



**MASTER'S DEGREE IN POLITICS AND ECONOMICS OF
CONTEMPORARY
EASTERN AND SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE**

DISSERTATION:

**ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION FROM SOUTH ASIA TO
EUROPE: ADDRESSING THE ROOT CAUSES**

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Abstract

The theme of this dissertation covers a complex set of issues ranging from defining the term of illegal immigration, analysing the problem of illegal immigration in Europe to addressing the root causes of illegal immigration with special reference to the region of South Asia. Last years, in Europe, the issue of illegal immigration has been the center of migration policy-making and it is a subject of active research, regarding the security of people in its territory. Therefore, it is necessary for migration policy to strike the reasons of this issue and provide the basis for finding the right solutions.

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ACRONYMS

CIREA	CENTER FOR INFORMATION , DISCUSSION AND EXCHANGE ON ASYLUM
CIREFI	CENTER FOR INFORMATION , DISCUSSION AND EXCHANGE ON THE CROSSING OF FRONTIERS AND IMMIGRATION
EU	EUROPEAN UNION
FATA	FEDERALLY ADMINISTERED TRIBAL AREAS
FDI	FOREIGN DOMESTIC INVESTMENT
FRONTEX	EUROPEAN AGENCY FOR THE MANAGEMENT OF OPERATIONAL COOPERATION AT THE EXTERNAL BORDERS OF THE MEMBER STATES OF THE EUROPEAN UNION
GDP	GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT
ILO	INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION
IOM	INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF MIGRATION
ISI	INTER-SERVICES INTELLIGENCE (PAKISTAN)
NATO	NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION
NGO	NON- GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION
NWFP	NORTH WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE
OCHA	OFFICE FOR THE COORDINATION OF HUMANITARIAN AFFAIRS (UNITED NATIONS)
OSCE	ORGANIZATION FOR SECURITY AND CO-OPERATION
UK	UNITED KINGDOM
UN	UNITED NATIONS
UNCHR	UNITED NATIONS COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS
UNICEF	UNITED NATIONS CHILDREN’S FUND
UNMOGIP	UNITED NATIONS MILLITARY OBSERVER GROUP IN INDIA AND PAKISTAN
USAID	UNITED STATES AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Introduction

In today's global society, the European Union faces new opportunities as well as new dangers. At the beginning of this new century, the EU started an ongoing transformation, as a global actor and became wider and more diverse developing new ambitions. At the same time, globalization is multiplying Europe's links with the rest of the world. But at this point, these developments create new opportunities as well as new risks. The characteristic of these new threats is that they are less visible, ignore state borders and focus on European interests outside and within EU territory.

One of these threats is considered to be the issue of illegal immigration as well as the issue of foreigners on European territory. A foreigner who may be defined in terms of an immigrant or a refugee may many times be considered a threat. The discourse of the foreigners in societies started to attract the interest of scholars and citizens a century ago. George Simmel was the first who focused on the importance of foreigners in his text 'The Stranger' which was published in 1908 in German.¹ Since then, this issue has been discussed extensively and has been the basis for many debates regarding the role of the state, the role of public opinion, the border controls and the integration of society. As Spire (2009, p.136) mentions, it is very interesting to note that although France is a country where human rights and liberalism were of utmost importance , it is also a country which played a crucial role in foreign control and identification practices.

However, illegal immigration has emerged in recent years as a major international challenge. The situation seems to be deteriorating fast. The close ties between human trafficking, terrorism and islamization makes illegal immigration a multi-faceted menace. In Europe, it is receiving wider attention as stricter measures are being adopted to combat it. In addition, the events of the 9/11 and the successive flows of immigrants have led to more and more measures from the European

¹ Spire, (2009). Rethinking the Political dimension of Migrations, Contemporary European History, 18, 1,pp. 135-144, Cambridge University Press

community so as to prevent social fragmentation, political discontent and the radicalization of the Muslim communities.

Most studies about illegal immigration have focused on the consequences of this problem in Europe and the ways to combat it rather than to the root causes of this problem. The present dissertation is an attempt to shed light on this option. It seeks to provide an analysis of illegal immigration of South Asian countries to Europe. Of course, the fast – evolving situation including the rapid changes in the political field in this region, tends to turn the subject of illegal immigration into a moving target, making it difficult to follow the latest developments. However, apart from the push factors in the sending countries, it would also be analyzed the pull factors in receiving countries which are responsible for the phenomenon of illegal immigration from South Asian countries.

The choice of the South Asia region is not incidental. Surveying the different security threats, it is evident that many threats have geographical background and it is imperative to make such an analysis from ‘regional viewpoint’. Thus, the territory of South Asia is the regional frame of this dissertation whose aim it is to point out the reasons of the flows of illegal immigrants to Europe. Moreover, another reason of this choice is the fact that according the statistical data, Afghanistan and Pakistan, some of the biggest countries of this region, are classified as first in rank of the “sending countries”, while the other countries in the region of South Asia have also sent a considerable number of illegal immigrants to Europe.

The analysis is divided into three parts. In general, first, there is a description of the issue of illegal immigration in Europe and then, there is focus on the region of South Asia. Thus, in the first part, there is a small unit with an introduction of the term of illegal immigration and its aspects. Following this, in the same part, there is an analysis of the situation of illegal immigrants in Europe while providing some statistic data it is described the depth of this problem. The following unit in this part is to explain why the discourse of illegal immigration is considered to be a serious problem in Europe. In this last unit, a lot of emphasis is placed because the issue of illegal immigration is more than a simple illegal action of crossing borders. It is an action that is directly and indirectly linked with regional stability and it is categorized along with terrorism and organized crime, as it has already been mentioned.

In Part 2, the analysis will move and focus on the region of South Asia. The countries in South Asia are characterized by poverty, low incomes, caste, class and gender divides, rural-urban divided, poor state performances for social-welfare justice, unemployment and illiteracy. The reasons for all these are a combination of political, economical and environmental factors. This region is rich in political history, in economic ups and downs and finally, in many environmental disasters and tragedy events. Therefore, in part 2, there are sub-units with the factors that are responsible for this situation in almost each country giving greater emphasis to the political and economic situation of Pakistan and Afghanistan as they are the main sending countries of illegal immigrants. Added to all these, are some general factors that lead to immigration; such as the rise of globalization and family reunification.

Before the conclusion, there is a very interesting part which presents the results of a small survey that occurred among policemen who are posted on border controls in Greece, Romania, Germany, Cyprus and in Frontex rabbit teams in the prefecture of Evros between the Greek-Turkish borders. Although this survey is very small, it can offer representative opinion of the policemen who face the problem of illegal immigration every day. Moreover, this statistical data are primary data and maybe it is good material for further investigation.

Generally, it can be said that this dissertation highlights both the big issue of illegal immigration in Europe and the impact of it on the social and political life and the situation in the region of South Asia which, in the last few years, has attracted the interest of whole the world , regarding the events that occurred there and the flows of illegal immigration all over the world. The link between these two important parts appears to be very interesting while the third part deals with the survey among the border guards which is sure to give a distinguished view of the subject.

PART 1 -The Discourse of Illegal Immigration

1.1.Definition of illegal immigration

It is difficult to answer exactly what is an illegal immigration. The panoply of terms used include: illegal immigration, clandestine migration, undocumented migration and irregular migration, emphasizing that there are different forms or characteristics of irregular movements. Generally, the illegal immigration is viewed from the perspective of the destination country but illegality may also occur in the country of origin. Although the practice is less common today, several countries in the past had restricted on political, economic or ideological grounds, travel by its citizens to certain specified countries.² From the perspective of the country of destination, non-nationals are considered to be in irregular situation when “i) they have not obtained the authorization required by law for admission in one country or ii) when they cease to meet the conditions to which their stay or activity is subject.” (Ghosh, 1998, p.4)

For this reason, Tapinos (1999, p.231 & Jandl, 2004, p.2) has classified six categories of clandestinity as is shown in the table :

<i>Relevant categories of illegal immigration</i>	Residence Legal	Residence Illegal
Entry legal	Work illegal	Work illegal No work
Entry illegal	Work illegal	Work illegal No work

² Appendix : Table 1

Taking into account these types, it can be said that one form of illegal immigration is the activity of entering the country illegally without the official authorization. This term in its broadest sense is an act of migration and is not legal. It is carried out against legal provisions of entry and residence. This meaning is considered to be discriminatory. However, in its narrow sense, it means just the illegal border crossing and it can be replaced by the irregular migration which refers to something not illicit and criminal but just irregular. For this reason, the term irregular migration is acceptable from all the sides, police and human rights organization and for this reason it is used more often. For the purpose of this dissertation, all the terms are acceptable and the one can be referred as synonym of the other.

Moreover, this type of illegal immigration includes both the activity of smuggling and the activity of human trafficking. These activities appeared ever since the creation of the states and the existence of boundaries between people and nations. But only after the end of the Cold War did these activities become one of the biggest issues in state political agendas. In particular, in the 1990s, when the governments in Europe and North America started to categorize the countries into countries of origin, transit or reception for illegal (or irregular) immigrants. At the same time, the border control using visa restrictions, readmissions, airline liaison officers etc. appeared. (Morison, p.1)

However, in the late 1990s, these activities did not consist only of the issue of illegal immigration but they were characterized as trans-national organized crime and as a threat to societies and economies. In 2000, at the United Nations Convention on Trans-national Organized Crime in Palermo in Italy, these activities attracted the interest and finally, there was a clear distinction between these two crimes. According to the latter, “ smuggling of migrants shall mean the procurement, in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, financial or other material benefit, of the illegal entry of a person into a State of which the person is not a national or a permanent resident.”

³ Moreover, according to Art.4 of the Protocol of 1977⁴, trafficking is the exploitation

³ <http://www.unodc.org/documents/treaties/UNTOC/Publications/TOC%20Convention/TOCebook-e.pdf>

⁴ Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and relating to the Protection of Victims of International Armed Conflicts (Protocol I), 8 June 1977.

of some people and for this aim the trafficker guides people to cross the borders illegally. Usually, there are organized groups which either assist people to cross the borders illegally or they give them genuine travel documents with the aim of exploiting them in the new country. On the other hand, smuggling, which is the objective of this essay, is the activity of illegal entry in general and it does not involve exploitation. Smugglers gain money by assisting them to cross the borders. Another difference is that in trafficking there is recruitment which involves activities to find and persuade an individual to cross the border with the intention of exploiting him later. Smuggling involves the transportation which may be carried out by the smuggler or by national transportation.

Generally, *The criterion is whether the person who commits the transportation is part of an organized group.* (Guild, 2009) A positive answer is led to trafficking activity. However, many times it is very difficult to distinguish if someone is part of the organized group or not. Usually, there are some people who just help in the activity of transferring people illegally to pass the borders without knowing that these people are forced to immigrate and are then to be exploited.

What should be mentioned regarding our topic is the fact that some illegal immigrants declare that they are victims of trafficking whereas they are really not, just so as to gain the rights that the state gives to such victims. According to Protocol of 1977, states should provide protection to these victims, privacy, measures for physical and other recovery including housing, medical assistance and employment. However, for humanitarian reasons, states usually do not follow this course of action since in many cases it is very difficult to find the truth of their declarations. As it is mentioned, trafficking activities usually involves force or threat. For example, a woman may have agreed to follow someone to a specific country for the purpose of prostitution but the trafficker intentionally takes her to another country. In this case, it difficult to discriminate whether this activity is actual trafficking since she has given her consent. Moreover, some of the victims claim that they had no other option than to follow the traffickers. This leads to the *travaux preparatoires*⁵ and the concept that

⁵ The literary meaning of this French term is preparatory works. It constitutes the materials used in preparing the ultimate form of an agreement or statute, especially of an international treaty.

this person was in a position of vulnerability. But here comes the question whether the bad economic position is a position of vulnerability. (Guild, 2009). Moreover, there is the case where the immigrant started off as being smuggled but in the end becomes trafficked by the time the destination country is reached. Thus, it is very difficult to draw a dividing line between those who are trafficked and those who are smuggled.

One important category of illegal immigrants is the refugees. However, it should be mentioned that there is a difference between refugees and displaced persons. Displaced persons are those who cannot become a refugee and so they flee within their state because of this conflict. But their common characteristic is that both these categories are forced to flee because “their state is either unable or unwilling to provide them with protection, deploy symbolic or actual violence to exclude the individual as a part of a group from equality” (Guild, 2005, p.80). In this essay, there will be reference only to the refugees and not to displaced persons while refugees are the problem of the other countries referring to illegal immigration.

Generally, refugees are more protected by international law. The Geneva Convention defines a refugee as anyone who : ‘owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable, or owing to such fear , is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it (Art.1A(2))’ (Guild, 2009, p.80)

This aim of this Convention is to protect the refugee and for this reason, it declares that the state must not expel or return a refugee in any manner to the state where his life or freedom would be threatened. With this fact, the states which signed this Convention have become places of security for the refugees. However, in western democracies like in Europe, where more refugees ask for asylum, there is a big issue which persecution gives rise to a successful refugee claim, reflecting the history and the identity issues in the host country. Especially, after the events in September 2001, many countries changed their politics concerning asylum. They firstly tried to protect the security of their own country and then to provide protection to the refugees.

Nowadays, asylum legislation excludes some refugees who are engaged in political violence, are more racist to some countries from protection and pays more attention if a refugee is considered a threat for their country's national security. However, there are two other conventions that protect refugees; the UN Convention against torture and other Inhuman and Degrading Treatment or Punishment (1984) and the European Convention on Human Rights. (Guild, 2009)

Something else that it is very important is the situation of the 'asylum seekers'. The latter are the people who apply for political asylum but their applications are still being examined. The number of these persons is huge in European countries. The problem with this is that these people do not have the rights that a refugee has but on the other hand, host countries cannot deport him until they will decide about the applications. However, the European countries have managed to agree on a set of minimum conditions for them such as food, housing, medical treatment, access to education etc. which unfortunately has not been implemented successfully in the EU countries.

Another problem which is supplementary to illegal immigration is the false declarations of nationality that make the procedure of returning more difficult. It is a common phenomenon that immigrants declare some other nationality knowing that deportation of those nationalities is impossible thus they cannot be deported; for instance, a Nigerian declares that he is Somalian; in most cases it is very difficult to identify someone's identity especially when they have similar characteristics. In addition, by declaring false nationality they want to ask for asylum taking advantage of the conditions in the country of their false nationality. Moreover, the use of forged documents is a similar problem and it attracted the attention of the EU in 2010 because of their high level of usage and the connections of this problem with organized crime. In the same way there are reports that refer to the abuse use of authentic documents by unauthorized users, known as imposters. (Frontex Report, 2010)

1.2.The discourse of illegal immigration in Europe

The more protected people in the EU are the citizens of EU member states because of the ‘citizenship of the European Union’. The idea of creation a union was created after the Second World War due to the fear of a new war. The founders believed that security in Europe would be successful only if European countries integrated their markets, in particular France and Germany. This project for preventing war included four freedoms: free movement of goods, persons, services and capital. Thus, nowadays, this project is established and the citizens of the member states have the right to enter another EU country without control, something that means *the de-securitization of movement of persons*. In addition, the family members of an EU-citizen who are not EU-nationals are also protected from any expulsion. However, it should be mentioned that if one of the people in the above cases is a threat to public security , to public policy or to public health, the member state has the right to expel this EU member state citizen but under justification.

Within the last few years the ability of the states to monitor foreigners has grown dramatically. The use of technology has helped the monitoring procedure- from taking fingerprints to the use of DNA tests; measures that border police implements can be resembled of those in wartime. Since the First World War, the immigration control policies in Europe have appeared with temporary measures against foreigners but finally these measures became permanent. In 1917, France launched the first identity card for foreigners while the United Kingdom with the Aliens Restriction Act of 1914 tried to control the movement of foreigners. (Spire, 2009, p.136) But according Rosenberg (Spire, 2009, p.137), modern immigration control began on 1 January 1925, with the separation of the immigration services from the administrative section in the French Police in Paris. Apart from such control, states began to implement policies for the assimilation of foreigners in the state. The latter includes the integration as measures that the state gives to foreigners or the way that a society assimilates an individual.

However, during the history every state focused on a different immigration policy. After the creation of EU, immigration policy depends on the directives issued on a Community level. But this can lead to another debate regarding whether this

policy is a result of the emergence of a new form of state or whether it is merely a broader cooperation among states. This is important because the decisions of the political elites are affected by public opinion and in the EU members states citizens have different opinions regarding the issue of being pro- or anti- in the immigration currents. However they both agreed that the EU should resist entry of undesirable immigrants. Here, it should be mentioned that accompanying the increasing economic liberalization of borders and the apparent demilitarization of borders is the increase in border law enforcement that itself has become highly militarised in character. As shown by the continued use of military vessels in securing the southern-border in the Mediterranean and the use of military personnel along the eastern-border, the building of heavily militarised fences in the Spanish exclaves of Melilla and Ceuta and now on the Greek-Turkish border is a consequence of the new way of combatting illegal immigration. Therefore, now, it can be explained the following change: European militaries are now being used for “crime-fighting” as opposed to traditional defensive and “war-fighting” purposes.

Under these circumstances, in 2004, in order to protect its borders, Europe created the European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders of the Member States of the European Union which is called FRONTEX. One of the activities of this Agency is the development of common operations for the surveillance of external borders. Thus, the responsibility for the risk analysis and assessment of the threats is being carried out by FRONTEX. (Frontex Regulation⁶)

According the Frontex report in 2010, EU citizens consist the three quarters of the total flow of passengers crossing the EU external borders. However, the exact number is difficult to estimate due to the free movement of EU citizens. Generally, in 2008, it was estimated that almost 710 million crossed the EU external borders (entering and exiting) while in 2009 there was a decline in the number and finally, in 2010 things seemed to have improved. The EU implemented the EU Visa Code in April 2010 which includes over 100 nationalities that require a visa to enter the EU,

⁶ http://www.frontex.europa.eu/gfx/frontex/files/frontex_regulation_en.pdf

accounting for more than 80% of the non-EU population. On the other hand, almost 1 billion nationals of 37 countries do not require a visa to enter the EU.

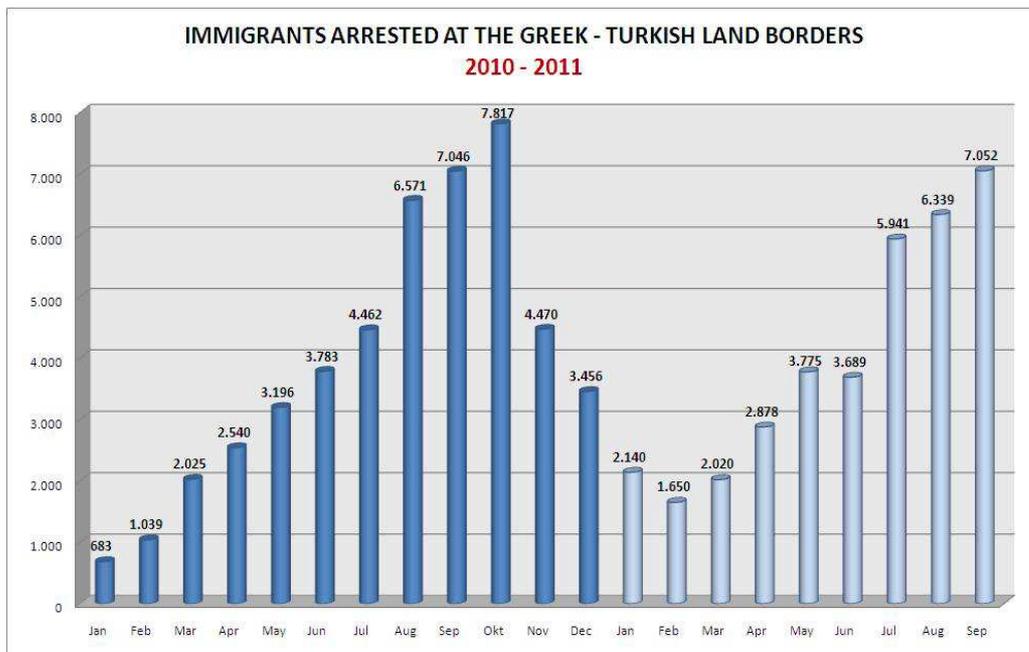
As far as illegal immigration is concerned, there was a decrease in 2009 but in 2010 it started to increase again. However, irregular immigration through the Western Africa, Western Mediterranean and Central Mediterranean routes continued to decrease, while there is a huge increase in the borders between Greece and Turkey.⁷ Thus, nowadays, Greece is considered the main entry point for illegal immigrants to Europe and Turkey and the main transit country. It is characteristic that about 350 detections a day that have been recorded in the greek-turkish borders in Orestiada's Police Directorate. The reason for this is that at the Greek-Turkish borders, there is a 12.5 km piece of land not delineated by the Evros river which is the line between Turkey and Greece and thus, immigrants did not need to cross the river which is a physical barrier to the way to Europe. Here, it should be mentioned that many of the illegal immigrants who cross the border from Greece do not want to stay in Greece but they use Greece as a transit country to go to other European countries; they often transit Western Balkan.

For this reason, Europe pays more attention to the region of Southeastern Europe. This region functions like a bridge for the people from the East to come to the West. Therefore, the following statistic data from this region and the relative map can represent whole Europe regarding that Greek borders are European borders. Taking into account the importance of the problem, last year FRONTEX launched for first time a common operation along the Greek-Turkish borders for combating illegal immigration.

⁷ Appendix: Table 2



(Source: Multi Annual Programme , p.7)



Source: Hellenic Police

However, it seems that the growth of the activities of the illegal immigration is analogous to the growth of political efforts to stop less organized forms of illegal immigration. Generally, it is very difficult to cite the exact number of the smuggled persons not only because of the lack of consistency but also due to the fact that most of them are undocumented. However, some data in regional levels can be accurate. In addition, international organizations such as the IOM, OSCE through its office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) in Warsaw, EU's working

groups CIREFI, CIREA, and ILO as well as UNICEF, have conducted many studies and surveys regarding smuggling. (Morrison, FMO) . Thus, from the following table, it is concluded that in 1991 the number of illegal immigrants were almost 2,6 million while in 2005 some claim that there were 7-8 million!

Table 1: Aggregate estimates for Europe

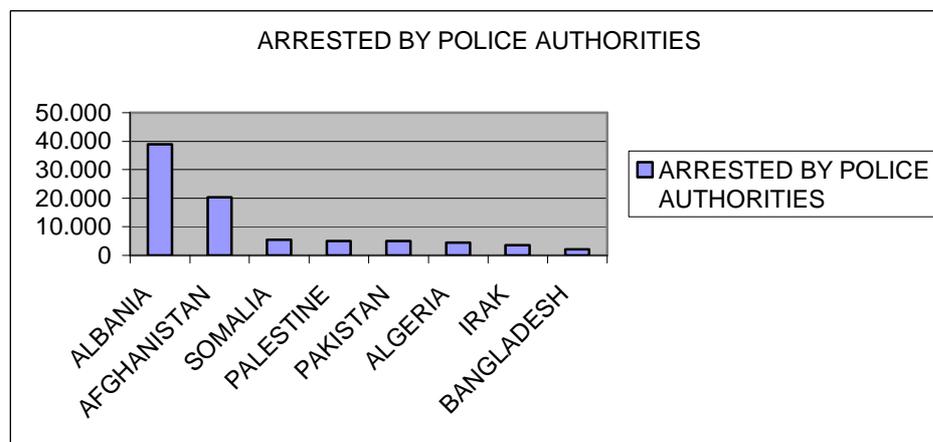
Year	Numbers	Source	Justification
1991	2.6 million non-nationals in Europe in an irregular or undocumented situation	International Labour Office	In this estimation the number of seasonal workers was included as well as those asylum seekers whose applications have been turned down but have not left. ILO assumption was that irregular foreign stock would be between 10 and 15 per cent of the size of the officially recorded resident foreign population (Clarke, 2000). It is unclear however, how these percentages were derived.
1993	inflows in Western Europe totalled around 250 000- 350 000	International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD); (Widgren, 1994)	The figure was calculated on the basis of extrapolation of the number of illegal migrants that reached their destination countries as a reflection of the known numbers of migrants apprehended at the borders. Widgren, on the basis of discussions with border control authorities, multiplied the number of 60 000 borders' apprehensions by 4-6.
1997	2- 3 million of irregular foreign population, 350 000 net inflow	Hilderink H. at all (2003: 47,48)	About 10 % -15% of foreign population (20 million)
1998	Upper limit of unauthorised migrants in Europe 3 million	Committee on Migration, Refugees and Demography "Conference on the situation of illegal migrants in Council of Europe member states, Paris 13 December 2001)	Illegal migrants are thought to represent between 10-15 % of migrants already present and between 20 and 30 % of inflow
1999	number of trafficked and smuggled into the EU at the level of 400 000	Heckmann and Wunderlich (2000)	The estimate was based on apprehension statistics. For every person caught entering the EU illegally, it was assumed that two pass unhindered.
2001	EU 15 (incomplete): 286 000	International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD)	Estimates on the basis of the total border apprehensions of illegal migrants
2005	7-8 million of un	Papademetriou	continental Europe's share of

	authorised immigrants in continental Europe's	(2005a)	unauthorized immigrant stock should be little more than 20 percent of the estimated world stock
2005	4.5 million in EU 25	Papademetriou (2005b)	Unauthorized immigrants are estimated to be at least 1% of the population of EU 25 and are growing at annual rates that are into mid-hundreds of thousands
2007	893 000 to 923 000 gross inflow	European Commission 2007	Aggregates gross inflow from information about 21 countries, quotes studies mentioned above for net inflows and stocks

Spurce: Clandestino Methodological Report, 2008, p.16-17

In addition to these data, having analyzing the weight of the importance of the Greek borders , data of this region can show the dimensions of the problem focusing more on the data from the nationalities of South Asia, which is the regional frame of the present analysis. According the Greek Police, in the first months of 2011, people from Afghanistan and Pakistan comprise the biggest number of arrested people for illegal entrance or stay in Greece. Afghans numbered 15,666 and Pakistani 10,559 out of the total number of 56,943 arrested people. The number of people from Bangladesh was also impressive at about 3,235.⁸ As the Frontex report (2010) mentions, the most commonly detected nationalities were citizens from Afghanistan and Iraq while it was interesting that there was also an increasing number of citizens from North Africa meaning that Africans went to Turkey by airplane due to the visa-free regime and then they crossed Greek-Turkish borders.

