

Joint Managing Editors:

- Solon Arditis (Eurasylum)
- Frank Laczko (International Organization for Migration – IOM)

Editorial Advisers:

- Joanne van Selm (Eurasylum)

Editorial Coordinator:

- Valerie Hagger (International Organization for Migration – IOM)

Editorial Assistants:

- Mylene Buensuceso (International Organization for Migration – IOM)
- Anna Lyn Constantino (International Organization for Migration – IOM)

Editorial Committee:

- Aderanti Adepoju (Human Resources Development Centre, Lagos, Nigeria)
- Richard Ares Baumgartner (European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders of the European Union – FRONTEX, Warsaw)
- Peter Bosch (European Commission, Brussels)
- Juan Carlos Calleros (Staff Office of the President of Mexico)
- David Costello (Commissioner, Office of the Refugee Applications, from the Government of Ireland)
- Howard Duncan (Metropolis, Ottawa, Canada)
- Neli Esipova (Gallup World Poll, New York)
- Araceli Azuara Ferreiro (Organization of American States – OAS, Washington, D.C.)
- Andrew Geddes (Migration Policy Centre – MPC, Florence)
- Lukas Gehrke (International Centre for Migration Policy Development – ICMPD, Vienna)
- Shahidul Haque (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh)
- Michelle Leighton (International Labour Office – ILO, Geneva)
- Pietro Mona (Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, Berne)
- William McClure (Australian Department of Immigration and Border Protection)
- Dilip Ratha (World Bank, Washington, D.C.)
- Cécile Riallant (EC-UN Joint Migration and Development Initiative, Brussels)
- Hilmar Schneider (Institute for the Study of Labor – IZA, Bonn)
- Nand Kishore Singh (Member of the Indian Parliament, New Delhi)
- Maria Stavropoulou (Greek Asylum Service)
- Stephanos Stavros (Council of Europe, Strasbourg)
- Maia Welbourne (Citizenship and Immigration Canada – CIC, Ottawa)
- Klaus F. Zimmermann (Global Labour Organization – GLO)

MIGRATION POLICY PRACTICE

A Bimonthly Journal for and by Policymakers Worldwide

ISSN 2223-5248

Vol. VII, Number 2, April–September 2017



A truck carrying provisions and migrants in the Agadez region. © IOM 2016 (Photo: Amanda Martinez Nero)

CONTENTS

- 2 Measuring irregular migration: Innovative data practices**
Solon Arditis and Frank Laczko
- 4 Measuring unsafe migration: The challenge of collecting accurate data on migrant fatalities**
Ann Singleton, Frank Laczko and Julia Black
- 10 A new approach: Displacement Tracking Matrix Comprehensive Migration Flows Survey Model**
Michelle Münstermann and Vivianne van der Vorst
- 15 Measuring irregular migration in the context of Afghanistan**
Linnea Lue Kessing and Ruta Nimkar
- 21 Methodological approaches in human smuggling research: Documenting irregular migration facilitation in the Americas and the Middle East**
Luigi Achilli and Gabriella Sanchez
- 26 Data sets on irregular migration and irregular migrants in the European Union**
Michele Vespe, Fabrizio Natale and Luca Pappalardo
- 34 Migrants' vulnerability to human trafficking and exploitation in the irregular migration context of the Mediterranean routes**
Eliza Galos, Harry Cook and Laura Bartolini
- 38 Circular migration and the need to define and measure it**
Bernd Parusel
- 44 Publications**

Published jointly by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and Eurasylum Ltd.



The views in this journal are those of the authors and don't necessarily reflect the views of the International Organization for Migration or Eurasylum Ltd.

Measuring irregular migration: Innovative data practices

Solon Ardittis and Frank Laczko¹

Irregular migration is inevitably difficult to measure due to its clandestine nature. Given the recent increase in irregular migration to Europe, there is growing interest in developing new ways to collect and analyse data on irregular migration. This special issue is based on papers that were first presented at an expert workshop held in Berlin in May 2017, sponsored by the United Kingdom Department for International Development. The aim of the workshop was to provide an opportunity for participants to learn about innovative ways of collecting and analysing data on irregular migration. While the focus was mainly on irregular migration to Europe, there was also discussion of methods of gathering data on irregular migration in other parts of the world.

We believe that this special issue is particularly timely given the current preparations for the global compact for safe, orderly and regular migration. The New York Declaration on Refugees and Migrants, adopted at the high-level plenary meeting of the United Nations General Assembly on 19 September 2016, stresses the importance of enhancing data collection, specifying that such data should be disaggregated by sex and age and include information on regular and *irregular flows*, human trafficking, and the needs of refugees and migrants, among other aspects. By signing the New York Declaration, countries also committed to starting negotiations towards the adoption of the global compact for safe, orderly and regular migration in 2018. It is likely to be difficult to assess how far countries are making progress towards promoting safe, orderly, and regular migration without timely and accurate migration data.

Challenges in defining and measuring irregular migration

The phenomenon of irregular migration, or “movement that takes place outside the regulatory norms of the sending, transit and receiving country”² is, by definition and by its own nature, hardly quantifiable. Difficulties relate to recording irregular migrant stocks – numbers of irregular migrants at a certain point in time in a specific country or region – as people’s status can be subject to frequent change, depending on countries’ legislation regulating entry, stay, residence and right to work of foreigners. Accurately documenting irregular migration flows – or events and processes influencing the size and composition of the irregular migrant stock over a period of time – is also very challenging; these events include not only inflows and outflows of irregular migrants, but also people moving into and out of irregularity in the same country, and vital events (births and deaths) within the irregular migrant population, all of which are difficult to track. Data or estimates of irregular migration stocks and flows mainly rely on administrative sources relating to enforcement of immigration legislation (e.g. border apprehensions, applications for regularization programmes, employer sanctions, among others), which reflect policies and practices of immigration control rather than the reality of the phenomenon.

All of the above means that current understanding of the scale and dynamics of irregular migration, and of irregular migrants’ socioeconomic profiles, is quite poor for most regions of the world, despite recent efforts to improve the availability and quality of data and estimates. Data collection efforts have been particularly prominent in the European context over the past few years, due to the relatively large increase in the numbers of migrants and asylum seekers crossing the Mediterranean in an irregular fashion, compared to previous years. According to available data, more than 1 million migrants and asylum seekers entered Europe irregularly in 2015, compared to less than 300,000 in 2014, mostly through the Eastern

1 Solon Ardittis is Managing Director of Eurasyllum Ltd. Frank Laczko is Director of the Global Migration Data Analysis Centre (GMDAC) at the International Organization for Migration (IOM) in Berlin. They are the co-editors of *Migration Policy Practice*.

2 See: IOM, “Key migration terms”. Available from www.iom.int/key-migration-terms

and Central Mediterranean routes. Arrivals decreased to less than 400,000 in 2016 as a consequence of the European Union–Turkey Statement and the subsequent closure of the Balkans route.

The New York Declaration, adopted at the high-level plenary meeting of the UN General Assembly on 19 September 2016, stresses the importance of enhancing data collection, specifying that such data should be disaggregated by sex and age and include information on regular and irregular flows, human trafficking, and the needs of refugees and migrants, among other aspects. By signing the New York Declaration, countries also committed to starting negotiations towards the adoption of the global compact for safe, orderly and regular migration in 2018. Again, this implies that there will be a need to track whether migration is safe, orderly and regular once the global compact is signed, calling for more and better data on irregular and unsafe migration.

Innovative approaches

Most of the articles in this special issue explore how data on irregular migration might be improved and discuss various innovative approaches. The articles tackle a range of different topics and approaches.

The first article focuses on the challenge of gathering data on migrant fatalities. The article presents the strengths and weaknesses of different approaches and explains how data are collected for the International Organization for Migration's Missing Migrants Project. This is followed by an article focusing on Afghanistan, which explains a new qualitative approach to gathering data on irregular migration by the Mixed Migration Monitoring Mechanism Initiative (4Mi). A more quantitative approach has been developed by IOM's Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM) programme, which has begun to extend its comprehensive large-scale survey work to a wider group of migrants than hitherto. One of the most difficult aspects of irregular migration to study is human smuggling, given the clandestine nature of this activity. Luigi Achilli and Gabriella Sanchez argue in their article that by using qualitative methods, researchers can provide important insights that challenge commonly held characterizations of human smuggling. Accessing data on irregular migration can often be challenging because different sources of data exist across a wide range of countries. In their article, researchers at the European Commission's Knowledge Centre on Migration and Demography provide an overview of the key sources of data on irregular migration in Europe. ■

Measuring unsafe migration: The challenge of collecting accurate data on migrant fatalities¹

Ann Singleton, Frank Laczko and Julia Black²

Introduction

Since 1996, the deaths of more than 60,000 men, women and children have been recorded on migration routes worldwide. These deaths and disappearances are increasingly reported in the media, but the underlying data remain woefully incomplete. This paper critically examines the quality of data and the often-publicized figures on migrant fatalities in order to promote a better understanding of the available information. First, it examines the methodology of the International Organization for Migration (IOM) Missing Migrants Project (MMP), currently the only existing database on global migrant fatalities. It then discusses the challenges of collecting data on migrant deaths and disappearances. Finally, the paper presents recommendations for the improvement of data on migrant fatalities.

IOM's data on Missing Migrants Project

In October 2013, an estimated 368 migrants died in the sinking of two boats near the Italian island of Lampedusa. In response to this and other tragedies, IOM decided to launch an annual global report that would provide an in-depth analysis of recorded migrant fatalities. The first report in the series, titled *Fatal Journeys: Tracking Lives Lost during Migration*, was published in 2014. In addition, IOM created the MMP, which is a joint initiative of the Organization's Global Migration Data Analysis Centre in Berlin and the Media and Communications Division in Geneva. The MMP aims to track deaths of migrants, including refugees, who have died or gone missing along migration routes worldwide, but the data coverage

is incomplete. Many migrant deaths occur in remote regions of the world and are never recorded.³ The vast majority of governments in the world do not collect or publish data on migrant deaths. As a consequence, the MMP data are best understood as a minimum estimate of the true number of global migrant fatalities.

Methodology

The MMP database provides a global overview of data on migrant fatalities, but it is primarily dependent on secondary sources of information. Information is gathered from diverse sources such as official records – including from coast guards and medical examiners – and other sources such as media reports, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and surveys and interviews of migrants. The reliability and completeness of data vary greatly from region to region, from country to country and over time. Table 1 illustrates the wide variety of sources used in the MMP database, and gives some insight into the various advantages and disadvantages of each. The table shows that data are available from a wide range of sources, and that the statistics compiled are not based solely on media reports. However, each of these sources of data have their limitations and weaknesses. For example, some of the data are collected directly from migrants, either from survivors or through an increasing number of surveys of migrants. However, data from surveys may not be representative, and there may be a risk of double-counting if migrants report the same incident when asked whether they are aware of a migrant death or disappearance. Forensic data may be available but may provide limited information, since the data only provide information on the bodies recovered and not all missing migrants. A new source of data is “Big Data”, such as data obtained through the analysis of social media reports. Such data can be timely and wide ranging, but it is often difficult to verify how accurate or complete such information is. Different

1 This paper draws on part 1 of the forthcoming report of the International Organization for Migration (IOM), *Fatal Journeys Volume 3: Improving Data on Missing Migrants*.

2 Ann Singleton is Senior Research Fellow at the University of Bristol and Senior Adviser to IOM's Global Migration Data Analysis Centre (GMDAC). Frank Laczko is the Director of IOM's GMDAC in Berlin. Julia Black is the data coordinator of IOM's Missing Migrants Project and is based at IOM's GMDAC in Berlin.

3 IOM, *Fatal Journeys: Tracking Lives Lost during Migration* (Geneva, 2014).

types of official data from governments and border-control authorities are available in a limited number of countries. Such data from official sources are widely cited, but it is often unclear how they are compiled and how comprehensive they are.

Definitions

The MMP data include migrants (regardless of legal status) who have died at the external borders of States or in the process of migration towards an international destination. This selection of data is based on the currently available sources and can provide some insight into the safety or otherwise of routes. Not included in the data collection is information about migrants who die, or go missing, in countries of destination or residence. Deaths in refugee housing, immigration detention centres or camps are excluded. The MMP data also exclude deaths that occur during deportation or after forced return to a migrant's homeland or third country, as well as deaths more loosely connected with migrants' precarious or irregular status, such as those resulting from labour exploitation or resulting from lack of access to health care. Data and information on the risks and vulnerabilities faced by migrants in destination countries, including death, should not be neglected, but rather tracked as a distinct category.

Variables

The total number of dead and missing migrants is comprised of two categories of information: (a) those known deaths recorded because of the discovery

of a body or of some human remains; and (b) those reports (usually by survivors) of missing persons who are assumed to have died, often reported on an "incident" basis. These two categories of data are recorded separately in the MMP database but are often reported as a combined total.

Contextual information on each incident involving a migrant fatality is also recorded in the database. This includes, at minimum, the date and the location of an incident or, if this is not known, when and where a migrant's body was recovered. Information on the location of an incident is recorded in both a descriptive category and an entry containing the estimated coordinates of the incident. For each incident, the cause of death is also included in the MMP database. However, as the conditions resulting in a migrant fatality are often unclear, cause-of-death entries are often listed as "unknown". In such cases, additional information may be added: for example, the cause of death for migrant bodies found on the coast of North Africa may be listed as "unknown – presumed drowned", or in the Arizona desert as "unknown – skeletal remains".

Demographic information, where available, on each deceased migrant is also included in the MMP database. This includes variables for the gender, age and country of origin of the migrant, which may have been assumed, based on the characteristics of the incident. Comments may also be included to add important contextual information especially in cases where the circumstances of the death are unclear.

Table 1: Data sources used in IOM's Missing Migrants Project and forthcoming report *Fatal Journeys Volume 3: Improving Data on Missing Migrants*

Data source	Data format	Where is this information available?	Strengths	Weaknesses
Government: data on repatriations	Database (bodies)	Mexico, Honduras, Bangladesh, Guatemala, El Salvador	Credible information; Covers many cases (not just individual incidents).	Available for very few countries; Can be outdated; Includes only information on recovered bodies and not on missing persons.
Government: press releases, official statements	Incident reports	Some countries in Europe, South America	Credible information about individual events.	Available for few, isolated events; It is often necessary to request more detailed information; Usually includes only information on bodies recovered and not on missing persons; Media may only report most "sensational" cases; Different media organizations may report the same incident with risk of double-counting.

Data source	Data format	Where is this information available?	Strengths	Weaknesses
Government: records of border deaths	Database (bodies)	US counties bordering Mexico	(Can) provide credible information.	Coverage is unknown, as many deaths are unidentified as being those of migrants or the deaths are not reported to consulates.
Forensic data (i.e. from medical examiners/coroners)	Database (bodies) or aggregate figures	US counties on Mexico–United States border, European countries ^a	Credible and detailed information about individual incidents.	Data disaggregated by migrant deaths is rarely available (only one example: Pima County, Arizona).
Coast guards/police/border patrols/NGOs	Incident reports	Greece, Italy, Spain, Turkey, Libya, Mexico–United States border	Credible information for individual cases.	Completeness of coverage is unknown; Often includes only information on bodies recovered and not on missing persons (e.g. Spanish coast guard reports).
Testimonies of shipwreck survivors	Incident reports	Mediterranean (IOM, Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)), Bay of Bengal/Andaman Sea (UNHCR)	Indicative data where little other information exists; Useful to estimate the number of missing persons at sea.	Impossible to verify reports, survivors may provide range of estimates of missing persons (MMP always uses lowest estimate).
Testimonies of migrants: survey programmes	Summary figures, incident-based database often available on request	Mediterranean, North Africa, sub-Saharan Africa ^b	Indicative data where no other data sources exist; Interviewees may speak more honestly with interviewers who speak their native language and/or are also migrants.	Impossible to verify reports for veracity or double-counting, sample size is generally small and unrepresentative; Breaks between funding can inhibit comparison; Dates of deaths are often imprecise.
NGO reports	Summary figures, incident-based database often available upon request	South-East Asia (UNHCR), Middle East (several NGOs), Western Mediterranean (Asociación Pro Derechos Humanos de Andalucía)	(Can) provide credible information from local contexts, sometimes with specialized knowledge from NGO staff; though usually these are summary figures released annually, NGOs are generally willing to provide underlying data if asked.	Covers only regional or localized areas; Often releases data annually as summary figure, which are impossible to check for veracity and double-counting; Definitions of “migrant death” may vary.
Media: traditional media reporting	Incident reports	Coverage in Central America, Mexico–United States border, Europe; to a lesser degree in Asia and Africa	Provides current information on events that may not be reported otherwise; Contextual information may be included that does not come across in data sets.	Quality varies significantly, and information can be incomplete or inaccurate; Generally, no follow-up reporting (e.g. the aftermath of a car crash) “Big” news is more likely to receive pickup (i.e. smaller incidents not part of a “crisis” may not be reported); Requires frequent data mining/searching of sources.
Media: social media	Incident reports	Middle East, Central America, Mediterranean ^c	(Can) provide the most current information about incidents; Can foster connections between data sources (e.g. IOM with local NGOs) and information about cases not reported in news.	Little information is provided, it can be incomplete or inaccurate; It can be difficult/unfeasible to follow up to get more information and/or verify; False information can travel quickly Requires frequent data mining/searching of sources.

Notes: ^a See, for example: Vrije Universiteit, Deaths at the Borders Database, available from www.borderdeaths.org/

^b See, for example: North Africa Mixed Migration Hub survey data, available from mixedmigrationhub.org/survey-snapshots; and Regional Mixed Migration Secretariat, Mixed Migration Monitoring Mechanism Initiative (4Mi), available from <http://4mi.regionalmms.org/4mi.html>

^c See, for example: European Asylum Support Office’s weekly social media monitoring reports, available from easo.europa.eu/news-events/easo-newsletter-0

Data challenges

In addition to the pros and cons specific to each source of data on migrant deaths and disappearances, there are significant challenges to any attempt at gathering data on migrant fatalities. The overall challenge is that many of the deaths of undocumented migrants remain invisible because the people who die or go missing are unknown to the authorities. In many countries and regions, there are generally no proactive official policies regarding the protection of the lives of undocumented migrants or the collection of data on their health or on their deaths. If people without documentation go missing or die, it is difficult to find who is responsible, either for their life or death, or for the collection of data on what has happened to them. This means there is a lack of data on deaths during migration. In addition, identification is a major problem and, on the majority of routes, most recovered bodies are never identified. Where the collection and analysis of post-mortem data is a possibility and the forensic and scientific expertise exists, there is a possibility of identification. However, this involves expensive laboratory analysis and success is dependent on the resources available. These problems are further complicated by the degree of decomposition of human remains, related to the timing and location of the deaths, whether in the desert, in the sea or in other inaccessible places. It is thought that the bodies of small children and babies might never be recovered from the most difficult locations, such as in the desert or the sea. Related resource issues include the lack of refrigeration facilities to store bodies, as was reported by the MMP (Kovras et al., 2016).

