HUMAN TRAFFICKING AND MIGRATION: A DEFINING PROBLEM OF THE 21ST CENTURY

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Abstract

The consequences and porousness of immigration controls resulting from the multiplicity and fluidity of the structures involved and the resourcefulness of migrant-actors who engage them, have been ambiguous, albeit differently. In this article I argue that controls increase the risks associated with migration which in turn increases the need for migration merchants who are involved in this dubious business. Moreover, more of state control policies indirectly play into the hands of international crime organisations. In addition the political will to curb immigration, buoyed by popular sentiment has had less impact in terms of effective control of cross-border practices in market economy regimes whose borders have remained open to "goods and services." Nonetheless, the dogma of a border that is open but totally controlled (smart border), would allow each state to act more or less as it sees fit. Bigo argues that coercive measures ostensibly justified by security concerns are often the first to foment insecurity and the very violence it purport to combat.

Introduction

The diverse consequences of human trafficking makes it imperative that the international community prioritise and address it seriously. Even with the ratification of the Palermo Protocol of 2000 to "prevent,

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suppress and punish trafficking in persons, especially women and children," organised crime is still on the rise.[1] It is a global phenomenon, a crime and a fundamental violation of human rights and dignity. Lack of progress in combating and disrupting the trade is attributed to its secretiveness and the existing statistical vacuum. The act of human migration and trafficking is a global phenomenon and a crime on the rise; the act alienates and denies persons their obligations and claims to some cuts connection from descendants. One ceases to belong to any legitimate social order, except that which he/she acquires through her/his master. This trade mutates in different forms from slavery to human trafficking and migration.[2] Human trafficking has received considerable attention and governments are compelled to take different strategies in addressing it. One such attempt has been the securitisation of migrations and human trafficking. But migration is as old as humans, wandering in search of food. But managing international migration across defined and policed national borders is a relatively recent development. Only in the early 20th century did nation-states develop passports and visas to regulate the flow of people across their borders.[3]

The agenda of securitisation of migrants seeks to transform them into social enemies linked to irrational anxieties and fears. The anxieties and fears credited to migrants is related to demographic stability, cultural homogeneity, internal security, unemployment and the quality of urban life.[4] The reason behind this approach to security though popular is not necessarily a response to traditional rise of insecurity, crime, or terrorism but the argument is "migrants create a continuum of threats and general unease that cause fear and risks in society."[5] By this exceptionality one is termed as an "outsider". The victim is striped off personal status then incorporated or re-incorporated into society as a slave.

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[1]G. Wylie and P. McRedmond, ed., *Human Trafficking in Europe: Character, Causes and Consequences,* London: Palgrave Macmillan Press, 2010.

[2]L. Arocha, "Theoretical Perspectives on Understanding Slavery," in G. Wylie and P. McRedmond, ed., *Human Trafficking in Europe*, 2010.

[3]John Torpey, *The Invention of the Passport: Surveillance, Citizenship and the State*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999. See also Martin Philip, "Global Challenge of Managing Migrations," *Population Bulletin* 68, 2 (11) 4-6.

[4]D. Bigo, "Frontier Controls in the European Union: Who is in Control?" in Bigo and E. Guild, ed., *Controlling Frontiers Free Movement into and within Europe*, London: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2005, 49-99.

[5]D. Bigo, "Security and Immigration; Toward a Critique of the Governability of Unease," *Alternatives* 27 (2002) 63-92.

In this essay I first seek to respond to a statement that human trafficking criminal as it is, and migration stands as the fastest growing trade in terms of the number of victims it pursues and the tainted profit it generates. With approximately 27 million slaves in our world today, it's an issue that cannot be ignored.[6] Second, give a brief overview on what human trafficking is or entails with articulation of definitions, terminologies used and claims about the scale of human trafficking and migration. Third, look at factors that make human trafficking and migrations possible with particular emphasis on global regimes especially the closure of borders and securitisation of migration. Here I dwell on migration and security, some security theories and the intricate dynamics of mobility. Then offer responses and critique as well as observation related to securitisation of migration.

