Risking lives beyond borders: reflections on the international migration scenario

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Abstract

Contemporary migration, a byproduct of ongoing globalization, has come to the forefront of today's debate about human movement worldwide. The severe scarcity of work opportunities in the home countries of potential migrants, who take the risk of crossing their own territorial boundaries in search of economic emancipation, has produced a genre in current migration literature. Better opportunities in the north and the south also attract most of the intending migrants through trans-border routes without the authorities knowing the real cost of their movements. This paper, based on current literature, the media and our own experience, reviews the scenario of international migration and examines how intending migrants from the least developed countries in the world embark on life-threatening adventures and often end their journey imprisoned or even dead. The flow of migration has not diminished despite increasingly severe policies implemented to control illegal migration, which have had some limited success.

Introduction

Population movements or migrations have been taking place in various shapes and forms for millenia (Potter, 2004). Globalization has accelerated the flow of people from country to country in search of jobs (Sassen, 1998). Migration usually refers to the permanent or temporary movement of people and involves a long-term change of residence. Why do people move? There are many reasons, but one of the most frequently suggested is that perceived differences in economic opportunities lure people from the least developed countries, as well as developing countries around the world. Some people always seek out opportunities both in their own community and beyond. They even undertake overseas migration in search of opportunities (Ullah, Rahman and Murshed, 1999; Gunatilleke, 1986). Most of the intending migrants wishing to move to European countries find few possibilities for changing their circumstances in their home countries. Even if they have a reasonable standard of living, the idea of being unable to do something with their lives and being unable to

have realistic ambitions for something better, can be very depressing (Chen, 1994; Li, 1997). It is difficult for young people from underdeveloped and developing countries to get a tourist visa to enter Europe and North America, and illegal migration has been a last resort for the potential migrants. This trend of migration has created many legal, social and economic problems in the host countries. Regardless of these negative impacts on the host societies, illegal migration exists and is growing all over the world (Kasteli, Straubhaas and Zimmermann, 1999). Migration is a response to the high demand for labour by an industrial sector or country which assures greater levels of productivity for workers and positive profits for investors, superior to the opportunities found in the traditional agricultural sector (Lewis 1954, Fei and Ranis 1961). In the opinions of Todaro (1969); and Harris and Todaro (1970), migration between less developed countries depends on the difference between the anticipated wage in the host country, and the agricultural wage in the home country. That anticipated wage is equivalent to the actual industrial wage, weighted by the probability of a migrant obtaining a job in the modern urban sector. Johnson (1971) used the Harris-Todaro model of a "wage sharing" variable to take into account the unemployment and lower rate of job turnover. Gugler and Flanagan (1978), Fields (1975), and Kelly and William (1984) suggested the inclusion in the Harris-Todaro model of the differential access to information for rural workers and urban residents, the different costs of living, and the differing education levels, when computing the probability of a migrant securing an urban job.

Illegal migrants perceive geographical location as the most important factor in crossing a border. The short distance across the Strait of Gibraltar, only 14 km across at the narrowest point, or twice as far as from Oslo City Hall to Nesoddtangen, provides illegal migrants to Europe with an easy entry-point (Li, 1999). Many other potential migrants try to enter the Spanish enclaves Ceuta and Melilla on the North African coast (Huang, Dudley, 1998). Since the 'sending countries' have no bargaining power with the receiving ones, the workers' vulnerability is increased. This is evident in cases where the receiving countries use health issues as a controlling tool. In Bangladesh, the majority of the known HIV-positive persons are migrant workers, because migrants are systematically tested as part of the requirements for working abroad (Ullah, Rahman, 2000).

There are basically three kinds of illegal migrants. Firstly, migrants with no visa who (illegally) enter a country without permission from the government, and secondly, migrants with a valid visa who legally visit the country but remain illegally, generally when their visa extension is rejected. The third type are those migrants with a forged visa, who go primarily to America, Europe and Australia. In some instances, stolen

and lost passports are recycled by migrant traffickers as part of the growing trade in fraudulent documents *(Migration News Sheet,* 1996). There are some countries where obtaining a false passport is relatively simple.

