

## **Migreurop Definition of Camps**

The first image which the term of "camp" evokes is a closed place, geographically identified, and reserved for the confinement of undesirable people. Today in Europe the camps range from prisons, as in Germany and Ireland, to detention centres in the Greek islands which were not planned and are built in make-shift buildings. Camps are also the answer to high risks of shipwrecks and capsizing of boats transporting migrants across the Adriatic, from Italian Centri di *permanenza temporanea e assistenza* to French *zones* d'attente / waiting zones and centres de rétention, from closed centres for asylum seekers in Belgium, to buffer camps which mark the actual border of the European Union: Morocco, Spain (Ceuta, Melilla, Canary islands), Algeria, Ukraine, Malta, or Lampedusa...

But to stick to this definition of the camps would mask an important part of the reality. The diversity of the administrative procedures and the various technical and humanitarian constraints aimed at regrouping the migrants go beyond the reference to confinement, and lead us to consider the camps as places to keep foreigners at a distance. It can take various forms, sometimes very different from camps with barbed wire.

It then becomes clear that some "open" centres of reception, transit or lodging provide assistance and a roof for migrants, but it hides the fact that the occupants of these centres, migrants and asylum seekers have no other choice but to be there. This is the case in Germany and Belgium where payment of a survival allowance and examination of asylum applications are conditioned by an obligation to reside in a fixed place.

Is not the forced dispersion of exiles, organised in some countries to avoid the creation of new "focal points", the symbol of the multiform character of the exclusion of foreigners? Can we not compare to an informal "compulsory residence order" the obligation, for foreigners, not to be where they are considered to be trouble? Because police harassment and this obligation to stay invisible obviously act as prison bars and trace the boundaries of a place to which foreigners are confined. Thus the camps become a process, a symbol of forced wandering and endless movement of exiles whom European societies refuse to welcome.

The expression "Europe of camps", taken in its wider sense, appears to best suit the relegation systems Europe uses in place of migration policies.