The Complexity of Human Trafficking and Migrations

Upfront, the following figures are very disturbing as migration increasingly becomes a global challenge. According to Martin the number of international migrants has more than doubled between 1980 and 2010, from 103 million to 220 million. In 2013, the number of international migrants was 232 million and is projected to double to over 400 million by 2050.[7] Note, each migration has it is own feature. Interestingly, about 60 percent of global migrants are in the 30 or more industrialized countries. Some 40 percent of migrants are in the 170 poorer developing countries. Almost half of the world's migrants are women, 15 percent of migrants are under 20, and less than 7 percent of all international migrants are refugees.[8] The challenge however, is how states respond at improving migration management and its inequalities.

The Millennium Declaration by the United Nations of 2000 reaffirmed the principles of the rule of law and respect of human dignity. The Declaration states that "men and women have the right to live their lives and raise their children in dignity, free from hunger, fear of violence, oppression or injustice."[9] At the Summit, world

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[6]K. Bales, *Understanding Global Slavery*, Berkley: University of California Press, 2005.

[7]Martin Philip, "Global Challenge of Managing Migrations," 1-18. Also see UN Population Division, "Trends in International Migrant Stock: The 2013 Revision," accessed at http://esa.un.org/unmigration/wallchart2013.htm,

[8]Martin Philip, "Global Challenge of Managing Migrations," 1-18.

[9]United Nations, The United Nations Millennium Declaration, Resolution Adopted by the Generally Assembly in the 8th Plenary Meeting, September 2000. http://www.un.org/millennium/declaration/ares552e.htm

leaders proclaimed freedom from fear and want as one of the essential values in the twenty-first century. Yet the right to live in dignity, free from fear and want, is still denied to millions of people around the world.

The former UN Secretary General Koffi Annan states:

> I believe the trafficking of persons, particularly women and children, for forced and exploitative labour, including for sexual exploitation, is one of the most egregious violations of human rights that the United Nations now confronts. It is widespread and growing. It is rooted in social and economic conditions in the countries from which the victims come, facilitated by practices that discriminate against women and driven by cruel indifference to human suffering on the part of those who exploit the services that the victims are forced to provide. The fate of these most vulnerable people in our world is an affront to human dignity and a challenge to every state, every person and every community.[10]

Trade in human trafficking and smuggling flourishes fast as a transnational crime because current world conditions such as globalisation, increased economic and democratic disparities between developed and developing world along with feminisation of poverty and marginalisation of many have created increased demand and supply.[11] Similarly, traffickers choose to engage in human trade because there is low start capital, minimum risks, high profits and large demand.[12] With the global economy increasingly ruthless and competitive, it heightens demand for cheap labour that can easily be obtained through human exploitation. Increasing populations in the developing world is youthful and burdensome to these countries hence most of this youth want an exit to the first world. Matters are made worse with regionalisation of conflicts. These challenges leave a lot of disposable persons ripe and vulnerable for exploitation.[13] With this background, assessing criminal activities is elusive since successful activities remain covert and undetected.

Note the role attributed to migration is problematic. It is true that misery and exploitation could be determinants of the will of the

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[10]Kofi Annan, *United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime and the Protocols Thereto:* New York: United Nations, 2004, http://www.unodc.org/documents/treaties/UNTOC/Publications/TOC%20Convention/TOCebook-e.pdf p.iv

[11]L. Shelly, *Human Trafficking: A Global Perspective,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010, 37-40.

[12]L. Shelly, *Human Trafficking,* 89.

[13]P. Williams, *Illegal Migration and Commercial Sex the New Slave Trade*, London: Frank Cass Publishers, 1999, 1-3.

people to move across borders, but this element of negativity is often subordinated to an affirmative will to migrate that creates an emancipatory subject.[14] Needless to say, the reason for migrations varies for different groups.