Identification based on ante-mortem data is possible in some cases, for example, where the families can be traced, or by contacting authorities directly, or through social media (Cattaneo et al., 2015). The official procedures can be extremely resource intensive and

often there is little prospect of successfully contacting family members living thousands of miles from the location of the death or the discovery of the body.

There is, consequently, a great deal of variability in the accuracy and coverage of data from different sources, between and across regions and countries. The precision of location details varies widely. For example, while the Pima County Office of the Medical Examiner in Arizona provides exact coordinates of the location of a body recovered on the Mexico–United States border, in the Mediterranean, locational incident data are based on eyewitness reports, which, for example, state simply that “the ship began to sink about 10 km off the coast of Sabratha, Libya”.

The completeness of demographic data varies widely. For MMP data between January 2014 and June 2017, information on age and gender was available for 90 per cent of incidents recorded in Europe but only contained information on age or gender, and for 17 per cent of incidents recorded in Africa. These disparities suggest further evidence that many deaths on land in Africa are never recorded.

As is the case for adults, the total numbers of dead and missing children are unknown, but the reliability of any further detail is possibly even less certain. Eyewitness accounts might be more likely to record the deaths of accompanied children, although their bodies might be less likely to be recovered in many locations. The deaths of unaccompanied children are possibly less likely to ever be known or recorded. Adolescent males may have been recorded as adults. Table 2 shows the difference, by region and number of incidents, in the information available on gender and age. The table shows clearly how little disaggregated data are available in some regions of the world, making it difficult to identify how many women or children may have perished.

Table 2: Data on age and gender recorded in Missing Migrants Project, 1 January 2014–30 June 2017

Region	Proportion of incidents containing information on age or gender	Proportion of dead/missing containing information on gender/age	Number of female deaths	Number of male deaths	Number of child deaths	Total number of deaths recorded
Central Mediterranean	36%	12%	375	826	136	12,781
Eastern Mediterranean	86%	84%	201	204	377	1,336
Europe	90%	85%	7	173	24	246
Africa	17%	8%	51	118	52	3,805
South-East Asia*	59%	58%	35	285	30	1,835
Mexico–United States border	80%	52%	51	544	13	1,194
Central America	52%	66%	19	179	33	431

Source: Missing Migrants Project, 2017.

Notes: Only regions in which more than 100 incidents were recorded are included in this table. The omitted regions represent less than 1 per cent of the total number of deaths recorded.

(*) The South-East Asia figure includes a UNHCR estimate of the total number of deaths in the Bay of Bengal in 2016, which includes approximately 250 child deaths.

Way forward

States are currently debating how they can promote safe, orderly and regular migration within the framework of a new global compact on migration. One key indicator of unsafe migration is the number of migrant fatalities that occur around the world. During the last three years, progress has been made in compiling data on such deaths. IOM's MMP and annual global report *Fatal Journeys* have helped to raise awareness about the rising number of migrant deaths that occur around the world. Nonetheless, a brief analysis of the data that currently exist shows that there are huge variations between regions in terms of the data currently available. While deaths in the Mediterranean are widely and consistently reported, the scale of migrant deaths in other parts of the world remains almost unknown. There are also wide discrepancies in the amount and type of data available at the regional level. As Table 2 shows, it is very difficult to find data disaggregated by age and gender in many regions of the world. Only 17 per cent of the data for Africa, for example, provide information on age or gender. This means that not only is the total number of migrant deaths under-recorded, but also the incidence of deaths of different vulnerable groups such as women and children is often unknown. It is also the case that even when bodies are discovered, it may take several years before the identity of the migrant can be established, if at all.

IOM's forthcoming global report – *Fatal Journeys Volume 3: Improving Data on Missing Migrants* – to be released in October 2017, makes three broad sets of recommendations. First, it provides concrete examples of new ways of collecting data on missing migrants using a range of innovative methods. There are a range of options available should States and civil society organizations wish to improve the reporting of migrant deaths. However, the strengths and weaknesses of these different sources of data have not been fully discussed, and there has been little investment in data capacity-building to make it easier to report on this type of “unsafe migration”. Second, the report argues that there is a need to change what is counted. Broadly speaking, data collection on missing migrants has tended to focus on counting the dead and missing, and less on trying to identify those who have died and help families trace loved ones. This means that families are often left in limbo for many years not knowing whether a relative is dead or alive. Several chapters in the new *Fatal Journeys* report demonstrate how different organizations are working to improve identification rates. Third, as so much data on missing migrants come from media sources, it is important to work with the media to promote better reporting. Too often the information presented in the media is flawed, inaccurate, incomplete or misinterpreted. In the chapter authored by Aidan White and Ann Singleton, they suggest a number of ways in which media reporting could be improved. ■

References

Cattaneo, C. et al.

- 2015 The forgotten tragedy of unidentified dead in the Mediterranean. *Forensic Science International*, 250:e1–e2.

International Organization for Migration (IOM)

- 2014 *Fatal Journeys: Tracking Lives Lost during Migration*. IOM, Geneva. Available from https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/fataljourneys_countingtheuncounted.pdf

- 2016 *Fatal Journeys Volume 2: Identification and Tracing of Dead and Missing Migrants*. IOM, Geneva. Available from https://publications.iom.int/system/files/fataljourneys_vol2.pdf

- n.d. Missing Migrants Project database. Available from <http://missingmigrants.iom.int/> (accessed 14 August 2017). *Fatal Journeys Volume 3: Improving Data on Missing Migrants*. IOM, Geneva (forthcoming).

Kovras, I. et al.

- 2016 *Missing Migrants: Management of Dead Bodies in Lesbos. Greece Summary Report*, Mediterranean Missing Project. Available from www.mediterraneanmissing.eu/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/Mediterranean-Missing-Greek-short-report-260817.pdf

Mediterranean Missing

- 2017 *Mediterranean Missing: Understanding Needs of Families and Obligations of Authorities*. Available from www.mediterraneanmissing.eu/

A new approach: Displacement Tracking Matrix Comprehensive Migration Flows Survey Model

Michelle Münstermann and Vivianne van der Vorst¹

Introduction

During the course of 2015 and early 2016, Europe faced the unprecedented challenge of accommodating over 1 million people arriving at European borders. Governments and the international community worked together to respond to this influx of people, many of whom had left their home countries due to war, conflict or economic hardship.

In October 2015, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) rolled out the flow monitoring (FM) component of its Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM). The FM exercise was aimed at improving understanding of the population movements, especially from the Middle East and West-Central Asia, along the most popular routes into Europe, the Eastern and Central Mediterranean routes.

DTM's flow monitoring survey (FMS) was used to gather, monitor and disseminate information on mixed migration flows towards Europe with a focus on mobility patterns and migrant needs. The success of the existing data collection programme and the need for even more in-depth information prompted IOM's DTM team to initiate the new Comprehensive Migration Flows Survey (CMFS) Model, collecting data in countries of origin, transit and destination. Through this survey model, DTM was able to collect additional information on movements, decision-making factors, migrants' perceptions and vulnerabilities.

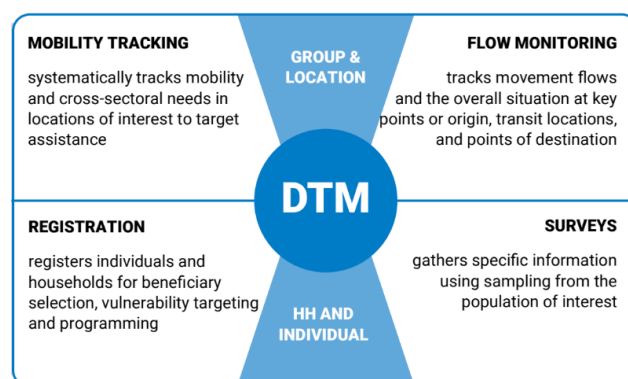
DTM encompasses an innovative range of tools that are constantly being expanded and adapted to suit varying migration and displacement contexts, both present and future. This article presents the CMFS Model and the different data collection initiatives IOM has implemented in response to the recent increase in migration flows towards Europe. It also explores how the data collection tools can be enhanced for future responses.

IOM's Displacement Tracking Matrix

DTM² is an information management system used to track and monitor displacement and population mobility during crises. It is designed to regularly and systematically capture, process and disseminate information to provide a better understanding of the movements and evolving needs of displaced populations, whether on site or en route.

DTM was conceptualized in 2004 in Iraq as part of an assessment exercise monitoring the internally displaced population. Since its inception, DTM has been refined through years of operational experience in over 60 countries. It has been adapted and applied in a variety of contexts including both conflict and natural disaster settings. The system plays an essential role in providing primary data and information on displacement and mobility, both in country and at the global level.

DTM is comprised of four distinct components: mobility tracking, registration, FM and surveys. DTM is implemented as modular operations in which the crisis context and operational set-up in a country determines the selection and use of specific components and, accordingly, the adaptation and contextualization of methodologies and tools.



1 This article was written by Michelle Münstermann and Vivianne van der Vorst on behalf of the International Organization for Migration (IOM) Global Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM) Support team.

2 See the DTM global website: www.globaldtm.info/

Flow monitoring survey in the context of migration flows to Europe

As one of the four components of DTM, FM consists of various tools, including the FMS. FM has been extensively and efficiently used in various country and regional contexts. This component was originally developed to track internal flows within countries experiencing internal displacement. The methodology was, however, later expanded to capture information on flows between countries. There are well-established examples of cross-border FM in countries including Libya, Niger, South Sudan, Afghanistan and Pakistan. Given its proven capacity to collect information on migration flows between countries, FM was established in Europe in October 2015 as part of the response to the large-scale forced migration movements.

DTM's FM was rolled out in several locations along the Eastern and Central Mediterranean routes in order to gather, monitor and disseminate information on mixed migration flows towards Europe. The aim of the data collection was to identify mobility patterns as well as migrants' needs. The information collected provided a foundation for informed decision-making and responses focused on meeting the actual needs of migrant populations.

Between January and November 2016 alone, over 19,500³ interviews were conducted by IOM field staff in various locations of entry, transit and exit. Interviews were also conducted in migrant accommodation and reception centres in Greece, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Bulgaria, Serbia, Hungary, Croatia, Slovenia and Italy.

The survey is designed to generate profiles of third-country nationals⁴ migrating to Europe through the Central and Eastern Mediterranean routes. In addition to demographic and socioeconomic profiles, FMS provides information on key transit points en route, the cost of the journey, and the reasons and motivations for moving. Within the survey, special emphasis is placed on questions that may indicate human trafficking and other associated forms of exploitation and abuse. The questions are designed to

capture the experiences of the respondents and their family members as well as any incidents witnessed during the journey.

In February 2017, a new phase of FMS data collection began along the Eastern and Central Mediterranean routes. The new phase collected additional information on the decision-making process of the interviewed migrants in the country of origin/of habitual residence, background information on how the journey was funded, more detailed questions on family and employment status as well expanding to more child-focused questions (e.g. education levels, last access to education) and more precise locations where the protection-related incident indicators (e.g. human trafficking and other exploitative practices) occurred.⁵

A new approach: The Comprehensive Migration Flows Survey Model

Rationale and set-up

The steady influx in numbers of migrants arriving in Europe in 2015 and early 2016 precipitated increasing requests for more primary data on the observed migration movements. Policymakers, migration scholars, non-governmental organizations and United Nations agencies were particularly keen to better understand the movements of the nationalities comprising the majority of those arriving in Europe in 2015/2016, including Syrian, Afghan, Iraqi⁶ and Pakistani nationals.

DTM developed an expanded FMS model consisting of eight different thematic areas, covering six different target populations. These thematic areas evolved from six multi-layered research questions which formed the basis of a study conducted by IOM titled "Enabling a Better Understanding of Migration Flows from Afghanistan and Pakistan towards Europe". The above-mentioned research questions, and the resulting thematic areas, were based on the core questions shaping the migration debate in the European context through 2015/2016.

3 IOM/DTM, "Mixed migration flows in the Mediterranean and beyond: Flow monitoring data analysis", Analysis: Flow Monitoring Surveys series (Geneva, 2016).

4 Only migrants age 14 and above are approached.

5 IOM/DTM, "The human trafficking and other exploitative practices indicators prevalence indication survey", Analysis: Flow Monitoring Surveys series (Geneva, 2017).

6 IOM/DTM, *Migration Flows from Iraq to Europe, February 2016*. Available from <http://iomiraq.net/reports/migration-flows-iraq-europe>

Eight thematic areas developed in the flow monitoring study “Enabling a better understanding of migration flows from Afghanistan and Pakistan towards Europe”

1 Migrant profiles	2 Migration routes and trajectories	3 Resourcing the journey	4 Role of intermediaries	5 Vulnerability factors in origin/transit/destination countries	6 Migration drivers and decision-making	7 Role of the diaspora	8 Migrants’ perceptions towards Europe
-----------------------	----------------------------------------	-----------------------------	-----------------------------	--------------------------------------------------------------------	--------------------------------------------	---------------------------	-------------------------------------------

The eight thematic areas provided an overarching framework establishing commonalities as well as differences among the different target populations.

Building upon previous approaches, DTM’s comprehensive survey expanded its research to include the following six different target populations across the assessed locations:

Population Group	Locations	Surveys
1. Afghan communities living in neighbouring countries	Pakistan	295
2. Potential migrants	Pakistan, Afghanistan	1,317
3. Family members “left behind”	Pakistan, Afghanistan	1,200
4. Migrants en route to Europe	FMS locations (Hungary, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bulgaria, Greece, Italy) + Calais Jungle (France)	3,007
5. Migrants in final destination countries	United Kingdom, the Netherlands	769
6. Returnees	Pakistan, Afghanistan	660

The rationale behind the different population groups is to facilitate the comparison of perspectives of individuals in different phases of the migration journey. This grouping allowed for the observation of changes in opinion and perception at different stages of the journey, particularly in factors such as decision-making processes, migrants’ expectations and their perceptions of Europe.

Methodology

The first step was to conduct an extensive desk-review report. Existing academic and operational literature was carefully screened in order to identify existing data gaps for each of the eight thematic areas.⁷ Those data gaps were then translated into

a detailed survey model, adapting each survey for the different population groups. Existing FMS data collection activities along the Eastern and Central Mediterranean routes provided the data for migrants in transit. These activities were, however, extended in certain countries to ensure a comprehensive and coherent model.

In the second phase, a total of 7,248 in-depth surveys were completed. The surveys contained largely quantitative questions with some qualitative additions. Due to the nature of some target groups considered to be “hidden” populations, sampling was, in most cases, conducted using the snowballing methodology. In the third phase, an in-depth analysis of the data was done under each thematic area. The findings were shared in snapshot reports and other information products including an interactive data exploration dashboard.

⁷ IOM/DTM, “Migration flows from Afghanistan and Pakistan towards Europe: Understanding data gaps and recommendations”, Desk review report, August (Geneva, 2016). Available from www.globaldtm.info/dtm-afghanistan-desk-review-report-august-2016/

Findings

The data collected from each population group allowed for the construction of clearly defined demographic and socioeconomic migrant profiles. These profiles included characteristics such as gender, marital status, age and education level. The broad majority of the surveyed respondents from Afghanistan and Pakistan were male and mostly single. The average age of individuals ranged between 18 and 34 years old.

The data indicated that most Afghan migrants heading to Europe departed from Afghanistan, Pakistan or the Islamic Republic of Iran. On the other hand, migrants from Pakistan generally departed from Pakistan. When travelling by land, both populations generally transited the Islamic Republic of Iran, Turkey and then Greece before dispersing along various routes to reach their destination countries in Europe. Borrowing money was one of the most common means of financing the journey. Funds were also commonly raised by selling physical capital such as houses, land and other assets.⁸

The study also produced relevant findings on the role of intermediaries. Migrants gained access to smugglers by interacting with networks based in their hometown or through personal connections such as family members and friends. The interviews indicated that perceptions of smugglers varied from positive to negative. There were also many reports of mistreatment and abuse at the hands of smugglers who often turned into traffickers, employing tactics such as abduction and debt bondage. The services provided by intermediaries were mainly focused on, but not limited to, the provision of documentation and support to enter countries.

Afghan migrants in transit in Southern, Eastern and Western Europe appeared to face more risks during their journeys than Pakistani migrants. However, when the returnee populations were interviewed, Pakistani returnees reported that they had faced more problems than Afghan returnees. Both nationalities face similar vulnerabilities including lack of food and water, dangerous travelling routes (through mountains, forests and sea), drowning, violence, robbery, detention, abuse, lack of shelter, deportation, being arrested and the practice of “forced fingerprinting”.

The primary drivers of migration often varied and were, in many cases, dependent on the individual’s resources, aspirations and capabilities. Afghan and Pakistani nationals migrate for a variety of reasons. However, the drivers identified in this study can be distilled to two main reasons for migration expressed by both nationalities. These were security reasons (including violence and threats at the national and personal levels) and economic reasons.

Regarding the role of the diaspora in Europe, the data revealed that many respondents (more often Pakistani migrants) have, or had, friends or family members in Europe before their departure. The data revealed that diaspora members provided information about the situation in Europe, about jobs, living conditions and, to a lesser extent, information about the migration journey. The outcomes of the analysis indicated that migrants have mixed perceptions of Europe at different stages of their journey. All groups have a very limited understanding of what an asylum procedure entails. Most stated that they would not advise their friends and family to migrate to Europe due to the difficulties and risks faced during the journey, including inhumane living conditions, unclear futures and the risk of deportation.

Way forward

Despite the significant progress made in developing the current survey methodology, it is important to note that the process is still very new and was implemented for the first time in the context of Afghan and Pakistani migration movements towards Europe. DTM will continue to refine the CMFS Model with the aim to apply the model to different migration contexts and population groups. In order to get a better and more detailed understanding of the different flows of migrants reaching Europe, the CMFS Model should be expanded to other nationalities constituting significant proportions of these migration flows. In addition to Afghan and Pakistani migrants, DTM also intends to expand the model to other common nationalities entering Europe including Iraqi migrants. Other areas of interest include migration flows from the sub-Saharan African region using the Libyan channel to cross to Europe via the Central Mediterranean route. These flows are comprised of migrants from diverse countries including Niger, Nigeria, Somalia and Ethiopia.

