

HUMAN SMUGGLING AND TRAFFICKING AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN GREECE

Georgios A. Antonopoulos & Georgios Papanicolaou
Teesside University, UK

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Introduction

- Term 'organised crime' dominates policy agendas - evidence????
- *"exceptionally dangerous the certain... contact between organised crime and the new terrorism... if the relationship expands and the ties stabilise, then the situation may get out of hand in the field of security and disturb decisively the stability of the economy' (Minister of Public Order in Karakousis, 2009).*
- How is the social organisation of human smuggling and trafficking *adaptive* and *functional* to the Greek economy?

The issue with migration in Greece, after 1990

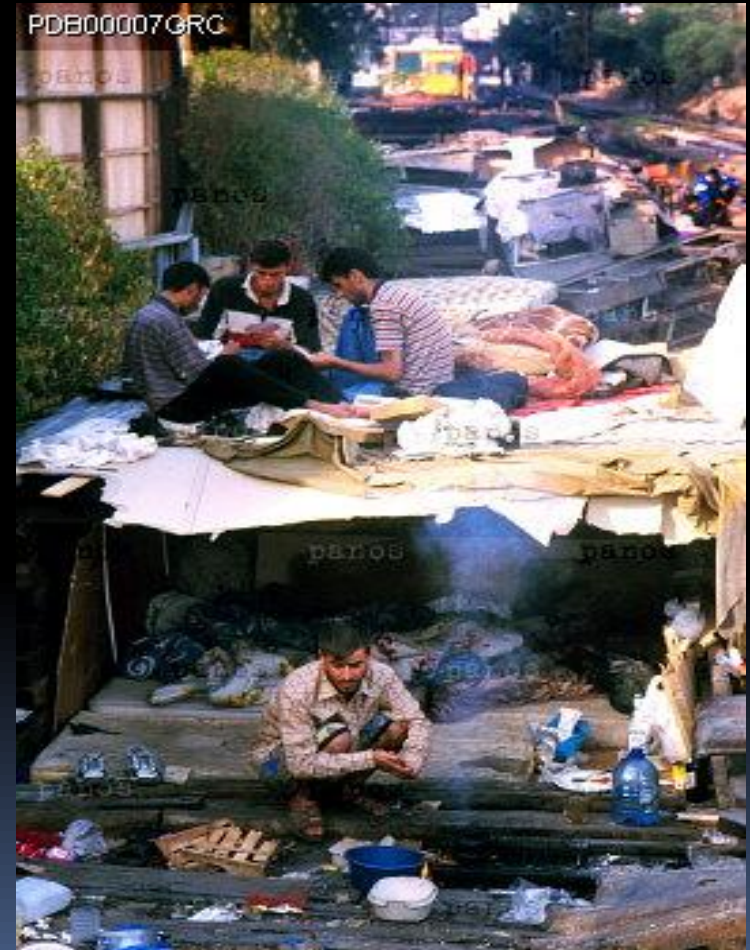
- *Undocumented* - 471,000 (1995) / 300,000(2001) / 184,000-275,000 (2005)
- *Documented* migrants (2001) - 6.4% - Albanians, Bulgarians, Georgians, Romanians, Russians & Ukrainians
- Male, young
- Concentrated in urban areas

The issue with migration in Greece, after 1990

- Legal framework: L. 1975/1991 – national security issue
- Legalisation programme of 1998: presidential decrees n.358 & 359/1997 – ‘temporary’ legalisation – practical obstacles
- L. 2910/2001 (‘Green Card II’) and L. 3386/2005 - management of migrants as ‘labour force’


Further dimensions of the legislative response

- *'Periphractic spaces' (fenced-off spaces)* (Psimmenos, 2000)
- Immigration laws *coherent whole* with anti-trafficking legislation (Law 3064/2002)
- Continuum of criminalisation of migratory movements





Migrants and the Greek labour market

- Early 1990s primarily employed in
 - Agriculture
 - Industry
 - Construction
 - Cleaning and domestic services
 - 2001 Census
 - No sector changes
 - Partial succession of migrant groups within sectors
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Migrants in the Greek labour market

- Low skilled low paid (regardless of qualifications)
- Men and women primarily employed in
 - Industry
 - Construction
 - Agriculture
- Women also employed in
 - Domestic services and cleaning
 - Hospitality, night-time economy and the sex industry

Employment, migrants and the social organisation of migration


Sector	% of migrant labour	comparison with native labour force
Agriculture	3.5	
Mining and manufacturing	19.3	*
Construction	26.6	*
Wholesale, retail and accommodation	19.0	
Health, education and social services	5.9	
Households	19.9	*
Public administration	0.8	
Other services	5.0	

* over-represented
Source: (OECD, 2001)



Presence of illegal networks

“The Greek experience shows that in many cases it is possible to satisfy the demand for cheap labour by legal means, while the rigid prohibition creates now the conditions for the development of illegal networks that come to offer a labour force that is dispersed in turn to the rest of the economy” (Linardos-Rylmon, 2003, p. 25).



How much 'organised crime'?

- Police vs migrants
 - 'sweep operations'
 - Expulsion ('reforwarding')
 - About 950,000 Albanians between 1991-1995
 - 2001-2008: about 795,000 arrest for illegal entry

Migrants arrested 2001-2008

Year	Arrestees	Albanian
2001	219,598	173,957
2002	58,230	36,827
2003	51,031	35,789
2004	44,987	31,637
2005	66,351	52,132
2006	95,239	57,466
2007	112,364	66,818
2008	146,337	72,454
<i>sum</i>	<i>794,137</i>	<i>527,080</i>

Source: Hellenic Police (2009)



Migrant smuggling

- Q1-Q3 2009: 1081 smugglers arrested
 - 2006: 994
 - 2007: 1421
 - 2008: 2211
- Strong presence of Greek nationals
- Majority of Greeks in older data (2000-2001)

Trafficking

2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
284	352	202	206	121	162

Source: Hellenic Police

- 1327 arrests in total for 2003-2008
- The majority of arrestees (766/1327) are Greek nationals

Size of 'criminal organisations' under investigation, 2003–2005

No. of members	2003	2004	2005	SUM
(2)*/3	35	38	26	99
4	36	40	32	108
5	32	25	20	77
6	20	17	20	57
7–10	21	37	30	88
11–15	8	12	8	28
16–20	4	2	3	9
>20	1	7	0	8
SUM	157	178	139	474

* The 2006 report includes a separate category for 2–member criminal organisations

Source: Hellenic Police (2004; 2005; 2006)

Smuggling, trafficking and the migration process

- Indigenous agents critical
- Loose forms of cooperation between groups and individuals
- Related to legitimate indigenous end-points where exploitation takes place
- Congruent with outlook of other illegal markets

Economic significance of smuggling and trafficking

- Overall, Greek economy has benefited from migration
 - No effects on unemployment
 - Limited effects on wage levels
- Immigrants employed in sectors that
 - interface extensively with shadow economy
 - primarily comprise small business

Trafficker or not? - On the banalisation of 'organised crime'

- Alex, the Greek part-time farmer/full-time public official
- Livi, the Romanian intermediary
- Ilya, the Bulgarian-Roma father
- Costas, the Greek public constructions subcontractor

Some tentative conclusions: combating 'organised crime' as economic strategy

- Smugglers & traffickers link migratory processes and labour markets
- Smugglers & traffickers factor of 'organisation' in a chaotic process
- Escalation of policies against organised crime may reflect a state strategy towards modernisation of the economy



Thank you

g.antonopoulos@tees.ac.uk / g.papanicolaou@tees.ac.uk