This organised crime of trafficking is often portrayed as relatively harmless; a form of borderline entrepreneurship that feeds on opportunities provided by various forms of prohibition. The smuggling of illegal aliens is simply a means of circumventing immigration restrictions.[15] When examined closely, illegal alien trafficking involves violations of human rights, stripping of identity and dignity with all too many cases of would be migrants being drowned on sub-standard ships, suffocated in containers or left stranded by traffickers who take their money and fail to deliver them to the promised destination.[16]

In order to enforce strategies that combat the accompanying criminal activity which has turned migrants into an illegal commodity, it is necessary to be sensitive to the political realities that define immigration and illegal migration.[17] Globalisation promotes this trade and makes it flourish due to innovation in transport and communication system. The integration of markets and economies into the global market has segmented and fragmented economic sectors. Labour markets have become more flexible with progressive dependence on casual and informal employment.[18] With such circumstances it is hard to monitor the goings on in terms of labour standards and enforcement as this un-free labour practices are hard to detect. With globalisation, migration legal or illegal creates a shared world view of the threats and risks that countries-developed and less developed face. The risks are real and shared and so globalisation encourages a shared response to the risks.[19]

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[14]E. Laclau, "Can Immanence Explain Social Struggles," in A.P. Paul and D. Jodi ed., *Empire's New Clothes,* London: Routledge New York and London, 2004, 29. It is unfortunate that social struggles do not follow a simplistic pattern. All struggles are for particular objectives, but nothing guarantees that these objectives will not clash with each other.

[15]P. Williams, *Illegal Migration and Commercial Sex,* 2.

[16]P. Williams, *Illegal Migration and Commercial Sex,* 1-14.

[17]E.M. Beare, "Illegal Migration: Personal Tragedies, Social Problems or National Security Threats" in P. Wiiliams, ed., *Illegal Migration and Commercial Sex,* 11-41.

[18]N. Papastergiadis, *The Turbulence of Migration.* Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000, 27-39.

[19]P. Williams, *Illegal Migration and Commercial Sex,* 146.

Human Trafficking, Migration and its Ambiguity

It is not my task to make a political statement. However, one cannot help but denounce the dangerous drift that humanity is taking. We have to think more of a "fraternal and dialoguing world."[20] Contrary to expectations, despite the human values that were emerging like solidarity, the longing for freedom and participation in public affairs as a global community, humanity is still confronted with undignified problems such as trafficking, migrations, smuggling and violence. The present proliferation of plurality of identities and points of rapture makes human migration the subject of political action. What is clear, however, is that this situation gives an increasing centrality to the moment of political articulation — the struggle.[21] The human struggle leads to nomadism or movement. The question I raise is: can the movement of persons or multitudes be legitimised or delegitimised? The most basic element we can put our finger on at the most moment is the will to be against. The "being –against" is an indicator of the anti-political bias of most empires. But, that will to be against leads to disobedience to authority as the most natural. To some it seems completely obvious that those who are exploited will resist and given the necessary conditions to rebel. These nomadic actors are the new 'barbarians'**.**

This form of nomadic migrations — economic, intellectual, labour and political exodus is a new wave of class struggle. The struggle tends to converge and aggregate with aims that sometimes are incompatible including migration, trafficking, and human smuggling. These issues are inter-related but dissimilar. However, what is lacking is a collective sense of articulation of these issues especially on strategy and tactics. For instance, migration may take place through regular or irregular channels and may be freely chosen or forced upon the migrant as a means of survival during a conflict or an economic crisis. If the method of migration is irregular then the migrant may be assisted by a smuggler who will facilitate illegal entry into a country for a fee. The United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking, especially Women and Children, supplementing the Convention on Transitional organised Crime, November 2000 defines trafficking as:

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[20]Pontifical Missionary Union International Secretariat, *Omnis Terra*, July-August no. 448 (2014) 448.