⁸ The findings related to financing the journey are particularly interesting, as debts are often considered a factor contributing to the migration cycle.

New initiatives also aim to address some of the limitations faced in the previous research study. For example:

- Unlike the FMS that monitors population flows on a frequent and repeated basis, the comprehensive DTM survey only collects information at one point in time. The survey outputs provide an in-depth analysis of mixed migration flows towards Europe, but cannot provide information on trends and changes over longer periods of time.
- The CMFS does not track the same migrants along various points of their migration journey (panel/longitudinal data). Different migrant groups are interviewed at different locations. Analysis regarding changes in perceptions and experiences in different locations along the route are not based upon tracking individuals but upon interviews with different migrant groups.
- Although the CMFS included a large number of transit countries, due to limited financial resources, DTM was, for this phase only, able to include two final destination countries and therefore excluded various other important final destination countries such as Germany, which had an increase in asylum applications from 442,000 in 2015 to 722,000 in 2016,⁹ as well as Sweden and Norway.

Conclusion

During Europe's struggle to adequately respond to the unprecedented influx of migrants in the course of 2015 and early 2016, DTM's FMS and the expansion to the CMFS supported the international migration and humanitarian community by providing large sets of primary, first-hand data to inform the general public, relevant stakeholders and support/aid community. By studying migrants' profiles, the main routes, decision-making factors, the main drivers of migration, the roles of intermediaries and the vulnerability factors along the route in greater detail, DTM aims to help policymakers to make more informed and evidence-based decisions. ■

9 Eurostat, "Asylum statistics" (2017). Available from http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Asylum_statistics

Measuring irregular migration in the context of Afghanistan

Linnea Lue Kessing and Ruta Nimkar¹

Abstract

Measuring data on irregular migration in and from fragile and conflict-affected States is challenging. The present paper introduces a new and innovative approach to data gathering, namely, the Mixed Migration Monitoring Mechanism Initiative (4Mi). This initiative was developed by the Regional Mixed Migration Secretariat in the Horn of Africa, which is hosted by the Danish Refugee Council (DRC) to monitor major mixed migration flows with a view to better understand profiles, paths and protection risks for those engaging in irregular migration movements.

The paper takes point of departure in the Afghan mixed migration flows, a context where migration and data gathering presents particular issues and where little is known about the protection concerns of those on the move. The paper shows how 4Mi has proven useful to obtaining practical, actionable data on Afghan migrants. 4Mi contributes with information about what kind of protection concerns Afghans face and where; it provides information about migration profiles including understandings of Afghan women on the move and finally it contributes with data on the smuggling networks used by Afghans engaging in irregular migration.

In the end, the paper discusses the current limitations with 4Mi (representative data and weighting) and how to improve methods to measuring irregular migration that enables effective programming and cross-regional/global analysis on the complexities of international movements.

The problem: The global compact, irregular migration and data collection

The New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants, adopted by 193 States, represented a widespread recognition of the need to address issues associated with international mobility. The resulting global compact for migration, currently in development, aims to lay out a roadmap for States to protect the safety and dignity of migrants, and to address the many facets of migration, ranging from humanitarian through to development and human rights. Both the Special Representative of the Secretary General for International Migration and the Special Rapporteur on the Human Rights of Migrants have issued reports intended to inform measures to improve conditions for migrants; both reports include specific recommendations to improve the evidence base concerning migration.²

Specific measures to improve the evidence base around migration have been proposed; these include asking questions about data in national censuses (Special Representative of the Secretary General for International Migration report), compiling and releasing existing administrative data (*ibid.*), and analysing existing labour force and household surveys (Special Rapporteur on the Human Rights of Migrants report). These measures all rely on one key assumption: that States will have existing capacity to collect, compile and analyse data. The assumption of State capacity is valid for developed States, and even States in the development process, but is critically flawed for fragile and conflict-affected States, such as Afghanistan. In these States, where basic data, such as national censuses, are not easily available, it is unlikely that data will be collected on regular migration, and next to impossible that data will be collected on irregular migration.

¹ Linnea Lue Kessing is Regional Mixed Migration Coordinator for Central and South-West Asia region at the Danish Refugee Council (DRC). Ruta Nimkar is Regional Head of Programme for Central and South-West Asia region at DRC.

² See: Goal 8, “Report of the Special Rapporteur on the human rights of migrants on a 2035 agenda for facilitating human mobility”, available from www.iom.int/sites/default/files/our_work/ODG/GCM/A_HRC_35_25_EN.pdf; and Recommendation 12, “Report of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Migration”, available from www.iom.int/sites/default/files/our_work/ODG/GCM/Sutherland-Report-%28ENG%29.pdf

Policymakers and practitioners in migration management are therefore left with two key problems: How can proxy data be collected from conflict-affected countries of origin? And how can understanding of migration profiles, paths and protection risks be improved given the limitations on data collection?

An innovative solution: The Afghan context and the Mixed Migration Monitoring Mechanism Initiative (4Mi)

The Afghan context

Afghanistan presents particular issues with regard to both migration and data gathering; as such, innovative data gathering and analysis solutions implemented in Afghanistan can offer lessons learned and best practices.

In terms of migration, Afghans were the second largest group of asylum seekers in the European Union (EU) through 2015 and 2016³ and accounted for 15 per cent of the total number of first-time asylum applicants in 2016.⁴ The number of rejected Afghan asylum seekers is high, and in October 2016 the EU and the Government of Afghanistan agreed to a policy that enables EU Member States to deport unlimited numbers of Afghan asylum seekers if asylum is not granted.⁵

While migration flows to Europe gain significant attention, Afghan movements towards the East are not well examined. This is despite the fact that Afghan flows eastward may increase as Europe closes its borders, the Afghan security situation deteriorates and the Afghan economy declines.⁶ According to the

Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), there are approximately 10,000 Afghan refugees and 1,300 Afghan asylum seekers in India. In Indonesia, 7,440 Afghans are registered with UNHCR as of May 2017; this number includes 2,481 asylum seekers.

In terms of data collection, Afghanistan presents many unusual challenges. The deteriorating security situation limits data collection, particularly in non-government-controlled areas, which represent 35 per cent of the country.⁷ The last full Afghan census was conducted in 1979.⁸ While data about the humanitarian situation, including civilian deaths and casualties as well as internal displacement, are improving, the de facto responsibility for this data gathering lies with international organizations rather than government agencies.

There are no reliable data on the number of undocumented Afghan migrants, either to neighbouring countries (Islamic Republic of Iran, Pakistan) or to further destinations (Europe, Australia). Smuggling routes are also poorly understood, despite the fact that most Afghan migrants arrive through irregular means. Some studies have been conducted on Afghan migration routes, for example, by the World Bank, the Afghanistan Analysts Network, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and UNHCR,⁹ but these are generally one-off studies that do not permit ongoing tracking of the situation. Data collection is hampered, not only by the situation in Afghanistan but also by the severe political restrictions on research and evidence in neighbouring countries to which Afghans migrate.

3 EUROSTAT, "File: Countries of origin of (non-EU) asylum seekers in the EU-28 Member States, 2015 and 2016 (thousands of first time applicants) YB17.png". Available from [http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/File:Countries_of_origin_of_\(non-EU\)_asylum_seekers_in_the_EU-28_Member_States,_2015_and_2016_\(thousands_of_first_time_applicants\)_YB17.png](http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/File:Countries_of_origin_of_(non-EU)_asylum_seekers_in_the_EU-28_Member_States,_2015_and_2016_(thousands_of_first_time_applicants)_YB17.png)

4 EUROSTAT, "Asylum statistics". Available from http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Asylum_statistics

5 S.E. Rasmussen, "EU signs deal to deport unlimited numbers of Afghan asylum seekers" (*The Guardian*, 3 October 2016). Available from www.theguardian.com/global-development/2016/oct/03/eu-european-union-signs-deal-deport-unlimited-numbers-afghan-asylum-seekers-afghanistan

6 International Organization for Migration (IOM), *Afghanistan Migration Profile* (Geneva, 2014), p. 232. Available from <https://publications.iom.int/books/migration-profile-afghanistan>

7 S. Qazi and Y. Ritzen, "Afghanistan: Who controls what" (*Al Jazeera*, 25 January 2017). Available from www.aljazeera.com/indepth/interactive/2016/08/afghanistan-controls-160823083528213.html

8 See: Central Statistics Organization, "Afghanistan statistical yearbook 2009–10", available from <http://cso.gov.af/Content/files/Population.pdf>; US Census Bureau, "International data base: Source information – Afghanistan" (June 2011), available from www.census.gov/population/international/data/idb/metadata.php?R=Custom%20Region&C=Afghanistan

9 World Bank, "Fragility and population movement in Afghanistan" (2016); Afghanistan Analysts Network, "Thematic dossier XIV: Afghan migration to Europe" (17 February 2017); IOM, *Afghanistan Migration Profile* (2014); UNHCR, "Profiling of Afghan arrivals on Greek islands in March 2016" (2016).

The Mixed Migration Monitoring Mechanism Initiative (4Mi)

The Regional Mixed Migration Secretariat in Nairobi, which is hosted by DRC, initially set up the Mixed Migration Monitoring Mechanism Initiative (4Mi) to improve understanding of the complex and changing dynamics of mixed migration movements. Today, the initiative is implemented in several regions, including Central/South-West Asia, to monitor Afghan mixed migration flows.

4Mi is a low-cost innovative approach to collect data on mixed migration flows. Monitors with knowledge about the local migration context are trained¹⁰ to collect data on a regular basis via a smartphone using standardized surveys allowing consecutive data collection that is analysed monthly in briefing papers and online visualizations. Monitors are stationed in urban hubs for migration or at border crossings. The surveys target migrants engaged in irregular movements and people involved in smuggling of migrants and cover a range of information such as push/pull factors for migration, migration history and protection violations on route, access to information and facilitation by smugglers.

4Mi has a limited scope. It aims to collect non-representative data on migration dynamics, with an emphasis on profiles, paths, and protection risks of and for Afghan migrants. It does not seek to collect quantitative data on the size and scope of flows crossing borders. The 4Mi methodology addresses the issues with Afghan data collection as follows:

- **Security situation:** Monitors are stationed in government-controlled urban areas, which are safer than rural areas. Visibility is kept to a minimum to lower the risks associated with data collection. Monitors are linked to DRC's national security setup in order to be able to better monitor and analyse security risks. Sample sizes are kept small as a risk mitigation measure.
- **Lack of basic underlying data (e.g. population census):** By collecting data using a consistent methodology over time, 4Mi aims to provide a base for understanding migration. Due to the limited scope of 4Mi, focusing on qualitative rather than quantitative data, 4Mi is positioning

itself to support triangulation and verification in case future, larger measures are undertaken to build a data collection platform.

- **Lack of government capacity in Afghanistan:** 4Mi does not work with government actors to collect data, but it aims to disseminate information to government actors and policymakers. As such, it supports an improved understanding of Afghan migration paths, profiles and protection risks among Afghanistan government actors.

Insights gained through 4Mi

The 4Mi approach focuses on obtaining practical, actionable data on migration; in the Afghan context, this means filling gaps in the existing data, and identifying areas for more in-depth research. Extensive literature reviews conducted when 4Mi started indicated that some gaps in existing data concerned protection risks facing migrants as they are moving; data collection has therefore focused on filling this gap.

Physical violations and migrant deaths

In the first months of 4Mi data collection, the results have both confirmed that migrants face protection risks and provided clarity on what exactly these risks are, and also identified the geographic areas where these risks are most prevalent.

4Mi data collection from April and May 2017 (including a total of 541 interviewees) clearly indicates the type of protection violations taking place from the onset of migration, before leaving the country of origin. 4Mi interviews those identified as desirous of crossing international borders; in Afghanistan, many of these are planning to travel by land either to neighbouring Pakistan and the Islamic Republic of Iran or onwards to Europe via Turkey.

Before they leave Afghanistan, migrants are already subject to protection concerns related to physical abuse and being detained or held for ransom at the border provinces. 4Mi data collection has helped to identify the specific border crossing points where migrants face risks. While the Herat–Islam Qala border crossing is relatively well managed, concerns are high at the border crossing in Nangahar province (Afghanistan–Pakistan) and at the Zaranj crossing in Nimruz (Afghanistan–Islamic Republic of Iran). 4Mi data indicate particularly high numbers of migrant deaths witnessed at the Zaranj crossing (see Map 1).

¹⁰ Monitors received substantial training on administering the survey itself and also on research ethics.

The silent voices: Women on the move

While the majority of irregular migrants from Afghanistan are men, 4Mi has also generated data on female migration. Almost no data exist on migration among Afghan women; 4Mi therefore starts to fill a gap in the picture of Afghan migration.

Most women migrant respondents were travelling with at least one family member. Twelve per cent of the 153 women interviewed¹¹ were travelling alone; this is significantly higher than anticipated. Most respondents were younger, educated women, suggesting that as the level of education gets higher so does the tendency to migrate for economic opportunities. Among the relatively few respondents who left for political reasons, Hazara women were particularly prevalent, and it can be assumed they were leaving due to serious concerns about safety and/or persecution due to ethnic or religious reasons. Women seem, to a higher extent, to be migrating to transit countries, not the traditional destination countries. For example, 16 per cent wished to travel to Turkey; 10.5 per cent men reported the same destination. The current data do not reveal the reason behind this trend but it may be related to the fact that women are exposed to great risks travelling irregularly by land, and are only willing to take these risks for a limited period, not for the entire journey. However, the exact degree of protection violations experienced by Afghan women along the route, and the comparison between risks facing men and women, is still unclear. Current 4Mi data actually indicate slightly lower rates of violations reported by women compared to men. Women are mostly at risk of sexual assault when they are held hostage by smugglers during irregular migration.

Smuggling as a profession

Afghans migrate through irregular pathways enabled by smugglers for whom human smuggling is the primary income source. Most of the smugglers interviewed by 4Mi stated that they consider smuggling to be a legitimate profession. 4Mi has gathered data from 25 smugglers who indicate to provide a range of services such as provision of documents, assistance to cross borders, and food and water on the journey (see Graph 1). They identify clients through their cultural/ethnic network and hostels and guesthouses in major cities in Afghanistan.

While irregular migration from Afghanistan to the Islamic Republic of Iran and potentially onwards to Europe happens via land (see Map 2), smuggling to the East is characterized by provision of documents, enabling people to fly to India and onwards. Thus, the smuggling network consists of both local networks mainly operating in border areas and larger regional/global networks assisting people with longer journeys.

4Mi limitations

Despite the value of 4Mi in filling data gaps and providing information on mixed migration routes, the system has several limitations.

- **Representative data:** The 4Mi data set is small; for the Afghan displacement axis, DRC has currently deployed 32 monitors, each collecting a minimum of 10 questionnaires per month, leading to a total data set of 320 per month. The small scale and methodology of 4Mi data collection means that the data are not representative. This, in turn, means that the data cannot be subject to rigorous statistical analysis, and that the opportunities for trend analysis are limited.
- **Data weighting:** Currently, for the Afghan displacement, the 4Mi system is collecting data from Afghanistan, India, Indonesia and Denmark. The value of the data collected in each location varies; data collected in Afghanistan do not reflect the entire journey, whereas data collected in Denmark reflect all the protection risks experienced by one person along a route. The 4Mi analysis currently compares data collected in Afghanistan directly with the data collected in Denmark. While this is consistent with the aim of 4Mi – to identify protection risks and provide a starting point for analysis – it is also a limitation of the system.

Improving methods of measuring irregular migration

The 4Mi data collection method offers both best practices and lessons learned with regard to data collection on migration in conflict-prone and fragile environments.

11 Sample size for April–May 2017.

Light footprint data collection mechanisms

4Mi represents a relatively light investment in data collection; the investment in setup, administrative costs and monitor payments is relatively limited. This light footprint is an appropriate approach in conflict settings. The cost-efficient setup allows consistent data collection over time, even given fluctuations in humanitarian funding; the linkage to existing non-governmental organization (NGO) operational activity helps to ensure safety and security in challenging security environments. Embedding 4Mi in an NGO also permits wide dissemination to humanitarian actors, such as NGOs, donors and policymakers.

As an NGO product, 4Mi can also serve to inform and indicate ways forward. For the Afghans on the move, 4Mi data have already identified gaps that have generated larger and more thorough research projects in the NGO community. Through close collaboration with other displacement stakeholders, notably IOM and UNHCR, DRC hopes that 4Mi data will also help to triangulate and verify other larger and more representative data collection mechanisms such as the IOM Displacement Tracking Matrix.

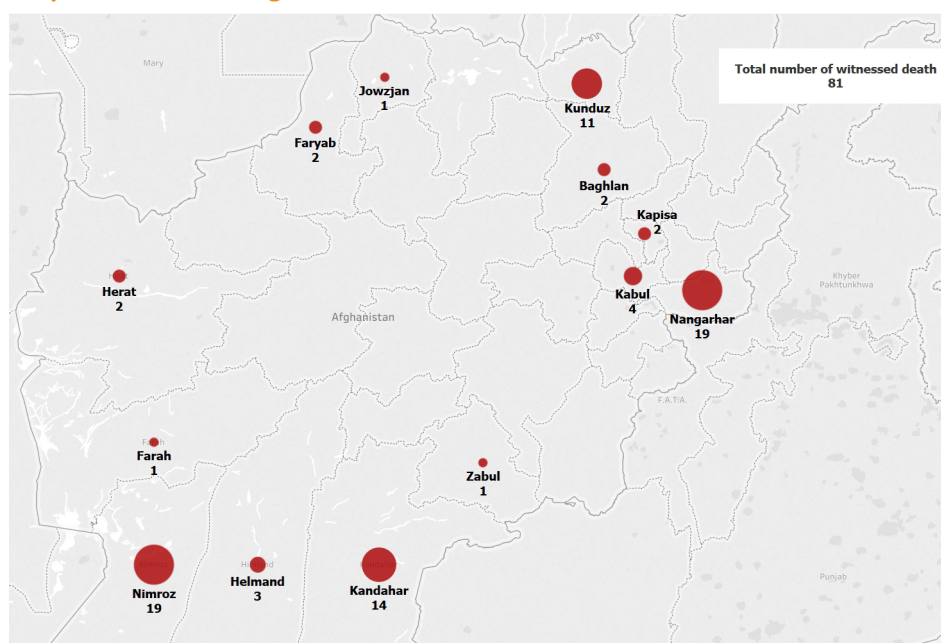
Informing programmatic response and capacity-building

4Mi data have been used, in DRC, to better understand migration routes and protection risks. Data have been disseminated among humanitarian actors, national government actors, and donors and policymakers. However, to date, the data have only had a limited effect on programming and service delivery to migrants. This is, in part, due to the fact that NGOs have limited mechanisms of addressing issues such as access to justice and access to services for migrants who have already started along the route. However, establishing stronger links between 4Mi and programmatic responses is something DRC is currently actively exploring in several regions.