THE LAST 9 MONTHS OF 2010:



Source: official site of Hellenic Police

Similarly, in the previous years the number of illegal immigrants of South Asia countries was also high; in 2008, there were 25,577 Afghans, 5,512 Pakistani and 1,655 people from Bangladesh; in 2009, there were 17,828 Afghans, 4,854

⁸ Appendix : Table 3 & http://www.astynomia.gr/index.php?option=ozo_content&perform=view&id=5071&Itemid=429&lang=EN

Pakistani and 1,443 from Bangladesh; finally, in 2010, there were 28,299 Afghans, 8,830 Pakistani and 3,264 from Bangladesh.

As far as asylum seekers are concerned, the number of applications in EU countries was stable between 2009 and 2010. . However, it was interesting that in some countries such as in Germany, Belgium and Sweden, the number of applications has increased because of the increase of Afghan nationals illegally crossing the borders between Greek- Turkish borders and the visa-free liberalization for biometric passport holders from Montenegro, Serbia and FYROM. This abuse of the asylum procedure has provoked the interest for establishing a better monitoring system in the EU. (Frontex)⁹ .

TABLE 2

Changes in the ranking of the top-15 receiving countries | 2006-2010

All data are provisional and subject to change.

	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
United States	1	1	1	1	1
France	2	3	3	2	2
Germany	6	7	7	5	3
Sweden	4	2	6	6	4
Canada	5	4	2	3	5
United Kingdom	3	5	4	4	6
Belgium	10	10	14	9	7
Switzerland	11	11	9	13	8
Netherlands	7	15	11	12	9
Austria	8	9	13	11	10
Greece	9	6	8	10	11
Norway	13	17	10	8	12
Turkey	15	13	12	15	13
Italy	12	8	5	7	14
Australia	19	19	16	16	15

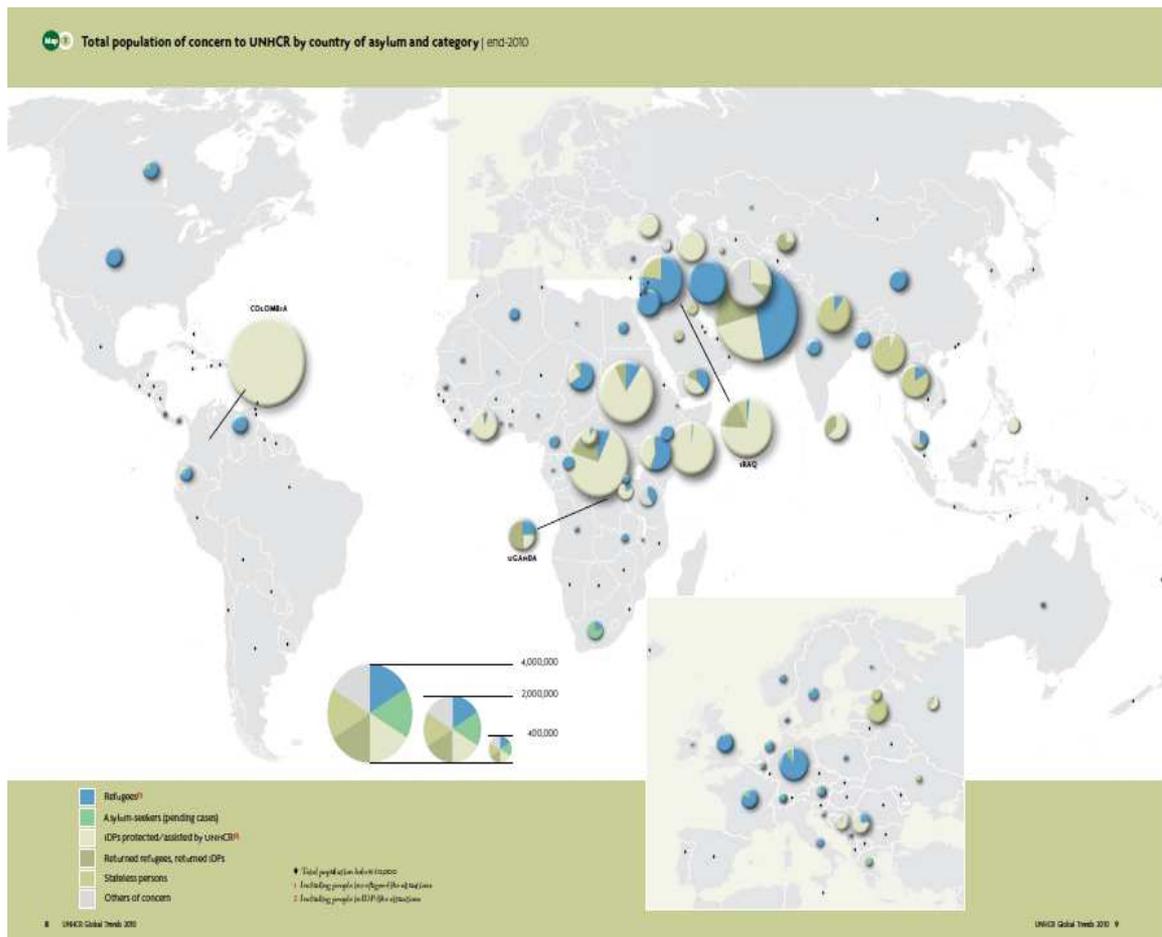
Source: UNCHR, Asylum Levels and Trends in Industrialized Countries 2010,

p. 11

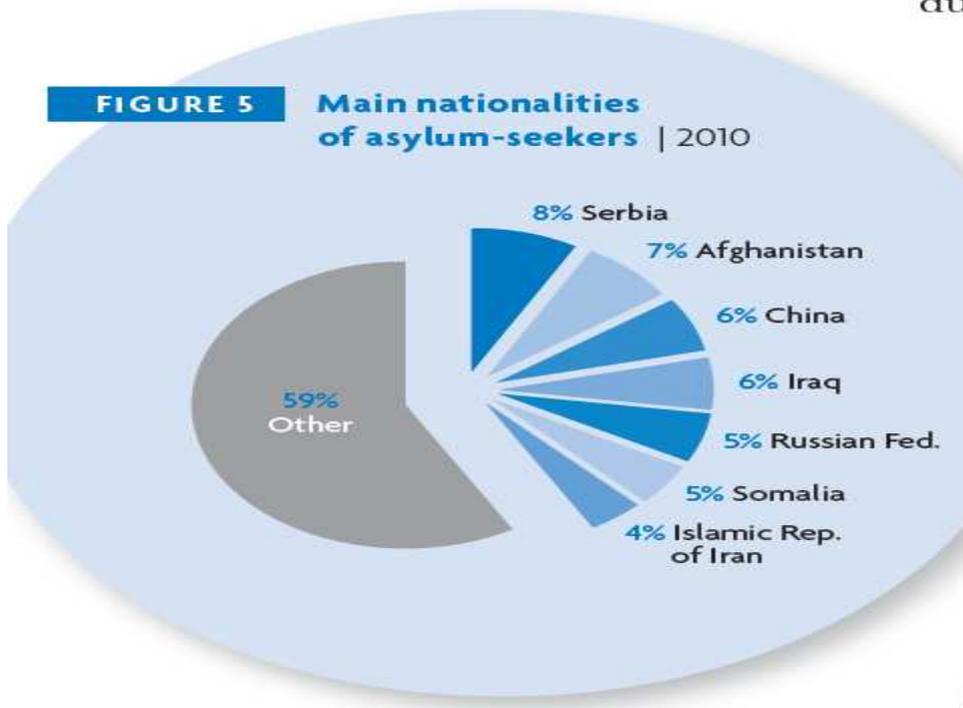
The following tables show total population by country of asylum; it is clear the big circle in the area of South Asia. With more than three million_ refugees in 75 countries, Afghanistan remained the leading country of origin of refugees in 2010.

⁹ Appendix : Table 4

On average, three out of ten refugees in the world were from Afghanistan, with 96 per cent of them located in Pakistan and the Islamic Republic of Iran. However, in the next table, in the 44 industrialized countries in 2010, Serbia, Afghanistan, China, Iraq, and the Russian Federation were the five top source countries of asylum-seekers. This is comparable to 2009, when Afghanistan, Iraq, Somalia, the Russian Federation, and China were the top ranking source countries. (UNCHR. Global Trends 2010)

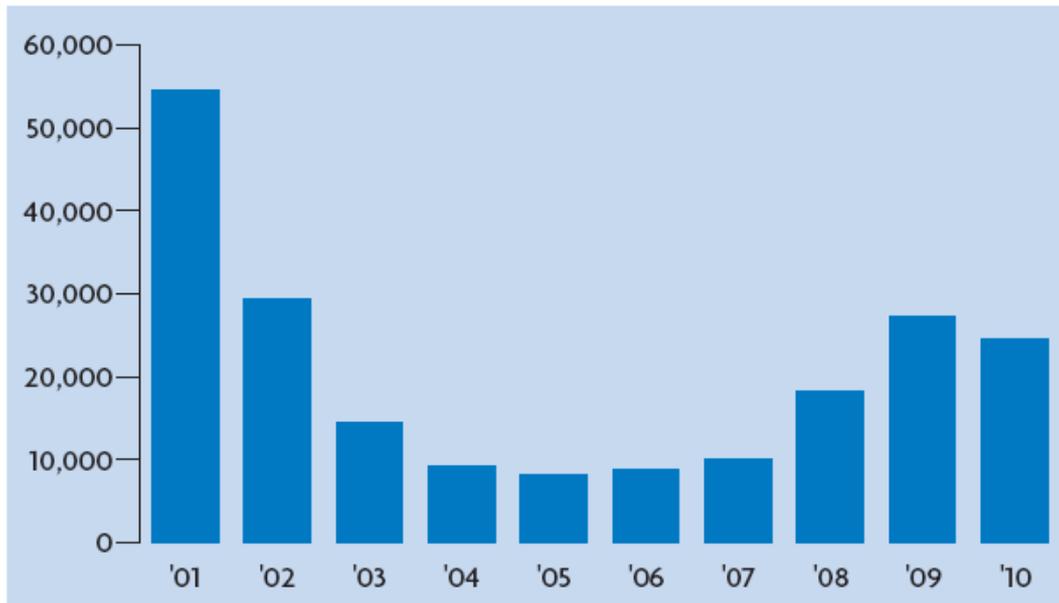


Source: UNCHR, Global Trends 2010, p.14



Source: UNCHR, Asylum Levels and Trends in Industrialized Countries 2010, p. 11

As far the Afghans, after having been the main country of origin of asylum-seekers in industrialized countries in 2009 (27,200 claims), **Afghanistan** dropped to second place in 2010 with 24,800 asylum applications lodged by its citizens (-9%). Norway and the United Kingdom were the main destination countries of Afghan asylum-seekers in 2009 with 3,900 and 3,500 claims respectively registered. In 2010, however, levels had dropped by half (United Kingdom) or three quarters (Norway). Germany and Sweden, on the other hand, became the new main destination countries for Afghans in 2010 with 5,900 and 2,400 claims respectively registered in both countries. In the case of Germany, Afghan asylum claims went up by three quarters, while in Sweden by 41 per cent. (UNCHR, Asylum Levels and Trends in Industrialized Countries 2010, p. 11)

FIGURE 7**Afghan asylum claims lodged in 44 industrialized countries | 2001-2010**

Source: UNCHR, *Asylum Levels and Trends in Industrialized Countries 2010*, p. 12

1.3. Why is it a problem for Europe?

The inflow of immigrants who decide to leave their countries demands the destination countries to protect and help them. This is a big problem for the governments which, on the one hand, have to manage immigration and protect their borders, but on the other hand, have to respect human rights and protect these people. But people care for their state's security first and for the security of the state of the origin of the immigrants later.

It seems that as migration flows in some areas as in Europe in this decade are bigger, the development of other fields, such as security, brings new concerns for the governments and the society¹⁰. In European states, there is a strong debate about how the state should treat the migrant. It is a common phenomenon that one state focuses on the rights of the asylum seekers one year and the next year is against economic immigrants. Moreover, there are controversial opinions among the citizens. On the

¹⁰ Concerns about the refugees and the terrorism

one hand, they demand the state protect them from foreign people who are considered to be threat and on the other hand, they do not feel the difference of some people from the other. One characteristic example is in the UK: “the exclusion of undocumented migrants from health services in the UK, proposed in 2008: the general medical association representing doctors refused to participate, maintaining that doctors are not immigration officers” (Guild, 2009, p.3).

Generally, it is accepted that the problem is focused on the fact that immigrants are perceived as a threat to national security, as a potential terrorist to public security as a potential criminal and to identity as a challenge to the homogeneity which is presupposed to exist within the state. It is interesting that since 2000, xenophobic acts of violence have risen by 40 percent as Germany’s Federal Interior Minister declared. (Henning, 2001 & Saunders, 2001, p.92). Moreover, since the attacks in the USA on September 11, the crimes against people who are Muslim, Sikh, Hindu, Arab, Pakistani, Afghan, Iranian, and Latino have increased. (Saunders, 2001, p.92) Such kinds of incidents are now often in EU member states. The populism and the government xenophobia have affected many political parties and there is scarcely a country in Europe in these last years that has not experienced the temptation of rejection of the immigrants for protecting their country. During the past two decades in Europe and elsewhere migration has been constructed as a destabilizing force that is seen to endanger domestic, regional and international stability. Over this time migration has been both discursively and socially constructed as a “threat” and has been categorized along with terrorism and organized crime as something which the state and other institutional bodies must guard against.

The role of the state is very crucial to understand why a state should fight illegal immigration. It is important that the relationship between state and citizen be based on reciprocity. Being a citizen means that someone has the justifications to be treated more favorably by the state than some others. A short revision of history will assist to understand this fact. As Gellner wrote, the organizing principle of feudal societies related to social class and the ownership of property ownership. In past, discrimination against peasants was self-evident as they do not belong to the social class entitled to privileges of property ownership. In liberal democracies, citizenship was considered the access to goods and services. In the French revolution, equality

among citizens arose and it became the line between entitlement and exclusion. This means that those who are not citizens were foreigners and this was sufficient reason for their exclusion from their territory, from benefits and from safety. Thus, nowadays, every state has citizenship law which determines who is a citizen and who is not. As Weber (Guild, 2009, p.49) said, the power of the state is in the convergence of the territory (surrounded by its boundaries), the people (citizens) and the authority (government or bureaucracy).

However, nowadays, a state could not expel everyone who is not a citizen of its territory. States, as partners of the international system, have signed many conventions about the protection of human rights –for instance the European Convention on Human Rights which gives rights beyond the state and can protect people against the state’s decision to expel them in favor of exclusion. Under these circumstances, the meaning of security can be modified through the supranational decisions from other international organs: the Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948 was proclaimed by the UN General Assembly and it was the cornerstone of the international move to limit the sovereign power of the state.

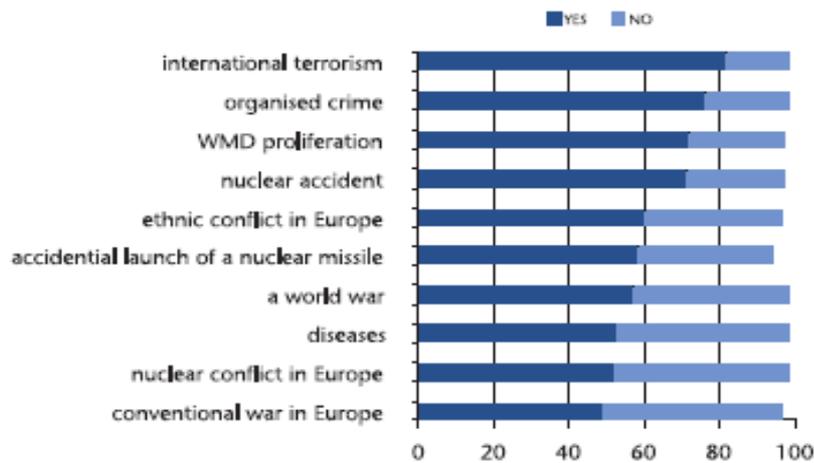
But the main question is: why do states expel foreigners? Why do they use their power in such way? The answer is related with the security of a state. One of the duties of the state is to control who is on its territory and the movement across its borders. Usually, it is met that the more the state has invested in border controls, the more the immigrant has to face a stricter confrontation. For the state, it is very important to protect its borders because otherwise it loses its power over its territory. For this reason, the immigrants who illegally cross the borders become the object of legitimate coercion. But while irregularity is no more than a violation of the state’s authorization, it is connected with the characterization of illegality and so it becomes a security issue. Their action to illegally cross the borders or to stay after their permission has expired is against the state’s criminal laws and by definition they act against the law and so against the security of the community (Guild, 2009).

Furthermore, these states reject the “Other” for protecting of the “Self”. They care for the national security interests, for the economic growth which is threatened by the foreigners’ cheating the system and for the cohesion in society which would be

threatened by the foreigners in case the majority may become a minority. It cannot be omitted that in public opinion these immigrants are perceived as very poor people who cannot integrate into the modern world, carry many diseases and want to come to the West for cheating and trafficking drugs. (Bigo, 2009)

At this point , it should be mentioned that the meaning of the word ‘security’ has changed after the attacks of 11 September 2001 in the United States. This led to the adoption of a new security concept and to promote a new EU Security Strategy “A secure Europe in a better world” in which the EU defines the new global challenges such as disease, poverty, competition for natural resources and energy and the new threats such as terrorism, regional conflicts, state failure and organized crime. In the following table, there are results of a survey among EU citizens and it shows what EU citizens fear most.

What do European Union citizens fear ?



Source: Eurobarometre, Sondage no. 58.1, Oct./Nov. 2002

Source: Research for a secure Europe, 2004, p.8

It is characteristic that the current threats, that are shown in the table, ignore borders and the distinction between internal and external threat is blurred. For this reason, EU member states realize that the only way to protect their citizens and their territories is to internationalize their policies and to cooperate in many fields. Thus, from the

beginning the establishment of an Internal Security¹¹ has been a high priority for confronting the trans-national nature of the threats. In the following table, the link between the threats, the missions and the technology that it is necessary for a secure Europe is obvious. Border control is clear in that it is important in the fight against terrorism, proliferation and organized crime. (Research of a Secure Europe, 2004)

Table 2: Examples of the link between

THREAT	TERRORISM / PROLIFERATION / ORGANISED CRIME				
MISSION	BORDER CONTROL				
AREA	Airport	Land	Harbour	Coast	Waterways
CAPABILITY	Detection		Protection	Surveillance & Monitoring	Systems Interoperability
FOCUS AREA	Persons, cargo, vehicles, ships, etc.		Persons, vehicles, installations, etc.	Open water, coastline, underwater, cargo-handling areas, port boundary, etc.	Ship-to-shore, air-land, land-land, command centre and mobile platforms, etc.
TECHNOLOGY	Sensors		Space	IT	
	Radar, laser, acoustic, thermal, infrared, active/passive, CBRN, multifunctional		Earth observation, space based communication, positioning and tracking	Microwave feed systems, comprehensive secure networks, encryption, broad band capabilities, etc.	

Source: Research for a secure Europe, 2004, p.18

The irregular employment of migrants as a threat to their jobs should not be overlooked either. In all countries, the issue of irregular labor is present on the agenda to a greater or lesser degree. In Germany, there are almost 100 thousand to one million illegal foreigners but the exact number of irregular employed immigrants is difficult to estimate. Generally, the countries that are main destinations for immigrants such as Germany, Spain, Belgium, and Greece are affected more by this phenomenon rather countries such as Hungary and Poland. It is known that irregular migrant workers are cheap and flexible labor and they usually work in jobs which are characterized the 3D (difficult, dirty, dangerous). What is impressive according the

¹¹ Internal Security should be understood “ as a concept aimed at protecting citizens from threats like terrorism, organized crime etc. the fundamental objective of ‘ Internal Security’ is hence to protect the freedom and the integrity of European citizens “ (Research for a Secure Europe, 2004, p.11)

Euro barometer is the fact that there is a social acceptance of irregular employment (Kupiszewski & Mattila, 2008, p.319) But the cost of this phenomenon in the markets has now appeared in the economic crises. Unemployment is increasing more and more and people are starting to blame all this on the system of the irregular employment.

Thus, it can be concluded that more and more people believe that foreigners are the reason for increasing criminality. But is this true? According to statistics, for crimes which only foreigners commit such as illegal entry or staying illegally in the state, 100% are committed by foreigners. As far as the other crimes are concerned, the picture is not clear. As Guild (2009, p.116) mentioned referring to the statistics of EUROSTAT, the towns and countries with the highest number of crimes do not correspond to those where there are the highest numbers of foreigners .On the other hand, in some countries the number of criminal convictions is higher among the foreign population than among the citizens.

PART 2 -The Root causes of illegal immigration

Taking into account the above analysis of the problem of illegal immigration, it is obvious why the issue of the management of illegal immigration has become a high-profile political issue within the last years. In Europe, they spend much time discussing this issue and how they can control smuggling from the outside. Thus, the investigation of the roots which cause the inflow of illegal immigrants is an important step to confronting this problem. It is said that knowing the reasons of one problem, one has solved half of the problem.

For the purpose of the present analysis, the region of South Asia is chosen for defining the reasons of illegal immigration. South Asia region is an area that has attracted the interest of whole the world especially after the events in 9/11 and the war against terrorism. As far as the illegal immigration, the data in the previous part, last year, show that immigrants of the South Asia region were a considerable part of the inflows of immigration. Thus, an analysis of the main reasons which lead people from South Asia to leave their countries and come to Europe has become imperative.

Generally, the reasons for illegal immigration could be either due to conditions prevailing in the country of origin or due to the demand-pull of the destination country. Thus, when there is an excessive emigration pressure in the country of origin or powerful pull factors in the destination country and, especially, when the legal restrictions alone can hardly stop the movement, there are huge flows of irregular movements. The conditions in both the countries of origin and destination that contribute to the illegal immigration from the South Asian countries to Europe are analyzed in the following sections.

But first of all, it should be noted that in this analysis the South Asia region is considered the region consisting of the following countries: Pakistan, Afghanistan, India, Bhutan, Myanmar or Burma, Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka. These countries have a common geography, a common eco-system and a common history of colonial

rule -excluding Bhutan and Nepal. But today they share other characteristics as well. These common characteristics of the South Asia region are poverty, human deprivation, military conflicts, loss of lives and the issue of livelihood. It is impressive that out of the total of 1.3 billion poor people in the world, 433 million live in South Asia. (Raghuram, 2008, p.4). It is impressive that there are more people living in poverty in South Asia than the combined population in poverty in Sahara-Africa, the Arab states, East Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean. Despite rapid growth in India and in other regional economies, the World Bank data reveals that South Asia alone housed 600 million people living on less than \$ 1.25 a day in 2005, while in 1981 were 550 million.(Gopalan & Rajan, 2009, p.1) ¹² Moreover, illiteracy rates are high, almost two and half times more than the rest of the developing countries. Malnourished children are more in this region and there is no easy access to health facilities. Women in South Asia endure one third of the world's maternal deaths. (Raghuram, 2008, p.4).

All of the above characteristics have lead to the decision of emigration to other countries at any cost. But why have the conditions in South Asia been like that in the last decades? The level of poverty and livelihood are connected with the political, economic and environmental reasons that challenge the region. South Asia has had a long history of civil wars and economic problems. Military regimes were not able to lead to developed countries. Furthermore, the floods and oppositely, the droughts have caused much damage both to the agricultural sector and to the infrastructure. Thus, it becomes clear that living under this situation, the opportunity of family reunification and the effects of globalization function as significant push factors for immigration.

2.1. Political scene in South Asia region

When people's lives are at risk or their fundamental rights are suppressed, they flee or try to flee. Civil strife, ethnic conflicts and violation of human rights, including minority rights are thus among the root causes of actual and potential mass movements. The South Asian region has been a famous region for its conflicts. Some

¹² appendix : Table 5

of these started since the colonial and pre-colonial eras but the most serious have arisen since 1947. These conflicts contain confrontations, insurrections, communal riots, insurgencies and phase of terrorism and finally wars. Most of these conflicts are politicized, though there is organized crime and civil simple conflicts.

It seems that conflict is endemic in South Asia. But as Johnson (2005, p.16) wrote “South Asia is a region of great diversity but division and conflict are common”. According him (2005, p.232) there are four categories of conflict in South Asia: inter-state, intra-state (including insurgencies), communal or sectarian conflict and terrorism. These types of conflict are not unique in the region but unique is the long history of the wars in South Asian society which are impressive. The roots of these conflicts can have many factors but since 1947 there have been some specific events that have characterized the area as it will be analyzed further on.

Looking, shortly, at the current picture of the region, it can be noted that in Srinagar, the Kashmiri Separatists continue to bomb the region; Pakistan’s Shiite and Sunni Muslims still continue to fight in Karachi; in Burma-Myanmar there are raids from ethnic groups and in Sri Lanka, Tamil Tigers still fight for their rights and in Afghanistan, the Taliban continue to fight against the NATO forces. The two countries, Pakistan and India, have still not solved the problem with Kashmir, which has been a conflict since 1947 and has continued to evolve into a national and foreign issue. In Sri Lanka there is conflict between the Sinhalese and Tamils which to some point have affected the Tamils in Southern India. Finally, in this conflict, India managed to be the peacekeeper. However, the most important fact in the region was in 1971 with the creation of Bangladesh as the result of the conflict in East Pakistan. In addition, Pakistan has had to face another problem in the area in Pushtunistan and the conflict with the peoples of Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) of the North- West Frontier Province and Baluchistan.

The consequences of these conflicts were unavoidable and poverty, misery and the violation of human rights were usual phenomenons. Thus, it is a common picture to everyone seeing the long queues of refugees trying to escape from the site of fighting. But what is the conflict that affects the lives of so many people?

Jabri claims that the discourse of war is based on inclusion and exclusion. Identity plays an extremely significant role. Any individual has the right to declare his own identity. The state is obliged to establish a safe community for its citizens and as it has been said to protect its borders. Usually, wars begin when one state declares war against the other. Another case is when one group in its territory wants autonomy and the state tries to support its territory. Conflicts are started in much this way. However, this does not mean that there will be violence. Many states are at war without using violence for a long period. Thus, the answer to what is armed conflict is difficult to be answered. Maybe it is political violence or crime. However, this answer is important for a particular reason. Humanitarian law can be applied only if there is an armed conflict (Guild, 2009). Humanitarian law which refers to armed conflict is the Geneva Convention 1949 and the 1977 Protocols. These refer to the state's duties towards refugees, wounded or sick military personnel, prisoners of war and other civilians in their territories who are in danger. It should be noted that if the conflict is internal, then according to 1977 Protocols, humanitarian law is still in power but in a more limited manner (Guild, 2009). This fact is very important for understanding why the international community has been reluctant to intervene in some violent events.