Again, illegal migration between neighboring countries damages diplomatic relations. The problem of illegal migration between Bangladesh and India has been a recurring phenomenon ever since the formation of Bangladesh in 1971. It is only recently that the volume of illegal immigrants has reached unacceptable levels and no effective steps have been taken either by Bangladesh or by India to reduce these, causing these two countries to become suspicious of each other. In one instance, Indian Border Security Force (BSF) troops pushed their Bengali-speaking Indian Muslim citizens, including women and children, into Bangladeshi territory through the Amtoli Border Outpost (BOP) under the Fulbari upazila of the district (BBC New). The Bangladesh Rifles (BDR) patrol unit from Amtoli BOP under the Fulbari Rifles Battalion pushed them back across the nearby border into India within a couple of hours of the incident. This push-push game is not a new sport on the borders of these two countries.

On Europe's borders, many potential migrants try to enter into Spain from Morocco and other countries. During the first seven months of 1999, Moroccan police arrested nearly 700 Sub-Saharan Africans who had entered Morocco illegally, using it as a passage through which to reach Europe. The huge number of potential migrants towards Europe has exposed the fact that tightened control has not had much effect on the increasing flow of migrants, but has made migration more difficult, expensive and more dangerous instead (Faini and Venturini, 1993). There has been a wave of illegal migrants crossing the national border along the Southeast coast of China (the south of Zhejiang, Fujian, Guangdong and Guangxi provinces) since the mid 1980s (Zhuang, 1997). Their motivation was wealth. Because of the possibility of huge profit, and hoping to make money quickly, some specialized groups organize the illegal crossing of the national border.

This paper is based not only on recent academic literature, print and electronic media, but on information gathered from extensive travels in Europe, Africa and Asia, undertaken for the purpose of generating first-hand data from the interviews of selected few migrants. The objectives have been to document some realities of international migration, the risks and problems involved, and the routes usually used to enter into Europe.

The transborder migration game

Neo-classical economic theory attributes the patterns of international migration to economic factors such as labor demand and supply, wage differentials, etc. However, GDP and unemployment rates do not explain the patterns of international migration. All the major "sending countries" of migrant women (Philippines, Sri Lanka, and Indonesia) have higher GDP per capita than "non-sending countries" (Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan). This does not make sense if it is assumed that poverty is the only cause of emigration. The effect of unemployment is also puzzling. The macro theory views geographic differences in the supply and demand for labor in origin and destination countries as the major factors driving individual migration decisions. Among the assumptions of this model are that international migration will not occur in the absence of these differentials, that their elimination will bring an end to international movements, and that labor markets (not other markets) are the primary mechanisms inducing movements.

Every year a huge amount of money is transacted through the illegal cross-border trading and smuggling of goods, very often antagonizing neighboring countries and resulting in retaliation. One estimate is that approximately US$5 million worth of cattle are smuggled into Bangladesh from West Bengal every month. A considerable number of laid-off workers from the Bangladeshi jute industry have sought a haven by joining hands with the illegal traders in the cattle industry. Ending this now will result in a great loss for these workers. Porous borders allow for the smuggling of large quantities of cash and goods. Borders have become less of a barrier to the flow of goods, money and information. But literally millions of people wish to cross borders that they are not legally allowed to cross.

The vast majority of migrants from Asia to Europe have relatives or friends who went to Europe before them, often with the aim of helping their families back home, or building a house to return to in their home country. The premise of the network theory has noted the same trend (Huang, 2001). In many local communities, migrating to Europe has become a well-established strategy to secure a better future. The migrants who drown in the Strait of Gibraltar are often washed ashore on Spanish beaches and an unknown number drown on their way to the Canary Islands, disappearing into the Atlantic. The development of the European Union has made the border between Morocco and Spain even more important. The freedom of movement within Europe means that once inside Spain, it is easier for migrants to get to France, Italy, Germany or other countries that they wish to reach. For this reason, some

European countries have put pressure on Spain to control their illegal immigration (*Migration News Sheet*, 1996; OECD, 1998).

The new economic migration model views migration as a family (i.e., group) strategy to diversify sources of income, minimize risks to the household, and overcome barriers to credit and capital. In this model, international migration is a means to compensate for the absence or failure of certain types of markets in developing countries, for example crop insurance markets, futures markets, unemployment insurance, or capital markets. In contrast to the neoclassical models, wage differentials are not seen as a necessary condition for international migration, and economic development in areas of origin or the equalization of wage differentials will not necessarily reduce pressures for migration. Illegal migrants pay with human lives for their journeys to long cherished destinations where they believe there is a better future.

