

Chapter 2

The Canary Islands' "Maritime Wall": Migration Pressure, Security Measures and Economic Crisis in the Mid-Atlantic

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Global capitalism, the technological revolution and the security crisis make up the context within which the Canary Islands have reinforced their geostrategic position as Europe's southern border. As part of the Kingdom of Spain, they have historically been linked to the European continent, and these ties have been strengthened by the islands' specialization in tourism and their statute as an ultraperipheral and insular region of the European Union. Their income is thus typical of highly developed countries, which contrasts sharply with their proximity to the shores of Africa, where per capita income is four times lower than in Spain – a circumstance that strongly favours an intense irregular immigration flow by sea. Both Spain and the European Union have undertaken political and military measures to try and stop a flow that acquired great intensity towards the middle of the first decade of the twenty-first century, when many migrants lost their lives at sea while trying to pursue their dream of reaching European Union territory. The fall in immigration pressure on European Union borders that has taken place from 2008 until 2010, has been interpreted as a success of EU policies based on the implementation of new security measures and the signing of certain agreements with African migration sender and transit countries.

Without underestimating the importance of these measures, in this chapter we explain our view that the drop in irregular migration flows between Africa and Europe would not have reached the same extent if we had not found ourselves immersed in a phase of deep economic crisis, especially in Spain, where this situation stands in stark contrast to the marked low-productivity growth that favoured economic activity and immigration until 2007. It must not be forgotten, consequently, that borders are porous to the aspirations and dreams of human beings who wish to improve their circumstances, and that this is dependent on their perception of economic situations and opportunities. This forces us to take into account economic cycles and transnational contact and information networks, which regulate human mobility beyond security policies and border controls. In this sense the Canary Islands have become a privileged vantage point from which to analyse mobility within those socioeconomically fractured spaces which delimit wealth and poverty, as well as to study the political and military policies developed by the European Union to put the brakes on irregular immigration, and to examine the strategies for survival adopted by citizens from African countries hoping to improve their living conditions, even if it involves risking their lives or that of their children.

Conceptual Framework

The Literature on Migration and Border Control

Human mobility is one of the phenomena that have generated the most interest among social researchers throughout history. Examining the bibliographical production of the first few years of the twenty-first century will bring to light the fact that there is not only a vast number of publications whose subject is migration, but that there is also a wealth of conceptual approaches underpinning multiple analyses. However, this wide-ranging conceptual kaleidoscope narrows down severely when the object of study deals with irregular migration in border regions, and even more so when the migration pressure studied is not related to the US–Mexican border.

An example of the first theoretic focus corresponds to the special number of *Geopolitics* entitled: “Borderline Contradictions: Neoliberalism, Unauthorised Migration, and Intensifying Immigration Policing” (Varsanyi and Nevins, 2007). As far as unauthorized immigration in Europe is concerned, many of the works published relate migration to the issues of security, sovereignty and mobility within the Union. As Martín-Pérez (2010) has stated, the historic process of incorporating immigration-related issues into the sphere of European Union policies has proven to be extremely complex, since it has brought about a confrontation between the individual member states’ reluctance to lose control over a question rooted in the very concept of national sovereignty on the one hand, and, on the other, the need to cope with international challenges, such as migratory pressure and security in a global world.

As a result, in the most recent works, the entity of the Union’s borders and the new process of the externalization of borders appear inextricably linked to sovereignty and human mobility within the context of neoliberalism. Nowadays “it is possible to recognize a contradictory process which encourages economic flows across international borders, while at the same time maintaining nationalistic political-geographic closure across those same borders via expanding boundary enforcement and militarization” (Carter and Merrill, 2007). Thus, for instance, “the interstate system and sovereignty have been restructured in such a way that it has essentially erased borders. Debordering is a selective process and it is often paralleled by a rebordering, or border creation at new locations to guard against ‘undesirable’ elements” (Kimball, 2007). Likewise, Clochard and Duyperon (2007) have stated that “it is becoming difficult to know where the borders of the European Union are located”. Hollifield, 2004; Lavenex, 2006; Rijpma and Cremona, 2007; van Houtum and Pijpers, 2007; Kaufmann, 2007; Ferrer-Gallardo, 2008; Dover, 2008; Rohrmoser, 2008; Illamola, 2008; and Casey, 2010, have authored some of the research undertaken on this process of the restructuring of European borders. In all of these works migration is analysed as an integral component of the actions and policies that, while favouring the free circulation of people between member states (early Schengen Agreement, 1985), have also contributed to the construction of “fortress Europe”. Consequently, according to them all, the blurring of internal borders has been accompanied by the reinforcement of the Union’s external borders, as the management of migration has been deferred to non-Union countries. This has meant, in the case of southern Europe, that the containment of African emigration has been left in the hands of Libya, Morocco, Mauritania and Senegal, among other countries.

These same premises coincide with the analyses performed by other researchers from a juridical perspective, some of them somewhat descriptive in character, as in the cases of Fernández Sánchez, 2006, or Triandafyllidou, 2010, and others more critical in their

approach, as those who highlight the need to ensure that the process of securitization of the Union’s external borders is not undertaken at the expense of the rule of law or human rights (especially as far as refugees, asylum seekers and minors are concerned). In fact, the predicated existence of new “dangers” – international terrorism and organized crime – is the perfect alibi to justify the restrictive legislation and measures brought about by the expansion of a security-focused culture of military origin. As stated by Kaufmann (2007), “in such a mode, governmental security measures operate in a manner analogous to the networks of terrorism, of organised crime and human trafficking – the very networks it pretends or purports to protect again”. For this reason, the works of Soddu, 2006; Baldwin-Edwards, 2006; Fernández, Manvella, Rijpma and Cremona, 2007; Spijkerboer, 2007; Gebrewold, 2008; and Ceriani, 2009, make, according to Adepoju, van Noorloos and Zoomers “a critical assessment of the way the EU – and individual countries such as Spain, France and Italy – have played active roles in reshaping old and developing new strategies for keeping migration under control” (2010).