Cross-region and global data comparisons

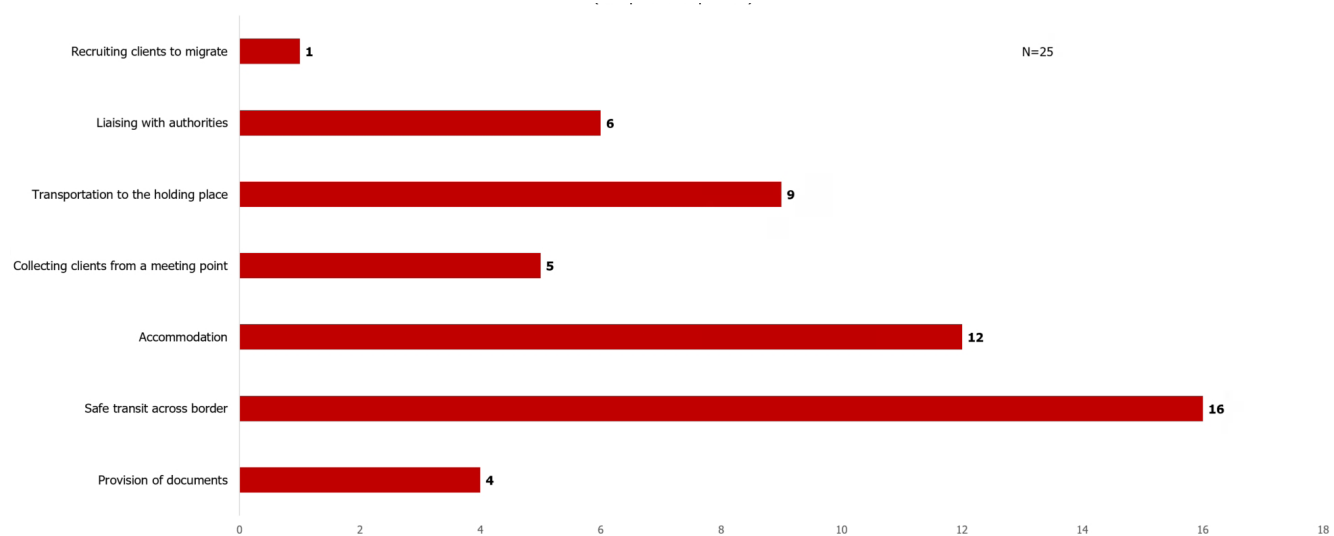
DRC currently collects 4Mi data in East Africa, West Africa, Libya, Southern Africa, Europe, and across the Central/South-West Asia route. DRC uses the same survey across all routes. The methodology is also consistent across locations, and significant experience sharing takes place between the regional 4Mi teams. The common platform represents an opportunity. It is possible to compare data on profiles, paths and protection risks across different migration routes; this analysis would support an improved understanding of the complexities of irregular migration. ■

Map 1: Witnessed migrant deaths



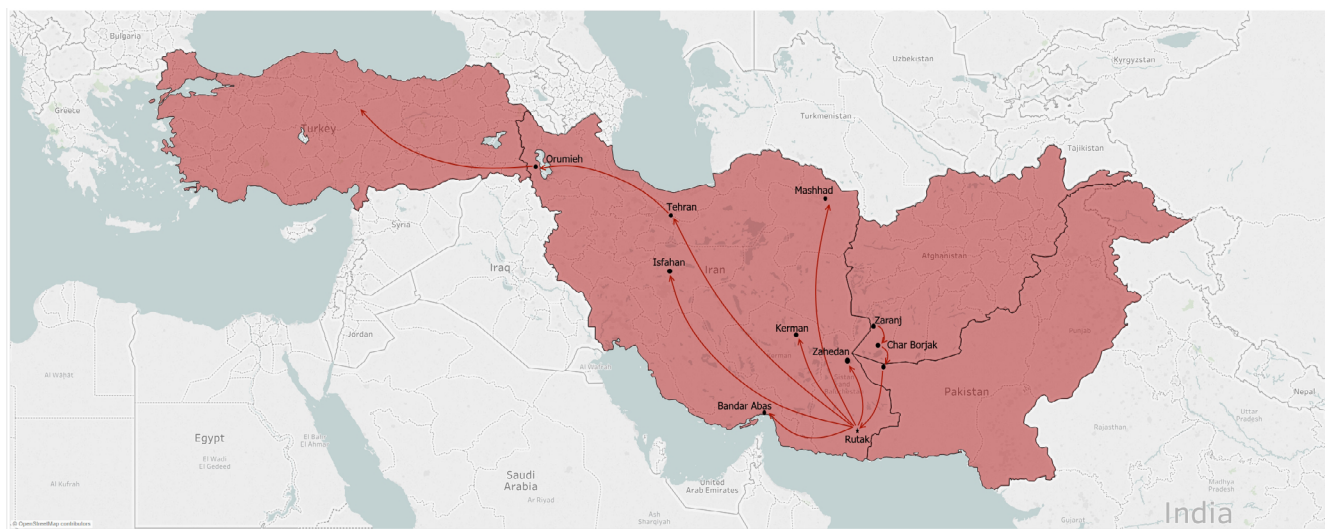
Source: 4Mi, Central and South-West Asia region, DRC.

Graph 1: Main services provided by smuggling networks



Source: 4Mi, Central and South-West Asia region, DRC.

Map 2: Irregular migration from Afghanistan to the Islamic Republic of Iran



Source: 4Mi, Central and South-West Asia region, DRC.

Methodological approaches in human smuggling research: Documenting irregular migration facilitation in the Americas and the Middle East

Luigi Achilli and Gabriella Sanchez¹

At the time this article goes into press, the Mediterranean route will stand as the deadliest region for irregular migrants in transit in the world. In 2016, the number of reported deaths along the Mediterranean route reached 5,098, and by the first six months of 2017 alone, the deaths of 2,357 migrants had been documented in the region (IOM, 2017). In the Americas, including the Mexico–United States border, the number of dead bodies reported reached 495 in 2015 and 714 in 2016; by July of 2017, authorities had documented 273 deaths (IOM, 2017).

According to the mainstream narratives on borders and migration, the number of migrant deaths is deeply intertwined with clandestine crossings, which has in turn led many to focus their attention on the human smugglers, depicted as the hardened criminal dedicated to the systematic deceiving of migrants. However, while successful at generating widespread condemnation, this characterization has consistently failed to unpack the complex social and cultural dynamics behind human smuggling and to provide clues to counter the most predatory of its manifestations. In other words, measures against smuggling without adequate understanding of its social and community dimensions may prove difficult because smuggling groups are deeply enmeshed within the everyday experience of those who rely on them. It is thus hardly surprising that current European Union (EU) counter-smuggling operations have neither undermined the number of clandestine crossings, reduced the number of deaths, nor brought smuggling practices to an end.

This begs the question: How can we unveil and counter the activities associated with the predatory facilitation of irregular migration?

Most counter-smuggling efforts have relied on law enforcement, policymakers, and journalistic documentation and analysis of the experiences of migrants who endured negative, tragic experiences along their journeys. While fundamental at understanding smuggling operations, these perspectives only constitute a piece of the puzzle. In this contribution, we argue that in order to identify abusive, unethical and dangerous practices in human smuggling, we need to question the dominant assumptions surrounding the practice through empirical research. Rather than investigating human smuggling from a criminal perspective that defines the practice as an underground, hidden activity, we must also identify its everyday social and public dimensions. Furthermore, we argue that improved understanding of human smuggling must reevaluate the notion that smugglers obey only a business-oriented logic (another dominant angle in smuggling analyses). In what follows, we narrate our experiences conducting ethnographic work in the Mediterranean and the Mexico–United States migration corridors alongside smuggling facilitators and their communities, and share some of our common findings. We argue that improved understanding into the facilitation of irregular migration come from building research relationships to the inside of migrant communities, and can benefit from the inclusion of a largely ostracized interlocutor: the smuggling facilitator.

Theoretical principles

Our methodological demarche sits solidly on a body of empirically grounded scholarship which has questioned overly simplistic depictions of the smuggling facilitator–traveler relationship solely as tragic, predatory or criminal. This body of work is not new. In 1999, Chin characterized clandestine Chinese migration to the United States as community based. In 2004, Doomernik and Kyle summarized the complex relationship between smugglers and migrants as a spectrum ranging from the altruistic assistance provided by family members or friends to the dynamics of exploitation based on the intent of hardened criminals. Further empirical research from Zhang (2007), Koser (2008) and Spener (2009), among

¹ Luigi Achilli is a Marie Curie fellow at San Diego State University. Gabriella Sanchez is a research fellow at the Migration Policy Centre in the European University Institute.

others, has shown that trust and cooperation rather than violence and coercion appear to be the rule more than the exception in the interaction between smugglers and those who rely on their services.

However, while this body of work has empirically challenged common stereotypes about the smuggler–migrant relationship, the assumption that smugglers are solely criminal businessmen driven exclusively by profit still remains engrained in migration discourses. This is in part explained by the conceptualization and treatment of smuggling as an inherently criminal act, by the still limited interest of migration scholars in irregular migration facilitation, and by the enduring belief that obtaining empirical data derived from practices construed as criminally organized and hidden is virtually impossible. However, trapped by the spectacularly graphic representations of migrants on the move and by the most violent and tragic of acts associated with smuggling, scholars and political analysts have often missed the collective and social dimension of human smuggling. What we contend here is that migration facilitation is a response to the contexts of protracted irregularity faced by migrants, its emergence constitutes a basic, often rudimentary form of human security from below.

In order to understand how people experience irregular migration, an examination of its protective aspects is just as important as those that make it brutal or violent. This is not to minimize the abuses and violence that many migrants experience during their journeys. Yet, documenting migrants' own perceptions of and mechanisms for safety, protection, and risk become as important as documenting the acts that impact their physical and mental integrity. So rather than crafting innovative tools to collecting data on irregular migration, we continued to rely on traditional anthropological work via ethnography and participant observation to map the community dimensions of irregular migration/human smuggling. In the section that follows, we briefly document our methodological approaches into smuggling facilitation and experiences.

Case study 1: The Eastern Mediterranean route

Between April 2015 and June 2016, Achilli conducted a multi-sited research project among Syrian refugees and smugglers in the Eastern Mediterranean corridor and the Balkan route: southern Italy, Albania, Lebanon and Jordan, Turkey and Greece, and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Serbia.

The study involved interviews with over 30 men and women formerly smuggled across the Eastern Mediterranean route, and conversations with around 40 migrants – mostly Syrian asylum seekers in Jordan and Lebanon, who were either in the process of being smuggled or considering the possibility of migrating irregularly to Europe. The study involved travelling with some of them during legs of their journeys into Europe and sought to shadow their experience. It also included interviews with border and immigration authorities as well as humanitarian actors. Most importantly, over 20 interviews with smugglers who worked, often interchangeably, as organizers, passeurs, lookouts and intermediaries in Lebanon, Greece and Turkey, were completed. Furthermore, in Italy and Albania, a number of “retired” smugglers who were active during the so-called Albanian crisis, between 1991 and 2001, were interviewed. Informal conversations with hotel operators, taxi drivers, shopkeepers and other smuggling market actors along the route who provided their services to both smugglers and migrants took place. While open and semi-structured interviews remained the main most important mode of the data collection, time was also devoted to participant observation. Since human smuggling cannot be understood without attending the interactions between migrants and smuggling facilitators, the project also involved a two-week term with a smuggling group based in Elgar, a coastal town in western Turkey. The intensive, albeit limited, exposure to the community of smugglers and migrants allowed for the mapping of their organization and the identification of the processes that they rely upon in the facilitation of smuggling, and the documentation of the day-to-day interactions that emerge among the market's participants.

Personal contacts in the field including long-standing friendships with Syrian and Palestinian refugees in Jordan, obtained through long-term fieldwork in the Palestinian refugee camps of Jordan, were used to recruit participants in the Eastern Mediterranean area, along with involvement in an Italian non-governmental organization working with migrants and refugees in several countries along the Eastern Mediterranean route and the Balkan corridor (Achilli, 2017). It was in this context that Syrians and other communities that migrated irregularly to Europe, people who claimed to know facilitators, were contacted. Further contacts were made via snowball sampling to include their acquaintances, contacts and relatives across borders. Because smuggling is not a frowned-upon practice among migrant and refugee communities,

interactions led to meeting not only more people who migrated irregularly but also some of their facilitators willing to share their experiences. Personal identities were not concealed, and the project did not use deception. A series of precautions however were adopted, such as disclosing from the onset the exact nature of the research and emphasizing disinterest in the business transactions tied to smuggling. Instead, questions were limited to asking how smuggling was perceived and discussed by smuggling facilitators and their customers. The project did not involve engagement in smuggling activities. The time spent in the field following smuggling facilitators and their clients was dedicated to appraise the social and moral significance of smuggling among its actors.

Case study 2: Smuggler–migrant interactions on the Mexico–United States migration corridor

This section describes two independent ethnographic studies on the everyday interactions among smuggling facilitators and their clients. From 2009 to 2011, an initial project was conducted involving fieldwork with 66 men and women charged with smuggling in the US state of Arizona. The fieldwork was supplemented with an analysis of the respondents' legal court cases, as well as with interviews with their relatives, friends and clients. The project also involved participant observation at locations frequented by respondents in the context of their day-to-day lives, such as restaurants, beauty salons, schools, food stands, community clinics, wire transfer centres, dance clubs, supermarkets, churches, parks, and movie theaters where smuggling facilitators and their clients interacted. The participant observation data were further supplemented with informal interviews with law enforcement agents from police departments, sheriff offices and federal agencies to learn their approach to and understanding of smuggling facilitation. Lastly, to have spatial and geographic referents of their activities, visits to the locations described in respondents' interviews were also completed. Flexible ethnography allowed for exploration of the dynamics of the interactions between migrants, those in charge of their journeys, and their interactions and responses to humanitarian and law enforcement practices aimed at controlling migration flows.

In April and May of 2014, and intermittently through December of 2015, a second project on the interactions between smuggling facilitators and migrants who had crossed borders with the facilitators' assistance was completed in the US state of Utah. One of the projects' goals was to identify the nexus, if at all, that existed between migrant smuggling and other criminal markets or activities like sex or drug trafficking, in light of the references pointing at the participation of transnational organized crime in the facilitation of irregular migration along the Mexico–United States migration trail. The study was launched as a community participatory research project with the help of a respondent met in the context of the Arizona project described above. On this occasion, 25 women and 4 men from Mexico and Central America (Honduras, Guatemala and El Salvador) were recruited, relying on social networks and snowball techniques. The project involved documenting in a naturalistic fashion the references that respondents made in regard to their border-crossing experiences. Interviews were conducted at the respondents' homes, and also during informal interactions with them, their friends and family members at their places of employment, schools, during family celebrations, meals, and visits to public places like parks, libraries or coffee shops, and restaurants. Contacts continued with respondents via social media and over the phone for an additional year, and often involved their own questions about locating relatives or friends who had been arrested or gone missing during their journeys and immigration detention procedures. Data for this project reflect, on the one hand, migrants' perceptions regarding their border-crossing experiences, and on the other, the decision-making processes they undergo as they engage with multiple actors who rely on illicit and criminalized activities to secure a living. The importance of this study relies on its ability to document how migrants avoid, reject, yet, in some cases, also engage in the activities of other criminal actors in their attempt to reach their destinations. The data provide important insights into the conditions that put migrants at risk of encountering specific forms of victimization, and also on the determinants leading to their own participation in illegalized markets. Ethnographic documentation of border crossings reveals therefore that activities like involvement in sex work, drug trafficking or kidnapping and extortion are not just a result of coercion or pressure from organized crime (which does in fact exist). They are also part of less organized but not less worrisome strategies mobilized by migrants due to the protracted state of vulnerability they face as a result of the criminalization of their transits.

Different projects, common findings

Our field research confirmed largely our initial assumption. Human smuggling carries a particular set of social and moral signifiers among both migrants and smugglers that are far from solely criminal or economic in nature. Data reveal smuggling facilitators operate by supporting members of their immediate circles reach a destination that would have been otherwise precluded to them through legal channels. While in most instances, participation in smuggling facilitation was tied or performed in exchange for a specific return – monetary or in-kind, like being transported to a destination – the incidence of deception and exploitation seemed to be less common than dominant narratives of smuggling suggest. As a matter of fact, human smuggling was, in the testimonies of our interlocutors, rooted in patterns of cooperation and support. While acts of violence and intimidation do take place, most often they are the consequence of migrants' protracted condition of vulnerability and lack of immigration status, rather than the criminal intents of mafia-like organizations.

During our research, we learned that migrants and refugees did not necessarily see themselves as victims of smugglers. For migrants in general, smugglers constitute a valuable resource, often the only escape from a situation of misery and extreme danger. It is also true that picking the right smuggler may be fortuitous and that migrants are certainly at the mercy of the smugglers during their journeys regardless of their location. Yet, like any other business, smuggling relies on word of mouth from satisfied customers. Successfully smuggled migrants, or those who are satisfied with the services of a specific facilitator during segments of their journeys, are effective generators of additional business.

As identified in the examples above, migrants often find themselves in situations that lead to their involvement in the markets they encounter in the course of their journeys, including smuggling. This overlapping of roles introduces a further layer of complexity as it showcases a blurring boundary between smugglers and migrants. The data reveal countless incidents of migrants working as recruiters, passeurs or coordinators of journeys. Some escort

other migrants across borders as a result of their first-hand knowledge of the route. Others might recruit clients from their own ethnic groups. Migrants in transit may be able to provide basic services needed by others to survive (care, room and board), and profit from their knowledge of the local communities. Their motivations range, but most often include the need to work-off their own smuggling fees, reach their destinations, stay safe, ensure a decent livelihood while in transit – and most likely all of the above. A prolonged condition of illegality (i.e. long stays at refugee camps, inability to exit a transit area) is often at the root of this blurring of roles.