This is illustrated by one of the experiences of some illegal migrants. The case of a Sri Lankan domestic worker in Kuwait is a tragic reminder of the vulnerability of women migrants in foreign countries (Samatha, 2003). The victim, Somalatha Satharasinghe, 41, migrated to become a domestic worker in Kuwait and returned to Sri Lanka in a coffin with parts of her brain missing. In another case, Shefali Akhtar, a teenage girl from Gazipur in Bangladesh, did not know that she would end up as a domestic worker with an Arab family in Kuwait. Her agent charged 65,000 taka (1,100 U.S. dollars) to find her employment in the Middle East. She afterwards found herself placed with a family speaking a language she could not understand. They made her work very hard and would beat her often. One day, fearing sexual advances from the master, she fled (Tahmina, 2003).

Migrants never know what dilemmas may await them when they leave their own countries. Life-threatening risks and vulnerabilities are not the only dangers facing illegal migrants;. domestic workers in Middle Eastern countries also often suffer physical and psychological abuses. Experts argue that the violence and abuse that Asian women migrant workers experience have consequences in issues like reproductive health (Ullah, Rahman, 2000), which are not always adequately discussed in relation to migration. Beyond the specifics of Somalatha Satharasinghe's case (above), the abuses endured by some migrants reflect how little migrant workers and their families know about the different environment of the countries in which they work. Migrants, especially women, are often unaware of the dangers at the other end of their journey.

The network theory (Huang, 2001) stresses that migrant networks serve to reduce the costs and risks of international migration and thus to increase the likelihood of movement. The development of such networks is often facilitated by government policies toward family reunification and, once in place, migrant networks can contribute to international flows that are relatively insensitive to policy interventions. Network theory attributes migration processes to personal, cultural, and/or other social ties. In migrant-sending countries, information about jobs and living standards abroad is most efficiently transmitted through personal networks such as friends and neighbors who have emigrated. The undesirable risks facing migrants could be reduced by providing vital information about jobs to migrant-sending countries.

Without identity: clinging to distant earth

As if there is only one way for migrants to cling to the land of their host country, migrants often discard their identity documents once they have reached their destinations and seek asylum from the host government. It may be difficult for the authorities to send illegal migrants back, even if they are caught. In Spain, many African migrants are arrested by the police, however, most of these migrants no longer possess any form of identification, and it is impossible for anyone to ascertain their country of origin. After forty days in a detention centre, they have to be released (*La Nacion*, 1996). In 2001, Spain issued expulsion orders for 22,000 immigrants, but was able to deport only 3000 of those (Ginger, 2001). One of the highest (political) priorities for Spanish and European politicians at the moment is therefore to force migrant-sending countries to cooperate more closely with receiving countries in the attempts to discover the nationality of migrants and return them to Africa, Asia or Latin America. In the meantime, the relatively low number of deportations encourages more people to start traveling towards Europe.

Over time, migration avenues have diversified. Even pregnant women attempt to travel overseas from sub-saharan countries, because the easiest way for a young African woman to succeed in being granted a residence permit in Europe is for her to give birth soon after she arrives. If the Spanish authorities have not been able to reveal her nationality and send her back before the child is born, the child will be stateless, and have a right to Spanish nationality. This allows the mother to stay there too (*La Nacion,* 1996).

The major routes of illegal migrants

From time to time, the routes taken by illegal migrants undergo changes due to strictly imposed restrictions and the close vigilance of the authorities. Controlling measures on one route may open up another. The intense control of the Strait of Gibraltar, for example, has resulted in a diversion via the Canary Islands. It takes six or seven times longer to travel from Morocco to Fuerteventura or Lanzarote by boat than it does to cross the Strait. However, Spanish police have caught more than six thousand migrants entering the Canary Islands this way since early 2003 Intending migrants from underdeveloped or developing countries of South Asia who fail to obtain a tourist visa for any European country, travel instead to Thailand, Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Philippines, Nepal and Singapore. They stay over in these countries on a 'wait and see' basis and try to cross into another country where obtaining a tourist visa is easier. Some sports teams, singing groups (pop groups? rock bands?) and even some people's representatives (politicians) in developing countries like Bangladesh, Nepal etc, encourage illegal migration by taking potential migrants with them to foreign countries. In exchange for huge amounts of money, they identify the migrants as their companions, allowing them to obtain visas and be dropped off once they reach their destination. The charges depend on the destination of their trip. These realities have been revealed by some police cases.
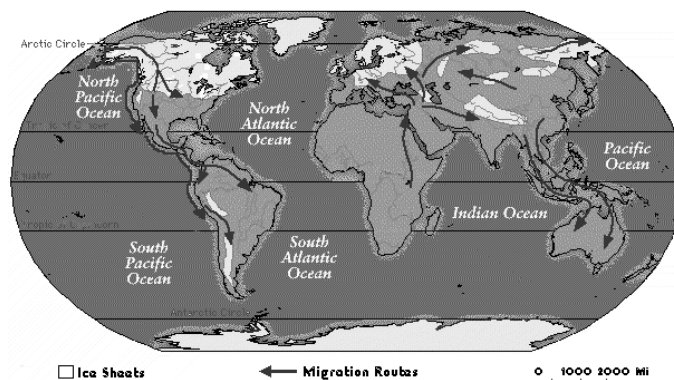