Trying to explaining the reasons for the wars in the region, one can also say that there is this cultural behavior which can be called bellicosity. This is what Johnson Rob and Black claimed. They say that the conflicts in the region are not a sudden war but a war after many events and series of plans or broad policies for their national interest. It is undeniable that among countries there is the perception of the 'threat' from the other country. For example, Pakistan continually regards India as a menace and vice versa. Thus, the perception of a threat, whether that threat is real or imagined, can generate the culture of war. In other words, it can be said that there is a militarism which leads to the militarization of the political and religious groups. The consequence of this is the Jihadist Islam in Pakistan, Iran and Afghanistan. The threat of Jews and Christians is always on the mind of the supporters of Al – Qaida and moreover, they claim that the Muslim world is being attacked by the rest of the world. The States also continue to think in the same way so it is easy for a small conflict to convert into a bigger one. (Johnson, 2005). In the insurgencies in the region, paramilitary organizations play a crucial role. The latter are usually cheaper and

heavily armed but they lack financial support and popular support. Of course, sometimes there is support by the nation state to overthrow the enemy.¹³

In this region, the role of religion is significant and it can be said that it is a source of conflict. For example, in 1992, there were many riots in Pakistan and Bangladesh because a group of 500 Hindu Parishad destroyed a Muslim mosque. This action was an answer of destruction to Hindu temples by Muslims (Johnson, 2005, p.16). Thus, a Hindutva (Hindu-ness) is created by Hindu extremists while movements like Taliban and even Al-Qaida are formed for supporting Islam .

Due to these conflicts, the region does not have experience in democratic regimes. Civil wars and military interventions in the government did not allow the rise of a democratic environment .Thus, corruption, poverty and lack of education continue to be the characteristics of these states. Of course, some others claim that some states like India wanted this division so as to exploit them and sustain to be an imperial power of the region.

The external influences and specially the British colonization cannot be omitted. Gandhi said “the rot began with the alien government. We, the inheritors have not taken the trouble to rectify the errors of the past” (Johnson, 2005, p.16). Thus, the international ‘factor’ or ‘actor’¹⁴ played an important role for the region. The usual question is: what does the global community do about the peace in this region? The answer is not simple. Sometimes, it stopped the conflict while other times it assisted in continuing the same conflicted condition. In the past, cutting off military aid, a measure that the international community had suggested, proved right move to press for agreement¹⁵. However, this lead to importing illegal weapons from other countries. In addition, this way was not enough to stop the conflict completely.

¹³“It was India ‘s support to the Mukti Bahini that was crucial in bringing the war of 1971 to a conclusion. Similarly, it is Pakistan that has prevented the effective suppression of guerilla forces in Kashmir. “ (Johnson, 2005, p.15)

¹⁴ It depends on how it intervened in the region

¹⁵ 1971, USA cut off support from India and dispatched fleeing into the Bay of Bengal. This move helped the end of the conflict between India and China. (Johnson, 2005, p.89)

But it should not be forgotten that colonization has produced negative sentiments for foreign intervention on internal issues. Firstly, India being the big power in the region faced the United States, China and of course the Soviet Union. The events of that era influenced the direction of South Asian politics. Subsequently, the disputes between India and Pakistan in 1965 and 1971 increased external influence. Pakistan and India tried very strongly to have an independent foreign policy. Ever since the decades between the 50s and 70s, they have not wanted an aligned policy and so it has been difficult for the West to pressure their governments for peace. However, the test of nuclear weapons in 1990 caused the dissatisfaction of the West and the new economic environment may influence this situation. The oil around the Caspian Sea in Central Asia attracts the interest from China which is planning new pipelines through Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iran and Iraq because of the instability in the Caucasus (Johnson, 2005, p. 89). On the other hand, nowadays, it is not sure if the western states want to intervene especially after the American-led operations in Afghanistan and Iraq. The results of the operations after 9/11 were not prominent- as will be analyzed later. The latter fact had as consequence the reluctance of UN to pay attention to Kashmir and Myanmar and in conjunction with bad criticism over the war in Bosnia, in Rwanda and East Timor, the UN kept away from another intervention in internal conflicts. (Johnson, 2005)

Taking into consideration the above statements, an analysis on the political situation in the main sending South Asian countries of immigrants, is imperative to clarify better why people of this region decide to immigrate to other countries.

Pakistan

From its creation, Pakistan had faced many religious and minority issues with the secession of half the country due to the creation of the Bangladesh which was a traumatic event for Pakistan's history. The following years Islamic extremists were supported by the military while during the Soviet period, the US offered millions of dollars to anyone who was opposed to the Soviets, such as the Afghans and the Pakistanis. Thus, the condition in Pakistan was always insecure due to conflicts in all fields. But generally, there was always contrast between the military and the civil state and between the Islam and the state.

It should be referred that Pakistan was divided in four provinces, Punjab, Singh, Khyber-Pashtunkwa (formerly North West Frontier Province) and Baluchistan. But Northern Areas, Azad Kashmir and the Federally Administered Tribal Areas have autonomy¹⁶. There are many fears that the provinces of Baluchistan and Singh wanted to be independent as it happened in 1971 with the East Pakistan which became Bangladesh.

To understand the insecure environment in Pakistan, it should be mentioned that the territory of Pakistan was part of the British authority for two centuries. The British used the area of Baluchistan – North-West Frontier Province as an army garrison. Punjabis were recruited in the British army and generally they were repressed under British authority. But the serious problem with the British authority was the Muslims. In the beginning of the twenty century, the modern Muslims saw that the Hindu population was favored by the British and so they began to consider them as a separate nation from Hindu India. Thus, this was the beginning for a different nation theory for a people who have different characteristics and in particular a different religion and so they wanted their rights. In 1906, the Muslim League was created and it was impressive that its main support was from the Muslims in central and eastern India rather than the western regions which are now Pakistan. The first demand for an independent Muslim state was in Lahore in 1940 in League's annual meeting with the Pakistan Resolution. Seven years later Pakistan was created with the provinces of Singh, Baluchistan, Punjab and the North-West Frontier Provinces to form West Pakistan while the province of Bengal was divided between India and Pakistan to create East Pakistan. Kashmir was left undefined by the British which led to conflict. Thus, millions of Hindus moved to India while Indian Muslims moved to Pakistan. It was an unusual policy: to give a home country to people who could not establish a national stable identity. Moreover, this movement was followed by many bloody events as many Muslims decided to remain in India.

In 1951, almost 10% of Pakistanis were migrants from India while in India more than 50 million was Muslims and at the end of the century, the number stood at

¹⁶ Appendix : Map 1

120 million. The Muslim elite who spoke Urdu, left for Pakistan thinking that in India they would not have opportunities in government because Hindi became the official language. In India only the poor Muslim people and laborers remained. However, India respects the Sharia Law and the Muslims who remained in India, fared much better than those who left. Migrants from India were concentrated in western cities in Pakistan; in Karachi, for example, there was 57% of the population. At the beginning, they had high level government jobs but under the second constitution of 1962, their influence was reduced. (Spellman, 2008, p.164)

The problems for the new state of Pakistan began as they had to define what state they wanted: a democratic or an Islamic? The Founder Mohammed Ali Jinnah declared in his famous speech in 1947 that the state is different from religion, caste or creed. He died in 1948. In the years that followed military and mullahs promoted the idea of an Islamic state. Pakistan experienced four military regimes and the first free and fair elections took place in 1970 while in 1973 the first constitution established a parliamentary system of democratic government.

In Pakistan, Punjabi, the largest ethnic group never accepted that there are other minorities which have rights. According to the CIA World Factbook¹⁷, the main ethnic groups of Pakistan comprised of Punjabi 44.68%, Pashtun(Pathan) 15.42 %, Sindhi 14.1 %, Sariaki 8.38% , Muhajirs (Mohajirs) 7.57 %, Balochi 3.57%, other 6.28 %. As for religion, in the USSD International Religious Freedom Report 2010,¹⁸ 95% of Pakistan population was Muslim in 1998; the majority was Sunni while 25% was Shia minority. Other religions such as Hindu, Christian, Ahmadi's and others comprise of almost 5%. Taking into account the above analysis of the ethnic group, it is logical to assume that Pakistan has 72 individual languages, which are all living according to the Ethnologies' Languages of the World in 2009. Some of them are Punjabi 48%, Sindhi 12%, Siriaki 10%, Pashtu 8%, Urdu (official) 8%, English (official for the Pakistani elite and government) and others.

¹⁷ <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/>

¹⁸ <http://www.thepersecution.org/ussd/us10irf.html>

As the above numbers show, it was difficult to be established a national Pakistani identity. Thus, **an intensification of ethnic, linguistic and regional nationalism aroused** and smaller provinces usually rebelled against Punjabi domination. In 1948, 1958-1959, 1962-1963 and 1973-1977 Baloch nationalists sought autonomy while ever since 2002 there have been more efforts. During the 70's, Pashtun also wanted autonomy and there were many insurgencies but without success. Moreover, since the 80's, there have been insurgencies in the Sindhi provinces between the local Sindhis and Muhajirs who are Urdu speaking people from India living in cities as Karachi. (Rashid, 2008, p.36)

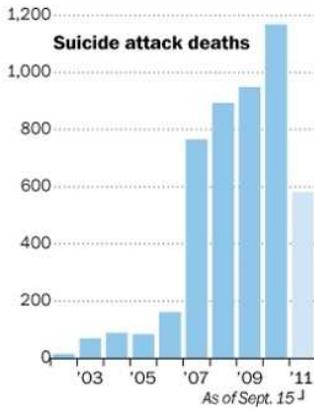
In the 80's, military dictator Mohammad Zia ul-Haq amended the constitution and then he had the power to dismiss elected governments. The decade of the 90's, the president, the prime minister and the army chief were the persons who fought for power and never did an elected government manage to consolidate itself. It was crucial that the president could dismiss the prime minister even if the prime minister had been elected. After him, the governments of Benazir Bhutto in 1990 and 1996 and of the Nawaz Sharif in 1993 and 1997 could not manage to establish a secure and democratic state. In addition, the army and the ISI concentrated more on military operations and corruption adding obstacles to democracy. Kashmir tensions in the 90's pushed the military to sponsor Islamic militant groups and many people had been trained as fighters against Kashmir and Afghanistan. Thus, Pakistan had focused on jihad against India and support to the Taliban.

After the events of the Twin Towers on 9/11, Pakistan had to choose whether they would help the US in the global war against terrorism. After some negotiations, Pakistan decided that the best alternative for their country was to cooperate with the US; otherwise, its rival India would become a base for US operations. Moreover, they thought that this would be an opportunity for the military to cut its ties with Islamic fundamentalism and set the country on the path toward democracy.

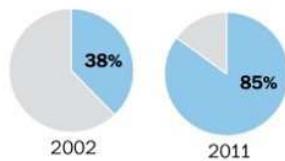
However, some claim that the alliance between Pakistan and the USA had negative effects on the Pakistani society despite the huge dollar aid. According to the statistics and the following diagrams since 2001 suicide attacks increased dramatically and many people died. It is characteristic that before 2001 there was only one attack

In Pakistan, a surge in suicide attacks

Since 2001, when Pakistan partnered with the United States to fight terrorism, nearly 5,000 Pakistanis have been killed in suicide attacks, which have become more lethal in recent years.



Pakistanis who said suicide bombings and other violent acts against civilians in defense of Islam are never justified.



Sources: South Asia Terrorism Portal; Pew Research Center, May 2011
The Washington Post

while in 2007, there were 56 suicide bombings (Rashid, 2008, p.378). Citizens did not see any difference despite the money that the US gave to Pakistan. Their daily life became dangerous. They also claim that only the government cooperated with the US, and that the citizens are against it and the only thing that they want is peace that is not possible with this alliance. The declaration of a citizen in the Washington Post claiming that he was feeling so unsafe that he was thinking to leave his country is quite characteristic (Brulliard, 2011) ¹⁹ .

All this has as a consequence, the deficit of democracy, the undermining of the army, the limited role of political elites and many deaths. In 2007, the situation in Pakistan was deteriorated by extremists. A civil war was started with the demand for Sharia law. Islamabad was transformed into a city of war. Thus, in 2007, interest moved away from

Afghanistan, where the violence had decreased, to Pakistan, where now all the terrorist groups tried to support the jihad there. It was crucial that on 13 April 2009, President Asif Ali Zardani imposed the Sharia Law in the Swat Valley and so the Taliban and other groups in Provincially Administered Tribal Areas (PATA) are now more empowered. Nowadays, according to the Sentinel Country Risk Assessment for Pakistan Security, in the spring of 2010, the centre of attention is now the regions in Orakzai and Khyber.

It should also be added that the floods in Pakistan, as will be mentioned in the environmental reasons, have increased the problems in the country. Pakistan was not ready to confront the problems from the floods and this fact brought social unrest and political instability. In addition, religious extremists found ground for insurgencies especially in the border lands and in Punjab. Local organizations which had strong

¹⁹ http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia-pacific/shaken-by-increase-in-attacks-since-2001-many-pakistanis-fault-us/2011/09/19/gIQAF9D0K_story.html

networks in these areas, moved to provide aid to these people. But many of these organizations have strong militant or terrorist leanings. These groups tried to influence the desperate people and the political scene became more insecure in a bad time for the Pakistan.

In this *complicated* political scene, it should be referred the violation of human rights. Although the country has signed international conventions in the last years, many violations of basic human rights have been observed. Extrajudicial killings, tortures, unfair trials, disappearances, trafficking, exploitation of children, sexual harassment, religious freedom violation and discrimination against some minorities have remained a common phenomenon in Pakistani society. Terrorist attacks bombing big cities also resulted in killing many innocent people and in a bigger humanitarian crisis cannot be omitted. Over two million people have been displaced due to these events as Human Right Watch mentioned in its World Report 2010 on Pakistan. All the international organizations such as the Foreign and Commonwealth, Amnesty International, US Department of State Country Report on Human Rights Practices and many others have noticed that the violations of human rights are continuing as there is an escalation on the armed conflicts between government and armed groups. Finally, it is surprising that only before one year, on 3rd July 2010, Pakistan signed international convention on civil and political rights and the convention against torture and other cruel, inhumane or degrading treatment or punishment while on March 2010, President Zardari introduced a law for the protection against women in the workplace. However, the first convention states that people cannot be discriminated against on grounds including race, color and religion and because of this, Pakistan demonstrated against some parts of this convention for protecting Pakistan national rights (meaning the Islamic ideology).

Nowadays, there is resentment against Pakistani government which has started as Pashtoon resentment from the Waziristan to the Swat area. This anger is not only because of ethnic feelings but also due to deprivation, poverty, and an inefficient political system. The United States and Europe were more interested in putting pressure on military operations rather than on the people who lived there. The credibility of the Pakistani government was shaken and nowadays the gap between the public and government is bigger.

Afghanistan

In Afghanistan, there was war for more than two decades; something that forced one quarter of the Afghan population to migrate and of course it caused the death of many people. In addition to all this, in this country, terrorist groups found fertile ground for their action. However, Afghanistan had long been an important battleground of great powers and civilizations. It is believed that it was from Afghanistan — most likely by way of the Khyber Pass — that Indo-European peoples first came to populate the Indian sub-continent, in what historians call the ‘Aryan invasions. Later, this area was the border between Hellenistic and Indo-Iranian civilization. In recent times, Afghanistan was the main field where the Great Game was played among, the British Empire, Russia and later the Chinese. Nowadays, the Game is repeated. A contest between the US, the UK, Russia, and China for power, influence and profits in Central Asia, makes the region of Afghanistan and Pakistan important for their aims. The geopolitical position of these countries is said to be one of the geographical pivots in world history. (Rooke, 2011)

Analytically, the territory of Afghanistan has been the target for many invaders. Due to its position, a crossroad between Central and South Asia and between the Middle East and Asia, not only did the invaders of Central Asia want to conquer it but also of East Asia. However, this area has the highest mountain ranges and also rough deserts which make an invasion a difficult task. In these mountains, and especially in eastern Afghanistan, near the border with Pakistan where there are the Suleman and the Spin Ghar ranges, many terrorist groups such as Al Qaeda find hiding places.

As the main trade road between the East and the West, Afghanistan included many different religions, inventions, tribes and characteristics. Afghanistan now consists of many ethnic groups. The history of this country can explain these different groups. In the past someone could come across the Zoroastrianism, the Manichaeism and the Buddhist religions. Islam also appeared in AD 654 when Arab invaded India and Afghanistan. Persians, Greeks, Turkish tribes from Central Asia, Arabs and Mongols in the Khan Period in AD 1219 were also known to have passed from the

region. From 1504 to 1857, the region was part of the Mongol dynasty and under the authority of the Babur prince; a region now known as Uzbekistan. It is said that the Afghan state arose from the Pashtu tribes that came after the decline of the Moguls in India, the Safavids in Iran and the Uzbek Kingdom in Central Asia due to civil wars. Pashtu and Afghans mean the same thing. For this reason, Pashtu claim that they are the true Afghans and the ancestors of the companions of the Prophet Mohammed. But later, they divided into Ghilzai and Abdali or Durrani as are their names now. In 1701, the Ghilzai revolted against the Safavids and this led to a tribal confederation among the Abdalis. From this came the Loya Lida which is a grand meeting where the tribes chose their king. This continues until today and it is considered a legal authority for electing their president. (Rashid, 2008)

The first Loya Lida elected the Ahmad shah Abdali who changed his name to Durrani and thus the dynasty took its name. After 1772, Kabul became capital and the Afghans conquered northern Afghanistan, which means that many other ethnic groups became part of this nation. Pashtu, who were the largest ethnic group and had ruled the country for 250 years, were not the only who to have the Afghan name now.

Thus, the mosaic of Afghanistan includes characteristics from all the above tribes. Nowadays, the mosaic is as follows: to the south live the Pashtu-speaking Pashtu tribes mixed with Persian speaking ethnic groups; to the north live the Persian - and Turkish- speaking people such as Tajiks, Uzbeks, Hazards and Turks. However, all the above ethnic groups have not succeeded in living peacefully for two centuries now. Conflicts and disputes have begun between the Ghilzais and Durrans and between the non-Pashtuns and the Pashtuns.

In this ethnic map, the influence of the British Empire which tried to conquer Afghanistan and of Tsarist Russia from India which had conquered Central Asia and wanted to expand into the territory of Afghanistan should be taken into consideration. A Durrani dynasty lasted two centuries - until 1973. During this period, there were many revolts by the Uzbeks, Hazaras and Tajiks but not one Afghan ruler had

accepted that Pashtuns in Pakistan had been divided from the Pashtuns in Afghanistan.

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The Durand Line was never accepted by the tribes that lived there because families were divided. In these areas there were pro-Taliban elements. Pashtoons form half of the Afghanistan population and more than 15 percent of Pakistan population. Most of them lived in FATA where they are a majority but they also live in the western provinces of the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) and Baluchistan. But due to their ethnic code known as Pashtoonwali, they can influence the Pashtoon people in both countries. The Pakistan Army's operation in the area of FATA had no political or other support and thus until today there is no peace or stability in the area. (Dogar, 2009, p.1). George W. Bush described it as the most dangerous areas in the world today. (Dogar, 2009, p.5). It is undeniable that the area was a base for jihad and shelter for the members of the Al Qaeda. Here, it should be mentioned that FATA has had different constitutional status since the constitution in 1973 and it was treated as a separate entity from Pakistan.

After the Durrani dynasty, which ended by overthrowing King Zahir Shah, Afghanistan has a presidential form of government. Sardar Mohammad Daud was the first president. He got financial aid from both the USA and the Soviet Union although the latter offered much more support. As a result, a nascent Islamic fundamentalist movement which found sanctuary in Pakistan appeared because there was a link between the Afghan Islamists and the Muslim Motherhood and Pakistani's Jamiat -e-Islami. Pakistan's intelligence services had also helped with training so as to establish a guerilla movement to Afghanistan.

In April 1978, Daud was overthrown by army officers who wanted a purist Soviet type of state. However, they did not succeed because of the conflict between the two communist parties. At that time and in particular on Christmas Eve 1979, Soviets decided to invade Afghanistan. Afghan mullahs and political leaders declared a jihad against the Soviet Union. At that period many people moved to Pakistan and to Iran. After the invasion of the Soviet Union almost 3.5 million Afghan refugees went to the provinces in Pakistan which are next to Afghanistan and the participation of the

²⁰ Appendix : map 2

Pakistanis in jihad created a lot of interaction and networking between the people of both countries which was aided by the common characteristics. After some years, these areas were a safe haven for all type of illicit money-making, drugs trafficking and gun trading. At the same time, it is important to mention that the NWFP, Baluchistan, the rest of the Pakistani public supported the struggle of their ethnic/religious groups across the Durand Line. Moreover, in the area there appeared many mujahidin from other Arab countries who stayed there after the war. The European Union, the USA and many Arab countries gave much money to support this war. However, the Pakistan regime of General Zia did not allow the other allies to directly aid the Mujahedin or to enter Afghanistan. Pakistan wanted to be the mediator for this money. In addition, Zia did not allow all the Afghan political parties to act from Pakistan. He supported only the religious parties because he believed that this war was a jihad and not a national liberation movement.

Soviets withdrew their troops in 1989 and two years later the Soviet Union collapsed. Until 1992, a communist leader Najibullah had the power but that year a revolt began against him. There was a conflict about who will have the Kabul between the Pashtun forces of Hikmetyar and the Tajiks of Burhanuddin and their military leader Masud. Finally, for first time in the last three hundred years, the Tajiks, a non-Pashtun tribe had won. However, they had an agreement with Mujahedin for a rotating president.

With the end of the Soviet war, US aid was also withdrawn. The US decided that after the cold war, they had no further interest in this region. Thus, now, the Arabs, Islamic extremists in Pakistan and Afghanistan and other jihads were free to act as they wanted. Furthermore, Afghan people had remained without funding for the reconstruction of their state. Many refugees, approximately five million, wanted to come back but there was no money. (Rashid, 2008, p.11). America left the area and claimed that other allies such as Pakistan and Saudi Arabia could help them. But Afghanistan feared that Pakistan was backing extremists and wanted Afghanistan as a fifth province while Saudi Arabia viewed the country only as a place for hunting bastards and plain turkeys without interest for any other help.

But the rotating and the union of the mujahedin parties failed and a civil war between the Pashtun and the non-Pashtun had emerged. Kabul was destroyed after few years and many people were killed. In 1994, as Rashid (2008, p.12) mentions, the country was disintegrated. Every province was controlled by another leader. At this time, the Taliban emerged. The Taliban were young people who had fought in the Soviet war and then went to Pakistan to resume their religious studies or they were to Afghan villages demanding action. Generally, they wanted to change the Afghans situation, to restore peace, to enforce Islam law and to defend Islam. Their name – Talib- means “religious students who seek justice and knowledge” (Rashid, 2008, p.13)

However, by 1996, the Taliban became a military force which conquered Kabul and many other provinces of Afghanistan. They abandoned the idea of a Loya Jigra and they wanted to establish the Sharia law only. But they had their studies in Pakistan and they had been influenced by Pakistani Pashtun behavior which was different from the Afghanistan. But Taliban ended to be under the influence of Al Qaeda jihad philosophy²¹. Thus, again, there was an ethnic conflict between the Pashtun Taliban and the non-Pashtuns of Masud’s Northern Alliance. In 1998, the Taliban managed to win the Hazard and Uzbek leaders and only the Masud was left in north-eastern Afghanistan region and in other part outside Kabul. It is said that this victory was the result of the help from Pakistan and Saudi Arabia and the absence of the US.

Bin Laden tried to influence the Taliban and Taliban began to have an interest in world affairs and the global jihad. Bin Laden also used Afghanistan as a territory for operations and training future militants. He trained almost thirty thousand militants as Rashid mentions. (2008, p.16). However, Pakistan was his main base where he hid after the events on 9/11. The world was late to understand the consequences of Al Qaeda’s influence in Afghanistan and the fact that the Taliban and Al Qaeda are partners.

²¹ is a global broad-based militant Islamist terrorist organization founded by Osama bin Laden sometime between August 1988 and late 1989.

It is interesting that Pakistan supported the Taliban regime not only because it wanted to control Afghanistan and not to allow India to influence Afghanistan but also because it felt that it should support the Afghan Pashtuns because of the large population of Pashtuns who live in Pakistan while the non-Pashtuns looked for support to its rivals, India, Iran and Russia. Moreover, in the past they believed that in a future war with India, Afghanistan would support them and so they should have friendly relations with them. But of course, by supporting the Taliban, Pakistan was supporting the Al Qaeda. A network between the two countries was established very quickly.

After the war in 2001-2002, one should think that the condition in Afghanistan would be better. But still today the problems remain. One reason for this is the fact that the international community decided to withdraw their troops claiming that Afghans could not tolerate foreign presence in their territory as it happened in the past; furthermore, Afghanistan should be able to elect a government to protect its citizens. Foreign powers decided to help them to rebuild the army but they did not accept help for the reconstruction of the police and judicial system.²² But as the UN mentioned, a reform in the police system is more important than a reform in the army in failed states. Moreover, the cost for sustaining the army is huge which is unaffordable for Afghanistan. At the same time, without police to ensure its democracy and improve the trust between the government and the people, there would be a fruitful environment for the warlords to increase their power again.

The process of establishment democracy and the construction of a new constitution in Afghanistan had both benefits and drawbacks. On the one hand, this constitution which was approved in January 2004 was a democratic and modern one for the Muslim world offering equality not only between the Sunni and Shia but also among all ethnic groups. Moreover, it was recognized as an official language - the Pushtun and Dari- and for first time it was recognized that there are another six languages and fourteen ethnic groups in Afghanistan territory. However, the whole process for this constitution had brought to surface the ethnic divisions. Pashtun reunited to protect their rights and at the same time the non- Pashtuns united to

²² Tokyo 2002, the first meeting for the reform in Afghanistan

oppose the presidential system. The final agreement came after twenty two days of full intense negotiations. Although this constitution was a success in Afghan history, it was very difficult to be implemented in a country where the Taliban reappeared; reconstruction did not happen and opium production boomed. (Rashid, 2008)

In 2005 and 2006 the attacks from the Taliban increased again. In 2006, the number of dead people due to these attacks was impressively high in contrast to the previous years since the fall of the Taliban. Moreover, now they had started using suicide bombers to spread insecurity and fear. In 2004, they organized six suicide attacks while in 2005 twenty-one. In 2006, this number reached 141 attacks and in 2007, they were 137 attacks with 1,730 casualties. This was the result of new fighters from Central Asia, China, Turkey and S. Arabia who came to help the Taliban. These fighters trained new Taliban and Pakistani extremists in the Pakistan FATA region. Al Qaeda had a decisive role in this training and Arabs used their international connections to push other Muslims in Europe to go to Pakistan to train. For many years, the Pakistan government claimed that it did not support terrorist groups but now it is sure that ISI provided sanctuary for free movement, logistics and training facilities in its territory. While in the past it was believed that Al Qaeda functioned on the Pakistan - Afghanistan borders, now it seems that its base was solely in Pakistan.

