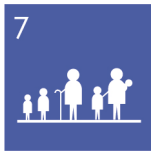


15.

Vulnerability to exploitation and abuse along the Mediterranean migration routes to Italy

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VULNERABILITIES

Abstract: This chapter investigates whether migrants using different routes to reach Italy have different characteristics and what individual risk factors and aggravating contextual factors are associated with higher or lower vulnerability of migrants to a selected set of experiences of abuse, violence and exploitation that might amount to human trafficking. The chapter is based on IOM's Displacement Tracking Matrix Flow Monitoring Surveys, conducted with approximately 12,000 migrants aged 14 years or older, who arrived in Italy through different migration routes across the Mediterranean from 2016 to 2018. The results show that age and sex affect the probability of experiencing abuse and exploitation, with younger and male respondents being more vulnerable to direct experiences of unpaid or forced work and of being held against their will.

15.1. Introduction and research questions

Migrants' exposure to abuse, exploitation, human trafficking and other human rights violations is well documented along many migration routes. When looking at the mixed migration flows (IOM, 2019) reaching Italy over the last decade, reports from the media, academia, international and civil society organizations, let alone many United Nations agencies, have highlighted an increase in the frequency and scale of violence and abuses suffered by migrants at various levels and points of the journey, and especially in Libya since 2011 (OHCHR and USMIL, 2016, 2018; IOM, 2017; UNHCR, 2018; Council of Europe, 2019; Amnesty International, 2016). With few exceptions, these focus on qualitative and in-depth accounts of violence and abuses, on describing the specific dynamics in a given location and period, or on looking into a selected group of migrants by nationality, age or sex.

¹ Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM), IOM Italy, Rome.

² DTM, IOM Regional Office, Vienna.

This chapter offers a complementary analysis of migrants' vulnerabilities based mostly on quantitative interviews conducted³ over three years (2016–2018) with about 12,000 migrant men, women, boys and girls of 55 different nationalities who reached Italy and shared diverse journeys and experiences along the Mediterranean migration routes. Building on existing literature on the topic (Brown, 2011; MMC, 2019), the chapter looks at the individual risk factors and contextual conditions in countries of origin, transit and destination which might determine higher levels of vulnerability of migrants along the journey. In particular, the chapter investigates (a) whether migrants using different routes to reach Italy have different characteristics; and (b) which are the individual risk factors and aggravating contextual factors that are associated with higher or lower levels of vulnerability of migrants to a selected set of experiences of abuse, violence and exploitation that might amount to human trafficking.

As it is based on microsurveys, the report does not factor in, in a quantitative manner, the impact of the many policy changes observed in the Mediterranean region and along the Central Mediterranean Route over the past years, nor can it represent all those who are travelling on that route but did not try to cross the Mediterranean Sea, those who have tried but failed to reach Europe, and those who arrived undetected. This analysis can only give an indication – most likely an underestimation – of vulnerability patterns of all those travelling along the same routes, including those who did not mean to reach Europe⁴ and those who tried but did not survive the journey.

The rest of the chapter is organized as follows. Section 15.2 describes the available data on the changing profiles of migrants interviewed in Italy between 2016 and 2018, showing how the sample relates to the reference population and its main characteristics in terms of origin, sex, age, migration reasons and intentions. Section 15.3 presents a descriptive and a multivariate analysis of the individual risk factors and journeys' characteristics that are associated with higher vulnerability to the individual experiences of abuse, exploitation and human trafficking included in the survey.

15.2. Changing profiles of migrants from 2016 to 2018

15.2.1. IOM's Displacement Tracking Matrix data

Trends in irregular entries in Italy have been changing over the past years in terms of numbers, main nationalities, profiles and routes taken by those reaching the shores of southern Italy from Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, Egypt, Turkey or Greece, as well as by those entering via the north-eastern border with Slovenia (DTM, 2020).⁵ The present analysis is based on IOM DTM's Flow Monitoring Surveys carried out between January 2016 and November 2018, with a total of 12,803 non-European adults and children between 14 and 17 years of age who arrived in Italy no more than one year prior to the survey.⁶ The annual samples were adjusted each year to the trends in the reference population of arrivals by sea for which official data are available: 6,485 in 2016, or 4 per cent of arrivals by sea that year; 4,712 in 2017 (or 4% of arrivals); and 1,606 in 2018 (or 7% of arrivals by sea). About 3 per cent of the total sample entered by land via the Western Balkan route, and another 4 per cent arrived by sea departing from Turkey or Greece. The rest of the sample (93%) reported either Libya, Tunisia, Algeria or Egypt as last country of transit before Italy.⁷