Figure 1. Showing illegal migrants' routes

Migrants often end up having to swim when they reach a point close to shore, or when their boat capsizes. On December 28, 1999, about 23 illegal migrants from Fujian Province, China, were discovered in Los Angeles; at the same time 7 females, 12 males and 2 children were arrested in the same port (Huang, 2001). All these people were found in Hong Kong container ships. This kind of ship takes only 10-12 days to get to the USA (INS, 1997). It is a new trend indeed for illegal migrants to travel in container ships. The Chinese, who often travel by land, mainly go to neighboring countries such as Vietnam, Russia etc; most of them travel by bus or train. Those who travel by sea usually do so in groups to countries like Thailand, the Philippines, Malaysia, Canada, the United States, Japan, and South Korea. Coast guards often stop the migrants' boats at sea and force them to return to their countries of origin.

Data from August 1991 to April 1994 showed that of 33 ships in the West Pacific, carrying a total of 5336 illegal migrants (Poston, 1998; Chen, 1994), about 58% of the ships and 68% of the illegal migrants try to move to U.S. and Canada, about 9% of the ships and 8% of the illegal migrants try to migrate to Japan or Singapore, and about 33% of the ships and 24% of the illegal migrants try to land in South America (Chen, 1994; *Los Angeles Times*, 2000).

The top sender

Lack of data makes it difficult to identify the top senders of illegal migrants. The task of determining the top senders is more difficult than determining the receivers. However, China, historically known as a risk-taking country, has the largest population in the world and experiences the largest quantities of emigration. On average, 100,000-180,000 Chinese people migrated abroad each year from 1978 to 1995 (Huang, 2001). Among them, illegal migrants account for about 20%. These illegal Chinese migrants are mainly distributed across the developed countries. Among the migrants who illegally cross the Western Pacific Ocean, those going to North America account for 68% (Los Angeles Times, 2000).

Zhuang (1997) estimated that the total number of legal migrants moving from mainland China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong to highly developed countries was about 1,425,000, and the number that moved to less developed countries such as Thailand, the Philippines, Malaysia, and Indonesia was 100,000 - 200,000 between the late 1970s and 1995. Over the same period, the number of illegal migrants moving to developed countries was 200,000-400,000 (Zhuang, 1997). Obviously, this was a conservative estimate that did not include the mainlanders' moves to Hong Kong, Macau or Taiwan. Goldstone (1997) estimated the number of migrants from China to be 180,000 annually during the 1980's, including 50,000 who moved to USA, of which half were illegal moves (Goldstone, 1997). Myers, however, estimated (1997) the number of illegal migrants from Fujian province to the USA to be 100,000 annually during the 1991-1993, and there was an obvious decrease after 1995 (Myers, 1997). The number of migrants illegally crossing the border from mainland China to Hong Kong was more than 60,000 annually. The number was largest between 1978 and 1980. In 1980, the Hong Kong government changed their migration policy to "sending back immediately after arrest", and the number of illegal migrants decreased. The number of illegal mainland migrants who were arrested on the Hong Kong border was 23,300 annually. The number of smuggled people arrested in Hong Kong and

sent back to the mainland was, on average, 13,800 annually from 1981 to 1995 (Zhuang, 1997).

Supposing that the number of illegal migrants is calculated as 2,000 annually from each coastal province such as Jilin, Beijing, Liaoning, Tianjin, Hebei, Shandong, Jiangsu, and Zhejiang; 15,000 annually in Guangdong and Fujian provinces; 5000 annually in Heilongjiang, Guizhou, Xinjiang, Yuannan, and Hainan, which adjoin the neighbouring countries; and as 1,000 annually from each area in the remaining provinces, the number would be 88,000 annually for the entire country. The illegal migrants who move to the USA are mostly from Mexico and other Latin American countries, but there are also many from South Asia and Eastern Europe. On average, each year 0.1 million people worldwide apply for immigration to Canada, 0.07 million to Australia and 0.06 million to USA and 0.12 million other to European countries (www, 2003). Many, including illegal Bangladeshi migrants, are not seen to be risk-takers.