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The NATO was forced to increase its troops in 2006 but few troops were available for fighting. Germany, Spain and Italy were reluctant to send fighters to this area. Generally, in many countries there were protests and they demanded a debate on whether they should send troops according to the demands of NATO. To all this, the events with riots in East Timor where the international community gave most money for state building created negative opinions about the aid in this type of states. No one can promise that money and troops would create a safe and democratic Afghanistan state.

After 9/11, the United States wanted to transform this region but today it is obvious that the region is still dangerous despite the fact that they killed Bin Laden. Although many dollars were spent as aid to the Afghanistan state and many troops

²³ Appendix : map 3

were sent, Afghanistan still is not a democratic state but a state close to collapse. The Taliban are still one of the main threats in the region and their heroin production is increasing more and more. (Rashid, 2008). The United States gave all the money to military forces and not to state building. It is characteristic that 90% of their aid went to the military. In addition, now there is an anti-Americanism trend in the region because they realized that the American aid did not bring the stability and the democracy that they wanted, even if they fought the extremists groups. This of course led to the notion that extremism is not the root of their problems and thus they are not so willing to support the war against terrorism.

Of course, for this condition, USA has a big part of responsibility. One of the failures of USA aid was the fact that the US administration did not focus on the special characteristics of this region such as the history, the culture and the society. As Condoleezza Rice mentioned, in 2000, in an article in *Foreign Affairs*, “The Bush Administration had focused on national interest instead of international humanitarian actions as Clinton had” (Rashid, 2008, Introduction XLIV). The mission of the US in Afghanistan was mainly military and its aim was to force other countries to accept this agenda or as Bush declared: “it’s either my way or the highway”. It should be mentioned that the United States had taken part in many humanitarian aids – national building states in East Timor, Tahiti, Cambodia and former Yugoslavia. But the US never initiated such as an operation and never took part in UN peacekeeping operations as Rashid (2008, Introduction LIII) mentioned. He also mentions that in 2007 in fifteen operations held by the UN, there were only ten American soldiers wearing blue helmets while there were more than ten thousand troops involved in UN peacekeeping operations from Pakistan.

However, nowadays, after a decade of war, it is clear that the war in Afghanistan is not only a fight between the Taliban and the United States. As Sahni claims, the Taliban are not outsiders of the Afghan Pashtun society. They belong to it but they have always kept a distance from it. One can say that the Taliban are much closer to the Afghan community than any other western ally. Of course, this fact makes the situation much more complicated.

In addition, except USA, India, China and Pakistan are interested in Afghanistan's future. Pakistan fears Indian investment and engagement in Afghanistan while India wants to undermine the role of Pakistan in Afghanistan and at the same time to compete against China which is trying to develop its contact in the area. Thus, the peace and stability in the region could be established only with the involvement of all the countries: India, China, Pakistan and the U.S.A. This seems to be the second circle of the Great Game.

India

In South Asian region, India is considered the most democratic and stable country with a fair elected government. In India, of course, the situation is better than in Afghanistan or Pakistan but in the last years, there have been many terrorist attacks by Islamic groups which have been supported by Pakistan and Bangladesh. Although it is more democratic than the other countries, it should be mentioned that India has the world's second largest army with 1,100,000 soldiers. But the important deficits that India has in police units and intelligence services make the country's successful protection impossible. The international norms claim that there should be at least 222 policemen per 100.000 however, in India, in 2007, there were only 94. (Sahni, 2007).

Analytically, there are also quite a few many problems in India as well. In 2007, some unexplained deaths and disappearances of people who were active in the political scene were reported. Moreover, there had always been excessive use of police force in some demonstrations or police investigations. Some terrorist incidents happened in 2006 and 2007. In July 2006, in Mumbai eight bombs were in the suburban rail network which resulted in 200 deaths and 700 wounded people. (UK Border Agency, 2008, p.3). In addition, in February 2007, two firebombs were on a train travelling to Pakistan. Many Pakistanis died and the process to peace was once more disrupted.

Terrorist attacks brought the fight between the central government and government of the Uttar Pradesh (UP), which is the most popular and biggest unit in India, but has the worst administration. It should be mentioned that The UP accused

the central government of being unsuccessful in the warning of attacks. The UP has a history of terrorist –Islamic attacks. Many areas in the UP are the major centers for the Pakistani Intelligent Agency and other terrorist groups in India.

The conditions in Uttar Pradesh are insecure enough, but they are also only part of a wider malaise in India. This has been evident in the recent eruption of violent demonstrations by Islamist fundamentalists in the state of West Bengal (WB), ruled for more than a generation by the Communist Party of India - Marxist (CPI-M). West Bengal has experienced persistent, albeit peripheral, disturbances for the past year over the issue of land acquisition in order to create a "special economic zone" in Nandigram, some seventy kilometers southwest of the state capital, Kolkata. The fear of globalization and the change of the demographic changes led to the demonstrations of people in Nandigram. West Bengal answered with excessive force and killed many local people. Thus, a local problem became a serious problem for whole the country. In the state of Punjab, 1.9 % of the population is Sikhs. Since 1990, there has been a separatist organization named the Babbar Khalsa; however, in 2005, there was a serious incident with the bombs at a Delhi cinema and the arrest of its leader, Hawana was accused of killing a Punjab chief ministry in 1995; Hawana escaped from prison in 2004. Nowadays, the final reports said that the relationship between the two ethnic groups is better and there is no restriction from the government against Sikhs.

Another dispute in India is the dispute over the Kashmir region. The dispute over Kashmir has been a big issue since 1989. Since then, 45,000 people have died. In 2003, there was a ceasefire but the big step to the end of this dispute was in 2007 when India decided to reduce the military there. Kashmir discourse began when Pakistan became independent in 1947. The Hindu of Jammu and Kashmir also wanted independence and a new war between India and Pakistan had started. There was a ceasefire in 1949 in Karachi when Kashmir gave one third of the region to Pakistan but Pakistan never accepted it. The region which belonged to Pakistan was divided into two areas; Azad Kashmir and the Northern Areas which were renamed last year to Gilgit-Baltistan. Although the condition in this area has improved, minorities still cannot be represented in Pakistan Parliament. This area is not independent, though it has a President and a Prime Minister however, Pakistan still has control over it. It should be noted that after the first ceasefire between India and Pakistan, there was

another agreement between these two states in 1972. This agreement defines a Line of Control (LoC) which follows the line that had been defined in 1947. This line is supervised by the UN military observers (UNMOGIP) but there is a disagreement between the states about the role of the UNMOGIP. The good news is that since 2008, trade across the line increased and India has declared that Kashmiris are free to travel to India. Furthermore, polls in 2009 showed that people from both sides were of the opinion that this line is a barrier and although they wanted to go to the other side, they could not do this due to this line. (UK Border agency, p.22). Kashmiri Muslims demanded greater autonomy against the Indian government in 1989 and since then, the country has been involved in a circle of violence. Moreover, the political environment was not stable for quite a long time.

As for religion, India has no official language and it promotes the right of religious freedom. However, there were some attacks against religious minorities, which are Christians or Muslims; the majority is Hindus. There were almost 698 incidents regarding religious violence in 2006 where 133 people died and 2,170 injured. Tensions there are from Hindus against Muslims and Christians but there are also some anti-Muslim incidents by Christians.

Finally, it should also be mentioned that the Maoist threat is always in the front line on the security level. The Maoist movement has focused on a mass mobilization in the country and its aim has been to increase the special committees that exist in many Indian states (in 22 out of the 28 Indian states). However, the incidents of violence in 2006 were less despite the fact that fatalities had increased. The following table shows the fatalities due to extremist attacks. (Sahni, 2007)

Fatalities in leftwing extremist violence in India²⁴

2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007 (to 31 January 2007)
550	564	482	513	566	677	678	37

It should be referred that 57% of the incidents have happened in the region of Chhattisgarh where the Maoists have created the centre of the guerilla zone and want to establish a liberated area. However, at the ninth Maoist congress it was decided to advance war through the country.

However, extremist incidents that happened in India show that not only is Maoist becoming dangerous for the security of the country but also that India government has played a vital role for its insecurity. Due to these events, it appears that India is a weak state and has many deficits in arms, transportation, and infrastructure. The extremist groups found the right place to take action thus taking advantage of the lack of good administration by the India government. In the area of Chhattisgarh, in particular, India did not take serious measures because it wanted to protect the unique culture in this area. Nowadays, India has realized the Maoist threat and has focused on the establishment of a better secure system. (Sahni, 2007)

Sri Lanka

In the last three years, the situation in Sri Lanka has improved but the consequences of the conflicts in the previous 25 years are still there. Almost 280,000 people had left their country and even now 40.000 people have still not returned.

²⁴ http://www.opendemocracy.net/conflict-india_pakistan/sahni_maoists_4451.jsp

The origin of the people on this island has always been a big issue in Sri Lanka. Nowadays, in Sri Lanka, the following ethnic groups can be noted: Sinhalese 74%, Tamil 18%, Moors 7%, and others 8%. Buddhism is the predominant religion 70% (Sinhalese), then Hindu 15% (Tamils) and Muslim 7.5%.

Of course, the island has experienced colonialism by European powers from the 15th century onwards; the Portuguese in the beginning, followed by the Dutch and finally British power. Only the Kandy area where the Sinhalese lived resisted European powers but finally by 1895, the whole the island was under British rule. In 1931, the British gave them the right of a self-government and 16 years later they were given full independence.

The tensions in Sri Lanka began in the 70's prompted by the Tamil's demand for autonomy in the north and east areas of the island. Both these groups have different opinions about the past history of this island. Archeologists and historians did not find clear evidence on the differences between these groups. However, it is certain that for many years these two groups perceived themselves as entirely separate groups. Thus, during the years, their co-existence led to hostility.

Later, the Sinhalese language became the national language and generally the government promoted the Sinhalese interests. As the competition for work and education increased, the tensions between the two groups escalated. When Prime Minister Solomon Bandaranaike was assassinated in 1959 trying to reconcile the two communities, his widow, Sirimavo, succeeded him, becoming the first woman in the world to hold the job of Prime Minister. In 1972, she declared the country a Republic and changed its name.

However, a Tamil secessionist movement had begun. The Tamil New Tigers which later changed its name to Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) fought for an independent homeland for the ethnic Tamils. Most of the actual fighting over the years was confined to the north, although suicide bombings in the capital, Colombo, brought the conflict to the heart of Sri Lankan society. Almost 80.000 to 100.000 people were killed in these conflicts.

The first ceasefire came in December 2001 after the Norwegian negotiations. But the tsunami in 2004 once again brought tensions for the country in this difficult period. Finally, in 2009, the Sinhalese government won the Tamil Tigers when the army took control of the Tigers' de facto capital, Kilinochchi, and then Mullaitivu, their last stronghold. Some months later they assassinated the leader of the Tamil Tigers, Velupillai Prabhakaran. It is said that almost 30.000 Tamils were arrested and now are in camps. It is said that most of them were tortured and many have died.

Last year, there were elections in the country won by Sirimavo. His rival, the army officer Fonseka, claimed that there was corruption in the election procedure. He was arrested for accusing him of conspiracy. His case is still in court.

It should be added that during these conflicts both sides had violated the law and human rights. Amnesty International and the Human Rights groups accused the government of not allowing them to travel to war zones. Generally, the country did not let the international community influence its policy and there are many disputes among them. For instance, the UN claims that out of the 300.000 people who were displaced, only 195.000 have been relocated while the government claims that the people who need to be relocated only amount 30.000. (Muggah 2011)

The latest news on this tension between the two ethnic groups is that the Tamils have started thinking about negotiating with the Sinhalese and are pushing for a pluralist democratic country. The Global Tamil Forum in London and the Sri Lanka Democratic Forum which was established in Canada, where the biggest Tamil diasporas population exists, led to this way. However, some Tamils hope that there can still be self-determination and so refused to cooperate with the government. (Jayatilleka, 2010). Finally, it is negative the fact that the government has chosen to militarize the country and there is a risk of losing the peace in the country. It is characteristic that in 2010, 1.9\$ billion was given for defense while for the relocation of displaced people only 15\$ million was offered. (Muggah, 2011) Under these circumstances, the future for Sri Lanka would not be predicted as stable or secure.

Bangladesh

Bangladesh is considered a more peaceful country in contrast to the previous ones. In the last years, only in 2007 and 2008 was there a military-backed interim government while in December 2008, the most democratic and peaceful elections in the history of Bangladesh took place. However, there were tensions between the two bigger parties- the Awami League and Bangladesh National Party in 2006- which declined in 2007 and has increased since 2008 resulting in 251 deaths in 2009 and 15.500 people injured. (UK Border Agency, 2010, p.3) .It was characteristic that during these incidents the number of the students who supported these parties was huge.

Bangladesh has serious problem with prison conditions and with the health system. The prisons are overcrowded without the proper health conditions. Human organizations are forbidden to go there so a clear picture is impossible. As for the health system, it is notable that there is only one hospital bed for 200.000 people in the country. However, the sector of preventing diseases such as HIV, tuberculosis and malaria has been in progress. (UK border agency, 2010, p.8)

Nepal

Nepal has been a Republic since 2008. Until then, it had a monarchy and was generally in isolation. Although in 1991 there were some protests and some democratic changes did happen, this led to many government changes. Moreover, during these years, there were rebellions by the Maoists against the monarchy. Due to these rebellions, 12.000 people died and almost 100.000 were forced to change cities. Public pressure which started in 2006 led to the end of the monarchy. Thus, in 2008, there was a first Maoist-led coalition government.

Nowadays (October 2011), there is a continuing process for crafting and establishing a new constitution but the efforts have failed though international pressure. Maoists pushed for the Prime Minister's resignation-- something that

eventually did happen. However, a three-ballot vote failed to produce a winner and thus the government came to a halt.

Two significant events in Nepal's history should be referred to. The first in 1846 was the Kot massacre, which led to the establishment of the Rana dynasty that ruled for more than 100 years; the second, the Narayanhiti (Royal Palace) massacre in 2008, which led to the change of the political regime in Nepal. Moreover, it should be noticed that since 1960 there was coup by the King Mahendra but the Nepali Congress continued to struggle for democracy until 1991.

The Maoist movement in Nepal was inspired by India's Naxalite movement that emerged during the late 1960's in the context of Cultural Revolution in China. In 1971, some communist groups in the eastern Terai region of Jhapa promoted the Maoist concept of people's war. The end of the Revolution in China and Mao Tse-Tung's death in 1976 led to many differences in the ideologies in the communist circles. This resulted in numerous splits and mergers among the Maoists. During both the students' struggle between 1979 and 1980 and the first Jan Andolan movement of 1989-1990, the Maoists of Nepal joined the Nepali Congress and the parliamentary communist groups to advance the mass struggle. The Maoists fought for a decade between 1996 and 2006 that led to the elimination of the monarchy but they never succeeded their full aims.

Maoist insurgency was the result of weak social-economic and political sectors. For thirty years, between 1960 and 1990 during the King's period, Nepal was one of the poorest countries in South Asia. Socially, there was a gap between the dominant castes (Brahmins, Chetries, Newars) and the marginalized nationalities. In addition, there was another cleavage between the Paharis (hill people) and the Madeshi/ Terians (lower flat-land people) which lasted a long time. (Muni, 2010). The latter demonstrated that they are the majority but they do not have the analog positions in the army, administration and governance.

Under these conditions, the Maoist people's war was launched in 1996 in Nepal's mid-west region in Rapti zone which was under developed and the first road was laid in 2003! (Muni, 2010, p.5) It should be noted that in this area lived a

marginalized ethnic group, the Magars, the largest single minority which did not support the Hindu Nepal state. But except them, there were and other minorities such as Tamangs, Gurungs , Rais, Limbus, Kirats, and smaller groups who lived in the hills as well as in Terain, demanded also a better social-economic system. All these factors led finally to the Maoist insurgency.

In 1995, there was a strong police operation against Maoists which led to the fleeing of 10.000 rural youths from their homes, out of a total of 200.000 youths for the whole district, (Muni, 2010, p.9). Fortunately, the King did not use the army and the repression was not bloodier. But after 9/11 and the threat of terrorism, the new King decided to eliminate Maoists using military force. This also led to his coup in February 2005. With Jan Andolan II, Maoist insurgency had been brought to an end. But King's Gyanendra's autocracy collapsed and in 2008 there were elections. However, the peace process was difficult to be carried out. The trust deficit is not allowing any way of the political impasse.

After the above analysis of the political scene of the south Asian countries, it is obvious that although they launched wars against terrorist and extremist groups and demanded greater democracy, these states are in a perilous condition.

2.2. Economic reasons

Poverty, unemployment and abuse of human rights also have roots in the economic sector. The urge to escape from economic distress and the search for better opportunities are two main elements in economically motivated migration. Although the economies of these countries now have an increased rate of economic development, in the previous years, due to the instability of the political sector and the absence of economic policies, their economic data was a tragedy. Generally, South Asia has had high growths after the recession between 2008 and 2009 when all the countries were facing problems. The good thing is that these countries do not depend on the rest of the world; they base their growth on domestic demand. But of course they are affected in other ways. For example, a crisis in the West and in the Gulf states where many immigrants live now it would affect their remittances.

Generally, these countries face many economic problems. Inflation is the big problem in most of the countries in the region. Another problem is the diversion of national interests from the welfare of citizens has increased the vulnerability of large masses of the rural poor. Moreover, the absence of land reforms and the exploitation of resources have led to further impoverishment of the rural poor areas. The main sector of their economies is the agriculture which is a sensitive sector dependent on the government's support and the environmental conditions. But the fact that the progress in these countries is based on the privileged classes makes the poor, poorer!

Analytically, *Pakistan* is characterized by poverty and unequal income distribution.²⁵ Pakistan is now in the worst condition . The economy was destroyed, there are shortages of food and energy and the prices are constantly increasing. In 2009 unemployment was around 14% and inflation stood at 13.6 %. (UK Border Agency, Country Profile). These had as a consequence higher prices especially in external commodities, vulnerability in economic shocks while the internal political concerns lead to underdevelopment. Some estimate that 62 million of the Pakistan population lived below the poverty line in the year 2009. (HRCP Report 2009). According to the last source, the labor force for the years 2008 and 2009 was 51.72 million from which only 10.96 million were female workers while the jobless people were 2.96 million. But now it is estimated that the number of the unemployed people has increased. Furthermore, although the government has fixed the minimum wage, the employers do not follow these instructions and they give lower wages.

During the 70's and 80's, many Pakistani people relocated to the Gulf states, to India and other countries such as Britain for working and remitting money to Pakistan. At the end of the 20th century, the number of such people totaled 140 million while some claim that in 2015 the figure will rise to 219 million. (Spellman, 2008, p.165). It was without a doubt that the only way of a better life is if they work abroad and bring or send the money to Pakistan. The remittances were higher than the official development aid delivered to Pakistan. The Pakistan government helped these people

²⁵ Appendix :Table 5 & 6

in the 70's, 80's and 90's. However, nowadays, even the Gulf States cannot afford to keep more laborers and so tend to expel illegal workers.

It should be mentioned that although for four decades, since its creation, the Pakistan economy had a higher economic growth than that of the global average , since the 90's there has been a big slowdown. It should be noted that Pakistan had one of the biggest world population growth rates. It stood at 3% annually. The low education level of the women in conjunction with the cultural conservatism led to this increasing population and hindered any efforts for family plans. In the mid 90's, 30% of the population lived in urban areas.(Spellman, 2008, p.165). But the military conflicts, the regional, ethnic and religious differences made living conditions in Pakistan unaffordable. Many high skilled but also uneducated people preferred to leave. It is significant to note that the poverty level fell to 10 percent in 2006 as compared to that of 2001.

Pakistan during the war against terrorism cooperated with USA. It is characteristic that when the war started in 2001, Pakistan faced its fourth year of severe recession. While during the decades of the 80's and 90's, the growth rate was almost 6%, in 2000 it was only 2.6%. (Rashid, 2008, p.31). Pakistan's stock market had massive losses especially after the attacks on 9/11. It needed immediate economic support. . The cooperation between Pakistan and the USA offered hope to educated people in Pakistan that after the war against terrorism, a better regime would be established in Pakistan and an economic development will arise.

The U.S. has supported Pakistan with economic aid on many occasions, particularly during the Zia era, when the US economic packages were huge. In 1980, the US gave \$400 million and one year later over a five-year package (between 1981 and 1985) offered \$ 3.2 billion. They agreed on further aid in the next years with another six year package (between 1987and 1993) for \$ 4.02 billion but this aid was never given. However, all these funds were used only for military purposes. Pakistan wanted to strengthen its army against India and Kashmir and of course, to fight against the Soviet Union during the cold war. The US turned a blind eye to the lack of state and democracy, the support of Afghan mujahedin from Pakistan, the floggings and the torture, the drug trafficking and Pakistan's nuclear programme.

But in Pakistan, the economic problems had appeared since 2008 with the global economic crisis while until then there was a growing annual average rate of 6.1 per cent. (Talbot, 2011, p. 4). However, in 2008, the economic crisis reduced foreign investment and increased inflation. Pakistan asked for support from the IMF. But until 2010, the Director of the IMF in the Middle East and Central Asia said that Pakistan still had high inflation, uncontrolled expenditures and poor performance in implementing the measures. (Talbot, 2011, p.5). Naturally, these problems are linked with the security situation which does not provide the stability that is necessary for development. The democratic government continues to spend more money on military expenditure. For the years 2010-2011 the defense budget is 442.2 billion Pakistani Rupees. However, the cost in tribal areas for military operations has increased and between 2001 and 2010, it is estimated that Pakistan had spent \$ 43 billion to combat terrorism. (Talbot, 2011,p. 6). At the same time, for education, Pakistan spends 2% of the GDP according to a survey in 2009-2010 and it is the lower than that of India with a figure of 3.3% and the Bangladesh number standing at 2.6 %. (Talbot, 2001, p.6) Thus, under these conditions, people live in poverty, in unemployment, without energy due to the frequent black outs and energy demands.

To all the above, it should be added that the huge flood in 2010 in Pakistan damaged the rice and cotton crops at the time when the infrastructure was weak and there was not enough energy supply. It is said that the crop would be 20 per cent less for the year 2010-2011 than that of the previous years (Talbot, 2011, p. 4) and in Baluchistan, less than half of the population has access to drinking water (Raghuran, 2008, p.32). Thus, this setback in Pakistani economy created a new wave of immigrants.

As far as *Afghanistan* is concerned, its territory is full of mountains and deserts and thus only 12 percent of the terrain is cultivable. However, almost 80% of the Afghan population is involved in agriculture as the main activity. (Rashid, 2008, p.6). In the past, before the invasion of the Soviet Union, there were nomads who grazed goats and sheep and could survive on this. However, this territory has been a crossroad since ancient times when the Old Silk route crossed it. It was a main road

for trade but in last years with the conflicts in this area and the fear of terrorists, group traders avoid it.

There are some who claim that the territory of Afghanistan is rich in copper, iron, gold, coal, gas and oil. A survey that was conducted from the 50's to 1985 , is shown that Afghanistan has iron-ore deposits with a value estimated at \$420 billion; copper-ore worth \$274 billion; cobalt worth \$50 billion; and reserves of lithium. China, for example, is already working to develop the Aynak valley copper-reserves near Kabul. Of course, the above information raises questions about the future significance of this area. The conflicts in Africa (Zaire, Western Sahara, Angola) for the natural resources and the probable lack of natural resources in future create fears that the conflict in the South Asia would not end with the termination of the war against terrorism.

Afghanistan was a completely destroyed country especially after its civil war in the 90's. There were no roads, water or sewer pipes; no houses, shops, hospitals or schools and the Taliban reconstructed only some mosques and petrol pumps. Moreover, during the Taliban era, it was difficult for any humanitarian aid to reach the problematic regions. They did not allow western agencies to enter the country and they put many restrictions on some of them making life in Afghanistan unaffordable. After the war, many NGO, governments from Europe, universities and UN agencies had thought of how they could help in the reconstruction of Afghanistan. There were many plans but none of them had succeeded because all were estimates. They did not know the area or the Afghan people. USAID, the American organization for state building, did not succeed in helping Afghanistan. Firstly, since they did not know the country, they hired Afghans but these people were not educated for something like that; secondly, the US government did not support this organization and its aim. Its employers had no protection and so they avoided going there alone having in their minds that many people who worked for this organization in Afghanistan were killed between 2001 and 2006 because the Taliban thought that the CIA was behind USAID. (Rashid, 2008, p.174). It should be mentioned that USAID collaborated with the IOM, but the latter was interested only in migrant issues which was important for the country and not to the reconstruction of the state.

Furthermore, there was no central organization which would be responsible for state building but at the same time, many individual donors tried to implement small projects which were usually cheap, sometimes overlapping each other and thus did not help in the general reconstruction. At the Tokyo conference in 2002, a trust fund was created but finally the amount of money raised was not what they had expected. In addition, much of this money was spent on humanitarian relief and not on reconstruction projects. In Geneva, the same year, there was a meeting for the assessment of the aid in Afghanistan. The conclusion of this meeting was that there were obstacles in delivering the money to Afghanistan but also there were shortfalls of money. For this reason, UN had a lack of money for giving to the 1.3 million refugees who returned home in the first months of 2002. (Rashid, 2008, p.182) Generally, comparing the money for state building in other countries, such as in Bosnia which received \$ 679 per capita, in Kosovo \$526 and in East Timor \$233, it is obvious that Afghanistan received less money;only \$57. To all these problems, the corruption and the overcharging events by NGOs and governments worsen the situation.

While roads started being built, the major cities did not have electricity. Until 2005, 95% of the people lived without electricity and as a country Afghanistan could produce only 260 megabytes of electricity. This was a big problem because without electricity, the quality of a better life could not succeed; furthermore, it should not be forgotten that the population in big cities had grown dramatically over recent years.

