

**Tides between Mediterranean Shores:
Undocumented Migration in the South of Europe**

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ABSTRACT

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In the last decade undocumented arrivals from the south and east of Mediterranean Basin appear to be one of the important current immigration issues of most concern to countries in southern Europe. This paper deals with the question of how to take a hard look at the various implications of increasing undocumented migration in the Mediterranean Basin. This paper gives, firstly, a broad overview about the dynamics and mechanisms of undocumented migration in the Mediterranean Basin. Secondly, drawing on sample-based survey data from the internationally comparative study of “Push and Pull Factors of International Migration” (Eurostat/NIDI project), it intends to document some aspects of undocumented migration in the four migrant-receiving countries (Turkey, Morocco, Egypt, and Ghana) and in the two migrant-sending countries (Spain and Italy) of the Mediterranean Basin. Mainly because of the partial availability of data from other countries except Turkey, the analysis and discussion here will be relatively more on the Turkish case, and relatively less on the other country cases. This paper concludes by relating the issue of undocumented migration in the Mediterranean to the wider context of international migratory regimes in Europe.

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Introduction

There are well-established undocumented immigration and labour networks in many areas of the world, including several in Europe, with the potential for these to expand substantially over the next decades. Particularly in the last decade undocumented arrivals from the south and east of the Mediterranean Basin, for instance, appear to be one of the important current immigration issues of most concern to countries in southern Europe. International Organization for Migration (IOM, 2000a:198) estimates that in the late 1990s there were 500,000 undocumented migrants in France, 235,000 in Italy, and as many as 150,000 in Spain. Some of these migrants typically enter by illegal means, but a large portion of them enter legally and then fail to depart when their visas expire. Thus, at the outset, what we need is a kind of clarification about the term of *undocumented*. *Undocumented* is used to connote people who are often defined as *illegals* (Cohen, 1997: 1). This usage does not only imply political correctness but it also refers to a factual position: the diversity of the types of migrants under this labelling. What we term undocumented migration often takes two different forms: (a) deliberate illegal entering, and (b) overstaying. Another group involves those who enter under a proper visa but violate its terms, usually by working. In addition to these, there are also rejected asylum seekers who continue to stay in the country of application (Tapinos, 2000: 1).

Being peripheral to Europe, the Mediterranean Basin has always been an integral part of European migration regimes, but with varying roles. From the 1950s to the 1970s as their post-war economies grew, a shortage of labour had forced the countries of Western Europe to recruit labour power from the Mediterranean countries --- firstly, from Spain, Portugal, Italy and Greece, and then from Yugoslavia, Turkey, Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria. In the 1980s and 1990s, as Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece integrated economically and politically into Europe, migratory movements in the Mediterranean transformed, mostly following the South-to-North and East-to-West directions in the Basin. While almost all countries of the northern shores of Mediterranean became countries of immigration, those of the southern and eastern shores were still the countries of emigration. In these recent migration flows in the region, undocumented migration has been one of the dominant forms of immigration. Given the fact that not all undocumented entrants and overstayers see the southern European countries as

their final destination, and some seem to be heading to the other countries in Europe, undocumented migration has started provoking Europe's long-standing immigration-induced anxiety in recent decades.¹

A key question in this context is how to take a hard look at the various implications of increasing undocumented migration in the Mediterranean Basin. As noted above, the history of recent Mediterranean region has been marked by significant migratory movements at every stage. Features of contemporary regular and irregular migrations in many respects mirror the past. Therefore, the conventional starting point is that undocumented migrants are mobilized by a range of push factors at home and pull factors at the destination, but one should of course pay attention to the complex interplays of origin, transit, and destination countries that form a regularity migratory regime which operates in certain interests and distributes powers and advantages or disadvantages in international, or transnational, settings. There are two main arguments behind undocumented migration flows in the Mediterranean region or elsewhere.² One claims that it occurs because the possibilities of regular migration have diminished, "as more stringent entry controls force migrants into using illegal channels" (Salt, 2000: 32). The other says that loose control mechanisms of entries, visas, work and residence permits have made it easier for immigrants to enter and live in the receiving countries without legal bases. Whether either, or both, of these arguments has some relevant points to make, the picture of undocumented migration is still vague. Partly by its nature and consequently because of lack of sound data, various aspects of undocumented migration are still relatively unknown. What we know is often merely a bit more than speculation.

The main aim of this article is to go beyond speculation and description. It gives, firstly, a broad overview of the dynamics and mechanisms of undocumented migration in the Mediterranean Basin. Secondly, drawing on sample-based survey data³ from the internationally comparative study of "Push and Pull Factors of International Migration" (Eurostat-NIDI Project)⁴, it intends to document some aspects of undocumented migration in the four migrant-sending countries (Turkey, Morocco, Egypt, and Ghana) and in the two migrant-receiving countries (Spain and Italy) of the Mediterranean Basin. Mainly because of the partial availability of data from other countries except Turkey, the analysis and discussion

¹ As a good example of this growing concern on undocumented migration in the Mediterranean-European context see, for instance, the following documents: CoE (1999, 2000).

² For the related discussion see, for instance, the special issue of *International Migration* on "Perspectives of Trafficking of Migrants", (vol. 38) (3), 2000.

³ The details of the data set used in this study will be elaborated in the following parts of the manuscript. For further details of the data collection see EC (2000a).

⁴ Eurostat is the statistical bureau of the Commission of the European Communities, and NIDI is the Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute.

here will be relatively more on the Turkish case, and relatively less on the other country cases. This paper concludes by relating the issue of undocumented migration in the Mediterranean to the wider context of international migratory regimes in Europe.

Background: Some Theoretical and Analytical Concerns

There exist a range of new global contexts that affect how we think about international migration and how we experience movements of people around the world. In fact, from varying perspectives, the very elements of globalization that make migration easier also make it more problematic (Weinner, 1996; Gungwu, 1997; Miller, 1997; Hollifield, 1998; Sassen, 1998; Collinson, 1999; Icduygu and Keyman, 2000). There are three main arguments on this contemporary globalisation-migration linkage. *First*, advanced communications and transportation technology bring a level of transnationalism never before experienced. Although some migrants have always been very actively mobile, going back and forth between their homelands and the host countries, the process has generally been successive. Today, however, whenever people become migrants, they are often literally and continuously on the move, going from one country to another. They live in more than one place, and keep close ties with these places. National borders and territories have been exposed to many disorderly migrations as well as orderly ones more than ever. *Second*, a weakened sense and mechanisms of community at the local and national levels contributes to increasingly uncontrollable mobility of individuals and their families. More and more people have found themselves in an environment where they can divorce themselves from their roots more easily than before. *Third*, economic globalization and trends in postnational settings affect the dynamics of the labour market around the world. International migration seems to be now more than ever a “function of changes in the international division of labour, and reconstructing of the global economy, which entails rapid and massive movements of productive factors, including capital and labour” (Hollifield, 1998: 34). Our “global settings” increasingly require a new type of the flows of capital, goods, services, information, and people, which often fall short of the regulatory reach of the nation-state particularly in relation to the immense flows of people among countries. It is often argued that globalization “transcends the territorial borders of states”, and as a consequence, “profoundly affects the nature and functions of state of governance in the world political economy, including of course, the governance of migration” (Collinson, 1999: 6). It is obvious that the issue of undocumented migration is directly related to this issue of “governance of migration”.