The process of externalizing the EU borders has also led to a shift in the focus of research that has been gaining in importance over the last few years, as a result of the European Union signing border control agreements with third countries and as a consequence of the bilateral agreements between some member states and third countries. Transit migrations have become a new object of interest, in as much as they are an issue of great importance within the process of the externalization of borders, and they have been studied, among others, by van Moppes, 2006; Collyer, 2006; Schapendonk and van Moppes, 2007; Sadiqi, 2007; Kimball, 2007; Schapendonk, 2008 etc.; in all the cases mentioned Morocco has been the main area of study.

The focus on security, the externalization of borders and respect for human rights, as far as non-authorized migration is concerned, has tended to obscure the relationship that has developed between economic factors, transnational processes and irregular human mobility in border regions. The number of researchers who have shown an interest in these issues is small (Arango and Martín, 2005; Sandell, 2005; Lacombe and Boni, 2008; Gielis, 2009; de Haas, 2010; etc.), despite the fact that in December 2005 the European Council adopted the *Global Approach to Migration* road map and that the European Union has organized a number of conferences (Rabat, 2006 and Tripoli, 2006) with the specific aim of linking migration and development. These guidelines, however, have not been economically supported and that might explain why scientific debate has been largely lacking as regards the consequences of partnerships and other initiatives that establish a relationship between migration, economic development and the job market. Some of the few authors who have tackled this issue are the following: Martín, Martín and Cross, 2007; Bosch and Haddad, 2007; Lavenex and Kunz, 2008; Chou, 2009; Chou and Gibert, 2010; and Serrano, 2010.

The Study of Unauthorized Migration in Europe’s Southern Maritime Borders

There are numerous documents available on the different actions of control and vigilance undertaken to prevent unauthorized immigration across the European Union’s southern borders, especially in the case of Spain. The Spanish Ministry of the Interior, in particular, has released a large number of reports and working papers describing these actions and measures in detail. From a strategic and geopolitical perspective, the articles published by the Real Instituto Elcano are worth highlighting; it is a Spanish private foundation that serves as a forum for analysis and discussion of international relations and it has

recently focused its interest on the role Spain is playing as Europe's southernmost border. Arteaga, 2007; Alvear, 2008; Díaz and Abad, 2008; Vélez, 2008; Ilies, 2009; García, 2010; and Ripjma, 2010, have published works on this issue.

As far as the Canary Islands are concerned, as the flow of irregular immigration by sea gained in intensity, a number of scientific papers were published that went beyond a mere description of events or a listing of control mechanisms. Nevertheless, the attention paid by social researchers to these matters has been hardly comparable to the attention paid to them by the media and human rights organizations. Thus, some of the better known works have been authored by journalists, such as Naranjo, 2006. As Jorgen Carling stated in 2007: "while there are numerous studies about the dynamics of migration and border control on the US-Mexican border, academic research on irregular migration in southern Europe has by and large concentrated on the situation of undocumented residents after arrival, and not on the unauthorized itself. The European media, by contrast, report on unauthorized migration from Africa almost daily, and measures to contain this flow stand very high on the European policy agenda" (Carling, 2007: 316).

Among the most representative scientific papers we have those by the already cited Carling (2007a, 2007b) and Ferrer-Gallardo (2008),¹ as well as those by Domínguez, Díaz and Parreño, 2001; Parkes, 2006; Carrera, 2007a, 2007b; Godenau and Zapata, 2008; and Fargues, 2009. The works authored by Carling, Godenau and Zapata and Fargues are especially complete, providing a detailed and lengthy analysis of the said unauthorized immigration, the changes it has undergone (routes, types of boats, different strategies of human smuggling), the sequence of arrivals and the fatalities associated to them, as well as an assessment of the measures of control adopted and a critical examination of the management itself of unauthorized flows. However, the analysis of these processes from a short term perspective has meant that insufficient attention has been paid to their economic context, which is an important dimension that we feel contributes to a greater understanding of the complexities of this kind of migration flows.

Migrations and Security in a Globalized World

The Construction of the European Fortress

In 1897 Friedrich Ratzel described a border as "the skin of the living state",² a poetic definition that contrasts with the less literary but more widespread notion of the border as a fixed line that delimits the territory over which a state is sovereign. Sovereignty is a key concept in international law, for it refers to the legitimacy of a state to exercise its power within its territory. However, international coexistence and the strategies of capitalist development have increasingly led towards the configuration of regional integration processes that go beyond the traditional concept of the sovereign state, with the result that borders have become more flexible. The firm boundaries that followed the historical consolidation of nation states have gradually succumbed to a trend towards greater accessibility, which facilitates the sharing of the benefits of the free circulation of goods, capital and services, while preserving control over the labour market and security.

1 The latter touches on the Canary Islands migration pressure only in passing, as the main focus of his work lies in the cities of Ceuta and Melilla.

2 "Die Haut des lebendigen Zustand".

This process, which has already taken place at a regional level, is also beginning to expand worldwide, and globalization is giving rise to a growing opening of borders or, at least, to their greater permeability.

On the other hand, the use of technological developments in the management of borders has led to remarkable changes. The preoccupation with security against terrorism, fanaticism, arm and drug smuggling, transborder crime and unauthorized immigration has resulted in the creation of standardized databases, information networks and, especially, in the incorporation of new technologies (biometrics, sensitive radars, crewless aeroplanes, satellite surveillance systems, etc.) that have led to the strengthening of "technological borders". As a consequence, "the use of these technologies, in combination with the widespread reliance on risk management, contributes to the re-imagining of borders and the bodies that cross them" (Muller, 2011).