³ The Flow Monitoring Surveys are part of IOM's DTM activities in the Mediterranean region, started in October 2015. The surveys gather information on migrants' profiles, their journeys to Europe, their motivations and intended destinations. The questionnaire also has a module with a set of questions on exploitative practices and abuse personally lived or observed by respondents during the journey. More information can be accessed via DTM's Flow Monitoring Europe Geoportal, available at <https://migration.iom.int/europe?type=arrivals>.

⁴ See, for example, IOM and WFP (2019).

⁵ For an overview of yearly trends on arrivals by sea, check the DTM reports for 2016, (<https://migration.iom.int/reports/europe-%E2%80%94mixed-migration-flows-europe-mediterranean-digest-january-%E2%80%94december-2016?close=true>), 2017 (<https://migration.iom.int/reports/europe-%E2%80%94mixed-migration-flows-europe-yearly-overview-2017?close=true>) and 2018 (<https://migration.iom.int/reports/europe-%E2%80%94summary-key-results-january-december-2018?close=true>); and the report for the fourth quarter of 2018 (<https://migration.iom.int/reports/europe-%E2%80%94mixed-migration-flows-europe-quarterly-overview-october-december-2018?close=true>) with breakdown of departure points, and Chapter 4 of this volume (Fedorova and Shupert). Arrivals by land are reported in the media and are confirmed by IOM local presence and its counterparts (local institutions, reception centres and non-profit organizations), but no official data is provided by Italian authorities.

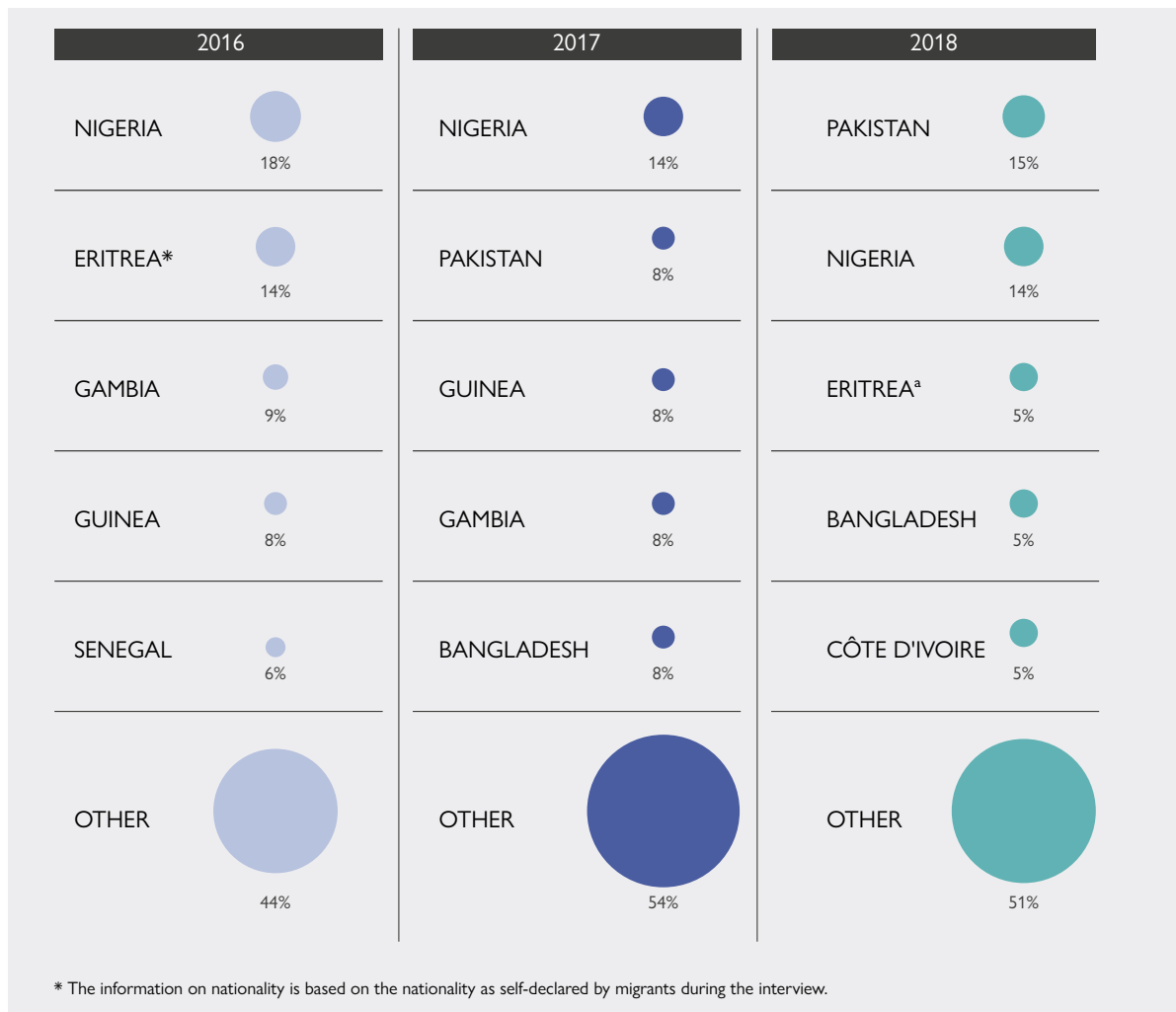
⁶ Check Chapter 2 of Galos et al. (2017) for a deeper discussion on sampling criteria.