If it seems puzzling, or even paradoxical that the above three points are embedded in globalization, what makes present migration processes even more complicated is the position of nation-states, which are becoming less likely to risk migration any more (Hollifield, 1998: 34). Most of the nation states emphasise that there is a need for continuous and strong intervention to restrict and regulate migration flows. Often relying on a *restrictionist rhetoric* of less benefits but more costs of immigration, which in itself precludes a rational assessment of immigration flows, migrant-receiving nation-states often have tended to develop a varying range of restrictive control systems for incoming migration flows. Even more drastic measures are planned, and/or in fact realized to try to diminish the number of people attempting to enter and/or remain illegally. Despite these efforts however, on the other hand it is a fact that “in absolute numbers immigration levels are at or near historic highs” in many developed countries (Papademetriou, 1998: 2).

Contrary to the restrictionists’ *rhetoric* and *actions* that have intensified in most of the public, political, and scholarly debates on immigration in the migrant-receiving countries, both orderly and disorderly immigration continues to grow. From this point, then, the question of how to explain the increasing trends in the immigration flows gains importance. In particular, the question of rising disorderly migration flows deserves explanation. There are mainly two levels of discussion. *First, frictions between the rising contemporary dynamics of globalization and the persisting traditional structure of nation-state* are a part of the answer that we can offer to this question. Increases in undocumented migration, which might be considered as an *anomie* in the established international migratory regimes, emerges partly as a result of the friction between local (national) and global (transnational/postnational) interests. Fundamental to this *anomie* is the clash between the anti-migration resistance of nation-states and the pro-migration migration position of globalization. It appears that as far as contemporary international migration flows are concerned, national level of concerns is not enough to deal effectively with societal and economic problems, such as undocumented migration, whose conditions of existence are increasingly formed by the processes of globalization. Overall nation-state-based immigration policies and practices are not neutral in the sense that they fail to take into account the global/local social and economic changes to understand the new migration flows. On the other hand, it would be a mistake to think of globalization as a neutral process. Contrary, it is beset by contradictions, clashes and crises. As Martin Shaw (1994) argues, embedded in the processes of globalization are global crises (seen in a wide range of areas from economics to environment) and also a set of clashes between the global and the local --- here which occur in a distinct form of immigration, especially *undocumented immigration*. Globalization amounts to the idea that it is no longer possible to think of international migration only with reference to the national and border-

based territorial constitution of societal affairs. Instead, it is necessary to take into account the unprecedentedly increasing global mobility of people across borders. In short, while the cumulative effect of globalization forces is essential in generating and facilitating migrations of different kinds including undocumented ones, there are also countervailing pressures tending to constrain migration drastically (UNRISD, 2001.). It makes sense therefore to look at the real economic implications of undocumented migration for the two main actors, namely migrants themselves and the receiving nation-state.

This last point brings us to the *second* level of explanations about undocumented migration, which concerns the *uneven acculturation of migration actors* in the globalized migration regimes. While one set of these actors, international migrants, are becoming increasingly globalized in terms of their active position in the newly formed international migratory regimes, the other actor, migrant-receiving nation-states, have slow and more reluctant paces in the globalized migration processes. The former is far better incorporated into the process of increasing interconnectedness between societies, in which the intensification of social relations through the global/local nexus dismantles the national and territorial constitution of social action --- that is globalization. While anxiety about undocumented migration has risen, particularly among the richer nation-states that are the destination of many migrants, the economic (to certain extent even social and political) settings of these states are somehow compatible enough to the undocumented migrants. Large numbers of undocumented migrants are able to incorporate themselves to the social and economic environments of the receiving countries. Surprisingly, many of economies in the developed world are still absorptive of migrant labour, even often preferring or tolerating the undocumented ones⁵. While this clear absorption is somehow in process on the one hand, hardening barriers of immigration against the increased pressure to migrate is also developing on the other hand. Thus, the consequences are anomalous, but also apparently compatible with the international migration market conditions, making millions of people undocumented migrants around the world. At this point, taking the key position of individual migrants into consideration, an elaboration of undocumented migration should not be confined to the migrants alone, but rather their articulation into the whole migratory regime. It is within this context that one has to deal with the position of undocumented migrants in the migratory process --- focusing on the question of how more and more potential (undocumented) migrants are emerging, while there is nowhere for them to migrate orderly (but somehow many places to go disorderly). The *intrinsic globalization of labour* in the contemporary world political economy, in other words, has *not* been matched by the real globalization of nation-state system on ideological and

⁵ For the related discussion see, for instance, Entorf (2000), Tapinos (2000), and Papademetriou (1998).

political levels: nation-states remain ideologically and politically very tied to the territorial world system, with practices to restrict immigration as tightly as at any point in the past.

In this context of closely interacting globalizing and localising migration processes and forces, one has to deal with the position of individual undocumented migrants as a function of the complex global and local migration processes, networks, and labour trafficking channels whose features are so central to the whole issue of undocumented migration. In the case of undocumented migration, immigration has become less of a medium for holding a state-based controlled national business; instead, immigration flows tend to be an arena of collaboration and competition among individual interests in the global political economy. Often undocumented migrants associate in some circumstances with non-territorial processes, identities and authorities, but in other circumstances they remain firmly territorially-oriented⁶. From that point, one can argue that main theoretical and analytical attention should be paid to exploring various ways in which individual international migrants, first as non-territorial entities and then as territorial ones, are articulated into the undocumented migration processes. This highlights the primary analytical importance of individual undocumented migrants in elaborating and understanding the totality of undocumented migration.

Having approached theoretically and analytically the link between the processes of globalization and the nature of undocumented migration, we will now turn our attention to the Mediterranean case to demonstrate historically and empirically the way in which undocumented migration has occurred in the last decades. Then we will focus on the cases of individual undocumented migrants both in the migrant-sending and -receiving countries in Mediterranean.

Undocumented Migration in the Mediterranean Basin: An Overview

The Mediterranean Basin finds itself today at crossroads of undocumented migratory flows (Baldwin-Edwards and Arango, 1999; CoE, 1999). These flows are not wholly new phenomena, but they have gained unprecedented impetus for the last decade. Almost all countries on the northern shores of the Basin, in other words Southern Europe, have increasingly become home for thousands of undocumented immigrants, while the southern and eastern shores have continuously sent the thousands of undocumented migrants to the northern shores. National and international press reports various cases of undocumented migration almost everyday⁷; and the public, policy makers, and experts hotly debate the issue

⁶ For a similar discussion on this issue see Collinson (1999: 10).

⁷ For the various examples of press coverage of the issue see for instance the following three internet-based newsletter arrangements, (1) CISNEWS of the Center for Immigration Studies, Washington, D.C., USA (<http://www.cis.org>); (2) Asian Migration News of the Scalabrini Migration Center, Quezon

with an intensifying interest⁸. Of course, all these debates are not only confined to the undocumented migration flows, but also related to the undocumented migrants in the receiving countries.

By its nature, it is very hard to estimate the number of illegal migrants with any accuracy. As noted earlier, the extreme diversity of illegal migration, which accommodates various categories of people and movements such as “illegal entries”, “overstayers”, and “rejected asylum seekers”, makes it even more difficult than one can assume. In general, no direct and accurate figures exist on undocumented migration and/or migrants anywhere around the world. Southern Europe, or the Mediterranean Basin, is no exception. But some indirect and indicative figures are available. Below we compile some figures that reflect an overview of undocumented migration in the migrant-receiving countries of the South of Europe.