GERMANY \*\*: 1 Baden-Württemberg (Mannheim, Rottenburg), 2 Bayern (Aichach, Landshut, München, Nürnberg ; Fürth), 3 Berlin (Köpenick), 4 Brandenburg (Eisenhüttenstadt), 5 Bremen, Oldenburg, 6 Hamburg, Glasmoor, Hahnöfersand, 7 Hessen (Frankfurt am Main, Fulda, Kassel, Offenbach, Rockenberg, Wiesbaden), 8 Niedersachsen (Braunschweig, Hameln, Hannover, Lingen, Vechta et Wolfenbüttel ; Bramsche-Hesepe, Braunschweig, Oldenburg), 9 Nordrhein-Westfalen (Bochum, Büren, Dortmund, Köln, Moers, Neuss, Wuppertal.), 10 Mecklenburg Vorpommen (Bützow), 11 Rheinland-Pfalz (Ingelheim, Ottweiler, Saarbrücken, Zweibrücken et Zweibrücken/Birkenhausen : Trier), 12 Sachsen (Bautzen, Chemnitz, Dresden, Görlitz, Hemnitz-Reichenhain, Leipzig, Plauen, Stollberg, Torgau, Waldheim, Zeithain et Zwickau), 13 Sachsen-Anhalt (Volkstedt, Raßnitz et Halberstadt), 14 Schleswig-Holstein (Rendsburg, Kiel, Lübeck, Neumünster et Flensburg), 15 Thüringen (Goldlauter) / AUSTRIA: 1 Vienna Airport, 2 Talham, 3 Traiskirchen, 4 Bad Kreuzen, 5 Reichenau / BELGIUM: 1 Merksplas (Antwerpen), 2 Bruges, 3 Vottem (Liege), 4 Centre 127 (Melsbroeck) & 127 bis (Steenokkerzeel), 5 Brussels Airport (Zaventem) / CYPRUS: 1 Retention centre for foreigners in Larnaca Airport, 2 Old Police Station at Famagusta in Larnaca / DENMARK: 1 Sandholm, 2 Nyborg / SPAIN: 1 Algeciras (centre of retention + Local of detention de Las Eras), 2 Barcelona (La Verneda & Zona Franca), 3 Fuerteventura (Airport & El Matorral), 4 Lanzarote, 5 Madrid (Mortalaz & Barajas Airport), 6 Málaga, 7 Murcia, 8 Tarifa ("Isla de las Palomas", Guardia Civil), 9 Tenerife, 10 Valencia, 11 Ceuta - Calamocarro, 12 Melilla / ESTONIA: 1 Aa 2 Harku, 3 Iluka / FINLAND: 1 Helsinki West Harbour Crossing Point, 2 Metsälä / FRANCE: Centres of administrative retention : 1 Bordeaux, 2 Calais-Coquelles, 3 Strasbourg - Geipolsheim, 4 Hendaye, 5 Lille, 6 Lyon, 7 Marseille, 8 Nantes, 9 Nice, 10 Paris (Bobigny, Le Mesnil-Amelot - Roissy, Nanterre, Paris, Versailles, Vincennes) 11 Rivesaltes, 12 Rouen, 13 Saint Louis, 14 Sète, 15 Toulouse ; Waiting Zones\* : 1 Bordeaux Airport, 2 Dunkerque, 3 Strasbourg, 6 Lyon-Saint-Exupéry, 7 Airport and Port of Marseille, 8 Saint-Nazaire, 9 Nice, 10 Paris (Orly et Roissy Airports), 12 Rouen 14 Sète, 15 La Rochelle, 16 Toulon ; 17 Calais, 18 Paris (square Alban Satragne) / GREECE: 1 Athens Airport, 2 Amigdaleza, 3 Chios, 4 Chania, 5 Evia, 6 Kiprinos, 7 Kos, 8 Mytileni (Lagada, Pagani), 9 Peplos, 10 Rhodes, 11 Sàmos, 12 Sapes, 13 Venna, 14 Volos, 15 Vrissika, 16 Attica (Aspropirgos, Athens, Epikourou, Lavrio, Nea Makri, Penteli, Pikermi), 17 Anogia-Rethymno, 18 Kokinopilos, 19 Ftiotida, 20 Thessaloniki / HUNGARY: 1 Budapest (Ferihegy Airport), 2 Balassagyarmat, 3 