⁷ In 2016, the data collection took place in southern regions only (Sicily, Calabria and Apulia), while in 2017 and 2018 surveys were also gathered in transit points in Lombardy (Milan and Como), Liguria (Ventimiglia) and Friuli Venezia Giulia (Trieste, Gorizia). In 2018, Lazio (Rome, Latina) too was added to account for the internal movements of migrants through Italy. Migrants who met in Friuli Venezia Giulia had often entered Italy by land via Slovenia.

15.2.2. Demographic and socioeconomic profiles

The composition of the sample each year by region and country of origin⁸ fairly reflects the observed arrival trends in Italy from 2016 to 2018. Migrants and refugees originating from the West Africa region represent most of the sample in 2016 and 2017 (57% and 52%, respectively) and still the biggest group in the 2018 sample (38%), followed by respondents from North African, Southern Asian and Eastern African countries. Similarly, the top countries of origin of respondents change in parallel with changes of main nationalities of arrival by sea from 2016 to 2018, with the exception of an overrepresentation of Pakistani nationals and an underrepresentation of Tunisian nationals, due to fieldwork conditions.⁹

Figure 15.1. Top 5 countries of origin and other, by year of the survey (%)

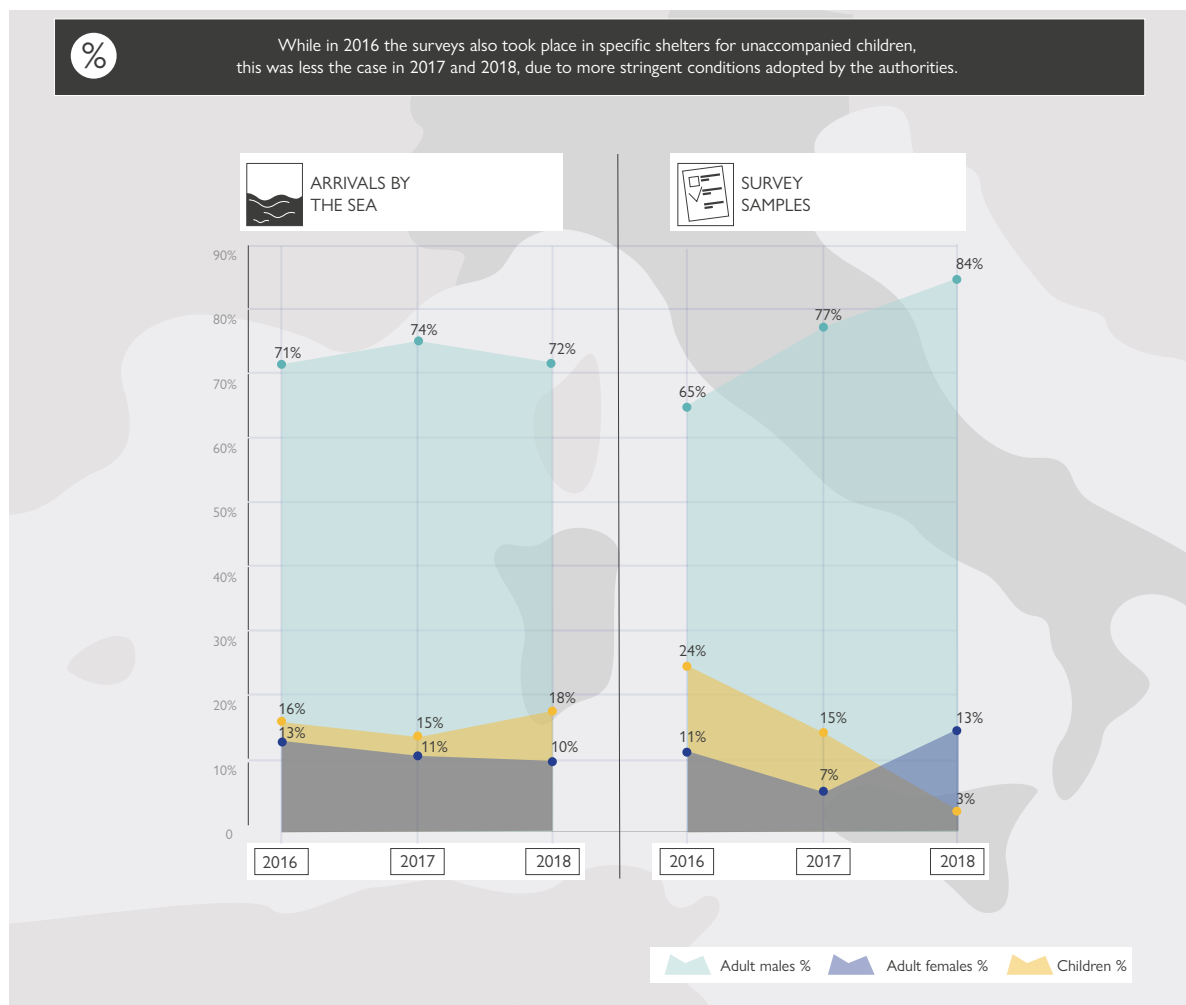