Estimates place the upper limit of undocumented migrants in Europe at over 3 million in the early 2000s, as compared to just less than 2 million in the early 1990s (IOM 2000a: 198, 2000b: 12). More than a half of these migrants seem to be residing in the four countries of Southern Europe: Spain, France, Italy, and Greece (see Table 1). It is clear that the scale of undocumented migration in these countries, as a part of European-wide undocumented migration, is very significant. As noted earlier, not all these undocumented migrants are the subjects of illegal entries, but often also are overstayers.

The dynamics and characteristics of undocumented migratory flows to each single country are complex and varied but there is also a common frame to these flows in the Mediterranean Basin. These flows have two main forms of movement⁹. The *first* one involves the migrations that originate from the countries located in the south and east of the Basin (such as Egypt, Morocco, Algeria, and Turkey) and arrive in the countries on its north shores (Spain, France, Italy and Greece). These migrants attempt either to establish their lives in the countries of Southern Europe or to re-migrate further north to central or northern Europe, or even to other parts of the developed world. The *second* form of migration comes either from the neighbouring countries of the south and east of the Mediterranean Basin (such as Senegal and Iraq), or even from further distances from the various remote areas of Asia (such as Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Afghanistan) and Africa (such as Nigeria, Congo, Somalia). These migrants

City, Philipines, (<http://www.scalabrini.org>); and (3) Immigration New Digest of the Technical Cooperation Centre for Europe and Central Asia of the International Organization for Migration (IOM).

⁸ It is within this context that see, for instance, various studies on undocumented migration, and trafficking and smuggling done by the International Organization for Migration (IOM).

often use the countries of the south and east of the Mediterranean Basin as a transit zone, and then attempt to go to the south of Europe and then an other parts of Europe. It is already documented that the main sea routes in the undocumented migratory regime in the Mediterranean Basin are ¹⁰: (a) from Maghreb direct to the southern coast of Spain, or via Melilla and Ceuta; (b) from Turkey to Greece, Sicily, or mainland Italy; (c) from the south-eastern Adriatic coast to Italy, and especially Puglia; and, (d) from Egypt (or the Maghreb via Tunisia) to Sicily or mainland Italy, sometimes via Malta. As far as the trafficking and smuggling¹¹ are concerned, besides these sea passages, there are air travels and transport by land which carry thousands of people into the southern European countries. Usage of these modes of transportation is varied, recently with sea transport somewhat more frequent than transport by land, which was more often used than air travel (Pugh, 2000: 13).

In the late 1990s, the estimated number of undocumented immigrants in Spain was between 150,000 and 200,000 (EC, 2000b: 34). Given the fact that there was the presence of 720,000 registered immigrants in this country in 1998 (OECD, 2001: 253), the ratio of undocumented immigrants to registered migrants was one to four. It was reported that 9,000 undocumented migrants were expelled from the country in the first half of 1998, a total of some 50,000 undocumented entries were expected for 1998 (EC, 2000b: 34). It is assumed that there was a reduction in the number of undocumented migrants in Spain mainly due to the regularization schemes undertaken throughout the 1990s. Meanwhile, however, increasing trends of trafficking of migrants into the country was obvious: for instance, while 1,573 persons were detained in 1996 by the coastal guards, this figure had been almost doubled in 1998, reaching 2,995: and only in the first months of 1999, the number of persons detained was 800 (Pugh, 2000:18). The Maghreb and various African countries were the main sources of these irregular migration flows.

Estimates of the total number of undocumented migrants in France run as high as 500,000 (IOM, 2000a:198). Unlike Spain, Italy, and Greece, not the shores but borders are the main gates for the irregular migrants arriving in France. Mainly because of distance of the transmediterranean sea passage, most boat people come to France step-wise via the islands of Lampedusa and then Sicily and mainland Italy, or via Spain. It is recognized that France has a quite effective working system to guard its sea and shores (Pugh, 2000:19). In the 1997-98

⁹ Several studies of the IOM plus preliminary reports of the "Push and Pull Factors of International Migration" (Eurostat-NIDI) Project offer hard evidence about these two types.

¹⁰ For related discussion see Pugh (2000:14-15)

¹¹ It is argued that irregular migrants generally have relied upon a third party to assist them, whether they employed a forger to make a false visa (facilitator), paid a person to help them across the border

regularization program, there were 143,000 undocumented immigrants who applied for normalization of their status, but only 73,000 of them received approval (OECD, 2001:179). The largest number of applicants were Moroccans, Algerians and Malians, followed by Congolese, and Chinese, and then Tunisians, Turks, Senegalese, and lastly Sri Lankans, Filipinos, and Pakistanis. Most applications had entered France illegally.

In Italy, the number of undocumented migrants is estimated at nearly 400,000 in 1998 (OECD, 2001:207). Thousands of undocumented migrants enter the country along the Adriatic coasts or through Sicily. It is argued that the coasts of Apulia are easily reached from Albania, the Sicilian coasts are not very far from Tunisia, and landings often occur in Calabria with ships sometimes coming from Turkey. Italy has been a major destination point for undocumented migrants since the 1980s. For instance, the 1987 amnesty based on Law No. 943 legalised nearly 190,000 non-EU nationals of whom one-third came from North Africa and just under a quarter from the Far East (EC, 2000c: 43). In the subsequent amnesty based on Law No. 39, around 235,000 non-EU nationals were legalised: 41 percent of these migrants were from North Africa, while 17 percent of them were from the Far East. The 1995 amnesty based on Decree Law No. 489 led to more than a quarter million applications, and the number of successful applicants was over 98 percent of those investigated until early 1997 (EC, 2000c: 44). These migrants were mainly from Morocco (16 %), Albania (14 %), the Philippines (13 %), China (6 %), and Peru (6 %) (OECD, 2001:206-207).

After Greece introduced its first ever legalisation for undocumented migrants in 1998, some 370,000 applied for legal status or a "white card," (of temporary validity) under a program designed to regularize the residency status of undocumented immigrants (OECD, 2001:193). It seems that only less than 60 percent of these migrants had managed to proceed to the second stage of the regularization program by submitting an application for a renewable "green card" (OECD, 2001:193). Today it is said that more than a half a million foreigners are currently living and working in Greece illegally (Tzilivakis, 2000). Various evidence suggests that thousands of individuals from Iraq, Afghanistan, Turkey, and Iran enter the country illegally each year; only a small percentage eventually apply for official refugee status. Some remain illegally in Greece, others proceed to Western Europe, often applying for asylum there.

(smuggler) or were exploited after transit by the person who transported them across the border (trafficker) (for these definitions see IOM (2000b: 7)).

Undocumented Migration in the Mediterranean Basin: Some Direct Evidence from the Eurostat-NIDI Project

As noted earlier, the data used in this paper are derived from the recent Eurostat-NIDI project (1994-2000) on the push and pull factors determining international migration flows¹². The main focus of the project was on migration from the Southern and Eastern Mediterranean region and from Sub-Saharan Africa to the European Union. Surveys were conducted in five predominantly migrant-sending countries (Egypt¹³, Ghana¹⁴, Morocco¹⁵, Senegal¹⁶, and Turkey¹⁷) and in two predominantly migrant receiving countries (Italy and Spain) between 1996 and 1998. The Netherlands¹⁸ was also included in the migrant-receiving countries but only secondary data analysis was conducted using existing survey data and statistics.