Lastly, our empirical work indicates human smuggling is one the multiple strategies that migrants, alongside their communities, devise and deploy in the context of their journeys. In this sense, smuggling networks should be understood as constituting elements of the webs seeking to protect members of the same or similar groups from the systematic restrictions of contemporary migration regimes. Simultaneously, we warn against romanticizing the community dimensions of protection. As border controls intensify and channels to legal entry diminish, migrants' likelihood of being abused and exploited rises dramatically, often within these very kinship and/or ethnic-based groups. One of the findings that emerge from our empirical work is precisely rooted in the complexity of smuggling practices, and involves the identification of the strategies – protective as well as predatory – that migrants devise and deploy in the context of their journeys. From this angle, the occurrence of "exploitative" interactions between smugglers and migrants actually reveal that migrants often voluntarily enter situations of risk in their attempts to enhance their own mobility, largely as a response to larger structural forces that constraint their mobility. What our data ultimately tells us is that the protracted condition of illegality and/or marginalization that emerges from the criminalization of irregular migration exacerbates the vulnerability of migrants, who often turn to criminalized activities as smuggling as a mechanism for mobility. In this context, more stringent border policies and practices are doomed to fail because they bolster the very phenomena that they intended to fight.

Conclusion: A way forward

In this contribution, we share comparative findings emerging from two research experiences on smuggling in two different contexts: the Mediterranean route and the Mexico–United States migration corridor. Our work relies on traditional methods of anthropological inquiry like ethnography and participant observation. Our research findings however consistently challenge the characterizations of irregular migration facilitation as an inherently criminal activity under the domain of complex, hidden and dangerous organizations. We believe that the current scholarly overemphasis on establishing the criminally organized nature of human smuggling not only oversimplifies the social dynamics behind the phenomenon but also prevents the emergence of an effective strategy against predatory smuggling practices. Alternative, empirically informed interpretations of smuggling-related data that incorporate the perspectives of its actors have the potential of improving our collective understanding of smuggling and the devising of improved protective and preventative responses against migrant victimization and criminalization. ■

References

- Achilli, L.
2017 Smuggling and trafficking in human beings at the time of the Syrian conflict. In: *Human Trafficking and Exploitation: Lessons from Europe* (B. Gebrewold, J. Kostenzer and A. Müller, eds.). Routledge, London.
- Chin, K.L.
2009 *Smuggled Chinese: Clandestine Immigration to the United States*. Temple University Press, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
- Doomernik, J. and D. Kyle
2004 Introduction. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 5(3):265–272.
- International Organization for Migration (IOM)
2017 Global Migration Data Analysis Centre. Available from <https://gmdac.iom.int/> (accessed 17 July).
- Koser, K.
2008 Why migrant smuggling pays. *International Migration*, 46(2):3–26.
- Sanchez, G.
2015 *Human Smuggling and Border Crossings*. Routledge, London and New York.
- Spener, D.
2004 Mexican migrant-smuggling: A cross-border cottage industry. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 5(3):295–320.
- Zhang, S.
2007 *Smuggling and Trafficking in Human Beings: All Roads Lead to America*. Praeger, Westport, Connecticut.

Data sets on irregular migration and irregular migrants in the European Union

Michele Vespe, Fabrizio Natale and Luca Pappalardo¹

The evidence produced during the recent migration crisis in Europe is often based on data sets that have intrinsic limitations of coverage and availability, and that capture the complex phenomenon of migration from different perspectives. Simple questions such as “What is the number of migrants in the European Union (EU)?” cannot be answered by providing one single number but a set of numbers where each number tells a different part of the story.

Besides trying to expand the availability of data on migration, it is important to be aware of the characteristics of the existing data sets since knowledge of this determines the type of analysis and conclusion that can be drawn from the data.

This paper describes the main data sets that can be used to quantify trends of irregular migration and indirectly also the stock of irregular migrants in the EU. The review covers only data sets that are openly available and have supranational relevance.

The measurement of irregular migrants is, by definition, problematic since we are dealing with a phenomenon that is outside the control of States. Past initiatives like the European project Clandestino and recent efforts by the European Migration Network point towards the possibilities to estimate rather than measuring the number of irregular migrants. Estimates produced by the project Clandestino refer to figures for irregulars in Europe between 1.9 million and 3.8 million in 2009.²

In addition to the intrinsic difficulty of measuring “irregularity”, confusion in public debates arises often from the assimilation between the concepts of “irregular migrants” and of “irregular migration”. The following definitions help to clarify the fundamental difference between these two concepts.

The Migration Observatory at the University of Oxford defines irregular migration as “a flow of people who enter the country without the country’s legal permission. In contrast, the term ‘irregular migrants’ typically refers to the stock of migrants in a country who are not entitled to reside there”.³

Similarly, the European Migration Network defines an irregular migrant as “a person who, owing to irregular entry, breach of a condition of entry or the expiry of their legal basis for entering and residing, lacks legal status in a transit or host country. In the EU context, a third-country national present on the territory of a Schengen State who does not fulfil, or no longer fulfils, the conditions of entry as set out in the Schengen Borders Code, or other conditions for entry, stay or residence in that Member State”.⁴

From these definitions, it emerges that the term “irregular migration” refers to the process of migration and to a flow of people, while the term “irregular migrants” refers to the status of people and therefore to a stock.

The idea of irregularity should not be interpreted as an immutable characteristic of persons but is a label that depends on contingent administrative and legislative frameworks of the receiving countries, how these are implemented, and how the results are captured by operational, administrative and statistical reporting systems.

The two concepts of irregular migrants and irregular migration are not necessarily linked and the definition of irregular status may change over time. For example, migrants entering legally into the EU through a visa may acquire an irregular status if they overstay the time limit of their visa, visa-free access or residence permit. On the other hand, it is possible to enter irregularly in Europe and be counted within

1 Michele Vespe and Fabrizio Natale are Scientific Project Officers at the European Commission, Joint Research Centre (JRC). Luca Pappalardo is Policy Officer at the European Commission, Directorate General for Migration and Home Affairs.

2 Clandestino Project Final Report (2009).

3 B. Vollmer, “Irregular migration in the UK: Definitions, pathways and scale”, *The Migration Observatory Briefing* (2011).

4 European Migration Network, *Asylum and Migration Glossary 3.0* (Brussels, 2014). Available from https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/what-we-do/networks/european_migration_network/glossary/i_en (accessed 27 July 2017).

the irregular border crossings, but, when applying for asylum, be counted in the stock of persons staying legally in the EU.

Changes in the total number of irregular migrants may derive both from changes in irregular arrivals and changes in the status of persons residing legally. These changes in status can take place more than once in one year, and several times for longer time periods. In addition, the stock of irregular migrants is subject to the normal demographic changes of birth or death and migration which are applicable to the general population.⁵ Finally, changes in status from irregular to regular may be triggered by the detection itself. For example, it is often the case that asylum applications are lodged after people are found to be illegally present in the territory of EU Member States. In Europe, there are no official statistics that are directly measuring irregular migrants or irregular migration. Nevertheless, there are indirect and direct methodologies and proxies that can be used to estimate such quantities relying on surveys, regularization processes and administrative data.⁶ An example of indirect approaches to estimate the stock of irregular migrants is the residual method whereby the estimate is derived from the difference between the stock of all the legal residents in the country at a given point in time and the net flow of regular migration. This method has been used in the United States,⁷ but can hardly be applied in Europe since census in Europe is believed to underreport irregular migrants.⁸ An example of direct estimation of irregular migrant stocks is based on a scaling factor (multiplier method) applied to known figures such as the ratio between regular and irregular stocks as extrapolated from known sampled groups of the total population.⁹ This method can be valid at the national or regional level but can hardly be extended at the EU level.

Another aspect that hinders the production of accurate estimates of the total number of irregular migrants in Europe is the fact that in most cases the data cannot be aggregated across different EU Member States, since the same person may be counted more than once in different national data sets. This is the case for first-time asylum applications, first-time residence permit applications or irregular border crossing data. First-time¹⁰ asylum applications are indeed related to single countries and there might be multiple applications in different countries, though this seems to be happening in a relatively low number of cases. First-time residence permits can be granted twice to the same person if the time between two consecutive permits issued is more than six months. The issue of double-counting is particularly problematic in the case of flow data of irregular migrants. Irregular border crossings are, by definition, events that do not correspond to the number of individuals since the same person can cross borders irregularly several times, for instance, different EU external borders.

The issues of definitions and double-counting briefly described above give an idea of the challenges that hinder the measurement in absolute terms of the number of irregular migrants in the EU.

Despite these challenges, the combination of figures on the flows of irregular arrivals with statistics on asylum, on regular visas and on the number of persons found to be irregularly present (apprehensions) may give an indirect indication at least of the underlying trends that affect the size of the stock of irregular migrants. The following table lists the main data sets that can be used for such a purpose, and the next paragraphs provide some examples of figures extracted from these data, which can be used to elucidate their main characteristics and limitations.

5 D. Vogel, V. Kovacheva and H. Prescott, "How many irregular migrants are living in the European Union: Counting the uncountable, comparing the incomparable" (2009).

6 M. Jandl, "Methods for estimating stocks and flows of irregular migrants", in: *Report on Methodological Issues*, deliverable D3 prepared for Work Package 2 of the research project *Clandestino* (2008).

7 J.S. Passel, "The size and characteristics of the unauthorized migrant population in the U.S." (Pew Hispanic Center, 7 March 2006).

8 M. Jandl, "The estimation of illegal migration in Europe", *Migration Studies*, March 2004:141–156.

9 *Clandestino Project Final Report* (2009).

10 The term "first time" implies no time limits and therefore a person can be recorded as a first-time applicant only if he/she has never applied for international protection in the reporting country in the past, irrespective of the fact that he/she is found to have applied in another Member State of the European Union (EU). For more information, see http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/cache/metadata/en/migr_asyapp_esms.htm

Table 1: Data sets on irregular border crossings, mixed flows arrivals to the European Union and enforcement of immigration legislation*

Data source	Description	Frequency	Coverage
Frontex ^a	Detections of irregular border crossings	Monthly	EU land and sea external borders
International Organization for Migration (IOM) ^b	Mixed migration flows in the Mediterranean and beyond	Monthly	EU land and sea routes
UNHCR ^c	UNHCR refugees operational data portal	Monthly	Mediterranean situation
Eurostat – asylum applications	Asylum and first-time asylum applications, by citizenship, age and sex, including unaccompanied minors (migr_asyapp)	Monthly	EU–European Free Trade Association (EFTA)
Eurostat – asylum decisions	Decisions by citizenship, age, sex and type of status (migr_asydec)	Yearly	EU–EFTA
Eurostat – recognition rate statistics ^d	First-instance decisions by outcome and recognition rates	Quarterly	EU–EFTA
Eurostat – enforcement of immigration legislation	Third-country nationals refused entry at the external borders (migr_eirfs), found to be illegally present (migr_eipre) and ordered to leave (migr_eiord)	Yearly	EU–EFTA

* The European Asylum Support Office (EASO) has a data collection system gathering information on all key stages of the Common European Asylum System; however, it does not disseminate raw data publicly. Key indicators are released in monthly reports (see www.easo.europa.eu/information-analysis/analysis-and-statistics/latest-asylum-trends).

Notes: ^a See <http://frontex.europa.eu/trends-and-routes/migratory-routes-map/>

^b See <http://migration.iom.int/europe/>

^c See <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations>

^d See http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Asylum_quarterly_report

Daily data on arrivals are also available in national data sources such as the Italian statistic dashboard on arrivals from the Italian Ministry of Interior¹¹ and the Summary Statement of Refugee Flows to Eastern Aegean Islands from the Hellenic Ministry of Digital Policy Telecommunications and Information.¹² However, the usefulness of these national data sources to produce an estimate for the entire EU is contingent on the migration routes and how they evolve over time.

Irregular border crossings and arrivals of migrants and refugees

The main data set to measure irregular migration in the EU is produced by Frontex and refers to the number

of irregular crossings on the EU borders. Similar data on arrivals to the EU are also collected by IOM and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

Frontex data distinguish the flow by route of entry and provide indication of the geographical composition of the flow in terms of nationality of origin but not in terms of country of destination.

The information on origin and destination can be obtained from the data on asylum seekers from UNHCR and EUROSTAT. However, these data sets do not necessarily represent an irregular flow but rather a legitimate status.

Since Frontex data are about events, they should not be added across countries or routes as the same person may cross the EU external borders several times and be counted more than once. Particular care must be taken especially when dealing with both land and sea arrival data.

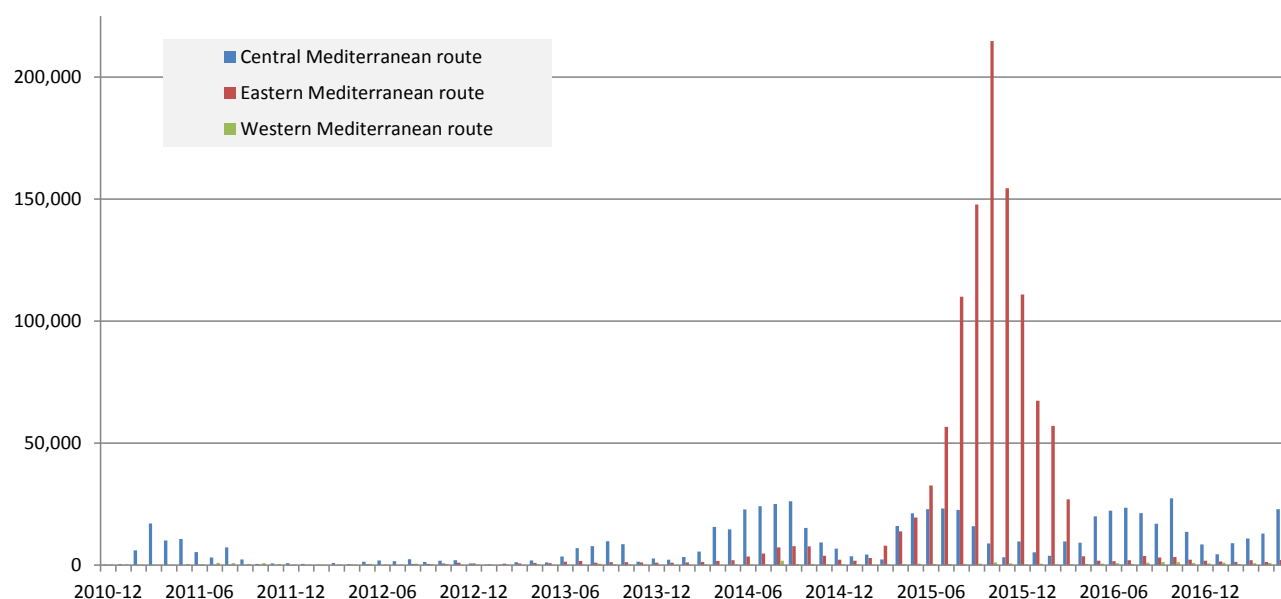
11 See www.libertaciviliimmigrazione.dlci.interno.gov.it/it/documentazione/statistica/cruscotto-statistico-giornaliero

12 See <http://mindigital.gr/index.php/component/search/?searchword=refugee%20flows&ordering=newest&searchphrase=all&limit=0>

In Figure 1, the data show different waves of EU irregular border crossings through different sea routes, from 2011 to the more recent seasonal trends along the Central Mediterranean route. A spike in the trend of arrivals can be observed along the Eastern Mediterranean route, mostly due to Syrians fleeing the civil war in 2015 and 2016.

The seasonality patterns and spikes that are evident from the time series of arrivals cannot be taken as direct measure of the stock of irregular migrants but, rather, they give an indirect indication of trends that are affecting this stock.

Figure 1: Irregular border crossing by sea following the Central, Western and Eastern Mediterranean routes



Source: Frontex irregular border crossing data. Chart produced by the Knowledge Centre on Migration and Demography (KCMD).

Short-stay Schengen visas

Statistics on short-stay Schengen visas,¹³ as shown in Figure 2, represent regular rather than irregular flows. Nevertheless, such statistics can give an upper bound – significantly approximated – of third-country nationals that may overstay their Schengen visas.

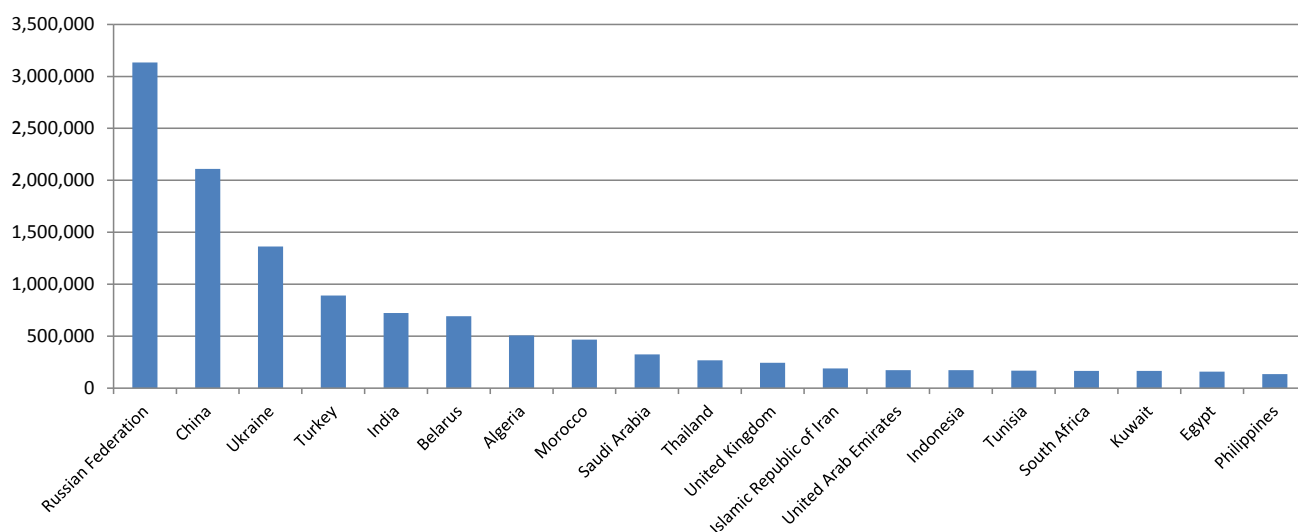
There are three main caveats to be considered when using such an approach. First, EU Member States and Schengen countries do not fully overlap. Secondly, the data refer to visas issued in consulates located in non-Schengen countries and do not necessarily represent the nationalities of the people making the request. Finally, the share of people overstaying their visas is not known and it is expected to depend on the

nationality (some third-country nationals are more likely to overstay than others).