⁸ Countries/areas of origin surveyed under each region (based upon the United Nations list of geographical regions) are as follows. Northern Africa: the Sudan, Morocco, Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria; West Africa: Nigeria, the Gambia, Guinea, Senegal, Côte d'Ivoire, Mali, Ghana, Sierra Leone, Burkina Faso, Guinea-Bissau, the Niger, Togo, Liberia, Benin, Mauritania; Eastern and Horn of Africa: Eritrea,* Somalia, Ethiopia, the Comoros, South Sudan, Kenya, Uganda, Zimbabwe; Western Asia: Iraq, Syrian Arab Republic, Palestinian Territories, Turkey, Yemen, Armenia, Azerbaijan; Southern Asia: Bangladesh, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Islamic Republic of Iran, India, Nepal; Other regions: the Central African Republic, China, Cameroon, the Congo, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Gabon, Republic of Moldova, Russian Federation, Chad and Kosovo. (References to Kosovo shall be understood to be in the context of United Nations Security Council resolution 1244 (1999).)

⁹ See above: Migrants (mostly Pakistanis) met in Friuli Venezia Giulia and often entered Italy via land (not included in statistics of arrival by sea). Also, although locations in Sicily have always been covered by the survey, Tunisians are underrepresented in the sample, as they are more likely to be put in detention centres upon arrival or returned, given the readmission agreement between Italy and Tunisia, and therefore less likely to be met by the data collectors.