It may be beneficial at this point to give some basic definitions adopted in the project. The concept of 'household' was extended in these surveys to include not only those persons who live together but also those who are residing elsewhere but whose principal commitments and obligations are to that household and who are expected to return to that household in the future. 'Migration' was defined as a move from one place in order to go and live in another place for a continuous period of at least one year. As an exception to this definition, somebody who left the country of origin at least three months ago and was currently living abroad at the time of the survey since at least three months, he/she was also considered as a migrant although it is not known if this person is likely to stay there for a period of one year. Among migrant households, only one individual (aged 18-65), called main migration actor (MMA) was chosen for a long interview that provided the main data source for our analysis here.

In each of these surveys respondents who had some migration experiences were asked to give information on their admission and migration positions/strategies including undocumented migration¹⁹. Some of these questions that are directly related to undocumented migration are (1) Did you ever try to enter a country without all the required papers, or to stay after your visa or permit had expired? (2) Which country was that? (3) In which year was this? (4) How did you do this? (5) Did you have to pay for this? (6) Did you succeed, at least in part, to

¹² See EC (2000a).

¹³ See EC (2000d).

¹⁴ See EC (2000e).

¹⁵ See EC (2000f).

¹⁶ See EC (2000g).

¹⁷ See EC (2000h).

¹⁸ See EC (2000i).

¹⁹ Only survey in Senegal did not include detailed and comparable questions on undocumented migration, therefore discussion here exclude the Senegale case.

bypass the rules? In order to reduce sensitivities, these questions were introduced by a general statement "some people are known to outwit the admission regulations of other countries". Of course one can argue that, generally speaking, survey data are not totally reliable sources of information on documented migration. It is within this context that the data-related problems are recognized, but this is overwhelmingly challenged by the wealth and scope of the data collected for the surveyed countries by the Eurostat-NIDI project.

Notwithstanding data-related problems that are quite intrinsic to the natural sensitivity of the study of undocumented migration, it is worthwhile to make use of the Eurostat-NIDI data not only to show what we can learn about the issue of undocumented migration but also to explore what we can not learn about it. Using bivariate analyses, we intend to document some particular aspects of undocumented migration in cases of some selected Mediterranean countries.

Having had a degree of comparability and giving the possibilities of some detailed investigation on various aspects of undocumented migration and migrants, the Eurostat-NIDI data are quite unique. But because of the partial availability of data for a detailed primary level of analyses, the analysis and discussion here will be limited to the three main issues of undocumented migration. The first issue is related to *the level and types of undocumented migration* --- mainly focusing on the question of whether migrants ever tried to enter the immigration country undocumented or they overstayed a visa or permit. The second issue is connected to *the type of travel* --- whether a direct move from their homeland to the destination country or they had a stepwise migration. The last issue is the question of whether undocumented migrants had *networks* (relatives and/or friends already living abroad) in the country of destination that facilitated their moves.

It is obvious that all aspects of undocumented migration are very sensitive and consequently many respondents in the surveys of the Eurostat-NIDI Project are expected to be likely to give socially desirable answers or to not answer the related questions. However, it is somewhat surprising that the figures of undocumented migration still appear to be quite high, reflecting the possibilities of actual numbers that could be even higher than these figures. While these figures reflect the importance of the high *levels of undocumented migration* in the Mediterranean Basin, they also show that this type of migration differs significantly between countries and migrant groups. For instance, 17 percent of Moroccans and 15 percent of Senegalese migrants in Spain and 17 percent of Egyptians in Italy declared that they entered the country without a visa or work permit. This proportion was 7 percent for Ghanians in Italy. In addition to these, 15 percent of the Egyptians and Ghanians in Italy and 20 percent of

Moroccans in Spain were overstayers. The proportion of overstayers was highest among the Senegalese in Spain, being more than a third (see Table 2).

As far as the sending countries are concerned, the Eurostat-NIDI surveys indicate that Turks most often admit that they have ever tried to a country illegally (11 %) or that they have overstayed their visas (11 %). Figures for Morroccans and Ghananains are lower --- both illegal entries and overstays make around 10 percent of each country cases, but when "refusal and don't know" cases to questions are included they reach levels comparable to the Turkish case. Only a very small proportion of the Egyptian migrants indicated that they were involved a type of undocumented migration; but even in their cases, it was one-fifteenth of migrants, that was not an insignificant figure (see Table 3).

Looking at the figures above, one could probably cautiously try to conclude the following. Firstly, it appears that undocumented migration has become an important and integral part of international migration in the Mediterrenean region. Not only the "illegal entries", but also "overstays" are the significant element in undocumented migration cases. In fact, a significant proportion of the undocumented migrants are overstayers, who enter the immigration countries legally, but violate immigration terms by working or staying after their visas have expired.

It seems that as distance from the destination country increases, so does *the likelihood of step-by-step migration*. This is particularly more obvious in the case of entries without visa and/or permit. For instance, the majority of the undocumented Egyptians (85 %) to Italy and undocumented Senegalese (97 %) to Spain, and 36 percent of Ghanainas to Italy travelled step-wise. However, only 7 percent of undocumented Morrocan entries came to Spain step-by-step. Corresponding figures for "legal entries" were 14 percent, 29 percent, 10 percent and 3 percent respectively (see Table 4).

It is obvious that undocumented migrants have *networks* (presence of relatives and/or friends already living in the destination countries) just as often as documented migrants do. Seventy-six percent of undocumented Morroccans, 66 percent of undocumented Senegalese in Spain, 58 percent of undocumented Egyptitians, and 66 percent of undocumented Ghanaians had networks in the destination countries. These figures for documented counterparts were not very dissimilar: 60 percent for both of the groups in Italy, 73 percent for Morroccans, and 78 percent for Senegalese in Spain (see Figure 1). Similarly, data from the sending countries indicate that among undocumented migrants having a network at the destination countries was as common as that among their documented counterparts (see Figure 2). Only the

Moroccan case presented a minor deviation, where having a network was much more common among undocumented migrants than documented migrants.

The fact that many undocumented migrants have family and friends living at their destination does not necessarily imply that this network also plays a role in their migration. Almost two-thirds of the undocumented Moroccan migrants and more than three-fourths the undocumented Senegalese migrants in Spain declare that they succeeded in their migration without help of others (see Table 5). Only very small proportions (1 % among Senegalese and 3 % among Moroccans) received help from relatives. A significant portion of both groups (15 % of Moroccans and 9 % of Senegalese) indicated that they succeeded their migration with the help of others --- often implying that they used the services of traffickers/smugglers. In the case of data obtained from sending countries, only one-third of the undocumented Ghanainans and half of the undocumented Egyptians indicated that they migrated without any help. Seven percent of Ghanainans and 20 percent of Egyptians succeeded in their migration with the help of their relatives while one in every ten undocumented Ghanainan migrants and one in every four of their Egyptian counterparts did so with the help of others, again implying that the services of traffickers/smugglers were used.

Undocumented Migration from Turkey: Some Direct Evidence from the Eurostat-NIDI Project

As a part of the Eurostat-NIDI Project, the Turkish International Migration Survey (TIMS) collected information on undocumented or irregular migration by asking a number of questions regarding such aspects of migration. The results presented below investigate the strategies migrants used to reach their destination. In this section, the term migrant covers main migration actors (current or return) and the country of destination covers current country of destination for current migrants and the last country of destination for return migrants. In the TIMS, all migrants who were administered long questionnaires were asked whether they had a visa or a residence or working permit at the time they entered to the country of destination. An overwhelming majority of migrants (83 %) declared that they possessed a visa or permit at the time of arrival to the country of destination. This proportion was somewhat higher among women compared to men (95 versus 82 %). For a large majority of migrants, the country of destination required them to have these documents in order to enter the country legally. Furthermore, half of them were holding tourist visas and most of the rest were holding temporary residence and work permits.