As has been said, in the case of Europe, border management forms part of the European Union's policies against illegal immigration and it ranks among its highest political priorities, involving a range of costly economic, commercial and diplomatic measures. The Schengen Agreement, in 1985, laid the foundations of the current EU border control system. Later, in 2002, a border policy plan of action was approved that led to the creation of Frontex in 2004, the European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders of the Member States of the European Union, whose function was further regulated in 2007. Frontex coordinates operational cooperation between Member States in the field of management of external borders; assists Member States in the training of national border guards, including the establishment of common training standards; carries out risk analyses; follows up the development of research relevant for the control and surveillance of external borders; assists Member States in circumstances requiring increased technical and operational assistance at external borders; and provides Member States with the necessary support in organizing joint return operations.

These functions of Frontex highlight the complexities of managing immigration not only from an operational point of view, but also from the perspective of diplomatic relations, since borders constitute a pivot of complex bilateral relations at different levels: between Spain and Morocco, between southern Europe and the Maghreb, and between the European Union and Africa. In this sense, "migration concerns are central to the agenda of all these relationships, and are invariably entangled with other issues" (Carling, 2007). In fact, the diplomatic effort undertaken by the European Union has resulted in important changes in terms of material resources and public services in the African countries with whom joint border vigilance agreements have been signed.

Shortly after the greatest process of regularization of immigrants ever undertaken in Spain (2005) had been brought to completion, the impact on public opinion of the assaults on the border fences of Ceuta and Melilla in September and October 2005, and their tragic consequences, brought about a change in the Spanish government's migration policies. Another contributing factor was the humanitarian alarm raised on account of what came to be known as the "boat crisis", when in summer and autumn 2006 many fishing boats arrived in the Canary Islands carrying youths and children from coastal countries south of the Sahara (Mauritania, Senegal, Gambia ...) (Figure 2.1).

The crossing was long and dangerous and many boats sunk. The social alarm generated by the arrival of a large number of immigrants (only in 2006, 31,678 immigrants arrived this way in the Canary Islands) and the difficulties to cope with them (police resources and sea rescue and humanitarian assistance services were overwhelmed) drove the government to

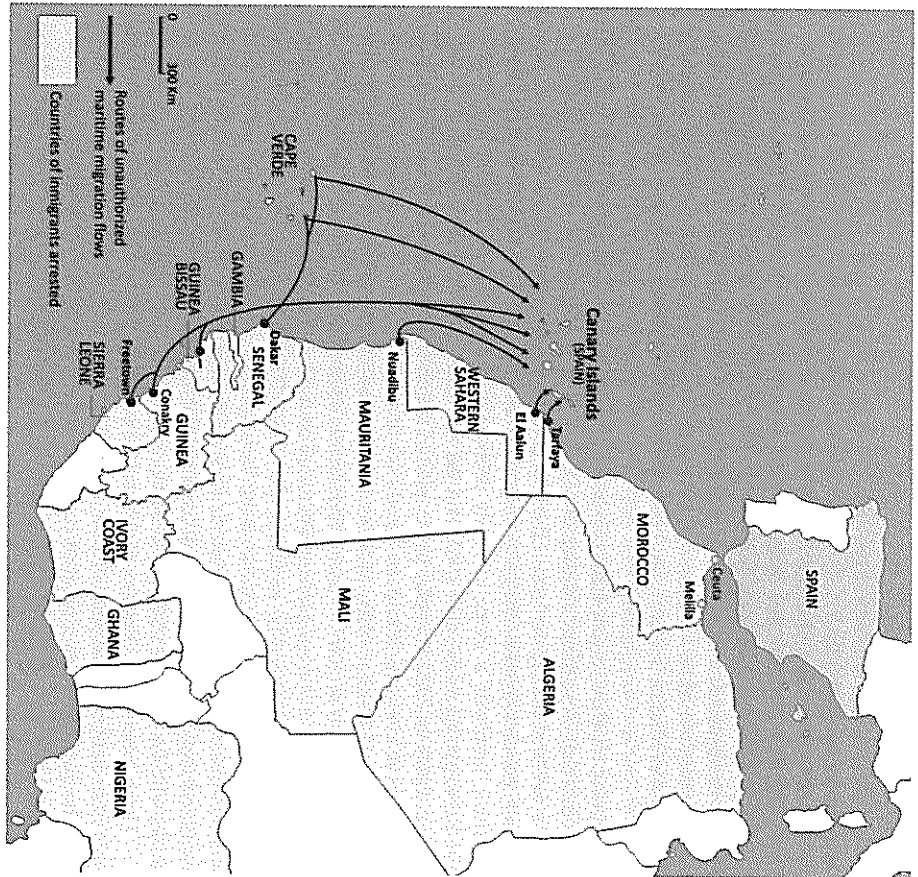


Figure 2.1 Map of irregular migration routes from Africa to the Canary Islands (2006)

Source: Ministry of the Interior (Spain): www.mir.es/DGRIIS/Balance/Balance_2008/pdf/bal_lucha_immigracion_legal_2008.pdf (accessed 27/12/2010), adapted by the authors.

reinforce border controls and redouble its efforts to reach agreements with sender countries in order to prevent the crossings and facilitate repatriations (Table 2.1).