[21]E. Laclau, "Can Immanence Explain Social Struggles," 21-30.

the recruitment transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or servitude or the removal of organs.[22]

The definition presents two observations. First, trafficking does not cover transportation of persons exclusively but also takes cognisant of the recruitment and receipt. Second, trafficking is not limited to sexual exploitation but also forced labour and other forms of exploitation for example those forced into agriculture or domestic work without their agreement. Definitions are equally problematic for instance the two terms, slavery and forced labour are understood differently as they fall within the domain of two different international bodies. Labour is not a concept free from ambiguity either. Certain types of labour, for example prostitution and domestic work, are not even regarded as such yet, creating further trouble when engaging in the study of contemporary forms of slavery as forced labour. [23]

Arocha further argues that the concept "labour" is ambiguous as it disregards any other function slaves may have had in different societies at different times. In fact economic considerations are at the heart of contemporary forms of slavery, where the ability to enter the labour market and or commodify or re-commodify one's labour, power is either completely or partially at the hands of somebody else.[24]

With the same vein, migration has been turned into a mechanism that facilitates extraction of cheap labour by assigning criminal status to a segment of a society as "illegal migrants" whenever labour cannot be relocated and out sourced in the developing world.[25] Ethical questions are raised. How do we transform slavery in the public mind over a period of time? Is it apathy or indifference to the

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[22]United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime and the Protocols Thereto: New York: United Nations(2004), 42, http://www.unodc.org/documents/treaties/UNTOC/Publications/TOC%20Convention/TOCebook-e.pdf

[23]L. Arocha, "Theoretical Perspectives on Understanding Slavery," in G. Wylie and P. McRedmond, ed., *Human Trafficking in Europe Character, Causes and Consequences*, London: Palgrave McMillan Press, 2010, 30-40.

[24]L. Arocha, "Theoretical Perspectives on Understanding Slavery," 30-40.

[25]L. Arocha, "Theoretical Perspectives on Understanding Slavery," 30-40.

continued presence of slavery or ignorance of it? Or perhaps a security issue?

Securitization of Migration!

Different actors have very different capacities to make effective claims about threats and to present them in forms that can be recognized, accepted and be convincing to a relevant audience. Migration is one such security threat. Identifying something as a security issue is not an innocent practice as it changes the legitimate modes of engagement.[26] Nevertheless, is legalization a panacea to the challenges of trafficking and migration? According to Huysmans, by securitization of migration a language of uneasiness is communicated towards outsiders. This language does frame migration as an existential threat.[27] Hypothetically, securitizing of immigration is not only an effect that contributes to the political propaganda of racism and population dangers, but also by tagging the immigrant as a "risk" is by itself politicization of the state.[28] Securitization is a concept used by states to instil fear of losing the symbolic control over territorial boundaries. Some who feel uneasy see a sense of insecurity by certain inflow of persons and so unable to cope with the uncertainty basing their uneasiness on interests and fears.[29] This worry is a structural unease in a risky society framed by neoliberal discourses in which freedom is always associated with danger and (in) security.[30] The framing of the state as a body endangered by migrants is a political narrative activated for the purposes of political interests and justification of authority.

Bigo argues that the notion of borders is often considered a materialized line between two spaces that are associated with differentiation between "inside and outside" with control of who crosses the line.[31] This is important because the notion of borders is embedded into a theory of a territorial state that inhibits the capacity

[26]R. Abrahamsen, "Blair's Africa: The Politics of Securitization and Fear," in *Alternatives* 30 (2005) 55-80.

[27]J. Huysmans, *The Politics of Insecurity Fear Migration and Asylum in the EU,* London: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2006.

[28]D. Bigo, "Security and Immigration: Toward a Critique of the Governability of Unease," *Alternatives* 27 (2002) 63-92.

[29]D. Bigo, "Security and Immigration," 70-92.