Generally, the agriculture sector is the first sector that should have been reconstructed since the land is arable and 80% of the people in Afghanistan live off this. Refugees should be encouraged to return to villages and not to live in big cities looking for jobs. Moreover, it should be added that Afghanistan had three different currencies in circulation and no banking system; a fact that caused obstacles to a new macroeconomic policy.

To conclude, Afghanistan's position is a geo-strategically focal point of trade and migration and in the last years has tried to recover from brutal civil war; however, poverty is still a serious problem. Two thirds of the population lives below \$2 per day. (Raghuram, 2008, p.10). The decline in economy started with the Soviet invasion

while the drought between 1998 and 2001 made the situation worse. In 2005, the official unemployment figure was 40%. In addition, only 25 % of the population has access to clean drinking water and one out of every two Afghans is considered poor. (Raghuram, 2008, p.11) .Children, of course, have been the main victims of the war. There are fears that trafficking of children is a popular activity in the black market. However, there has been slight progress combating this after the US invasion in 2001. For example, currently the government is spending more on education than they did in 2001. Afghanistan now has to face the big challenge to establish a more secular country with an electoral democracy so as to provide the opportunities for economic development.

A Marshall plan like the one implemented in past in European countries was deemed necessary. But generally, the US was reluctant to implement state building programmes though other countries pushed towards such a plan. From the other hand, UN is the responsible for the peacekeeping and the reconstruction of a state. It should organize elections, reform police and the judicial system, promote human rights and encourage the refugees and the displaced persons to return to their homes.

As far as the other countries are concerned, *Nepal* has to face big problems with the public sector and the demands of the IMF. Moreover, due to its political situation, there are fewer investments , poor agriculture and poor industrial growth. Nowadays, 40% of people live in poverty and they are dependent on the tourism and agriculture sector with 81% involved in agriculture employment. (BBC News- Nepal Country profile, 2011 & Raghuran, 2008, p.27). The manufacturing industry had a big growth in the 90's but the insurgency of the Maoist government had been a setback for industry. Of course, this insurgency also affected the tourism sector which was a big contributor to the GDP. However, there is reinforcement of the macroeconomic performances but as happens in these regimes, the elite are the winners of the profits. Now there is a peace but money should be spent on reconstruction of the state.

With a GDP growth rate of 9.4 % in between 2006 and 2007, the *Indian* economy is among the fastest growing in the world. Of all the countries, India's economy remains fairly robust. Some claim that its growth would be 9.1 % between

2010 and 2011.(Shahidul Islam , 2010, p.12). However, malnutrition among the children under the age of three was higher than in any other country in the world for the year 2007. (Raghuran, 2008, p.21). In addition, the scheduled poor tribes are characterized by low productivity and poverty. There are many farmers committing suicide; there is hunger, poor access to education and unprotected employment. The impressive factor with India is that although its constitution is the longest and most exhaustive of any independent nation in the world²⁶, India still has an unfulfilled democracy.

The case of *Bangladesh* is interesting because it is growing rapidly in comparison to the other countries in the region. Although it faces some economic risks, its growth for the 2011 is estimated at 6.7 %. (Shahidul Islam , 2010, p.12). Bangladesh's most important obstacles to growth are poor governance and the weak public institutions. Corruption, slow implementation of economic reforms, insufficient power supplies and political disputes has to be regulated for successful economic development. Trafficking of women is related to their poverty and the role of women in their society. There is an increased number in trafficked women and only the NGO tried to stop this crime. However, despite the obstacles, Bangladesh has succeeded in creating significant economic growth.

Sri Lanka has the longest period of continuous multi-party democracy with universal suffrage in a non-western country. From 1948 to 1977, socialism strongly influenced government economic policies. While the standard of living and literacy have improved significantly, its economy has had slow growth and lack of foreign investment. Moreover, it is characteristic that Sri Lanka kept ethnic communities out of the centers of economic policy, something that led to more poverty and violence from these groups. The problem in Sri Lanka is the relationship among state and civil society so as to establish democracy and more economic growth. Generally, Sri Lanka has the smallest percentage of people living under \$1 a day while India has the worst since almost 35% of the population live under \$1 a day. (Raghuran, 2008, p.36).

²⁶ it came into force on January, 1950.

In addition to the bad economic situation of each country, there are some other pull reasons that are met in the destination countries. One of these is that the money that they earn in host countries is sufficient for the survival of the other members of the family in the origin country. Workers' remittances have constituted one third of net total private capital flows into developing countries, second only to FDI flows. It is interesting that in 2000 the general remittances to developing countries were \$85 billion while in 2007, only two years later, it was \$265 billion.(Gopalan & Rajan, 2009, p.4). As far as South Asia is concerned, it received about 20% of global remittance receipts between the years 2000 and 2007. (Gopalan & Rajan, 2009, p.4). The average remittance inflows to India between 1995 and 2007 were almost \$ 16.2 billion. Bangladesh and Pakistan inflows were about \$2.7 billion and 2.8 billion respectively while Sri Lanka had \$ 1.4 billion. (Gopalan & Rajan, 2009, p.4). Moreover, it should be noted that Bangladesh has the highest share of remittances as a percentage of its GDP (almost 10% in 2007), while Sri Lanka is close with a share of eight percent. The table in the Appendix shows the number of remittances to all countries in South Asia.²⁷ The above statistic numbers also show the significance of remittances for these economies.

An illegal market in the host countries is another interesting reason which leads people to immigration. It is said that governments themselves play a major role in creating organized crime. The determination of which services are available and the penalties for committing a crime depend on the relevant laws. Thus, there is free space for illegal markets with economic opportunities, and then there is ground for illegal immigrants to come to a new country. (Morriso, FMO) Their inability to attain full modernization, to stop excess migration to cities and to implement universal education lead to an informal economy as Sassen (1998) writes; and he continues claiming that this informal economy has been explained as the result of immigration from the Third World and the replication of survival strategies typical of the home countries of migrant workers. For this reason, these workers are perceived as material objects. Their value is the capacity of physical labor and the host country wants them as they are useful for economy progress.

²⁷ Appendix : Table 7

Illegal immigration may also result from a mismatch between the level of demand of immigrant labor and the opportunities offered by the receiving country for legal entry. When there is a significant amount of unmet labor demand, it is difficult to restrain immigration flows through legal restrictions imposed by the receiving country unless the penalty for illegal entry is excessively high and can be rigorously applied. In addition, excessive dependence on foreign workers is often perceived as a source of economic and political vulnerability which most countries try to avoid and they put obstacles to the entrance of new immigrants.

Furthermore, another reason is the fact that local workers may be unwilling and unavailable to take up certain types of work, as exemplified by the aversion of the workers in many industrial countries towards dirty, dangerous and difficult jobs. When this happens, employers look for foreign workers to fill the vacant jobs, and in the absence of opportunities for legal immigration, the unmet labor demand for these jobs is likely to be satisfied by irregular immigrant workers. Demand for irregular foreign workers may also co-exist with an availability of local labor because of wage differentials. Since illegal foreign workers are often paid wages that are much lower than the market rates, employers may have a special interest in engaging illegal immigrants.

2.3.Environmental problems

Map 1: NATURAL DISASTER OCCURRENCE IN 2007



In many instances, the irregular movements have been influenced by environmental factors. Although it is difficult to establish a direct causal relationship between the environment and the irregular migration, there is little doubt that environmental factors, by themselves or more often, in interaction with political and economic causes, can significantly contribute to migration pressures.²⁸ Environmental disruptions may take various forms with varying degrees of impact on migration. These may be caused by natural disasters such as cyclones, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions and floods. Natural disasters are not a major cause of external migration but in the absence of well established systems of relief and assistance they often worsen the conditions of poor people. This in turn forces them to look for an escape elsewhere either within or outside the country.

²⁸ Appendix : Table 8

As far as South Asia is concerned, the flood in Pakistan in July 2010 was one of the most damaging environmental events in the history of Pakistan. In 2005, there was a big earthquake in Azad Kashmir while in 1970 the Cyclone 'bhola' ripped East Pakistan apart. But although this flood had not brought so many deaths as the previous events²⁹, the damage produced was huge. The last floods had affected one fifth of Pakistan's land mass. They had destroyed 875.000 homes and damaged \$1 billion in crops while Cyclone damage costs came to the same amount of money.

Generally, the river Indus and its tributaries overflow in the monsoon seasons. The Khyber Pashtunkhwa province (former North West Frontier) has suffered from 12 serious floods since 1973 which costs over 7.500 lives and destroyed 99.000 villages. (Talbot, 2011, p.3) The deforestation in the area exacerbated the problem. It is crucial also that Pakistan has no warning flood alarms. There is only one which was installed by Japanese in Rawalpindi.

The rain in July 2010 started by the Khyber Pashtunkhwa province and Azad Kashmir and influenced the areas from Kabul to Swat Rivers valley. But due to this flood, the issue of the effectiveness of the dams and the barrages, the floods protection schemes that are still on paper and the engineering faults have come to the fore. Some others claim that some feudal landowners or officials had directed the flood flows deliberately. For this reason, there was tension between the Balochistan and Sindh. According to the United Nations, out of the 20 million people who were affected by the flood 6 million left in order to find food and better conditions. (UK Border Agency, 2010). Apart from this, the monsoon flood left a destroyed area which needs many years to be restored taking into account that under these circumstances diseases can become endemic at quick pace. (UK Border Agency, 2010)

Moreover, it should be added that the consequences of the floods resulted in sanitation problems and the spread of diseases. The first reported case of cholera was confirmed on 14 August 2010 in the Swat Valley and the numbers of cases are expected to increase drastically. OCHA estimated that up to six million people, mostly children, will have diseases like cholera, dysentery and typhoid. In addition,

²⁹ 350.000 deaths were due to Cyclone in 1970 (Talbot, 2011, p.1)

due to the rains in Sidhi in 2011, 37.943 villages and 8.920.631 people have been affected. ³⁰ Thus, now 566.168 people live in relief camps while the rains in Balochistan affected almost 34.000 people and 12.000 acres of cropped land has been damaged and all these are figures for 2011.

In *Afghanistan*, the environmental condition was characterized as the world's worst humanitarian disaster zone. During the few last years, a long lasting drought destroyed 70 % of the country's livestock and 50% of the land became uncultivable. In addition, many people went to other cities where they could find humanitarian aid. In 2001, there was mass starvation in the country which led to 3.6 million people leaving the country thus constituting the largest refugee population in the world; and 800.000 people were displaced. (Rashid, 2008, p.19)

As for the *rest of South Asia*, it should be mentioned that in Sri Lanka the tsunami in 2004 killed 30.000 people in the worst national disaster in history with terrible consequences on the country's infrastructure. In Nepal, there are problems with deforestation and the encroachment on animal habitats. Finally, in India and in particular in the province Uttar Pradesh, nowadays there is an epidemic of encephalitis. According to statistics, almost 10 children die per day! The climate and the bad health system led to the quick spread of this disease. ³¹

2.4.Family reunification- myth of Europe

Family reunification is one of the most serious reasons for travelling illegally to another country. In Europe, the family members, even the illegal members, are very well protected. European countries place much importance on the protection of family union. However, there is no international legal definition of 'family' and who belongs to the immigrant family. But there are a number of treaties and conventions which protect the right of a family and this family should be protected by the State and the society generally. In Europe, the most famous and applicable directive is the European Union Directive 2003/86/EC on the Right to Family Reunification. One of

³⁰ Appendix : Table 9

³¹ Appendix : Table 10

the main rights in family cases is the fact that to implement expulsion on one member, there should be a fair balance between the law (reasons of public order or security) and the fundamental right to respect the family unity; and in particular for the non-adult children which is considered forbidden to expel.

In the case where an immigrant is legal in the host country but for some reason his permit is not renewed or expulsion is ordered, states should take into consideration the criteria that international laws mention regarding the families rights and especially if his family live in the same country. The same criteria should be taken into consideration in the cases of asylum seekers before rejecting such an application. What is more, in Europe, according to the Dublin II, if one member of the family has been granted asylum in one country in Europe, then the application of other member of the family should be examined by the country which gave asylum first.

The above rights are attractive for the immigrants who want a better life. For this reason, the family follows the path towards to immigration. It is a usual the phenomenon that first one member of the family decides to immigrate and then the other members follow him. When their survival is threatened, poor families would take almost any risks so that at least some members, usually the younger, could have a chance abroad. It should be noted that the fact that immigrants live in specific areas in the European cities. For example, Pakistanis, mostly of Kashmir and Punjab, settled in Birmingham or in Bradford, while the Bangladeshis, coming from the northeastern Sylhet area, go to the U.K. and settled in the East London in the Tower Hamlets. This facts is useful for their compatriots to come in Europe. The first immigrants set the way for the others to follow. Generally, it is very likely that their family members in the country of origin to follow their paths. It is easily spread that Europe offers unique possibilities and enable immigrants to start a new life and gain some money.

Although, many of these immigrants dream of returning back to their countries one day, many of them have seen that in their countries there is not much improvement and they decide to stay in the host countries where they would have a better life. After years, if they have found a good job, they inform and the other member of their families. It is fact that they work and earn a meager salary but the

equivalent amount of this money in their countries is more than enough for better living conditions. Furthermore, sometimes it is not only the fact that one member of the family lives in other country and the other members have to follow him but also because the conditions in the country of origin become worse and they cannot stay there for their safety any longer.

2.5.Globalization

It is generally accepted that globalization has brought both new improvements and new dangers. In the global era, there is an increased flow of people, goods, services and capital across borders because of the economic activities among the countries. Internet and transportation broaden the opportunities and the knowledge for greater wealth and prosperity. In addition, cultural horizons are now changing and an image of the world is being constructed. However, globalization constructs new dangers. The interconnected infrastructures in transport, energy and information make societies more vulnerable to new threats which travel across the world easier. Diseases and humanitarian crises come to our borders at very high speed and they need immediate response.

It should be added that globalization is responsible for the reformulation of the concepts of nation, citizenship, home and belonging. This means that a nation no longer bears exclusive sovereignty over its people or their transactions with those of other nations. World Trade Organization, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank now play an important role in the economic and legal activity of a state. More and more individuals and organizations demand less economic and political engagement of the state. In addition, it seems that nowadays citizenship legislation has become more flexible for foreigners who have lived in a country for many years. On the other hand, it should be noted that globalization produced nationalism and the resistance to the global homogenization of culture. (Saunders, 2011)

The relationship between globalization and the foreigner is a security issue related to the cross-border activities and the benefits from that and to the threat of smuggling, trafficking or just illegal crossing borders for finding a better job and life.

Globalization according to Guild means “the transformation of sovereignty in the face of the pursuit of corporate profit across state borders and a pole around which to mobilize resistance to certain moves in the development of western capitalism.” Thus, nowadays, the state does not hold the monopoly of the game in politics but also the non-state actors such as companies and businessmen control the rules of the games. In addition, markets and economic transactions can influence the exercise of power. From an immigration perspective, the following question is crucial: “Should people cross the borders to go to jobs or should jobs cross the borders to go the people?” (Guild, 2009, p.157) and here comes the dilemma: do we want security of our domestic jobs or a possible influx of foreign workers?

It is inevitable that the security of domestic markets does not include foreign competition and the benefits of an open market. On the one hand, the influx of foreign labor may have positive effects on the market but at the same time it provokes illegal immigration and is also considered a threat for national security due to the involvement of foreigners in its internal territory.

Taking into account the above assumptions, it can be said that globalization assists in preserving the ‘Third World’ low – wage workers through foreign investments in these countries. While in some other countries, globalization leads to westernization and to the consequences of this which is the unemployed wage employers. Thus, it seems that trans-nationalization of labor has increased global immigration and has also increased the level of poverty and unemployment.

How globalization is responsible for the increase in illegal immigration can be shown by the fact that in 1999, G8 agreed that the dark side of globalization is the trans-national crime which threatens economies and societies. They focused on the link between international crime as the main factor for terrorism, illegal firearms, and trafficking of drugs. (Morisson, FMO)

Part 3- Survey about illegal immigration among policemen.

In the previous part, the factors that lead to immigration as they are described in books and articles were analyzed. However, what are the true opinions of people who have daily contact with this issue? It is a certain fact that when you have the responsibility to confront a problem, then you become more sensitive to this issue and of course, you can see the facts from inside. Thus, the aim of this part is to bring this issue to the fore. For this reason, small surveys among policemen who work in immigration offices or at border controls were conducted during the summer.

The questionnaire was small and included only five questions mainly for practical reasons.³² The questionnaires were sent to different countries through email. The first question is about the reasons of illegal immigration from South Asia to Europe including ethnic conflict, economic reasons, social disputes, family reunification and so on. The second refers to the measures that are necessary to confront the problem. The answers they could choose from were among common European policy, Frontex teams in borders, democratization of South Asian countries, special agreements with Turkey or they could propose a new option of confrontation. The third question is about the big issue, that is, if immigrants are threat to European security. Next the question focuses on the reasons people from these countries choose Europe; the choices include 1) easy access from Greek borders, 2) Turkish organized crime that helps them to come in Greece and then to Europe, 3) the protection of human rights in Europe, 4) the relatives that are already living in Europe making it easier to come or finally 5) they have heard that there is good life and many job opportunities in Europe. The last question refers to the effect of the Turkish-European membership in illegal immigration and whether this effect would be positive or negative? If positive it means that immigration will be reduced due to the fact that European borders would be Turkish borders and also due to the fact that Europe would cooperate with Turkey more effectively. On the other hand, being

³² Appendix: questionnaire

negative means that the numbers of illegal immigrants would increase even if Turkey was a member of the EU.

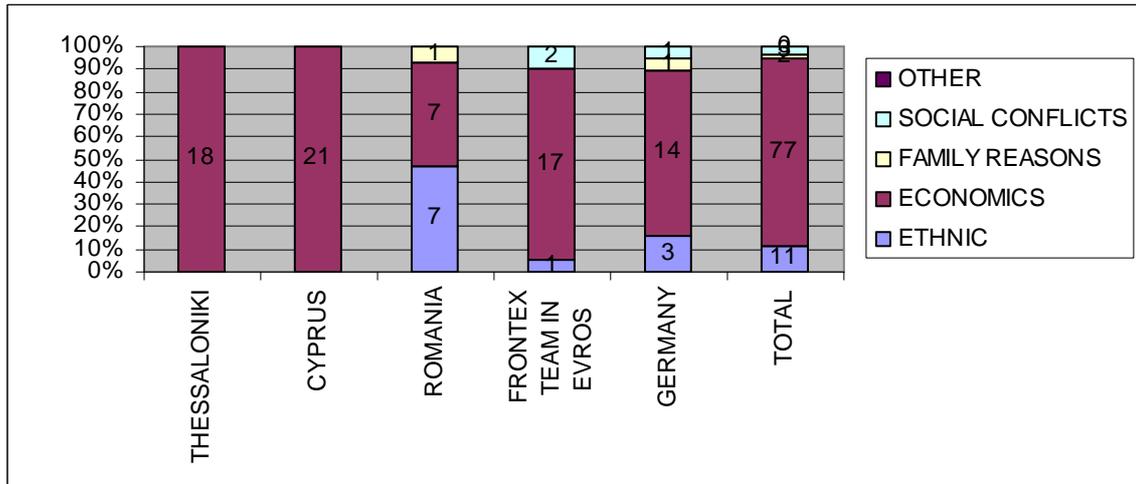
This questionnaire was sent to Romania, to the border officers in Constanta, to Cyprus, to Pafos airport border control, to Germany, to Stuttgart, to policemen who work checking immigrants in cities and finally to Greece. There are two groups: one is the policemen who worked at the Greek – Turkish borders as members of the Frontex joint teams and it consists of many different European nationalities while the second group is policemen who work in Thessaloniki mainly in the Asylum Department and some in Alien Directorate.

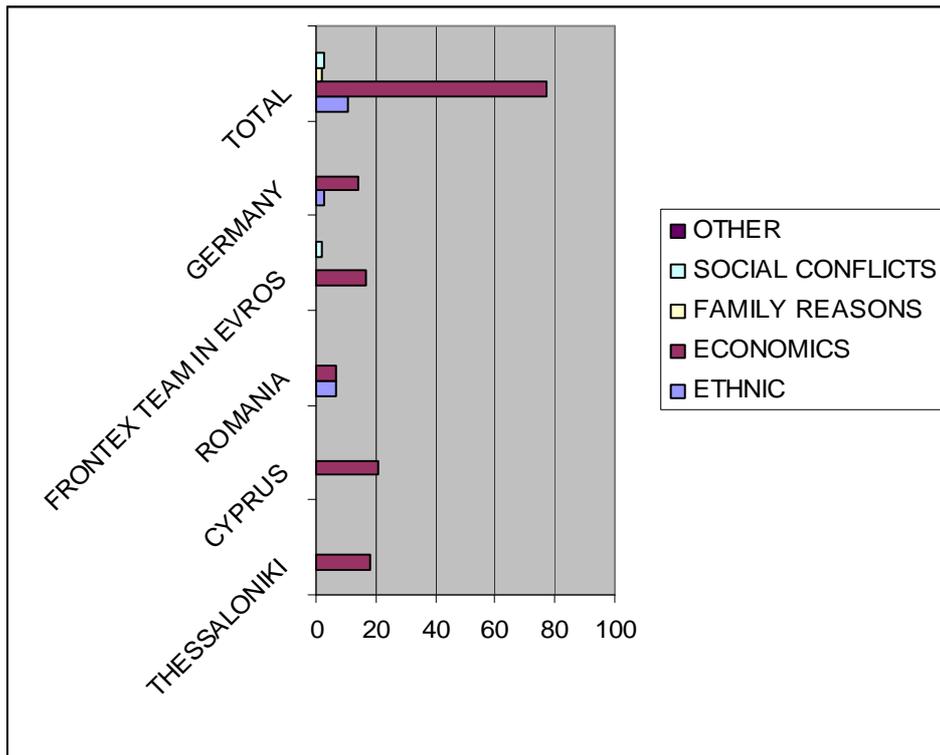
The results of the survey among policemen who worked in immigration offices are the following:

REASONS	THESSALONIKI	CYPRUS	ROMANIA	FRONTEX TEAM IN EVROS	GERMANY	TOTAL
ETNHIC			7	1	3	11
ECONOMICS	18	21	7	17	14	77
FAMILY REASONS			1		1	2
SOCIAL CONFLICTS				2	1	3
OTHER						0
CONFRONTATION						
EUROPEAN POLICY	8	13	12	5	8	46
FRONTEX RABBIT	3	6	2	3	4	21

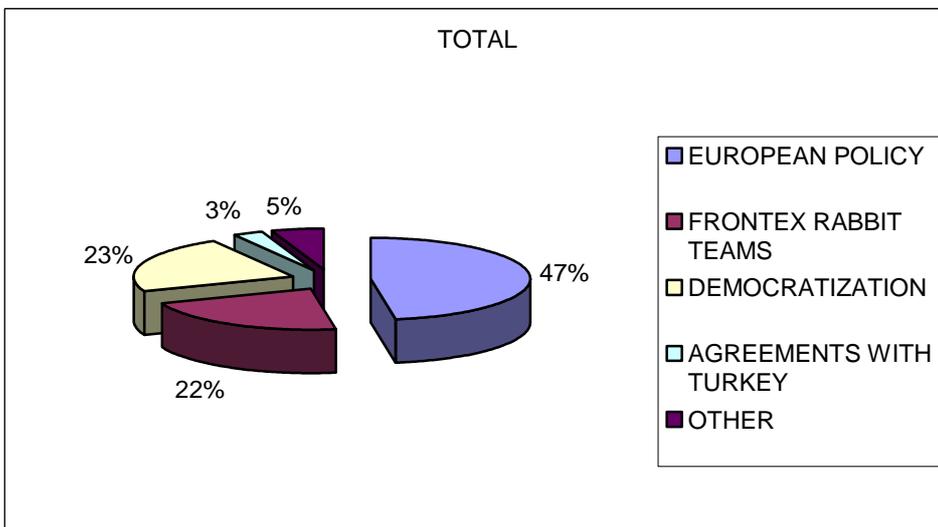
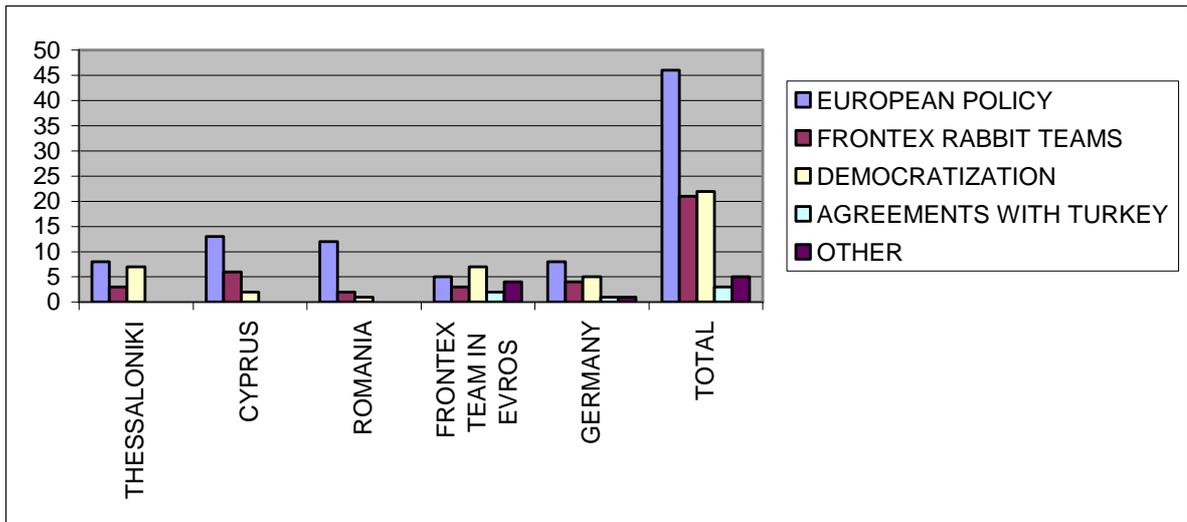
TEAMS						
DEMOCRATIZATION	7	2	1	7	5	22
AGREEMENTS WITH TURKEY				2	1	3
OTHER				4	1	5
THREAT?						
YES	13	14	14	11	17	69
NO	2	5		6	1	14
I DO NOT KNOW	3	2	1	3	1	10
WHY TO EUROPE?						
ACCESS FROM GREECE	8	1		2		11
TURKISH CRIME		3		1	1	5
PROTECTION IN EUROPE	2	13	6	5	1	27
RELATIVES IN EUROPE	1	1	2	3	2	9
RUMORS FOR EUROPE	7	3	7	8	15	40
TURKEY'S EU MEMBERSHIP?						
POSITIVE	15	5	13	6	5	44
NEGATIVE	3	16	2	14	14	49

For the first question, the majority answered that economic reasons are the main reason that force people from South Asia to migrate to Europe. Especially, in Thessaloniki and Cyprus, all the policemen consider economic reasons as the only reason of illegal immigration from these countries. It is characteristic that only in Romania is the opinion divided between ethnic conflicts and economic reasons.