The Canary Islands: Policing Europe's Ultraperipheral Regions

Maritime border control involves certain difficulties that do not affect land borders, such as patrolling and guarding vast extensions, as well as further obligations derived from international legislation on maritime search and rescue (Godenau and Zapata Hernández, 2008). Thus, when the arrival of precarious crafts is detected, with undocumented people in appalling conditions (wounded or injured, suffering from hypothermia or

Table 2.1 Landmarks in the management of unauthorized migration flows in the EU and in Spain (1985–2010)

Date	European Union		Spain and Other Countries
	Treaties/Summits/Agreements	Communications/Conferences/Others	
1985 (June)	The Schengen (Germany) agreements, abolishing internal controls and creating a joint external border among France, Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg.		
1997 (October)	The Treaty of Amsterdam (The Netherlands) established an area “freedom, security and justice”, which brought immigration policy under EU jurisdiction.		
1999 (September)			Bilateral agreement with Morocco to facilitate the readmission of Moroccan nationals as well as transit migrants.
1999 (October)	In the Tampere (Finland) Summit, the European Council agreed to set up a Common European Asylum system and partnerships with countries of origin as proposed by Ministers of Justice and Home Affairs.		
2002 (June)	In Seville (Spain) the European Council established that all EU agreements with non-EU states are to: “include a clause on joint management of migration flows and on compulsory readmission in the event of illegal immigration”.		
2002 (August)			Development of SIVE (System of Integrated External Surveillance). A prototype station is set up in Algeciras.
2002 (December)		Communication from the Commission to the Council on Integrating migration issues in the European Union’s relations with third countries.	

Date	European Union		Spain and Other Countries
	Treaties/Summits/Agreements	Communications/Conferences/Others	
2003 (June)			First revision of the Cotonou Agreements between African, Caribbean and Pacific countries (ACP) and EU on the readmission clause (Art. 13).
2003 (November)			Passage of a Law in Morocco (Loi, 02/03) regulating the entry and stay of foreign national in the Kingdom of Morocco and dealing with irregular immigration.
2003 (December)			Memorandum signed with Morocco regarding the issue of unaccompanied children (readmission).
2003 (December)			The first SIVE radar station is set up in the Canary Islands (Fuerteventura).
2004 (October)		(EC) 2007/2004 Frontex regulation. Creation of the Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders.	
2005 (January)			“Guanarteme” Maritime Joint Operations in the Canary I.
2005 (May)		Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament: The Hague Programme: The Partnership for European renewal in the field of Freedom, Security and Justice.	
2005 (December)		The European Council adopted the Global Approach to Migration: Priority actions focusing on Africa and the Mediterranean.	

Date	European Union		Spain and Other Countries
	Treaties/Summits/Agreements	Communications/Conferences/Others	
2005 (December)			Contract signed with AENEAS in order to carry out the SEAHORSE Programme (2006) a plan of cooperation with Morocco, Mauritania, Cape Verde and Senegal for the prevention of illegal maritime migration.
2006 (January)		Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament: State of the AENEAS thematic programme for the cooperation with third countries in the areas of migration and asylum.	
2006 (March)		Council Regulation establishing a Community Code on the rules governing the movement of persons across borders (Schengen Borders Code).	
2006 (April)			Beginning of the “Atlantis” programme of cooperation with Mauritania, aimed at fighting irregular immigration by means of a joint maritime patrol by Spain’s Civil Guard and Mauritania’s Gendarmerie.
2006 (May and July)		Euro-African conference on Migration and Development in Rabat (Morocco). Regional approach to create partnerships and adopt an Action Plan to link migration and development.	
2006 (July)			Different European countries send experts to support the Spanish National Police Brigade with the identification of irregular immigrants arriving in the Canary Islands: “HERA I y HERA II” operations.

Date	European Union		Spain and Other Countries
	Treaties/Summits/Agreements	Communications/Conferences/Others	
2006 (July)			Spain's Royal Decree N° 845/2006, of 7 July, which regulated the concession of an extraordinary subsidy to the Kingdom of Morocco for the reinforcement of its border control and for its struggle against illegal immigration.
2006 (August)		Creation of a special group of Commissioners dealing with migration.	
2006 (September)	Agreement between EU and Mali on migration control in exchange for development aid.		
2006 (different months)		Two short-term cooperation projects between EU and Senegal to contribute to surveillance operations, repatriation and rehabilitation, and to provide local support for activities of non-State actors engaged in migration.	
2006 (October)			Creation of the Regional Coordination Centre of the Canary Islands (CCRC), to deal with illegal migration into the Canary Islands, and the establishment of regulations to develop its functions (BOE 11/10/2006).
2006 (November)		Euro-African conference on Migration and Development in Tripoli (Libya).	
2006 (November)		Communication suggestion plans for the control of maritime borders.	
2006 (December)		JHA Council meeting on Integrated Approach to Borders and Migration (IBM).	

Date	European Union		Spain and Other Countries
	Treaties/Summits/Agreements	Communications/Conferences/Others	
2006 (different months and following years)			Bilateral readmission agreements with Morocco, Algeria, Nigeria, Ghana, Mali, Cape Verde, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau and Pakistan.
2006 (June)			"African Plan" (strategy document on Spanish foreign policy towards Africa 2006-2008). Reissue (2009-2012).
2006 (different months)			Bilateral migration cooperation agreements with Gambia, Guinea, Senegal, Conakry, Mali and Cape Verde.
2007			Development of the SEAHORSE programme by means of the SEAHORSE NETWORK.
2007 (January)			Spain issues 700 labour migration visas to Senegalese fishermen.
2007 (February)		Decision taken to establish a Migration Information and Management Centre to coordinate job offers in the EU with job seekers in Bamako (Mali).	
2007 (February)			Different European countries send experts to support the Spanish National Police Brigade with the identification of irregular immigrants arriving in the Canary Islands: "HERA III" operations.
2007 (March)			Bilateral agreement with Morocco to cooperate in the prevention of "illegal" emigration of unaccompanied children.