[30]D. Bigo, "Security and Immigration," 63-75.

[31]D. Bigo, "Frontier Controls in the European Union: Who is in Control?" in D. Bigo and E. Guild, ed., *Controlling Frontiers Free Movement into and within Europe,* London: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2005, 49-99.

to understand the passage of frontier controls beyond the national territory as border control and state by definition are intertwined.[32]

In the European context with the narrative of the four freedoms, freedom of movement of persons, relations of border controls and immigrations laws, politics and social practices, and internal markets, the idea of freedom of people is restrictive based on national security reasons.[33] Consequently, these challenges continue to exist, and increasingly reinforced in the post-September 11 era by the U.S. strategy of imposing its views concerning the relationship between frontiers and controls through visa requirements and different attitude towards freedom and technologies.[34] This expansion of what security means is effected to include results that converge either between internal and international security. The effect of this convergence bares a strong relationship to the question about who an immigrant is.[35]

Theorizing Migration

Questions raised in this discourse of securitization of migration are, on the one hand, what are the reasons for the persistent framing of migration in relation to terrorism, crime, religious zealotry and unemployment? On the other hand, why the framing of migrants not dependent on integration, interest of the migrant for the national economy or new opportunities, cosmopolitanism or for new understanding of citizenship?[36] This exclusionary diversion of immigrants annihilates them and makes their life base and stigmatised. Perhaps it seems likely that the idea of how a state is perceived by main actors of securitization of migrants determine the approach to immigration.

Dannereuther argues from a constructivist point of view that the concept of human security has deepened because of the debate for a greater recognition of state sovereignty.[37] Other than the preceding factor, the concept of human security is popularised by the narrow concerns of a realist view of security based on three core assumptions. First, that politics takes place within and between

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[32]D. Bigo, "Frontier Controls in the European Union," 50-80.

[33]D. Bigo, "Frontier Controls in the European Union," 50-99.

[34]D. Bigo, "Frontier Controls in the European Union," 50-99.

[35]D. Bigo, "Security and Immigration," 63-92.

[36]D. Bigo, "Security and Immigration," 63-92.

[37]R. Dannreuther, I*nternational Security the Contemporary Agenda,* 2nd Edition Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013.

groups. It presupposes that the most important human groups are the nation-states, and the most important source of in-group cohesion is nationalism. Second, that individuals and groups act politically and in most cases driven by the narrow principle of self-interest. This argument although averse to the altruistic behaviour of individuals stimulated by certain circumstances, egoism still is at the root of human nature. Third, that human affairs are always marked by great inequality of power. Social influence and control of resources then becomes key to any interaction between social and material power.[38]

What can be deduced from these arguments is that realism builds on the assumptions of illustrating the relationship between political order and security. If the argument is that human affairs is characterized with conflicts based on groupism, egoism and power control then inherently within political sphere there ought be a central authority that enforce order.[39] Arguably, realists think that hegemonic stability theory builds on the observation that powerful states tend to seek dominance over all or parts of any international system, thus fostering some degree of hierarchy within the overall system. Hegemony seeks to explain why states make alliances and emergence of cooperation among major powers and how international order, rules, norms and institutions emerge and are sustained.[40]

Migration Controversies

Securitisation of immigrant's presents us with four political discourses. First, the positive self-representation: It is the presentation of the country in more favourable terms in order to claim what extent a country is democratic and respectful to human rights, against racial discrimination, and open to all foreigners regardless of their ethnic origin. Second, the negative 'other' presentation: It is the presentation of the 'other', immigrants and refugees in negative words. The most common type is the presentation of foreigners as the abusers of the system. Third, the criminalization of immigrants and refugees: The attribution of illegality to immigrants and refugees assuming organic connections between criminal groups and foreigners. Fourth, the

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[38]C.W. Wohlforth, "Realism and Security Studies," in V. Mauer and M.D. Cavelty, ed., *The Routledge Handbook of Security Studies*, London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2010, 9-20.