Bicske, 4 Debrecen, 5 Gvor, 6 Kiskunhalas, 7 Nagykanizsa, 8 Nvírbátor, 9 Nviregyhása, 10 Oroshàza, 11 Pest, 12 Szeged, 13 Szombathely / IRELAND: 1 Arbour Hill Prison, Cloverhill Prison & Mountjoy Prison (Dublin), 2 Cork Prison, 3 Limerick Prison, 4 Abbey Arch (Galway), 5 et 6 Dublin and Shannon Airport / ITALY: 1 Agrigento - San Benedetto, 2 Bari, 3 Bologna - via Mattei, 4 Borgo Mezzanone, 5 Brindisi Restinco. 6 Caltanissetta, 7 Crotone, 8 Gorizia, 9 Lamezia-Terme, 10 Lampedusa, 11 Lecce Regina Pacis, 12 Milano (Via Correlli & Airport), 13 Modena-Lamarmora, 14 Otranto, 15 Bagusa, 16 Boma (Ponte Galeria, Fiumicino Airport & Tiburtina), 17 Trapani Serraino Vulpitta, 18 Torino-Corso Brunelleschi, 19 Salina / LETTONIE: 1 Riga Airport 2 Mucenieki, 3 Olaine / LITHUANIA: 1 Pabrade, 2 Rukla / LUXEMBURG 1 Schrassig / MALTA: Floriana, hôpital psy. Mount Carmel, Safi Barracks, Ta'Kandja; Lyster Barracks, Hal Far / NORWA : 1 Oslo (Fornebu Airport) / THE NETHERLANDS 1 Schiphol Airport, 2 Rotterdam Airport, 3 Deportation-Lodges Amsterdam, 4 Prisor Noordsingel Rotterdam, 5 Ter Appel, 6 Tilburg, 7 Zeist/Soesterberg / POLAND: 1 Okecie Airport, 2 Biala Podlaska, 2 Bielsko - Biala, 3 Chelm, 4 Elblag, 5 Gdansk, 7 Gdynia, 8 Jelenia Góra, 9 Katowice, 10 Jaworzn, 11 Tychy, 12 Ketrzyn, 13 Konin, 14 Lublin, 15 Lesznowola, 16 Limanowa, 17 Opole, 18 Krosno Odrzanskie, 19 Kuznica Bialostocka, 20 Ostroleka, 21 Pila, 22 Piotrków Trybunalski, 23 Podlaski, 24 Przemysl 25 Suwalki, 26 Szczecin, 27 Torun, 28 Walbrzych, 29 Wroclaw, 30 Varsovie (Chodecka-Str., Warszawa Raginis-Str., Lesznowola), 31 (Burakowska, Dabek, Smosweso), 32 Linin, 33 (Bialystok, Czerwony Bor, Lomza, Suprasi), 34 Lublin, 35 Lukow) / PORTUGAL: 1 Lisbon Airport / R. CZECH: 1 Prague-Ruzyne Airport, 2 Balkova, 3 Cerveny Ujezd, 4 Fry'dek-mistek (Harivov), 5 Kasava, 6 Kostelec nad Orlici, 7 Postorna, 8 Praha-Ruzyné, 9 Sec, 10 Straz P. Palskem, 11 & 12 Velké- Prilepy I & II (Bela Jezova), 13 Vysni Lhoty, 14 Zbysov / UNITED KINGDOM: 1 Campsfield (Kidlington near Oxford), 2 Colebrook, 3 Dover, 4 Dungavel (Strathaven, Scotland), 5 Harmondsworth (Heathrow Airport), 6 Haslar, 7 Longport, 8 Manchester Airport, 9 Lindholme, 10 Oakington, 11 Queen's Building, 12 Tinsley, 13 Yarl's Wood (Clapham near Bedford), 14 Her Majesty's Prison (HMP) Maghaberry / SLOVAKIA: 1 Adamov Gbely, 2 Brezova pod Bradlom, 3 Gabcikovo, 4 Humenne, 5 Medvedov, 6 Opatovska Nova Ves, 7 Rohovce, 8 Secovce, 9 Zvolen / SLOVENIA: 1 Ljubljana (COT & south eastern suburb), 2 Postojna, 3 Prosenjakovci, 4 Vidonci / SWEDEN: Stockholm (1 Flen, 4 Märsta, 5 Upplands Väsby), 2 Gothenburg, 3 Malmö / SWITZERLAND \*\* 1 Altstätten, 2 Bâle, 3 Chiasso, 4 Kreuzlingen, 5 Vallorbe, 6 Geneva Airport, 7 Zurich Airport