Date	European Union		Spain and Other Countries
	Treaties/Summits/Agreements	Communications/Conferences/Others	
2007 (July)		Regulation (EC) No 863/2007 of the European Parliament and the Council establishing a mechanism for the creation of Rapid Border Intervention Team ("RABITs Regulation").	
2007 (December)	Lisbon 2nd Africa-EU Summit to launch Africa-EU Migration, Mobility and Employment Partnership.		
2008 (May)			The Ministry of the Interior (Spain) awarded Indra the contract to set up the Sea Horse Network system (satellite surveillance) for the control of illegal immigration and drug trafficking between Spain, Portugal and North African countries.
2008 (June)		Beginning of the mobility partnership with Cape Verde to facilitate circular migration (Council document).	
2008 (July)			The Cooperation Framework Agreement between the Kingdom of Spain and the Republic of Senegal of 10 October 2006 came into force.
2009			Development of the "Seahorse Cooperation Centers" project by means of the transformation of the "Seahorse network" project contact points (Mauritania, Cape Verde, Senegal and Portugal) into Vigilance Coordination Centres and the reinforcement of the South Atlantic Border Cooperation Centre in the Canary Islands.

Date	European Union		Spain and Other Countries
	Treaties/Summits/Agreements	Communications/Conferences/Others	
2009 (April)			Modification of Mauritanian legislation to include crimes related to irregular immigration and setting up a Ship Registry.
2009 (September)			Formal agreement between Spain and Senegal for the prevention of illegal migration and readmission of irregular Senegalese nationals.
2009 (different months)			Bilateral agreements with Morocco, Senegal and Gambia.
2009 (December)			Modification of the Spanish Residents Law.
2009 (December)	The Treaty of Lisbon came into force, with new provisions regulating the common space of freedom, security and justice that opened the door to the development of a common immigration policy (the treaty guarantees the free movement of people across the Union, with no internal borders, together with measure regarding external border control, asylum, immigration and prevention of and fight against crime).		
2010 (June)	The Stockholm Programme sets out the European Union's (EU) priorities in the area of justice, freedom and security for the period 2010-14. European citizenship and its rights.		
2010 (November)	EU Communication on the Joint Africa-EU strategy.		
2010 (November)	3rd Africa-EU Summit in Libya.		

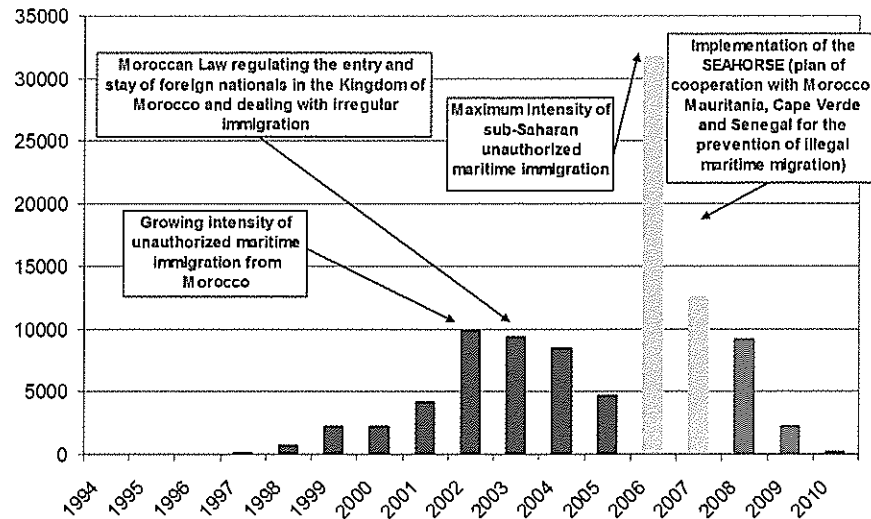


Figure 2.2 Links between migration stages and policing measures

Source: Ministry of the Interior (Spain): http://www.la-moncloa.es/ServiciosdePrensa/NotasPrensa/MIR/2010/ntpr20100116_Immigracion.htm (accessed 27/12/2010).

dehydration ...) on board, maritime border control requires a range of actions that combine detection, deterrence, and intercepting and dismantling human smuggling rings with search and rescue operations and humanitarian assistance to immigrants.

This frame of reference invests the illegal maritime immigration flow across Europe's Atlantic border with a characteristic dynamic, which can be divided into three distinct stages of different dimension: a) from 1994 to 2005, years of growing intensity during which no action protocol had been developed yet to deal with unauthorized flows; b) from 2006 to 2008, a period of maximum intensity during which multiple measures were taken and initiatives developed at all levels in the fields of diplomacy, policing and humanitarian assistance; c) from 2008 to 2010, a stage of decreasing intensity and loss of prominence for this type of migration processes (Figure 2.2).

- a. Until 2005, irregular migration flows out of sub-Saharan Africa tended to travel by land towards Ceuta and Melilla, and also by sea from other locations in the north of Morocco, across towards the southern coast of Spain. In the case of the Canary Islands, during this period irregular immigrants generally made use of what was known as "slave ships", fishing boats and, to a lesser extent, inflatable rafts. The former were mostly old ships, generally unfit to sail, under flags of convenience, and which tended to come from West African coastal countries. Inspections in the docks of the islands or water leaks that forced them to moor in the ports of the islands on their way to Europe often led to the discovery of their "cargo", generally a considerable number of people packed in their hold in subhuman conditions. The fishing boats used – essentially, large canoes – are fragile crafts that can easily capsize and sink in the open sea or when they approach a craggy coastline. They

used to set sail from Morocco's southern coast, Western Sahara or Mauritania, and sought to arrive in the eastern islands of the Canary Archipelago. The first one arrived in 1994, and from that year on their numbers gradually increased until the first years of the twenty-first century – 2003, 2004 and 2005 – when a greater cooperation between Spain and Morocco regarding the prevention of departures led to a drop in the immigration flow and to a displacement of the points of departure further south, as human smugglers were forced to reorganize their activities.