Trends towards the north!

The structural theory views international migration as a form of exploitation of the peripheral nations by the "core" nations in the international system. Workers in developing countries are structurally pulled into the secondary labor markets in industrialized countries, which are characterized by low wages, unsatisfactory working conditions and a lack of job security. Movement from south to north has been the principal trend in recent migratory processes. Many Chinese migrants, however, have moved to South Asia, South America, the Caribbean area and Africa, seeing these regions as a passage to the west. Obviously, intending illegal migrants believe that the risks they take should somehow be compensated, and the probability of receiving such compensation in the form of jobs or benefits in less developed countries is not high. Hence, targeting a developed country as their destination is their best choice. In addition, they believe that the corruption of the governments of the countries they use as passages to the west could make it easier for them to obtain a legal right, such as a visa, to enter the west. The small population of these countries and their closer (geographic) proximity to developed countries make it seem that moving to the developed countries from these smaller countries is easier than doing so directly from the migrants' own underdeveloped and developing countries. Due to its proximity to the USA, illegal migrants find Mexico an attractive and convenient way to get into the USA. Every year in the early 1980s, the Mexican government sends 110,000 to 120,000 illegal migrants back to their country of origin, and 90% of them

were from Central and South America (Thomas, 1986).

In Nov 1997, two Chinese fishing boats carried 110 migrants over 8000 kilometers and arrived on the border of France-New Caledonia in the South Pacific Ocean. As soon as they rushed ashore, the local government detained them collectively (*Le Matin*, 1996). Apart from the United States, the most popular destinations for global migrants are Italy and France. Today, there are about 60,000 Senegalese living in each of these countries, and smaller Senegalese communities in Spain, Portugal and Germany. Migrants are not always ambitious when the economic growth curve (economy) takes a downturn. People become frustrated due to the lack of economic opportunities and aim to enter any country that is at least better than their own. As such, several hundred people from Bangladesh are now living in countries like Swaziland, an African country, simply to find employment. Taiwan and South Korea are also experiencing legal and illegal immigration from less developed countries.

Criminality and migration

Globalization has had a significant impact on criminal activities around the world. Not a minute passes without a criminal act taking place somewhere in the world. This is the era of the globalization of crime, corresponding to the increase in global trade, personal mobility and high-tech communications. Traditional forms of transborder organized crime such as drug, arms and motor vehicle smuggling and money laundering continue to exist (Sassen, 1998). Many organizations involved in these activities have expanded their portfolios to include the trafficking of migrants. The reasons are clear: given the demand for migration papers, there are high profits to be made. The international community and national legislatures and judiciaries are simply not yet equipped to deal with this growing phenomenon (Chen, 1994). Still, in many countries, trafficking in migrants is not a crime. In others, the risks of detection or conviction are absurdly low, and the potential penalties absurdly lenient, The low-risk factor of this migrant-smuggling activity gains in importance and attractiveness as states crack down on drug smugglers by improving detection capabilities and imposing harsher sentences.

The parents of Gao Liqin in China owed US$30,000 to Fujian money-lenders for sending their daughter from China to the United States in 1994. Eventually, they received a terrifying phone call from gang members who had kidnapped Gao Liqin from her New York home, demanding $38,000. Days later, with only a fraction of the

ransom paid, Ms. Gao was found dead. She had been tortured and finally strangled, after having been raped (www, 2003). Such crimes form part of the rising tide of criminality related to migrant trafficking which is evident in all parts of the world. In another example, 160 clandestine, illegal immigrants, almost all from South Asia, were evacuated from a Lebanese boat which caught fire off the coast of Italy. 115 other migrants had disembarked during the night before in an effort to reach the coast at Porto Palo, near Syracruse. Each immigrant had paid the equivalent of US$1,600 to traffickers. Over a two-day period in May, more than 300 illegal immigrants in several groups - Indians, Moroccans and Albanians - were caught on the southern coast of Italy. Ninety-three Indians had each paid US$1,000 for the journey which lasted three days in a boat. Once money had been handed over to the traffickers, their behavior changed and they became rude to the migrants. The migrants were not given enough food on their journey. Some of the migrants claim to have been left half-starved. Their final destination was Switzerland (*Le Matin,* 1996). In another instance, a Greek patrol boat fired warning shots and wounded a Turkish fisherman after a Turkish boat allegedly dropped off eight illegal Iranian immigrants on a Greek island. The Iranians had paid the boat owners US$1,000 toUS$4,000 each (*Migration News Sheet*, 1996).