[39]C.W. Wohlforth, "Realism and Security Studies," 9-20.

[40]C.W. Wohlforth, "Realism and Security Studies," 9-20.

securitization of immigrants and refugees does present these groups as threats to national identities, social security and welfare systems.[41]

These four strategies, described above, work together in the process of securitization of immigration and asylum issue. The first two are used in order to differentiate between natives and foreigners as two separate and commonly conflicting communities. The last two are utilized with the purpose of securitizing "the other". As a result, similar to the security understanding, the nation-states construct exclusionary and even racist security structure based on dichotomies between 'the good self' and 'the bad other'.[42]

According to Huysmans securitization of immigration does not necessarily follow from the vulnerability point of view as such. Rather from the uncertainty about which human relations are benign and which ones are dangerous.[43] The competing narrative in so far as framing migrants is concerned, is definition of policy by individual states. Security policy is often more visibly tied with a strategy of distancing from and or neutralizing threats.[44] The language used by states and policy makers is that of unease towards outsiders. Here, the main argument is the pursuit of freedom from existential threats that institute political communities of insecurity. Huysmans reiterates that securitizing migration and asylum constructs political trust, loyalty and identity by distribution of fear and intensification of alienation, making it difficult for a constructive political and social engagement with the dangerous outsider(s). In such scenario, the political community of the established is constituted and coalesced together in unity and views the 'outsider' as an existential threat.

Why States Securitize Migrants

For the international relations scholars Buzan and Waever, state security is crucial and "an existential situation in which the survival of the state as apolitical entity is at stake."[45] Meaning that a state is concerned with its functional integrity — the capacity to control the

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[41]J. Gustavson, *Securitization of Immigration and Asylum: A Critical Look at Security Structure in Europe*, Lund: University of Lund, Department of Political Science, 2006, http://lup.lub.lu.se/luur/download?func=downloadFile&recordOId=1325517&file OId=1325518

[42]J. Gustavson, *Securitization of Immigration and Asylum*, 13.

[43]J. Huysmans, *The Politics of Insecurity Fear Migration and Asylum in the EU.*

[44]J. Huysmans, *The Politics of Insecurity Fear Migration and Asylum in the EU.*

[45]B. Buzan, O. Wæver and J. Wilde, Security: A New Framework for Analysis, Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publisher, 1998, 21.

method of shaping society's wealth; and it is on the lookout against forces that generate change which are deemed hostile and endangering the political unit.[46] The securitization claim according to Huysmans assumes that the presence of immigrants is a factor that enhances the disintegration or survival of political units. For instance the use of terms such as 'floods' and 'invasion' by governments, in themselves powerful metaphors for securitization portrays migrants as a threat.

Suddenly by over emphasising that the inflow of immigrants can destabilise the labour market and increase unemployment, popular unrest and legitimacy problems; ultimately states impugn an existential threat. Consequently, terms as "invasion" "floods" tolerate for securitization without making the more complex arguments of how an increase in numbers is a danger to the existence of political communities.[47] The argument here by governments is not the immigrant but the number that mediates through the labour market that makes immigration dangerous. Furthermore, state authorities allege that immigration is an instrument that weakens the host by sudden and disruptive influx of a large number of people. Indeed the defining stake of this existential framing is not physical existence of the political unit but what needs securing is rather the autonomy of the community as a political unit, its independent identity and functional integrity.[48] Politics of insecurity does not only deal with relations, threats and methods of managing them, it is a struggle between competing interpretations of phenomena. For example, are migrants and refugees an economic resource for a country? Are they a danger for social stability? Are immigrants and refugees a real perceived danger to society? These questions define the contemporary debate on migration and asylum policy.