- b. From 2005 on, as a consequence of greater Moroccan vigilance, irregular migrant smugglers and departure points shifted south towards the coast of central West Africa, areas that are further removed from the Canary Islands, and as a result the crossings became longer, more difficult, costly and dangerous (Kimball, 2007). The type of vessel used changed as well, and the immigrants replaced the *pateras* (small fishing crafts) with *cayucos*, larger fishing boats with greater range. Departure points tended now to be located along the coasts of Mauritania, Senegal, Gambia, Guinea Bissau, Guinea Conakry or Sierra Leone, and consequently passengers, in this second stage, were mostly sub-Saharan nationals who usually disembarked on the coast of the western islands of the archipelago as a consequence of the new sailing patterns. During this period human smuggling developed so successfully that, for instance, in 2006, crossings in *cayucos* were offered online (senegalaisement.com), very much in the style of a standard travel agency (Merino, 2010).

These crossings were undertaken by young adults, mostly men, and some minors who, like their fellow travellers, came from sub-Saharan countries, especially Senegal and Mali. Whereas, in 1999, 83.9 per cent of unaccompanied minors came from Morocco, in 2006 and 2007 this figure changed and 71 per cent of the children placed under the protection of the government of the Canary Islands came from countries south of the Sahara. The management of this flow has required a special protective measures by the government of the Canary Islands in order to safeguard their rights and well-being, as required by international (Convention on the Rights of the Child) and domestic law (Basic Law for the Legal Protection of Minors and Civil Code), with the entailing obligations to implement special reception and training programmes.

- c. In the last few years, from 2008 to 2010, there has been a gradual drop in irregular maritime immigration flows across Europe's southern Atlantic border. Many analysts believe that the measures of vigilance and control adopted by the European Union and by Spain, as well as the agreements signed with sender countries, might have contributed to deter irregular immigration. In fact, the centres for minors that had been set up (CAME) are largely under used at present. According to 2009 figures, the number of arrests for unauthorized maritime arrivals in Spain dropped that year down to 7,285, of which 2,246 arrived in the Canary Islands, among them only 192 minors (82.2 per cent less than in 2006).

There is no doubt that the trend described above is to some extent the result of the fact that potential African emigrants and their relatives have come to understand that even if they are successful in reaching Europe, they are very likely to be confined in a detention centre while their deportation is arranged, which in turn has brought about a decline in human smuggling. However, without denying the importance of these measures, it should be borne in mind that immigration is a very complex phenomenon which is not only conditioned by police vigilance and control actions, but also by the migrants' collective imagination, shaped under the

influence of diverse information, the support offered by their networks of contacts and their personal assessment of the risk rewards ratio. Consequently, the role played by the evolution of the economy should not be underestimated, as it directly affects the migrants' perception of their chances to improve their situation and, thus, it indirectly links migration processes to productive cycles.

Economic Activity and Human Mobility

As is well known, immigration has been one of the pillars supporting the evolution of developed economies. The availability of immigrant labour has played an essential role in sustaining the productive system and in controlling salary levels in countries with higher national incomes. At the same time, emigration and its effects cannot be separated from the economic evolution of developing countries. During the expansion cycle of the post-Fordist stage, especially in the case of certain European countries such as Spain, Italy and Ireland, the increase in the demand for labour was met by immigration, as their economic development was based on a low-productivity labour-intensive model dependant on highly flexible employment. However, during a contraction cycle, the drop in demand for labour has affected immigrants severely, particularly in the case of those activities in the secondary labour market segment. This drop in demand and immigrants' unemployment rates has had deep effects on the evolution, dimension and characteristics of the migrant labour supply and, more generally, on international migrations as a whole.

Consequently, it is necessary to examine the different productive cycles and the role played by the transnational information networks developed by immigrants, in order to establish the relationship between them and the different unauthorized maritime immigration rates described above.

Economic Growth during the Cycle of Expansion and Migration 1995–2007

The 1980s saw the beginning of a new phase of capitalist development characterized mostly by technological innovation and fast circulation of capital, accompanied by a restructuring of socio-spatial relationships among the world's different geographical areas. From the point of view of population mobility, this phase of global capitalism has contributed to a greater complexity of migration processes, as revolutionary developments in transport and means of communication and new channels of information have given rise to what might be termed a world perspective, which makes it possible for any country to potentially become a destination for emigrants and for migration flows to take place anywhere in the world. For this reason some authors regard migration flows as a characteristic feature of a globalized economic system. According to UN data, in 2005 over 195 million people lived outside their home country, 60 per cent of them in developed countries, especially in the EU and the USA. These migrants represented 3.1 per cent of the world population and made up the "fifth largest country" in terms of population (UN, 2008).

This rise in migrant population was accompanied by a more noticeable visibility than in the past, and it became, given the growing presence of clandestine migrants, one of the main worries of the native population in western countries. The dimension of irregular flows has generated legal and economic insecurity for emigrants and political and social uncertainties for recipient states which, as a result of the process of globalization, have had their capacity to freely take measures restricted. In fact, migration circuits and mobility

trends are now the result of complex processes based on economic and political decisions, on family, ethnic or religious networks and on individual or group aspirations derived from the migrants' collective imagination, which together structure the new geography of migration flows (Sassen, 2008).