Those who stated that they had a visa and/or permit were further asked to state whether they had a tourist, business, student, or refugee visa, whether they had a temporary residence, immigrant/residence, or work permit, and whether they applied for asylum at border. Fiftyone percent declared that they were carrying tourist visas, 21 percent of them declared that they had a temporary residence permit, 23 percent stated that they were holding a residence permit, and 20 percent stated that they had a work permit at the time of arrival in the country of destination. While more men travelled with tourist visas, most of the women appeared to be arriving in country of destination with residence and work permits.

Respondents were further asked whether they tried to enter a country without all the required papers, or to stay after their visa or permit had expired. Of all the migrants, nearly one quarter stated that they have ever tried to enter a country without the required papers (11 %) or tried to overstay their visa or permit (11 %) (see Table 6). If those who refused to answer or said they don't know (probably answered by proxy respondents) is included to this group, the percentage of undocumented migration increases to 27 percent. All other respondents stated that they have never tried anything like this, which means that 73 percent of the Turkish migrants claim to have never been entered or stayed in a country without the required documents. Those who declared to be irregular migrants were exclusively males; none of the female migrants tried to enter a country undocumented. When migrants' tendencies to enter a country undocumented were analysed with respect to the last country of destination, the proportion of irregular migrants living/having lived in Switzerland was as high as 38 percent, for Germany, it was 34 percent. None of the migrants living/having lived in Austria tried to enter a country undocumented. Although only 13 percent of migrants living/having lived in France declared that they have tried to enter a country without necessary documents, there is no valid information for 31 percent of the respondents as they did not provide answers to questions.

The proportion of migrants who outwit the admission regulations was slightly higher among current migrants compared to return migrants (22 versus 20 %). Failing to comply with the rules was more frequent in regions with more recent migration flows, especially in less developed region (Adiyaman/Sanlıurfa) (41 %). The developed region with more established migration flows, however, had the highest proportion of documented migration (86 %). When migrants were analysed with regard to their period of entry, the proportion of irregular migrants was considerably higher among those who entered their last country of destination during the last five years prior to survey date (41 %).

The existence of a migration network appeared to decrease the likelihood of undocumented migration. Among migrants who did not have a migration network in the country of destination, the proportion of undocumented migrants increased to 41 percent compared to 19 percent among those with a network. If the migration has occurred in a step by step pattern instead of direct migration from Turkey to the country of destination, the proportion of undocumented migration increased to 33 percent compared to 22 percent among migrants who moved directly. If the person migrated alone, the proportion was 25 percent compared to 15 percent for those who migrated with their family or friends (see Table 6).

Among migrants who tried to enter a country without the required papers, more than half of them (54 %) did so by staying after their visa or permit expired (see Figure 3). Another 13 percent declared that they tried to enter the country with illegal/false papers. Only four percent of those who tried to enter a country undocumented did so by marrying someone with residence permit or a native citizen. A relatively higher proportion of respondents was classified in the other category which consisted of both relevant and irrelevant answers such as “hidden in a ship”, “crossed the border illegally”, “with the help of a friend”, “crossed the border without documents”, “somebody took him”, “tried to cross the border without a visa”, etc.

A higher proportion of current migrants tried to stay in a country after their visa or permit expired compared to return migrants (59 versus 29 %). The two most favoured countries of destination for irregular migrants were Germany and Switzerland. Slightly more migrants in Germany tried to extend their stay after their visa and or permit expired compared to Switzerland and other countries (see Figure 4). When migrants who tried to enter a country without all the required papers were asked about the timing of their undocumented entry, nearly one-fourth of them stated that they entered during the last two years prior to the survey (23 %), 16 percent of them declared that it was during 1992-94, and 23 percent stated that it was during 1987-91. The timing was not specified for one-third of the cases (34 %).

Among those who report illegal entry or overstay, the proportion reporting to have been successful in their attempt was very high (see Figure 5). The majority of the migrants who tried to enter the country without the required documents succeeded in their attempts (87 %). Overall, more than half of the migrants were successful at staying in their country without any help while 29 percent of them succeeded with the help of other people (relatives, friends, or other intermediaries such as smugglers/traffickers). There was no significant difference between current and return migrants.

All of the migrants who tried to enter Switzerland claimed that they succeeded (see Figure 6). For half or more than half of the migrants who tried to enter Germany and Switzerland, the result of their attempt was successful without any help (50 and 58 % respectively). A higher proportion of those who succeeded with the help of others have established networks compared to those who do not (32 versus 18 %).

Migrants who tried to enter a country undocumented were also asked about whether they had to pay for this attempt (see Table 7). For nearly one-third of the cases, the answer was positive. One out of every ten migrants refused to answer or said that they don't know. A slightly higher proportion of current migrants stated that they paid for their undocumented entry (33 versus 17 %). Payment of money was more common among migrants who entered Germany illegally (45 %) compared to those who entered Switzerland (17 %) or other countries (25 %).

Concluding Remarks

In this paper, we have examined evidence on undocumented migration in the Mediterranean Basin, using primary data from the Eurostat-NIDI Project, and data from the secondary sources. The available empirical evidence first suggests that analysing different aspects of undocumented migration and elaborating various characteristics of undocumented migrants are delicate tasks, and any consideration of future priorities for data collection and analysis on undocumented migration and migrants must start with a clear idea of the information needed and how to obtain that information. Given the highly sensitive nature of undocumented migration, there is, of course, no simple research practice that can satisfy all these concerns. It is within this context that analysis and discussion here only offer some partial explanation to the dynamics and mechanisms of undocumented migration in the Mediterranean Basin, but nevertheless they enable us to sufficiently examine several dimensions of this phenomenon.

It is obvious that undocumented migration in the Mediterranean Basin has increased in magnitude and complexity over the past few decades. Giving the geographical position of the region, this is in fact an expression of the reality of south-north and east-west separations. Assessing the nature of this migration might best start from the premise that international migratory flows in this region are a very intrinsic part of the European migratory regime. One can even argue that undocumented migration in this context has more direct implications for Europe than for the Mediterranean in itself. In this respect, the Mediterranean provides an illustrative case in which nation-states today have posed paradoxical positions on immigration that the need to embrace the question of the presence of restrictive immigration and

settlement policies and the containment of illegal entries and residence of immigrants in an irregular situation. The Mediterranean also constitutes an ideal case study to address the immigration issues encountered in Europe because of the Mediterranean's (1) high rate of ongoing immigration to Europe, (2) role as a buffer (immigration) zone which absorbs the immigration pressure to (central and northern) Europe, (3) experience with transit migration, carrying thousands of migrants from various parts of the world to Europe. These three aspects are essential in exploring the pivotal role of the Mediterranean Basin in the European immigration regime in general, and in more specifically, examining the nature of undocumented migration in the region.

The data from the Eurostat-NIDI Project indicate that the levels of undocumented migration are quite high, although these levels vary significantly among countries. These varying levels can be partly attributed to the different migration experiences of each country and differences in the articulation of each country case to international migratory regime in the region. For instance, one can argue that while established and ongoing migration links between Turkey and Europe, together with the persisting emigration pressure, contribute to the high level of undocumented migration from Turkey; however, the major migration link between Egypt and the other Arab Countries together with a similar emigration pressure does not result with a high level of undocumented migration. Differences in immigration and settlement policies and practices of the receiving countries might be one of the reasons, as the former case can tolerate non-zero illegal migration, but the latter case hardly tolerate it. On the other hand, again high levels of undocumented migration in some receiving countries, for instance in Italy and Spain, may be due to their geographical position to the sending countries and their relatively liberal admission policies with frequent regularisation schemes for undocumented migrants. There may be empirically validated arguments to support the view that in order to prevent undocumented migration, authorities should intervene to control illegal entries, but the notion that these entries cause whole undocumented migration is not easy to validate empirically, as a large portion of undocumented migrants appear as overstayers and rejected asylum seekers.