Adult males constitute the majority of the sample each year, followed by adult women and children. Although this reflects the composition of arrivals by sea, the sample overrepresents children in 2016 and underrepresents them in 2018. This is mainly due to the uneven distribution of migrants by age and sex in different types of facilities; also, the possibility for interviewers to access centres for unaccompanied migrant children and shelters for women is lower overall than that of accessing shelters for adult men or families.¹⁰ While in 2016 the surveys also took place in specific shelters for unaccompanied children, this was less the case in 2017 and 2018, due to more stringent conditions adopted by the authorities to interview unaccompanied children. Male respondents are slightly younger than female ones on average. Being single was the reported condition in most cases, although female respondents reported being married, divorced or widowed more frequently than their male counterparts.

Figure 15.2. Share of arrivals by sea and of DTM survey's respondents in Italy by sex and age, by year (%)



15.2.3. Motivations and intentions to migrate

Although DTM surveys have no relation with the determination of the legal status of those reaching Europe – and this is made clear to the respondents – answers on reasons for moving from origin and on the intended country of destination might be somewhat biased by migrants' own perception of what deserves to be declared (Chauvin and Garcés-Masareñas, 2014). Nevertheless, personal violence or the threat/fear of violence is the most frequently self-reported reason for leaving the origin country each year (between 50% and 60% for the whole sample), followed by war or conflict (around 20%), economic and other reasons (around 20%). Fieldwork notes

¹⁰ Not only are women a minority of arrivals by sea, they are also more likely to be sent to medical centres upon arrival for health checks (for example, in case of pregnancies or miscarriages) and some are placed in specific protection centres for victims of trafficking, which were not covered by DTM surveys.

and comments by the respondents reveal a wide variation of motivations and personal circumstances behind the “personal violence” response. Family issues of various kinds are frequently reported: domestic violence by partners, siblings or other relatives; opposition of the family to interfaith marriages; intention to avoid female genital mutilation for the respondent or for the respondent’s daughter(s); and the need to escape persecution and punishment by the family or extended community caused by the respondent’s sexual orientation or gender identity. In addition, men reported the avoidance of indefinite military conscription and cases of fights over the inheritance of land for farming or animal husbandry, often after the death of the father, as main reasons to leave, indicating a mix of economic and survival reasons.

Italy is the most frequently reported country of intended destination, although it declined from 54 per cent in 2016 to 27 per cent in 2018 among males, and from 42 per cent in 2016 to 22 per cent in 2018 among females. It was followed by Europe as a whole (almost 10% for the whole sample) and by many other European countries (including Germany, France, the United Kingdom and Switzerland). Libya is also mentioned by a not negligible share of the sample as initial intended destination, especially among men (around 7%). Very few respondents declared having close relatives already residing in the intended country of destination (below 5% in the three years), while some others (15% in 2016, 7% in 2017 and 17% in 2018) reported to have non-first-line¹¹ relatives at destination.

15.2.4. The journey

Most respondents each year reported having travelled alone, although women reported more frequently than men having travelled with at least one family member. The questionnaire gathered information on transit countries since departure from the origin country or the country where the respondent spent one year or more before resuming the journey towards Europe.

The time spent in transit¹² increased on average from 2016 to 2018 for all migrants, with very few migrants reporting journeys shorter than one month and increasingly higher shares reporting to have spent more than six months in transit.

Moreover, the number of those reporting having stopped for one year or more in a country different from theirs increased each year, to up to more than half of the sample in 2018. Again, this is mainly associated with the increased frequency of unforeseen and sometimes forced long stops in Libya, before embarking to cross the Mediterranean Sea, but long stays in Algeria, Ethiopia, the Sudan or Turkey were also reported.

The necessity of collecting money, either by working or by waiting for support from relatives to pay for further legs of the journey, being held by smugglers in hidden places, having been kidnapped or having been detained by different groups, are among the most cited reasons for long stops. From respondents’ accounts, the time spent in transit and the number of stops made during the journey can either be the cause or the effect of exploitative experiences lived during the journey.

15.2.5. Reported experiences along the journey: trends in human trafficking, exploitation and abuse

Between 66 and 77 per cent of respondents each year answered “yes” to at least one of the four questions relative to direct experiences of exploitation and abuse included in the survey:¹³ individual experiences of (a) work without payment, (b) forced work, (c) having been held against one’s will, and (d) having been offered an arranged marriage. This composite measure is used to show the overall level of vulnerability to abuse, exploitation and human trafficking expressed by respondents.