In Spain, the rise in foreign immigration over the last 15 years has been unprecedented and it has transformed the country into an emerging destination in the context of international labour mobility (Dominguez-Mujica et al., 2008). From 1986 on, both Spain's incorporation into the European Union and the process of convergence the country underwent with its most developed neighbouring countries, favoured the arrival of a new type of immigrant closely linked to the socioeconomic dynamic that coincided with the onset of a post-Fordist economic phase. Later, from the mid-1990s on, the consolidation of an economic model characterized by low productivity and rapid growth contributed to intensify migration flows into Spain. For that reason, until 2007, as the foreign population increased there was also a parallel rise in the number of irregular immigrants and a more intense immigration pressure on the border.

The government tried to solve the problem of unauthorized immigration without altering the productive model. Among other measures, three important regularization processes were undertaken, in 2000, 2001 (regularization on the strength of community ties) and in 2005 (known as normalization process). The first two processes were linked to the length of time migrants had resided in Spain and the last one to the participation of migrants in the labour market. At this point it is worth considering whether unauthorized maritime immigration was also conditioned by the appeal of the Spanish productive model and by the "pull effect" generated by the regularization processes. In both cases the answer would be in the affirmative. Regarding the first issue, a survey performed in the Canary Islands during the 2000 regularization process confirmed that many African immigrants had arrived in Spain irregularly by sea and that they had benefited from the support of fellow countrymen who had previously settled in Spain. Regarding the second question, in the case of the Canary Islands, the highest figures in the number of immigrants detained after their arrival by sea were recorded in the years following the immigrant regularization processes, in other words, in 2001, 2002 and 2006 (Figure 2.3).

The Global Economic Crisis of 2008–2010 and Migrations

The circumstances that favoured the growth of the world economy up until the year 2007 have not changed in the context of the current economic crisis. Furthermore, some of the structural elements on which globalization has been based, such as the fast circulation of capital beyond the control of state regulations, lie at the heart of the economic recession that started in 2008, when the worst cyclical crisis of the capitalist system since 1929 broke out, affecting almost all countries in the world. Among the consequences of this crisis there is the drop in demand for goods and services and, consequently, for labour. As a result, the ILO predicted an increase in unemployment figures for 2009 of between 18 and 30 million workers compared to 2007, or even of 50 million workers if the situation continued to deteriorate (ILO, 2009).

As it has been pointed out, during the period of economic expansion the influx of workers from abroad contributed to maximizing growth and controlling salaries in recipient countries. As opposed to this, in a situation of economic recession, migrant workers are the first to lose their jobs. If at times of growth unemployment rates are higher among migrant workers than among their native counterparts, at times of crisis the difference grows. Thus,

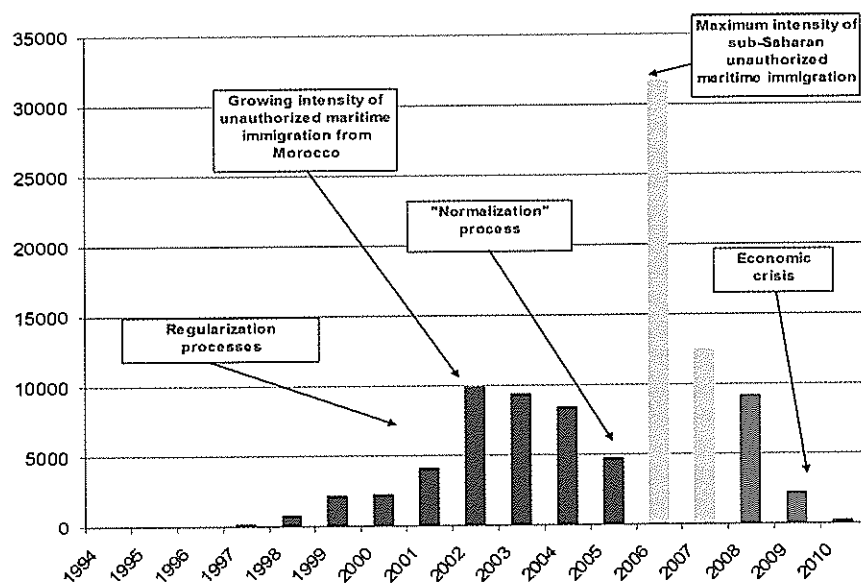


Figure 2.3 Links between migration stages and the labour market regulation

Source: Ministry of the Interior (Spain): http://www.la-moncloa.es/ServiciosdePrensa/NotasPrensa/MIR/_2010/npr20100116_Inmigracion.htm (accessed 27/12/2010).

the impact of the global crisis on migrant workers has been very severe. Unemployment rates among migrant workers have shot up, and are substantially higher than those affecting native workers, while there has been an increase in irregular employment.

As far as those who have not emigrated are concerned, the situation varies. When a change in the country of residence is considered, the crisis is seen through the filter of the migrant's own perception of the crisis potential duration and intensity. The longer the situation prolongs itself, the more pessimistic the migrants tend to become (Dominguez and Godenau, 2010). Migrants might also be affected by the hostile social environment generated by the crisis in recipient countries. For that reason, the medium and long term consequences of the slowdown in economic activity may lead to more limited and selected immigration flows, subjected to greater adjustments and controls in the case of those countries, such as Spain, that have received massive waves of immigrants in their recent past (Papademetriou and Terrazas, 2009).

