

The Limits of Hospitality. Lampedusa, Local Perspectives and Undocumented Migration

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In queste mura non ci si sta che di passaggio.

Qui la meta è partire

Giuseppe Ungaretti

Dans les civilisations sans bateaux les rêves se tarissent

Michel Foucault

Abstract

Since the late 1990's the island of Lampedusa has become one of the European frontiers for 'irregular' migrants and asylum seekers and a powerful symbol for European policies that try to limit their entrance. Based on extensive anthropological fieldwork, the paper presents first insights of an ongoing multi-sited project on *The Limits of Hospitality* and envisions the various local actors and areas of conflicts that are articulated by the increasing arrival of undocumented migrants. Historically, hospitality has been a religious and ethical duty, a (sacred) demand of charity, generosity and responsibility. With the development of the modern nation-state, such duties have been inscribed into the procedures of organized, public solidarity and into the national and international legal system that order citizenship, (political) membership and the precarious status assigned to 'aliens' that shape, govern and limit the hospitable welcome of an Other. At the same time, concepts of hospitality gained an immense relevance for ongoing debates on migration, globalization and multiculturalism and are currently been discussed in philosophical debates on renewed forms of cosmopolitanism, global justice and the rights of others which aim at troubling the conventional congruence of citizenship, territory and belonging. The paper will engage with current politics of hospitality and its inherent limits, conflicts and tensions.

1. Mapping the Field

One of the most vital questions of our time is how to hospitably welcome migrants, exiled and refugees that arrive at the borders of Europe. Concepts of hospitality thus, are increasingly on the intellectual and public political agenda. 'Hospitality allows individuals and families that come from different places (as well as cities and states) to socialize and to render mutual services' (Gotman, 1997:5; 2001), private, as well as public hospitality allows for generosity, solidarity, trust, mutual exchange and engagement. Its various languages and gestures arrange the relations towards an Other and entail various tensions and paradoxes. It brings about tensions between 'being at home' or 'being a stranger', between alterity and belonging, closeness or distance, territory and boundary, of private and public space, (political, social and cultural) membership and exclusion. Additionally, it creates an –

asymmetrical – social bond and a difference between those who give and those who take, those who are hosted and those who host and involves the complex relations between reciprocity, obligation and debt on one hand and generosity on the other (Osteen, 2002; Schrift, 1997). Furthermore, the notion of hospitality entails a double meaning, a possibility as well as a limit: it refers both to a 'friend' (*Gastfreund*), a guest and to the enemy (*hostis* and *hospis*; Benveniste, 1973), it refers to exchange, alliance and a common, a shared place, as well as to risk, hostility, rejection, mistrust and demarcation and thus, entails its negation.¹ In short, the languages of hospitality (Bahr, 1994) engage with fundamental questions of the social, the political, the ethical and their respective spaces.

Social and cultural theory addressed the ambivalent relationship between host and guest with respect to both the manifold practices of hospitality and its connections to social cosmologies, symbols, moral conceptions, political institutions and legal arrangements that – despite historical and regional differences – share a joint sociological background and arrange the spaces of both the host and the hosted: the stranger is relegated to an undecided, highly ambivalent and tension-ridden space oscillating between solidarity and hostility, between outside and inside, the public and the private, the sacred and the profane. He is assigned a space between social proximity and distance, between integration and exclusion. Accordingly, the diverse practices of hospitality have been understood as 'rites of passage' (Van Gennep, 1977:26-40) and as processes which order these tensions and ambivalences in an effort to place the unknown within the socio-cultural geography and to bridle and restrain antagonism and hostility.

'To refuse to give something, to fail to invite someone, to reject an offer equals a declaration of war', as Marcel Mauss remarks on 'the rights and duties of offering and receiving' (1975:28, 29) – the gestures of hospitality are to limit antagonism and hostility, and they create time, trust and a social bond. Hospitality, its offering, receiving and sharing however, cannot be enforced, its (inaugural) gestures are given voluntarily and a return cannot be sued. What is established thus, is a relation between hospitality and the gift (Godbout und Cailée, 1992; Godbout, 1997, 2000). If 'the gift gives, asks for and takes time', as Jacques Derrida states (Derrida, 1993:59), is hospitality, just like the gift, endowed with the expectancy – and the moral claim – to be returned and thus establishes not only a debt and an obligation, but as well a reciprocal bond as Mauss' 'general theory of obligation' assumes (Mauss, 1975:26)? Or, on the contrary, entails hospitality – just like the gift - its impossibility? 'A gift is a gift only insofar, as there is no reciprocity, no return, no exchange, neither a counter-gift or a debt... every time a return or a counter-gift is given, the gift is being annulled' (Derrida, 1993:22-3). Just like the gift, the concept of hospitality it seems, is marked by an inevitable aporia.

Historically, hospitality has been considered as a religious and ethical duty (Hiltbrunner, 2005; Wagner-Hasel, 1994), a sacred commandment of charity and generosity to assign strangers an albeit ambivalent place in the community. With the development of the modern nation-state, these ethical obligations have been inscribed into the procedures of public political deliberation and legal institutions that determine rights and duties and the social spaces of 'aliens, residents and citizens' (Benhabib, 2004). The tensions between membership and exclusion, reception and hostility, closeness and distance, equality and asymmetry govern not just the languages and gestures of 'private' hospitality, they are particularly inscribed into the practices and institutionalized procedures of organized solidarity in modern liberal states that are governed by the 'laws of hospitality' - it is not a

coincidence or a mere metaphorical device that the language of Italian law considers the inmates of *reception* centers (*Centri di Accoglienza/CPA*) as *ospiti* (guests) and that in the context of international migrational movements we do not hesitate to speak of *host* societies and those who are *givers*. Current political and legal regulations, policing and measures of surveillance still testify the deeply rooted ambivalences that inhabit the laws of hospitality and inform the public debate until today. Notions of hospitality however, blur and trouble the Westphalian grammar and concepts of citizenship and national borders. Therefore, current *philosophical debates* and theories of justice focus on the 'rights of others' (Cavallar, 2002; Benhabib, 2004; Honig, 2001; Sassen, 1999), on the tensions between the demand of unconditional hospitality (Derrida/Dufourmantelle, 1997), an absolute ethical requirement to host the stranger on the one hand, and the political and legal limitations that restrict such a demand, on the other. These concepts are tied to notions of (distributive) justice (Assier-Andrieu, 2000; Laugier/Paperman, 2006), which on one hand question social, cultural or national borders and undermine the conventional congruence of citizenship, territory and nation that make up modern nation states (Miller/Hashimi, 2001) or on the other hand, re-affirm the rights of political communities to deliberate about the contents and the extent of the universal duty of hospitality and mutual aid (Bauböck, 2001; Bauböck/Rundell, 1998; Beitz, 2000; Pogge, 2001; Rawls, 1999; Walzer, 1983).

Increasing mobility, forced or voluntary displacement and migration, the expanding circulation of goods and services in 'postcolonial' and 'post-national constellations' (Habermas, 1998) and the different articulations of the local and the global have significantly altered the languages of hospitality. Accordingly, the familiar congruence of culture and space has been replaced by a reasoning that emphasizes blurred borders and intersections (Dufoix, 2004; Gilroy, 1993, 1994; Safran, 1991; Vila, 2003). Concepts such as 'transnational connections' (Hannerz, 1996), 'transnationalism' (Glick Schiller/Basch/Blanc-Szanton, 1992), 'traveling cultures' point to a loss of 'place as a dominant metaphor for culture' and aim at undermining primordialist and essentializing versions of the community-place equalization (Amit/Rapport, 2002; Assmann/Friese, 2000; Friese, 2001, 2002b, 2005). Articulations of the local and the global (Chrisman, 2003; Hannerz, 1996a; Kearney, 1995; Mignolo, 2000; Ong, 1998) are reformulated by diasporic perspectives of exile, dispossession, displacement and adaptation advocating uncertain, hybrid 'contact zones', 'routes' instead of roots' (Clifford, 1994, 1997; Bhabha, 1990, 1994; Papastergiadis, 2000).

Yet, despite the emphasis on deterritorialization (of borders, Mezzadra/Rigo, 2005), displacement, homelessness and the irreversible destruction of localities and territories, the growing uniformity of significant places and sites on a global scale – the 'Global City' (Sassen, 1991) – and the elimination of distinct particularities, the importance of places is forcefully reasserted. Consequently, renewed versions of geopolitics, the relations between space and the *nomos* (that have been addressed by Friedrich Ratzel, Karl Haushofer, Carl Schmitt, Franz Rosenzweig among others) and non-places, such as the camp (Agamben, 1995; Diken/Bagge, 2005; Franke, 2003) come into view. A long ignored dimension of social and political theory is being reaffirmed together with the powerful politics of space and territory, demarcation and setting boundaries which lead not just to gated communities, urban apartheid and new ghettos that do not allow for hospitable places.²

In the 'twentieth century, the reckoning with both local and transnational powers has reached an unparalleled degree' (Clifford, 1997:*14) and thus, the various

tensions and conflicts between socio-cultural localization and globalization came into view. On one hand, the transnational movement of people weaken borders and sovereignty of the nation state, on the other hand boundaries are currently be re-affirmed by new nationalisms and localisms that shape the concrete forms of hospitality. Given the crisis of modern organized solidarity and systems of welfare and in an atmosphere of growing resentment and xenophobia, pressing questions emerged how contemporary democratic and pluralistic states should implement the requirements of hospitality that recommend to host refugees and migrants. The question of national and local borders, of membership, inclusion and exclusion gains a particular political and social significance and is currently being discussed in terms of 'fortress Europe' or 'new nomadism' (Balibar, 2003; Jonas/McCaughey, 1982; Mezzadra and Rigo, 2003).³

'Immigration issues are a symptom of how profoundly the citizens of a modern European state can disagree about the definitions of hospitality. And whether or not the word is explicitly used, hospitality is now at the center of this political, social, and economic controversy [...].' (Rosello, 2001:6)

The semantic field of the term 'hospitality', its foundations and range encompasses the most urgent political, social and cultural questions of our time and harbors a variety of tensions. With the view of the constitution of the social, it regards the tensions between inclusion and exclusion. With regard to the political dimension, it entails tensions between universalism and particularity, of citizenship and rights and duties, impartial principles and procedures of right and political deliberation and particularistic, 'substantial' policies, between classical liberalism and (multi)culturalism, cosmopolitanism and national border regimes. With regard to ethics, what is involved are the requirements of a hospitable welcome and the quest for recognition of alterity and otherness.

In recent years, Lampedusa became a space of transit for undocumented migrants, refugees and asylum-seekers that hope for a better future. Despite the fact that most undocumented migrants are 'overstayers' that arrived by overland routes and/or at European airports (de Haas, 2007:23; see table. 1 and 2), the island became – next to the Spanish enclaves Ceuta and Melilla - a powerful symbol of increasing restrictive European migration policies, human tragedies and European border management, a symbol that articulates as well the (shifting) relations between the 'global' and the 'local', center and periphery. As a first dimension of a multi-sited anthropological research - a second step will engage with the experience of traveling, dwelling and the modes of hospitality in the so-called 'transit' countries in the Maghreb – in the following, I will mainly look at the local arena and its *Agents, Interests and Conflicts* (**section 2**). Against this background, engagement will be devoted to the various borderlands that mark undocumented migration and the *Limits of Hospitality* and will outline *Routes - The Desert and the Sea*, the *Legal Maps* that are at stake and finally sketch *The Political Economy of the Camp* (**section 3**).

2. Lampedusa: Undocumented Migration and the Local Arena

Being Hosted - The Anthropologist as Guest

The gestures of hospitality have been prior to my looking into these practices on a broader and more institutional level. First of all, during fieldwork in Sicily I have been a guest hosted by friends of mine which handed my over to their friends and finally, I have been hosted by families in Lampedusa. Opposed to the 'cold' North, I

have been repeatedly told that 'warm' hospitality is an inborn feature of Sicilians and part of collective identity. Many people whom I had never seen before devoted me their time, untiringly drove and showed me around, called other people to talk to me, liberally opened me the doors of their homes, introduced me to their family and generously offered wine and food. I often admired the houses, living rooms, bath-and bedrooms which were shown with great pride and photographs of the loved ones, children and grandchildren and thus, was invited to participate and to share what is important. I have been offered everything that the pantry had possibly to offer became part of the rhythm of the house and shared its daily activities. Trying not to be invasive and not to stretch the host's patience, I sometimes felt that in return I had not so much to give except gratitude and the promise of a future exchange (which however, is one basis of social relations and its potentialities).