The analysis presented in this paper also highlights the likelihood of step-by-step movement and the role of networks in undocumented migration. The surveys in Italy and Spain show higher proportions of undocumented migrants --- except Moroccans in Spain --- who travelled step by step, using transit countries, to arrive in the final destination countries. In short, it has often been the case that step-wise travelling was a common strategy in undocumented migration. Most undocumented migrants also had a network in the country of destination before migration. The question of to what extent and how this network facilitated their

entrance or provided information used by the undocumented migrants requires some further analysis.

Finally, as a part of the Eurostat-NIDI Project, analysis of the data from the Turkish International Migration Survey intended to show some basic features of the complex nature of undocumented migration. It also intended to show how and to what extent this type of migration depends on the continuing interplay of the following three elements: a) individual migrant's characteristics, perceptions, interpretations, and actions; b) individual migrant's more immediate personal-social environment (e.g. family, household); and, c) structural (social, economic, political, and demographic) settings both in the countries of origin and destination. For instance, using the Turkish data we may address the question of who was more likely to have an experience of undocumented migration: a man who migrates alone in most recent years, who moves from the less developed region with recent migration experience, who has some networks in the destination countries that had long established migration link with Turkey, who preferred getting a valid visa rather than illegal entry or overstay in the destination country, and/or who had several attempts at making this migration and settlement possible.

We argue that while data limitations exist and while the research topic is certainly complex and sensitive, the partial explanations above alone cannot reflect the full picture of undocumented migration in the Mediterranean or elsewhere. Future work must construct some specifically designed projects, both qualitative and quantitative, in which various aspects of undocumented migration and several characteristics of undocumented migrants are examined. Efforts should be made to integrate the issue of undocumented migration into the wider context of international migration issues. In addition, several studies will also be needed to consider some specific related topics such as trafficking and/or smuggling in migrants, regularisation and/or legalisation of undocumented migrants, position of asylum seekers in undocumented migration, and integration of undocumented migrants into economies of different kind in many migrant-receiving countries.

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Table 1: Some Estimates of Undocumented Migration/Migrants in the South of Europe, late 1990s and early 2000s	
<i>Country</i>	<i>Migrants</i>
Spain	200,000
France	500,000
Italy	400,000
Greece	500,000
Europe	3,000,000

Sources: Estimated by authors based on various national and international sources.

Table 2: Migrants who ever tried to enter a country undocumented or overstayed a visa/permit, Per receiving country and migrant group, Eurostat-NIDI Project (%)						
Receiving country Migrants	Never tried	Ever tried		Refused /Don` t know	Total	Number
	Complied With rules	Entered Un- documented	Overstayed Visa/permit			
Italy						
Egyptians	58	17	15	10	100	508
Ghanaians	60	7	15	18	100	666
Spain						
Moroccans	55	17	20	8	100	591
Senegalese	34	15	36	15	100	504

Table 3: Migrants who ever tried to enter a country undocumented or overstayed a visa/permit, per sending country, Eurostat-NIDI Project (%)						
Sending country	Never tried	Ever tried		Refused/ Don` t know	Total	Number
	Complied With rules	Entered Un- document ed	Overstayed Visa/permit			
Turkey	73	11	11	5	100	524
Morocco	66	8	2	25	100	888
Egypt	93	2	4	1	100	899
Ghana	66	4	6	24	100	668

Table 4: Travel way to current country of destination by possession of visa and/or permit, per migrant group, Eurostat-NIDI Project (%)						
ITALY						
Direct and step by step migrants	Possession of visa and/or permit					
	Egyptians			Ghanians		
	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
Direct	86	15	72	90	64	87
Step by step	14	85	18	10	36	13
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number	389	100	489	535	123	658
SPAIN						
Direct and step by step migrants	Possession of visa and/or permit					
	Morroccans			Senegalese		
	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
Direct	97	93	95	71	3	58
Step by step	3	7	5	29	97	42
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number	345	247	592	401	101	502

Table 5: Results of attempt to enter country without required papers (MMAs), Eurostat-NIDI Project (%)				
Results of attempt	Receiving Country: Spain		Sending Country	
	Immigrants		Emigrants	
	Moroccans	Senegalese	Ghananians	Egyptians
Succeeded with help of relatives	2.2	1.1	7.0	19.6
Succeeded with help of govern. officials	1.5	0.3	8.2	4.9
Succeeded with help of others	14.7	9.2	10.2	25.9
Succeeded with help of rel./gov. off./others	0.6	0.3	2.0	0.9
Without help	64.0	76.7	32.6	48.7
How unknown	12.5	4.7	2.0	0.0
Did not succeed	4.5	7.7	8.2	0.0
Total	100	100	100	100
Number	210	243	49	57

Table 7. Whether money paid for undocumented entry by country of undocumented entry, type of migrant, and availability of migration network, Turkey (%)					
	Paid	Not paid	Refused/ Don't know	Total	Number
All migrants (MMAs)	31,9	57,9	10,2	100	138
<i>Country of Destination</i>					
Germany	45,0	45,0	10,0	100	68
Switzerland	16,7	66,7	16,7	100	33
Other	25,0	75,0	-	100	35
<i>Type of Migrant</i>					
Current MMA	33,3	60,0	6,7	100	91
Return MMA	16,7	66,7	16,7	100	47
<i>Migration Network</i>					
Has network	36,0	52,0	12,0	100	108
No network	25,0	66,7	8,3	100	30

Table 6. Compliance with admission regulations by sex, country of destination, type of main migration actor, region of settlement, period of immigration, availability of migration network, migration with or without family/relatives, and pattern of migration, Turkey (%)						
	Complied with rules	Entered undocumented	Overstayed visa/permit	Refused/DK	Total	No.
All migrants (MMAs)	72,8	11,1	11,1	5,0	100	530
<i>Sex</i>						
Male	69,6	13,0	11,2	6,2	100	481
Female	100,0	-	-	-	100	49
<i>Country of Destination</i>						
Germany	63,5	14,1	20,0	2,4	100	228
Austria	100,0	-	-	-	100	53
Switzerland	50,0	31,3	6,3	12,5	100	56
France	56,3	6,3	6,3	31,3	100	48
Other Countries	93,5	4,3	2,2	-	100	133
<i>Type of Migrant</i>						
Current MMA	72,1	11,8	10,3	5,9	100	404
Return MMA	76,1	10,9	8,7	4,3	100	126
<i>Region</i>						
Developed-established migration	85,7	7,1	7,1	-	100	102
Less developed-established migration	78,4	7,2	9,0	5,4	100	176
Developed-recent migration	68,0	20,0	4,0	8,0	100	101
Less developed-recent migration	50,0	20,6	20,6	8,8	100	151
<i>Period of Entry</i>						
1986 or before	66,7	16,7	-	16,7	100	30
1987-91	82,7	7,3	7,3	2,7	100	275
1992-96	57,1	21,4	19,6	1,8	100	203
Not Stated	45,5	-	-	55,4	100	13
<i>Migration Network</i>						
No network	55,6	18,5	22,2	3,7	100	405
Has network	75,2	10,7	8,1	6,0	100	118
<i>Migrated with or without family/friends</i>						
Migrated alone	72,0	12,9	12,1	3,0	100	394
Migrated with family/friends	82,5	10,0	5,0	2,5	100	128
Not stated	*	-	-	*	100	8
<i>Pattern of Migration</i>						
Direct migration	72,3	10,8	10,8	6,1	100	423
Step by step migration	60,0	20,0	13,3	6,7	100	86
Not stated	84,2	10,5	-	5,3	100	21