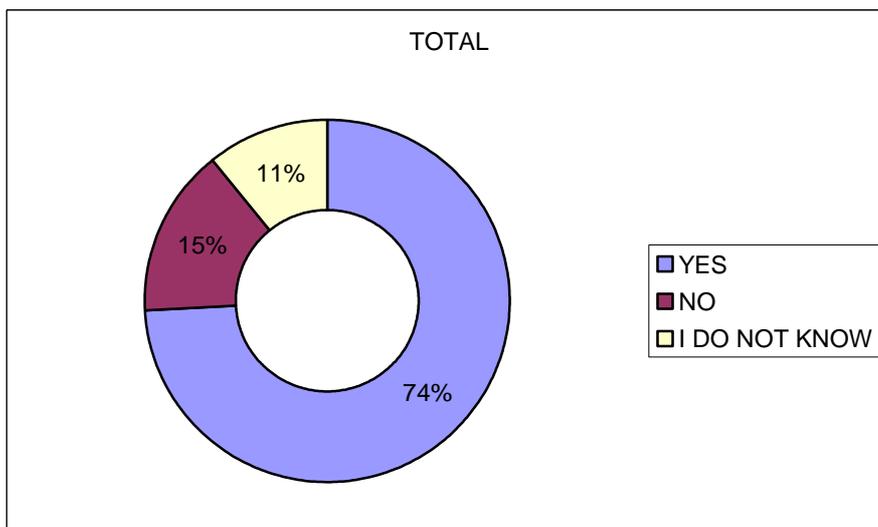
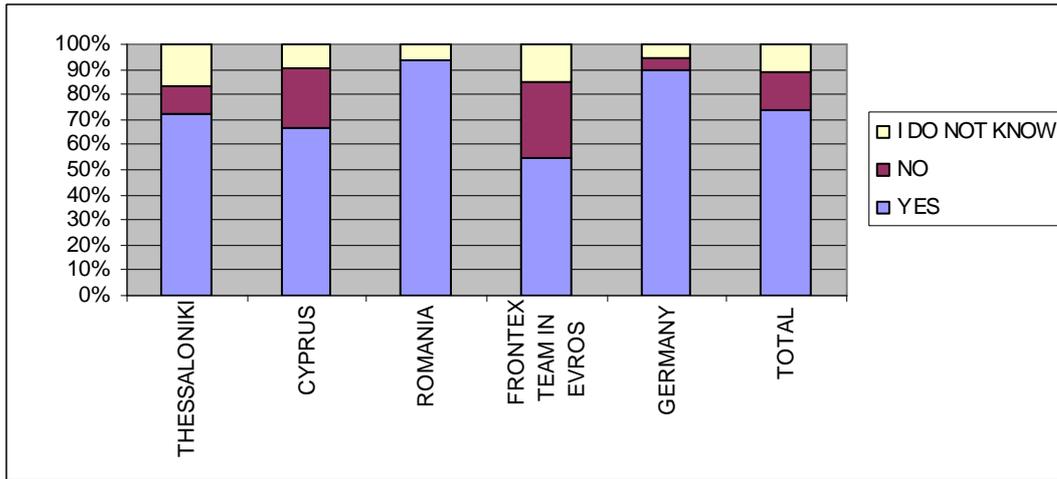




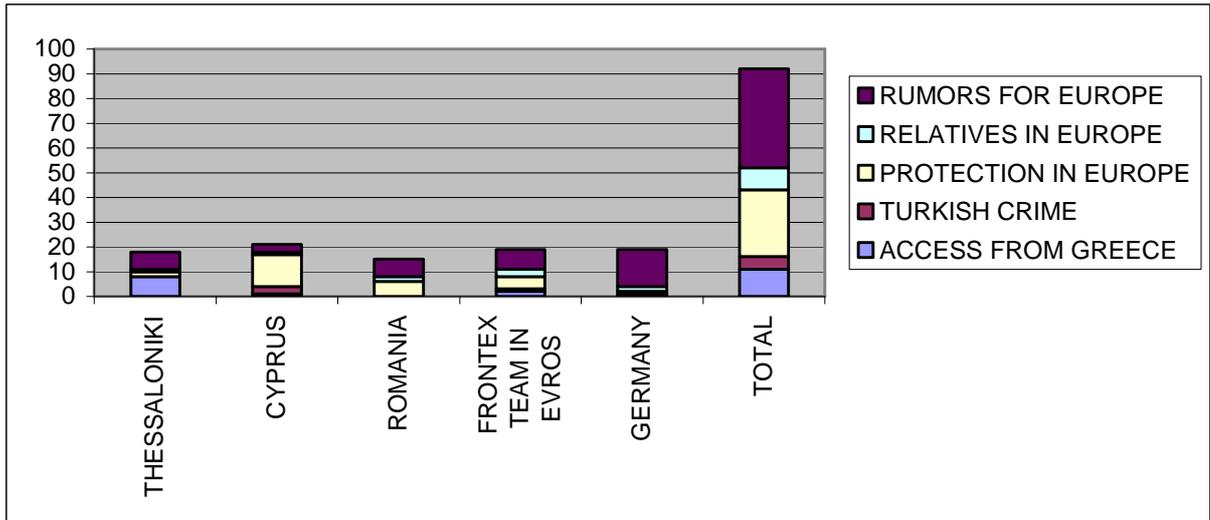
In answer to the second question, there are many different opinions; however, the solution of a common European policy against immigration has the most votes (49%), while in the second position is the democratization of these countries and then following closely behind is the solution of using Frontex rabbit teams on the European borders. A small portion is the solution of the special agreements with Turkey. However, there are other proposals by the policemen who worked in the Frontex team in Evros. They propose a fence between the borders Greece- Turkey which is a measure that the Greek government also recently announced. This is very impressive especially since during this period there is a big debate in Greece about whether this fence is a good solution or not.



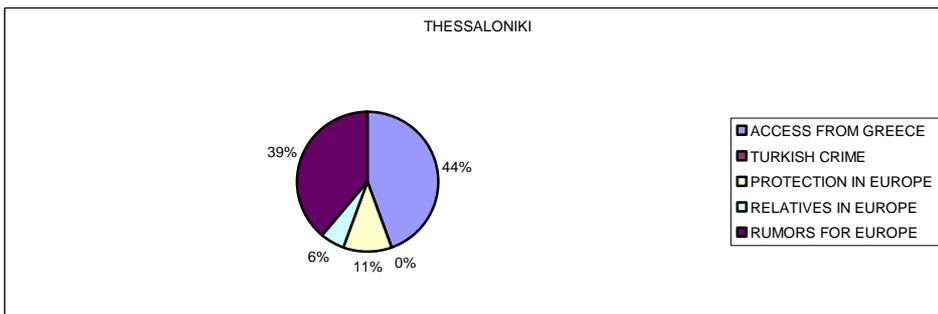
In the question whether immigrants are threat for the European security, the percentage of policemen that answered positively is 74%, while the percentage of those that replied negatively was 15%; finally 11% replied that they do not have any opinion whatsoever. This shows what has been described in part 1: that is that more and more people are considering immigrants a serious threat for their security. It should be reminded that these policemen face crimes that immigrants commit every day and so their opinion on European security is of great importance.



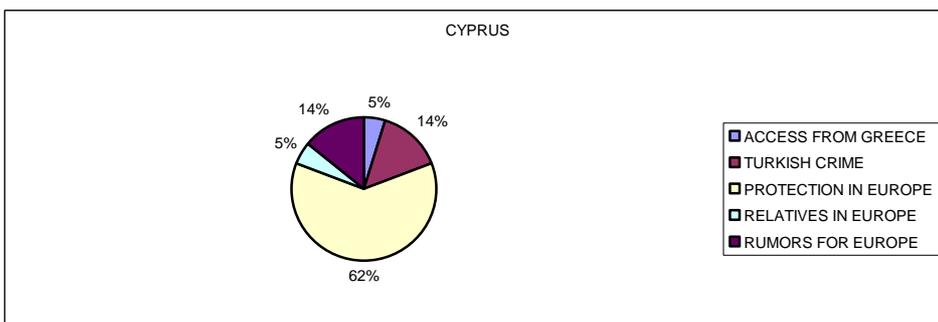
For the fourth question, the opinions are quite different as the following table shows :



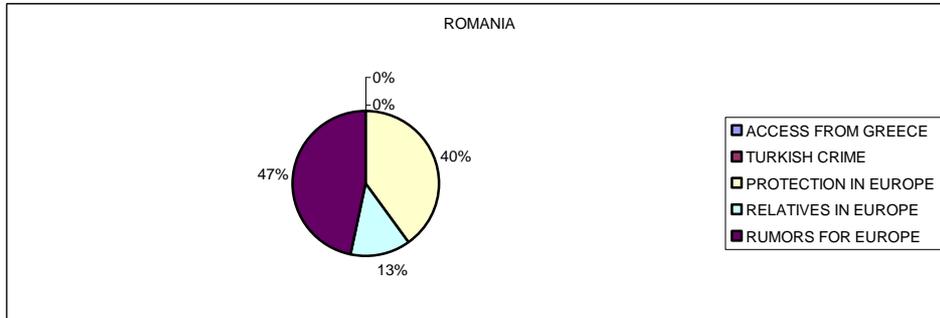
In Thessaloniki- Greece, most policemen believe that immigrants choose Europe because there is easy access from the Greek borders (44%) followed by the fact that these people have heard that life in Europe is good from compatriots.



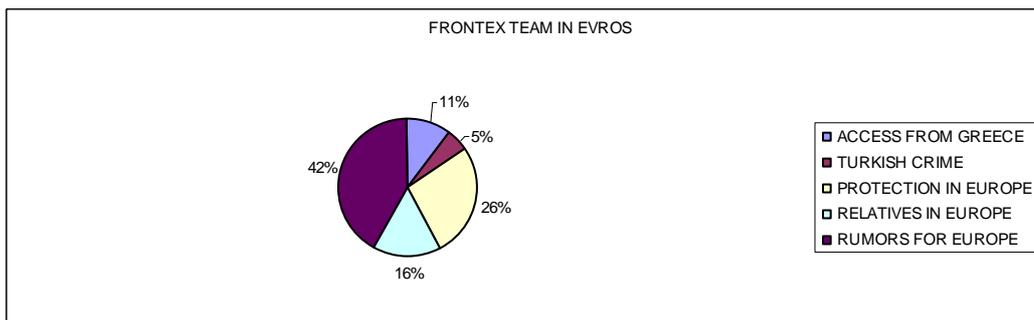
In contrast with Greece, the policemen in Cyprus believe that Turkish organized crime is one serious reason that immigrants choose Europe (14%). However, most of them consider the fact that Europe protects the rights of immigrants as the primary factor that attracts immigrants. (62%)



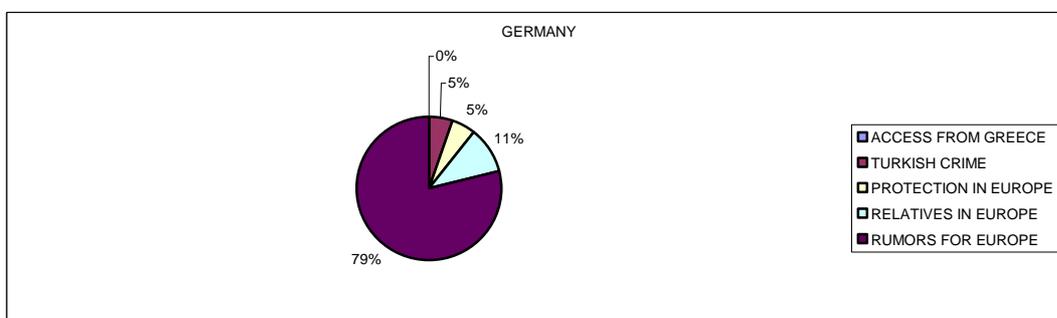
In Romania, it is impressive to note that they believe that rumors about good life in Europe are the main reason of choosing Europe (46%); furthermore, 40% of them believe that protection of human rights in Europe is an important factor for deciding to come in Europe.



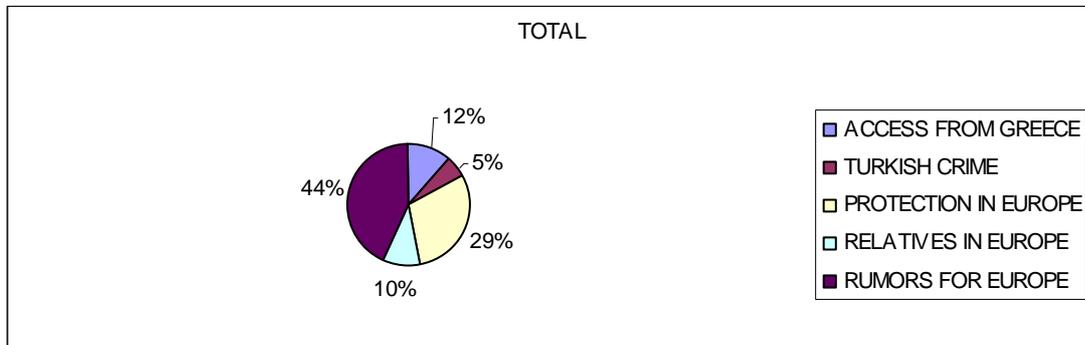
Most policemen on the Frontex team in Evros believe that rumors about Europe are one of the serious reasons that immigrants come to Europe. However, the other options have also gained considerable percentage.



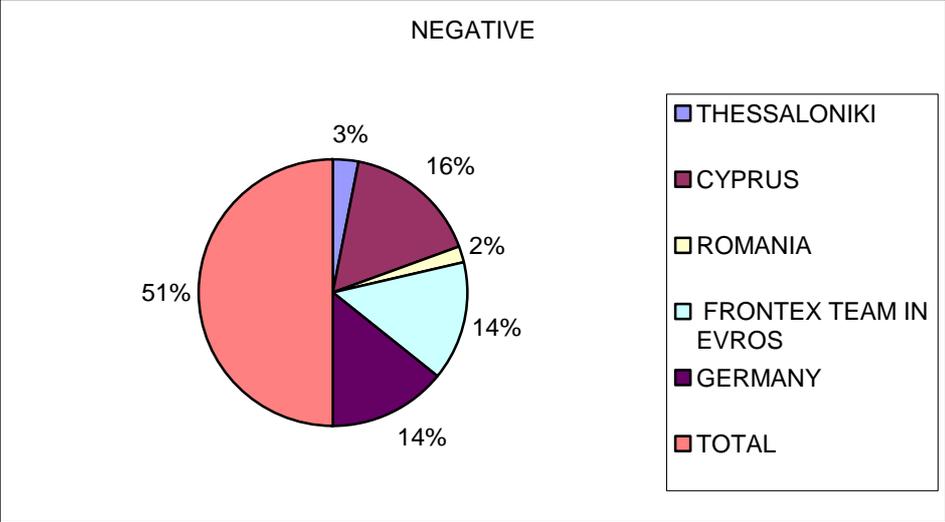
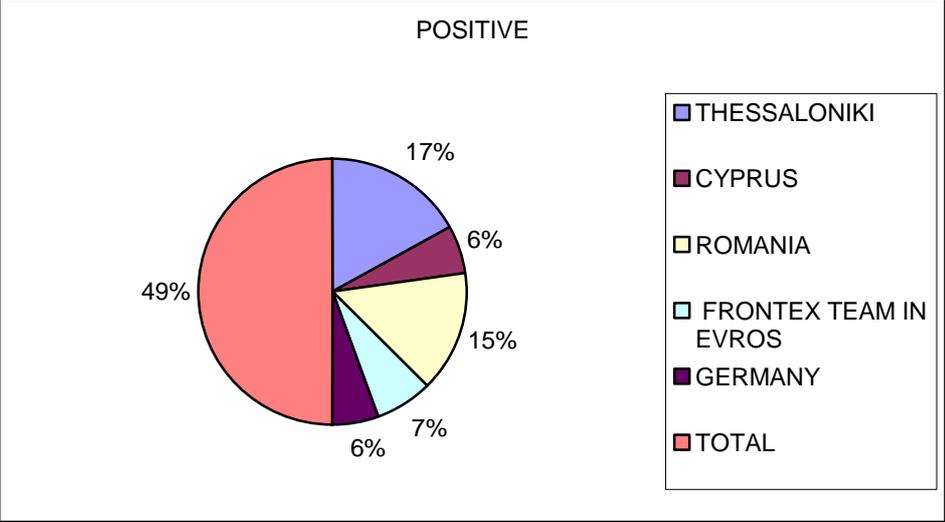
What is impressive is that in Germany, 79% of the policemen consider the option of rumors about a good life in Europe more important than the other options which have small percentages.



Having analyzed each country, the total results show that 44% of the policemen believe that rumors about a good life in Europe is the main reason for immigrants deciding to come to Europe and in the second position is the protection of human rights in Europe.



As for Turkish- European membership, the opinions are divided: 49% believe that this fact will be positive concerning illegal immigration while 51% see it as negative. There is no clear conclusion about this question. Among the countries, policemen from Thessaloniki and Romania see the Turkish European membership as positive and believe that this fact would reduce illegal immigration. On the other hand, policemen from Cyprus, Germany and those taking part on the Frontex team believe that the effect of the Turkish membership on the E.U. would be negative for the numbers of illegal immigration.



Conclusion

In the developing world, security threats and challenges often come up jointly. The new EU security concept “A secure Europe in a better world” defines that the new global challenges are disease, poverty, competition for natural resources and energy while the new threats are terrorism, regional conflicts, state failure and organized crime. It is characteristic that those kinds of hazards are neither on a local level nor on a country level but on a **trans-national one**. Illegal immigration is a phenomenon which has a lot of negative effects on the security of Europe both in the short and in the long term.

For this reason, illegal, or irregular immigration as a better term used for describing this fact, is a discourse of top priority for the European Union. Migrants enter the EU clandestinely via land and sea routes, alone or with the assistance of criminal organizations. In some cases, migrants continue to depend on these criminals after they arrive in the EU. Refugees also constitute a major part of illegal immigrants. Generally, there is no commonly agreed terminology or definition. Instead each state has its own legislation, point of reference and definition, something that makes the establishment of a common European policy difficult. However, for the purpose of the above analysis, illegal immigration is regarded as the illegal crossing of borders.

Within the last few years, the numbers of illegal immigrants have been increasing more and more and the European Union is worried about the dimensions of this phenomenon. Following the events of 9/11, all countries have realized that globalization and illegal immigration are linked with the terrorism and organized crime in general. Although people all over Europe are positive towards others and willing to help them, they do not want anyone who can upset the balance of their peace and take away their rights. It is characteristic that 40% of the French believe that immigrants, illegal or not, are responsible for the increase in criminality in their state compared to 2009 when the number was only 25%. Transatlantic Trends also mentions that people are more and more against immigrants- something that has

increased nowadays due to the economic crisis. Furthermore, there is the fear that immigrants, and Muslims in particular, cannot integrate into the European community. However, in Spain, two out of ten people believe that Muslims CAN integrate in their society. This of course creates the fear of social fragmentation and tensions in society. This fact can also be justified by the survey among policemen: 74 % consider that illegal immigrants are a threat to European security. Thus, the proper border control considers it being the right way to prevent many types of crimes.

The construction and classification of migrants as destabilizing is made possible by the notion of 'others' in the territorial state and the ability of immigrants to challenge one of the primary functions of the state-unit, that of border control, which is itself understood as a core state activity. From the creation of states, it was the state's exclusive right to determine who and what can enter its territory. However, in recent years border policy has shifted from one of traditional defense and the taxation of trade to one of policing.

Focusing on the data of illegal immigrants it is generally accepted that the estimation of the number of migrants who enter a country in an irregular or clandestine manner is inherently problematic as by its nature, these facts are undocumented and unobservable. Only through indirect methods can one have some data and this only if there is availability of alternative statistical indicators in one country. As far as Europe is concerned, some claim that irregular immigrants are 2.8 to 6 million. The main gate for illegal immigrants is from the region of Southeastern Europe and especially from the Greek-Turkish borders. For this reason, Greece has become a remarkable transit country and the data for arrested illegal immigrants in this country shows the big dimension of the problem in Europe.

The South Asia region is chosen as the *regional frame* of the analysis of causes of illegal immigration. It is obvious that the political situation in South Asia in conjunction with the bad economic indicators is the main reasons for this problem. For half a century, this region has been in turmoil as it has been described in part two. Ethnic conflicts and tensions among the countries are endemic in the region. Decades of war, economic collapse, repression, human rights abuses, malnutrition and, in the late 90s, prolonged drought drove a wave of refugees- of more than 2 million by

1999- to emigrate from Afghanistan alone. After the war in 2001, there was an effort for repatriation but without ongoing reconstruction and reconciliation, the fate of these people in one of the world's poorest countries remains precarious.

There is no single factor as main cause of conflict in South Asia. It is embroiled in many issues and provides a disappointing picture in every social, economic and political context. These conflicts are based on narrow considerations of caste, religion, ethnicity, language and community problems. This distorts the national integrity/unity and the overall order situation of the affected states. In other words, the persistence of multifarious problems, both within and between the South Asian states hampers the sustenance of an environment wherein basic essential needs of the common man are fulfilled. More analytically it can be said that:

- Pakistan faced many religious and minority disputes due to the different ethnic groups that live in its territory. In Pakistan, society faces sporadic bursts of violence derived from ethnic, sectarian and religious differences in its diverse community. For instance, conflict in the Sindh province between ethnic Sindhis and those residents who migrated from India following partition has made the province, especially its capital Karachi, ungovernable. Conservative religious elements are also very powerful in Pakistan leading to tensions and conflicts over religious differences, which has also played a major role in sustaining the Indo-Pakistan altercations over Kashmir. This has as a consequence the failure of establishing a common national identity and the rise of ethnic, linguistic and regional nationalism. The independence of Bangladesh was a traumatic event for Pakistan's history and there are fears that other provinces such as Baluchistan and Sindh want to follow the same route. Taking advantage of these conflicts, the military regime found fruitful ground for rising to power. Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif failed to establish a secure and democratic state.

The conditions in Pakistan after the war against terrorism have become worse. Pakistan chose to support the USA but at the same time, the USA helped the Afghan terrorist groups for fear of India's engagement in the region and for helping the Pashtun who live there. But the result is that now in Pakistan there are more suicide attacks and the war against terrorism has transferred

there. Afghanistan - Pakistan relations and their implications for the wider world have been extremely complicated-- much more than what should be normal for bilateral relations between two neighbors. Holbrooke has claimed that success in Afghanistan could be achieved only if the problem in western Pakistan is solved. (Sinha, 2009, p.10) Pakistan society has been divided into two sides. One side supports the Pakistani government and the west while the second supports the Taliban. This can lead to another class war.

Under these circumstances, it is clear that in Pakistan there is deficit of democracy and living conditions have become worse. The violation of human rights is a usual phenomenon; justice is absent and the increasing attacks have resulted in many deaths.

- Afghanistan is famous for its constant war condition. Throughout its the past, its territory has been a battleground for the great powers and civilizations. For this reason, nowadays, there are many ethnic groups with different religions, resulting in conflicts such as those between Pashtun and non-Pashtuns which has been dominant for years. After the end of the Soviet war, the American powers withdrew and once again there was battle for the government. Although in the beginning the Taliban wanted to save the country, they ended up becoming a military force which wanted to conquer the whole country. In addition, the Taliban became partners with Al Queda , which was the terrorist group responsible for the attacks on 9/11. The war against terrorism has had bad consequences for the country. The attacks between NATO forces and the Taliban are still happening.

Moreover, the process to democracy after the war in 2001 has not been fulfilled. Foreign powers were reluctant to spend money for the reconstruction of the state and they offered more money to the military instead of to the police or to the judicial system. In addition, nowadays there is also a strong an Anti-American sentiment within the Afghan society—a fact that gives power to the insurgent groups inside Afghanistan.

- India also faces several unresolved issues that stem from internal as well as external sources. Terrorist events are met in India, though India is considered to be the most stable country in the region. The dispute in the Kashmir region with Pakistan is still unresolved. The provinces of Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal have come up against many violent demonstrations with many deaths

and injured people. Moreover, in the last few years, the Maoist threat has increased and the fatalities due to their attacks have become a considerable threat for Indian society.

- Sri Lanka has also had its own set of problems. Democracy in this tiny island nation remains overshadowed by the civil war emanating from Tamil-Sinhalese ethnic conflicts. It is a fact that both sides have violated the human rights fighting for their rights. These conflicts in Sri Lanka have pushed successive governments on the brink of collapse. Ruling elites in Sri Lanka failed to reform economic policies due to polarised political debate. Nowadays, it seems that Tamils have started negotiations with the Sinhalese side but there are still many refugees that want to go back but cannot.
- In Nepal, the political fundamentalists such as the Maoists and mainstream political parties are posing a major threat to democracy in Nepal. Generally, until 2008, Nepal was in isolation and there had been a monarchy for many years. Maoists rebelled against the monarchy with the result of the deaths of many people and very strong police and military operations.

As far as the economic situation in South Asia is concerned, one can observe that the countries in South Asia failed to sustain an increasing growth unlike that in East Asia. Although during the period since the creation of Pakistan in 1947 and until the 80's, Pakistan was the fastest growing economy in the area; ever since the 90's, India has had a stable increasing growing rate. In 2009, income per head of the population in India was 22% higher than that in Pakistan. (Burki, 2011, p.2). But the characteristic of the region is that there has never been a regional identity. These countries never tried to cooperate and imitate the cooperation of the countries in East Asia or in Europe. History has played a crucial role in this fact. As for the big economies in the regions, Pakistan and India, may it be noted that they have been rivals from the past. In the Kashmir dispute, both spent a considerable amount of money; if Pakistan had reduced half or one third of what it had spent in Kashmir, its economy would have been completely different. However, all the countries in the area offered more money to military than to human or physical infrastructure. India does not want Pakistan in the regional organizations and for this reason it supports the BIMSTEC, cooperation among all the countries except Pakistan, rather than the SAFTA. India looks more to the east but it neglects that the trade with neighboring

countries is most beneficial. The trade between Pakistan and India could have positive effects for both countries as surveys have shown but economics is connected with the social events and this places obstacles to the growth in the region. Thus, generally in south Asia there are three gaps: the economic potentials and the actual achievements; the entrepreneurial success of the members of its diasporas; the people who work in domestic jobs, the ASEAN type organization and the achievements by the regional institutions. (Burki, 2011, p.6)

Moreover, the existence of an informal labor market in European countries is a pull-factor for irregular immigration and the accompanying exploitation of non-EU nationals. All EU countries display some level of shadow economies. These are (a) a reflex to inflexible labour market regimes (Germany, Greece, Spain, and Italy), (b) a response to remaining cumbersome bureaucracies in post-socialist economies (Poland, Slovakia, Czech Republic, and Hungary), (c) related to lax enforcement in certain economic sectors (UK, Netherlands) and (d) combined with legal cultures that are tolerant to deviations from the rule of law. (Cladestino, 2009). On the one hand, these shadow economies provide ample employment opportunities for irregular immigrants and enable them to economically survive. The EU States have agreed on rules to counter the effect that the availability of black market work plays in attracting irregular migrants. Economic reasons are considered one of the most important causes of illegal immigration since 93% of the questioned policemen voted economic reasons being the main reason for illegal immigration.