I soon noticed that I was already part of that which I endeavored to look at. 'The anthropologist's field is defined as a site of displaced dwelling and productive work, a practice of participant observation which... has been conceived as a sort of mini-immigration', as James Clifford notes (1997:22). The researcher as "temporary migrant" and her participant observation rely on the benevolent reception and on the (gendered) gestures of hospitality. Bernhard (1997) remarks that female researchers are often received in a different way than men, being the former subject to 'protection' – a mode of ritualizing their inferior status - whereas the latter are often relegated to a more official and formal roles as a guest. Given that this was not my first fieldwork in Sicily and Lampedusa where I had already stayed in 1992-93, I became aware that next to gender, age is a quite important factor as well that significantly altered my relationships as a host 'in the field'.

Additionally, my role became even more complicated when I was invited by undocumented (and eventually 'legalized') migrants and thus, became a guest of the hosted.⁴ Again, I was handed over, admired photographs of loved ones, shared life-stories, the accounts of persecution, travel and horror, and participated in daily worries and joys. And again, I wondered and worried what I had to offer in return. My research therefore, had to confront that which it wanted to shed light upon in a twofold way.

Hospitality is to mediate ambivalences and tensions and most anthropologists certainly share the experience of being assigned a rather dubious status between friend and enemy, inside and outside and the sometimes despotic forms of hospitality they are subjected to and know about the irritating suspect that is raised by her quite baffling enterprise - why after all, should someone in her right mind leave home, kids and family for such a long time, if not for a good reason, i.e. being paid by someone? And again, I learned that a guest - a stranger after all - should not mingle in delicate political affairs, sore points and more or less hidden secrets that could affect the – sometimes tricky – social relations. The host after all will stay and will have to deal with eventual unpleasant consequences, whereas the hosted anthropologist as – uninvited - guest and temporary migrant will probably be gone tomorrow.

Routes, Connections and Borders - Historical Background

Lampedusa reflects the entangled history of the Mediterranean in a particular way. Given its geographical position, the history of Spain, Naples, Venice and the Adriatic coast, as well as Constantinople and the Ottoman Empire, the Greek archipelago, Malta and the Arabic Northern Africa encountered. Lampedusa

testifies the trade routes, the exchange of goods and the various historical networks of cities and regions, the reciprocal cultural contaminations in this area.

With the 16th century and the reign of the Spanish Viceroy the inner colonization of Sicily was underway. The central motivation was to safeguard and to control the territory, the pacification and the defense against 'vagabonds' and bandits on one hand (Braudel, 1986:781-95), the protection of the shipping routes and the coasts against the invasions of corsairs that devastated entire regions enslaving its inhabitants (Braudel, 1986:797-8), on the other.⁵ Given the fortunate geographical position between Sicily, Malta and the North African coast, Lampedusa was a privileged site at which navies and trading vessels found a natural harbor that offered the possibility to get provisions of food and water. Its numerous bays allowed pirates and corsairs to hide their ships, as well as escaped slaves found a safe shelter. In this way, the island became a site of encounter of the different regions and religions of the Mediterranean - I'll come back to this point later on.⁶

The almost uninhabited island however – a former feudal property of the noble family Lampedusa – was systematically colonized by the Bourbon authorities in 1843, the Maltese leaseholders were chased and 120 Sicilian families, which had been attracted by the promise of land, housing and income, settled down. The first settlers made their living from agriculture and after the disastrous deforestation and the subsequent desolation of the land, conquered the sea, became fishermen and exploited the rich fishing grounds around the island and the near North African coast and thus, established new connections.

The sea separates from the mainland but it creates multiple connections as well.⁷ With reference to Arjun Appadurai (1990, 1996), one could call the Mediterranean a 'Seascape', a 'space on the move' (Reinwald/Deutsch, 2002).⁸ Trading brought people from Lampedusa in busy relations with other regions of the Mediterranean. Shortly after the colonization the exchange with the mainland boomed, connections to Malta and the sponge fishery in Tunisia opened new relations. This resource, that Lampedusans had to divide with Greek fishers as well, the shipyards in the Adriatic region (Istria) and the commerce of salted fish allowed for multiple contacts. Lampedusa was a site of multiple transactions where people of different traditions and backgrounds met. Lesina, Djerba, the Sicilian Islands, the Greek archipelago formed a space that was not just connected by trade and economic interest.

Additionally connections were created through technical means. From 1912 onwards, the island disposed of telegraphy and 1963 telephone was finally available. In the 1960s – and following strategic-military reasons (the island hosted an American interception facility) – the construction of a runway was underway. In the 1980s the runway was modernized and created the infrastructural means for the booming tourism that again, created new (inter)national connections.

In this way, lines of communication have been created as well as they have been interrupted. Still in 1911 - and in the wake of new colonial conflicts – there were daily naval connections between Naples, Sicily and Tunis; weekly connections between Genoa, Livorno, Naples, Catania, Malta, Tripoli, Homs, Benghazi, Derna and Tobruk; every 14 days one could travel from Tripoli to Alessandria and do business (Ghilensi, 1912, appendix).⁹ These ancient passages which - as we will see - have been part of grimmer trading transactions (see section 3), have been almost cut and illustrate that history doesn't necessarily strive for more complexity, differentiation and increasing interconnectedness between nations. They rather

demonstrate that centre and periphery do constantly switch, socio-economical spaces and networks are continuously re-organized and reassessed.

The old histories about the Lampedusian fisherman that finally returned from the catch that could last some weeks and back home, brought their families the – smuggled – marvels of the Orient, testify the constant movement between places, the beats of time between coming and arriving, departure and arrival that made up the social rhythm. Fishing, trade, friends and family created personal relations that bridged distances. The fishing of sponges in Algeria and Tunisia at the end of the 19th century fostered the development of small communities of Lampedusians in Sfax, Medhia and Bona became the bases for those who looked for livelihood in the colonies. The migrants encountered the descendents of French settlers – since 1848 the II Republic supported colonists - which fled misery and poverty and searched for a better life. The quite cosmopolitan cities in Northern Africa have been sites where dreams, promises and despair intersected.¹⁰ Some of the descendents of the first Lampedusian colonists that had moved to Northern Africa settled permanently and started families. These relations were cut off only during the Second World War and the expulsion of Italian citizens – and nowadays the directions of movement have been reversed, the routes of migrants do no longer move from Nord to South but from South to North.

Lampedusa has been connected to the other regions of the Mediterranean, the island however, was marked as well by an important inner division. In 1872 the Italian state decided to install a penal institution. In the first period, this penal regime of confinement united up to 500 convicted coming from all over Italy. They were piled up in scanty barracks, they were badly nurtured and poorly clothed, they were not only used for workers for public benefit, but some landowners used this cheap working-force for private gain (see Friese, 1996:157-63; Scalarini, o.J.)

Confinement has been disappeared, however with the increasing arrival of boatpeople and the setting up of a centre of reception (*CPT/CPA* – see section 3), that accommodates the arriving after their exhausting journey, the island again hosts an institution that isolates people and accommodates strangers – a threat that has to be contained, repulsed a confined to a special site and a 'non-place' (see Franke, 2003). It seems that hospitality which once was granted to the stranded and offered refuge and shelter, has vanished. Nonetheless, the historical narratives of the island do not just refer to demarcation, but to hospitable welcome, spontaneous solidarity, aid and assistance as well. Lampedusa has a long tradition as a 'life-belt' for refugees and the stranded - the fishermen recall a long chronicle of rescue from the shipwreck, a generous help which certainly didn't ask for name, origin or nationality and hosted the unfortunate.

Local Settings: Agents, Interests and Conflicts

'The concept of hospitality is bound to generate conflicts and passionate arguments', it is 'inevitably linked to the daily practices of ordinary citizens' (Rosello, 2001:6) and part of a specific local historical contexts that articulate these concepts. In 2007, the community of Lampedusa and Linosa which belongs to the Province of Agrigento, comprises 6129 inhabitants that formed 2201 families and thus, can register a continuous growth of population (see table 3). Whereas in former times inhabitants used to migrate abroad, today's migration people is predominantly national. Recent migration from abroad did not contribute to a significantly to the growth of the local population. With the beginning of the 1990s, first migrants from non-Italian countries settled in Lampedusa and in 2007 84 non-Italian citizens were

officially registered, making up 1,3% of the local population (see table 4). These residents came predominantly from Morocco (19%) and Tunisia (14%), Pakistan (13%), Sri Lanka (10%) and Romania (12%) (see table. 5). Whereas there is strong maghrebini community since the 1960s in Mazara del Vallo on mainland Sicily – members working mainly in the important fishing industry – the family-run fishing enterprises in Lampedusa (boats are predominantly owned by brothers or brothers-in-law) do work with local crews. Migrants therefore work basically in the service-sector (tourism), as unskilled workers or as merchants or hawkers, female migrants look after the elderly or are employed as chambermaids: 'these are by no means prostitutes', the mayor told me when I asked him about this new phenomenon. 'We became multi-ethnic!' as I was told, in contrast to mainland Sicily however, there is no Chinese migration – 'time ago, there were some Chinese on the ferry, after having been mistreated, they returned and never came back' as the story runs.¹¹ 'Who comes to Lampedusa and wants to work is always welcome – and there is enough work', says the recently elected mayor trying to dissipate in advance eventual accusations of racism.

As already mentioned, the local economy was historically based on the sponge and fishing industry.¹² Whereas in the 1980s there were still seven enterprises that processed local fish (*pesce azzurro*, i.e. sardines, anchovy, mackerel) and hired mostly women, today four companies have closed down. Several efforts to unite these industries in a consortium and to promote a certified product that could have assured better commercialization did fail because of divergences of interests, and efforts to unite the fishermen in cooperatives didn't succeed as well (the latest attempt ended up in bankruptcy because of rather un-transparent financial transactions).

Whereas the sector's past was characterized by a surplus on the market and thus, prices for the product went down – everyone recalls the spectacular action in the 1990s as protesting fisherman reversed tons of fresh fish on the local streets – the local fishing industry today has to address the opposite problem: fish became a scarce resource. The local fishing industry has to face an alarming crisis. The local fishing of the *pesce azzurro* is 'practically dead', and the traditional preservation doesn't process the local product any longer: 'nowadays the fish arrives from Greece, Spain and Peru', as a fisherman sarcastically commented. The crisis of this economic is causing a change in the social relationships that were connected to the boats and the seasonal rhythm of the activity: the organization of the crews, the relations of the partners that run and own the boat, relations to traders, other regions, the division of work ashore.¹³

In 2007, 91 boats are licensed for local fishing and around 500 families make at least part of their living from this activity.¹⁴ There are no new licenses and in order to reduce the fleet - and just like in the 1980s –, owners that decide for shutting down their business and scrapping the boats get financial aids from the state. Already many did give up. Boats are used for showing around tourists during summer and former fishermen seek to get along during the winter, working as bricklayers or take other sidelines as unskilled workers.

The local fleet's exploitation of the fishing grounds is basically devoted to inshore fishing within the six miles zone and has to face national (Mazara del Vallo) and international (Korea) concurrence. These fleets are considerably bigger and technically better equipped than the relatively small boats in Lampedusa which cannot expand their radius of action and are not licensed for the Mediterranean fishing (*pesca mediterranea*). Fishing does no longer depend on personal skill and

experience, and technical devices like sonar and GPS have industrialized the sector quite a while ago (nowadays fishing employs even helicopters to find promising shoal for a catch: 'for today's young men, the boat is like a car – you start and head off', I have been told).