Figure 1. Percentage having a network of those who entered the current or last country of destination with or without the required papers, per receiving country and migrant group

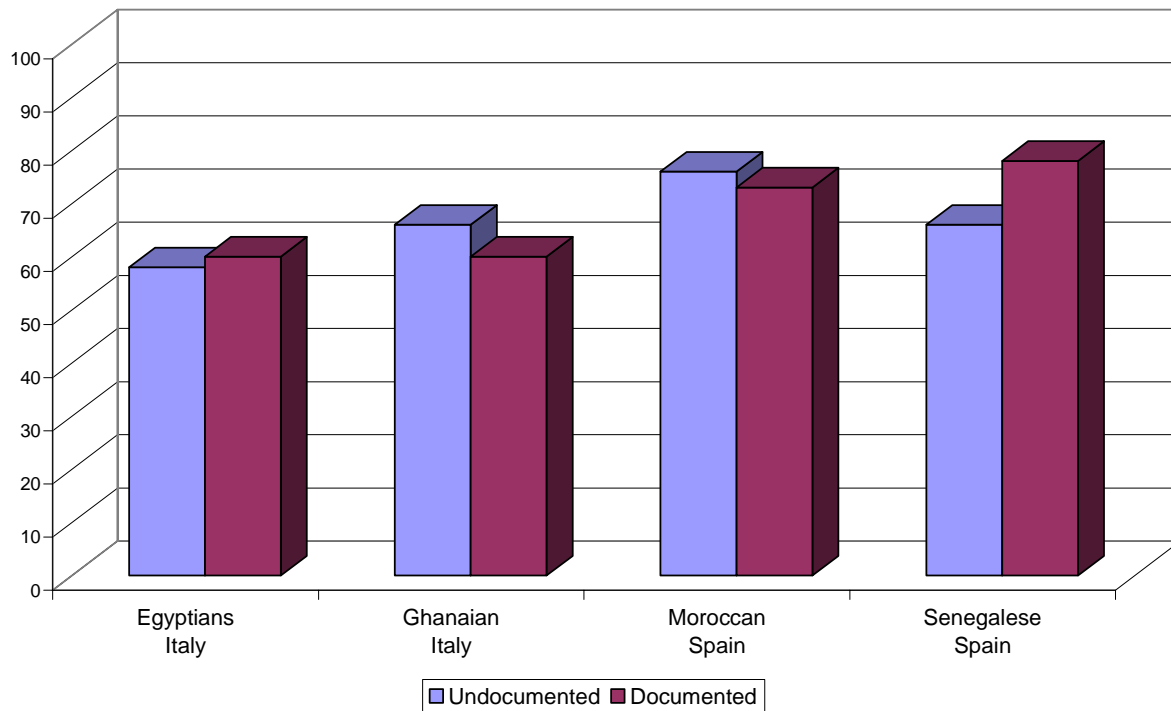


Figure 2. Percentage having a network of those who entered the current or last country of destination with or without the required papers, per sending country

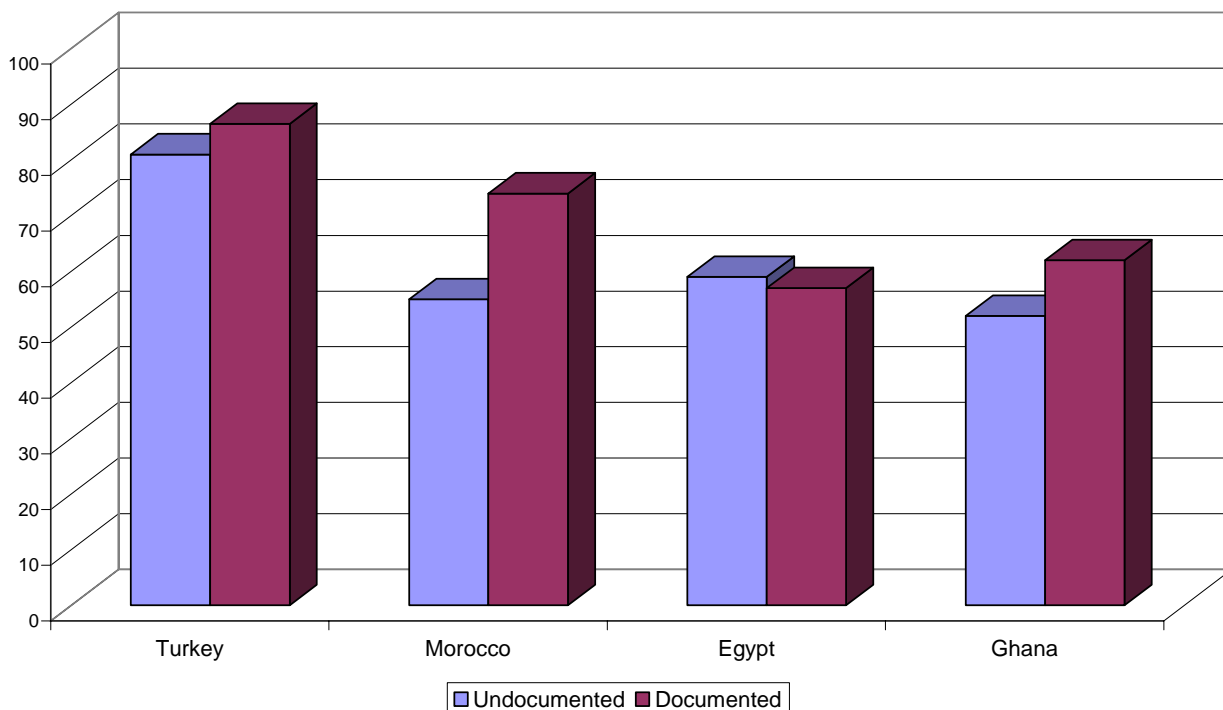


Figure 3. Procedure to enter a country without the required papers by type of migrant, Turkey

