at the regional and bilateral levels, they have not been effective due to law enforcement weaknesses.

The report provides information on the stocks and flows of irregular migration to Thailand and provides insights into the relationship between registration programmes and migration policies on legal and irregular migration patterns in South-East Asia. Thus, the report contributes to the body of knowledge on irregular migration in that region.

Pangerc, D. 'Illegal Migrations Along the Balkan Routes'. *Faculty of Arts and Sciences Journal of Social Sciences*, 2012, pp. 139–147.

Key words
Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Greece, Hungary, Iran, Iraq, Italy, Republic of Macedonia, Romania, Syria, Turkey
Human and social costs of smuggling, routes, smuggling

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This paper examines human trafficking and migrant smuggling patterns and activities along the Balkan routes to the European Union. It includes case studies of human trafficking and migrant smuggling and suggests solutions for responding to the problems.

The paper explores the concepts of human trafficking and migrant smuggling, relying on the definitions from the Trafficking in Persons Protocol and the Smuggling of Migrants Protocol.

The research methodology involved the collection of case studies over a five-year period. The case studies were constructed by following the migrants' patterns of movement, passing through the Balkans, on the way to Italy and other European destinations. Investigations for the case studies were carried out through an anthropological method that included fieldwork research, active participant observation and through the creation of reliable informants' networks.

The paper examines the Balkan and other routes to the European Union and the modus operandi of migrant smuggling on those routes. Smugglers and traffickers use three main land routes that transit in Turkey: The first is by Iran, Iraq or Syria, arriving into Turkey, travelling towards Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary and then reaching the Western European countries. The second route is across Greece, Macedonia, Albania, the Adriatic Sea and reaching Italy and other European countries. The third is through the Croatian border, which the author suggests is easy to trespass.

The paper concludes with recommendations for improving the response to migrant smuggling and human trafficking, including constructing a detailed database of smuggling and trafficking victims' cases and creating monitoring agencies for the victims; improving the development of skills among the most vulnerable communities to promote alternative ways of subsistence; creating new job opportunities to prevent people from falling into criminal activities and networks; creating new shelters or relief centres with counselling, legal and psychological support services; and starting rehabilitation programmes to reintegrate victims into society.

The strength of the paper is its use of case studies to discuss the routes and modus operandi of migrant smuggling along the Balkan path to the European Union. The paper contributes to the body of knowledge on migrant smuggling through its discussion of these routes and its examination of the interface between migrant smuggling and human trafficking in the Balkans area.

Perrin, B. *Migrant Smuggling: Canada's Response to a Global Criminal Enterprise.* Ottawa: Macdonald-Laurier Institute, 2011.

Key words
Canada, China, Sri Lanka
Fees and payment for smuggling, irregular migration, modus operandi of smuggling, smuggling

Research method used
Unknown

Summary
This paper discusses migrant smuggling to Canada and then Canada's policy response to smuggling. The paper positions migrant smuggling as a dangerous, sometimes deadly criminal activity that funds terrorism and undermines border security. The author argues that, from both a supply and demand side,

failing to respond effectively to migrant smuggling may embolden those who engage in such an illicit enterprise and lead to an increase in transnational crime.

The paper defines migrant smuggling according to the Smuggling of Migrants Protocol.

There is no reference to the research methodology, but data collection appears to have consisted of a review of Canada's policy response to migrant smuggling, particularly a review of Canada's Immigration System Act (Bill C-4) and an analysis of recent literature on migrant smuggling.

The paper examines the modus operandi of migrant smuggling to Canada and argues that migrant smugglers have a major role in facilitating illegal entry. The paper presents information regarding the fees and payments for migrant smuggling services and suggests that the illicit profits earned by smugglers are the primary reason for their actions. The author argues that migrant smuggling operations are connected to other serious crimes, such as drug smuggling, firearms smuggling, money laundering and governmental corruption. The author further suggests that Chinese migrant smugglers, also known as 'snakeheads', are the most notorious and effective at facilitating the smuggling of large numbers of irregular migrants to North America. Their networks include forgery workshops, operational centres in transit countries, networks of corrupt officials and a capital base to facilitate their operations.

The paper concludes that a comprehensive approach to addressing migrant smuggling ultimately requires three primary strategies pursued together at the national and international levels. National jurisdictions must take greater action to discourage irregular migration and disrupt migrant smuggling operations through legislation, such as Bill C-4, and through international cooperation; national jurisdictions must establish more efficient expedient procedures to remove failed claimants; and the international community should continue to develop a proactive response to the global refugee situation.

The paper provides insights into migrant smuggling to Canada as well as information regarding Canada's policy response. Due to the dearth of empirical material presented, the paper does not make a direct contribution to the body of knowledge on irregular migration.

Pickering, S. & Cochrane, B. 'Irregular Border-Crossing Deaths and Gender: Where, How and Why Women Die Crossing Borders'. *Theoretical Criminology,* vol. 17, No. 1, 2013, pp. 27–48.

Key words
Australia, United States of America
Human and social costs of smuggling, irregular migration, modus operandi of smuggling, smuggling

Research method
Quantitative

Summary
This article explores the ways women die irregularly crossing borders, noting that women are more likely to die crossing borders at the physical frontiers of nation States than at increasingly policed internal border sites. Gendered social practices within families and within countries of origin and transit as well as the practices of smuggling markets are the major contributing factors to the deaths of women at borders.

The article discusses the concept of 'the border' and suggests that the securitization of borders between the global North and the global South has fundamentally transformed the nature of the border internationally.

The research methodology involved drawing on available data in Europe and the United States collected over the past 10 years by the organization UNITED and by the *Arizona Daily Star*, together with the Weber and Pickering database on Australian border-related deaths. The data sets were used to consider the hypothesis that the fortification of borders results in increased deaths and that the physical border remains the site of greater concentrations of female deaths compared with other border sites. The authors compiled data on the death sites and the sex, region of origin and cause of death of the victims.

The authors found that women are more likely to die crossing borders at the harsh physical frontiers of nation States than at internal border sites, such as immigration detention centres. The authors conclude that this suggests greater attention needs to be paid to this issue because as the existing data indicate that the number of women irregularly crossing borders is increasing. The authors call for the development of an international database capable of recording aspects of local border environments as well as comparable details regarding the various types of irregular crossing and their outcomes.

The strength of the article is its quantitative analysis of the deaths of women crossing borders in Australia, the European Union and the United States. The article highlights an important gap in the collection of data on the human and social costs of migrant smuggling—information regarding the victims, particularly women, who die attempting to cross land or sea borders.

Rahman, M. M. & Kabir, M. 'Bangladeshi Migration to Italy: The Family Perspective'. *Asia Europe Journal,* vol. 10, No. 4, 2012, pp. 251–265.

Key words
Bangladesh, Italy
Factors that fuel irregular migration, fees and payment for smuggling, modus operandi of smuggling, routes, smuggling

Research method
Mixed

Summary
This article examines Bangladeshi migration to Italy and discusses the reception of immigrants in Italy, the characteristics of Bangladeshi migrants, their channels of migration, the role of intermediaries in the migration process, the economic cost of migration and inflows of remittances.

The study is based on the 2009 Bangladesh Household Remittance Survey, which the International Organization for Migration conducted. In addition to survey data, the study also drew on qualitative interviews with migrants, returned migrants and activists of migrant organizations in Bangladesh in 2010 and 2011. The survey involved interviews with migrant households across the country through a nationally representative sample of migrant households from all six administrative divisions. The districts of the six divisions of the country were divided into two strata, with one stratum consisting of 'more concentration of migrant' households and the other stratum consisting of 'less concentration of migrant' households. Following this, clusters were formed with one or more *mauzas* (villages). In total, the survey covered 12,893 migrants; of them, 177 migrants were working in Italy. The study then focused its analysis on the experiences of these 177 migrants' households.

The article highlights three main migration channels: i) irregular migration, ii) the quota system and iii) family reunification. Migration through irregular channels usually involves the use of more than one route in the migration process and often consists of a combination of air and land or air and sea travel or sometimes all three models. For the journey from Bangladesh to Italy, potential migrants typically fly to a nearby transit country first with a visa but later become irregular in an attempt to enter Italy through a land or sea route.

The services of *adam baparis* (intermediaries) are unavoidable for Bangladeshis in the migration process, whether their migration is regular or irregular. Prospective migrants require the services of several *adam baparis* located at both ends of the migration process—in Bangladesh and in Italy. In Italy, the intermediaries provide services to potential dependant visa or quota visa applicants. In Bangladesh, they also provide services to both groups of visa applicants in the area of passport application, air ticket booking and visa application. The article concludes that Bangladeshi emigration thus appears to serve a group of intermediaries who enjoy sizeable economic rewards from organizing and facilitating migration of labour internationally.

The article provides insights into the routes of immigration for both early and recent Bangladeshi immigrants to Italy as well as new information on the fees paid to intermediaries involved in the migrant smuggling process and the remittances generated from Bangladeshi migration to Italy. It thus makes a contribution to the body of knowledge on irregular migration from Bangladesh to Italy.

Reddy, Y. Y. 'Inexorable Cross-Border Illegal Migrations Entangled in Geopolitical Exigencies in SAARC'. *A Biannual Journal of South Asian Studies,* **vol. 5, No. 1, 2012, pp. 10–23.**

Key words
Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Nepal, Pakistan
Irregular migration, modus operandi of smuggling, routes, smuggling

Research method
Unknown

Summary
This article provides a historical overview of irregular migration within South Asia. The article focuses in particular on India, which, it argues, has become the centre stage for the influx of irregular migrants from its four land-bordering smaller states.

The research methodology is not explained but appears to have consisted of a review of literature on the subject of irregular migration in South Asia.

The article analyses the geopolitical designs of India's neighbours and provides a historical overview of irregular migration patterns in the region, most of which have India as the destination country. The article describes the push-and-pull factors for irregular migration and argues that it is the low level of economic and social development in South Asian countries that is the largest push factor for irregular migration from Bangladesh and Nepal into India or from Nepal into Bhutan.

Cross-border movement within this region is relatively easy. South Asians are not bound by immigration rules requiring passports and/or visas. Additionally, the boundary between Nepal and India is easy to cross, and this has led to high levels of cross-border illegal trade and migration. According to the article, there is a high frequency of Bangladeshi migrants using fraudulently issued official documents, such as ration cards, voter identity cards and passports, which have enabled them to become residents and/ or citizens of India. The article concludes that the result of this irregular migration is fatigue among Indian citizens regarding the large numbers of irregular migrants residing in India.

The article adds insights into irregular migration by providing a historical overview of irregular migrations within South Asia. However, the article mostly concentrates on the decades prior to the 1970s and thus offers only a minor contribution to the body of knowledge on contemporary South Asian irregular migration patterns and routes.

Rowe, E. & O'Brien, E. 'Constructions of Asylum Seekers and Refugees in Australian Political Discourse'. In *Crime Justice and Social Democracy: Proceedings of the Second International Conference,* **K. Richards and J.M. Tauri, eds. Brisbane, Australia: Queensland University of Technology, 2013, pp. 173–181.**

Key words
Australia, Indonesia, Malaysia
Irregular migration, routes, smuggling

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This paper investigates how Australian political discourse constructs asylum seekers and refugees. It focuses in particular on the discourse presented during debates in Australia surrounding the failed Malaysia Solution in 2011.

The authors analysed Australian Parliamentary debates for underlying themes and constructions that permeate political discourse on asylum seekers and refugees. In particular, the authors examined Hansard transcripts of the Federal Parliamentary debates about the Malaysia Deal in both the Senate and House of Representatives. Data collection was limited to the period 1 May–1 October 2011, which included several months of negotiation regarding the Malaysia Deal, the signing of the agreement in July 2011, and the aftermath of the High Court ruling that declared the people swap deal invalid and unlawful.

The authors report that a "dichotomous characterization of legitimacy" pervades Australian political discourse. Asylum seekers and refugees are represented either as legitimate humanitarian

refugees or as 'illegitimate, irregular boat arrivals'. The result of these constructions is that asylum seekers and refugees are misinterpreted as 'illegitimate', thus undermining their protection under Australia's laws and international obligations.

The paper concludes that while it is not illegal to travel to Australia to seek asylum, Australian Federal Parliamentarians continually strive to create and sustain the perception that there are two distinct groups of asylum seekers—those who are 'queue jumpers' and therefore 'bad' people and those who are legitimate refugees. The authors point out that by supporting and promoting this discourse, Australian politicians have established a false dichotomy in which only some people fleeing persecution are seen as deserving Australia's protection.

The paper provides insights into how Australian politicians have framed discourses surrounding asylum seekers and irregular migrants. Because the paper focuses its discussion on discourses on asylum seekers, it does not make a direct contribution to the body of knowledge on the irregular migration issue itself.

Sahin-Mencütek, Z. 'Immigration Control in Transit States: The Case of Turkey'. *European Journal of Economic & Political Studies,* **vol. 5, No. 1, 2012, pp. 137–163.**

Key words
Turkey, United States of America
Concepts, routes, smuggling

Research method
Unknown

Summary
This article discusses the case of transit migration through Turkey to the European Union. The article traces Turkey's new immigration concerns in the two realms of immigration legislation and border enforcement. It provides a discussion of the historical development of immigration policy in Turkey and applies a historical evaluation of policies to explain the causal mechanisms shaping more restrictive immigration control.

Drawing on recent scholarship on transit migration, the article suggests it can be defined as a journey that encompasses more than the source and destination country. Alternately, it can be understood as a stage between emigration and settlement.

The research methodology is not discussed but appears to have consisted of a review of literature on transit migration and an analysis of Turkey's immigration policies in recent decades.

The author argues that in addition to its role as a sending and receiving country of irregular migrants, Turkey has become a transit country of irregular migration. A vast number of non-European irregular migrants who intend to enter Europe pass through Turkey. Additionally, the Iranian revolution, political turmoil in the Middle East, the end of Cold War, the Gulf War and political and economic difficulties in some African countries have forced Turkey into a de facto country of first asylum.

Turkey has started to focus on immigration control to demonstrate its authority to providing border security. The author argues that Turkey's immigration policies are in fact heavily influenced by the United States and EU Member States.

The article contributes to knowledge on irregular migration through its specific study of Turkey as a new country of irregular transit and destination migration. The article provides a useful discussion of the internal and external factors that influence and shape an irregular migration transit country's border security policies.

Sarausad, M. *Cost or Benefit? Valuing Migration Through Remittances by Irregular Migrants in Thailand.* **Nakhon Pathom, Thailand: Institute for Population and Social Research, 2011.**

Key words
Lao PDR, Myanmar, Philippines, Thailand
Factors that fuel irregular migration, fees and payment for smuggling, irregular migration, routes, smuggling

Research method
Mixed

Summary
This article assesses the value of irregular migrants' remittances from Thailand. The author looked at both regular and irregular migration from South-East Asian countries to Thailand, the drivers for irregular migration, irregular migration routes, the size of the flows and the systems of remittances used by irregular migrants residing in Thailand.

The study methodology applied both quantitative and qualitative approaches, with considerable amount of qualitative data acquired from Myanmar migrants through in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. A survey on irregular Filipino migrants extending their visas at the Thailand–Cambodian borders (at Aranyaprathet/Poipet and Chantaburi/ Ban Pakard border points) was also conducted to trace the movements and flows of irregular migrants who were renewing their visas. Approximately 70 survey questionnaires were distributed, and 51 were filled out. In addition, observations were also conducted at places where irregular migrants were likely to be found, including apartment buildings, factories, markets and outside shops.

The article examines the drivers for irregular migration to Thailand and argues that political conflict and unstable living conditions in Myanmar have prompted hundreds of thousands of people to flee the country and enter Thailand illegally. The article also discusses the various routes of irregular migration to Thailand and examines border entry points, visa options and requirements to enter Thailand.