The local fishing industry is no longer able to compete on a globalized market. Structural handicaps, like higher prices for diesel (which has to be transported on the island and thus costs 17cents more than on the mainland) aggravate the situation. The president of the local association of fisherman calculates an average 15.000€ extra costs compared to mainland Sicily – and the annual contribution of 3.000€ that has been granted by the Region for three years in 2004/2005 does not cover additional expenses. Another structural problem concerns the lacking of efficient transport to serve the national market – one has to rely on the ferry that due to meteorological reasons does not operate regularly (the operating airline – currently *Airone* which – as the *Siremar* get subsidiaries from the Region - lacks freight capacity and costs are not competitive; the question is an ongoing political issue).

The main reason of this crisis however, is the dramatic over-fishing of the Mediterranean. Additionally, the non-observation of the close season (*fermo biologico*) that amounts to 30-45 days (between October, 15 and April, 1),¹⁵ is hardly controlled and fishers tend to postpone this period to the summer: 'what can I do, should I denounce Salvatore, he is a pensioner and needs the money' as the councilor for the sector explained, describing the dilemmas between different logics of action and the demands of law, the long-term protection of resources and social relations.

This structural crisis is marked by another arena of conflict. Whereas Lampedusians once fished next to the Tunisian shores, in recent years Tunisians started to approach the Italian national waters and thus, traditional fishing grounds around the island - the (own) past it seems, is returning:

'Today the Lampedusan fishery traverses one of the most critical moments of its existence; this is due not only to the extraordinary development of the Mazzares' fleet of dragnets which trawls close to the island and chooses it as a point of unloading the catch: recently the crisis is due to the incredible development of the maghrebinian fleet which approaches almost normally in our territorial waters: it is non rare to watch them throwing undisturbed their nets at four or five nautical miles from the coast of Lampedusa or next to Lampione.¹⁶

'They are a lot better equipped than in former times and go for a catch despite bad weather, we wouldn't move with wind at 8 knots', I was told. 'They are about to ruin us, they use dragnets which are not permitted to us and we cannot pass them because nets would ruin the screw, they form a insurmountable barrier'. Additionally, as fishers complain, 'they use nets with small meshes' that are not permitted in the EU any more und thus, 'do fish everything.'¹⁷ In short: 'they do everything we are not allowed to do.'

Fishers do lament that the Coastal Guard that should prevent violations of national waters remains idle and inactive. 'In order to avoid unpleasant and violent incidents',¹⁸ the association of the fishermen (*Associazione Pescatori Lampedusa*), that has been founded in 2000 and represents 200 members (and thus almost all enterprises on the island), has written several letters of protest to the competent authorities and demanded 'that there be taken adequate measures to avoid the over-

fishing of the *pesce azzurro*, at least in territorial waters'.¹⁹ The competent authorities however, negated the existence of the problem and refused to act.

'Regarding this matter... and after the Capitaneria del Porto di Porto Empedocle examined the problem with the department in Lampedusa we hold that there haven't been formulated laments. Such a situation is being confirmed by the vessels which are engaged every day in policing the sea and controlling fishing activities.'²⁰

The association was not very successful in raising a public issue and the – former – President of the Region, Salvatore Cuffaro, replied:

'The regional Government has been and is willing to engage in protecting the sea from excessive exploitation in a way that its richness may constitute a patrimony accessible to everyone. However, such an engagement necessitates a strong support from the Ministry that follows a logic of active dialogue with the other countries in the Mediterranean.'²¹

The position is quite clear: the Region is unable to move, the solution of the question needs the strong will of the Ministry in Rome and wider cooperation of the adjacent Mediterranean countries should be reached. Fishers came to the conclusion that the inactivity of authorities is due to the fact that 'they' want to avoid diplomatic complications and that ultimately economic and political interests are at stake. 'They tell us "let these poor people work" and will engage only once there have been the first dead' – there already have been violent incidents with Tunisian boats. In May 2001 the Coast Guard has captured – at 11 nautical miles and thus, in territorial waters - a Tunisian boat and confiscated 20tons of fish (I was told that the confiscated catch has been distributed to local restaurants).²²

Whereas in former times the fleet of Mazara del Valle has been the main object of lament, the lines of conflict have been substituted and Tunisia became the antagonist. (By the way, fisherman from mainland Sicily share the effects of over-fishing as well, the fleet of Mazara nowadays reaches out as far as to Turkey and Greece to catch the giant red shrimp because traditional grounds are exhausted).

The structural crisis of the sector leads to quarrels at borders and to 'classical' conflicts over scarce resources.²³ Fishermen do feel assaulted by Tunisians and left alone by politicians and public authorities. The opinion that 'everything is done for the clandestine whereas we're left alone and nobody cares' is to be heard quite often and - the more than symbolic - relation between the Tunisian fishers and the 'clandestine', 'Arabs' or 'Albanians' is easily established:

- '...We are ruined by these people, they should not be allowed to enter, they even fish in stormy weather. As you see, today we are blocked and didn't go for a catch whereas they move on. The Coast Guard doesn't intervene, they are allowed to do whatever they want. In your country there is severity and things like that do not happen,

- And people from Mazara? I asked

- That's another question! They are like we are, they have to work. But the Arabs are about to ruin us, the Arabs. The clandestine rob and sell drugs. The Government should be chased, they let them enter. They do not approach in Libya because they would be shot and thus, they arrive here. They ruin tourism, that's negative publicity one thinks that they are wandering on the streets. But they don't make trouble. People take their bath and do not even notice, now they have made a new structure....'

and my interlocutor made a wide movement with his arm directing towards the new Center of First Reception.

In the 1980s the boom in the tourist sector commences. This is certainly due to the media attention that was given to the island as Libya reacted to the US attack on Tripoli in 1986 by firing two scuds, which ended up in the sea but made the island well known to a wider Italian audience. In recent years, up to 50.000 tourists visit Lampedusa (see table 6) and accommodation of strangers, the commercial hospitality has become the main economical basis.²⁴

Officially, Lampedusa counts 66 hotels and residences (in reality the number is much more elevated because every family rents rooms or apartments – more or less diverging financial authorities). The connected sector of services (restaurants, pizzeria, bars, discothèques – between 1997 and 2007 there have been licensed 200 enterprises), diving centers, car and boat rental and shops (193 licenses) is the main source of income for local families (see fig. 7).

It is not astonishing that media coverage of the boatpeople is viewed with critical eyes. Media brings the images of inconceivable desperation, human tragedies, images of death and shattered hopes almost weekly into Italian living rooms. From the safe shore, the spectator becomes testimony of dramatic human spectacle.²⁵ Since then journalists batter the island. In 2005 the journalist Fabrizio Gatti smuggled himself into the system and published a first-hand report (*Io, clandestino a Lampedusa*) on the inhumane conditions at the CPT. The report caused an immense scandal, Ministers flew in and the island found itself again at the center of media attention. Again, Lampedusa became a symbol for migration policies. Symbols are in principle open for different meanings and thus, it became part of powerful political arenas and political rhetoric. It is not surprising that the first question a stranger is being asked is: 'Are you a journalist?' (That is to say – do you want to make trouble?)

Media coverage had additional consequences. One does not rely on one's own experience and understanding any more; that which is real, is that which has been published and shown in TV. Therefore, one repeats what has already been said and transformed into public images and views. At the same time, media attention leads to an astonishing dialectics of visibility and invisibility. The more visible the invisibles are in the media, the more invisible they become. The boatpeople 'don't annoy, they are instantly brought away', that's what I was constantly told. 'It is not the case that they are walking in the streets, 'tourists do not encounter the migrants. They are blocked at the sea, brought to a mole, separated and instantly brought to the Center' – I will come back to this aspect later.

The slight decline in tourist presences (see table 6) however, is part of a general Italian turn down of the sector and additionally probably due to the inadequate services of the ferry as well. Additionally, the ongoing militarization of the island is widely acknowledged. The US interception facility has been closed by now but the border-regime brought many stuff (some *Carabinieri* did - to the regret of some - even mingle in local affairs) and their accommodation in hotels is in the focus of polemic attention, an attention however which sometimes is not without envy because some owners gained an assured profit all over the year.

The apprehension that media coverage could harm tourism is used in populist rhetoric not just in times of elections.²⁶ Beyond populist rhetoric: the clandestine and their reception became – as we will see – an integral part of a powerful political arena, they became part of the highly clientelistic networks that connect

Lampedusa, the Province Agrigento, the Region of Sicily to the wider social and political context. What is at stake are public works and commissions, subsidies, jobs, the control of public land and the control of resources.

3. The Limits of Hospitality

Legal Maps

'In recent years, irregular migration from sub-Saharan Africa to North Africa and Europe has received extensive media attention. Alarmed by these images, the issue has also been put high on the policy agenda of the EU and its member states, which have exerted pressure on North African countries to clamp down on irregular migration occurring over their territory through increasing border controls, toughening migration law, re-admitting irregular sub-Saharan migrants from Europe and deporting them from their own national territories' (de Haas, 2007:1).

Practises of hospitality and their limits which have been inscribed into organized solidarity, can hardly be understood without (inter)national norms of law and their concrete local articulation. They shape the day-to-day relations between the ones who arrive and the residents, they provide and order the spaces assigned to (irregular) strangers, they open or disclose possibilities of action.

At the same time, the implementation of migration policies determines the status of the arriving, because 'illegality' is, like citizenship a (juridical) concept that orders as well relations to the state and the political order (De Genova, 2002:422; Fassin, Morice, Quiminal, 1997; see de Haas, 2007:4). The notion designs different circumstances, it includes people who have been smuggled across national borders (or decided to do so), 'overstayers', or people that contract fictitious marriage.²⁷ The notion is highly problematic – and contested – how could a human be 'illegal' or 'irregular'? Additionally, smuggling can be 'be illegal, but *licit*, or socially accepted' (de Haas, 2007:4). However, borders, citizenship and legal status contribute to the 'production of illegality' (De Genova, 2002) and the strategies of day-to-day 'survival'.²⁸

The formal status of undocumented migrants and their rights and duties is – next to international conventions such as the Convention and Protocol Geneva (1951/54) – ordered by the law no. 286 (*Legge Turco-Napolitano*, 1998). It prescribes the general principles of the immigration policies (art. 1.1) the 'rights and duties' of the 'alien' (art. 1.2.), the regulations for immigration, stay and expulsion (art. 2. 1-9), 'border controls and measures against illegal immigration' (art. 2, 10-17), 'humanitarian issues' (art. 2, 18-20), 'working permissions' (art. 2, 21-27), conjunction of families (art. 2, 28-33), sanitary issues, 'social integration' and 'intercultural education'. Not only it prescribes the competences of regional and local authorities but designates as well the establishment of 'Centers of Reception' (*Centri di accoglienza*, Art. 40). This law – as well as the subsequent law (*Legge Bossi-Fini*) that provides further restrictions - articulates the language of hospitality and its ambivalences and tensions between 'friend' and 'enemy': the alien is considered a 'guest' (*ospite*) to be 'received', 'accommodated' and to be taken care of and the same time, has to be controlled.

Related to national legislation a complex system of international agreements has to be taken into consideration. Already at the EU summit in Thessaloniki in 2003, Great Britain had proposed the establishment of *transit processing centers*, suggesting the exterritorialization of the border 'management'. This suggestion was

rejected, however it was – against the opposition of France and Spain - taken up by Germany, Great Britain and Italy at the meeting in Florence in October 2004. Following up, the Commission had piloted five projects of the European *Council for Justice and Home Affairs (JHA)* that regarded already existing center in Tunisia, Libya, Algeria, Morocco and Mauritania and the laws regarding asylum in these countries. These proposals have been pursued in the Programme of The Hague (2005/C 53/1) that - in cooperation with the *UNHCR* – promoted a study concerning the establishment of such centers.