A Critique of Migration and Securitization

Still one cannot underestimate that Europeanization has created uncertainty about the notion of frontiers and has reinforced the de-linking between the locus of control and the locus of state borders.[49] The Europeanization has destabilised the differentiation between friends and foes, insiders and outsiders and opened the door for the

[46]J. Huysmans, *The Politics of Insecurity Fear Migration and Asylum in the EU.*
[47]J. Huysmans, *The Politics of Insecurity Fear Migration and Asylum in the EU*, 47.
[48]J. Huysmans, *The Politics of Insecurity Fear Migration and Asylum in the EU*, 47.
[49]D. Bigo, "Frontier Controls in the European Union," 49-99.

possibility to rethink about friendship and human rights but also re-thinking of enemies within or those "imported" [...].[50] It follows that the narrative of frontiers and state formation, coercion and security, friendship and enmity, otherness and self-identification inform how states treat those they perceive as foreigners. Because if the question of belongingness is not seriously addressed, politicians, security agencies and professionals divert the issue of security to immigration seeking to control it.[51] For instance Europe is struggling with an identity crisis as most of it is not homogenous yet it seeks to have a creative heterogeneity through integration.

The issue of identity is crucial as it triggers understanding the discourse about Europeanization and its impact on the national border control and the framing of immigrants with accompanying permanent suspicion of the individual. Moreover, the reasons for unease concerning identity and behaviour which pushes European states to re-draw the lines of otherness differently.

Zigmunt Bauman, a critic of a transformed modernity, argues that the pre-set destination of modernity is now unattainable in that there has been a break in the vision of progress and control. People are caught in the tension between movement and settlement and that migration is becoming a constitutive element of modernity.[52] The movement of persons should not be understood only as shift from one place to another but the capacity of individuals to imagine alternatives. A dream of a better life "out there", and so "the metaphor of journey" becomes a life-long narrative linked to human migrations. However, a future filled with promise of progress, liberation and emancipation is filled with fear and insecurity. Migration has been regarded as a social, anthropological and economic phenomenon but with globalization the debate has shifted to security, politics and transnational relationship.[53] Questions asked are what impact there is on security, and framing of migrants, and what alternative frames might be used? How then can we navigate and analyse the nexus of migration and security?

To frame the immigrant or an asylum seeker as a threat and disruptive to the social, political, economic and cultural togetherness of the established community or unit aims at portraying them as

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[50]D. Bigo, "Frontier Controls in the European Union," 49-99.
[51]D. Bigo, "Frontier Controls in the European Union," 49-99.
[52]B. Zygmunt, *Modernity and Ambivalence*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991.
[53]B. Bigo, "Security and Immigration," 63-92.

conflictual, violent and uncivil. The framing places the tag of identity by curving 'certain spaces as one's own' yet humanity lives in a plural world.[54] This clearly does not signal the definition of all migrants as a security threat, but rather it legitimizes the exclusionary distinctions that have become widespread across Europe, North America and Australia.[55] This strategy is highly criticized as it eliminates the normative question how securitization of migration produces exclusion, violence and inequality. It also reduces the political and social complexity of migration to the strategic interaction between states. The approach further equates migration more of a calculation of power by states than addressing people's concerns.

The case of Lampedusa, migrants at sea provides us with a glimpse of the issue. The death of 300 hundred persons at a go hurts, why? As long as people move, whether forced to flee danger or to improve their lives or for other reasons, there will be dangers on land and sea. The dangers will always be greater when people are compelled to move outside of legal channels. Creating more opportunities for legal migration and creating an external procedure for seeking migrant protection within the European Union (EU) can help many people and reduce the numbers of people travelling by dangerous means.[56] With a fortress Europe the numbers are overwhelming. Since 1988 migrants have died along the borders of Europe at least 19,372 people. Of which only 2,352 in 2011, at least 590 in 2012 and 695 in 2013 already. These data updated on October 3rd, 2013 is based on census information in the archives of the international press over the last 26 years.[57] Nonetheless, there still remains an absence of political will when it comes to ensuring that vulnerable migrants do not fall through the cracks of an intricate set of border and rescue policies and overlapping regions of legal jurisdiction.