In the discussion on the remittances of irregular migrants residing in Thailand, the author explains that there are institutionalized networks that facilitate the transfer of money, both at the sending and receiving ends. Migrants draw upon the social capital embedded in their interpersonal networks for the transfer of money. The article explores the benefits of remittances and finds that there is a positive correlation between educational and nutritional level of children and remittances. Further, there are extensive differences in the level of consumption between households receiving and not receiving remittances, revealing higher consumption expenditure for remittance-receiving households and higher allocation for housing, education, health care and recreation services. The article concludes that there are key benefits to allowing irregular migration to occur so that migrants may send valuable remittances to support families in their home countries.

The article makes a contribution to the body of knowledge on irregular migration through the collection and analysis of qualitative and quantitative data on irregular migrants' systems of sending remittances and the study of how remittances are used by migrants' families. The article provides valuable new information about the flows of irregular migrants into Thailand, the areas in which irregular migrants find work and methods of sending remittances to families in home countries in South-East Asia.

Schloenhardt, A. & Davies, C. 'Smugglers and Samaritans: Defences to People Smuggling in Australia. *UNSW Law Journal*, vol. 36, No. 3, 2013, pp. 954–984.

Key words
Australia, Indonesia
Modus operandi of smuggling, profiles of smugglers, smuggling

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This article examines recent migrant smuggling offences in Australia in light of the available case law and international legal requirements.

The article defines 'migrant smuggling' according to article 3(a) of the Smuggling of Migrants Protocol.

The research methodology consisted of a review of migrant smuggling cases to Australia and analysis of the defences of migrant smuggling that have been raised in Australian courts.

The article outlines the criminalization of migrant smuggling in international and Australian law, focusing principally on the migrant smuggling

offences in the Australian Migration Act, which are commonly used in prosecutions. Examining the available case law and existing legislation, the authors identify the specific grounds on which persons charged with people smuggling offences under Australia's Migration Act have sought to excuse or justify their actions. The defences analysed include duress, mistake, necessity or acting for humanitarian reasons.

According to the authors, Australian courts and the Australian Government have made it clear that smuggled migrants, even if they are recognized as refugees, have no lawful right to come to Australia. Additionally, migrant smugglers do not escape criminal liability in these circumstances. The authors argue that the points raised in a range of migrant smuggling trials are central to fundamental questions about the criminalization of migrant smuggling and the relationship between migrant smuggling, the movements of asylum seekers and Australia's obligations under international refugee and anti-smuggling of migrants law.

The analysis of migrant smuggling cases raises two major arguments: i) International law requires States parties not to criminalize and punish migrant smugglers who operate for humanitarian motives. However, Australia's people smuggling offences make no such exceptions, and the existing defences are inadequate to accommodate the reality and complexity of such situations. ii) International law and best practice guidelines limit the criminalization of migrant smuggling to instances in which smugglers operate for financial or other material benefit. Australian law contains no such limitations and, as a result, does not tie criminal liability to the principal characteristic of migrant smuggling. The authors conclude that the offences legislated in the Migration Act and equally in the Criminal Code depart fundamentally from the purpose of the Smuggling of Migrants Protocol. The elements of these offences and the defences available to persons accused of people smuggling are inadequate to address the complexities and realities of migrant smuggling and that Australian law has resulted in the criminalization and punishment of individuals who, in the eyes of the international community and many experts, do not, in fact, deserve punishment.

The article makes a contribution to the body of knowledge on migrant smuggling through its analysis of migrant smuggling cases in Australia. The article demonstrates that the causes and circumstances of migrant smugglers and smuggled migrants are complex and do not necessarily fit into a single people smuggling business model.

Schloenhardt, A. & Ezzy, L. 'Hadi Ahmadi— And the Myth of the People Smugglers' Business Model'. *Monash University Law Review,* vol. 38, No. 3, 2012, pp. 120–147.

Key words
Australia, Indonesia, Sri Lanka
Fees and payment for smuggling, modus operandi of smuggling, profiles of smugglers, routes, smuggling

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This article explores the case of Hadi Ahmadi, one of the highest profile prosecutions of people smuggling in Australia in recent years, to shed light on the so-called 'people smugglers' business model', which successive Australian Governments have attempted to dismantle. The article examines the facts of Hadi Ahmadi's offending and the criminal proceedings against him and draws comparison with other migrant smuggling organizer cases.

The article discusses the term 'people smugglers' business model' that has been adopted by recent Australian Governments. The authors argue that the term reinforces the perception that the migrant smuggling phenomenon is a form of organized crime and a heinous activity of transnational criminal syndicates working in an illegal market worth billions of dollars. According to the authors, this is not always a realistic interpretation of the migrant smuggling phenomenon.

The research methodology involved analysis of open-source material. Much of the information presented in the article derives from the transcript of the District Court proceedings and the reported appeal case, Ahmadi vs. The Queen. Other migrant smuggling case reports and secondary sources were also reviewed, including government reports and news reports.

The article presents the personal background of Hadi Ahmadi and the facts surrounding the arrival of the four migrant smuggling vessels in which Hadi Ahmadi was involved. The article examines the criminal proceedings against Hadi Ahmadi, including his initial trial and sentencing in the District Court of Western Australia and his appeal to the Western Australian Supreme Court. Hadi Ahmadi's case is then compared with more typical migrant smuggling prosecutions in Australia and with several other high profile organizers who have been implicated in facilitating multiple unauthorized boat arrivals.

The authors found that the arguments presented by Hadi Ahmadi and his defence team—that he acted for humanitarian reasons to help his countrymen and women and that financial profit was not his primary motive—are not unique to his case and have been used and explored in a number of recent migrant smuggling trials in Australia.

The article concludes that there are no simple solutions to the migrant smuggling phenomenon that spans continents and involves several thousand people seeking a better life abroad. Consequently, simplistic suggestions to 'stop the boats', turn migrant smuggling vessels back to Indonesia and 'break the people smugglers' business model' are unlikely to offer long-term solutions and may actually prove to be counterproductive.

The strength of this article is its unique study of the motivations of Hadi Ahmadi and its analysis of Australia's laws, which are capable of punishing those who may smuggle migrants for altruistic reasons.

Schloenhardt, A. & Martin, C. 'Prosecution and Punishment of People Smugglers in Australia 2008–2011'. *Federal Law Review,* vol. 40, No. 1, 2012, pp. 111–140.

Key words
Australia
Fees and payment for smuggling, irregular migration, profiles of smugglers, smuggling

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This article analyses migrant smuggling prosecutions in Australia between 2008 and 2011. Based on the available case law, the article develops a profile of 'typical' migrant smuggling offenders, examines sentencing trends and analyses the role of smuggled migrants in the smuggling process.

The research methodology encompassed analysis of sentencing remarks from successful prosecutions during the period studied of 2008–2011. These sentencing remarks were supplemented, where possible, by media reports and submissions on sentence. The authors highlight an important limitation of the study, which is that because there has only been one appeal decision handed down, most cases are not reported in official law reports. Therefore, conclusions on the trends revealed by prosecutions were based on a relatively limited number of cases.

The article provides a brief overview of migrant smuggling charges and prosecutions since 2008 and of the legislative changes during that period. It examines a number of relevant cases in search of an understanding of the circumstances from which these prosecutions arise, analyses the trends emerging from cases and, based on those trends, analyses the cross-cutting themes that appear common to the prosecutions.

The authors argue that migrant smuggling prosecutions so far have resulted in the gaoling of hundreds of poor Indonesian fishermen who have little or no involvement in migrant smuggling organizations beyond being recruited to undertake the final journey to Australian territory. Gaoling has had no measurable impact on the ongoing operation of migrant smuggling organizations because these poor fishermen are easy to find and expendable. As a result, the continued pursuit of prosecutions of these types of offenders is costly, time-consuming and ineffective for the Australian Government. The authors conclude that if the Australian Government intends to continue prosecuting migrant smugglers despite new budgetary constraints, it should shift its focus towards investigating, extraditing and prosecuting the organizers of migrant smuggling.

The strength of the article is its detailed analysis of recent migrant smuggling cases and prosecutions

in Australia. The article has shed new light on the motivations of migrant smugglers, their roles, small or significant, in the migrant smuggling process and the effectiveness, or otherwise, of Australia's smuggling prosecutions.

Schloenhardt, A. & Stacey, K. 'Assistance and Protection of Smuggled Migrants: International Law and Australian Practice'. *Sydney Law Review,* **vol. 35, No. 1, 2013, pp. 53–84.**

Key words
Australia
Human and social costs of smuggling, profiles of smuggled migrants, smuggling

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This article explores the extent to which the Smuggling of Migrants Protocol protects those directly affected by migrant smuggling. It analyses the content of the assistance provisions under the Protocol and critiques the relatively low threshold that the Protocol sets. The article focuses on the protection provisions provided by the Government of Australia which, the authors argue, while on the surface may appear adequate, are in fact inferior to the needs of the smuggled migrants residing predominantly in detention centres on Australian territory and in offshore detention centres.

The article discusses the concepts of migrant smuggling and trafficking in persons within the definitions provided by the Smuggling of Migrants Protocol and the Trafficking in Persons Protocol.

The research methodology consisted of a critical review of the Smuggling of Migrants Protocol, a review of Australian government policy on migrant smuggling and analysis of Australia's provisions for smuggled migrants' protection. The article's analysis of these measures drew on current government guidelines, academic observations, and information from other sources. The study also took into account the policy changes and legislative amendments that followed the release of the *Report of the Expert Panel on Asylum Seekers* in August 2012.

The article examines the historical origins and drafting approaches underpinning the Smuggling of Migrants Protocol and its parent, the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime. The provisions obliging State parties to provide assistance to smuggled migrants are analysed. The article then turns its attention to an analysis of migrant smuggling in the Australian context. There are two main reasons for this discussion: i) to define the scope of assistance measures in Australia under consideration by the article and ii) to facilitate the identification of Australian government support for smuggled migrants.

The authors highlight the fact that Australia has accepted obligations under the Smuggling of Migrants Protocol to "afford appropriate assistance to migrants whose lives or safety are endangered by reason of being" smuggled migrants without reservation. The authors' analysis of the assistance and protection offered to smuggled migrants in Australia, however, casts doubt that Australia fulfils the requirements it agreed to. These doubts are of further concern in light of recent moves to detain in other countries smuggled migrants who arrive in Australia by boat, thus 'handballing' Australia's obligations elsewhere.

The article concludes with observations about the standard and operation of the international and domestic protection and assistance of smuggled migrants and reflects on further steps to prevent the smuggling of migrants more effectively while protecting those who are most vulnerable to migrant smuggling.

The article provides insights into Australia's obligations under the Smuggling of Migrants Protocol and insights into smuggled migrants' protection provisions in Australia. The article contributes to the body of knowledge on migrant smuggling through its study of Australia's legal framework and obligations, and the protection provisions, or lack thereof, provided by the Australian Government for smuggled migrants.

Schloenhardt, A. & Cottrell, T. *Financing the Smuggling of Migrants in Australia.* **Brisbane, Australia: University of Queensland Migrant Smuggling Working Group, 2014.**

Summary
This paper examines recent amendments to Australia's migrant smuggling laws that are designed to combat the financing of migrant smuggling. It reflects on how Australia's attempts to combat the financing of migrant smuggling by controlling alternate remittance systems may negatively affect the families of migrants who depend on remittances for survival and may criminalize financial transactions that are not actually illegal.

The research methodology is not explained, but it is clear that the authors analysed relevant Australian laws designed to combat migrant smuggling and the financing of migrant smuggling.

The paper explores the concept of remittance transfer, a process that consists of a financial service that accepts cash, cheques, other monetary instruments or other stores of value at one location in order to pay a corresponding value to a beneficiary located elsewhere. The authors suggest that the defining characteristic of a remittance transfer is that value can be transferred between locations without moving any actual currency. Such remittance services are useful because they make international financial transfers easy, particularly when compared with the expensive and complex international funds transfer options provided by banks. The paper also explores the concept of alternative remittance service, noting that this term is used to describe informal money or value transfer services that operate outside of regulated Western financial systems. It is these alternative remittance services that are commonly used by migrants to send valuable remittances to their families in countries of origin.

In 2010, new offences were added to Australia's Migration Act 1958 and Criminal Code to criminalize the provision of financial support for the smuggling of migrants. The authors argue that the Australian Government has turned its attention to the regulation of alternative remittance services in the hope that greater enforcement of these services will prevent the flow of funds to migrant smuggling networks abroad and thus decrease the flow of smuggled migrants to Australia. This approach fails to recognize the importance of global remittance flows to the migrants who use them and, indeed, to the economic development of many nations. The authors further contend that the new attack on alternative remittance systems also fails to recognize that the use of alternative remittance systems is not inherently criminal and that the vast majority of alternative remittance transfers involve funds that come from legitimate sources and are used for legitimate purposes.

The paper concludes that the criminalization of the financing of smuggling of migrants and the regulation of alternative remittances may have potentially far-reaching consequences. Recent amendments introduced by the legislative and regulatory framework designed to combat the financing of migrant smuggling risk the criminalization of activities that are not inherently illegal.

The paper provides a valuable critique of Australia's attempts to combat the financing of migrant smuggling through the regularization of alternate remittance systems. It provides insights into how alternate remittance systems are used by migrants and how depriving migrants of these valuable financial transfer systems may negatively affect migrants' families who rely on the remittances for survival.

Schuster, L. 'Turning Refugees into "Illegal Migrants": Afghan Asylum Seekers in Europe'. *Ethnic and Racial Studies,* **vol. 34, No. 8, 2011, pp. 1392–1407.**

Summary
This article examines how the European Union regime of managing asylum seekers and the Dublin Convention [replaced by the Dublin Regulation], turn asylum seekers into "illegal migrants. The

article explores how asylum seekers transit southern EU Member States, where in theory they should be able to claim asylum but in reality have little chance of submitting a claim, let alone being granted protection. To illustrate salient points, the article explores the case of Afghan asylum seekers living in a virtual state of limbo in Paris.

To collect data for the study, the author spent 18 months, from mid-2008, volunteering twice a week with the Collectif de Soutien des exiles du 10eme, which is a small group of Parisians who visit the places where Afghan asylum seekers gather to eat, usually Salvation Army food distribution points, to provide support. The author had regular discussions with young Afghan men at these places and conducted discussions with volunteers. The author focused in particular on one group of Afghan asylum seekers for the study, which consisted of asylum seekers who had applied for asylum but had been told that the French Government would not examine their claims because their fingerprints had been found in Eurodac. The group of men studied for the research, at the time of data collection, resided in France, and almost all had entered through Greece.

The article presents two case studies on Greece and France. The case study on Greece illustrates the low refugee recognition rates in that country. The case study of France is used to examine a north-western Member State with higher refugee recognition rates. Throughout the two case studies, the author explores the application of the Dublin Regulation and argues that the Convention and EU Member States' policies on asylum seekers turn asylum seekers into "illegal migrants". Asylum seekers who first enter Greece have their fingerprints taken and wait for prolonged periods of time to be processed and resettled; however, due to the very low asylum seeker recognition rates in Greece, asylum seekers in that country are almost always branded as "illegal migrants". The France case study illustrates the plight of Afghan *sans-papiers* (undocumented persons) in that country. Asylum seekers, initially fingerprinted in Greece under the Dublin Regulation, are not allowed to make an asylum claim in France or any other EU country. Although France and a number of other EU countries will not return the Afghan asylum seekers to Greece because they recognize the poor treatment of refugees in that country, they will also prevent them from seeking asylum in a

second country, effectively rendering them "illegal migrants" with no access to work, education or social services. These asylum seekers join the already swelling numbers who are forced to live on the street and survive on support provided by NGOs.

According to the author, the group of Afghan asylum seekers observed for the study provide sharp insights into how the European asylum system does and does not work for a group of people coming from a situation of generalized violence and individual persecution. The article highlights the inefficiencies of the asylum regime and argues that the regime is costly, unwieldy and does not achieve the goals for which it was designed. Under this system, many asylum seekers fail to receive the protection they need, not because they do not meet the criteria of the Geneva Convention but because systems, such as the Dublin Regulation, allow States to delay the examination of asylum claims for months and years, leaving thousands of asylum seekers without legal protection or access to employment and services.