It is worth mentioning that the planned Entry/Exit System (EES)¹⁴ will eventually register third-country nationals crossing the Schengen external borders and systematically offer the possibility to identify overstayers.

¹³ See <https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/borders-and-visas/visa-policy#stats>

¹⁴ European Commission, “Proposal for Regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council establishing an Entry/Exit System (EES) to register entry and exit data and refusal of entry data of third country nationals crossing the external borders of the Member States of the European Union and determining the conditions for access to the EES for law enforcement purposes and amending Regulation (EC) No 767/2008 and Regulation (EU) No 1077/2011”, COM (2016) 194 final.

Figure 2: Number of uniform Schengen visas in 2016 by main countries where consulates issuing the visas are located

Source: European Commission, Schengen visa statistics. Chart produced by the KCMD.

Note: The data do not necessarily reflect the countries of origin of the people receiving the uniform Schengen visa.

Eurostat asylum and managed migration

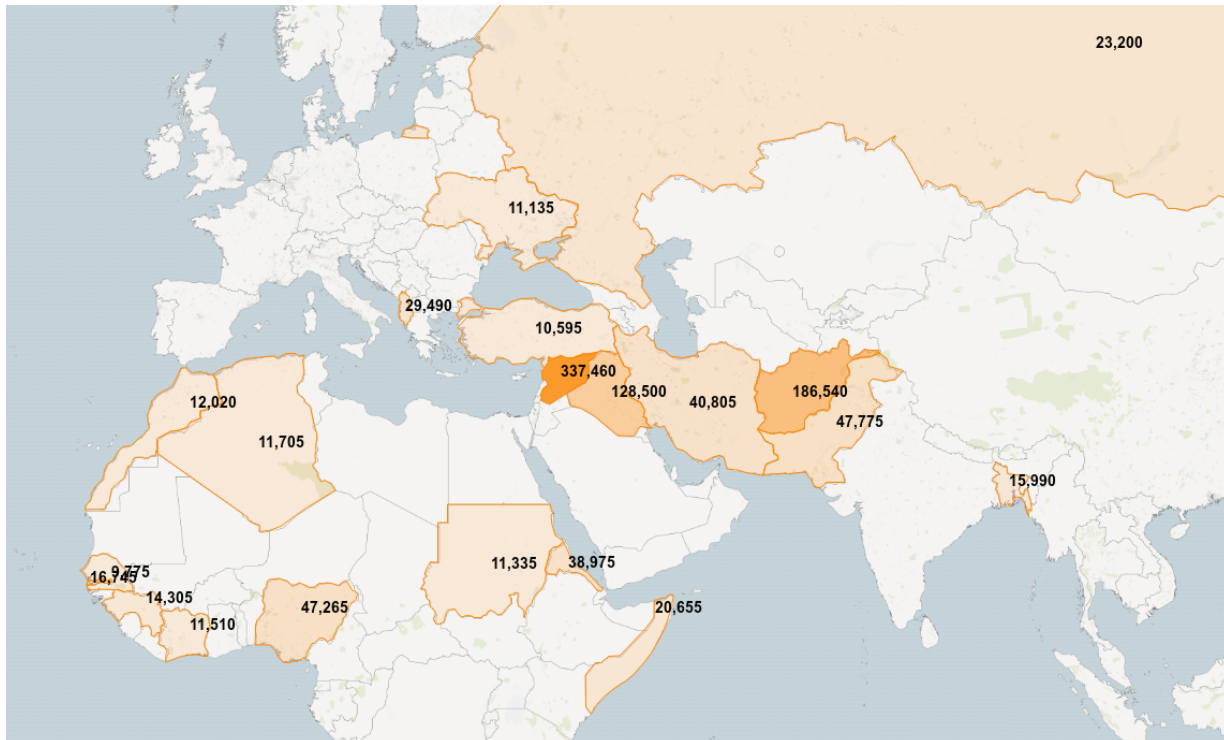
Data on asylum and managed migration are made available by Eurostat on its database portal.¹⁵ These data are supplied to Eurostat by the national ministries of interior and related official agencies. Data on first-time asylum applications are disaggregated by citizenship, age and sex, including unaccompanied minors. As an example, Figure 3 shows the top 20 citizenships of asylum requests in EU–EFTA in 2016.

The data on the asylum procedure are not designed to keep track of the same individuals across the entire procedure but is capturing aggregate numbers for administrative events at the different stages of the procedure each year. There are no fixed temporal linkages between data of different years since the lengths of the procedures may vary on an individual basis and across countries.

Despite these limitations, Figure 4 shows that the macro trends of asylum applications in 2015 are reflected in a lagged trend for the following stages of first-instance decisions. The number of negative decisions does not represent directly the number of irregular migrants but is indicative of the number of persons, which may add to the stock if not returned.

15 See <http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/asylum-and-managed-migration/data/database>

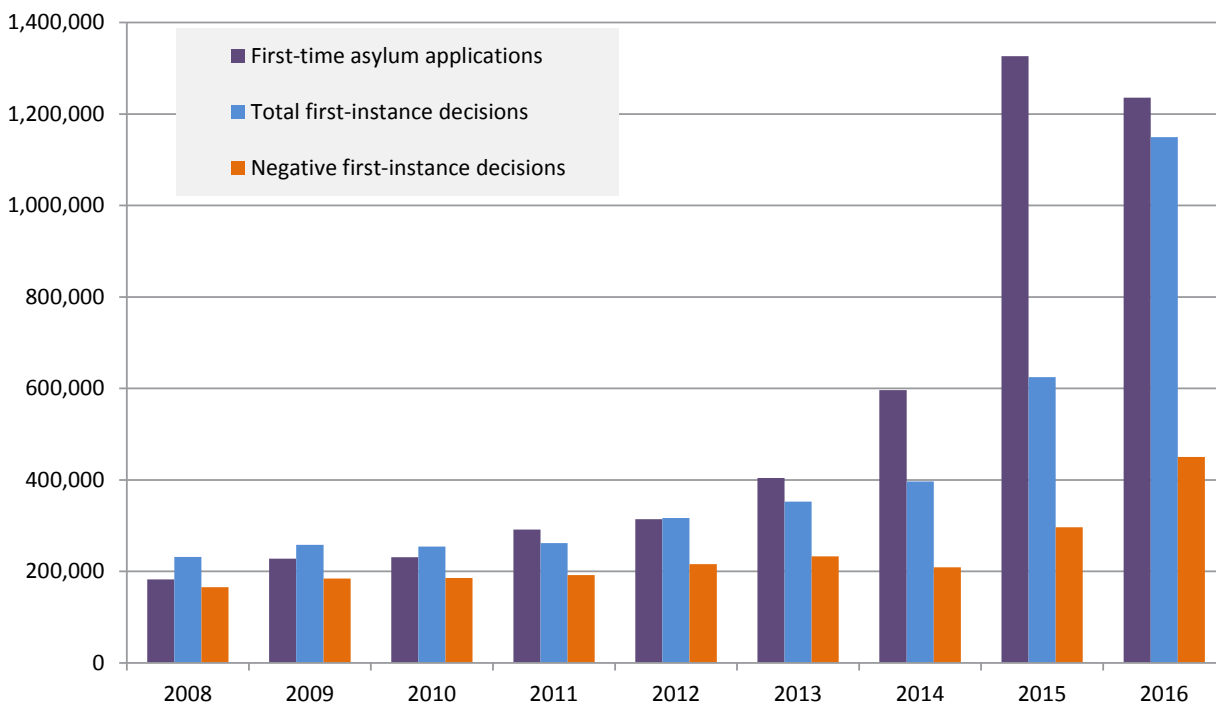
Figure 3: Top 20 countries of origin for asylum applicants in European Union–European Free Trade Association, 2016



Source: Map produced by the KCMD.

Note: Almost 30 per cent of the asylum seekers in 2016 came from the Syrian Arab Republic.

Figure 4: First-time asylum applications, total number of first-instance decisions and negative first-instance decisions



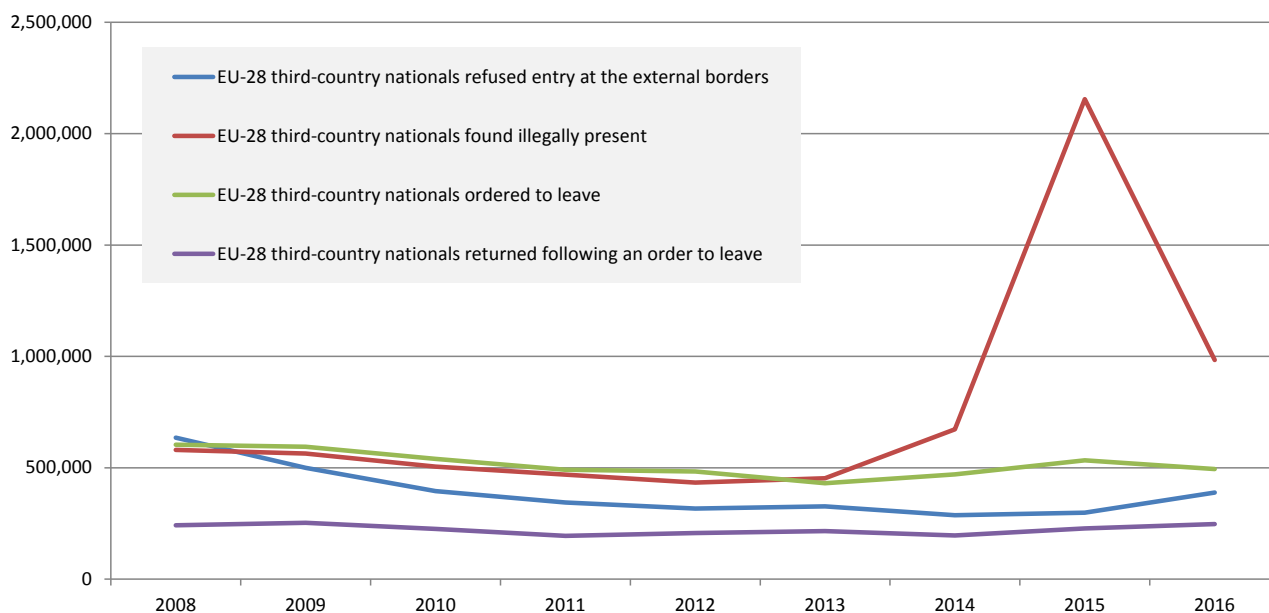
Source: Chart produced by the KCMD.

Note: First-instance rejections data are a proxy of irregular migration geographic and status flows.

The main Eurostat data sets on enforcement of immigration legislation that can be linked to irregular migrant stocks and irregular migration flows are described below and exemplified in Figure 5.

- **Third-country nationals refused entry at the external borders (migr_eirfs):** The data relate to non-EU nationals formally refused permission to enter the territory of an EU Member State. This is not a direct measure of irregular migrants into the EU; however, these data give an approximate indication on the trends of irregular inflows.¹⁶
- **Third-country nationals found to be illegally present (migr_eipre):** The data refer to non-EU nationals who are detected by Member States' authorities as illegally present under national laws. The main limitation in using such a data set is linked to the fact that some countries include irregular border crossing detections and in this way the data on irregular migrants are mixed with the data on irregular migration.
- **Third-country nationals ordered to leave (migr_eiord) and third-country nationals returned following an order to leave (migr_eirtn):** The first data set includes non-EU nationals found to be illegally present who are subject to an administrative or judicial decision or act stating that their stay is illegal and imposing an obligation to leave the territory of a Member State. The second data set refers to persons who have, in fact, left the territory of a Member State. The linkage between the two data sets is not automatic since the enforcement of the order to leave may take place in a subsequent year in respect of judicial decision.

Figure 5: Data on third-country nationals refused entry at the external borders, found illegally present, ordered to leave and returned following an order to leave in EU-28



Source: Eurostat. Chart produced by the KCMD.

Note: The high values for third-country nationals found illegally present in 2015 and 2016 may be attributed to the inclusion of irregular border crossings for several countries (cfr. Figure 1).

16 M. Jandl, "The estimation of illegal migration in Europe", *Migration Studies*, March 2004:141–156.

Aggregation at the EU level may be prone to double-counting and also to variable coverage (historical series may not cover all EU-28 over time) for a few of the data sets above; therefore, the relevant data must be treated with due care before considering them as indicators for irregular migration.

Conclusion

There are two different concepts of irregularity relevant to migration: the first is relative to the way of arrivals (flow); and the second, to a status of stay in a country (stock). The two concepts are linked but should not be confused.

In particular, it is difficult to reconstruct the stock of irregular migrants from the flows of irregular migration since the regular migration channels may be used for prolonged and irregular stay in the country (e.g. visa overstaying), or vice versa, in which irregular migration may be used to enter a country in order to acquire a legitimate status (refugee).

There are no official data sets that measure directly irregular migration and irregular migrants in the EU. However, there are several data sets that can be used as proxies to provide estimates.

The main limitations in using such data sets relate to the following:

- aggregation at the European level is prone to double-counting and variable coverage;
- each data set refers to time periods that are not aligned and capture different stages of administrative process (e.g. time lag between asylum decision and application data); and
- most of the data collected refer to detected irregular migrants and migration while the real stock of irregular migration remains unknown.

A significant contribution is expected to come from developments related to the EES that will register entry and exit data of non-EU nationals crossing the EU external borders.

Acknowledgements

The authors would like to acknowledge the helpful comments and suggestions by Eurostat.

All the data sets mentioned in this article are openly accessible through dedicated Web portals. Several of them are made available for query, visualization and analysis via the KCMD Dynamic Data Hub¹⁷ used to produce the figures in this paper. ■

References

- Clandestino Project
2009 *Clandestino Project Final Report*.
- European Migration Network (EMN)
2014 *Asylum and Migration Glossary 3.0*. EMN, Brussels. Available from https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/what-we-do/networks/european_migration_network/glossary/i_en (accessed 27 July 2017).
- Jandl, M.
2004 The estimation of illegal migration in Europe. *Migration Studies*, March:141–156.
2008 Methods for estimating stocks and flows of irregular migrants. In: *Report on Methodological Issues*, deliverable D3 prepared for Work Package 2 of the research project Clandestino.
- Orrenius, P.M. and M. Zavodny
2016 Irregular immigration in the *European Union*. *European Policy Analysis*, January.
- Passel, J.S.
2006 The size and characteristics of the unauthorized migrant population in the U.S. Pew Hispanic Center, 7 March.
- Vogel, D., V. Kovacheva and H. Prescott
2009 How many irregular migrants are living in the European Union: Counting the uncountable, comparing the incomparable. Manuscript prepared for journal submission.
- Vollmer, B.
2011 Irregular migration in the UK: Definitions, pathways and scale. *The Migration Observatory Briefing*.

17 See <https://bluehub.jrc.ec.europa.eu/migration/app/>

Migrants' vulnerability to human trafficking and exploitation in the irregular migration context of the Mediterranean routes

Eliza Galos, Harry Cook and Laura Bartolini¹

The drivers behind migration are complex and multifaceted, but avenues for safe and regular migration are limited. Without legal avenues, migrants may turn to irregular and unsafe migration routes, often with the help of smugglers. As a result, many migrants face significant violations of their rights in transit, at their destination, as well as during and following return.

The vast majority of States have ratified international instruments reflecting the principle that all persons, including all migrants irrespective of their migration status, are entitled to have their human rights respected, protected and fulfilled. States have recently reconfirmed their commitments to uphold the rights of all migrants through the adoption of the 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda, and the New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants – which launched the development of a global compact for safe, orderly and regular migration, to be adopted in 2018.

In the context of these current global policy discussions, it is important to gain a better and more nuanced understanding about the factors that make migrants vulnerable to abuse and exploitation, including human trafficking. A growing body of evidence – including accounts based on migrants' own experiences during their journeys – is beginning to shed light on the scale and scope of exploitation experienced by migrants along some migration routes, such as those headed to Europe across the Mediterranean Sea. Recent literature and anecdotal evidence on the most recent migration flows to Europe suggest that a substantial proportion of migrants have been exploited or trafficked en route.

Unique data set on the experiences of migration journeys

The International Organization for Migration (IOM) has the largest existing set of survey data on the vulnerability of migrants to abuse, exploitation and human trafficking on the Mediterranean routes to Europe. IOM's Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM) has been conducting surveys with migrants on the main migration routes to Europe since 2015. Advanced statistical analysis (a set of multilevel logistic regression models) was undertaken to understand migrants' vulnerability to human trafficking and exploitation by exploring risk and protective factors associated with unsafe migration.

The in-depth analysis is based on data that derives from interviews conducted over a one-year period with more than 16,000 migrants. The surveys were conducted in seven countries: Bulgaria, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Serbia, Slovenia and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

Findings from a multilevel analysis of over 16,000 interviews with migrants – including Syrians, Afghans, Pakistanis, Nigerians, Iraqis and Eritreans – contribute to building a better picture of where and to what extent migrants with different profiles are at risk of exploitation during their journeys. More specifically, the available data provide the first systematic quantitative evidence on the vulnerability of migrants to exploitation and human trafficking along the two main Mediterranean routes to Europe – the Central Mediterranean route and the Eastern Mediterranean route.

In the context of the analysis, migrants' vulnerability to human trafficking and exploitation is operationalized by the positive response to at least one of the five questions included in the survey that refer to an individual experience on the journey. These key questions are related to potential labour exploitation/trafficking and forced marriage, and they also capture experiences that could be related to means of

1 Harry Cook is Data Management and Research Specialist and Eliza Galos is Data Analyst, both working on human trafficking, at the International Organization for Migration (IOM) Headquarters in Geneva. Laura Bartolini is Data Focal Point at IOM office in Italy, working on large data sets on migrants assisted or surveyed within the IOM activities. The infographic in this article was done by Kaylana Mueller-Hsia.

coercion (such as being held against one's will) in a potential human trafficking scenario. The survey does not collect information on possible trafficking for sexual exploitation.

More than one third (37%) of all migrants interviewed reported a personal experience that indicates the presence of human trafficking or other exploitative practices along the routes. Seventy-three per cent of migrants interviewed along the Central Mediterranean route presented at least one indicator of exploitation, along with 14 per cent of migrants interviewed along the Eastern Mediterranean route.

Importance of the migration route in predicting vulnerability

The findings of the analysis show that in the context of migration to Europe, individuals are targeted for exploitation.

