

Turning the Global South into an Immigration Detention Gulag

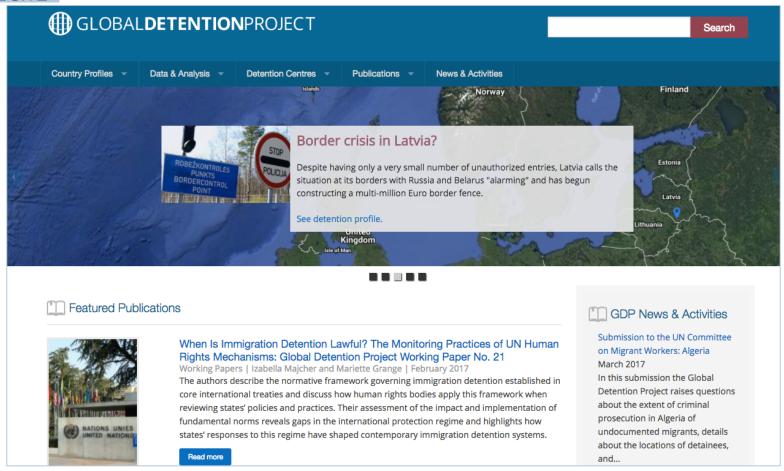
Michael Flynn

Global Detention Project OBJECTIVES

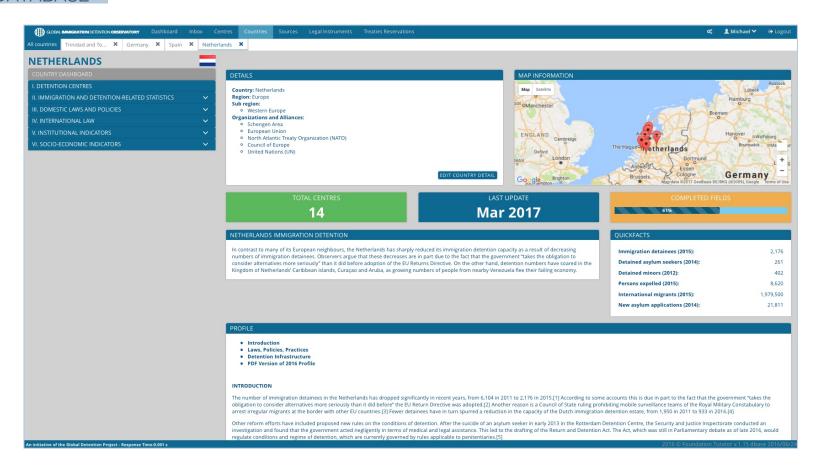
Foster transparency in detention policies and practices

Promote respect for fundamental rights of detainees

Reinforce advocacy of detention reforms Encourage policyrelevant scholarship



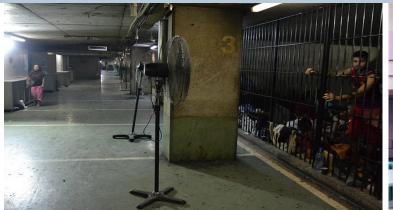
GDP DATABASE



Global Phenomenon: GDP Map of Detention Sites



Global Phenomenon: Detention Centers around the World











➤ Annual Migration Reports ➤ Migration Statistics

➤ History of Migration ➤ Migration Terminology

▶ Books ➤ Articles ➤ Promotion Activities ▶ Gallery ▶ Stakeholders ▶ Journals

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REMOVAL CENTERS

REMOVAL CENTERS

SUBJECT	STUT	US OF REMOVAL CENTER	ROW NUMBER	PROVINCE	TOTAL
				TOTAL	8.136
			1	ADANA	80
			2	ANTALYA1	60
CURRENT AND PLANNED REMOVAL CENTERS			3	ANTALYA ²	170
			4	AYDIN	564
			5	CANAKKALE	400
			6	EDIRNE	500
			7	ERZURUM ¹	750
	REM	IOVAL CENTERS WHICH	8	ERZURUM ²	750
	100000	PERATED BY GENERAL	9	GAZIANTEP	750
	4	DIRECTORATE	10	HATAY	192
			11	ISTANBUL (SILIVRI)	270
	l		12	ISTANBUL (BINKILIC)	120
			13	IZMIR (HARMANDALI)	750
			14	KAYSERI	750
			15	KIRKLARELI	750
			16	KOCAELI	50
			17	MUGLA	88
			18	VAN	392
			19	VAN (KURUBAS)	750
	PLANNED TO SERVICE	EU PROJECT CENTERS	TOTAL		3.150
			1	CANKIRI	750
			2	ADANA	400
			3	BALIKESIR	200
			4	KUTAHYA	400
			5	MALATYA	400
			6	NIGDE	400
			7	SANLIURFA	600
		CENTERS UNDER THE INVESTMENT PROGRAMS	TOTAL		4.250
			1	AGRI	400
			2	KOCAELI	250
	P.LA		3	ISTANBUL (Container)	1.200
			4	MALATYA	250
			5	ANKARA	500
			6	ISTANBUL (3rd AIRPORT)	700
			7	HATAY	400
			8	BAYBURT	150