The strength of the article is its critical analysis of the European Union regime of processing asylum seekers. Drawing on empirical material, the article highlights how the European Union regime effectively blocks asylum seekers from making claims and receiving protection, which makes asylum seekers "illegal migrants".

Shelley, L. *Human Smuggling and Trafficking into Europe: A Comparative Perspective.* Washington, D.C.: Migration Policy Institute, 2014.

Key words
Afghanistan, China, Iraq, Pakistan
Routes, smuggling

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This research report encompasses the models, trends and routes of migrant smuggling and human trafficking in Europe. Its point is to outline the effects of migrant smuggling and human trafficking and to examine policy options for reducing the phenomena.

Although the report focuses its discussion on the flows of irregular migration and trafficking from Africa and Eastern European States to the European Union, it also discusses the patterns and activities of smuggled Asian migrants who traverse a number of countries on their journey to the European Union.

The research methodology involved a review of national reports and research conducted in countries of the European Union. The author reviewed recent publications to better understand the current dynamics of migrant smuggling and human trafficking. The author also reviewed reports and analyses of cases that had been investigated by Europol, the International Labour Organization, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe and the Financial Action Task Force.

The report examines the concepts of migrant smuggling and human trafficking according to the definitions within the Smuggling of Migrants Protocol and the Trafficking in Persons Protocol, respectively. The author briefly outlines the similarities and differences between the two crimes. Both migrant smuggling and human trafficking involve the recruitment, movement and delivery of migrants from a host State to a destination State, whereas what differentiates the activities is whether the migrants are willing participants in the process.

The report examines the routes and trends of migrant smuggling and human trafficking to the European Union before moving on to an examination of the profile of the facilitators of migrant smuggling and human trafficking and a profile of the victims. The report suggests that both human trafficking and migrant smuggling are activities that have attracted a number of facilitators who assist those seeking illegal entry to the European Union, ranging from small groups of facilitators to more complex organizations. The report also highlights the role of other intermediaries who may knowingly or unknowingly facilitate migrant smuggling and human trafficking such as employment agencies, apartment owners and businesses, particularly in the entertainment and travel industries. The author draws attention to the issue of corruption as an important factor exacerbating migrant smuggling and human trafficking. Travel agencies, border guards, customs officials, consular officers and other diplomatic personnel are frequently bribed or extorted to ensure

that operations are successful. Corruption limits good governance, enables human trafficking and migrant smuggling to continue and fosters anti-immigrant sentiment in Europe.

The report concludes with a series of policy options to reduce the flows of migrant smuggling and human trafficking to Europe. The author argues that policy makers must address the demand for migrant smuggling through education, prevention efforts and prosecution; harmonize policy efforts within and across countries so that smugglers and human traffickers are not able to take advantage of permissive regulatory environments; decrease the profits of smugglers and traffickers; and improve labour laws so that legal immigrants may fill the demand for the work that currently employs smuggled migrants.

The report uses current literature to highlight the patterns and flows of migrant smuggling and human trafficking in Europe. The report does not, however, contribute to the body of knowledge on migrant smuggling because it does not present empirical material and, throughout the report, there is conflation between migrant smuggling and human trafficking issues.

Sheng, L. & Bax, T. 'Changes in Irregular Emigration: A Field Report from Fuzhou'. *International Migration*, vol. 50, No. 2, 2012, pp. 99–112.

Key words
Australia, China, Japan, United States of America Factors that fuel irregular migration, irregular migration, routes

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This article reviews recent changes in patterns of irregular migration from Fuzhou Province in China.

The study grew out of earlier research on irregular emigration conducted in Fuzhou Province in 2000 to 2002. The analysis is also based on fieldwork carried out during visits to other provinces, specifically Pingtan, Houyu, Tangtou, Guantou, Tingjian and Donghan. Within these areas, two villages and

one town were revisited in April 2007, June 2007 and January 2008 for further research. Participant and non-participant observations and interviews as well as formal and informal conversations were conducted. In total, more than 100 informants were interviewed. In addition, secondary information, such as government reports, local yearbooks, border defence department reports and relevant social and economic statistics, were collected.

According to the article, due to changing historical circumstances, there is a more legalizing tendency of irregular emigration from Fuzhou Province. Among the new developments in patterns and practices of irregular migration: Migrants are taking less risk and adopting safer migration tactics; emigrants are better supported with resources, such as financial support, network support and a higher level of education; legal status is increasingly cherished in the process of emigration; and fewer emigrants are being victimized by smuggling groups. The authors also found that migratory waves from Fuzhou Province are slowing, and the passion for emigration is becoming more 'rational'.

Instead of heading towards the traditional emigration destinations of America and Japan, migrants are travelling to countries that are easier to access, such as countries within the European bloc, South Africa and Australia. This is partially due to the changes in border security adopted by Japan and the United States in recent years. The article concludes that although the strategies for emigration from Fuzhou Province are today less risky, they have become increasingly complex.

The article contributes to the body of knowledge of irregular migration through its study of the social and structural changes that are taking place within one of China's most historically important immigrant-sending areas. Through its adoption of in-depth community studies, the article reveals changes in irregular emigration from Fuzhou Province over time and explores how these changes are closely related to the larger social and economic situation in China and an increasingly globalized world.

Silverstone, D. 'From Triads to Snakeheads: Organised Crime and Illegal Migration Within Britain's Chinese Community. *Global Crime,* vol. 12, No. 2, 2011, pp. 93–111.

Summary
This article focuses on the continued existence of organized crime within the Chinese community in the United Kingdom, with particular reference to 'snakeheads' (migrant smugglers) and the smuggling of irregular migrants.

The research was conducted using semi-structured interviews with 60 individuals in China, including senior members of the Chinese Ministry of Security, police liaison officers attached to a number of foreign embassies and representatives of NGOs with active interest in the movement of Chinese nationals, both within China and the South-East Asian region and beyond. Approximately half of the interviews were conducted in China and the remainder were conducted in the United Kingdom. Semi-structured interviews were also conducted with community representatives within the UK-based Chinese community. The study also included a questionnaire-based study of 25 London-based members of the Chinese community living irregularly in the United Kingdom. This sample included both those who had or were working in legal occupations and also those who had worked as sex workers, committed fraud or grown cannabis. The interviews were supplemented by a review of the Chinese press concentrating on the five free Chinese weekly newspapers available throughout Chinatown in London, including the *Chinese Business Gazette*, *UK-Chinese Times*, *London Global Times*, *Epoch Times* and the *Sun Post*. The primary purpose of the interviews and the review of the press was to gather information on the processes attached to irregular immigration into the United Kingdom, to identify patterns of employment or means of subsistence of those travelling and gain understanding of the involvement of Chinese irregular migrants in organized crime.

The article discusses Chinese migrant smugglers and contends that neither the Chinese smugglers nor the people that they smuggle to the United

Kingdom think of migrant smugglers as criminals. In most events of Chinese migrant smuggling to the United Kingdom, the smuggler was a friend or family member. Smugglers also did not appear to exploit the smuggled migrants, and migrants were not expected to pay smugglers for anything except the stipulated fee for transporting them from China to the United Kingdom. All smuggled migrants interviewed for the study had used the services of brokers or intermediaries to facilitate their travel. The author contends that these migration brokers should not be underestimated—their success in smuggling people to the United Kingdom is due to their tenacity and their ability to adapt. The research revealed instances of brokers submitting multiple applications and appeals from the same applicants, the occasional use of call centres to facilitate multiple fraud, the merging of identity photos electronically and constant access to the nuances of multiple migration systems.

The article also explores the fees and payment for migrant smuggling services; in Fujian Province, there are numerous ways to obtain the necessary financial support to pay brokers' fees, including structured products designed for would-be migrants by local banks, loan services advertised through SMS messages or from loans by agents, friends or family. However, the high costs mean that generally only one person from each Chinese family is able to enter the United Kingdom at a time.

The article concludes that migrant smuggling will not decline in the near future because there is an embedded and profitable industry in the United Kingdom devoted to providing services for irregular migrants who, in turn, generate further profits for their employers in the legal or illegal economy.

Through the interviews conducted with smuggled Chinese migrants residing in the United Kingdom, the article provides new information about the modus operandi of migrant smuggling from China to the United Kingdom, fees and payments for smuggling services, and new knowledge regarding the profiles and activities of Chinese migrant smugglers.

Song, J. '"Smuggled Refugees": The Social Construction of North Korean Migration'. *International Migration*, vol. 51, No. 4, 2013, pp. 158–173.

Key words

Cambodia, China, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Myanmar, Republic of Korea, Thailand
Human and social costs of smuggling, irregular migration, smuggling

Research method

Qualitative

Summary

This article examines how Asian States and non-state actors have defined the identities and interests of migrants from the Democratic People's Republic (DPR) of Korea. The article argues that the diverse social construction of DPR Korean migrants has led to equally diverse policy responses to them, spanning compassion, punishment, jail and deportation, depending on the ideological and political stance of the particular Asian State.

The research methodology is not explained, but the author refers to interviews conducted with women from the Republic of Korea, so it is assumed that some interviews took place for the study.

The article explores the role of smugglers in the smuggling of DPR Korean migrants. Migrant smugglers are considered a highly professional group and are so well organized that they have developed several secret routes through China to neighbouring South-East Asian countries. Smugglers escort DPR Koreans through Zhengzhou, Nanning or Kunming cities over to Viet Nam, Lao PDR or Myanmar; smuggled DPR Koreans reach the Republic of Korea or other foreign embassies, with help from missionaries or NGO workers.

The article explores South-East Asian States' responses to DPR Koreans entering their territory to seek asylum and finds incredible diversity in the responses of States. For example, the Cambodian Government has recognized DPR Koreans as citizens of the Republic of Korea and allowed them to stay in safe houses while waiting for transfer directly to the Republic of Korea. Lao PDRs, which has a much stronger political affiliation with DPR Korea, has been cooperative on Korean refugee issues since 2009; before then, the Lao authorities allowed only around 50 DPR Koreans to transfer through their country to the Republic of Korea each

year. Myanmar, which is diplomatically closer to DPR Korea, does not recognize people from there either as refugees or as citizens of the Republic of Korea; however, if any reach the Republic of Korea Embassy in Yangon, the authorities let them stay, but under the protection of the Republic of Korea. The Thai authorities punish DPR Koreans for illegally crossing their border by imposing a fine or 30 days' imprisonment in a local prison and then allow them to transfer to the immigration removal centre in Bangkok for about two weeks before finally travelling on to the Republic of Korea.

The article highlights the complexities and confusion associated with the different state responses to DPR Koreans. Under the Republic of Korea Constitution, its territorial definition is the whole Korean Peninsula, which means that when DPR Koreans arrive in the southern region, they automatically become citizens. Under the domestic jurisdiction of China and other South-East Asian States, DPR Koreans are irregular immigrants, while under the Refugee Convention and the Palermo Protocol, DPR Koreans are refugees and trafficked victims, respectively. The article argues that in this conflict between international law and domestic legislation, all of the States involved in DPR Korean migration accord their state sovereignty and their bilateral relations a higher precedence than their international commitments.

The strength of the article is the insights that it provides into the various constructions of DPR Koreans as refugees, smuggled migrants, irregular migrants and trafficking victims and the policy responses of Asian States to them. The article highlights the lack of coherence in identifying and protecting DPR Korean migrants in South-East Asia.

Spinks, H. *Destination Anywhere? Factors Affecting Asylum Seekers' Choice of Destination Country.* **Canberra: Parliament of Australia, 2013.**

Key words

Australia, Canada, Indonesia, Malaysia, United States of America
Factors that fuel irregular migration, irregular migration, modus operandi of smuggling, routes, smuggling

Research method
Unknown

Summary
This paper reviews the literature on refugees' and asylum seekers' choice of asylum destination and provides an overview of the factors that influence refugees' and asylum seekers' decision-making processes. It considers the extent to which governments' attempts at deterring asylum seekers from arriving can be successful, given what is known about the nature of asylum migration and the factors that influence the choice of destination country.

The research methodology is not explicitly discussed but clearly consisted of a review of recent literature on refugees' and asylum seekers' decision-making processes on travel to transit and destination countries of refuge. A major limitation of the research, according to the author, was that the studies examining the reasons asylum seekers travel to a certain country were generally based on interviews with asylum seekers and refugees who had reached that country despite any deterrence measures that governments have in place. Thus, potential asylum seekers who had rejected destinations based on specific policy measures do not appear in such studies.

The paper highlights a number of findings. Asylum seekers generally have limited options available to them, and migration choices are therefore made within a narrow field of possibilities. Their choices and their journeys are often strongly influenced by migrant smugglers; in cases where asylum seekers are able to exercise choice in determining their destination, factors such as the presence of social networks, historical ties between the countries of origin and destination and the knowledge or belief that a certain country is democratic, where human rights and the rule of law are likely to be respected, are highly influential. The author found that the policies and processes relating to the asylum procedure in destination countries were generally not well known by asylum seekers and therefore not highly significant in influencing the choice of destination.

Asylum seekers travelling to Australia who had had negative experiences in detention or hey had been granted only temporary rather than permanent protection relayed largely positive messages back to friends and family considering coming to Australia.

The paper provides new information about why asylum seekers choose to migrate to specific countries of destination, why they choose to rely on migrant smugglers for assistance in the migration process and how they are affected by governments' policy measures that aim to deter them from migration.

STATT. 'Afghan Migration in Flux'. *Synapse, No. 10, 2013.*

Key words
Afghanistan, Australia, Iran, Pakistan, United Arab Emirates, United States of America
Factors that fuel irregular migration, irregular migration, routes, smuggling

Research method
Unknown

Summary
This paper considers the indications that Afghan migration patterns are in a state of flux and how human movement will interact with the country's prospects beyond 2014.

The research methodology is not explicitly discussed, but the paper makes reference to the organizations' recent work on collecting information, primarily through interviews with people in and around Afghanistan, on migration trends and patterns. The inspiration for the paper derived from two trends that the authors had observed in 2012. The first involved the increasing references by Afghans to 2014 (the year that United States military personnel planned to leave Afghanistan) as a factor influencing migration decisions; and the second involved the increasing references by foreigners to 2014 as generating risks of migration implosion. The authors contend that these two trends are not entirely independent and they thus set out to explore how the two trends may in fact be influencing each other.

According to the paper, Afghan migrant connections and capacities have grown in the past decade. Several migration options are available for the wealthy ('elites') and the poor Afghan population. The authors argue that although there is tremendous variation between the migration options facing the elites and the poor, overall there is a platform for more diverse,

bigger, faster and more distant migration. The paper suggests that many countries that already receive regular and irregular migrants from Afghanistan are likely to see these flows increase.

The paper also highlights recent changes in migration routes and destinations. Through conversations with Afghan officials, the authors found that Pakistan and Iran are now considered much less desirable destinations for Afghan elites. Those Afghans with sufficient capital have turned their attention to Dubai and the Gulf States or are pursuing family visas through emigrant relatives in Europe, Australia and North America. At the same time, traditional Western destinations for Afghans seeking long-term relocation have become less welcoming, particularly Europe, Australia and North America. An ironic price spiral has been rising in which development money from foreign donors has increased the number of Afghans who can afford to subvert those donors' border controls to claim asylum or live illegally in those countries.

The article contributes to the body of knowledge on irregular migration through its analysis of recent trends in Afghan migration patterns. It provides new knowledge on the migration decision-making processes of Afghans, the different migration opportunities available to those who are wealthy and those who are poor and the implications of receiving countries' increasing border security measures to prevent irregular migration.

Suhnan, A., Pedersen, A. & Hartley, L. 'Re-examining Prejudice Against Asylum Seekers in Australia: The Role of People Smugglers, the Perception of Threat, and Acceptance of False Beliefs. *Australian Community Psychologist,* vol. 24, No. 2, 2012, pp. 79–97.

Key words
Australia
Irregular migration, smuggling

Research method
Mixed

Summary
This article presents the findings from research that was conducted to examine the relationship between

prejudice against asylum seekers in Australia and negative ideas about asylum seekers and migrant smugglers invoked through political rhetoric.