¹¹ First-line relatives include parents, siblings and children.

¹² This is a calculated variable, which is the sum of days spent in each of the reported transit countries, from departure to arrival in the survey country.

¹³ Questions included in the DTM survey were formulated on the basis of IOM experience in protection activities with migrants along the migration routes to Europe as well as of numerous media and research reports. A question on direct experiences of physical violence was piloted in 2017 in Italy and then applied in all DTM Mediterranean countries from 2018. A question on sexual violence was also piloted in 2017 and formulated in a non-direct way in consideration of the sensitivity of the issue for survivors.

Moreover, more than two thirds of the sample in 2017 and 2018 reported having had direct experience of physical violence. Although physical violence as a single experience is not considered among the indicators of human trafficking or exploitation, its presence – in combination with other indicators – points to control mechanisms that are typical of individuals suffering from exploitation and are victims or at risk of human trafficking.

Finally, almost one third of the respondents in 2017 and 2018 reported that they had witnessed threats of sexual violence made to others during the journey. Especially in the case of Libya, respondents of both sexes reported experiences that involved male and female fellow migrants in a condition of detention: rapes and violence against women and men (including same-sex intercourse) by armed forces running detention centres or by smugglers running connection houses were sometimes committed in public as a form of control and humiliation of the whole group. Some respondents frequently connected incidents of sexual violence and abuse to women who became pregnant along the route (MMC, 2019; WRC, 2019).

15.3. What increases vulnerability to abuse, exploitation and human trafficking during the journey?

This section discusses which characteristics of the individual and of the journey are associated with greater vulnerability during the journey, or what differentiates the 9,371 migrants who responded positively to at least one of the four questions related to direct experiences of abuse, exploitation and human trafficking included in the survey, from the 3,432 who did not report any such incidents.

15.3.1. Descriptive evidence

Region of origin and nationality

Migrants and refugees coming from East Africa, the Horn of Africa and West Africa have the highest and increasing shares of positive responses each year: in 2018, more than 90 per cent of them reported at least one of the four experiences of abuse, exploitation and human trafficking included in the survey.

Almost all the largest national groups in the sample¹⁴ have an increasingly high share of positive responses each year. Migrants and refugees from the Gambia, Senegal and Guinea are those with the highest shares of positive responses on average, while respondents from the Sudan are those with the highest increase in positive responses from 2016 to 2018 (from 59% to 91%). The exception of migrants from Pakistan, for whom the share of positive responses in 2018 is lower than in 2016, can be explained with the diversification of routes to Italy of this group: some of the Pakistani nationals in the sample of 2017 and 2018 reported having arrived by sea from Turkey or Greece, or having entered by land from Slovenia, while in the 2016 sample, all of them reported to have crossed the Mediterranean from Libya.

¹⁴ These are defined as those for which we have at least 500 interviews in total and at least 45 interviews each year.

Figure 15.3. Share of positive responses to at least 1 of 4 direct indicators, by region of origin and year of survey (%)



Table 15.1. Share of positive responses to at least 1 of 4 direct indicators for main nationalities in the sample, by year of survey (%)

	2016	2017	2018	Trend
Gambia	91	90	97	up
Senegal	90	92	96	up
Guinea	89	88	92	up/stable
Sudan	59	74	91	up
Nigeria	77	82	91	up
Côte d'Ivoire	90	88	87	down/stable
Bangladesh	86	96	83	down/stable
Pakistan	55	33	46	down

Demographic profile

Each year, migrants and refugees who report at least one of four types of exploitative practices are younger on average than those who do not (23 and 25 years old on average, respectively). Contrasting trends by sex are observed over the three years: males responded positively more often than females in 2016 and 2017 (75% and 78% versus 52% and 67%, respectively), while females reported higher shares of positive responses than males in 2018 (75% versus 64%). Males reported more often than females instances of unpaid or forced work every year, while being kept against one's will was reported more frequently by males in 2016 and 2017 and by females in 2018. Finally, women reported more often than men direct offers of arranged marriage and observed experiences of threats of sexual violence both in 2017 (46% versus 28%) and in 2018 (53% versus 30%).