Current political efforts seem to promote twofold action in containing movement and undocumented migration: the shifting of borders beyond borders and at the same time, increasing control of borders. Therefore, cooperation and efforts in controlling the Mediterranean have been strengthened. The *Western Mediterranean Dialogue on Migration* unites Ministers and members of Governments from Algeria, France, Italy, Malta, Mauritania, Morocco, Portugal and Spain. In August 2004 the bilateral relations between Italy and Libya have been improved and in October the EU embargo of weapons was leaved and allowed Libya to buy up to date systems of surveillance and speedboats and - in cooperation with Italy - to train police forces. Following these accords more than 1000 refugees and migrants were transported from Lampedusa to Tripoli (an action which has been sharply criticized by *UNHCR*, *Human Rights Watch* and Amnesty International, 2005). Quite recently (29.12.2007) another agreement between Italy and Libya has been signed that includes bilateral collaboration – especially against 'the criminal organizations that are dedicated to human trafficking and to the exploitation of clandestine immigration' – and joint patrols should shut down these routes as such bilateral cooperation was successful already in the Albanian case.²⁹

Additionally, in 2004 a council regulation - having regard to the Treaty establishing the European Community - founded the Warsaw based EU agency 'for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders of the Member States of the European Union' (*Frontex*). The agency is 'intelligence driven' and is to provide additional 'border management systems' to the Member States.³⁰ *Frontex* – which is considerably financed by Italy - is mentioned in the recent Italian-Lybian protocol and *Frontex* representatives have been carrying out a mission in Libya and visited some detention camps for irregular migrants. Those were very evaluated as extremely poor, however and rather ironically 'throughout the mission, the members of the mission were treated to extremely warm hospitality by the Libyan hosts, and useful operational contacts have been established which it is hoped will advance future cooperation on border security issues' (Frontex, 2007:3).³¹

Ancient Routes - The Desert and the Sea

The ancient trade routes which once connected the Orient, Africa and Europe (Baghdad – Aleppo - Damaskus – Cairo – Al Mahdiyya; Côte d'Ivoire – Fez - Al Madiyya – Pantelleria – Palermo) and brought spices, silk, gold and ivory, haven't changed that much. Even the routes that delivered slaves to the market reveal an uncanny continuity with the current routes of migrants.

'Tripoli was always a main Mediterranean outlet of black slaves traded across the Sahara. For well over a thousand years, it was the terminus of the main caravan trails of the central desert, being supplied with slaves from the South through Fezzan and from the south-west through Ghadames. The abolition of slavery and the slave trade in Tunis and Algiers in the 1840s only confirmed this predominance' (Wright, 2007:114).

Even if Britain (1807), France (1818), Greece (1841) and Tunisia (1841) had declared slave trade illegal, between 1846 and 1856 there were shipped around 12.048 black slaves out of Tripoli (Wright, 2007:114). These were mainly destined to the Balkans, the Aegean and Anatolia, the provinces of the Ottoman Empire serving the 'Levantine market' (121). Given that mortality was extremely high, the Saharan slave trade – which traded foremost women, 'the usual approximate ration of two female slaves traded for every male' (116) - continued to flourish because it was largely a *replacement* trade' (120). Next to Tripoli, the eastern Misurata (Qasr Ahmed, Misurata Marina) and the close by oasis Zliten were important trading points not just for grain destined to British Malta. Next to these and – 'thanks to abolition at other North African ports - , by the 1860s Benghazi was the leading slave outlet on the Mediterranean, probably even busier than Alexandria' (125).

Connected to the arrival of the caravans in spring and early summer, these human freight had a seasonal rhythm serving between - April and October - the Mediterranean 'middle passage'. With the exception of Morocco, 'by the 1840s the Mediterranean black slave trade was (...) largely confined to the central and eastern basins under continuing Ottoman control' (130) – and after 1840 mostly Turkish merchandise ships were used.

'Mediterranean states had in the 1830s reached anti-slavery agreements with Britain – among them Tuscany, Piedmont, Naples, Austria – however, they could always defend Mediterranean slave-running under their flags by pointing out that the relevant treatise were only directed at the Atlantic trade' (136)

One way to safely continue this traffic was to declare slaves on board as servants. Most of the ships used in this trade were small and slaves 'were simply loaded (sometimes as last-minute make-weights) into the holds of ordinary merchant ships alongside or on top of their usual cargo' (130). Boots usually were overloaded – the 'ratio' of 4 slaves/ton of ship' was non unusual and even higher than in the notorious Atlantic trade (132) - and had the 'improvident habit of loading little food or water' (131). Thus, the 'central Mediterranean islands were essential ports of call for small ships carrying large numbers of slaves but limited stores of food and water' (128).

Current overland routes that are undertaken by undocumented migrants today partly still converge with the old caravan routes:

'Although a multitude of trans-Saharan routes exists, at least until recently the majority of overland migrants entered the Maghreb from Agadez in Niger. Agadez is located on a historical crossroads of migration itineraries, which often follow revived sections of older trans-Saharan and Sahelian (caravan) trade routes and which have now extended all over the Sahel zone and deep into western and central tropical Africa.' (de Haas, 2007: 18)

Whereas in the last years boatpeople started their journey from the Tunisian coast to reach Lampedusa currently – and despite bilateral agreements – Libya became the major site for the embarquement of the flimsy boats and inflatables (see table 8). Bigger ships that unload their human cargo next to the coast is rather a method used close to the Sicilian mainland (one of the most tragic cases certainly has been the shipwrecking near Portopalo in 1996; see Bellu, 2004) und recently especially the shores of Palma di Montechiaro are used because Palma confines with the Coastguard of Licata and Porto Empedocle and thus, is rather loosely controlled.

'Nevertheless, it is likely that increasing repression in Libya has contributed to a partial diversion of the by then already firmly established trans-Saharan migration movements from Agadez in Niger, away from Libya in the direction of Algeria and from there onwards to Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia. It does not seem to be coincidental that it was since 2000 that these countries witnessed a striking increase in migration from an increasingly diverse array of origin countries. Besides refugee migration from countries such as the Democratic Republic of Congo, Sierra Leone, and Liberia, new origin countries of predominantly labour migrants included Nigeria, Senegal, the Gambia, Liberia, Mali, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Burkina Faso, Niger, Sudan, the Central African Republic, and Cameroon.' (de Haas, 2007: 16)

There are basically two sub-Saharan routes that bifurcate in Agadez. One leads to

'the Sebha oasis in Libya (via the Dirkou oasis) in north-eastern direction and to Tamanrasset in southern Algeria in northwestern direction. From Sebha in southern Libya, migrants move to Tripoli and other coastal cities or to Tunisia; from the coast, migrants travel by boat to either Malta or the Italian islands of Lampedusa, Pant[er]leria, and Sicily.' (de Haas, 2007: 18)³²

The overland routes of migrants and refugees originating from the near and far east, mostly chose the ways via Cairo, Alexandria or Benghazi to approach Malta, the Sicilian shores (see figure 9).³³

Despite the quite common assumption, organized human trafficking is not regularly involved when people decide to part. 'Migrants do have agency' (de Haas, 2007:25) in their vast majority, they are not passive victims of (post)modern slave traders. Smugglers – 'often (former) fishermen' (ibid.) and mostly connected through dynamic networks rather than a rigid criminal or mafia-like organization after all, are paid for their services. However, just like in the 19th century, smuggling relies on bribery and corrupt police and officials and the ways and routes however – an uncanny '*longue durée*' and a disturbing historical memory – haven't changed that much. The traumatic experience of a refugee from Nigeria – he had to flee his hometown as 'Islamic militia armed with guns, machets, bows and arrows killed about 600 people in a brutish religious war' – are shared by many:

"It was at Zliten we camped before embarking on the boat that took me and 33 others on the last stretch of the journey to Italy-"the promised land, flowing with milk and honey" as many sojourners entering Italy envisaged. The boat that took us was provided by a Libyan man who charged each passengers 1,000 US dollars. On the night of our departure, we were ordered out of the goat house where we were camped with shouts, yelling and abuses in arabic tongues. In a line format, we were marched to the sea shore and within minutes, off we are on the wide sea, left to our fate in a small boat that could hardly contain 15 people conveniently but here we are, 34 souls including a captain in charge of the motorboat but ironically, he has never been to the sea before nor has sailing experience. We sailed for four days. On the night of the third day, we met a great storm that almost wreck our boat, in the commotion that follows, a man in his late thirties jump into the sea on self will on the notion that he has a call to attend to in the depth of the ocean. That night, our boat nearly capsized but with some divine intervention we weathered the storm and at midday of the fourth day, we were rescued by Italian naval patrol team" (Michael Olusegun Abunsango)

'If there is *scirocco* or *libeccio* (South/South-West wind) they do make it, with *maestrale/tramontana* (Nord/Nord-West wind) they will be wrecked', fishers on Lampedusa say. For the experienced mariners the sea is not just an expanded surface, *maru*, a 'desert, dead thing', as the etymology suggests (even if the root *mar* signifies *morire*, to die). Just like the land, it is made of, constituted by histories and sites. The sandbanks, shallows and abysses do have names which recall people, boats and their histories that make up a meaningful thalassography, a map which is made of and inhabited by fate and fortune, happy and unhappy events, disaster and salvation. The sea is a meaningful space of experience to which the boatpeople contribute by inscribing new sites, adding new stories which amalgamate disaster, rescue and hope.

That which has been a matter of course and natural duty of human solidarity, namely the rescue of people in life-threatening danger, has been overshadowed by legal norms sanctioning human trafficking became risky for one's own existence and thus, is likely to be left to the Coast Guard (the confiscation of the *Cap Anamur* in July 2004 as well the recent legal action against the crew of a Tunisian boat serve as an example). In recent times, it is not a rare event that fisherman discover drowned people or human limbs in their nets and throw them back into sea, because they don't want to get into bureaucratic trouble with the competent authorities that have to check the circumstances – which might cause some days of not being able to work. However, I was assured, no one would watch people shipwrecking – *siamo gente di mare* (we are mariners) – 'one might ask, why should I loose some catches? But one would not leave them in that condition, one calls the authorities'. (such intervention can be tricky, if one is beyond the licensed zone: not just one fisher told me that he had to call relatives which in turn called the Coastal Guard and reported the position of the boatpeople).

'The exact death toll will probably never be known as some flimsy vessels disappear without trace.'³⁴ If we follow the reports of *Fortress Europe*, in 2006 at least 2.486 people drowned in the Channel of Sicily, more than a half are dispersed (1.525) and 64 people drowned between Annaba (Algeria) and Sardinia. Despite the slight decline of arrivals, in 2007 the death toll has been doubled – an increase that might be due to the fact that boats are increasingly smaller and unsafe in order to escape controls and that the odysseys become longer.³⁵

Dead bodies, which have been found are no longer buried in Lampedusa but are transported to the mainland. Some Municipalities have accepted to assign them a – not really dignified - last resting place and most of the time what rests of a human being, is a number. The Catholic Church seems not really to be interested in human beings with a 'dubious' faith nor seem the respective communities be happy about additional costs. At the cemetery of Favara in the *Hinterland* of Agrigento the parish priest has named the dead, as the warden of the cemetery told me - not without worrying about my questions.

Guarding Borders and Saving Lives

(Inter)national conventions, laws and accords do not just regulate who is to be considered as a irregular migrant and which space is assigned to him but defines as well the various actors that arrange the reception of the boatpeople on a day-to-day-basis. The Coastal Guard and forces of security, the employees of the Center, the local Municipality and political forces, the members of voluntary organizations (*Volontariato*), the representatives of humanitarian organizations (*UNHCR*, *OIM*),

NGO's (like *Médicins sans Frontières*), political activists and the representatives of the migrant's communities.

The border-regime thus, encompasses a highly complex organizational structure with various legal references and different (local) actors that have various (corporate) traditions, and values that respond to different demands and belong to different (supra)national frames of reference that cross-cut day-to-day action and routines.