The study was based on community psychology principles and had three aims: i) compare prejudice levels against asylum seekers and migrant smugglers; ii) examine whether prejudice against asylum seekers can be predicted by social-psychological variables related to political rhetoric; and iii) investigate whether the relationship between prejudice and false beliefs still stood, in light of the emergence of recent political rhetoric, such as 'temporary protection visas will stop the boats'. A total of 138 people in Perth, Western Australia, were recruited for the study.

According to the authors, three concepts are particularly relevant regarding prejudice against asylum seekers: i) attitudes towards migrant smugglers; ii) perceptions of threat; and iii) the acceptance of false information as true. The authors examine each concept, reviewing relevant literature and political developments in Australia.

The authors explain that the study participants reported significantly higher prejudice scores regarding migrant smugglers, when compared with asylum seekers. The regression analysis showed that prejudice against migrant smugglers pointedly predicted prejudice against asylum seekers. The authors argue that, theoretically, these two groups should be seen as distinct from each other, particularly if the Australian public believes that migrant smugglers exploit asylum seekers; however, the data indicated a moderate correlation between people's attitudes towards migrant smugglers and asylum seekers and this relationship held in the regression analysis. The results suggest that prejudice against asylum seekers may be legitimized through the expression of antipathy towards migrant smugglers.

The article concludes that the results highlight how community attitudes towards asylum seekers may be shaped by negative political rhetoric.

The article contributes to the body of research and knowledge on public attitudes towards minorities, such as asylum seekers. It is the first study to analyse and compare participants' attitudes towards both asylum seekers and migrant smugglers. The article provides insights into how politicians and the media have a critical role in influencing the attitudes of the public.

Tamura, Y. *Illegal Migration, People Smuggling, and Migrant Exploitation.* Barcelona: Institute for Economic Analysis, 2011.

Key words
Irregular migration, smuggling

Research method
Quantitative

Summary
This article examines the effects of efforts to counter irregular migration and migrant exploitation in terms of migrant smuggling. The author argues that insufficiently resourced counter efforts may actually result in an adverse selection equilibrium in which exploitive smugglers are employed at a low fee, even though migrants are willing to pay non-exploitive smugglers a high fee for their services.

The paper builds on the author's 2010 model of the migrant smuggling market in which smugglers are heterogeneous in terms of their capacities to exploit smuggled migrant labour. The author relaxed the informational assumption in analysing the 2010 model to shed further light on the relationship between the fight against migrant smuggling and the incidence of abuse of migrants in a country illegally.

According to the author, there may be two types of unintended consequences of the fight against migrant smuggling. First, when anti-smuggling resources are limited, an insufficient improvement in one of the counter measures may actually increase the incidence of migrant exploitation without reducing the number of smuggling attempts. Second, even if an improvement in inland apprehension of smuggled migrants is sufficient to move the equilibrium to one characterized by adverse selection and thus reduce migrant smuggling, its impact may be undermined by a concurrent improvement in inland apprehension of smugglers or a simultaneous increase in the penalty for exploitation, or both.

The article concludes that improved inland apprehension of smuggled migrants may actually increase the incidence of migrant exploitation while failing to decrease smuggling. The article suggests that an improvement in border apprehension of smugglers and their clients and an increase in the penalty for smuggling may be useful for reducing migrant smuggling.

The strength of the article is that it presents a new model for analysing the effects of measures to counter irregular migration and exploitation in the migrant smuggling market.

Taylor, J. 'Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: A Reflection on What Turns a Person into a Boat Person'. *Local-Global*, 2010, pp. 22–27.

Key words
Australia, Indonesia
Factors that fuel irregular migration, irregular migration, routes, smuggling

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This article challenges the myth of refugees' irregular migration by boat to Australia. The article explores the motivations and activities of smuggled migrants who travel predominantly to Indonesia before seeking to be smuggled by boat to Australia.

The methodology for the article is not discussed in detail, but the author mentions a trip to Indonesia in July 2009, during which time the author visited a detention centre and talked with a number of asylum seekers. The article bases its findings on these discussions with asylum seekers, some of whom had turned to migrant smugglers to take them by boat to Australia.

The article highlights a number of findings concerning the motivations and activities of smuggled migrants. Asylum seekers' decision to board a boat to Australia was considered an absolute last resort. Asylum seekers were fully aware of their vulnerability to exploitation at the hand of smugglers and the possibility of being

intercepted and returned to Indonesia. Asylum seekers told the author that they had travelled to Indonesia because it is the threshold to Australia and it was considered a place where they believed that they could go to register with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and wait for their asylum claims to be processed according to law. The interviews with asylum seekers revealed that all had undertaken a similar process upon arriving in Indonesia: registration with UNHCR, interview with UNHCR, processing by UNHCR, refugee status determination by UNHCR and recommendation by UNHCR for resettlement in Australia.

In the early phases of seeking asylum, the asylum seekers explained, they were willing to wait several years for resettlement; however, by the time they reached Indonesia, they realized that asylum seekers were being resettled in Australia at a rate of 35–50 people a year and that it may thus take between 40 and 60 years for resettlement. The author concludes that it is at that point that the asylum seekers started to look for a migrant smuggler to transport them to Australia.

Through the conversations conducted with asylum seekers, the article provides insights into the plight of asylum seekers in Indonesia who are forced to turn to migrant smugglers to reach Australia by boat.

Taylor, S. & Rafferty-Brown, B. 'Waiting for Life to Begin: The Plight of Asylum Seekers Caught by Australia's Indonesian Solution'. *International Journal of Refugee Law*, vol. 22, No. 4, 2010, pp. 558–592.

Key words
Afghanistan, Australia, Bangladesh, Cambodia, China, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Myanmar, Pakistan, Somalia, Viet Nam
Factors that fuel irregular migration, human and social costs of smuggling, irregular migration, profiles of smuggled migrants, routes, smuggling

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This article discusses the findings of a recent research project that examined Australia's border control policies and cooperation with Indonesia on asylum seekers. It highlights the plight of the asylum seekers who are at the centre of the Australia–Indonesia political wrangling over the maritime smuggling issue.

Data collection for the study began in September 2007, when the authors and their colleagues commenced a research project that had the objective of analysing the impact on asylum seekers of Australia's border control cooperation with Indonesia. As part of the project, the field researchers, who were all Indonesian nationals, conducted interviews with 59 asylum seekers and refugees in Indonesia. A purposive, quota sampling strategy was employed, and three locations were selected because together they hosted the vast majority of the asylum seekers at the time of the study. The interview quotas were determined on the basis of the nationality and gender composition of the asylum seeker and refugee population in Indonesia at the time the determination was being made in mid-2008. Interviews were conducted with asylum seekers from Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Cambodia, China, Iran, Iraq, Myanmar, Pakistan, Somalia, Sri Lanka and Viet Nam. The field researchers also interviewed 49 Indonesian government officials and others who interacted with asylum seekers and refugees in a variety of ways in a range of locations. In addition, 13 people who worked for or with relevant NGOs and 11 other individuals who were in a position to provide useful information were interviewed. The interviews were all semi-structured and were conducted between mid-October 2008 and early November 2009, in Indonesian and/or English.

The article presents evidence of asylum seekers' plights in Indonesia. The authors describe journeys that began in hope and ended in despair and lives in which personal choice has played and continues to play a minimal part. Many of the refugee and asylum seeker interviewees spoke of being emotionally tired or sick from thinking about the future, with many especially concerned about their children's future and need for education. Some interviewees described their existence as akin to living 'like animals', while others likened their situation to being dead or dying by stages. Some interviewees went as far as to say that death would be preferable to their prolonged situation of living in limbo in Indonesia. The article also examines the obstacles to achieving durable solutions for recognized refugees in Indonesia as well as the positive and negative implications of voluntary repatriation, local integration in Indonesia and third-country resettlement options.

The article concludes by making some suggestions regarding the way forward. The authors urge better regional cooperation, including cooperation with Malaysia, meaningful participation in the Bali Process and for all countries to increase their refugee intake.

Through the analysis of data collected through semi-structured interviews with asylum seekers in Indonesia, the article contributes to the body of knowledge on the motivations of smuggled migrants.

Toktas, S. & Selimoglu, H. 'Smuggling and Trafficking in Turkey: An Analysis of EU–Turkey Cooperation in Combating Transnational Organized Crime'. *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies,* **vol. 14, No. 1, 2012, pp. 135–150.**

Key words
Turkey
Irregular migration, routes, smuggling

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This article investigates transnational organized crime in Turkey and maps out Turkey's role as a transit country of migrant smuggling and human trafficking. The authors consider Turkey's contribution to international efforts to combat transnational organized crime in light of its EU membership process.

The article discusses the concept of transnational organized crime and contends that the economic view of such crime focuses on its negative effects on national and global economies. It defines 'transnational crime' as the activity of outsiders seeking to influence, infiltrate or intimidate the legitimate polity and economy of States.

The article provides an overview of transnational organized crime in Turkey, including migrant smuggling and human trafficking figures and the routes involved. It illustrates how transnational organized crime groups exploit Turkey's geographical location for drug, arms, nuclear materials and migrant smuggling and human trafficking. The article explores Turkey's deployment of domestic countermeasures as well as its involvement in international efforts to combat transnational organized crime.

Turkey is located in a region in which human trafficking and migrant smuggling groups are very active. The article argues that transnational organized crime in Turkey is partly due to political and economic instability in the Middle East, which has increased activities in Turkey and made it one of the major transit routes of migrant smuggling from the East to the West.

The article concludes that Turkey has been making significant progress to combat irregular migration and, since 2005, which was the start of its EU membership negotiations, Turkey has combated irregular migration, trafficking and smuggling problems vigorously at a government level. One of the consequences of these efforts is that irregular immigrants have increasingly been contacting smugglers in transit countries other than Turkey.

The article provides insights into transnational organized crime, including migrant smuggling, in Turkey and Turkey's attempts to, at the government level, combat irregular migration and migrant smuggling.

Triandafyllidou, A. *Irregular Migration in Europe: Myths and Realities.* Surrey, UK: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2010.

Key words
Concepts, factors that fuel irregular migration, irregular migration, routes, smuggling

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This book provides new knowledge on the scale and nature of irregular migration in Europe and the dynamics of irregular migration and its relation to European societies and economies.

The author begins by noting that "illegal migration" reflects, in its broadest sense, an act of migration that is carried out against legal provisions of entry and residence but that, technically, it designates the act of entering a country in violation of national law and is thus confined to illegal border crossing. In recent years, the term 'irregular migration' has increasingly replaced illegal migration in its broader sense. Irregular migration denotes a form of migration that is 'not regular' or is 'unlawful' because of its violation of migration rules. Thus, an 'irregular migrant' is therefore a migrant who, at some point in his or her migration, has contravened the rules of entry or residence of a State. The author also examines the concept of undocumented migrant and says this term has the implicit meaning of "a migrant who is not in possession of the required residence papers". The author also contends that 'unauthorized migrant' refers to people who enter or stay in a country without legal authorization.

The research methodology involved a comparative analysis of the irregular migration experiences and policies of different EU Member States, drawing on an extensive range of sources.

Each chapter discusses an EU country and follows the same structure: introduction of the general migration context of the country under study; available evidence on the size of irregular migration in that country and its demographic and socio-economic features; the main paths in and out of irregular migration status; the political discourse on irregular migration in the country in question; and the issues of the irregular migration phenomenon in that country and the challenges that lie ahead at the national and European levels.

The book provides a global overview of irregular migration in Europe, with special emphasis on estimating the size and features of the irregular migrant population in each country studied. The chapters provide an important discussion of the main pathways into and out of irregular status in each country. Most chapters discuss the nationalities of irregular migrants in a particular State. Irregular migrants from Asia are frequently mentioned as well as their motivations for migrating and the routes

taken to specific EU countries. The central message of the book is that migrants' status of irregularity is actually more linked to government policy than to actual geographical flows of migrants.

The book contributes new information on the size and features of the irregular migration phenomenon and provides insights into the dynamics of irregular migration and its links with European society and the European economy.

Triandafyllidou, A. & Ambrosini, M. 'Irregular Immigration Control in Italy and Greece: Strong Fencing and Weak Gate-Keeping Serving the Labour Market'. *European Journal of Migration & Law*, **vol. 13, No. 3, 2011, pp. 251–273.**

Key words
Afghanistan, Greece, Iraq, Italy, Turkey
Factors that fuel irregular migration, irregular migration, routes

Research method
Unknown

Summary
This article discusses the migration management policies of Italy and Greece from a political perspective and a theoretical perspective and examines the common features of Italian and Greek immigration policies and analyses immigration control and policy both internally (inside the border) and externally (outside the border).

The research methodology is not explained but appears to have consisted of a review of recent literature on irregular migration to Greece and Italy and analysis of immigration policies in the two countries.

The authors argue that although irregular migration through unlawful border crossing attracts the highest media visibility and thus leads to the conclusion that more effective border control policies are necessary for combating irregular migration, a more careful examination indicates that such policies are not effective because the driving force of irregular migration has to do more with the economy and

the labour market than with border controls. The authors point out that most irregular migrants do not cross borders illegally but rather arrive through legal channels with, for example, a tourist visa or a student visa.

The authors contend that border controls do not manage or reduce irregular migration flows, especially given that once irregular migrants arrive in a country, they are often non-deportable because their identity cannot be established. Moreover, when the source or transit countries from which they come from do not cooperate, returning irregular migrants to their countries of origin becomes virtually impossible.

The article concludes that the Governments of both Italy and Greece lack coherent and effective immigration policies. The authors highlight the contradictory policies and practices of the Italian and Greek Governments, which involve dramatic rhetoric about immigration policy but lax attitudes towards the informal employment of undocumented migrants, as demonstrated in the repeated implementation of large regularization programmes by both Italy and Greece in recent years.

Through the critique of the immigration policies of Greece and Italy, the article provides a new perspective on the effectiveness of immigration and border control policies in those two countries. It also provides insights into the routes taken by irregular migrants to enter Greece and Italy and statistics on arrests, deportations and regularization programmes.

Triandafyllidou, A. & Maroukis, T. *Migrant Smuggling: Irregular Migration from Asia and Africa to Europe.* **Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.**

Key words
Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Greece, Italy, Malta, Pakistan, Spain, Turkey
Concepts, factors that fuel irregular migration, fees and payment for smuggling, irregular migration, modus operandi of smuggling, routes, smuggling

Research method
Qualitative

Summary

This book examines a specific aspect of the irregular migration phenomenon—the role of migrant smuggling networks in organizing irregular migration from Asia and Africa to southern Europe, and from southern European countries to the wider European Union. It also discusses how migration control policies in southern European countries may be inadvertently exacerbating the migrant smuggling phenomenon and the migrant smuggling 'business'.

The authors point out that the Smuggling of Migrants Protocol adopts the term 'smuggling of migrants' rather than 'human smuggling'; however, the authors decided to use the terms 'migrant smuggling' and 'human smuggling' synonymously throughout the book. The authors also explain that they have adopted the definitions provided by the CLANDESTINO research project of irregular and undocumented migrants. According to this definition, "Irregular or undocumented residents are defined as residents without any legal residence status in the country they are residing in, and those whose presence in the territory—if detected—may be subject to termination through an order to leave and/or an expulsion order because of their activities. Irregular entrants are persons who cross an international border without the required valid documents, either uninspected over land or sea or [by crossing illegally guarded] ports of entry."

The research methodology involved extensive empirical research. The authors conducted approximately 150 qualitative interviews with migrants, smugglers, state actors and civil society stakeholders. Additional methodologies included participant observation, the collection of statistical data and other desk research on the issue of the smuggling of migrants from Africa and Asia to Greece, via North Africa and Turkey. The authors relied mostly on published studies, statistics and qualitative data for their study of migrant smuggling from Africa to Spain and Italy.