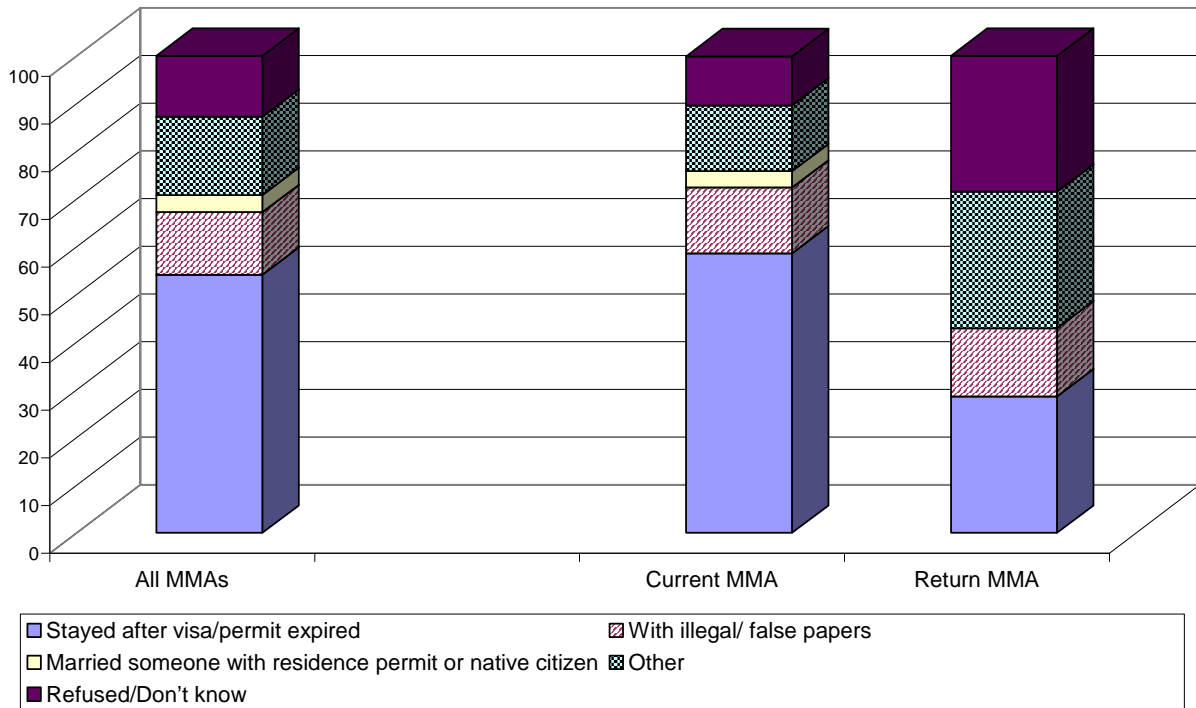


Figure 4. Procedure to enter a country without the required papers by country of undocumented entry, Turkey

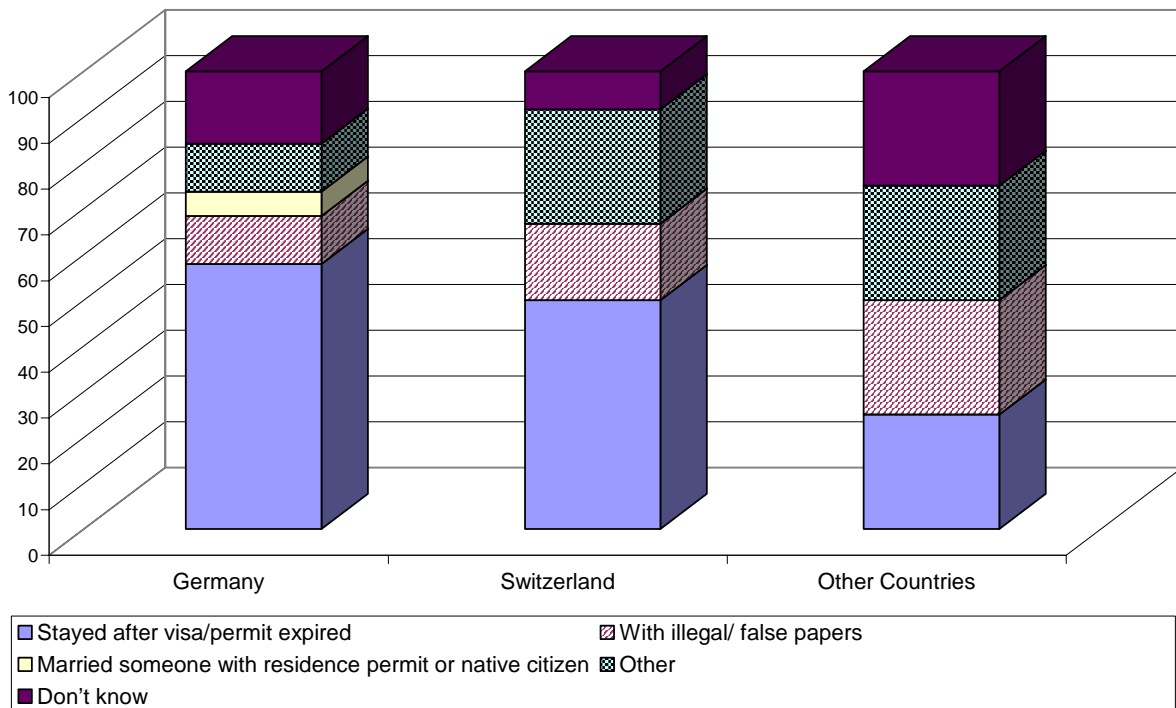


Figure 5. Result of attempt to enter a country without the required papers by type of migrant, Turkey

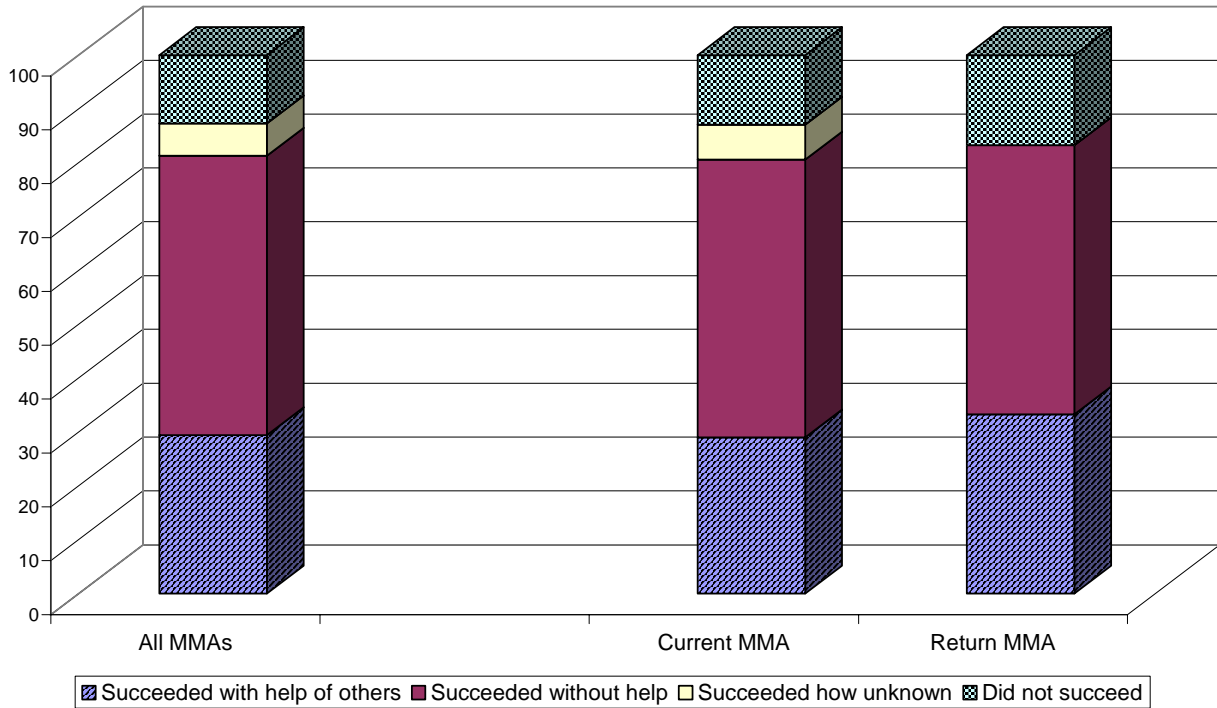


Figure 6. Result of attempt to enter a country without the required papers by availability of migration network, country of undocumented migration, and pattern of migration, Turkey