The international law of the sea is ruling and ordering this space and its various borders and thus, actions regarding the boatpeople as well: The *United Nations Convention on the Continental Shelf* (Geneva 1958/1964) and the *United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea*, Montego Bay (UNCLOS, 1982) distinguishes between territorial sea (such as gulfs and reefs, 12 nautical miles/ 22,224km), contiguous zone (24 nautical miles/44,448km), continental shelf and finally international waters and is in vigor in Italy since 1995. Accordingly, the different tasks are assigned to the various military and civil corps: the naval forces are to acting in international waters, the *Guardia di Finanza* within the 24 miles zone, whereas the Coast Guard is basically engaged in SAR-missions (Search And Rescue). According to rules and regulations, the competent authorities have to engage, if a ship is obviously not adequate for 'the international transport of humans' and the engaging state has at the same to take care that neither the 'security of passengers, nor that of ships is being endangered.'³⁶ Additionally, the national *Codice navale* sanctions omission of assistance'.³⁷

The competences of the Coastal Guard regard – next to administrative tasks, like licenses, the control of arriving ships etc. – basically two fields of operation: policing and humanitarian aid and rescue. The local station comprises around 40 men who – 'with great sacrifice' – assure a 24hours service. Not just the (former) commander understands his work as being basically a humanitarian one.

'Beyond being a moral task and an imperative respected by all mariners, assistance is a legal duty. The duty to protect human life regards the life of all human beings, regardless of their engagement in licit or illicit activities',³⁸

such is the rule and such is the professional ethos of the experienced commander of the *Settima Squadriglia Guardia Costiera*. The *Settima Squadriglia Guardia Costiera* is an organizational aggregation resulting of former experiences with massive migration from Albania (1st Squadriglia 1991 in Albania, 2nd in Bari, the third one in the Channel of Sicily). These temporary aggregations have been transformed into a permanent unit that since 1997 is based in Lampedusa and is in charge of SAR missions. As a result of an inter-ministerial decree (14.7.2003), these missions are coordinated by the headquarter in Palermo (*Direzione dei Servizi Centrali per l'immigrazione istituita presso il Ministero dell'Interno*) which became a sort of stage-director that coordinates the navy, the police, the *Guardia di Finanza* and the *Carabinieri*.

These –sometimes-daily – operations of rescue are not always easy to digest and dangerous and dramatic scenes are likely to be recalled. 'The first time I have been highly impressed, it was an emotional and hard to digest sight', the chief of the station told me, 'one does not really get used to it, however after a while there is a certain routine'. Boats are individuated either by fisherman, thanks to the regular controlling of the area by boats or helicopters, or because boatpeople do alarm relatives. 'Accounts of the procedure have spread and often it is in their self-interest to get rescued, sometimes they destroyed motors in order to be captured', the officer

said, 'mostly, they are really relieved.' Alarm is given and the headquarters in Palermo disposes of the necessary means of action. Once people have been brought to the shore, they are lined up and are being checked by the alarmed collaborators of *Médecins sans Frontières* and either flown out to Palermo hospitals or brought to the Center.

These operations are marked by the ambivalences of policing and saving human lives, of ethical generosity and control and reflect the tensions and aporias between the Law of hospitality and the laws that govern and order it.

Hospitality as Business: The Political Economy of the Border-regime

The first boatpeople arriving on Lampedusa have been taken care of by local volunteers. 'Women cooked for them and collected clothing', as one recalls and not just the former *Carabiniere* did shelter some of them at home: 'We didn't know where to accommodate them', as he vividly recalls. It was formed a group of volunteers of young people who – having been trained by the Red Cross – organized care around the clock. Later on, this spontaneous local hospitality became – due to increasing numbers as well – increasingly institutionalized and – with the institution of the *CPT* handed over to the *Misericordia*. The volunteers – that worked with a rather small budget – were replaced and for the most part were not considered for the upcoming paid jobs. 'Just a small part of us has got a job, the director came from Corleone what do you want more?' told me a former activist. 'Professionalization' did change the relation to those who arrived and local solidarity, the multiple gestures of hospitality converted into institutional 'reception'. Whereas boatpeople had been visible as individuals for local, they have been turned into invisibles in a doubled sense of the term: *clandestini* have a fantasmatic presence and are assigned to an 'extraterritorial', to a segregated place, a 'heterotopic' space of transition (Foucault, 1994) and a space of 'inclusive exclusion' (Agamben, 1995).

As already mentioned, despite the visibility in the media, the most striking aspect is the invisibility of the 'boatpeople' that highlights and 'produces' their status as "clandestine" and the - not just semantic - vicinity to the 'secret' and potential threat (the meaning of *clandestino* is: 'kept secret or done secretly, especially because illicit'; the Latin root *clam* signifies *di nascosto* (hidden), deriving from *Kal/Cal* as that which is occulted and to which is added *dies* as that which is hidden from light, hating the light' as the *Dizionario Etimologico Italiano* states).

It seems that the semantic range and the connection invisibility/clandestinity-the secret-threat is contagious. Although the local 'Center of First Reception' was opened for journalist and (local) politicians before its inauguration last autumn, (now *CPA*) it is hardly an open, public space and it took me quite some time and efforts to finally get the permission to visit the new center.³⁹ Given the public discussion (and contestation) after the cooperatives *Blu Coop* and *Sisifo* had taken over the management of the centre, and after a couple of tenacious negotiations and mediations, the director decided that the 'official procedure' should be undertaken – assuming that I would never get into such an enterprise and eventually would not get permission. However, I undertook the official procedure at the Prefecture in Agrigento (it turned out that the secretary of the newly appointed Prefect had worked in Germany and this commonalty did speed up things enormously and the OK of the DIGOS - the *Divisione Investigativa Generali e Operazioni Speciali* which contrasts the 'subversion of the democratic order and is engaged in investigation against terrorists - arrived in time's record).

The former center was situated at the edge of town, next to the airport and was made up of metal containers that could accommodate at least 150 people (in fact, the center was notoriously overcrowded), and included a mensa, a section for bathrooms, a wing that hosted the administration and the *Carabinieri* and the *Misericordia*, that run the center until spring 2007. The whole complex was barbed-wired and – unlike the former confined – people could not freely move on the island. After a period of identification – and mostly without information about the procedure for asylum – the boatpeople were flown out in order to be 'distributed' to other reception centers on the mainland or Italy (for recent approx. numbers, see table 10).

Given that the center was chronically overcrowded, and after the aforementioned scandal – another solution had to be found. The phase of realization of a new center was accompanied by conflicts that became part of collective memory as 'strike', that was supported by the Sicilian antiracist movement as well. One local faction favored a new building (the quite obvious interest in this case was the selling of land) whereas the other faction favored the use of existing barracks that caused a minor environmental impact. The erection of a new building could be averted, the new center however, was built in a protected area.

The structure was financed by the Ministry of the Interior (the costs for the new structure amounted to ca. 14 mill. €, however, the Major laments that since 1998 the Center didn't pay water, garbage, services and the 7 millions Euro, the Municipality got from the Region of Sicily is by no means sufficient to cover overall costs.

Financing became a matter and within this context, the programme *Presidium 1 and 2* has been renewed at the prefecture of Agrigento on 3.7.2007. The project envisions joint collaboration between the activities of *OIM/IOM*, the Italian Red Cross and the *UNHCR*, being the center on Lampedusa – 'a symbol for all other centers in Italy' and for the collaboration with police forces. The aim is to 'improve reception' and services for unaccompanied minors. The Ministry of the Interior thus, requested the European Commission (ARGO 2006 – Annual Work Programme) the sum of 395.935,52€ for the

'organisation of overall information sessions, further elaboration and updating of the standard information packages for third country nationals, special assistance to unaccompanied minors, training on medical and psycho-social support for vulnerable new arrivals for staff working in the center, job training, research/analysis of information collected during joint fact-finding missions to transit countries such as Egypt and/or Libya and finally the study tour to other strategic border points affected by the sudden arrival of migrants in order to exchange best practice'.⁴⁰

In order to promote 'an increase in communication between immigrants and the Ministry of Interior' and to make procedures for immigrants' identification more easy' as well as to reduce 'clashes between different ethnic groups and between immigrants', the Ministry requested 395.935,52€. ⁴¹

Both requests refer to an exchange of 'best practices' and hospitality as daily practice transforms – at least rhetorically – into managerial 'good practice' of organizations and administrative bodies.

'Some Member States, such as Greece and Italy', stress in particular the role of cultural mediators, as well as of volunteering and third sector organisations

facilitating the interaction between immigrants and the host society' (2007: 16), the EU 'Third Annual Report on Migration and Integration' states.⁴² Such a strategy is quite evident, given that the facilities are not run by the public but by private enterprises.

In 2007, two cooperatives that are associated with the 'leftists' *Legacoop* and had formed a consortium *Lampedusa Accoglienza* won the public commission to run the center. After publication in the journal *Manifesto* (April, 1 2007), antiracist groups occupied the seats of the *Legacoop* in Bologna and Palermo arguing that cooperatives should express the tradition and values of the movement and therefore, should not participate in the detention system. Additionally they criticized that the coops had won the public commission with a rebate of more than 30% beating thus the concurrence of the *Misericordia*. In order to render financial transactions more transparent and to avoid further waste of public resources, the Ministry of the Interior had limited the expenses for every 'guest' at 50€/day. The *Misericordia* which ran the center offered 50€, another Sicilian coop *Connecting People* offered 37€ and the *Lampedusa Accoglienza* offered 33€. The Vice-President of *Sisifo* (exponent of the party *Margherita*) declared that their calculation was around 2 mill. € /year, that they would do a marvelous job and service would not suffer. However, the center is no longer a *CPT* (Center of temporary Stay) but was converted to '*Centro di Prima Accoglienza e Soccorso*' (*CPA*) which means that – at least theoretically – people should not stay there longer than 24 hours.

Since *Tangentopoli* around 40% of public commissions are assigned to consortiums. The usual procedure is the following: given that participation in the procedure requires (legal and financial) prerequisites that small cooperatives can hardly meet, these single coops form a consortium and the *Legacoop* serving as a formal 'container' that participates at public commissions. Not just antiracist groups however, were quite unhappy with this outcome. Exponents of the regional *Legacoop* complained with me that the two cooperatives in question – the *Blu Coop* of Agrigento and the *Sisifo* of Catania - had already accorded the deal before the call was out – and had thus excluded other qualified concurrent in the region. Additionally, the political affiliations and clientelistic relations of both coops are quite evident. And indeed, although the procedure was legally correct, the affair shreds a light on how hospitality became a business in which personal interests and political networks intersect.⁴³

With the arrival of the boat people, another serious question emerged: the dumping of the vessels became a serious ecological problem. Boats and inflatables that reach the island are confiscated by the *GdF* and stocked at the local garbage site (to be eventually transported to the mainland, where the wood is processed by specialized firms).

The "cemetery of the boats" is a very impressive site. Currently more than 200 boats and inflatables are piled up, as a worker at the site told me. People wonder why boats are not put on public auctions as in Malta: 'I could never afford a boat, I would be happy to get even a small one for 2.000 or 3.000 Euro and here almost new boats are destined to decay' he told me, raising at the same time some doubts what happens with the motors of the inflatables: 'they do divide those among themselves' as he suspected, 'I haven't seen any up here, there is a black market but what can one do, the one in command does make the law!'

The current triennial plan of the Municipality includes 550.000,00€ for the 'realization of a provisional depot of the nautical relicts of the extracommunitarians'

financed by the *Presidenza del Consiglio, Ufficio della protezione Civile*.⁴⁴ Ironically, the site which has been projected for just 30 boats and was already under construction has been confiscated by the authorities because it lacks authorization and a report on its ecological compatibility – it is next to a panoramically road. Additionally, it was ill constructed and part of its walls of containment crumbled last year. This case is emblematic for the enormous economic interests and clientelistic modes that became an intrinsic part of this businesses (a closer look reveals that some construction enterprises and some architects can be happy about a consistent number of public commissions).

Albeit their 'fantasmatic', transitorial and liminal presence, the arriving boatpeople became integral part of (local) social relations and powerful political interests and are already part of that from which they are yet excluded. As uninvited guests they become at the same time subjects of hospitality and its various and entangled laws and gestures. 'Hospitality is both proposed and imposed by normative and prescriptive discourses that seek to be obeyed as laws of hospitality: they try to police the limits of what is acceptable or forbidden, morally or politically desirable.' It comes into existence 'through constantly reinvented practices of everyday life that individuals borrow from a variety of traditions... and practices that are sometimes similar to, sometimes different from, a supposedly shared norm' (Rosello, 2001: 6-7).