Observations

The consequences and porousness of immigration controls resulting from the multiplicity and fluidity of the structures involved

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[54]J. Huysmans, *The Politics of Insecurity Fear Migration and Asylum in the EU.*

[55]J. Huysmans and V. Squire, 2012) "Migration and Security" in Mauer V. and Cavelty M.D. ed., *The Routledge Handbook of Security Studies*, London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2012, 169-179.

[56]See, Frenzen, N. "Lampedusa – 300 or More Dead in Latest Accident, What can be done to stop Migrant Deaths at Sea"?http://migrantsatsea.wordpress.com/tag/lampedusa/

[57]G.D. Grande, *Fortress Europe*, http://fortresseurope.blogspot.it/p/la-strage.html

and the tenacity of migrant-actors who engage them, have been ambiguous, albeit differently. Controls increase the risks associated with migration which in turn increases the need for migration merchants who are involved in this dubious business. Moreover, more of state control policies indirectly play into the hands of international crime organisations. In addition the political will to curb immigration, buoyed by popular sentiment has had less impact in terms of effective control of cross-border practices in market economy regimes whose borders have remained open to "goods and services."[58] Nonetheless, the dogma of a border that is open but totally controlled (smart border), would allow each state to act more or less as it sees fit. Bigo argues that coercive measures ostensibly justified by security concerns are often the first to foment insecurity and the very violence it seeks to combat.[59]

Encompassing asylum policy, external border control policies that relate to the third party country nationals is heavily criticised for its implicit if not explicit association of migrants with criminology. Implying that each migrant constitutes a potential security threat.[60] For instance the Amsterdam Treaty text defines how EU shares its sovereignty with its member states on issue of border control, asylum and illegal migration policies.[61] But in doing so it faces a major dilemma of how it can manage and control entry and movement of persons, be reconciled with the liberal standards promoting free markets, open borders and humanitarian values.

The growth of grand corruption in the recent times in many countries appears to correlate with trafficking. States that are considered most corrupt by the transparency international perception index such as Russia, Nigeria, Eritrea, Pakistan, Kenya and Philippines are major suppliers of trafficked people. It is illustrative how this grand corruption contributes directly to human trafficking. If and as Shelly insists that human trafficking is a defining agenda, then apart from the previous factors it is imperative to look at the

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[58]D. Bigo, "Immigration Controls and Free Movement in Europe," *International Review of the Red Cross,* 91, 875 (2009) 579-591.

[59]D. Bigo, "Immigration Controls and Free Movement in Europe," 579-591.

[60]R. Koslowski, "Personal Security and State Sovereignty in Uniting Europe," in V. Guiraudon and C. Joppke, ed., *Controlling a New Migration World*, London: Routledge Publishers, 2001, 99-115.

[61]C. Benam, 2011) "Emergence of a Big Brother in Europe: Border Control and Securitization of Migration," (2), *Insight Turkey* 13, 3 (2011) 191-207 http://file.insight turkey.com/Files/Pdf/insight-turkey_vol_13_no_3_-2011_benam.pdf.

gender gap and ethnic discriminatory rules and procedures that perpetrate the menace.[62] To this end one cannot fail to see the significant increase in women's failure to access mortgages, decent wages and access to capital as a push factor for mostly women trafficking. In Africa, Latin America and parts of Asia, financial crises in schools and health institutions, forces female children with less options be pulled out of the institutions by families for purpose of generating income and raising family capital.

I have argued that the policies that follow from securitizing migration are formulated to win over, contain or destroy the "external enemy" or threat. At the same time, I argue that it is important to remember liberalism always contains the possibility of illiberal interventions in lives of those who do not conform to the accepted standards of "civility" or possess the attributes required to join the liberal community. Moreover, this paper has discussed the concept of security framing and its ambivalence towards the migrant.

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[62]L. Shelly, *Human Trafficking.*