The introductory chapter presents the theoretical and empirical context within which the book is placed. This initial chapter also addresses the geopolitical and policy context within which migrant smuggling develops. The second chapter provides an overview of migrant smuggling in the western and central part of the Mediterranean. In this chapter, the authors analyse recent research on migrant smuggling from and through North Africa to Spain, Italy and Malta. The chapter discusses the routes travelled by smuggled migrants, the fees paid for smuggling services, means of transport and other modalities adopted by migrant smuggling networks. The third chapter examines the dynamics of the wider south-eastern Mediterranean region, which, the authors contend, is currently at the crossroads of both Asian and African irregular migration and migrant smuggling routes. The fourth chapter focuses on migrant smuggling from Africa towards Greece. The chapter examines the routes and modalities of migrant smuggling from East and West Africa via North Africa and/or Turkey to Greece as well as from North Africa to Greece via Turkey or directly. The fifth chapter examines Asian immigration and asylum seeking flows via Turkey to Greece. The chapter focuses mostly on the smuggling networks that operate in Afghanistan, Pakistan and Bangladesh. The sixth chapter examines the migrant smuggling networks that move migrants from Greece to Italy. The seventh chapter discusses trafficking in persons from Africa and Asia via Turkey to Greece. The seventh chapter discusses the routes used by trafficking networks, their organization and their modus operandi. The book concludes with a discussion regarding the political implications of its findings for the countries affected by migrant smuggling and human trafficking.

The book provides valuable new information about migrant smuggling routes, the modus operandi of smuggling and fees and payment for smugglers' services. The book also contributes to the body of knowledge on how destination countries' immigration policies may inadvertently exacerbate the smuggling problem.

Summary

This article reflects on issues of law and policy surrounding mandatory sentencing for people smuggling in Australia. The authors review the development of relevant laws and policies on people smuggling in Australia and analyse the effects of these developments on accused smugglers and their families. The article concludes that mandatory sentencing for people smuggling is unjust and unnecessary.

The research methodology is not explained in detail, but the authors mention analysis of migrant smuggling laws and their application in Australia.

In examining the mandatory sentencing scheme, the authors found that those convicted of people smuggling in Australia now face a mandatory minimum of five years' imprisonment with a three-year non-parole period, which is increased to eight years' imprisonment with five years' non-parole for aggravated or repeat offences. There is considerable debate over the desirability and the validity of Australia's mandatory sentencing scheme. The authors argue that the main effect of the mandatory sentencing scheme has been to jail uneducated Indonesian fishermen who may have been pressured into committing a crime.

The article concludes that the punishment that the Australian mandatory sentencing scheme imposes is objectionable in that it greatly exceeds both the iniquity of the offence and the culpability of the typical offender. There is little evidence that people smuggling is a crime that requires such heavy-handed measures in the name of deterrence and little evidence that the measures currently in place achieve the goals of achieving deterrence.

The article provides insights into mandatory sentencing for migrant smuggling in Australia and experts' perspectives on the validity of the scheme. It also provides information about the individuals who are sentenced under this scheme, the scheme's impact on the accused smugglers, their families and the community. The article poses important questions about whether the scheme produces punishments that are unfair in that they exceed the objective culpability of offenders.

Tryfon, K. 'The Contribution of Europol and Frontex in Combating the Phenomenon of Illegal Immigration in Hellas'. *Review of European Studies,* vol. 4, No. 1, 2012, pp. 188–202.

Key words

Afghanistan, Greece, Turkey
Irregular migration, modus operandi of smuggling, routes, smuggling

Research method

Unknown

Summary

This article looks at the contribution of Europol and Frontex to the prevention and management of irregular migration to Greece to demonstrate that the coordination of these agencies and other law enforcement bodies is imperative in the fight against such activity.

The study methodology appears to have consisted of a review of the policies and activities of Europol and Frontex in recent years and a review of the literature on the irregular migration problem in Greece and Turkey.

The article discusses the activities of Europol and Frontex regarding combating irregular migration and describes the problems associated with legislation, including the Dublin II Regulation, which establishes the criteria and mechanisms for determining the Member State that is responsible for examining applications for asylum submitted by a citizen of a third country. According to the author, the Dublin II Regulation has been problematic. Specifically, the procedure fails to address that the vast majority of the people who are crossing illegally from the Hellenic border have, as a final destination, Member States other than Greece.

The article concludes that the close cooperation of the Hellenic Police, Hellenic Coast Guard and other relevant agencies is essential for combating irregular migration and calls for improved surveillance of borders through the use of, for example, satellites, unmanned aircraft and airships equipped with sensors.

The article provides insights into the modus operandi and flows of irregular migration to Turkey and Greece and onto the European Union and the activities of Europol and Frontex in responding to irregular migration. However, because the article does not present empirical material, it does not make a direct contribution to the body of knowledge on irregular migration.

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. *The Role of Organized Crime in the Smuggling of Migrants from West Africa to the European Union.* New York, 2011.

Key words
Algeria, Canary Islands, China, Italy, Mali, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Spain, Turkey
Fees and payment for smuggling, irregular migration, modus operandi of smuggling, routes, smuggling

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This report examines the role of organized crime in the smuggling of migrants from West Africa to the European Union to improve the knowledge and understanding of the underlying mechanisms and actors involved in migrant smuggling, which then should be the basis for policy reform in the West African countries that are source or transit countries for migrant smuggling.

The methodology for the study involved desk and field research, conducted in Mali, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal and Spain. Interviews were conducted with more than 200 people in Africa and Europe, including migrants, national authorities, NGO staff and smugglers.

The report focuses on what are commonly known as the West African routes (from Senegal or other coastal countries to Spain, especially by sea to the Canary Islands) and the Western Mediterranean routes (overland across the Sahara to Morocco and Algeria and then to the Spanish territories of Ceuta and Melilla or by sea to mainland Spain; or overland to the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and then by sea to Italy). Although the focus is on migrant smuggling

from West Africa to the European Union, the report also discusses the irregular migration of Asians travelling along these major smuggling routes.

According to the report, transnational organized criminal groups are generally involved in the smuggling of migrants from West Africa to Europe. But there are important differences among smuggling groups in terms of specialization and professionalism. Various groups of actors usually collaborate for one particular operation and there are no exclusive relationships between those criminal groups. Specialization and the building of transnational criminal networks usually come as a result of increased efficiency in border interdiction. Within West Africa, freedom of movement gives little incentive to engage in the smuggling of migrants; however, this situation changes when there are natural obstacles, such as the sea, or man-made obstacles, such as surveillance systems. The report argues that these obstacles create a market that becomes more and more lucrative when the activity is illegal and the risks are high.

Based on interviews conducted in Spain, the report concludes that most of the South Asian migrants who travel along the South Asia–West Africa–North Africa route are from Bangladesh, India and Pakistan. The migrants are generally young men, often from families in which an older relative has previously worked in Europe and who are urged by their families to travel irregularly to earn income in Europe. More rigorous policies in destination countries have had unintended consequences. They have made the market for the migrant smuggling more lucrative, thus attracting the attention of existing criminal groups as well as causing those already working in the sector to develop more contacts with existing criminal networks.

The report concludes with recommendations to improve the migrant smuggling problem from Africa to the European Union, in particular: enhance the oversight of law enforcement agencies, increase awareness of the dangers of irregular migration and provide alternatives to would-be migrants.

The report makes a notable contribution to the body of knowledge on migrant smuggling through its detailed analysis of the modus operandi of migrant smuggling from Asia and Africa to the European

Union and its analysis of the links between migrant smuggling and organized crime. The interviews conducted with smuggled migrants have provided new information about the organization of migrant smuggling, the fees paid, the profiles of migrant smugglers and the nexus between migrant smuggling from Asia and migrant smuggling from Africa. The report also sheds new light on the particular vulnerability of Asians being smuggled along African–European Union routes.

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. *Transnational Organized Crime in East Asia and the Pacific: A Threat Assessment.* Bangkok, 2013.

Key words

Afghanistan, Australia, Cambodia, Canada, China, France, Germany, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Italy, Lao PDR, Malaysia, Mexico, Myanmar, Pakistan, Spain, Sri Lanka, Thailand, United Kingdom, United States of America, Viet Nam

Factors that fuel irregular migration, fees and payment for smuggling, human and social costs of smuggling, irregular migration, modus operandi of smuggling, organization of smuggling, profiles of smuggled migrants, profiles of smugglers, quantitative assessment, routes, smuggler–migrant relationship, smuggling

Research method

Mixed

Summary

This report examine various types of transnational organized crime in the East Asia and Pacific region and describes what is known about the mechanics of contraband trafficking, the what, who, how and how much of illicit flows. It discusses the potential impact of these crimes on regional and local governance and development.

The report drew on qualitative information in the form of published studies, reports and journal articles as well as quantitative data that was acquired through the compilation and analysis of questionnaires. Questionnaires were sent to a number of States to collect qualitative and quantitative information on various transnational organized crime flows. The

study also involved analysis of official statistics, and interviews with law enforcement officials throughout the Asia–Pacific region.

The report is divided into four thematic areas—people, drugs, environment and goods. Within each thematic area, different forms of transnational organized crime that are occurring in East Asia and the Pacific are profiled. The profiles include an examination of the nature and dimensions of transnational organized crime, how the crimes are conducted, who the criminals and an estimated value of the financial flows. Thirteen transnational organized crime flows are examined, each discussed in a separate chapter (with the exception of the first two flows—smuggling of migrants from Cambodia, Lao PDR and Myanmar to Thailand and trafficking in persons for labour from Cambodia, Lao PDR and Myanmar to Thailand because the source and destination countries are the same).

The report notes that although the crimes of human trafficking and the smuggling of migrants are distinct, in the Mekong subregion they are closely interlinked. Away from their home communities and in their destination countries illegally, smuggled migrants have little basis to assert their rights as workers. Thus, what begins as a voluntary journey towards a better life can easily become an exploitive destination. The report also explains that although formal migration channels exist, many migrant workers prefer to enter Thailand irregularly because complying with the legal channels can be expensive and time-consuming. As a result, many migrants turn to smugglers to facilitate their entry into Thailand and to help them to find work.

According to the report, many migrant smugglers were once irregular migrants, and most rely on word-of-mouth to promote their services. For a fee, migrant smugglers help migrants to cross both official and unofficial borders, on foot, by vehicle or boat. Although the majority of irregular migrants receive what they paid for, which is employment and better wages than they could have received at home, sometimes their vulnerability is exploited and they are forced to work without pay, under terrible conditions. In these instances, migrant smuggling becomes human trafficking. The report argues that although persons in all areas of employment are vulnerable to exploitation, the fishing and seafood

processing industries have attracted considerable attention in recent years.

In the discussion on the smuggling of migrants from South and West Asia through South-East Asia to Australia and Canada, the report notes that both Australia and Canada host large diaspora communities and this, along with their strong welfare systems, make them attractive destination countries for asylum seekers. Most smuggled migrants travelling to Australia and Canada are young, single males, many of whom have been sent by their families to find employment before other family members follow. Most smuggled migrants travel by air from their home countries to transit countries, such as Indonesia and Malaysia. Once the smuggled migrants reach their departure location in South-East Asia many of the migrants wait weeks or months to board boats for Australia, which are unsafe and overloaded.

The report concludes with policy recommendations for combating each area of transnational organized crime. On migrant smuggling, the report recommends the development of affordable, accessible, safe and legal migration channels; complementing improved border controls with better investigation and prosecution of migrant smuggling networks; generating political will to combat migrant smuggling; strengthening national laws and policies for the protection of the rights of smuggled migrants; and improving knowledge of migrant smuggling through, for example, the voluntary reporting system.

The report contributes to the body of knowledge and understanding of migrant smuggling. Although only several chapters are dedicated to migrant smuggling, the qualitative and quantitative data collected for the report provide new information about the flows and modus operandi of migrant smuggling within South-East Asia, from East and South-East Asia to the United States and the European Union, and from South and West Asia through South-East Asia to Canada and Australia. The report sheds new light on the profiles of smuggled migrants and migrant smugglers and new information on the nature of the market and the fees and payments for migrant smuggler services.

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. *Border Control in the Greater Mekong Sub-region: Baseline, Challenges and Opportunities to Build Effective Law Enforcement Response to Organized Crime Along Land Borders.* Bangkok, 2013.

Summary
This report examines border control in the Mekong subregion and the various challenges associated with building effective law enforcement responses to organized crime along the borders of the region.

The research methodology involved data collection over a period of two decades. Two decades ago, the countries of the Mekong subregion, in cooperation with the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, took a first step to increase cross-border information sharing through the establishment of the Border Liaison Office Mechanism. This effort was later expanded upon by the Partnership Against Transnational Crime through Regional Organized Law Enforcement (PATROL) project, which aims to strengthen Border Liaison Offices and the capacity of their staff by providing training and equipment. To track the progress of the project, the PATROL team conducted five baseline surveys among border officials in each of the five countries of the subregion. The central goal of the study was to establish the state of training and infrastructure at different border sections and measure officers' perception of the intensity and direction of criminal flows. All five baseline surveys conducted consisted of two parts: a structured survey, filled out by a number of enforcement and border officials during a workshop conducted by PATROL, followed by a more qualitative question and answer session with selected border officers, predominantly heads of Border Liaison Offices. Surveys were translated into respective official national languages and consisted exclusively of closed questions using either multiple-choice or a five-point Likert scale. A total of 369

officials from border posts as well as district and national authorities participated in the five surveys conducted over the past four years. These participants represent a total of 44 Border Liaison Offices spread over the borders of the five participating countries. This report represents the secondary study of the data sets and aims at combining the results of the national surveys into an overview of regional transnational criminal flows and border agencies' abilities to counter them.

The report contains several short chapters on the border issues of migrant smuggling and human trafficking, illicit drugs, wildlife and timber trafficking and trafficking of hazardous waste and ozone-depleting substances. In the section on human trafficking and migrant smuggling, the report finds that throughout the Mekong subregion the smuggling of migrants and trafficking in human beings is widely perceived to be one of the most serious threats. The data on migrant smuggling mostly reproduced the patterns seen in connection with human trafficking. The main difference was that the country of destination rated migrant smuggling as the most serious issue, while countries of origin were generally less concerned with migrant smuggling.

The research revealed that the migrant smuggling 'business' is highly professionalized. At least three quarters of border officials from all countries, except Lao PDR, reported that the majority of irregular migrants cross borders with the assistance of a professional smuggler. These smugglers tend to lead irregular migrants through the areas between official border posts, either through hidden paths or by boat.

The report also examines border control representatives' existing knowledge and training needs regarding to migrant smuggling and human trafficking. Although human trafficking and migrant smuggling are among the more frequent illegal activities in the Mekong subregion, the level of knowledge of the issues among border control officers remains questionable.

Through the interviews conducted with border control officers, the report provides new insights into the opportunities and constraints of effective border enforcement responses to organized crime along the borders of the Mekong subregion.

Van Hear, N., Bakewell, O. & Long, K. *Drivers of Migration.* Migrating Out of Poverty Research Programme Consortium Working Paper, vol. 1. Fallmer, Brighton, UK: University of Sussex, 2012.

Key words

Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Iran, Malaysia, Pakistan, Singapore
Concepts, factors that fuel irregular migration, irregular migration, routes

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This paper cites the drivers of migration and explores the ways in which they may be configured. It also highlights different ways to assess the significance or weight or the various drivers and to investigate their relationship with development and poverty reduction. The paper discusses the existing research and highlights research gaps that should be pursued.

The paper explores the concept of migration drivers and contends that they are the factors that "get migration going and keep it going once begun". It also explores concepts related to the relationship of the determinants of migration, which, the authors argue, are often deeply embedded in the economic, social, political, cultural and environmental context and more immediate factors. The paper suggests that it is useful to distinguish among predisposing, proximate, precipitating and mediating factors.