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Diffusion of Detention Policies

1. Key Cases:

- "Mandatory Detention": US to Australia to Canada to New Zealand
- US-Caribbean Solution (First Innovation)
- Australian Pacific Solution
- EU Neighborhood Policies

2. Diffusion framework (Ghezelbash 2014):

- Efficiency
- Prestige
- Coercion
- Cooperation
- Competition

Key Trends

Growing involvement of private companies and non-state actors

Security companies, contractors, international organizations, nonprofits

Detention numbers

Until most recent period, numbers appeared to be levelling off in many destination countries, while increasing in transit and periphery

Institutionalization

Emerging dedicated bureaucracies, facilities

Externalisation of detention

Encouraging, financing, insisting on detention in neighbouring countries



- 1) Securitization of migration upwards, downwards, outwards (Lahav)
- 2) Domestic institutions, politics, traditions (Menz, Wong & Hollifield)
- 3) Human rights promotion, evasion and cooption (Flynn)
- 4) Crisis response (Caribbean 1980s Mediterranean 2000s)
- 5) Migration control in situations of corruption and lawlessness

1) Securitization of migration (upwards, downwards, outwards – Lahav)

"OUTWARDS" to: (1) private for-profit entities, like prison and security firms; (2) non-for-profit organizations (Red Cross in Lebanon and Italy, CIMADE in France); (3) international organizations IOM, UNHCR, ICMPD), creating migration management projects involving all types of actors plus governments; (4) carrier sanctions leading to detention by airline compnaies Incheon Airport, Seoul, South Korea.

2) Domestic institutions, politics, traditions (Menz, Wong & Hollifield)

Differences in levels of privatization of prisons and detention centers; case of Germany, case of the English-language countries; the Gulf and the Kakala system

3) Human rights promotion, evasion and cooption (Flynn)

"Right to Liberty" versus "Security of Person": (1) States employ outside actors, mainly other states, to help then evade applying this nor, getting other countries to work as gatekeepers and detainers; (2) states co-opt human rights campaigns instead of challenging them, for instance CPT/ Europe/prisons to dedicated facilities AND alternatives campaign

4) Crisis response (Caribbean 1980s Mediterranean 2000s)

Large and ongoing movements of migrants and asylum seekers often serve as moments of innovation: (1) the <u>Caribbean crisis</u> in the early 1980s helped private prison entrepreneurs and allies in Congress to get the first privately operated dedicated immigration detention center set up in Texas; (2) in <u>Europe today</u>, the move to set up "hotspots" in key border areas may eventually be accompanied by calls to have private contractors and or UNHCR/IOM to help manage the facilities.

- 5) Migration control in situations of corruption and lawlessness
- (1) <u>Case of Thailand</u>, relationship between immigration agencies and traffickers; (2) <u>case of Libya</u>, where areas controlled by militias continue to operate immigration detention facilities even though the legal regime has been abandoned.

Lack of Clarity: Words, Names, Laws

Detention?

Rétencion (France, Argentina), Albergar (Guatemala), Accommodation (Bulgaria, Ukraine)

Detention centers?

Governmental Shelters (Saudi Arabia), Welcome Centers (Italy), Residential Centers (US), Estaciones Migratorias (Mexico)

Laws and policies

- **a.** some countries do not provide specific grounds for detention or detention is derived solely from grounds for deportation;
 - **b.** failure to specify necessity or how to determine "last resort";
 - c. failure to set limits to length of detention (Common Law countries)
 - **d.** there is no "custodial authority," or non-state actors in control;

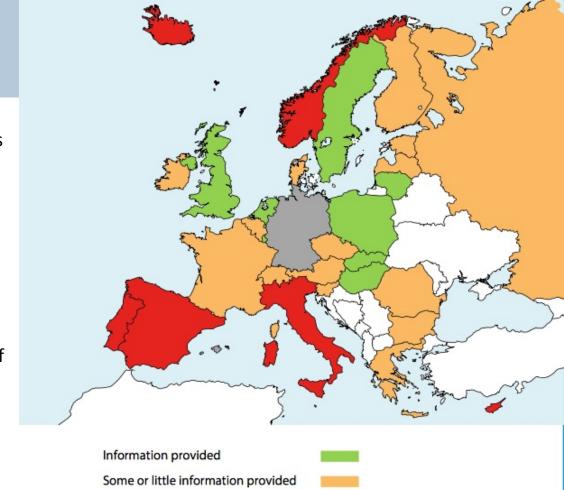
Lack of Transparency: Information and Scrutiny

COMMON PROBLEMS

- 1. Governments often fail to respond to information requests
- 2. There is often no public source of statistics, governments fail to develop stats or they refuse to release them
- 3. Lack of access to detention centers by independent oversight bodies, media, NGOs

Lack of Transparency: GDP-Access Info Joint Study (2014-2015): Repeated FOIA requests to 33 countries over two years