A key finding of the regression analysis is that migrants travelling along the Central Mediterranean route are more vulnerable to exploitation and human trafficking than migrants travelling on the Eastern Mediterranean route. The profile of migrants and the characteristics of the journey on each route explain some of the differences in their vulnerability. After accounting for all observable differences between migrants on the two routes and the observable differences in their journeys, 48 per cent of migrants who take the Central Mediterranean route are predicted to be vulnerable to exploitation or human trafficking, compared to 31 per cent of migrants who take the Eastern route. This difference between migrant experiences on the two routes remains both substantively large (17 percentage points) and statistically significant. Compared to the large initial gap between the two routes in terms of the rates of positive responses (71%

of migrants on the Central route and 13% of migrants on the Eastern route), statistical analysis shows that some of the difference can be explained by differences in the sociodemographic profiles of the migrants who travel on the two routes and the characteristics of the journey. One potential explanation for the remaining difference is the perilous transit through Libya, where some migrants stayed for extended periods before crossing the sea. Libya is a country where migrants have less access to protective systems and which has experienced an increase of lawlessness and violence in the past years. Small surveys with migrants regularly show that Libya is considered the most dangerous country on the route² while human rights abuses in the country have been recently documented.³

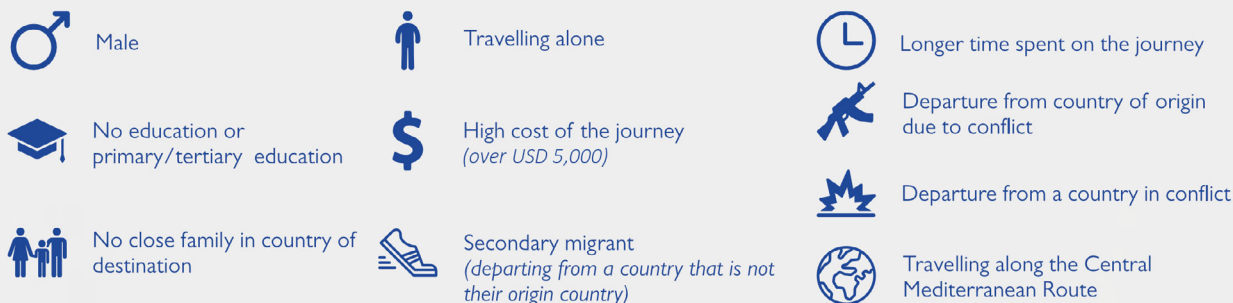
Vulnerability of men and boys to particular forms of exploitation and trafficking

Migrant men are more vulnerable than migrant women to the type of human trafficking and exploitation tracked by the survey. This does not necessarily mean that male migrants are more vulnerable than female migrants in all respects. The indicators selected in the original surveys to measure exploitative practices and human trafficking refer only to forced and unpaid labour, being held against one's will and forced marriage. The question on being held against their will is primarily a way to indicate the means by which migrants may have been trafficked or exploited. The survey does not ask about sexual exploitation, which is commonly considered to affect women more than men. An implication of the findings related to men and boys on the move is a better targeting of these groups for protection services, together with the women and girls. Generally, programmatic interventions and the identification of vulnerability to human trafficking for labour exploitation of potential victims on the route could pay equal attention to men and boys as to women and girls.

2 North Africa Mixed Migration Hub, "Survey snapshot: Italy, December" (2016). Available from www.mixedmigrationhub.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/MHub-Italy-December-Survey-Snapshot.pdf

3 Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, and United Nations Support Mission in Libya, *Detained and Dehumanised: Report on Human Rights Abuses against Migrants in Libya* (2016). Available from www.ohchr.org/Documents/Countries/LY/DetainedAndDehumanised_en.pdf

Predictors of Migrant Vulnerability to Human Trafficking/Exploitation on the Migration Routes to Europe*



* The findings presented here refer to a set of indicators of human trafficking and other exploitative practices that were included in IOM's Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM) Flow Monitoring Surveys. In particular, the survey covered individual experiences of unpaid labour, forced labour, arranged marriage, to be offered employment, and to be held against will by non official forces. Indicators of sexual exploitation or sexual violence were not included in the survey.

Vulnerability of West African migrants to exploitation and human trafficking

West Africans (migrants from countries such as the Gambia and Mali) are the most likely to be vulnerable to exploitative practices on the migration journey among all the migrants interviewed, while North Africans (migrants from countries such as Egypt and Algeria) appear the least likely to be vulnerable to such practices. One of the potential explanations offered through accounts of front-line workers is that racism and xenophobia increase the risks for migrants from certain parts of Africa to be exploited. Gambian and Guinean migrants are the most vulnerable to human trafficking and exploitation on the Central Mediterranean route. On the Eastern route, Syrian migrants are not the most vulnerable to human trafficking, but Afghan and Bangladeshi migrants have the highest predicted probability to respond positively to the survey questions on exploitation.

Characteristics of the journey that predict vulnerability

Other characteristics of the journey, such as travelling alone, secondary migration movements, and the duration and cost of the journey, also predict vulnerability. A lengthy journey increases vulnerability: the longer the transit takes, the higher the predicted probability that a migrant suffers an experience indicating human trafficking or other exploitative practices. Furthermore, migrants whose journey to Europe occurs after longer periods spent in countries of transit (e.g. Libya and Turkey) are more vulnerable to exploitation and human trafficking than respondents who travelled directly from their country

of nationality. Travelling with family or even with people not related offers migrants more protection from exploitation. The distance from home depletes migrants' resources such as money and networks, making them more vulnerable to exploitation.

Vulnerability of migrant children to abuse and exploitation

Children are at serious risk of harm as they travel on the Mediterranean routes, especially in the smuggling context. Among the survey indicators of vulnerability to human trafficking and exploitation, being held against one's will (which includes individuals who were held captive by entities other than State authorities) was most often reported by children travelling on both routes. More than half of the children travelling along the Central Mediterranean route reported being held against their will. On the Eastern Mediterranean route, the percentage of children who were held against their will was double the percentage of adults travelling on the same route.

Children travelling alone appear more vulnerable to human trafficking and exploitation in transit than children travelling with a group of non-family members. This pattern is valid for both routes, although on average those interviewed on the Central Mediterranean route are more vulnerable than those interviewed along the Eastern Mediterranean route.

These findings show that children, regardless of their migration status, need to be protected by stronger policies that prevent them from being separated from their parents and other family members in transit.

Methodological aspects

This survey is the first systematic data collection on vulnerability to human trafficking and exploitation on the Mediterranean routes towards Europe. The predictors considered in this analysis are not all encompassing, as their inclusion depended on the data collected at the individual level. More evidence is needed about the factors at the country and community levels, which predict the vulnerability to exploitation of migrants on the journey. Evidence on the vulnerability of boys, girls, men and women to different types of exploitation and forms of human trafficking on the migration journeys should also be strengthened, especially to further test the conclusion of this report related to the vulnerability of men and boys.

The surveys do not cover all experiences that relate to human trafficking and exploitation. Due to the sensitivities of queries on experiences of sexual abuse, violence and exploitation, no questions on these topics were included in the survey. The vulnerability of migrants to forms of exploitation and violence (e.g. sexual exploitation and gender-based violence) should be better researched, which would entail mainstreaming questions in the systematic data collection undertaken in the Mediterranean context. Questions should be administered to both male and female respondents, in order to determine the extent of sexual violence that migrants experience on their journey and to understand the groups affected.

That would allow to gather more rigorous and comprehensive evidence on the specific experiences of girls and women on the migration journey, who are also slightly underrepresented in the sample. Such research may necessitate more resources in reaching a higher number of female respondents and also specific training for those administering the questionnaires. Furthermore, additional investment in referral and assistance services for persons in need of assistance would be needed.

Finally, the information collected through this survey depends on the answers of the respondents which cannot be perfectly verified. For example, there is no way to confirm self-reported nationalities. Nevertheless, self-reporting remains an important way to better understand the personal, often traumatic experiences of migrants during their journeys.

Conclusion

The article discussed the findings of a unique data set on the experiences of migrants travelling on the main migration routes to Europe and methodological improvements to future surveys that research migrants' vulnerability to human trafficking and exploitation during the journey. The findings from this survey have implications for assistance and protection activities of migrants during their journeys, some of which are discussed in detail in the forthcoming IOM reports.⁴ For example, the vulnerability of migrant men and boys to exploitative practices is a previously understudied key finding, which has important implications both for understanding trafficking and exploitation, and for the international community's policy responses. Addressing specific limitations of the current survey would further contribute to a better assessment of vulnerability to human trafficking and exploitation of migrants during their journeys. ■

Without legal avenues, migrants may turn to irregular and unsafe migration routes, often with the help of smugglers.

4 For further reading about recommendations based on the findings of the IOM Flow Monitoring Surveys, and about the way various factors predict vulnerability, please check the forthcoming IOM publication *Migrant Vulnerability to Human Trafficking and Exploitation: Evidence from the Central and Eastern Mediterranean Migration Routes* and the forthcoming IOM–UNICEF report *Harrowing Journeys: Children on the Move across the Mediterranean Sea, at Risk of Trafficking and Exploitation*.

Circular migration and the need to define and measure it

Bernd Parusel¹

Only a few years ago, many international organizations, national governments, researchers and non-governmental organizations almost enthusiastically embraced the concept of “circular migration” as a migratory phenomenon that was worth supporting and facilitating. A lot of articles and papers were published, and an often heard argument was that well-managed circular migration could be beneficial to all involved – countries of origin, countries of destination and the migrants themselves.²

In 2005, for example, the Global Commission on International Migration stated in a report that “the old paradigm of permanent migrant settlement is progressively giving way to temporary and circular migration”. It argued that States and international organizations should proactively accept the new paradigm and formulate policies and programmes that maximize the developmental impact of return and circular migration.³

In Europe, the idea to develop and promote circular migration schemes also entered the political stage in the early 2000s. The European Commission, against the pitfalls of brain drain phenomenon, started discussing the issue of “brain circulation”, stating that “win-win scenarios do exist, where sending and receiving countries as well as the migrant him- or herself benefit from migration”.⁴ Facilitating circular migration was to become an integral part of the

European Union (EU) framework on legal migration from third countries. Progress was very limited, however, and only much later a circular migration component was incorporated into an EU directive providing for the admission of seasonal workers from non-EU countries to the Member States. It demands that seasonal workers, who are temporarily admitted and then leave the EU again, shall, under certain circumstances, benefit from “facilitated re-entry” to the Member States.⁵ Apart from that, there was much talk but rather little action.

As an example of activities to promote circular migration at the national level, the Government of Sweden appointed a cross-party Parliamentary Committee in 2009 to examine the connection between circular migration and development. The Committee was tasked with mapping circular migration and identifying factors that influence migrants’ opportunities to move between Sweden and their countries of origin. In its final report, the Committee presented a number of concrete proposals to remove certain obstacles to increased cross-border mobility. It described circular migration as a very positive migration phenomenon, which should be encouraged.⁶ The Swedish Parliament then adopted a bill in 2014, which makes it easier for doctoral students and workers from non-EU countries as well as permanent foreign residents to leave Sweden and retain the right to come back again.⁷

1 Bernd Parusel is an expert for the National Contact Point Sweden of the European Migration Network (EMN) at the Swedish Migration Agency. From 2013 to 2016, he was a member of the UNECE Task Force on Measuring Circular Migration.

2 Global Forum on Migration and Development, “Report of the first meeting of the Global Forum on Migration and Development”, Brussels, 9–11 July 2007.

3 Global Commission on International Migration (GCIM), *Migration in an Interconnected World: New Directions for Action – Report of the Global Commission on International Migration* (Geneva, GCIM, 2005), pp. 31 and 80.

4 Commission of the European Communities, “Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament: Integrating migration issues in the European Union’s relations with third countries”, COM (2002) 703 final, p. 16.

5 Directive 2014/36/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 26 February 2014 on the conditions of entry and stay of third-country nationals for the purpose of employment as seasonal workers, Article 16.

6 Statens Offentliga Utredningar (SOU), *Cirkulär Migration och Utveckling: Förslag och Framåtblick*, slutbetänkande av Kommittén för Cirkulär Migration och Utveckling (Stockholm, SOU, 2011).

7 For details on the Swedish regulations regarding circular migration, see: B. Parusel, “Country profile no. 18: Sweden” (Focus Migration, Institute for Migration Research and Intercultural Studies, Osnabrück; Federal Agency for Civic Education, Bonn, 2015), pp. 6–7.

Many more examples could certainly be mentioned, but recently, momentum for introducing new policies to encourage circular migration seems to have declined, at least in Europe, and the once lively debates on maximizing the positive impact of migration on development have lost political traction, with implications in terms of informing policy or programming choices.⁸ There are several reasons for that. First of all, the recent refugee situation with massive irregular inflows to Europe and subsequent controversies between the EU Member States has directed much political attention away from the development of new and innovative migration policy solutions. Economic crises, unemployment and popular skepticism towards migrants in destination countries have certainly also played their part. Last but not least, circular migration has long remained a rather vague and elusive concept, which was difficult for policymakers to make sense of and address.

Differing definitions of circular migration

In academic research, the policy realm and international expert discourses, circular migration has been defined rather inconsistently, and a number of different dimensions of this migration phenomenon have been highlighted, which often contradict each other.⁹ While some politicians embrace the concept from an enforcement point of view, emphasizing the “advantage” that circular migrants would not stay in their host countries permanently, others highlight its possible development gains for sending countries. Strikingly, in some countries, policymakers understand circular migration as a form of strictly State-managed admission and return policy, while others argue that circular migration should be promoted in its “spontaneous form” – leaving it to the migrants themselves to choose how long they would stay before leaving again or moving on elsewhere. Likewise, while some academics use normative approaches, arguing, for example, that only legal and

work-related migration should be considered circular, others utilize the concept in a purely descriptive manner – to distinguish naturally occurring circular migration flows from other migration patterns, such as return, repatriation or “pendulum” migration between two countries.

When a concept is unclear or even contested, it is of course hard to build a credible policy approach on it; and evaluating any such policies might be even harder.

The UNECE task force: A new attempt to define and measure circular migration

While the political environment for policies to facilitate circular migration might still be rather unfavourable, some significant progress was recently made with regard to defining what circular migration is and how it could be statistically operationalized and thus analysed and evaluated. In 2013, the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE) set up an international and multidisciplinary task force on defining and measuring circular migration. It recently delivered its final report.¹⁰

The task force carried out a literature review, looked into propositions by governments and mapped possible sources for statistical data on circular migration. It found, among other things, that there are different typologies of international migration and that, more specifically, circular migration has at least five different characteristics or “dimensions” that a workable international definition needs to take into account:

- **Repetition:** To differentiate between return migration and circular migration, the latter must include an element of repetition. To migrate from one country to another and back again (i.e. one completed loop) is return migration. Only when a migrant moves again, a migration trajectory becomes truly circular.
- **Directionality:** To be able to identify the country of origin and the country or countries of destination of a migrant is important but not an essential precondition for classifying a migration trajectory as circular. Several countries can be part of an individual’s circular migration pattern.

8 A. Knoll and A. Sherriff, *Making Waves: Implications of the Irregular Migration and Refugee Situation on Official Development Assistance Spending and Practices in Europe – A Study of Recent Developments in the EU Institutions, Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden*, Rapport 2017:01 till Expertgruppen för biståndsanalys (Stockholm, European Centre for Development Policy Management, 2017), p. 24.

9 For an overview of relevant literature including definitions of circular migration, see: United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, Task Force on Measuring Circular Migration, *Defining and Measuring Circular Migration* (New York and Geneva, United Nations, 2016), pp. 3–7. Available from www.unece.org/index.php?id=44717

10 Ibid.

- *Time:* To distinguish migration from short-term mobility (e.g. for tourism, family visit or business), a criterion for duration of stay needs to be set. A minimum stay of three months in a country of destination (or away from a country of origin) fits the United Nations' definition of a "short-term migrant". Therefore, it also serves a natural minimum criterion for circular migration.
- *Purpose of move:* Why or to what purpose a person moves can be an important piece of information for policymaking. For example, to understand the acquisition of human capital, countries may wish to collect information on whether circular migration is for work, studies, business or other purposes. However, a migration trajectory can of course be circular even when the purpose of move is unclear or not statistically captured.
- *Developmental impact:* The assumption that circular migration may provide gains to countries of both origin and destination, as well as to the migrants themselves, has framed the international debate on circular migration. As such impacts are extremely complex to measure, the development aspect should not be part of a descriptive definition of circular migration.

Conceptual definition

Eventually, the task force decided that a difference should be made between a conceptual definition and a statistical definition of circular migration. While a statistical definition was needed to describe the phenomenon to be measured as accurately as possible, policymakers needed a less complex and broader definition, which would also capture both "managed" and "spontaneous" circular migration. Hence, the task force proposed that, as a broad conceptual definition, "circular migration is a repetition of legal migration by the same person between two or more countries". This wording originates from the European Migration Network (EMN), which produced a comparative mapping study on circular and temporary migration in 2011.¹¹ The study looked into policies and data availability in 24 Member States of the EU, including national definitions of circular migration, where

available. The EMN definition was then also included into the EMN's asylum and migration glossary.¹²

Statistical definition

To allow statistical authorities to measure the extent to which migrants actually circulate, the task force proposed two somewhat more complicated statistical definitions: a more general one that can be used for measuring long-term circular movements (where a migrant stays in a country for at least one year), and an extended one that also captures short-term stays of at least three months.

According to the general definition, "a circular migrant is a person who has crossed the national borders of the reporting country at least 3 times over a 10-year period, each time with duration of stay (abroad or in the country) of at least 12 months." As this wording only allows to evaluate situations in which a migrant stays in a country for one year or longer, a large share of cross-border mobility with shorter periods of stay would have remained excluded. In particular, many workers and young people who migrate for study purposes are away from their countries of origin for one year or longer. To address this issue, the task force also proposed a definition incorporating short-term migration: "A circular migrant is a person who has crossed the national borders of the reporting country at least 3 times over a 10-year period, each time with duration of stay (abroad or in the country) of at least 90 days."

Both statistical definitions of circular migration identify all persons with migration patterns such as immigration–emigration–immigration and emigration–immigration–emigration. A minimum requirement for statistical offices to be able to produce data in accordance with these definitions is that migratory events need to be linked to the persons migrating.