ALBANIA: 1 Tirana (Rinas Airport), 2 Babrru / AZERBAÏDJAN: 1 Goytepe, 2 Lenkoran / BULGARIA: 1 Sofia Airport, 2 Banya, 3 Burgas, 4 Lyubimetz, 5 Petrich, 6 Plovdiv, 7 et 8 Sofia, 9 Varna / CROATIA: 1 Zagreb Airport, 2 Jezevo, 3 Sasna Grada (near Sisak) / MOLDAVIA: 1 Chisinau Airport, 2 Chisinau transit Center / **RUMANIA:** 1 Transit Area of Otopeni Airport, 2 Centre for foreigners of Otopen (Bucarest), 3 Arad, 4 Bucarest, 5 Bucarest, 6 Galati, 7 Giurgiu, 8 Radauti, 9 Timishora / RUSSIA : 1 Moscow (Chérémétiévo Airport) / SERBIA / MONTENEGRO: Belgrade (1 Padinska Skela & 2 motel near Avala) / UKRAINE: 1 Kiev, 2 Lvov, 3 Mukatchevo (quartier général), 4 Mukatchevo (centre for womens and children), 5 Mukatchevo (Pavshino). 6 Odessa, 7 Ouzhgorod (le dortoir), 8 Tchop.

ALGERIA: 1 Camp of Maghnia, 2 In Guezzam, 3, Tin Zaouatine : 4 Adrar, 5 Alger 6 Bechar, 7 Ghardaïa, 8 In Salah, 9 Oran, 10 Tamanrasset / ISRAËL: 1 Hadera, 2 Ma'asiyahu Prison, 3 Nazareth's Renaissance Hotel, 4 Tsohar / LEBANON: 1 Beirut. 2 Roumieh / LIBYA: 1 Military camp of "Kara ", 2 Closed centre of expulsion (El Fellah) in Tripoli / MOROCCO: 1 Bel Younech, 2 El-Aioun, 3 Gourougou, 4 Messnana (forest of Belyounech), 5 Oujda (forest of Beni Issnasen), Tarfaya (6 Ras El Oued, 7 Hagounia) / TURKEY: 1 Kayseri, 2 Konya, 3 Silopi, 4 Van, 5 Istanbul, 6 Yozgat.

## **From European Migration and Asylum Policies** to Camps for Foreigners

Though internment camps have very diverse features (see map), they also have common characteristics. The first one is their occupants: citizens of non-European countries who have committed no offence other than crossing or trying to cross a border without papers. A second characteristic is that "illegal migrants" are considered and managed as a group, instead of being treated as individuals with a personal history. Thirdly, it seems impossible to ensure the respect of fundamental rights in these places. There is no freedom of movement; basic rights to asylum, to family life and private life, as well as minors rights are not guaranteed, while inhumane and degrading treatments are often perpetrated.

The internment of foreigners in Europe is not aimed (primarily) at punishing them. Instead its goal is to demonstrate to the receiving state population that migrants, who must be controlled, are efficiently managed. It is a kind of tacit contract between State and society through which the State guarantees the security of its citizens. This is the legitimization of camps. Internment is part of a series of measures that are referred to as "common migration and asylum" policies" and aim at subcontracting the control of entry into the European Union to the states at the outer borders of Europe.

Nowadays, border controls and the fight against illegal immigration are central to European immigration and asylum policies. Before September 11, 2001, the question of immigration was treated on the same level as criminality and drug trafficking. Today it is clearly associated with the terrorist threat. More and more, the migrant is depicted as the enemy, and "war" vocabulary is often used to describe the situation and to act against it: military equipment for controls at sea, high technology, walls and barriers, camps and collective expulsions. In this climate which is

constantly maintained, the internment of foreigners is a logical response also enforced for asylum seekers.

With such a policy, the European Union chooses to protect itself from asylum seekers instead of protecting them. Therefore the new European standards, based upon the "bogus asylum seekers" notion, make access to asylum procedures even more difficult and contribute to lower the level of protection. Detention of asylum seekers appears as an appropriate answer to the "threat" of the increasing number of asylum seekers.

European proposals increasingly mention the possibility of detaining asylum seekers in camps located outside the European Union. This "externalisation" or "subcontracting" applies not only to asylum but also to the protection of borders. The aim is to make them more and more impenetrable, pushing them beyond their physical materialisation. "Externalisation" is not only based upon visa policy, a key instrument of "remote control" policing. "Externalisation" is also central to the relations between the European Union and third countries, forcing the latter to cooperate in the fight against "illegal" immigration. Morocco is a good example of this policy. The European Union finances the control of Moroccan borders in order to fight "illegal" immigration to Europe. It is a way of transforming this country into a "European border watchdog".

Whatever the functions of the camps ... containing the influx of migrants coming to Europe, organising the deportation of "illegal" migrants or detaining asylum seekers ... camps are a part of the mechanism to exclude those designated by the European Union as a "risk" or as an "enemy".

They are the materialization of a security approach to migration, to the detriment of the fundamental right of free movement.