MIGRANT REFUGEE

PETER TINTI AND TUESDAY REITANO

SMUGGLER

SAVIOUR



HURST & COMPANY, LONDON

CONTENTS

vii

Acknowledgements

Select Acronyms	ix
Authors' Note	xi
Introduction: Smugglers and Saviours	1
PART 1	
1. Smugglers Needed	11
Options in Exile	21
Seeking Asylum: Rights and Privileges	26
Smuggler or Saviour?	31
2. Smugglers Inc.	35
A Transnational Crime	36
The Business Model of Human Smuggling	40
3. Structure and Design	55
In on the Ground Floor	59
The Logisticians	60
Moving Money	66
Forging a New Identity	75
4. Routes	83
Central Mediterranean Route	90
Aegean Route through Turkey	95
PART 2	
5. Libya: Out of Africa	103
Criminal Economies in Libra and the Greater Sahara	105

CONTENTS

Syrian Dollars on Libyan Shores	112
Mare Nostrum Changes the Game	119
Extortion and Abuse	123
6. Egypt: The North Coast	127
The Long Trip to Italy	133
Cooperation and Complicity	141
7. Desert Highway: Agadez and the Sahel	145
Understanding the Sahel	148
Niger, Agadez and the West	154
New Masters	164
Everybody is Eating	176
8. Turkey: The Crossroads	183
Izmir	185
The Mob: Criminal Market Consolidation	199
The €6 Billion Question	210
9. Schengen and Beyond	217
Cracks in the Fortress	218
Greek Tragedy	231
Balkan Odyssey	236
Dead Ends of Europe	243
Conclusion	249
The World We Live In	249
Postcards from the Front	253
Wider Ramifications	258
Closing an Industry: Supply and Demand	263
Messaging to the Market	264
Diplomatic Solutions	270
Vested Interests	272
On the Demand Side	275
Notes	281
Bibliography	303
Index	319