The journey

Consistently in all years, respondents who travelled with at least one family member showed lower shares of positive responses compared with those who travelled alone or with a group of non-family members. The protective factor of travelling with family members is more evident among females. Female respondents travelling with family members reported the lowest shares of positive responses for the three years, lower than the shares of those travelling alone or with a group of non-family members.

Longer periods spent in transit are associated with higher shares of positive responses to at least one of the trafficking and exploitation indicators each year. Migrants and refugees who stayed for one year or more in a country different from that of origin before resuming the journey and those spending more time travelling (summing up the periods spending in each transit country since departure) are those with the highest shares of positive responses – above 80 per cent each year. On the contrary, the lowest share of positive responses is registered among those with journeys shorter than one month (27%, 36% and 17% in 2016, 2017 and 2018, respectively).

The length of the journey is clearly connected with the route taken and the number and type of countries crossed to reach Italy and Europe. Waiting for transportation often in collective houses, working or waiting to receive more money to pay for the next leg, waiting for other kind of arrangements or trying to overcome route disruptions or document problems to keep travelling were the most frequently reported reasons for migrants who had stopped for days or months in a single country. Also, being kidnapped for ransom or being detained by official or unofficial authorities forced many to stop for months in specific transit locations.

15.3.2. Factors associated with greater vulnerability: A summary

The paragraphs above have described the association between pairs of variables, presenting how the share of positive responses changes by respondents' sex, length of the journey and region of origin, among others. Nevertheless, each single variable does not vary independently from others, and the combination of different factors has an impact on the overall vulnerability of respondents to the direct experience of abuse, exploitation and human trafficking. A multivariate analysis of the probability of saying "yes" to at least one of the four indicators included in the survey was run to test how the described associations between pairs of variables hold when considering a set of individual and contextual variables at the same time. The test has been run on all three yearly subsamples and on the total sample.

Table 15.2 summarizes the main results,¹⁵ highlighting the risk factors that increase the probability of responding "yes" to one of the four indicators of exploitation and abuse, together with the estimated strength and significance of the association keeping all other variables at their mean values.

¹⁵ Different specifications of the probability model, list of variables and weights of the three yearly samples have been tested. Full tables of results of the tested models and of the estimated predicted probabilities are available upon request.

Table 15.2. Factors associated with the probability of responding “yes” to at least 1 of 4 indicators of abuse, exploitation and human trafficking, average sign, size and significance, DTM samples for 2016–2018

Risk factors	Association ^a	Short explanation
Male	↑↑(***)	Male respondents show higher shares of positive responses to the cumulative indicator of abuse, exploitation and human trafficking than females, on average.
Children or young adults below 25 years	↑(**)	There is no significant difference between children (14–17 years) and young adults (18–24 years); these two groups are associated with similar shares of positive responses, higher than those of older respondents.
Being widowed or divorced	↑↑(***)	Widowed or divorced respondents show higher shares of positive responses than the rest of the sample (single and married).
Travelling alone or with non-family group	↑(**)	No significant difference between those travelling alone and with non-family members. Respondents travelling with at least one family member show lower shares of positive respondents than the rest of the sample on average.
Having spent one year or more in a country different from origin	↑↑(***)	Departing from a country different from that of origin after having stopped there for one year or more is associated with higher shares of positive responses than departing from origin country.
Longer periods in transit	↑↑↑(***)	Longer periods spent in transit are associated with higher shares of positive responses. For example, those spending six months or more in transit are about 28 percentage points more likely than those with transit periods shorter than one month to report at least one of the four indicators of direct experience, on average.
Not having a family member at destination	↑(***)	Those who declared having at least one (first- or second-line) family member already in the intended destination country show a lower share of positive responses than those who don't, on average.
Having passed through Libya	↑↑↑ (***)	Respondents who have transited through Libya are associated with higher shares of positive responses, on average. Other variables being their mean values, this seems to be the most important factor associated with a positive response to at least one of the four indicators of abuse, exploitation and human trafficking.
Being from West Africa, East and Horn of Africa and South-East Asia	↑↑↑ (***)	Respondents originating from countries in West Africa, East and Horn of Africa or Southern East Asia are associated with higher shares of positive responses than respondents from countries in Northern Africa and Western Asia, on average.
Having arrived/ being interviewed more recently	↑(**)	The share of positive responses is higher, on average, for respondents in 2017 and 2018 than for those interviewed in 2016.