Local articulations cannot but promote its limits, ambivalences and tensions.

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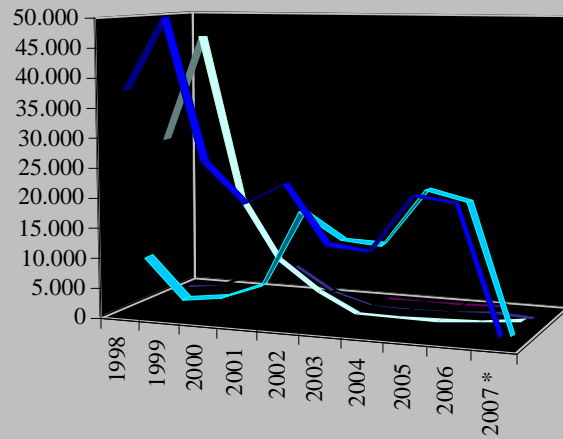
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Figures/Tables

Table 1

Undocumented Persons Approaching Italian Coasts

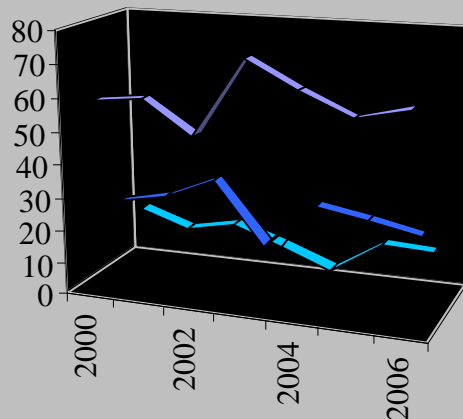


| | 1998 | 1999 | 2000 | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 * |
|------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| ■ Italy | 38.134 | 49.999 | 26.817 | 20.143 | 23.719 | 14.331 | 13.635 | 22.939 | 22.016 | 1.652 |
| ■ Sicily | 8.828 | 1.973 | 2.782 | 5.504 | 18.225 | 14.017 | 13.594 | 22.824 | 21.400 | 292 |
| ■ Apulia | 28.458 | 46.481 | 18.990 | 8.546 | 3.372 | 137 | 0 | 38 | 486 | 1.262 |
| ■ Calabria | 848 | 1.545 | 5.045 | 6.093 | 2.122 | 177 | 0 | 176 | 564 | 98 |
| ■ Sardinia | | | | | | 0 | 0 | 16 | 182 | |

Source: Ministero dell'Interno. Rapporto sulla sicurezza 2007. *=1st trimestre

Table 2

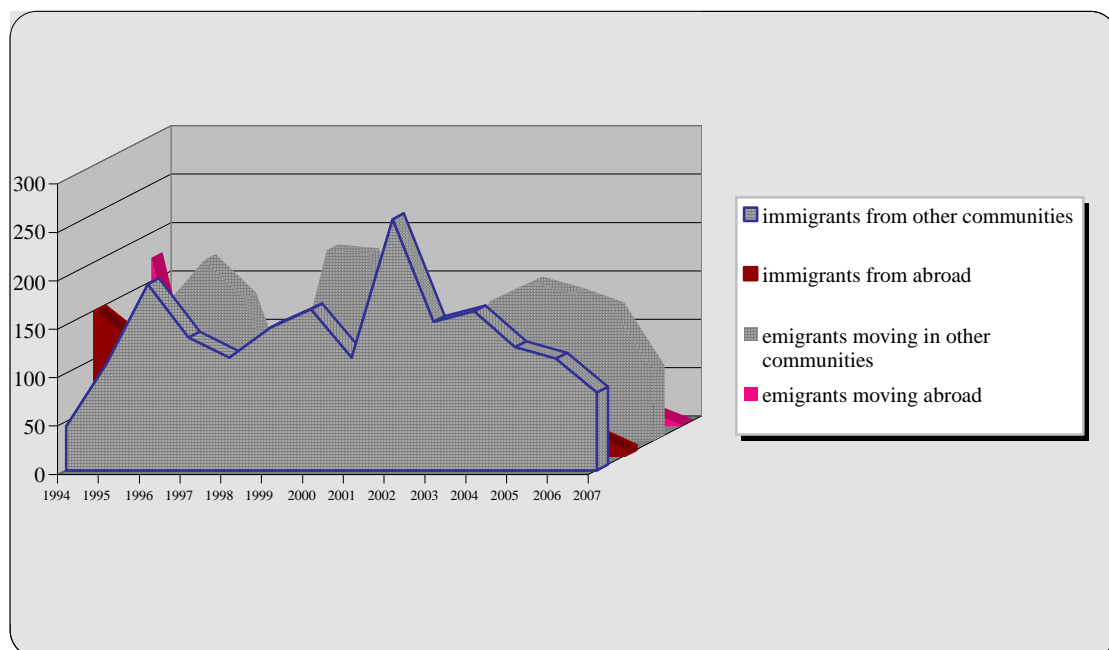
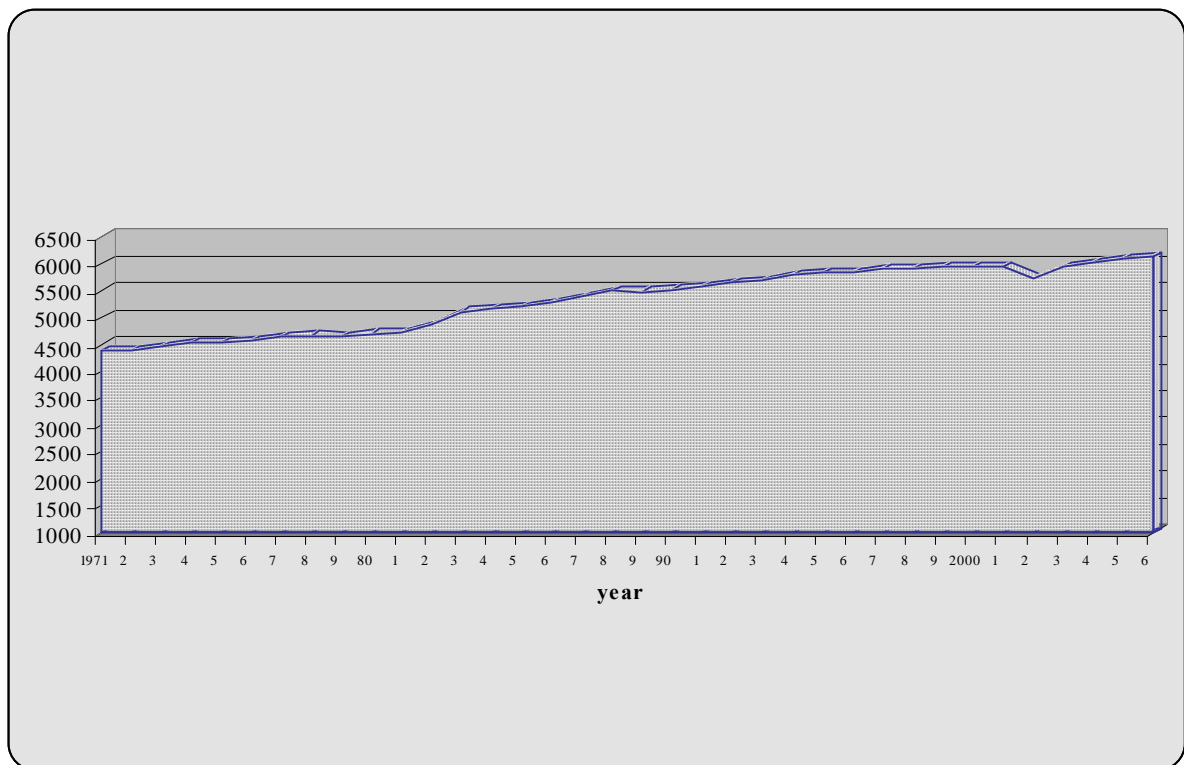
Undocumented Migrants and Their Way of Entrance (%)



| | 2000 | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 |
|-----------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| ■ Overstayers | 59 | 61 | 51 | 75 | 67 | 60 | 64 |
| ■ Fraudulent Entrance | 24 | 27 | 34 | 15 | 29 | 26 | 23 |
| ■ Via the Sea | 17 | 12 | 15 | 10 | 4 | 14 | 13 |

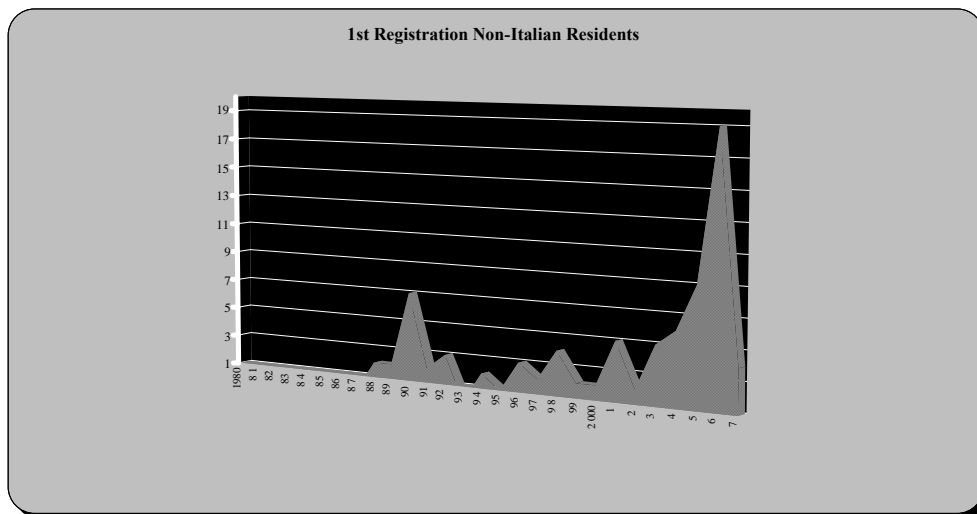
Source: Ministero dell'Interno. Rapporto sulla sicurezza 2007

Table 3 Population Lampedusa and Linosa: 1971-2006



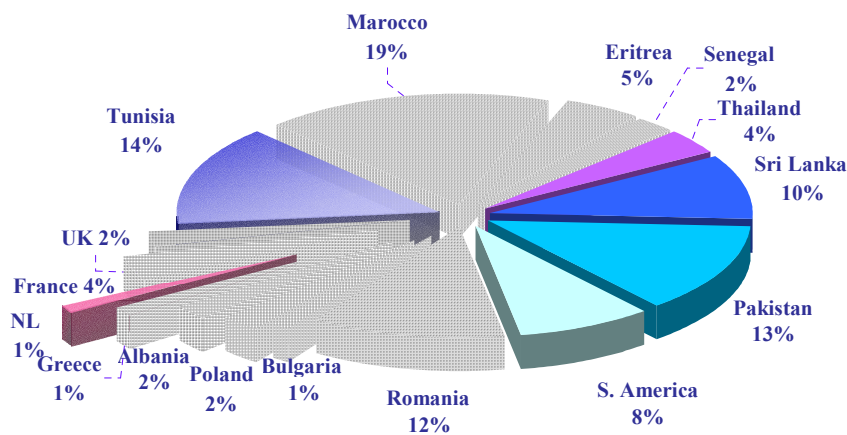
source: *Ufficio Anagrafe, Comune di Lampedusa e Linosa* (elab. H. Friese)

Table 4 Migration Lampedusa and Linosa 1994-2007



source: *Ufficio Anagrafe, Comune di Lampedusa e Linosa* (elab. H. Friese)