- » Over half of the countries monitored (19/33) did not disclose the locations of where migrants are detained
- » 12 countries did not provide statistics on the total number of migrants detained
- » 17 countries did not disclose information on the number of detained asylum seekers
- » 19 countries failed to provide a breakdown of the numbers of unaccompanied and accompanied minors in detention
- Only six countries Hungary, Lithuania,
 Luxembourg, Poland, Slovakia, and Sweden –
 provided full answers to all questions



Information not held

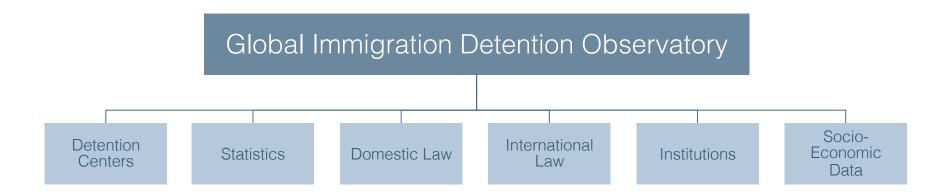
Administrative silence

Challenging Detention at the International Level

1. Ongoing global campaigns:

- UN Global Study on Children Deprived of Liberty
- Global campaign to end the immigration detention of children
- UNHCR's "Beyond Detention" strategy to end detention of asylum seekers and refugees
- global "alternatives to detention" campaign
- **2. Harnessing tools at the international level:** Norms, human rights monitoring bodies, treaty bodies, and special mechanisms

Developing tools to track detention globally



Building Detention Data

SYSTEMATIC METHODS

Unique data coding methodology to clearly define information and enable comparative analysis

VERIFY & ANALYZE

Cross-reference multiple sources of information – official FOIA requests, interviews, media reports, human rights monitoring assessments, NGOs – to ensure accuracy and identify discrepancies

NETWORK

Train local actors in coding methods to document changes in detention policies directly in the database

RECORD & PUBLISH

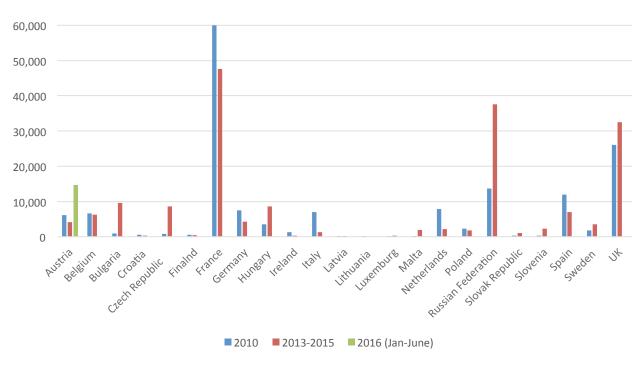
Record findings in an online database and employ the data in country reports, submissions to human rights bodies, and in thematic publications

TRENDS: Detention numbers in the Council of Europe

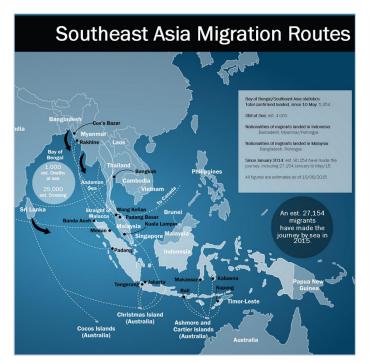
- ➤ GDP has been able to identify or receive data on only 23 countries of the 47 CoE Member States for the most recent period (between 2010-2015)
- > Overall, numbers appear to have decreased during this period. However, available numbers for 2016 show sharp increases (Austria: 14,600 first half of 2016)

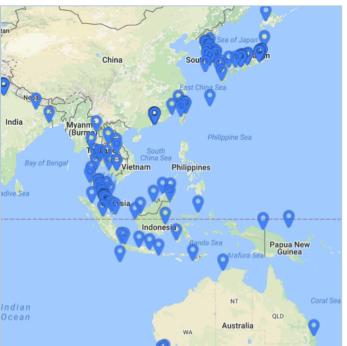
	2010	2013, 2014, or 2015	
Austria	6,153	4,171	
Belgium	6,553	6,229	
Bulgaria	973	9,530	
Croatia	559	258	
Czech Republic	822	8,563	
Finland	534	444	
France	60,000	47,565	
Germany	7,495	4,309	
Hungary	3,509	8,562	
Ireland	1,279	335	
Italy	7,000	1,279	
Latvia	187	221	
Lithuania	132	353	
Luxemburg	200	243	
Malta	61	1900	
Netherlands	7,812	2,176	
Poland	2,310	1,754	
Russian Federation	13,638	37,522	
Slovak Republic	319	1,058	
Slovenia	340	2,338	
Spain	11,915	6,930	
Sweden	1,810	3,524	
UK	26,000	32,466	
Total	153,129	138,626	





TRENDS: Detention on migration routes





GLOBAL**DETENTION**PROJECT

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