In the specific case of unauthorized migration, according to SOPEMI (2009: 30–33), in 2008 there had already been a drop in the number of border crossings in the case of the USA. In the European Union, irregular migration into Spain, Italy the United Kingdom and Ireland slowed down as well, which confirms that there is a link between the fall in the number of immigrants arriving and the evolution of the economy and of the rates of unemployment among immigrants; there is also a positive correlation between the number of irregular immigrants detained on their arrival by sea and the evolution of GDP, and a negative correlation between the number of detentions and unemployment rates among immigrants (Table 2.2). Thus, unauthorized immigration flows weaken at times of economic

Table 2.2 Spain's economic indicators and immigration

	Number of detentions for unauthorized maritime arrival	Unemployment rates among the foreign population	GDP average growth
2005	17,347	11.4	3.6
2006	41,180	11.8	4.0
2007	19,610	12.2	3.6
2008	14,634	17.5	0.9
2009	7,285	28.4	-3.6
2010	196	30.4	0.8
Unemployment rate – GDP average growth (PEARSON)			-0.8
Number of detentions – Unemployment rate (PEARSON)			-0.8
Number of detentions – GDP average growth (PEARSON)			0.6

Source: Ministry of the Interior and National Statistics Institute: http://www.la-moncloa.es/ServiciosdePrensa/NotasPrensa/MIR/_2010/npr20100116_Inmigracion.htm; http://www.ine.es/jaxi/menu.do?type=pcaxis&path=%2Ft22/e308_mnu&file=inebase&L=0; <http://www.ine.es/jaxi/menu.do?type=pcaxis&path=%2Ft35/p009&file=inebase&L=0> (accessed 27/12/2010).

crisis, for the same risks that seemed worthwhile during a period of economic expansion now seem increasingly purposeless.

Furthermore, the recession and the situation of economic paralysis Spain is immersed in is divulged not just by the media, but also by the networks of contacts established among Africans who reside in Spain and their relatives and friends in their countries of origin, which are as effective or more than any securitization measures. It should not be forgotten that precarious employment at times of crisis reduces the assistance that immigrants might offer to potential migrants back home, a fact that also contributes to slowing migration flows down. This has been pointed out in the media which, as we have mentioned above, have examined this issue well ahead of the specialized literature. At the beginning of February 2010, for instance, an obsolete cargo ship which was supposed to take illegal immigrants to the Canary Islands failed to set sail from Sierra Leone, as the organizers did not manage to find travellers in Mauritania, Mali, Senegal, Guinea Bissau, Conakry or Sierra Leone able or willing to pay the €1,500 per head they were demanding; only a few years before, potential migrants would have been able to pay that sum with help from relatives already settled in the Canary Islands or other points in Europe.

However, the drop in unauthorized migration flows cannot in any case be linked to initiatives that aim at complementing migration policies of vigilance and repatriation with the incentives to economic development the European Union has established in its Global Approach to Migration road map. In other words, from an economic perspective, the lessening flows of unauthorized immigrants are the consequence of the severe economic crisis affecting the world, and Spain in particular, and not of development initiatives. In fact, it is evident from top-level meetings, communiqués, reports and so on, that the EU is still in the initial stages of developing the initiatives mentioned, and that statements of purpose are still more common than specific measures. For example, the Communication on the Joint Africa–EU strategy (published in November 2010) took political stock of partnerships and progress since 2007 and included political guidance and impetus for

further work. This suggests that the EU is aware of the need to move towards a genuine partnership based not only on development cooperation but on aid as a catalyst for inclusive and sustainable growth.

In a stricter sense of the term, linking them exclusively to circular migration, partnerships have not been tried extensively. The Cape Verde–EU partnership agreement is the only one to have had some success, while the partnership with Senegal seems to be on hold (Lavenex and Kunz, 2008; Chou, 2009; Chou and Gibert, 2010). The former's success is likely to be due to geopolitical and economic reasons that exceed the scope of this chapter, among them the fact that over the last few years Cape Verde has been a strategic destination for Spanish private investors, especially in the tourist sector, which has probably led to the archipelago receiving greater attention. Additionally, the Cape Verdean diaspora is to be found mainly in the USA, which lessens the impact of the migratory pressure that the contact networks of the nationals of this country can exercise in Europe, which in turn simplifies the management of these flows.

As far as the Centre for Migration Information and Management (CIGEM) is concerned, which started to work in Bamako (Mali), in October 2008, we have not been able to assess its actions, as is the case with the agreements to facilitate the authorized immigration of small groups of third-country nationals (for example, by means of bilateral agreements between Spain and Senegal, the authorization for women to be employed in the agricultural sector, or the authorization to employ a number of fishermen) which have had varying results and whose renewal seems to have been placed on hold. As has been stated by Bosch and Haddad (2007), "politics is a volatile domain. What may be a political priority at the top of the agenda one day, may be overtaken by a different issue just some days later, often due to a new event making the headlines. Thus the focus on implementing the Global Approach to Migration and the continued emphasis on partnership and comprehensiveness may not last forever".

Conclusion

Border regions have acquired a greater importance in a globalized world where the circulation of goods, services and capital has not kept up with free human mobility. The construction of new security borders with advanced technological devices, even in marine environments, has contributed to slowing down the flow of irregular immigration. But, beyond acknowledging the effectiveness of this initiative from a geopolitical perspective, border regions should be analysed from the point of view of the socio-economic imbalances, productive cycles and transnational networks of contacts and information which regulate human mobility. That is the working hypothesis this chapter is based on.

Sealing borders is not possible if no measures are taken simultaneously to reduce the differences in national income between countries and if statements of purpose and road maps, such as the Global Approach to Migration, stay in the realm of good intentions. A few and isolated examples of partnerships do not make up for the impact of other economic factors of greater weight, such as productive cycles and the labour markets associated with them. These are the factors that make any border permeable, for they are the material that rouses the collective imagination of potential immigrants, eventually imposing its own reality, as an analysis of the sequence of migration flows shows, and as is borne out by the evolution of irregular maritime migration into the Canary Islands, one of the world's most important geo-economically fractured areas.

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