In its general form, the definition is tied to the international definition of migration, which looks at durations of stay of at least 12 months. Thus, it is possible for national providers of statistics to assess the share of circular migrants in the total number of international migrants. Circular migration is to be

11 European Migration Network, *Temporary and Circular Migration: Empirical Evidence, Current Policy Practice and Future Options in EU Member States* (Luxembourg, Publications Office of the European Union, 2011).

12 European Migration Network, *Asylum and Migration Glossary 3.0: A Tool for Better Comparability* (Brussels, European Commission, 2014), p. 53.

measured by the reporting country, the country of origin of a migrant or the host country.

Possible data sources and testing of definitions

Regarding the practical measurement of circular migration patterns, the task force also looked into various possible sources of statistical data. It found that population registers can serve as useful sources, if repeated moves in and out of the country are registered consistently and continuously. If the population register in a given country has a wide coverage and migratory events have been recorded over a sufficiently long period of time, it is possible to form a picture of the migration history of individuals using personal identification numbers or dates of birth.

The usefulness of population registers depends of course on their quality, however. It may not always be possible to know where a person moved to or where he/she came from in between two or more entries. Another issue is that people do not always notify the competent authority when they leave or come back, notably if their moves are intended to be temporary and of short duration. Another drawback of population registers is that they do not always provide any information regarding the purpose or reason of a person to move.

As part of the work of the task force, data providers in Sweden and Italy tested the proposed statistical definition using population register data. The data from Sweden showed that 12,873 people had immigrated to Sweden two or more times within the period 1 January 2000–31 December 2009, thus qualifying as circular migrants. Of them, 2,874 were Sweden-born, 4,114 were born in one of the other Nordic countries, and 1,949 in other EU Member States. Of the total, 1,936 were born in Asian countries. The number of circular migrants was bigger for men (6,925) than for women (5,948). Italy found that almost 30,000 people had moved in and out of the country at least three times during the period 1 January 2005–31 December 2014.

In both the Swedish and the Italian cases, the numbers of circular migrants may appear small, which is partly due to the fact that only long-term migrations were covered, and partly due to gaps resulting from the fact that migrants not always notified the authorities of their departures.

Finding better sources and tools is not easy, however. Some countries may have special databases on foreign nationals that include, among others, entries and exits, personal data, and data on visas or residence permits. They may follow a similar logic as population registers while confined to people who are not nationals of the country. An example of this is Germany's Central Register of Foreigners (Ausländerzentralregister (AZR)). A study that was carried out on the basis of the AZR data found that in June 2010, slightly more than 461,000 out of almost 4,300,000 non-EU nationals residing in Germany had made at least three cross-border moves.¹³ The AZR data also includes migrants with shorter stays than one year; hence, the number of circular migrants appears much bigger than in the Italian and Swedish cases.

In addition to registers, there could be other possible data sources, such as statistics from border control authorities, border entry–exit systems, national censuses, household surveys or even “Big Data” (e.g. from cell-phone use or geo-located tweets). The task force had no possibility of testing such sources, however, and no earlier testing examples that would have fit the UNECE definition were found. As a result, although intuitively clear, the concept of circular migration proves to be challenging when it comes to capturing the variety of contemporary cross-border migration trajectories. Population registers and similar databases, and possibly specially designed surveys, might be the best available sources of data for the time being.

Conclusion

While a few useful steps may now have been taken to make the term “circular migration” clearer, and to improve the statistical groundwork for producing actual evidence of circular migration trajectories, additional practical work on consistent methodologies is still needed to make sure that databases can be analysed in accordance with the UNECE definition, and that relevant data can be consistently compared over time and between different host countries as well as countries of origin. Only when we have better data can the international policy discourse on how to promote circular migration be based on more solid ground.

13 J. Schneider and B. Parusel, “Circular migration between fact and fiction – Evidence from Germany”, *European Journal of Migration and Law*, 17(2–3):184–209 (2015).

Meanwhile, the problem that policies to facilitate and support circular migration, either in its “managed” form or as a voluntary and spontaneous pattern, appear to have lost traction does not mean that there is no room for new initiatives. At the UN Summit in New York in September 2016, the Member States declared, among other commitments, that they would consider facilitating opportunities for safe, orderly and regular migration, including, as appropriate, employment creation, labour mobility at all skills levels, circular migration, family reunification and education-related opportunities.¹⁴ The fact that circular migration was included in this commitment indicates that the concept of circular migration still seems to have at least a few supporters.

In Europe, too, the debate on circular migration should be revitalized. The EU’s obvious inability to handle sudden, large-scale arrivals of refugees and irregular migrants has prompted an intensive search for new solutions, including better systems for responsibility-sharing among the Member States, a further harmonization of asylum procedures and reception conditions for people seeking protection, and improved border surveillance. While most of the solutions proposed so far are of a purely restrictive nature, more and better targeted migration-related cooperation with countries of origin and transit is also very high on the agenda.¹⁵ Circular migration policies should become an essential component of such cooperation.

As the European Commission put it in a communication in April, the EU should “move from a system which (...) encourages uncontrolled and irregular migratory flows to a fairer system which provides orderly and safe pathways to the EU for third country nationals in need of protection or who can contribute to the EU’s economic development.”¹⁶ The establishment of legal pathways to the EU for employment, business,

education and protection reasons is also important in the context of new partnerships between the EU and countries of origin and transit. Many of them expect that the EU not only strives for tighter cooperation in order to more efficiently seal itself off against unwanted immigration. With good cause, they also demand that the EU puts legal migration opportunities in place and protects the rights of their citizens abroad. For obvious reasons, circular migration schemes could be particularly helpful in this context, as they would prevent a permanent brain drain from countries of origin while at the same time enabling brain circulation, a flow of remittances, and a transfer of knowledge and experiences between Europe and other countries.

By consequence, it is not unlikely that circular migration will become topical again, after a period of relative silence. The fact that there is now a reasoned definition of what circular migration is and how it can be measured will hopefully facilitate the process of developing new innovative migration policies in Europe and elsewhere – for the benefit of host countries, sending countries and migrants themselves. ■

14 United Nations General Assembly, “New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants: Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 19 September 2016”, p. 11.

15 See, for example: E. Collett, “New EU partnerships in North Africa: Potential to backfire?” Europe Commentary section, Migration Policy Institute (2017). Available from www.migrationpolicy.org/news/new-eu-partnerships-north-africa-potential-backfire

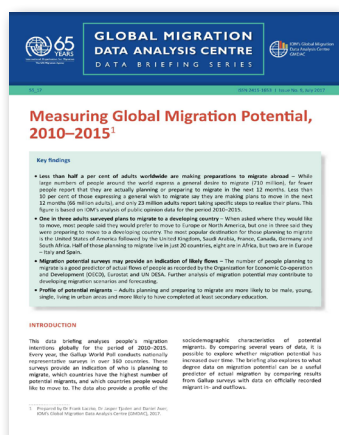
16 European Commission, “Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council: Towards a reform of the Common European Asylum System and enhancing legal avenues to Europe”, COM (2016) 197 final (Brussels, 2016), p. 2.

**Only when we have better data
can the international policy
discourse on how to promote
circular migration be based on
more solid ground.**

References

- Collett, E.
2017 New EU partnerships in North Africa: Potential to backfire? Europe Commentary section, Migration Policy Institute. Available from www.migrationpolicy.org/news/new-eu-partnerships-north-africa-potential-backfire
- Commission of the European Communities
2002 Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament: Integrating Migration Issues in the European Union's Relations with Third Countries. COM (2002) 703 final, Brussels.
- European Commission
2016 Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council: Towards a Reform of the Common European Asylum System and Enhancing Legal Avenues to Europe. COM (2016) 197 final, Brussels.
- European Migration Network
2011 *Temporary and Circular Migration: Empirical Evidence, Current Policy Practice and Future Options in EU Member States*. Publications Office of the European Union, Luxembourg.
2014 *Asylum and Migration Glossary 3.0: A Tool for Better Comparability*. European Commission, Brussels.
- Global Commission on International Migration (GCIM)
2005 *Migration in an Interconnected World: New Directions for Action – Report of the Global Commission on International Migration*. GCIM, Geneva.
- Global Forum on Migration and Development
2007 Report of the first meeting of the Global Forum on Migration and Development, Brussels, 9–11 July.
- Knoll, A. and A. Sherriff
2017 *Making Waves: Implications of the Irregular Migration and Refugee Situation on Official Development Assistance Spending and Practices in Europe – A Study of Recent Developments in the EU Institutions, Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden*. Rapport 2017:01 till Expertgruppen för biståndsanalys, European Centre for Development Policy Management, Stockholm.
- Parusel, B.
2015 Country profile no 18: Sweden. Focus Migration, Institute for Migration Research and Intercultural Studies, Osnabrück; Federal Agency for Civic Education, Bonn.
- Schneider, J. and B. Parusel
2015 Circular migration between fact and fiction: Evidence from Germany. *European Journal of Migration and Law*, 17(2–3):184–209.
- Statens Offentliga Utredningar (SOU)
2011 Cirkulär Migration och Utveckling: Förslag och Framåtblick. Slutbetänkande av Kommittén för Cirkulär Migration och Utveckling, SOU, Stockholm.
- United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, Task Force on Measuring Circular Migration
2016 *Defining and Measuring Circular Migration*. United Nations, New York and Geneva. Available from www.unece.org/index.php?id=44717
- United Nations General Assembly
2016 New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants: Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 19 September 2016.

Publications

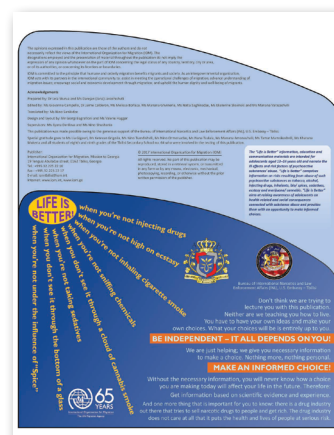


Global Migration Data Analysis Centre: Data Briefing Series | Issue No. 9, July 2017
2017/14 pages/ISSN 2415-1653
English

This data briefing analyses people's migration intentions globally for the period of 2010–2015. Every year, the Gallup World Poll conducts nationally representative surveys in over 160 countries. These surveys provide an indication of who is planning to migrate, which countries have the highest number of potential migrants, and which countries people would like to move to. The data also provide a profile of the sociodemographic characteristics of potential migrants. By comparing several years of data, it is possible to explore whether migration potential has increased over time. The briefing also explores to what degree data on migration potential can be a useful predictor of actual migration by comparing results from Gallup surveys with data on officially recorded migrant in- and outflows.

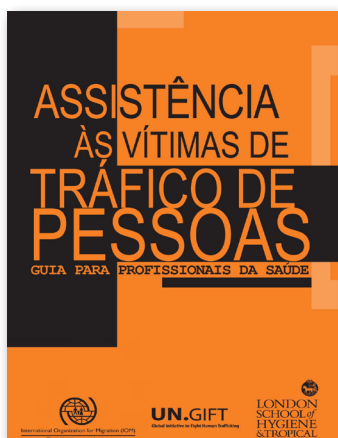
The findings show that less than half a per cent of adults worldwide are making preparations to migrate abroad. The most popular destination for those planning to migrate is the United States of America followed by the United Kingdom, Saudi Arabia, France, Canada, Germany and South Africa. One in three adults surveyed plans to migrate to a developing country. Half of those planning to migrate live in just 20 countries. The share of the adult population planning to migrate abroad has increased moderately at the global level but more rapidly in certain regions. West Africa, South Asia and North Africa are the regions with the largest migration potential. Adults planning and preparing to migrate are more likely to be male, young, single, living in urban areas and more likely to have completed at least secondary education.

The number of people planning to migrate seems to be a good predictor of actual flows of people as recorded by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, Eurostat and United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs. Further analysis of migration potential may contribute to developing migration scenarios and forecasting.



Migration Health Research to advance evidence based policy and practice in Sri Lanka
2017/18 pages
English

The “Life is Better” information, education and communication materials are intended for adolescents aged 13–14 years old and narrate the ill effects and risk factors of psychoactive substances’ abuse. “Life is Better” comprises information on risks resulting from abuse of such psychoactive substances as tobacco, alcohol, injecting drugs, inhalants, bio/ spices, sedatives, ecstasy and marijuana/ cannabis. “Life is Better” aims at raising awareness of adolescents on health-related and social consequences connected with substance abuse and provides them with an opportunity to make informed choices.



Assistência às vítimas de tráfico de pessoas: Guia para profissionais da saúde

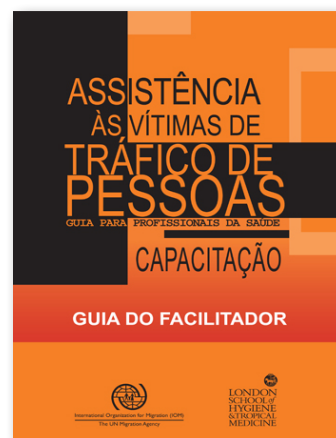
2017/244 pages

ISBN 978-92-9068-739-9

Portuguese

Para muitas vítimas do tráfico de pessoas, as consequências físicas e psicológicas da experiência de tráfico podem ser graves e duradouras. Os profissionais de saúde podem entrar em contato com as vítimas do tráfico em diferentes estágios do processo de tráfico e em diferentes momentos de sua recuperação. Para profissionais de saúde, diagnosticar e tratar pessoas traficadas pode ser excepcionalmente desafiador, por isso ao estar informado e atento, este profissional pode desempenhar um papel importante na assistência e no tratamento de indivíduos que podem ter sofrido abusos indesejáveis e repetidos.

Para o cuidado de vítimas do tráfico, reunimos a experiência de diversos especialistas de organizações internacionais, universidades e sociedade civil para enfrentar as consequências do tráfico de pessoas. Desenvolvido com o apoio da Iniciativa Global das Nações Unidas para Combater o Tráfico de Pessoas, liderado pela OIM e pela Escola de Higiene e Medicina Tropical de Londres, o manual fornece conselhos práticos e não clínicos para ajudar um profissional de saúde a entender o fenômeno do tráfico de pessoas, a reconhecer alguns dos problemas de saúde associados e considerar abordagens seguras e apropriadas para fornecer cuidados de saúde. Esta ferramenta essencial está disponível em outros idiomas.



Assistência às vítimas de tráfico de pessoas: Guia para profissionais da saúde Guia do Facilitador

2016/128 pages

Portuguese

Para os prestadores de cuidados de saúde, o tráfico de pessoas é melhor entendido como um grave risco para a saúde, pois, como em outras formas de violência, está associado a danos físicos e psicológicos. Os prestadores de saúde podem entrar em contato com as vítimas do tráfico em diferentes estágios do processo de tráfico e em diferentes estágios de recuperação. O prestador de serviços de saúde informado e atento pode desempenhar um papel importante na assistência e tratamento de indivíduos que podem ter sofrido abusos repetidos. Para profissionais de saúde, diagnosticar e tratar pessoas traficadas pode representar uma série de novos desafios relacionados à provisão de cuidados. Em 2012, a Organização Internacional para as Migrações e o Centro de Saúde e Violência de Gênero da Escola de Higiene e Medicina Tropical de Londres (LSHTM) desenvolveram um pacote de treinamento com base no manual Cuidar de Pessoas Trata: Orientação para Provedores de Saúde. Publicado em 2009, o manual combina pesquisa, experiência de campo e boas práticas em uma ferramenta para aqueles que prestam serviços de saúde para pessoas traficadas, sejam vítimas identificadas ou populações que podem incluir vítimas não identificadas ou outras pessoas exploradas. O Guia do Facilitador e o material de acompanhamento para indivíduos que desejam realizar treinamento para ajudar um profissional de saúde em causa a entender o fenômeno do tráfico humano, reconhecer alguns dos problemas de saúde associados e considerar abordagens seguras e apropriadas para fornecer cuidar de pessoas traficadas. O treinamento é projetado para todos os tipos e níveis de provedores de saúde, particularmente aqueles que prestam serviços ativamente.



Call for authors/Submission guidelines

Since its launch in October 2011, *Migration Policy Practice* has published over 155 articles by senior policymakers and distinguished migration policy experts from all over the world.

Past authors have included, inter alia:

Eric Adja, Director General of the International Migrants Remittances Observatory (IMRO) and Special Adviser to the President of Benin; *John K. Bingham*, Global Coordinator of civil society activities in the United Nations High-level Dialogue on International Migration and Development and the Global Forum on Migration and Development; *Ambassador Eva Åkerman Börje*, Chair of the GFMD 2013-2014; *Mark Cully*, Chief Economist at the Australian Department of Immigration and Border Protection; *António Guterres*, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees; *Khalid Koser*, Chair of the World Economic Forum Global Agenda Council on Migration; *Khalid Malik*, Director of the Human Development Report Office, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP); *Cecilia Mamlström*, EU Commissioner for Home Affairs; *Ali Mansoor*, Chair of the GFMD 2012; *Andrew Middleton*, Director of Culture, Recreation and Migrant Statistics, Australian Bureau of Statistics; *Najat Maalla M'Jid*, United Nations Special Rapporteur on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography; *Robert A. Mocny*, Director of US-VISIT, US Department of Homeland Security; *Imelda M. Nicolas*, Secretary of the Commission on Filipinos Overseas (CFO), Office of the President of the Philippines; *Ignacio Packer*, Secretary General of the Terre des Hommes International Federation; *Kelly Ryan* (Coordinator of the Intergovernmental Consultations on Migration, Asylum and Refugees – IGC, Geneva); *Martin Schulz*, President of the European Parliament; *David Smith*, Director of Surveys and Reporting, Australian Department of Immigration and Border Protection; *Sir Peter D. Sutherland*, Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General for Migration; *Ambassador William Lacy Swing*, Director General of the International Organization for Migration (IOM); *Myria Vassiliadou*, EU Anti-Trafficking Coordinator, European Commission; *Catherine Wiesner*, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration, US Department of State.

Migration Policy Practice welcomes submissions from policymakers worldwide. As a general rule, articles should:

- Not exceed five pages and be written in a non-academic and reader-friendly style.
- Cover any area of migration policy but discuss, as far as possible, particular solutions, policy options or best practice relating to the themes covered.
- Provide, as often as applicable, lessons that can be replicated or adapted by relevant public administrations, or civil society, in other countries.

Articles giving account of evaluations of specific migration policies and interventions, including both evaluation findings and innovative evaluation methodologies, are particularly welcome.

To discuss any aspect of the journal, or to submit an article, please contact:

- **Solon Ardittis** (sardittis@eurasylum.org); and
- **Frank Laczko** (flaczko@iom.int)