Finally, environmental problems are becoming a usual phenomenon that can generate conflict and an inflow of refugees. Natural hazards are no strangers to a majority of South Asians. The region is periodically afflicted by inundated deltas, parched plains, flooded urban sprawl, severe droughts, cyclone-hit crops and eroding beaches and riverbanks. South Asia recorded 128 natural disaster events between 2006 and 2008. 93% of these were of hydro-meteorological origin. 86 incidences of flooding were reported, with nearly 8.000 lives lost. In Pakistan in particular, the floods in 2010 were catastrophic. Many people died; villages were destroyed and endemic diseases appeared. It seems that floods in Pakistan are a usual phenomenon since another hit in 2011 in Sidhi; floods which affected almost 9 million people. Of course, no one can forget the tsunami in 2004 which resulted in 30.000 deaths in Sri

Lanka alone. (Johnson, 2005). These environmental conditions coupled with the absence of government and state-building in the region make the conditions of living there unaffordable.

Globalization has come as a solution to the problem of these poor and desperate people. Globalization has broken down the national contexts to support the global market. The greatest political and economic hardships are softened by exclusive, democratic welfare states. Moreover, transportation and communication broaden the opportunities for traveling around the world. Due to globalization and an open market there are many foreign workers in western countries who have been accepted. This good news spreads to the workers' countries of origin. However, the states place obstacles to the completely free entrance to its territory. Thus, only some people (usually rich) have the opportunity to have a better life. This fact, in conjunction with the bad economic situation in the countries in South Asia, the shadow markets in the host countries and the fact that there are other compatriots or family members in the host states lead people from these countries to the decision to travel to new countries illegally.

In addition to the latter factor which leads to illegal immigration, the factor of family reunification should be mentioned. Family members, knowing that international law and in particular the EU directives protect the family members legally or not, decide to come to Europe and live with the other family members who usually come earlier and then invite the remaining members. In a survey among policemen, the choice of the 'relatives in Europe' is represented by 5% of the policemen while the fact that there are rumors about a good life in Europe which is connected with the effect of globalization is represented by 10% of the total group.

In the future, there is not much hope that the situation will improve. Resources will be one of the big challenges in the region; India as a big power in the region is another, while cultural threats and environmental crises cannot be overlooked. Economic growth will lead to the exploitation of resources while the increase of the population in future will create the need for more food for the teeming cities, resulting in fighting for more resources. As far as India is concerned, although it made big progress in its relations with Nepal and Bangladesh in the 90's, its relations with

Pakistan are still not in the right way. In addition, it should be pointed out that India may be the power in the region but it is still weak in comparison with other global powers in the world. On the other hand, there are possibilities that China and Pakistan will not allow India to be hegemonies in the region - something that will increase the tension in the region. But the main root of the problem is the existence of different minorities in the area which want to assert their identities especially when they feel threatened. Muslim extremists and separatists will continue to demand their rights and it is likely that acts of sabotage, bombings, assassinations and terror will be continued in the future.

Nowhere is this more obvious than in this region where the populace is predominantly of a different aggrieved ethnicity and/or religion that alienation can lead to resentment and resistance. Even if resistance does not lead to revolt and rebellion by a future generation, a sullen alienation will be always an oncoming threat for the country. In addition, weak states do not make good neighbors, especially if important sections of one neighbor have developed clear interests in the other. It requires the important catalytic role of a mutual benefactor with the resources and leverage to reduce the influence of negative factors and promote positive ones.

The international community must clearly understand that there is danger of de-stabilization of the Central and South Asian regions. There are links among the people that live in these regions and the problems can shift from one region to another. As Pashtoons of Pakistan have links with their kin in Afghanistan, the same applies for the Tajiks, Uzbeks and Turkmen of Afghanistan to their kin in Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan respectively. Similarly, there is the case of Hazaras who have common elements with people who live on the Pakistan-Iran borders and of Punjabis with India. It should also be added that it seems that the Great Game which was once played between the British and Russian Empires is once again being played by a different set of players. More players will participate in the game and as it can be seen by the Russian invasion in Georgia, Russia does not seem to be a spectator any more. It is interesting that the United States National Intelligence Council (NIC) report 'Global Trends, 2015 noted that external influences in the South Asia region will continue to play a crucial role in the political field (Johnson, 2005, p.12)

To conclude, the region should be taken into consideration as one entity in the way to establish state-building. Only if all the countries have a democracy, will the situation improve. What would be ideal is if a plan like the Marshall-plan in the West were implemented in those countries for some decades. This state-building should include infrastructure of the police, army, judiciary and civil services so citizens would have security and the rights of a human society. Of course, the extreme Islamic ideology should also change; it must also be understood that only with mechanisms which protect the rule of law and support human rights can society flourish and grow.

The EU, taking into account the above situation, promoted new changes in its policy in immigration, asylum and human rights. First of all, in July 2010, the Directorate General for Justice, Freedom and Security of the European Commission was split in two: the Justice, Fundamental Rights and Citizenship and Home Affairs. The latter is responsible for the borders, visa, asylum, organized crime, human trafficking, drugs, terrorism and policies cooperation. Furthermore, in November 2010, the council decided on an EU Policy Cycle for Organized and Serious International Crime (2011-2013) and the Commission published a communication on the EU Internal Security Strategy (ISS) which promotes the inter-agency cooperation, in particular between Europol, Eurojust and Frontex for better internal security. Finally, it should be mentioned that there are many migration/border management initiatives in which Frontex takes part such as the Mobility Partnerships, Eastern Partnership, Building Migration Partnerships and of course in the EU meetings and programmes with third countries related to migration . In the asylum field, in May 2010, the EU created the European Asylum Support Office (EASO) for the cooperation among the member states in the asylum procedure and the implementation of a Common European Asylum System (CEAS).(General Report Frontex, 2010)

However, nowadays, the extension of judicial rights to immigrants has changed the immigration policies and diminished the difference in status between citizens and foreigners. Thus, some claims that this erosion of political borders would be the decline of the nation-state as a result of globalization and cultural transformations while others claim that states still control the movements of immigrants regarding their control systems. But what is certain is as Spire (2009,

p.143) states “the confrontation between migrants and state organs is always disrupted by a third term: the law or rather the game played out on the border between legality and illegality”.

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Appendix

Table 1

Discerning irregular migration: Complex configuration of movements 3

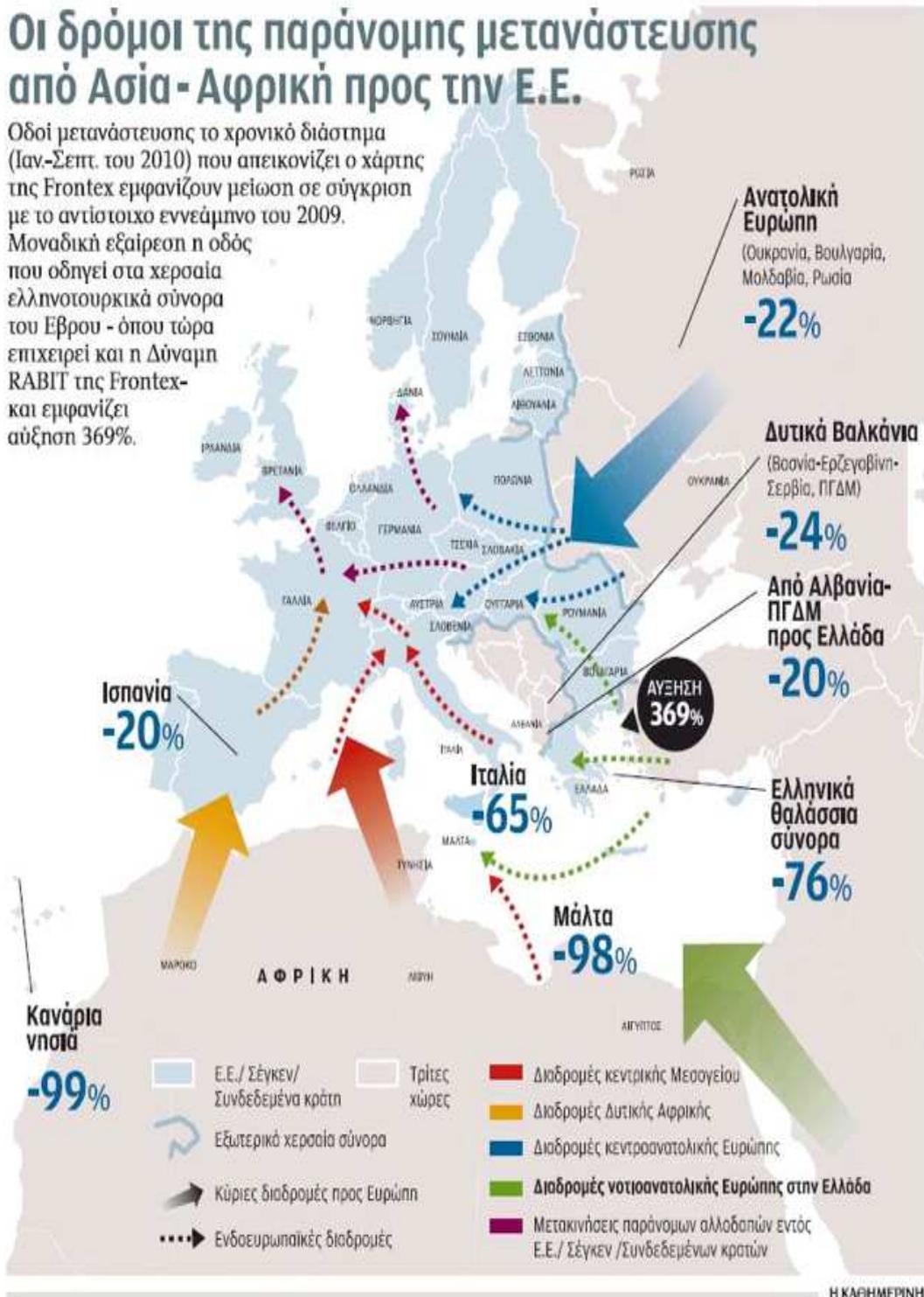
Table 1.1. Restrictions on female worker migration in selected Asian countries

Country	Restrictions
Bangladesh	Women must be at least 21 years old to work as domestic workers. Ban on recruitment of entertainers.
Burma	Ban on recruitment of female workers, except in the case of professionals.
India	Women must be at least 30 years old to work as domestic workers in Western Asia or Northern Africa, with exceptions made on a case by case basis.
Indonesia	Women must be at least 22 years old. Restrictions regarding country of destination for household workers and male/female ratios recruited by authorised agents may be lifted under certain conditions.
Malaysia	None
Nepal	Women must be at least 18 years old. Selective ban on employment according to the country of destination.
Pakistan	Women must be at least 35 years old to work as domestic workers. Ban on recruitment of nurses.
Philippines	Domestic workers: women must be at least 25 years old; selective ban on employment according to the country of destination. Entertainers: women must be at least 23 years old; selective ban on employment according to the country of destination; must complete required academic and skills testings, possess Artist Record Book, undergo pre-departure showcase preview. Nurses: women must be at least 23 years old; must possess Bachelor of Science degree in Nursing and one year work experience in the Philippines.
Sri Lanka	Women must be 20 years old to work as domestic workers. Ban on recruitment of entertainers.
Thailand	Ban on recruitment of women except for the case of selected countries of destination. Entertainers must hold a diploma from school of arts and a license, and must not perform in night clubs.

Sources: Ministries or Departments of Labour responding to Abella in 1990 (Abella, 1995) and to the authors in September 1995. ILO: Lin Lean Lim and Nana Oishi, *International Labour Migration of Asian Women: Distinctive Characteristics and Policy Concerns, 1996* (mimeo). Based on information provided by the Ministries/Departments of Labour in 1990 and 1995.

Source: Brettell C. & Hollifield, 2000. *Migration theory; Talking Across Disciplines*, Routledge, London

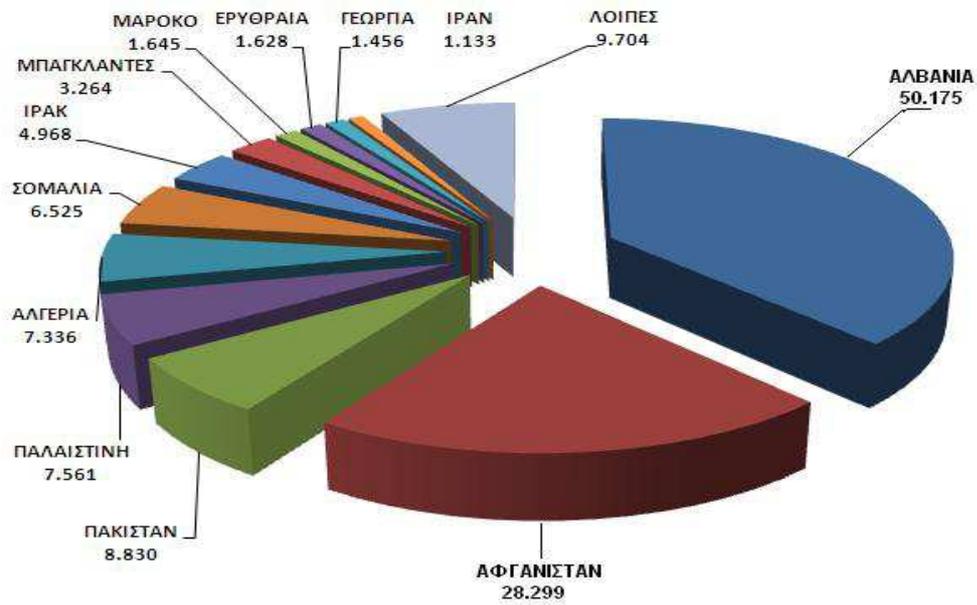
Table 2



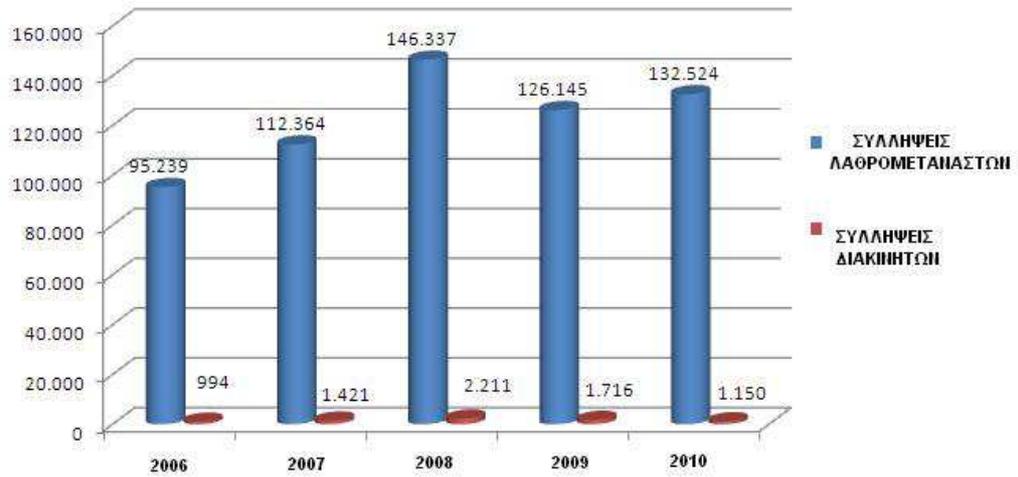
Source: online Kathimerini newspaper

Table 3

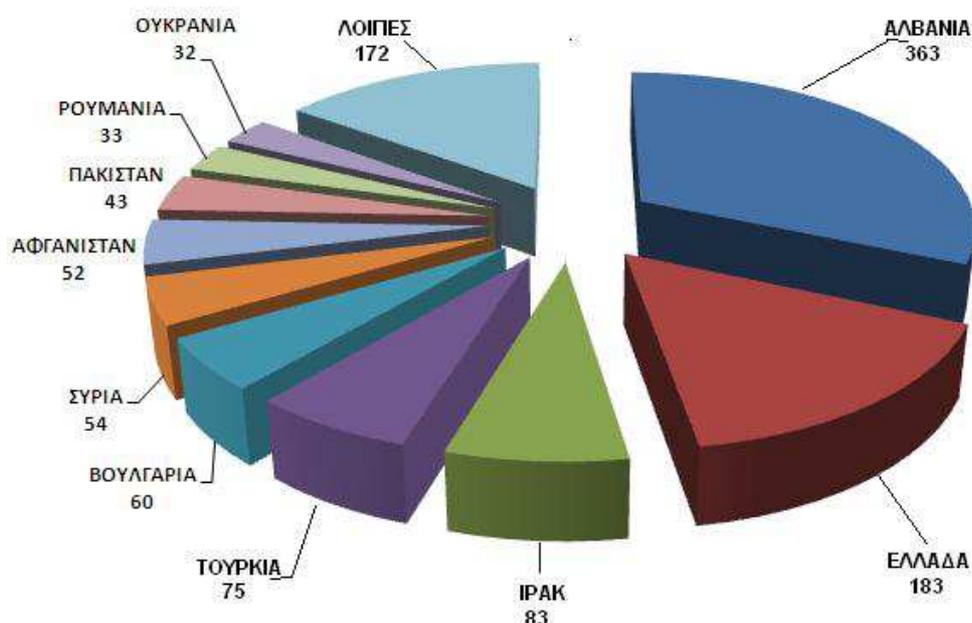
ΣΥΛΛΗΦΘΕΝΤΕΣ ΑΛΛΟΔΑΠΟΙ ΓΙΑ ΠΑΡΑΝΟΜΗ ΕΙΣΟΔΟ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΗ ΑΝΑ ΥΠΗΚΟΟΤΗΤΑ ΑΠΟ ΑΣΤΥΝΟΜΙΚΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΛΙΜΕΝΙΚΕΣ ΑΡΧΕΣ ΤΟ ΕΤΟΣ 2010



ΣΥΛΛΗΦΘΕΝΤΕΣ ΛΑΘΡΟΜΕΤΑΝΑΣΤΕΣ ΓΙΑ ΠΑΡΑΝΟΜΗ ΕΙΣΟΔΟ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΗ, ΚΑΘΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑΚΙΝΗΤΩΝ ΑΠΟ ΑΣΤΥΝΟΜΙΚΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΛΙΜΕΝΙΚΕΣ ΑΡΧΕΣ ΤΟ ΕΤΟΣ 2010



ΣΥΛΛΗΦΘΕΝΤΕΣ ΔΙΑΚΙΝΗΤΕΣ ΛΑΘΡΟΜΕΤΑΝΑΣΤΩΝ ΑΝΑ ΥΠΗΚΟΟΤΗΤΑ
ΑΠΟ ΑΣΤΥΝΟΜΙΚΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΛΙΜΕΝΙΚΕΣ ΑΡΧΕΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟ ΕΤΟΣ 2010



Source: www.astynomia.gr

Table 4

Table A.1.3. Inflows of asylum seekers into OECD countries and the Russian Federation

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010*
Australia	13 065	12 366	5 863	4 295	3 201	3 204	3 515	3 980	4 771	6 206	8 250
Austria	18 284	30 135	39 354	32 359	24 634	22 461	13 349	11 921	12 841	15 821	11 020
Belgium	42 691	24 549	18 805	16 940	15 357	15 957	11 587	11 115	12 252	17 186	19 940
Canada	34 252	44 038	39 498	31 937	25 750	20 786	22 873	28 342	34 800	33 970	23 160
Chile	69	81	43	87	203	380	573	756	872
Czech Republic	8 788	18 094	8 484	11 396	5 459	4 160	3 016	1 878	1 711	1 355	460
Denmark	12 200	12 512	6 068	4 593	3 235	2 260	1 918	1 852	2 360	3 819	4 970
Estonia	3	12	9	14	14	11	7	14	14	36	30
Finland	3 170	1 651	3 443	3 221	3 861	3 574	2 331	1 434	4 016	5 910	4 020
France	38 747	54 291	58 971	59 768	58 545	49 733	30 748	29 387	35 404	42 118	47 790
Germany	78 564	88 287	71 127	50 563	35 607	28 914	21 029	19 164	22 085	27 649	41 330
Greece	3 083	5 499	5 664	8 178	4 469	9 050	12 267	25 113	19 884	15 928	10 270
Hungary	7 801	9 554	6 412	2 401	1 600	1 609	2 117	3 425	3 118	4 672	2 460
Iceland	24	52	117	80	76	88	39	42	77	35	50
Ireland	10	10	11	7 900	4 769	4 324	4 314	3 988	3 866	2 689	1 940

	938	325	634								
Israel	6 148	456	355	..	922	909	1 348	5 382	7 738	809	..
Italy	15 564	9 620	16 015	13 455	9 722	9 548	10 348	14 053	30 324	17 603	8 190
Japan	216	353	250	336	426	384	954	816	1 599	1 388	1 210
Korea	43	39	37	86	145	412	278	717	364	324	420
Luxembourg	621	687	1 043	1 549	1 577	802	523	426	463	477	750
Mexico	277	415	257	275	404	687	480	374	317	680	..
Netherlands	43 895	32 579	18 667	13 402	9 782	12 347	14 465	7 102	13 399	14 905	13 330
New Zealand	1 551	1 601	997	841	580	348	276	245	254	336	330
Norway	10 842	14 782	17 480	15 959	7 945	5 402	5 320	6 528	14 431	17 226	10 060
Poland	4 589	4 529	5 170	6 909	8 079	6 860	4 430	7 205	7 203	10 587	6 540
Portugal	224	234	245	88	113	114	128	224	161	139	160
Russian Federation	1 467	1 684	876	737	910	960	1 170	3 369	5 418	5 701	..
Slovak Republic	1 556	8 151	9 743	10 358	11 395	3 549	2 871	2 643	910	822	540
Slovenia	9 244	1 511	702	1 100	1 173	1 596	518	425	238	183	210
Spain	7 926	9 489	6 309	5 918	5 535	5 254	5 297	7 662	4 517	3 007	2 740
Sweden	16 303	23 515	33 016	31 348	23 161	17 530	24 322	36 370	24 353	24 194	31 820
Switzerland	17 611	20 633	26 125	20 806	14 248	10 061	10 537	10 387	16 606	16 005	13 520
Turkey	5 685	5 041	3 795	3 952	3 908	3 921	4 553	7 646	12 981	7 834	9 230
United Kingdom	98 900	91 600	103 080	60 050	40 625	30 840	28 320	28 300	31 315	30 675	22 090
United States	40 867	59 432	58 439	43 338	44 972	39 240	41 101	40 449	39 362	38 080	41 005
EU-25 (countries listed above)	451	472	467	378	290	245	209	230	261	273	254
+ Norway, Switzerland	544	239	566	275	905	956	762	616	471	006	180
North America	75 119	103 470	97 937	75 275	70 722	60 026	63 974	68 791	74 162	72 050	64 165
OECD	553 741	596 113	577 217	463 502	371 492	316 315	285 752	319 365	364 606	362 668	337 835

Note: For details on definitions and sources, refer to the metadata at the end of the Tables B.1.3.

Information on data for Israel:
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888932315602>.

* Preliminary data.

www.oecd.org/migration/imo

Source: Asylum Levels and Trends in Industrialized Countries 2010, 2011, UNCHR

Table 5

Table 2: PERCENTAGES OF URBAN & RURAL POPULATION below \$1 per Day

Country	1993		1994		1996		1999		2000		2002		2004	
	urban	rural												
B'desh					29.4	55.2			36.6	53.0				
Bhutan														
India			32.4	37.3					24.7	30.2				
Maldives														
Nepal					21.6	43.3							9.6	34.6
Pakistan	17.2	33.4					24.2	35.9						
Sri Lanka					15	27					N/A	7.9		

Source: UN 2008¹⁵

Table 6

Table 1: RATIO OF INEQUALITY IN INCOME SHARE

Countries	Richest 10% to Poorest 10%	Richest 20% to Poorest 20%
Bangladesh	6.8	4.6
India	9.5	5.7
Nepal	9.3	5.9
Pakistan	7.6	4.8
Sri Lanka	7.9	5.3
South Asia	8.2	5.3

Source: Human Development Report 2003, Oxford University Press, New York

Table 7

Table 3: Significance of Remittances in Select South Asian Economies

Year	Bangladesh		Pakistan		India		Sri Lanka	
	Workers' Remittances (US\$ Billion)	% of GDP	Workers' Remittances (US\$ Billion)	% of GDP	Workers' Remittances (US\$ Billion)	% of GDP	Workers' Remittances (US\$ Billion)	% of GDP
1995	1.20	3.17	1.71	2.82	6.22	1.75	0.81	6.21
1996	1.35	3.31	1.28	2.03	8.77	2.26	0.85	6.13
1997	1.53	3.61	1.71	2.73	10.33	2.51	0.94	6.24
1998	1.61	3.64	1.17	1.88	9.48	2.28	1.02	6.48
1999	1.81	3.95	1.00	1.58	11.12	2.47	1.07	6.85
2000	1.97	4.18	1.08	1.45	12.89	2.80	1.17	7.14
2001	2.11	4.48	1.46	2.02	14.27	2.99	1.19	7.53
2002	2.86	6.01	3.55	4.92	15.74	3.10	1.31	7.65
2003	3.19	6.15	3.96	4.76	21.00	3.50	1.44	7.62
2004	3.58	6.34	3.95	4.03	18.75	2.68	1.59	7.69
2005	4.31	7.16	4.28	3.91	21.29	2.63	1.99	8.16
2006	5.43	8.77	5.12	4.02	25.43	2.78	2.18	7.73
2007	6.56	9.59	6.00	4.20	35.26	3.29	2.53	7.81

Source: Compiled from World Development Indicators, World Bank.