Is migration an adventure?

Globalization means the rapid movements of goods, services and capital, but not labour. Hence unemployed workers cannot move from one country to another in search of employment. Since 9/11, such movement of workers has become even more difficult because new laws have been put in place to keep strict checks on illegal immigration or on those Muslim migrants of whom the authorities are merely suspicious (Ahmed, 2004). One interview with a returned migrant revealed that human beings are transported as commodities across the borders of Turkey. They travel in trolleys carrying frozen fish, with enough oxygen to sustain 50 persons for 6-7 hours, to escape the vigilance of the border guards. Once the guards intercepted the trolleys, asking for a bribe for the fifty illegal migrants inside them. The traffickers, however, agreed to pay a bribe for 20 persons, under the pretext that they were carrying 20 people inside. The guards, sensing that there were more than 20 people inside the trolleys, refused to comply with this, and held the trolleys for longer than the oxygen supply could last, saying that the number of people inside should drop from 50 to 20 by letting some of those inside suffocate and some others were released. The case of the Western explorer who undertook the adventure of seeing the world with a bike is not the case for illegal migrants. On June 19, 2000, about 60

illegal migrants were discovered in a refrigerator container, which was full of tomatoes from Belgium. Of these migrants, 58 had died from a lack of oxygen by the time they reached the port of Dover in England *(Los Angeles Times,* 1996). This pathetic incident is known as the Dover tragedy. Tragedies like these continued to repeat in the world.

Between 1991 and 1993 about 24 ships, with 3000 illegal migrants, were intercepted by US police. Most of them came from the Fujian province of China. In 1993, an old ship carrying 293 Fujian illegal migrants sailed in the Indian Ocean and Atlantic Ocean for three months (Zhuang, 1997). On June 6, 1993, after running aground, some of them swam in the dark to the land near New York. In the end, six of them drowned and the rest were all arrested, except for another six who escaped. On May 30 1998, the US police discovered an abandoned yacht in New Jersey, and the police arrested 22 drenched male migrants who came from Fujian (Barry, 1998). One hundred and twenty people, mostly from China, Hong Kong and Korea, were detained when police dismantled a trafficking ring in Argentina. The gang was involved in the falsification of documents and the trafficking in migrants from Asia to the US and Canada (*La Nación / El Cronista Comercial,* 1996).

During the last five years, an estimated 4,000 people have drowned or disappeared at sea on their way from Morocco to Spain. Over time, adventurous, illegal migration has become increasingly dangerous and risky. Spain has spent 142 million Euros to set up what is called the Integrated System of External Vigilance, a hi-tech system of radars, sensors and night-vision cameras, capable of detecting all objects in the sea that come closer than 20 km to the Spanish coast or to the Canary Islands. The borders around the Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla have been made secure against the potential migrants sailing the sea (www, 2003).

Concluding remarks

Poverty and varied vulnerabilities lead people, branded as illegal migrants from the south, to swim in oceans and across straits without any guarantee of reaching their destinations or even achieving better economic opportunities. Too many people, hoping to be lucky, instead become luckless victims of drowning or suffocation in containers. Diasporic culture, be it arid or not, has gained iconic status in the hullabaloo of today's globalization. Technological advance has diminished the some impacts of the territorial boundaries between countries, resulting in a global

village, but when we examine the big picture we see that the more we talk about globalization, the more the territorial boundaries for human beings are becoming tighter and tougher to cross, forcing illegal migrants to undertake more life-threatening adventures.

The scenario depicted offers an impression that is simply diminished by the heated debates on globalization issues when the anti-egalitarian **apportionment** of the benefits of globalization is widespread. This issue, *inter alia*, has gained ground everywhere in the world, but is still an academic fad. When half the world's population are starving the talk about the contraction of the world, by means of the extensive use of cyberspace and satellite, is simply a cruel mockery of those victims. Migration is a consequence of the failure to fulfil the basic needs of half of the world's population. Embracing risk or a sure death is not at all an adventure; rather it is the escape from hunger. Hence the benefits of globalization are needed by the 'have-nots' so that they may at least consider that clinging to their own portion of earth is better than putting their own lives at risk in the Strait of Gibraltar, in the waves of oceans or in the prisons of other countries. Migration policies are required to enable both sending and receiving countries to deal with the legal, economic and social problems arising from the upsurge in illegal migration across the world.

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