Note: There was no significant association with education level, cost of the journey, initial reason to move or length of stay in Italy at the time of the interview.

^a The arrows show the direction and size of the difference between predicted probabilities of responding “yes” to at least one of four questions on indicators of abuse, exploitation and human trafficking (dependent variable) at different levels of each independent variable included in the model (sex: male/female; age: 14–17, 18–20, 21–24, 25–28, 29 and above; marital status: single, married, widowed/divorced; education level: none, primary, secondary, tertiary; travel: alone, with family, with non-family; onward migration: yes, no; days spent in transit: less than 1 month, 1–3 months, 3–6 months, 6 months–1 year, more than 1 year, no transit; cost of the journey: none, less than USD 1,000, USD 1,000–5,000, more than USD 5,000, unknown; main reason to leave origin country: war, personal violence, other; family member at destination: yes, no; transit through Libya: yes/no; origin region: Northern Africa, West Africa, Eastern and Horn of Africa, Western Asia, South-Eastern Asia, Other); interview year: 2016, 2017, 2018; length of stay in Italy at time of the interview. The table summarizes multiple logistic regressions run for each of the three yearly subsamples and for the total sample. The table shows only the sign and size of significant associations predicted with at least a 95 per cent level of confidence.

Results are overall in line with previous DTM analyses and other studies (IOM, 2017; Galos et al., 2017; MMC, 2019) that suggested strong differences in the type of experiences reported by male and female respondents: male respondents are more prone to the kind of direct abuses and exploitative practices covered by the DTM surveys in Europe (unpaid and forced work, offers of arranged marriage, being held against their will). Nevertheless, results relative to indirect experiences of sexual violence with accounts of observed threats and perpetrated violence on others suggest not overlooking the specific types of violence and abuse most commonly reported by women and girls.

Moreover, the results confirm a significant similarity between adolescents and youth respondents (14–17 and 18–24 years of age) in terms of their greater vulnerability to abuse and exploitation compared with older respondents (see, for example UNICEF and IOM, 2017). Also, migrants and refugees transiting through Libya are more exposed to various forms of violence, abuses and human rights violations, including the experiences captured by the survey's indicators. Findings from the DTM surveys provide further evidence on the intricate relation between routes taken, travel arrangements and experiences of exploitation and abuse, and signal the greater risk associated with transiting through Libya to cross the Mediterranean, compared with risks experienced by those reaching Italy from Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt or Turkey, and the Balkan route.

Time spent travelling is furthermore both cause and consequence of higher risks; the need to earn and save money along the journey puts migrants at risk of becoming victims of exploitative labour conditions and of having more dangerous travel arrangements, especially in countries bordering Europe. Time spent in travel also depends on unforeseen stops, such as various forms of detention-like conditions, being forced to stay in a confined space to extract labour or money before being allowed to move again, which increases vulnerabilities of migrants travelling to Europe through the Central Mediterranean Route.

Even without considering existing evidence of migrants' deaths along the journey (see Black, Chapter 12 of this volume), this chapter shows how irregular migration has become increasingly risky for those travelling to Italy and Europe. Quantitative results show how the levels of reported abuse, exploitation and experiences that might amount to human trafficking have increased between 2016 and 2018, especially for those who travel through Libya and for those who originate in certain regions (West Africa and East and Horn of Africa). More evidence is needed on how these vulnerabilities are affected by recent policy changes in numerous countries of origin, transit and destination along the Mediterranean routes (Tinti and Reitano, 2017). Also, initial reasons for departure do not seem to significantly affect the individual vulnerability to the surveyed types of abuse and exploitation for those travelling along the Central Mediterranean Route. Irrespective of the initial reasons for moving, the high frequency of specific and painful experiences during the journey gives arguments for a more comprehensive protection system for all those reaching Italy through irregular means and along dangerous routes.

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