Table 4: Total Private Sources of External Financing in South Asia and Relative Share of Remittances

Year	Bangladesh		Pakistan		India		Sri Lanka	
	Total Private External Financing (US\$ Billion)	Remittances as a % of Total Private Financing	Total Private External Financing (US\$ Billion)	Remittances as a % of Total Private Financing	Total Private External Financing (US\$ Billion)	Remittances as a % of Total Private Financing	Total Private External Financing (US\$ Billion)	Remittances as a % of Total Private Financing
1995	5.60	21.47	12.97	13.19	48.82	12.75	5.59	14.48
1996	5.83	23.09	13.40	9.58	55.92	15.68	5.90	14.44
1997	7.15	21.34	13.59	12.56	60.38	17.11	7.06	13.35
1998	7.63	21.06	11.23	10.44	56.29	16.84	7.11	14.39
1999	8.21	22.01	10.22	9.75	66.53	16.72	6.73	15.94
2000	9.50	20.72	11.17	9.63	76.87	16.77	7.92	14.73
2001	9.25	22.76	11.74	12.45	82.28	17.35	7.39	16.04
2002	9.94	28.75	16.31	21.78	92.56	17.00	7.36	17.78
2003	11.50	27.75	18.84	21.04	121.31	17.31	8.06	17.84
2004	13.25	27.05	20.99	18.79	148.57	12.62	8.94	17.77
2005	15.68	27.51	25.66	16.68	199.96	10.65	9.90	20.11
2006	19.02	28.54	30.75	16.66	257.98	9.86	10.87	20.09
2007	21.44	30.61	34.14	17.57	87.95	40.09	12.49	20.23

Source: Compiled from World Development Indicators, World Bank.

Source: Sasidaran Gopalan and Ramkishan S. Rajan, 2009.
Remittances as a Source of External Financing in South Asia

Table 8

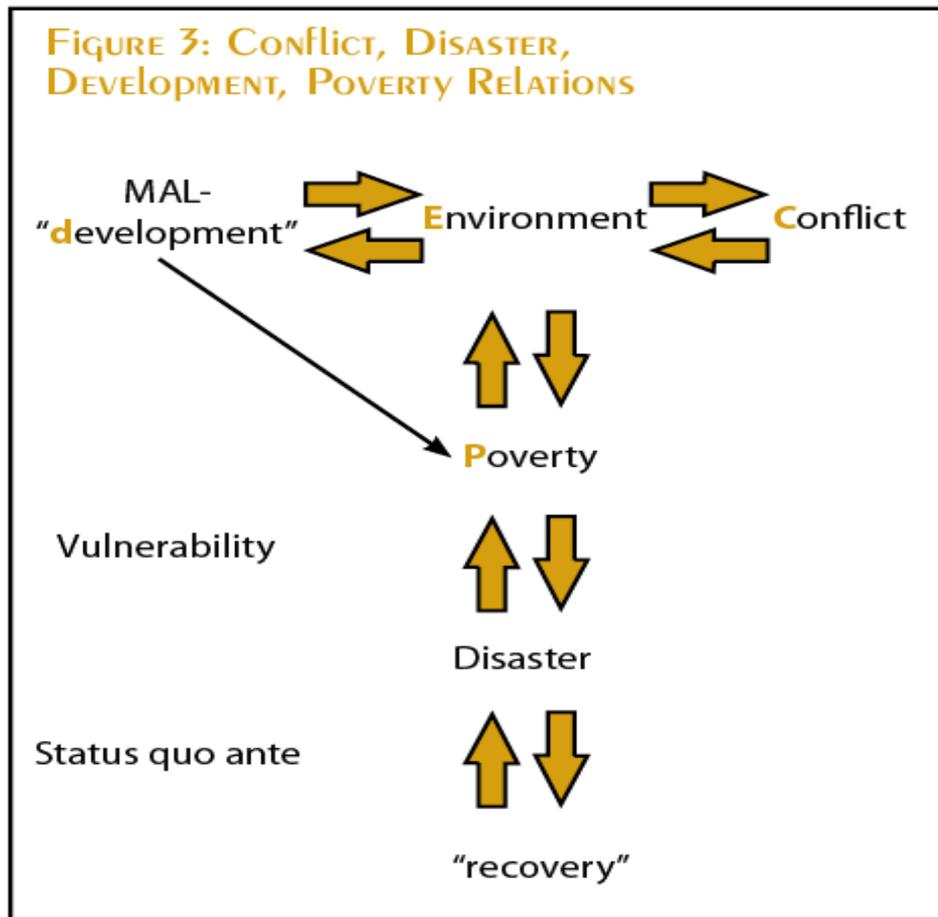


Table 9



NATIONAL DISASTER MANAGEMENT AUTHORITY
SUMMARY OF LOSSES/DAMAGES DUE TO RAIN IN SINDH – 2011
PERIOD COVERED UPTO 07 OCTOBER 2011 AT 1000 HOURS



All figures are Provisional and subject to change

S. #	District	No. of Talukas Affct'd	No. of UCs Affct'd	No. of Villages Affected	Persons Affected			Area Affected (Acres)	Crops Area Damaged (Acres)	Houses Damaged			Persons Died				Persons Injured			Cattle Head Perished	Present Relief Camps	Persons in Relief Camps					
					Male	Female	Total			Partially	Fully	Total	Male	Female	Children	Total	Male	Female	Children			Total	Male	Female	Children	IDPs Hosted	Total
1	Badin *	5	46	6,395	438,099	583,202	1,021,301	984,805	375,718	172,155	210,407	382,562	34	15	18	67	4	6	-	10	8,455	51	2,806	3,083	8,060	-	13,949
2	Dadu *	4	52	1,454	158,013	166,987	325,000	187,811	97,248	12,610	4,952	17,562	4	3	12	19	19	13	19	51	158	17	234	317	377	-	928
3	Ghotki *	5	40	1,361	88,582	83,485	172,067	259,717	68,679	23,897	8,163	32,060	7	3	1	11	6	7	6	19	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	Hyderabad	3	29	1,022	R.A	R.A	677,600	199,258	26,227	3,851	552	4,403	7	2	2	11	12	9	6	27	32	10	-	-	-	-	5,355
5	Jacobabad	1	1	1	300	35	335	600	3,594	1,688	-	1,688	1	1	-	2	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	Jamshoro	4	25	614	43,950	53,400	97,350	30,086	39,133	32,962	10,988	43,950	7	2	3	12	7	-	2	9	81	21	459	761	819	6,236	8,275
7	Kamber Shahdadkot	7	25	543	-	-	145,030	150,600	4,192	7,177	262	7,439	2	3	1	6	7	2	6	15	218	-	-	-	-	-	-
8	Kashmore	3	30	105	8,200	4,410	12,610	29,280	14,532	750	870	1,620	1	-	3	4	1	2	-	3	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	Khairpur	8	76	R.A	-	-	927,953	388,638	182,891	7,138	4,291	11,429	4	1	4	9	65	-	-	65	316	52	-	-	-	-	1,212
10	Larkano	4	46	408	17,323	37,032	54,355	12,793	5,396	5,079	715	5,794	2	1	3	6	1	-	-	1	92	-	-	-	-	-	-
11	Matlari	3	19	415	47,957	61,672	109,629	160,970	83,739	23,801	9,002	32,803	12	6	7	25	15	11	2	28	436	117	-	-	-	26,000	44,970
12	Mirpurkhas *	6	41	3,622	350,540	354,611	705,151	819,833	171,522	30,627	87,483	118,110	36	22	-	58	45	185	-	230	12,280	83	13,616	10,126	13,148	-	36,890
13	N.Feroze *	5	51	3,186	-	-	671,499	698,434	73,660	21,300	10,155	31,455	7	10	9	26	20	14	16	50	464	133	2,848	3,068	5,762	-	11,678
14	Sanghar	6	55	5,503	-	-	1,014,421	927,201	356,473	109,705	63,018	172,723	25	6	9	40	39	21	33	93	18,958	636	40,506	33,318	58,090	-	131,914
15	Sh.Benazirabad*	4	51	4,104	432,000	468,000	900,000	U.S	171,076	U.S	U.S	300,000	24	8	7	39	35	26	21	82	22,636	403	7,912	7,613	15,837	-	31,362
16	Shikarpur	4	4	7	53	22	75	2,500	20,218	-	30	30	2	1	-	3	2	2	-	4	28	-	-	-	-	-	-
17	Sukkur	-	-	-	-	-	-	26,803	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
18	T.Allahyar *	3	19	1,512	185,445	186,600	372,045	369,685	81,645	64,132	6,031	70,163	2	-	-	2	5	-	-	5	180	236	14,772	16,964	26,677	-	58,413
19	T.M.Khan	3	16	2,835	346,258	239,153	585,411	390,997	78,038	47,582	25,353	72,935	9	4	4	17	8	10	6	24	159	197	11,400	6,609	R.A	-	18,009
20	Tharparkar *	4	11	1,357	57,355	70,099	127,454	51,782	12,647	10,821	4,637	15,458	15	1	9	25	8	1	-	9	30,623	16	3,141	3,993	8,855	61,184	77,173
21	Thatta *	2	11	630	84,683	93,075	177,758	198,111	164,889	11,325	-	11,325	7	3	5	15	12	-	3	15	65	16	603	656	R.A	3,980	5,239
22	Umerkot	4	27	2,869	403,622	419,961	823,583	927,966	108,303	58,174	133,153	191,327	8	4	11	23	2	2	3	7	17,334	113	39,021	36,652	42,540	-	118,213
23	Karachi *	-	4	-	1	3	4	-	-	3	2	5	15	4	6	25	6	-	2	8	9	5	-	-	-	-	2,588
GRAND TOTAL:		88	679	37,943	2,662,381	2,821,747	8,920,631	6,791,067	2,166,623	644,777	580,064	1,524,841	231	100	115	446	319	311	126	756	112,529	2,106	137,318	123,160	180,165	97,400	566,168

NATIONAL DISASTER MANAGEMENT AUTHORITY
SUMMARY OF LOSSES/DAMAGES DUE TO RAIN IN BALUCHISTAN – 2011
PERIOD COVERED UPTO 16 SEPTEMBER

Serial No.	District	Tehsil Affected	UC Affected	Revenue Mozas	Villages Affected	Population Affected	Population Displaced	Deaths	Injured	House Damage		Cropped Area (Acres)	Orchard Area (Acres)	link Roads	National Highways	WSS Scheme	Dams / Bandats
										Fully	Partially						
1	Loralai	3	7	7	26	900	0	8	5	50	150	0	0	0	0	0	2
2	Khuzdar	9	0	71	71	0	0	3	412	0	208	1950	0	0	0	0	0
3	Kalat	5	0	507	492	0	0	0	0	582	2168	100	77140	121	4	5	5
4	Washuk	3	0	8	8	0	0	0	0	0	60	150	10200	0	0	0	0
5	Lasbela	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	310	669	4586	0	69	0	2	608
6	Awaran	4	0	18	18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1155	0	0	0	0
7	Mastung	1	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
8	Musakhel	2	3	5	0	1150	0	5	7	0	0	0	0	72	0	0	1
9	Sherani	1	7	0	0	836	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10	K. Saifullah	1	4	9	10	1346	0	0	0	0	142	1080	0	2	0	2	0
11	Bharkan	1	5	34	0	907	0	2	1	0	29	2539	0	0	0	0	0
12	Zhob	2	19	75	225	4164	0	0	0	0	250	1032	0	6	0	23	0
13	Pishin	4	20	0	4	0	0	0	0	3	13	0	0	0	0	4	1
14	K. Abdullah	0	2	10	10	10000	0	0	0	0	300	300	100	120	0	1	0
15	Quetta	1	3	0	0	1600	0	5	1	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
16	J. Abad	4	0	17	1003	14089	0	0	0	510	2150	0	0	0	0	0	0

Note: Information in the document is based on initial assessment by District Administrations



NATIONAL DISASTER MANAGEMENT AUTHORITY
Affected Population During Flood 2011 in Sindh
 (As on 05-Oct-2011)

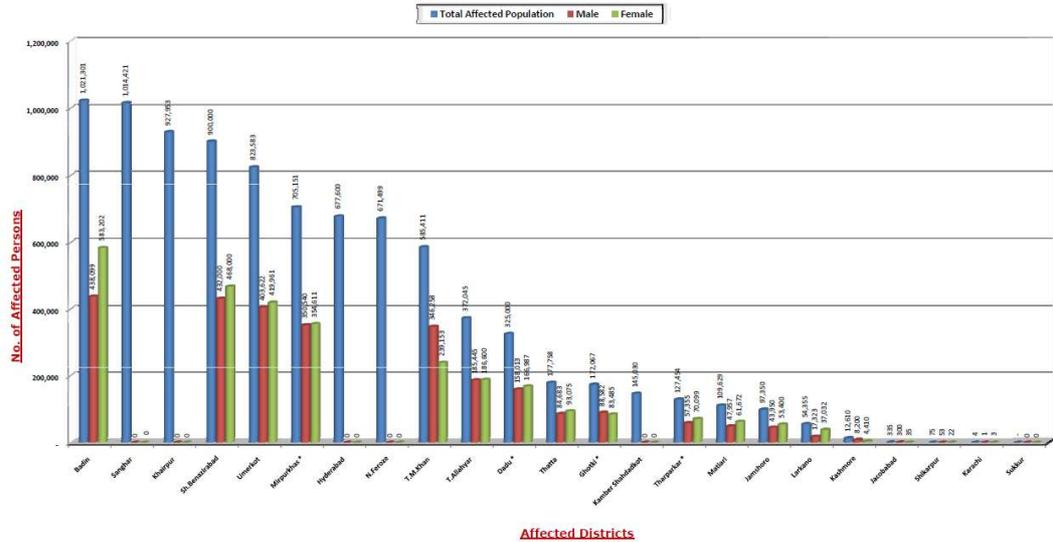


Table 10

ANNEX B: NUMBER OF DEATHS BY COUNTRY AND BY DISASTER TYPE

	Afghanistan			Bangladesh		
Number of people Killed	2006	2007	up to Nov-08	2006	2007	up to Nov-08
Drought	0					
Earthquake (seismic activity)	1					
Epidemic					86	
Extreme temperature					130	
Flood	282	296	0	0	1230	16
Mass movement wet	28					
Storm	71		1317	154	4275	
Total	382	296	1317	154	5721	16
	India			Nepal		
Number of people Killed	2006	2007	up to Nov-08	2006	2007	up to Nov-08
Drought				0		
Earthquake (seismic activity)						
Epidemic						
Extreme temperature	47	185				
Flood	1194	2051	1320	0	214	120
Mass movement wet			37	157		
Storm	190	0				
Total	1431	2236	1357	157	214	120
	Pakistan			Sri Lanka		
Number of people Killed	2006	2007	up to Nov-08	2006	2007	up to Nov-08
Drought						
Earthquake (seismic activity)						
Epidemic						
Extreme temperature	84					
Flood	400	526	45	25	33	31
Mass movement wet	29	143				
Storm		242				9
Total	513	911	45	25	33	40
	Grand Total					
Number of people Killed						
Drought	0					
Earthquake (seismic activity)	70					
Epidemic	86					
Extreme temperature	446					
Flood	7828					
Mass movement wet	394					
Storm	6298					
Total	15122					
Created on: Nov-25-2008. - Data version: v12.07						
Source: "EM-DAT: The OFDA/CRED International Disaster Database www.emdat.be - Université Catholique de Louvain - Brussels - Belgium"						

Source : Duryog Nivaran Secretariat & C/O Practical Action, *South Asia Disaster Report 2008, Disaster and Development in South Asia: Connects and Disconnects*, Deelaka Associates, Nugegoda, Sri Lanka

ANNEX C: NUMBER OF DISASTERS OCCURRED by COUNTRY AND by DISASTER TYPE

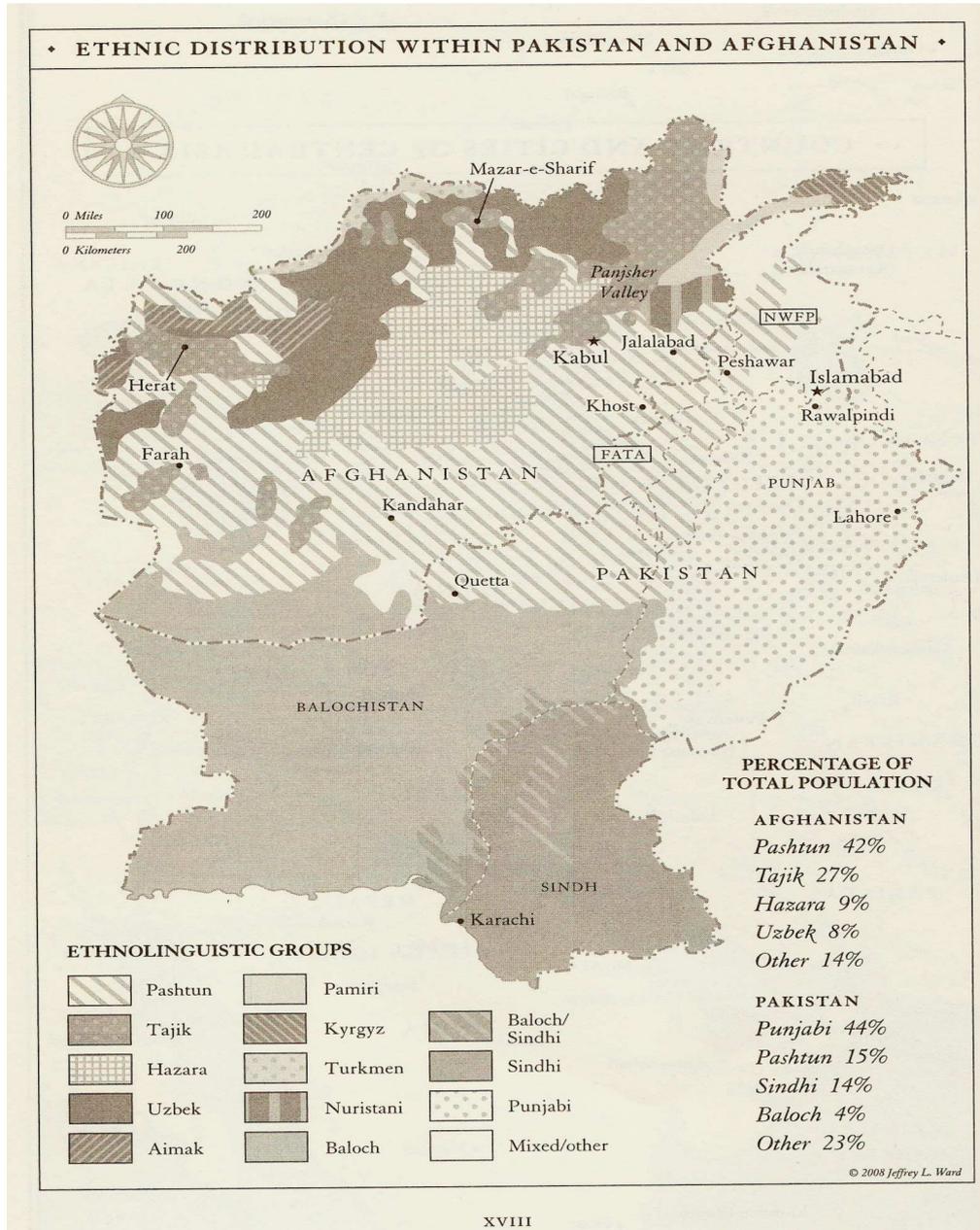
Disaster occurrence	Afghanistan			Bangladesh		
	2006	2007	up to Nov-08	2006	2007	up to Nov-08
Drought	1					
Earthquake (seismic activity)	1					
Epidemic					2	
Extreme temperature					1	
Flood	7	7	1	2	2	1
Mass movement wet	2					
Storm	2		1	5	2	
Total	13	7	2	7	7	1
Disaster occurrence	India			Nepal		
	2006	2007	up to Nov-08	2006	2007	up to Nov-08
Drought				1		
Earthquake (seismic activity)						
Epidemic						
Extreme temperature	1	3				
Flood	17	16	5	1	1	2
Mass movement wet			1	2		
Storm	2	1				
Total	20	20	6	4	1	2
Disaster occurrence	Pakistan			Sri Lanka		
	2006	2007	up to Nov-08	2006	2007	up to Nov-08
Drought						
Earthquake (seismic activity)						
Epidemic						
Extreme temperature	1					
Flood	7	6	2	1	3	2
Mass movement wet	1	3				
Storm		1				1
Total	9	10	2	1	3	3
Disaster occurrence	Grand Total					
Drought	2					
Earthquake (seismic activity)	6					
Epidemic	2					
Extreme temperature	6					
Flood	86					
Mass movement wet	9					
Storm	17					
Total	128					
Created on: Nov-25-2008. - Data version: v12.07						
Source: "EM-DAT: The OFDA/CRED International Disaster Database www.emdat.be - Université Catholique de Louvain - Brussels - Belgium"						

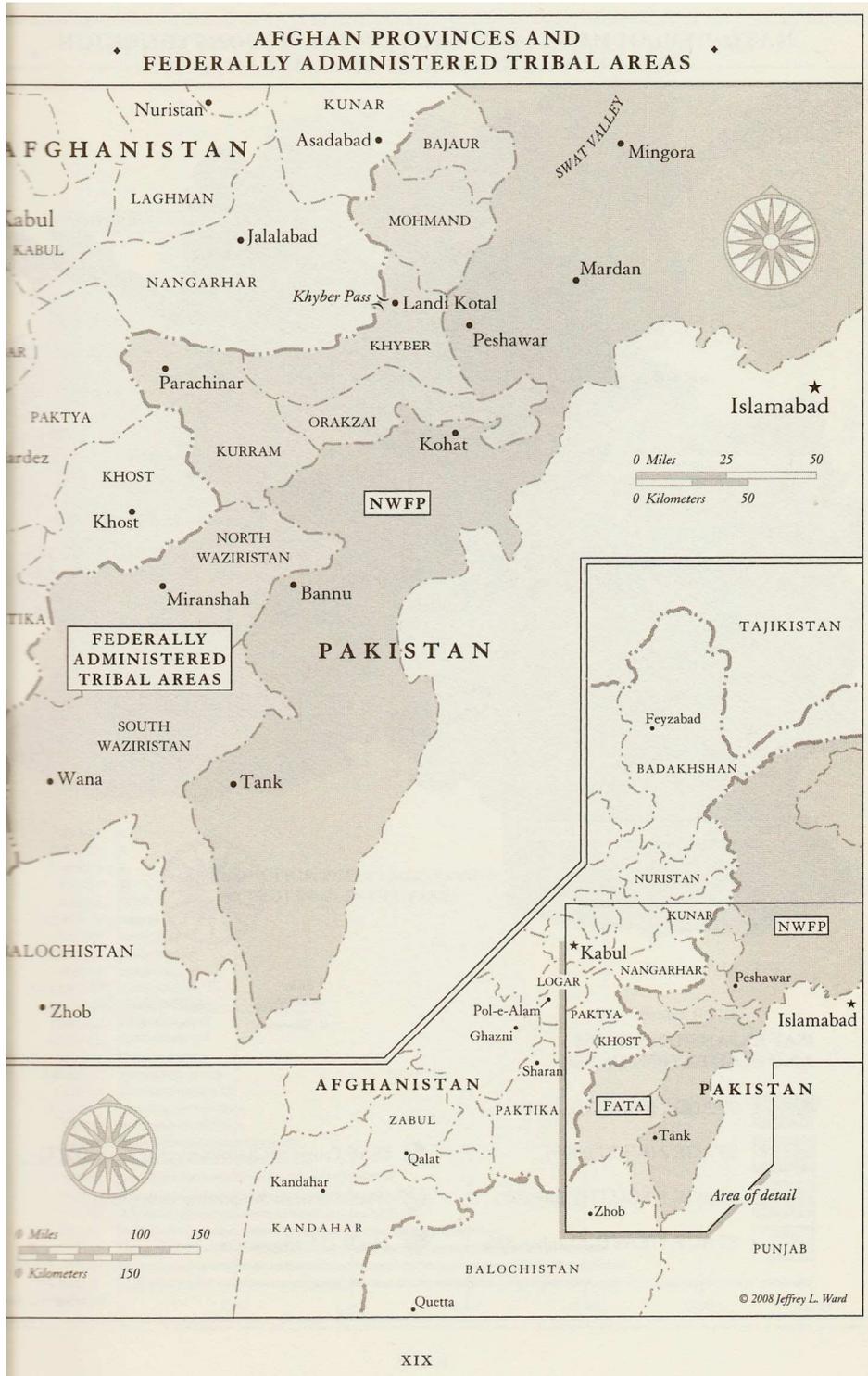
ANNEX D: NUMBER of DISASTERS OCCURRED by COUNTRY (FROM 2006 TO Nov. 2008)

Country	Number	Percentage
Afganistan	22	17%
Bangladesh	15	12%
India	46	36%
Iran	10	8%
Nepal	7	5%
Pakistan	21	16%
Sri Lanka	7	5%
Total	128	100%
Created on: Nov-25-2008. - Data version: v12.07 Source: "EM-DAT: The OFDA/CRED International Disaster Database www.emdat.be - Université Catholique de Louvain - Brussels - Belgium"		

Source : Duryog Nivaran Secretariat & C/O Practical Action, *South Asia Disaster Report 2008, Disaster and Development in South Asia: Connects and Disconnects*, Deelaka Associates, Nugegoda, Sri Lanka

MAPS







Source: Rashid, 2008, Introduction

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Which is, from your point of view, the most important reason of illegal immigration in South Eastern Europe from South Asian countries? (one answer)

- Ethnic and religious conflicts
- Economic reasons
- Family reunification
- Social/ family disputes
- Other reason:.....

2. What should be done for confronting the illegal immigration? (one answer)

- Common European policy against illegal immigration
- Frontex *rabbit teams* in the borders
- Democratization and development in South Asian countries
- Special Agreements with Turkey
- Other proposal :.....

3. Do you think that illegal immigrants are threat for the European security?

- Yes No I don't know

4. Why illegal immigrants from South Asian countries choose Europe? (one answer)

- Easy access by Greek borders
- Turkish organized crime
- Protection of human rights in Europe /asylum seekers
- They have relatives who live in Europe
- Rumors about good life in Europe

5. How Turkey's EU membership could affect illegal immigration?

- Positive Negative