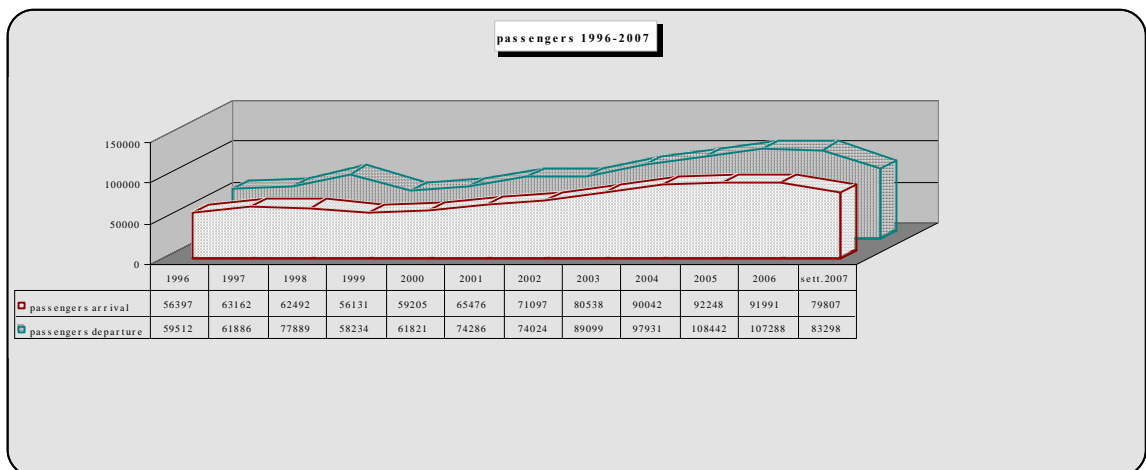
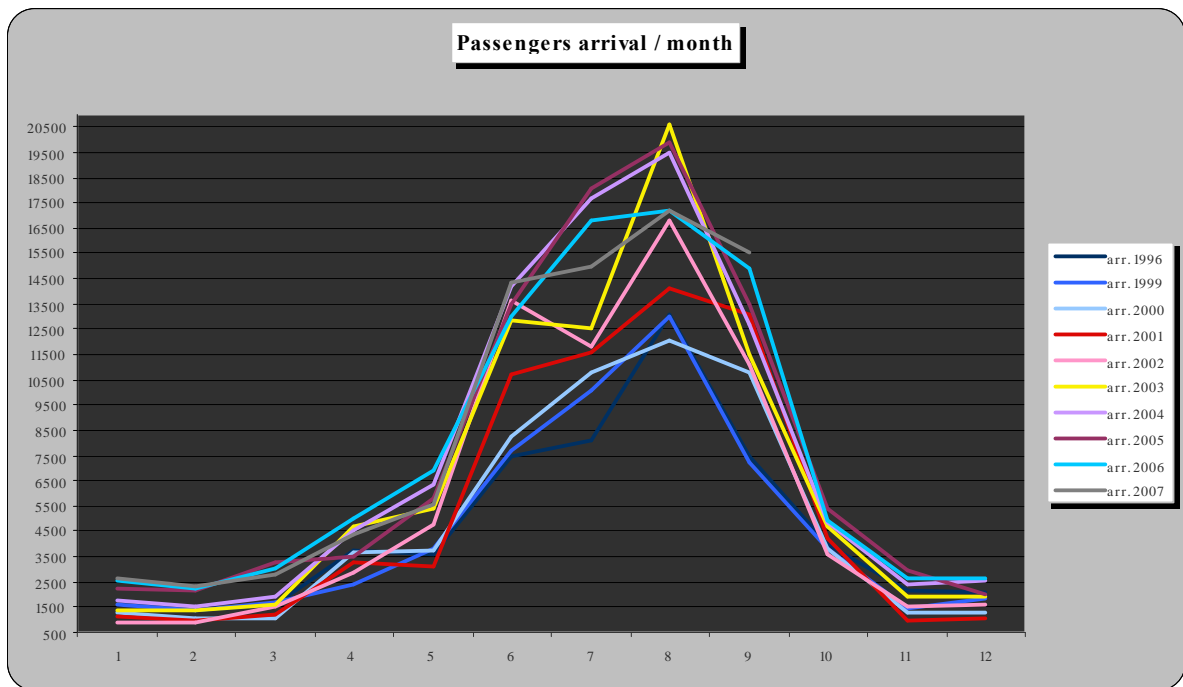
Table 5 Migrants and Country of Origin



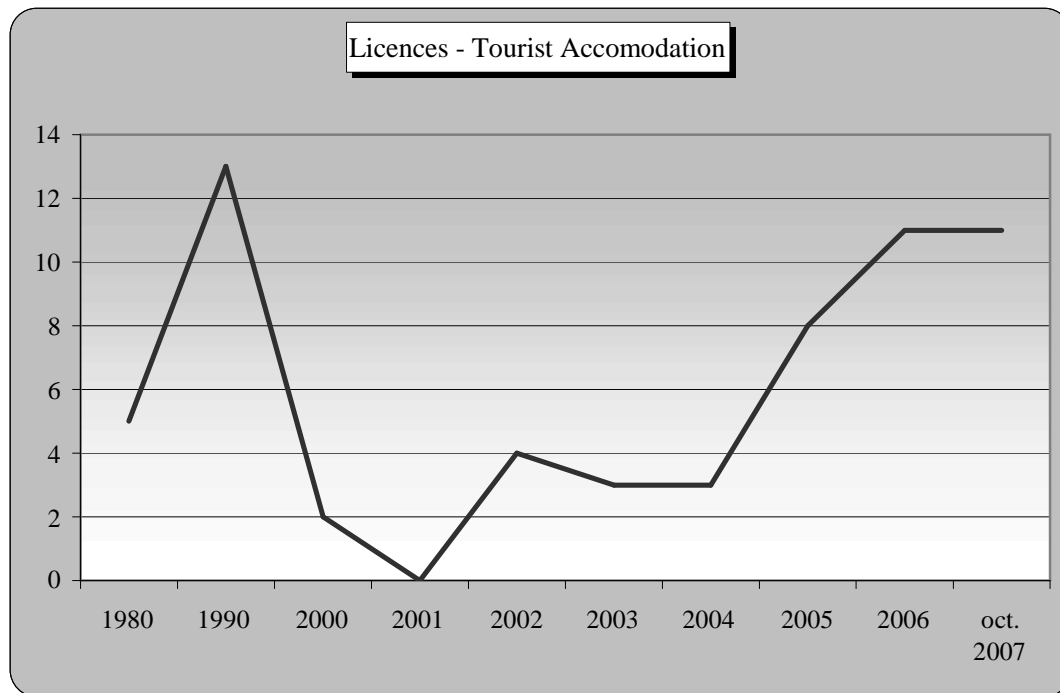
n=84

source: *Ufficio Anagrafe, Comune di Lampedusa e Linosa* (elab. H. Friese)

Table 6 Passengers 1996-2007



Source: ENAC, Aeroporto di Lampedusa *Oct. 2007

Table 7

n=66

Table 8 Undocumented Migrants Parting from Libya

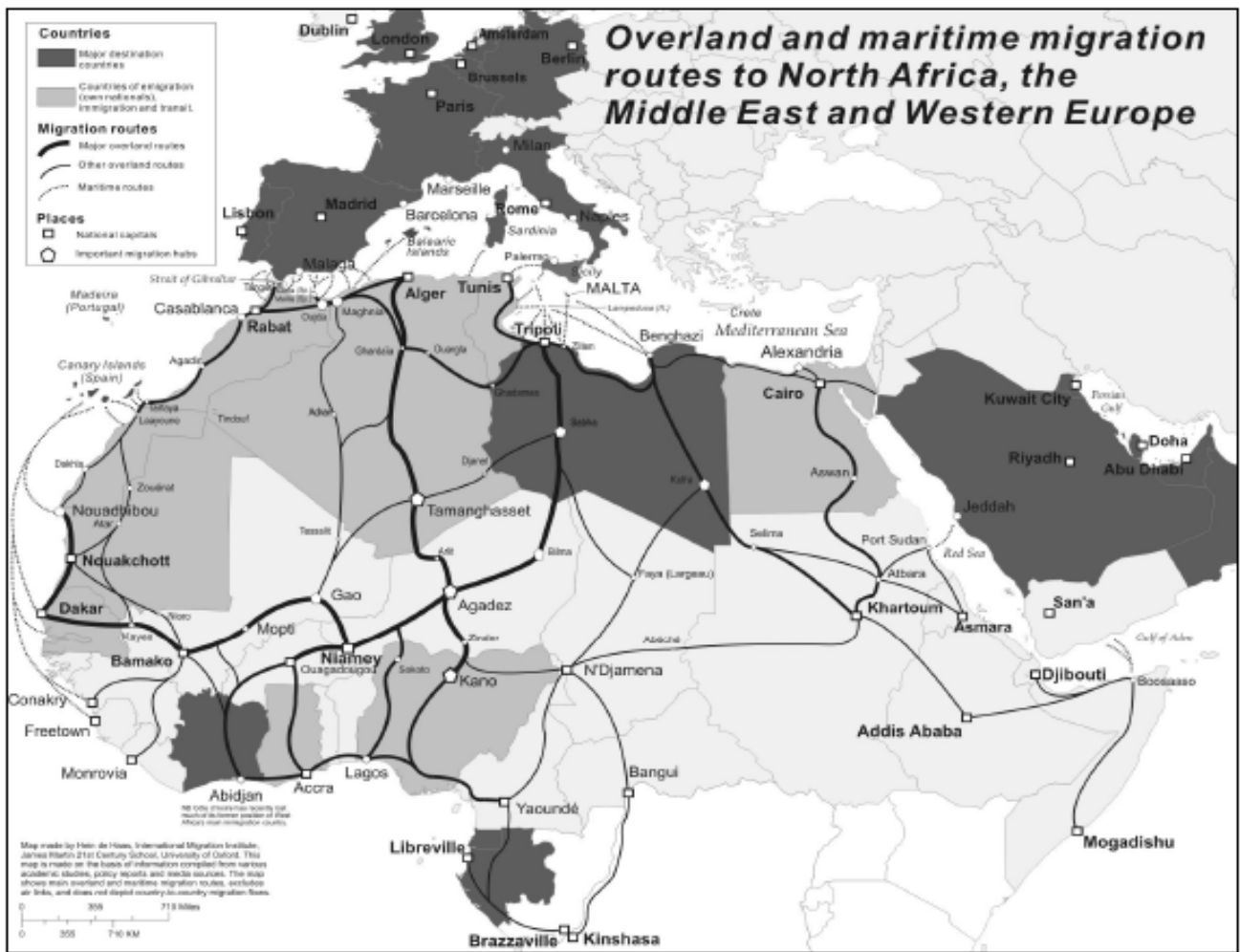
| Year | Total | Men | Women | Minors | Arrested | Confiscations |
|------|--------|--------|-------|--------|----------|---------------|
| 2005 | 22.591 | 20.150 | 846 | 1.595 | 66 | 170 |
| 2006 | 20.927 | 18.643 | 1.025 | 1.259 | 42 | 281 |
| 2007 | 16.482 | 13.559 | 1.177 | 1.746 | 109 | 263 |

Source: *Ministero dell'Interno*, Press Release dated 29.12.2007⁴⁵

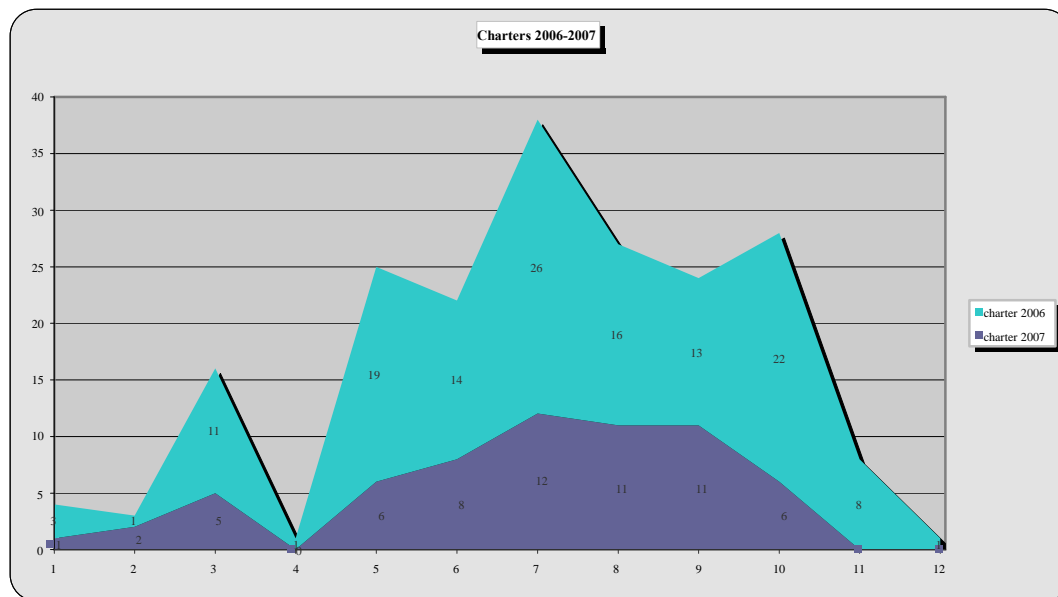
| Year | 2003 | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 * |
|--|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Apprehended illegal migrants at the EU external maritime borders of Italy-Sicily, Lampedusa, Pantelleria | 14.000 | 13.000 | 17.500 | 19.000 | 1.600 |

Source: *Frontex*, 2007 *until April, 30

Fig. 9



Source: de Haas, 2007:17.