According to the authors, predisposing factors contribute to the creation of a context in which migration is more likely. Examples include structural disparities between places of migrant origin and destination shaped by the macro-political economy. Proximate factors are described as having a more direct bearing on migration and derive from the determining of the predisposing or structural features. Examples include a downturn in the economic or business cycle, a turn for the worse in the security or human rights environments or marked environmental degeneration, including the effects of climate change. Precipitating factors are defined as those that actually trigger a person's departure and may include financial collapse, an increase in unemployment or the disintegration of welfare

services. The authors also contend that natural or environmental disasters can be precipitating factors. They note that combinations of these predisposing, proximate, precipitating and mediating drivers shape the conditions or circumstances in which people make choices about whether to stay at home or migrate. The paper applies this framework to two migration cases: i) within South-East Asia (the migration of Indonesian domestic workers in Singapore and Malaysia) and ii) between South Asia and the Middle East (migration from Bangladesh to the Gulf). The paper then discusses other dimensions of drivers which, the authors argue, also need consideration: locality, scale, timeframe and depth.

The research methodology is not explicitly discussed. Migrating Out of Poverty is a research programme consortium funded by the UK Department for International Development, which focuses on the relationship between migration and poverty and is located in six regions across Asia and Africa. It appears that the authors conducted a literature review to understand the migration policy process in the regions studied for the research.

Although the paper focuses mostly on legal migration in its two case studies, it also discusses irregular migration and migrant smuggling. In the first case study, the paper argues that the role of both sending and receiving States in regulating cross-border flows of migrant domestic workers between Indonesia, Singapore and Malaysia has been crucial to the emergence of an extensive domestic worker recruitment industry within the region. Consequently, labour recruitment for the domestic worker sector is almost entirely commercialized and managed by official recruitment agencies, along with a range of other intermediaries, including private entrepreneurs (both licensed and unlicensed), labour contractors and village brokers who perform tasks and services related to documentation procedures, transportation, training and accommodation. The authors contend that these networks have assisted in reducing the costs and risks of migration for prospective workers through their various forms of assistance; however, the multiple layers and fees involved also make it easy for unauthorized migration to occur. The authors explain that human trafficking and migrant smuggling have remained problems in the region, particularly for Malaysia.

In the discussion of migration to the Middle East, the authors reason that the high cost of migration in general and limited options to finance short-term movement abroad can act as constraints for poor people who seek to migrate to the Gulf States but are unable to cover the migration costs. The paper contends that a pervasive practice of visa trading in destination countries and the inability of many would-be migrants to directly procure recruitment agency services means that Bangladeshis often accept high levels of risk and will move irregularly to secure even short-term overseas employment in the Gulf States.

The paper concludes that migration drivers do not work in isolation of each other to initiate migration or to influence it once it is under way but, rather, work in combination to shape the specific form and structure of population movements. In any one migration flow, several different 'driver complexes' may interconnect in shaping the eventual direction and nature of an individual's or a group's movement. Additionally, proximate and mediating drivers rather than the structural and precipitating spheres appear to have greater potential for policy intervention to reduce poverty and optimize development.

The strength of the paper is the unique framework used to analyse the various drivers of migration. The application of the framework to two migration case studies enabled insights into the drivers and motivations for regular and irregular migration in South-East Asia and the Middle East.

Van Liempt, I. 'Different Geographies and Experiences of "Assisted" Types of Migration: A Gendered Critique on the Distinction Between Trafficking and Smuggling'. *Gender, Place and Culture,* **vol. 18, No. 2, 2011, pp. 179–193.**

Key words
Iran, Iraq, Netherlands
Concepts, factors that fuel irregular migration, human and social costs of smuggling, irregular migration, modus operandi of smuggling, routes, smuggling

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This article analyses the different experiences of 'assisted' types of migration and provides a gendered critique on the distinction between migrant smuggling and human trafficking. Three stories are presented of female migrants who were assisted in the migration process, from the Horn of Africa, Iraq and the former Soviet Union to the Netherlands.

The research methodology involved an analysis of travel stories of female migrants who were assisted in their migration process. These stories were part of a larger research project for which 56 life stories were collected of migrants (41 men and 15 women) from the Horn of Africa, Iraq and the former Soviet Union who had travelled to the Netherlands. At the time of data collection, 49 of the 56 respondents had asked for asylum, 17 were rejected, seven were still in procedure, and 25 were granted a status (either temporary or permanently). Data was collected in 2003 and 2004. Interviewers avoided such words as smuggling and trafficking to move away from what the author calls "the criminal discourse" that surrounds this topic. Instead, the interviewer asked about the assistance or help migrants had needed to overcome restrictions on mobility.

The three stories featured shed light on the gender-specific obstacles and advantages that can be found in assisted border crossing. The stories highlight that female migrants' experiences with assisted border crossings are of enormous complexity and challenge the easy distinctions often made between 'innocent victims' and 'deliberate criminals' and between the ordinary risks involved in illegal border crossing and severe abuse and exploitation. The article argues that the generalization that women are more often trafficked than men has led to the assumption that all migrant women are at risk. This has led to protective policy measures that often restrict women in the migration choices they can make.

Through the analysis of interview data, the author found that migrant smuggling is often perceived not as illegal by migrants but as licit and socially accepted. Smugglers were described as professionals who offer alternatives to legal migration. The article points out that, as in the case of Layla, migrants attempting to leave a country without authorization may risk fines or even prison sentences; thus, when discussing irregular migration, it should not be ignored that people often need smugglers not only to enter but also to leave a country.

The article contributes to the body of knowledge on migrant smuggling through its analysis of three individual stories of 'assisted' migration. The strength of the piece lies in the detail in each of the three stories and their contribution to the understanding of the personal motivations of migrants, the challenges associated with both legal and irregular migration, the routes and organization of assisted migration from various regions to the Netherlands, and the unique migration challenges that female migrants experience.

Van Liempt, I. & Sersli, S. 'State Responses and Migrant Experiences with Human Smuggling: A Reality Check'. *Antipode,* vol. 45, No. 4, 2013, pp. 1029–1046.

Key words
Afghanistan, Australia, Canada, Colombia, Netherlands, United States of America
Factors that fuel irregular migration, fees and payment for smuggling, human and social costs of smuggling, modus operandi of smuggling, routes, smuggling

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This article presents the argument that there needs to be a 'reality check' regarding States' responses to migrant smuggling. It examines the shift in public discourse on migrant smuggling to Western Europe and Canada in the past two decades and argues that public discourse has leaned increasingly, and dangerously, towards the need to criminalize migrant smuggling.

The article is based on a doctoral research project conducted in the Netherlands and a master's thesis project conducted in Canada. The projects both investigated migrant smuggling; the data collection involved interviews with smuggled migrants. The authors explain that the reason for comparing the

two sets of data is the limited empirical information on how immigrants experience and perceive migrant smuggling. In the Netherlands, 56 smuggled migrants were interviewed, and seven smuggled migrants were interviewed in Canada. A primary difference in the data is that origins of people interviewed. In the Netherlands study, the majority of interview respondents were asylum seekers from the Horn of Africa, Iraq and the former Soviet Union. In the Canadian project, five of the seven interviewees were from Colombia (via the United States) and the others from Afghanistan and Africa. The authors found commonalities in the smuggled migrants' narratives and experiences; both studies found a diverse range of actors involved in the smuggling industry and revealed a nuanced discourse around migrant smuggling that includes humanitarian types of migrant smuggling.

The article deconstructs current discourse on migrant smuggling through three critical elements: i) boat arrivals, ii) high fees and bogus asylum seekers and iii) the involvement of organized crime. This discourse, combined with migrant smuggling cases in Western Europe and Canada, has influenced changes in policy and law and led to the increasing criminalization of migrant smuggling. The criminalization of migrant smuggling has serious side effects for migrants. It has resulted in greater caution from Western States regarding the identity of migrants; there is greater emphasis than ever on legal identity and the quality of identity documents considered acceptable. This has led to increasing levels of suspicion and to greater numbers of migrants being detained and for longer periods of time. Increasing emphasis by authorities on finding out who the smugglers are rather than determining whether migrants need protection turns smuggled migrants into a group of people who are alleged to be implicitly dangerous rather than a group of people who may need protection.

The authors believe there is a need for a reality check and a more nuanced understanding of migrant smuggling. They argue that the narrow, State-centred focus on migrant smuggling does not provide any credible insight into the root causes of why migrants may need migrant smugglers and overlooks the possible side effects of the securitization of migration on the protection of refugee claimants. The article concludes that only by examining the real life experiences of smuggled migrants can scholars fill the gap on the existing knowledge on migrant smuggling.

The strength of the article is the information derived from the interviews conducted with smuggled migrants, which lays bare the contradiction between the popular discourse and asylum seekers' actual real-life experiences.

Verité. *Labor Brokerage and Trafficking of Nepali Migrant Workers.* Kathmandu, 2012.

Key words
Guatemala, India, Israel, Malaysia, Mexico, Nepal, United Arab Emirates, United States of America
Factors that fuel irregular migration, fees and payment for smuggling, human and social costs of smuggling, irregular migration, modus operandi of smuggling, routes, smuggling

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This report examines the relationship between labour brokerage and the risk of forced labour among Nepali migrant workers employed abroad. It examines all aspects of the labour brokerage system, traces the process in which Nepali migrants may become undocumented and thus irregular migrants even before departing for destination countries, examines the fees and payments for labour brokerage services and provides case studies for further analysis. The report also looks at the forced labour "triggers" in Nepal and India and the receiving-country mechanisms that encourage forced labour in destination countries of Nepali migrants, including Israel, Malaysia and the United Arab Emirates. The role of Guatemala and Mexico as transit countries for Nepali workers traveling illegally to the United States is also explored.

To collect data, Verité conducted a 12-month research project on the ways in which labour brokers contribute to the exploitation of Nepali migrant workers, both in Nepal and in destination countries. In-depth desk and field research was carried out for the study in Guatemala, India, Israel, Malaysia, Mexico, Nepal, the United Arab Emirates and the United States to uncover the types of labour brokerage networks that exploit both documented and undocumented Nepali migrant workers; the points in the employment lifecycle in which triggers

for human trafficking and forced labour occur; the factors that increase migrant workers' vulnerability to the triggers for trafficking and forced labour; and viable policy options to reduce Nepali migrant workers' vulnerability to exploitation. The researchers reviewed relevant literature on documented and undocumented migration and conducted a contextual analysis of relevant audit findings, social institution mapping and extensive interviews with workers, NGO staff, government officials, labour advocates and union officials in several countries that receive Nepali migrant workers.

The research uncovered both formal and informal labour broker networks that exploit Nepali workers. Formal networks centre on registered agencies, mostly based in Kathmandu, and on individuals in Nepal acting as official agents. These agents work with registered and unregistered agents in receiving countries that employ workers throughout their stay in the receiving country. Informally, individuals act as subagents for labour-brokerage agencies and go from village to village to recruit workers. The research found that most of the documented abuses of Nepali workers are related to recruitment agents in the villages or recruitment agencies in Kathmandu. Nepali workers are commonly deceived by brokers about working conditions in receiving countries and many suggested that they accept the deception and exploitation due to fear of reprisal or of losing their jobs, which would render them unable to repay the debt incurred to migrate.

In the case of Nepali workers in Guatemala, Israel, Malaysia and the United Arab Emirates, all the elements of forced labour and trafficking for forced labour are present: deceit, vitiated consent, movement and transfer, exploitation, restricted movement and coercion. The researchers highlight a number of vulnerabilities to forced labour: the ladder of intermediaries, a lack of workers' awareness of the migration cycle, problematic policies regarding migrant workers, onerous recruitment fees leading to a cycle of debt, a lack of understanding of the link between forced labour and human trafficking, corruption and the requirement of too much documentation for migrant workers.

The report concludes with a number of recommendations for States to address gaps and loopholes in Nepali legislation, including the need

for a ministry or department for combating human trafficking; addressing the lack of rights for domestic workers abroad; regulation of village agents; enforcement of the Foreign Employment Act of 2007; ratification of the UN Convention on Transnational Organized Crime; maintaining data on returnees, deportations and the nature of violation of human rights and labour rights; establishing a task force on government corruption regarding migrant workers; and enhancing the capacity of law enforcement agencies and border authorities.

Through the qualitative analysis and case studies, the report highlights the legal gaps and employment experiences of Nepali workers. The research provides insights into the recruitment processes of undocumented Nepali workers and the various elements that contribute to their vulnerability and to their exploitation in both Nepal and in destination countries.

Vukašinović, J. 'Illegal Migration in Turkey–EU Relations: An Issue of Political Bargaining or Political Cooperation?' *European Perspectives,* vol. 3, No. 2, 2011, pp. 147–167.

Key words
Turkey
Irregular migration, routes

Research method
Unknown

Summary
This article discusses Turkey–European Union relations on the irregular migration issue. The article explores how, since the beginning of the Turkey–European Union accession process, migration has been perceived as one of the most challenging aspects of the negotiation process. Turkey, as a candidate State, has been faced with increasing political pressure to deal with the problem of irregular migration under EU rules. The article discusses how EU requirements are often in conflict with Turkey's policy of 'deliberate indifference' to irregular migration.

The research methodology is not explicitly discussed but appears to have consisted of a review of recent literature on irregular migration to Turkey and analysis of recent events in Turkey–European Union cooperation on irregular migration.

The article argues that Turkey has traditionally followed a highly liberal migration policy, or a policy of 'deliberate indifference', towards irregular migrants that is in contrast with the European 'quest for control'. According to the author, particularly in the lead up to the accession negotiations, Turkey came under increasing pressure to reform its legislative system and control irregular migration flows. In the context of the European Union pre-accession process, Turkey implemented some solid measures toward harmonizing its migration policy with EU law. The article concludes that Turkey's aspiration to become a member of the European Union has been one of the most important factors behind the changes that have been made to Turkey's migration policy.

The article provides insights into the political cooperation that has occurred regarding irregular migration during Turkey's accession process to the European Union. Because the article does not present empirical material and its discussion focuses only on policy on irregular migration in Turkey, it does not make a direct contribution to the body of knowledge on irregular migration.

Vutha, H., Pide, L. & Dalis, P. *Irregular Migration from Cambodia: Characteristics, Challenges and Regulatory Approach.* **Working Paper Series, vol. 58. Phnom Penh: Cambodia Development Resource Institute, 2011.**

Key words
Cambodia, Lao PDR, Thailand
Factors that fuel irregular migration, irregular migration, quantitative assessment, routes, smuggling

Research method
Mixed

Summary
This study describes the characteristics, root causes and challenges of irregular migration from Cambodia and outlines the regulatory approaches and policy options to manage irregular migration within the country.

The study employed mixed approaches, including a literature review, a household survey and in-depth interviews. The literature review was conducted to analyse literature on the subjects of labour migration, factors influencing migration decisions, remittances and socio-economic impacts. The household survey provided the main data set for the quantitative analysis of the socio-economic status of migrant households and their migration decisions. The survey was conducted in late 2007 with 526 households from six villages with a high incidence of migration. Face-to-face interviews with heads of households were conducted to capture information on demography, socio-economic characteristics, assets, income, expenditure, costs and benefits of migration and remittances. To complement the household survey, focus group discussions were also conducted in six villages with returned migrants and with heads of household with members working abroad. The study also involved in-depth interviews with officials from subnational administration (village, commune and district levels), senior officials from the Ministry and Provincial Department of Labor and Vocational Training and technical experts from international organizations, such as the International Labour Organization and the International Organization for Migration, to obtain their assessment of Cambodia's policy and regulatory framework, labour migration management and policy options to address irregular migration. The focus group discussions and in-depth interviews were conducted during late 2010 and early 2011.

The research revealed a number of drivers of irregular migration from Cambodia, including chronic poverty, lack of employment and economic hardship in communities of origin, restrictive immigration policies in labour-receiving countries and lengthy, complex and expensive legal recruitment processes. However, the main factor remains the inability of would-be migrants to afford the cost of legal recruitment. Legal recruitment is expensive and slow, whereas informal recruitment takes only a few days to organize and requires no or few documents.

According to the report, Cambodia is a latecomer in the management and administration of labour emigration, and its policy and institutional frameworks are relatively weak and ineffective. There is a lack of coordination, a lack of clear responsibilities and a dearth of capacity and resources in the

institutions that are responsible for coordinating labour migration.

The report concludes by highlighting a number of recommendations for improving Cambodia's irregular migration situation: strengthening the development of communities of origin, increasing legal migration opportunities, regulating recruitment agencies, increasing education and awareness-raising about the risks of irregular migration, improving support services for migrants and strengthening regional and international cooperation on migration.

Through the use of surveys, interviews and the analysis of both qualitative and quantitative data, the report provides new information on the extent of irregular migration from Cambodia, the push-and-pull factors for irregular migration and fees and payments for irregular migration.

Webber, F. *Borderline Justice: The Fight for Refugee and Migrant Rights.* London: Pluto Press, 2012.

Key words
Afghanistan, China, India, Sri Lanka, Turkey, United Kingdom
Factors that fuel irregular migration, human and social costs of smuggling, irregular migration, routes, smuggling

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This book covers the exclusionary policies and obstacles to justice for refugees and migrants in the legal system in the United Kingdom, providing insights into how the law has been applied to migrants, refugees and other 'unpopular minorities'. Although the book focuses on the situation of irregular migrants in the United Kingdom, it discusses legal cases of migrants illegally in the country who came from all regions of the world, including Asia.

The book defines 'borderline justice' as marginal justice, or justice that constantly disappears and has to be fought for.

The research methodology involved drawing on the author's and colleagues' experiences with legal cases in recent decades. The author returned to this experience to examine how the law in the United Kingdom has been deployed, developed and used against migrants and asylum seekers.

The chapters are organized to follow the migrants' trajectory, from arrival to departure. The early chapters examine policies of deterrence and prevention, particularly of the 'disorderly movements' of undocumented migrants and refugees. In these chapters the book explores how visa controls and criminalization of unauthorized arrivals have made "concentric fortifications" around Europe. The book then proceeds to examine the difficulties that particular groups of asylum seekers experience, including women, children, homosexuals, those fleeing civil war and 'victims of globalization'. The final chapters address the issue of the growth industry of immigration detention and deportations of irregular migrants.

The author writes that the UK authorities have increasingly sought to deal with the new situation of increased irregular migration flows through the securitization of its borders and the introduction of harsh reception procedures, which are intended to send a message to people considering travelling in an irregular manner to the United Kingdom. The author argues that the basic message that the Government has tried to send is that irregular migrants are not welcome in the country and that those who have already arrived have been increasingly penalized and their access to resources and assistance has been made difficult.

In tracing the history of the legal battles that have been fought over the civil liberties and human rights of irregular migrants, the book provides insights into the struggles encountered by the irregular migrants who chose to seek refuge in the United Kingdom. The book profiles irregular migrants and describes the factors that impel them to leave home to seek refuge and the human and social costs of irregular migration, including financial deprivation and family separation.

Weber, L. & Pickering, S. *Globalization and Borders: Death at the Frontier.* **Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.**

Key words
Australia, United States of America
Irregular migration, smuggling

Research method
Mixed

Summary
This book presents the argument that migrants die at borders because of the ways in which the borders are controlled, noting differences between borders in the global North and the global South.

The book adopts the term "illegalized traveller" in place of more commonly used terms, such as irregular migrants or asylum seekers to draw attention to the book's purpose, which is to examine the impact of the illegalization of unauthorized human movement.

The book is based on extensive surveys of existing academic and NGO research and activism in Europe and the United States. This information was supplemented with research conducted by the authors into Australian border-related deaths. Using data from official sources, media reports and lists of deaths collected and collated by NGOs in the target regions of Europe, Australia and North America, the authors drew parallels between the border control policies adopted in the global North, and the rising death toll of 'illegalized' border crossers who generally come from the global South.

The order of the book is organized by the language of a coronial investigation and structured in three parts: i) border autopsy, ii) border inquest and iii) from finding truth to preventing border harm. The book examines a conception of borders as increasingly "deterritorialized" and functional and extending beyond the territorial boundaries of nations. The authors argue that border policing activities make migrants' journeys more dangerous and that, due to increased border controls, smaller, lower risk and more humanitarian motivated smuggling options are increasingly closed off in favour of networks more likely to be associated with organized crime, labour bondage and violence. In turning to Australia as an example, the authors discuss how an effect

of this is the pushing of departure points from Indonesia further north, which consequently means that migrants must travel longer and make more dangerous journeys.

The book also explores the difficulties and implications of counting and accounting for border-related deaths. The authors attempt what they suggest is the first systematic accounting of Australian border-related deaths; and the book's appendix contains a list of 673 such deaths at the Australian border between December 2000 and March 2011.

The book provides insights into the causes of migrant deaths at the borders of Australia, the United States and the European Union. Its strength is its discussion of the human and social costs of migrant smuggling, the negative impact of border policies and the provision of new migrant smuggling-related statistics, for example, on the number of border deaths in Australia in recent years.

Wickramasekara, P. *Labour Migration in South Asia: A Review of Issues, Policies and Practices.* **Geneva: International Labour Office, 2011.**

Key words
Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka
Irregular migration

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This paper discusses labour migration in South Asia and examines migration policy frameworks and practices and their implications for the governance of migration.

The research methodology consisted of a review of migration policy frameworks in South Asia and their implications for the governance of migration, the protection of migrant workers and the maximization of the development benefits of migration.

The author thinks that credible migration policies are still a long way off in South Asia. Most policies are adopted on an ad hoc basis, with no-long term vision

or strategy. The author argues that it is important to move away from the narrow goal of safe migration and to the development of policies that address the broader objectives of governance, protection and development. The paper suggests that credible migration policy frameworks in the region should be based on several principles and criteria, including policy coherence and coordination, consistency with international norms and good practice, transparency, social dialogue, gender sensitivity and good information.

The paper provides insights into the development of migration policy in South Asia; however, because it has not presented empirical material and the discussion on irregular migration is limited, it does not make a direct contribution to the body of knowledge on irregular migration.

Wise Strategic Communications. *Afghanistan Counter-People Smuggling Scoping Study.* Kabul, 2010.

Key words
Afghanistan, Australia
Factors that fuel irregular migration, irregular migration, routes, smuggling

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This report examines the level of situational awareness regarding irregular migration to Australia among the Hazara population of Afghanistan. The study it reflects centred on the situational awareness created by both formal and informal communication channels that informed Hazaras of the risks associated with irregular migration to Australia using migrant smuggler networks.

The study involved research across four provinces in Afghanistan. The research team conducted 10 focus group discussions and 50 interviews in Kabul, Daykundi, Bamyan and Ghazni provinces. The participants of the focus groups and the interviews were selected from various social strata among the Hazara male population, aged 15–50. Interviews

and focus groups were conducted at public venues, such as schools and mosques. Data from both focus groups and interviews was analysed and synthesized to capture the overall picture of communication patterns among the Hazara population in the four provinces.

The researchers found that in all provinces, a vast majority of the Hazara population was aware of the various risks associated with irregular migration to Australia and the risks associated with employing the services of migrant smugglers. Although some Hazaras had heard of irregular migrant repatriations from Australia, the majority were not aware of the possibility of asylum rejection or repatriation. Some interviewed Hazaras held strong perceptions that the Australian Government would accept them as refugees once they reached the country.

The researchers also found that there is a slight variation in Hazaras' attitudes regarding irregular migration to Australia. The Bamyan research participants tended to oppose the idea of irregular migration while those from Daykundi viewed it positively. Research participants in Ghazni overwhelmingly perceived migration to Australia as an important survival strategy, while Kabul participants displayed strong nationalistic tendencies and generally rejected irregular migration to Australia.

The interviews also revealed insights into how Hazaras learn about the risks of irregular migration. Across all four provinces, the majority of Hazaras learned of the risks of irregular migration and migrant smuggling by word of mouth. Returning migrants, victims of migrant smuggling and friends and family members of migrants residing in Australia were also considered credible informants for Hazaras to learn more about irregular migration to Australia. Respondents expressed a level of trust in privately operated media sources and tended to reject the information provided by government-owned media outlets or those associated with political organizations. Radio was found to be the most widely used source of communication and was found to be accessed by Hazaras primarily in the mornings and in the afternoons, before and after work. Respondents made little mention of the print media and the Internet, and the researchers concluded that this is probably because of the high illiteracy rate and a lack of infrastructure in Afghanistan.

The report concludes with a number of recommendations, such as ensuring that any communication approach should be designed to reinforce existing awareness of the risks of irregular migration and semi-permanent message structures, such as roadside billboards, should be used to enhance message retention. The report also recommends using community outreach programmes to promote the risks of irregular migration to Australia.

Through the use of focus groups and interviews with Hazaras across four provinces in Afghanistan, the report provides insights into the motivations of Hazara migrants and their level of situational awareness regarding the risks of irregular migration to Australia.

Wissink, M., Düvell, F. & van Eerdewijk, A. 'Dynamic Migration Intentions and the Impact of Socio-Institutional Environments: A Transit Migration Hub in Turkey'. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies,* **vol. 39, No. 7, 2013, pp. 1087–1105.**

Key words
Afghanistan, Greece, Iran, Turkey
Concepts, factors that fuel irregular migration, irregular migration, routes, smuggling

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This article critically examines the concept of transit migration and its application to the case of Turkey.

The article defines transit migration as "migrants having the intention to move onwards to a third country" and critically discusses the concept of intentionality as a valid dimension in conceptualizations of transit migration. It argues that migrants' intentions in transit migration hubs are highly fluctuating because of how embedded they are in socio-institutional environments, which continuously affect migrants' social capital, risk perceptions and coping strategies.

For the study, the authors conducted research in Izmir, a city located on the Turkish Aegean coast, which is close to several Greek islands. The article explains that in Izmir, migrants tend to gather in one inner-city neighbourhood. It is in this location that a network of smugglers and other facilitators and agents of migration has emerged to assist migrants in making the clandestine journey onwards. The area could be characterized as a transit migration hub for migrants attempting to cross clandestinely to the Greek islands. Between November 2008 and April 2009, one of the authors completed fieldwork in Izmir and conducted informal and semi-structured interviews and performed participant observation. Comprehensive migration narratives of 26 migrants were collected, most of whom were interviewed at various times and in different settings. Dynamics in migration strategies were collected retrospectively and witnessed during and after the fieldwork. Interviews were also conducted with migrant smugglers, hotel managers, local Turkish residents, NGO staff in Turkey and on the Greek islands and staff from international organizations, such as the International Organization for Migration and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, and state agencies.

The migrants who were interviewed came to the transit migration hub of Izmir with different intentions. Some had already made arrangements with smugglers before they arrived and only spent a few hours or days in the transit migration hub before embarking on a boat to the Greek islands. Other migrants arrived with the intention of arranging a border-crossing and only started looking for opportunities once they had arrived in the transit migration hub. Although the intention of going to Europe originated in many cases in the countries of origin, for others, notably the asylum seekers, this intention was only formed when they were in Turkey.

The article discusses the stories and motivations of migrants who did not intend to go to Europe. The authors argue that some migrants came to the transit hub without having the intention to move on to Europe. The reasons for wanting to stay in Turkey included being able to reside with family, employment and asylum applications. Other smuggled migrants explained that they in fact arrived in Turkey unintentionally, while some believed that they were on their way from Libya to Italy but were left by their smugglers in Turkey; and some of them immediately claimed asylum in Turkey. Additionally,

although some migrants who intended to move on to Greece indeed did so, the observations also revealed various patterns of intention that did not remain constant during the course of the migrants' stay in Turkey. One such pattern was that those who intended to move onwards to Greece instead applied for asylum in Turkey.

The article concludes that the intention to migrate onwards is an unsatisfactory criterion through which to define transit migration. The authors argue that migrants' intentions are exposed to conditions and experiences encountered en route and that their final action is more the result of complex processes during which intentions are reformulated against the background of opportunities and experiences.

Through the interviews conducted with irregular migrants, the article provides unique insights into the experiences of irregular migrants travelling through or to Turkey and Greece. The article contributes to the body of knowledge on the motivations of irregular migrants and the factors that influence decision-making processes regarding their migration trajectories.

Wood, T. & McAdam, J. 'Australian Asylum Policy All at Sea: An Analysis of Plaintiff M70/2011 v Minister for Immigration and Citizenship and the Australia–Malaysia Arrangement. *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly,* vol. 61, No. 1, 2012, pp. 274–300.

Key words
Australia, Malaysia
Factors that fuel irregular migration, human and social costs of smuggling, irregular migration, routes, smuggling

Research method
Unknown

Summary
This article examines the background to an arrangement between the Australian and Malaysian Governments for the transfer of asylum seekers to Malaysia and the implications of the High Court's decision on that arrangement for the future development of Australian refugee law and policy.

The methodology for the study is not explained, but it is clear that the authors analysed the Australian–Malaysia Arrangement and, in particular, the international legal dimensions of the judgement relating to the protection of asylum seekers and refugees.

The article provides a background to Australia's pursuit of offshore processing measures to deter asylum seekers from arriving by boat to Australia and to seek asylum in Australia. It discusses the 2001 Pacific Solution and its effects, which included rendering certain Australian islands outside Australia for the purposes of lodging visa applications, thus preventing asylum seekers from applying for protection visas. The article then proceeds to examine the Australia–Malaysia Arrangement and explains that under the terms of the 2011 Australia–Malaysia Arrangement, it was planned that 800 asylum seekers 'unlawfully' in Australia were to be transferred to Malaysia without a determination of their protection claims, in return for Australia resettling 4,000 asylum seekers who were, at the time, waiting for resettlement in Malaysia.

The article examines the Plaintiff M70/2011 vs. Minister for Immigration and Citizenship, which was a case brought by two asylum seekers who had arrived in Australian territorial waters by boat from Indonesia in 2011. The applicants sought an injunction against their removal from Australia on the grounds that the declaration by the Minister for Immigration and Citizenship under section 198A(3)(a) of the Act was outside the power conferred on the Minister by that Act, and thus invalid. The article explains that the High Court found in favour of the plaintiffs, and restrained the Commonwealth from removing either plaintiff to Malaysia. The authors argue that the case is important because it illustrates elements that are required for the lawful cooperation between States under international refugee law as well as the minimum obligations that States owe to asylum seekers within their own territory or jurisdiction.

The strength of the article is that it provides insights into Australia's legal attempts to deter migrant smuggling, particularly smuggling by sea. Because the article focuses on the analysis of the Australia–Malaysia Arrangement and its demise, it does not make a direct contribution to the body of knowledge on migrant smuggling.

Wyssmuller, C. & Efionayi-Mader, D. *Health Care in Nowhereland: Improving Services for Undocumented Migrants in the EU.* **Neuchatel, Switzerland: Swiss Forum for Population and Migration Studies, 2011.**

Key words
Switzerland
Human and social costs of smuggling, irregular migration, smuggling

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This report presents the findings from the research project, Health Care in Nowhereland, which collected and analysed information regarding undocumented migrants' health needs and their access, or lack thereof, to health care in Switzerland.

For data collection purposes, a questionnaire was created, which was translated and made available in German and French. The survey collected information about services through which access to health care for undocumented migrants is assured or at least facilitated. The questionnaire was sent to approximately 400 people, including staff of health care and related institutions throughout Switzerland, and members of Migrant Friendly Hospitals. Another target of the questionnaire was member institutions of the National Platform for Health Care for Sans-Papiers in Switzerland (a platform coordinated by the Swiss Red Cross for undocumented persons) and also local branches of Aids-Hilfe Schweiz, the nationwide umbrella organization representing non-profit organizations active in HIV prevention and counselling across the country. In addition, the authors conducted semi-structured telephone interviews with specialized informants who were regularly in touch with undocumented migrants, including representatives of NGOs active in the field of health care and social counselling and health care professionals. To illustrate the testimonies of undocumented migrants seeking or receiving health care, the authors asked the interview participants to describe cases of undocumented migrants who had sought help from their service.

In analysing the data, the authors found that most undocumented migrants seeking health care in Switzerland were fairly young, between 20 and 40 years of age, and most were women. A large number of undocumented women from Latin America, the Caribbean, sub-Saharan Africa, Eastern Europe and Asia sought care at the surveyed health care services in western Switzerland as well as in Zurich and Basel. The report suggests that the main factor affecting undocumented migrants' health is generally their poor living conditions and the distress caused by the insecurity of their irregular status and their lack of future prospects. The authors contend that some problems and diseases are more frequent in undocumented migrants than in other population groups, such as certain infectious or sexually transmittable diseases, like tuberculosis or HIV.

The report concludes that approximately 1–4 percent of the overall population of Europe are undocumented migrants living in a "nowhereland", in which they face potentially precarious and health-threatening living conditions. The report highlights the complexities confronting health care providers who must deal with the dilemma of whether to provide care to irregular migrants, which may contravene legal and financial regulations, or violate the Hippocratic Oath and deny assistance to these migrants and asylum seekers. The authors also point out that in accessing health care, undocumented migrants experience their own dilemma—seeking access to health care may make them visible to 'the system' and thus they risk deportation.

Through the analysis of empirical material, the report provides new information about undocumented migrants' struggles for health care in the European Union. Survey and interview data illuminate the complexities faced by undocumented migrants, who require access to health care but are hesitant to risk arrest or deportation due to their undocumented status. The report also highlights the health problems suffered by undocumented migrants, including the mental health problems that occur due to the precariousness of their irregular status.

Yorgun, S. & Şenkal**, A. 'Illegal Mobilization of Labour: The Effects of Illegal Migration and Unauthorized Foreign Workers on the**

Turkish Market'. *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası,* **vol. 55, No. 1, 2011, pp. 191–220.**

Key words
Bulgaria, Greece, Italy, Turkey
Factors that fuel irregular migration, irregular migration, modus operandi of smuggling, smuggling

Research method
Unknown

Summary
This paper reflects a study of the impact of irregular migration and unauthorized foreign workers on the Turkish labour market as well as the effects, causes and characteristics of irregular migration.

The research methodology is not explained, but it appears that the authors conducted a review of recent literature on the patterns and dynamics of irregular migration to Turkey.

The paper provides a historical overview of irregular labour migration to European countries and contends that although Turkey became an exporting country for labour from 1963 onwards, it has become a receiving country of labour migration, particularly since the 1990s. The article explores the smuggling routes taken by migrants travelling to and through Turkey and explains that illegal exits are conducted by smugglers who take people by buses to provinces and districts that possess a coastline and from there smuggled migrants are taken by ships waiting off shore to Greek islands. From those islands in the Aegean and Mediterranean seas, the smuggled migrants are taken by ship to mainland Greece or the Italian coast. The authors argue that the main reason for the increase in migrant smuggling to Turkey is its geographic location between the Asian and European continents. Smuggled migrants increasingly use Turkey as a 'transitional highway' on their way to the European Union. In addition, Turkey has common land and sea borders with Greece and Bulgaria, which are used as transit countries after smuggled migrants leave Turkey.

The paper explains that the migrant smuggling business is generally confined to populated provinces in Turkey. Smuggled migrants must deal with commission agents in these cities, who organize the transport out of Turkey and into the European

Union. In recent times, some Turkish citizens sought employment in the migrant smuggling business, particularly in the winter months when tourism is slow. The paper concludes that irregular foreign labour to Turkey will rise in the coming years and will remain a crucial social policy issue. The authors contend that an effective response to the rise in irregular foreign labour will require a coordinated effort from all countries in the region and effective international aid and development policies.

The paper provides insights into the causes of irregular migration to Turkey, the modus operandi, routes of migrant smuggling to and through Turkey and the impact of irregular migration on Turkey's economy. The paper does not include empirical material, thus it does not make a direct contribution to the body of knowledge on migrant smuggling.

Yousef, K. *The Vicious Circle of Irregular Migration from Pakistan to Greece and Back to Pakistan.* **Greece: IRMA, 2013.**

Key words
Afghanistan, Greece, Iran, Pakistan
Factors that fuel irregular migration, irregular migration, routes, smuggling

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This report looks at irregular migration from Pakistan to Greece and the subsequent return migration to Pakistan.

The author adopted the term 'irregularity' in relation to the action of migration and the term 'irregular' for immigrants. The use of irregular migration refers to the entry and/or stay in a place beyond the established legal frameworks that apply.

The research methodology involved a critical review of the relevant international literature regarding irregular migration on two levels of analysis: migration from Pakistan to Europe and irregular migration in Greece in general. Additional data was collected through field research, particularly through interviews that were conducted during February and March 2013. The semi-structured interviews

captured information on irregular migration from Pakistan to Greece from authorities and institutions in Greece, public institutions and international organizations, national bodies and representative associations of the Pakistani community.

The report examines the irregular migration routes of Pakistanis to Greece and points out that this migration has followed different paths; the most common journey usually involves travel from Pakistan to Iran, specifically the city of Quetta, and from there through Turkey to Greece. The path along the Greek–Turkish border is travelled either by land, in the Evros region of the province of Edirne in Turkey, or from the coast of Izmir to the Greek islands. The report suggests that the choice of transit either by land or sea borders varies, depending on the complexity of the route.

The report also examines the role of social networks in irregular migration and notes that the Pakistani community acts as a social vehicle, facilitating new migration flows from Pakistan to Greece. The report concludes that variations in choice for regular and irregular immigration on the part of Pakistanis are often related to the immigration policies of hosting or transit European countries. For example, in recent years, new factors have significantly contributed to changing the customary choice of Greece as a final destination of migrants from Pakistan, such as the lack of regularization programmes, the intensification of racism and the recent economic crisis.

Through the analysis of recent literature and empirical material, the report provides insights into the motivations for Pakistani irregular migration to Greece, the routes taken and the modus operandi of smuggling.

Zhao, L. S. Chinese Underground Banks and Their Connections with Crime: A Review and an Appraisal. *International Criminal Justice Review,* vol. 22, No. 1, 2012, pp. 5–23.

Key words
China, United States of America
Factors that fuel irregular migration, fees and payment for smuggling, irregular migration, smuggling

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This article singles out Chinese underground banking systems, which primarily deal with foreign exchange and remittance transfers. Drawing on qualitative data and by analysing the links of Chinese underground banks to migrant smuggling and money laundering, the article examines the extent to which the Chinese banking systems are involved in crime.

The article specifically explores Chinese informal fund transfer systems. The author explains that these systems, widely known as underground banks, are one of the two prototypes of unregulated practices of funds transfer that can either use or bypass conventional banking institutions. The article contends that the confidentiality and anonymity of these fund transfer systems breed a high possibility for abuse and involvement in crime.

Data was collected for the study in both mainland China and the United States. With the aim of gaining an understanding of the underground banks operating in the United States, 30 research subjects were selected from the Fujianese community in the United States for interview. Potential respondents were restricted to adults who were smuggled to the United States since the mid-1980s and who had been clients of underground banks in New York City's Chinatown. The majority of the research participants were married males, who left families behind in China. They came from rural areas, with low education levels and experience of working at low-skilled jobs, and their ages ranged from 24 to 52 at the time of the interviews. The in-depth interviews of Fujianese immigrants in the country illegally were preceded by a structured survey that consisted of 40 closed-ended questions with categorical response items. The questions focused on the research participants' general background information and then asked about smuggling loans, location and method of smuggling fee payments as well as questions concerning their smuggling experiences and their experiences with underground banks.

The article discusses how, in the period of the late 1980s to the mid-1990s, at the peak of the irregular immigration stream from the coastal areas of Fujian Province, a major proportion of Fujianese migrant workers illegally in the country gained access to underground banks operated by co-ethnics for transferring their earnings from illegal employment

in the United States to their home communities in China. Chinese underground banks in the United States were concentrated in the Fuzhou Town—the area around East Broadway in New York City's Chinatown. These Fujianese-run underground banks collaborated with their counterparts in the sending communities of Fujian by arranging for safe delivery of overseas remittances to individual emigrant households without any additional charge.

Analysis of the interview responses revealed that Fujianese immigrants chose underground banks as a preferred mechanism to transfer earnings home for both illegitimate and legitimate purposes. Remittances were used to repay smuggling debts and to improve families' economic well-being. They were also used to assist other family members to migrate to the United States legally or irregularly. The article concludes that because a trend has been noted of migrant smuggling expanding into other regions of China from Fujian Province, the specialized use of underground banks will probably continue well into the twenty-first century to serve as a reliable conduit for concealing the source of illegitimate income and for channelling earnings to home communities in China.

The article represents a unique attempt to illuminate the financial element of the migrant smuggling process. Through the collection and analysis of empirical material, the article provides insights into the role that Chinese underground banks have in facilitating irregular migration to the United States.

Zhao, L. S. 'Underground Banks in NYC, Their Main Clientele and Operators: The Perspective of Chinese Illegal Immigrants'. *International Journal of Law Crime and Justice*, **vol. 41, No. 1, 2013, pp. 36–57.**

Key words
China, United States
Fees and payment for smuggling, irregular migration, smuggling

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This article looks pointedly at the nature of Chinese-operated informal fund transfer systems in the United States through an investigation of their main clientele and the operation style of Chinese underground banks.

New York City and Philadelphia were the main research sites for the study. The research subjects interviewed were selected from the Fujianese irregular immigrant population and were identified through a snowballing technique. Potential research participants were restricted to adults who had illegally entered the United States, primarily through migrant smuggling, since the mid-1980s, and who had previously been clients of underground banks in New York City's Chinatown. Potential research participants were recruited from four Chinese churches in New York and Philadelphia. The majority of the participants in the study came from rural Fujian Province and their ages ranged from 24 to 52 years at the time of the interview. Interview questions focused on research participants' background information, their migrant smuggling experience and their experience with using underground banks.

According to the article, during the late 1980s to the mid-1990s, at the height of the irregular immigration stream from the coastal areas of Fujian Province to the United States, a major proportion of Fujianese irregular migrant workers gained access to underground banks operated by Fujianese immigrants for transferring their earnings from illegal employment in the United States to their home communities. The remitting demand of irregular immigrants was served by both American–Chinese banks located in New York City's Chinatown and underground banks operated by Fujianese immigrants. Fujianese immigrants chose the underground banks as a preferred mechanism to transfer earnings home for both illegitimate and legitimate purposes. The remittances were used for repaying smuggling debts and the improvement of their families' economic well-being.

The article notes that the Fujianese immigrant workers were not coerced into using the underground banks. However, in several cases, the practice of smugglers compelled Fujianese to turn to an underground bank. The article concludes that underground banks served as a preferred means for transferring funds

among Chinese migrants due to the unique services that they offered.

Through the interviews conducted with irregular Chinese migrants in the United States, the article provides insights into the informal financial mechanisms used by irregular immigrants and the reasons they may be favoured over formal financial institutions.

Zhao, L. S. 'Ethnic Networks and Illegal Immigration'. *Sociological Focus,* vol. 46, No. 3, 2013, pp. 178–192.

Key words
China, United States of America
Fees and payment for smuggling, irregular migration, smuggling

Research method
Qualitative

Summary
This study focuses on the role of ethnic networks in sustaining Chinese-operated informal fund transfer systems in the United States.

Data was collected for the study in the United States. Through a snowballing technique, 30 research subjects were selected from the Fujianese community in the cities of New York and Philadelphia. Potential respondents were restricted to adults who had illegally entered the United States primarily through migrant smuggling since the mid-1980s and who had formerly been the clients of underground banks in New York City's Chinatown. The researcher located six Fujianese-dialect speakers to recruit potential research subjects. The majority of the participants were married males, with low education levels, who were between the ages of 24 and 52. The in-depth interviews were preceded by a structured survey consisting of approximately 40 closed-ended questions with categorical response items. The research participants were asked general background information as well as questions about the sources of smuggling loans, location and method of smuggling fee payment, questions concerning their smuggling experiences and their experiences with underground banks.

The article explores the types of irregular migrant networks, including kinship networks and dialect-based networks, and explores the themes of social capital, bounded solidarity, and enforceable trust. As opposed to lineage-based networks, the networks based on regional dialect allowed irregular Fujianese immigrants as well as underground bank proprietors to take advantage of social capital inherent in the expatriate ethnic community.

The author contends that the findings are unable to speak to the issues regarding the sophisticated schemes of underground banks behind the migrant smuggling trade. This is because the data generated from the study did not deal with the internal structure and operational attributes of the system, sources of funding or personnel management and monitoring. The author further notes that the non-probability sampling used in the study may be characterized by selection bias due to the highly sensitive subject matter and the general difficulty involved in locating clients willing to discuss the criminal use of underground banks.

Although it provides interesting insights into Chinese ethnic networks and the underground banking system in the United States, the article does not make a direct contribution to the body of knowledge on migrant smuggling due to the limitations of the research methodology and the lack of reliable conclusions presented.

Zhou, M. *Recent Trends of Human Trafficking and Migrant Smuggling To and From Pakistan.* Pakistan: United Nations Office for Drugs and Crime, 2013.

Key words
Afghanistan, Australia, Bangladesh, Greece, Iran, Italy, Pakistan, Turkey
Factors that fuel irregular migration, modus operandi of smuggling, organization of smuggling, routes, smuggling

Research method
Qualitative

Summary

This report summarizes research conducted on recent trends in migrant smuggling and human trafficking from, through and to Pakistan. The report was commissioned by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) to develop profiles of smuggled migrants in Pakistan.

Research for the study involved a review of open-source material as well as previous studies conducted by UNODC and other agencies on the issues of human trafficking and migrant smuggling. Interviews were conducted with Federal Investigation Agency officials in Pakistan and civil society actors. Requests for information, sent to the Federal Investigation Agency seeking statistical and narrative data, resulted in responses from six Anti-Human Trafficking Centers. The researcher was provided with Pakistan's response to the US State Department's trafficking in persons report questionnaire. Due to the lack of data available in Pakistan, the report also used statistical data collected by other border control agencies, including Frontex, and Australia's Department of Immigration and Border Protection. The reports of these agencies were used to understand the volume and magnitude of irregular migration to Australia and the European Union from Pakistan and Afghanistan.

The research found that Pakistan is a destination, transit and source country for smuggling of migrants and trafficking in persons. Although Pakistan has taken some important steps in combating human trafficking and migrant smuggling, including the promulgation of domestic legislation (such as the Prevention and Control of Human Trafficking Ordinance in 2002) and the establishment of Anti-Human Trafficking Units, migrant smuggling and human trafficking remain issues of concern.

The report examines the modus operandi of migrant smuggling of Pakistanis and Afghans to Australia and the European Union. To enter the European Union, Pakistani and Afghan nationals predominantly use the Eastern Mediterranean route, by both land and sea. Pakistani, Afghan and Bangladeshi nationals travel from Iran and move, in mixed groups, to the European Union through Turkey and then Greece. Pakistani and Afghan nationals also use the Balkan route for secondary movement within the European Union and the Schengen Zone as well as the sea route from Greece to the southern Italian regions of Apulia and Calabria. According to the report,

irregular migrants tend to use a combination of tactics, including the clandestine crossing of sea and land borders and legal entry or exits at border check points, using legitimate but fraudulently obtained documentation.

The report discusses Australia as a popular destination country of smuggled Pakistani and Afghan migrants. Almost all irregular migrants to Australia arrive by sea via Indonesia. Migrant smugglers use a combination of tactics to facilitate the travel of Pakistani and Afghan smuggled migrants—irregular migrants often exit Pakistan on valid passports and visas and then travel by air to Malaysia or Thailand. From there, they travel clandestinely over land and sea to Indonesia, from where they attempt the final segment of the journey to Australia by sea. The author found that migrant smugglers who operate this route appear to be well established and known to the community. They do not appear to actively recruit irregular migrants, but, rather, find business through word of mouth recommendations from successfully smuggled migrants.

The report recommends that Pakistan, in cooperation with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, find long-term solutions for the Afghan population in Pakistan, that Pakistan adopt the Model Law Against the Smuggling of Migrants and amend the provisions of the Prevention and Control of Human Trafficking Ordinance 2002 in accordance with the Model Law.

The report provides valuable insights into the motivations of irregular migrants, the modus operandi of smuggling, and routes to Australia and the European Union. Through the analysis of empirical material, the report makes a direct contribution to the body of knowledge on migrant smuggling from, through and to Pakistan.