Table 10 Charters 2006-2007

source: ENAC, (elab. H. Friese)

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¹ As Mary Douglas remarks (1986:1): '... writing about cooperation and solidarity means writing at the same time about rejection and mistrust.' Cf. Fassin/Alain/Quiminal, 1997.

For Carl Schmitt, the other as 'absolute' enemy is the foundation of the political. The ambivalences between friend-enemy inhabits the notion of *Gastfreundschaft* as well: a stranger becomes – has to become - a 'friend' in order to reduce the risk and to mediate between closeness, exchange and rejection.

² For a more detailed discussion, see Friese, 2008.

³ For contributions to the discussion on membership and citizenship, see Anderson, 2002; Balibar, 2001; Bauböck, 1994, 1998; Carens, 2000; Habermas, 1998b; Kastoryano, 2003; Kumar, 2003; Kymlicka, 1995, 2001; Lister, 1997; Stevenson, 2003.

⁴ I shared the experience Bill Westerman reported (2007). However, as a woman my radius of encounters was a little more limited and I sometimes felt that I should not follow spontaneous invitations.

⁵ The developments of the corsary wars in this area of the Mediterranean have been described and analyzed by Bono (1993), Bonaffini (1991), Lenci (2006) and Larguerche (2001). On the close relations between Sicily, Northern Africa - especially Tunis und Tripolis –, and the republics of Genova, Venice, Pisa and Constantinople, see Ghilensi, 1912:39-53. On the relations between Sicily and the Maghreb, Valensi, 1969; on the networks of mediterranean cities, Gottman, 1990.

⁶ The most important site that still symbolizes local identity, is a site that once connected two major religions of the Mediterranean, joint Christians and Moslems and is still a vivid local memory: the grottos. One grotto contained an altar and the statue of the Madonna of Trapani and a font, the other one, a former mosque and the grave of a moslem Marabut. Legends hold that everyone approaching the island had to leave

provisions at this site – the ones who did not respect this rule were punished by bad winds that enabled them to leave (see Friese, 1996:62-3; see De Contreras, 1961: 98-99).

- ⁷ This connection has already been made by Greek mythology. Thalassa, daughter of Aether and Hemera, refers to the sea. Her husband was Pontus. The greek *Pontos* signifies 'sea or shore'. The lat. *Pontem* (italian *ponte*), refers to passage, way, and is related to *Pelagus*, *Pelago* (root *Plu*=movement; greek *Pleo*, I navigate, wander, move).
- ⁸ On the role of the Mediterranean islands, see Aymard, 1987; Braudel, 1986, Vol. I, 146ff.; Matvejevic, 1991:25segg.. For a critique of the alleged cultural unity of this area, see Friese, 2004b.; see as well Harris, 2005.
- ⁹ Servizi della navigazione marittima, Ministero della Marina'.
- ¹⁰ On the Tunesian cosmopolitanism between 1600 and 1880, see Larguerche, 2001; Clancy-Smith, 2000.
- ¹¹ I was told a similar story of expulsion and male forde in Sciacca. Tunesian fisherman tried to get a foot into the local fishing industry, they were however 'beaten' and refrained from further attempts. ' Since voices have been spread, they do not dare anymore'.
- ¹² For a historical account of the local fishing industry, see Friese , 1996, chapter 4.
- ¹³ For a detailed account, see Friese, 1996, chapter 4.
- ¹⁴ See the list Unità abilitate all'Attività di Pesca in questo Ufficio Locale Marittimo, Capitaneria del Porto, Compartimento di Porto Empedocle, Ufficio di Locamare di Lampedusa.
- ¹⁵ The close season is in accordance with EU regulations and are defined by decrees of the regional *Assessorato della Cooperazione, del Commercio, Artigianato e della Pesca* geregelt. See the decree dated 21.4.2006, Art. 2, Par. 3, 4. Fisherman get a compensation for the loss of earning. <http://www.gurs.regione.sicilia.it/gazzette/g06-23/g06-23-p8.htm>
- ¹⁶ Letter of the *Associazione Pescatori Lampedusa* to the Ministry of Agriculture, the Comando Generale delle Capitanerie di Porto and the municipality Lampedusa and Linosa 29.9.2000.
- ¹⁷ After three years of tough negotiation – and after Italy had rejected a 2005's compromise – in Novemer 2006 a European agreement was settled that aims at harmonizing the fishery and safeguarding the ressources and ecosystems in the Mediterranean. Fishers have to keep a distance of at least 1,5 nautical miles (in Italy they are still allowed 0,7 nautical miles if the profundity is at least 50m). Fishing with dragnets is still allowed if a distance of 3 nautical miles (and at least 50m). From July 2007 on, the mesh has to be at least 40mm (for square meshes) and 50mm for other meshes. Subsidiaries are granted for conversion of nets. There have been introduced minimum measure according to species – Sardines for example have to be at least 11cm long. See SFOP Informa, Strumento Finanziario di Orientamento della Pesca (SFOP), n. 3 Nov. 2006.
- ¹⁸ Letter of the *Associazione Pescatori Lampedusa* to the the Ministry, *Ministero delle Risorse Agricole e Forestali*, the *Comando Generale delle Capitanerie di Porto* and the Municipality Lampedusa and Linosa, 19.3.2001.
- ¹⁹ Letter of the *Associazione Pescatori Lampedusa* to the the Ministry, *Ministero delle Risorse Agricole e Forestali*, the *Comando Generale delle Capitanerie di Porto* und and the Municipality Lampedusa and Linosa, 29.9.2000.
- ²⁰ Letter of the Ministero die Trasporti e della Navigazione, Comando Generale Corpo delle Capitanerie di Porto, Roma, 7.5.2001.

- ²¹ Letter of the President of the Region of Sicily, prot. No 5552, 5.3.2003. 'Più complessa è la vicenda connessa difficili rapporti con la flotta peschereccia tunisina che sembrerebbe invadere sempre più frequentemente le acque territoriali. Non ultimo, pare paradossale certamente iniquo, lo sfruttamento da parte di flotte straniere delle zone di ripopolamento ittico (quale è il c.d. Mammellone), assolutamente vietate al nostro Paese, ovvero l'uso di "reti derivanti" a noi proibite dalla normativa comunitaria. Questa Presidenza coscientemente avverte l'importanza del settore pesca e condivide l'impegno.... di oculata gestione di risorse marine nell'ottica di assicurare la disponibilità per le future generazioni così da garantire uno sviluppo sostenibile dell'intero settore. Il Governo Regionale si è fatto ed intende a farsi carico dell'impegno di proteggere il mare da un eccessivo sfruttamento della pesca in modo che le sue ricchezze possano costituire un patrimonio accessibile a tutti, ma necessita di un forte supporto dell'Autorità Ministeriale, in una logica di dialogo attivo con gli altri Paesi dell'area mediterranea.'
- ²² Pro Memoria of the *Associazione Pescatori Lampedusa*, 30.5.2001.
- ²³ Last Fiday (1.2.2008) Libian authorities caught and confiscated a boat and 8 crew from Mazara which was located 45 nautic miles from the coast in the Gulf of Sirte, a space considered by Libya as 'exclusive economical zone'. The Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs is intervening (source: *ANSA*).
- ²⁴ There is a vast literature on this topic, for a recent account on the relation of hospitality and tourism, see the contributions in Molz and Gibson, 2007.
- ²⁵ Blumenberg (1988) has devoted a fascinating study to this topic.
- ²⁶ The communal elections in May 2007 did cause – rather folkloristic - media attention. Next to the major who is close to the *UDC* and the - former – President of the Region of Sicily, Salvatore Cuffaro – the representative of the *Lega Nord* became the vice-major. The result of the election however, is not closely related to her radical rhetoric against immigrants. More important were last minute accords that shifted votes and connected economic interest. Given her 154 votes she got less preferential votes than the candidate of the oppositional *Partito Democratico* with 197 votes.
- ²⁷ The *Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)* estimates 'that between 10 and 15 per cent of Europe's 56 million migrants have irregular status, and that each year around half a million undocumented migrants arrive in the EU.' (Migration in an Interconnected World: New Directions for Action. Report of the Global Commission on International Migration, Oktober 2005:32). In 2002 about 600.000 irregular migrants have been 'legalized' in Italy (*ISTAT*).
- ²⁸ For the discussion of 'irregular' migration', see Bogusz, 2004; Chavez, 1991, 1992, 1994; Ghosh, 1998; Jordan/Düvell, 2002, 2003; Koser/Lutz, 1998; see Belogrey, 2000.
- ²⁹ Ministero dell'Interno, Notizie, 29.12.2007, http://www.interno.it/mininterno/export/sites/default/it/sezioni/sal.../Tripoli_accordo_per_il_pattugliamento_congiunto.html_1562036151.html (24.1.2008)
- ³⁰ <http://www.frontex.europa.eu/> 2.11.2008
- ³¹ 'All members of the mission would like to express here their thanks in particular to General El Hadi Muftah Abou Ajela of the General Committee of Defence, the principal senior interlocutor, who remained with the mission from start to finish. His personal efforts and commitment ensured that all the logistical needs of the mission were attended to.' (Frontex-Led EU Illegal Immigration Technical Missions to Libya, 28 May - 5 June 2007).
- ³² 'Other migration routes connect Sudan with the Kufra oasis in south-eastern Libya, which are mainly used by migrants from Sudan (principally from the Darfur region), Ethiopia and Eritrea. Other routes connect Chad with Libya and are used by Nigerian, Cameroones, Congolese and Sudanese migrants. Most Egyptians enter Libya directly at the Mediterranean coast. Libya's pan-African policies have also played a key role in linking the Nile valley – East African and the Euro-Mediterranean migration systems.'

Not only a growing number of Egyptians – who traditionally migrated to Libya to work – make the crossing to Italy via Libya, but also migrants and refugees from Sudan, Somalia, Eritrea and Ethiopia. Their main (provisional) destination is still Cairo, but they now increasingly attempt to migrate to Europe through Libya from Sudan, Chad or Egypt (...).' (de Haas, 2007: 18).

³³ However, as de Haas reports, 'in recent years, migrants from China, India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh have started migrated to the Maghreb via Saharan routes. They mostly fly from Asia to West-African capitals, sometimes via the Gulf States. From there, they follow the common Saharan trail via Niger and Algeria to Morocco. Others enter north-Africa through Egypt to Libya and Tunisia, from where they cross to Italy and Malta (...)' (2007: 20)

³⁴ <http://www.unhcr.org/news/NEWS/470658fe4.html> (3.11.2007) 'Based on media and police reports, however, UNHCR estimates that more than 500 people have died during crossings in the Mediterranean this year. Non-governmental organizations believe the figure could be closer to 1,000. The UNHCR figures include 93 dead and 226 missing in the Sicilian Channel, and a further 150 dead trying to reach the Canary Islands or the Spanish mainland from North Africa.' 'B William Spindler, 2007: Between the devil and the deep blue sea: mixed migration to Europe', 5 October 2007 (UNHCR News Stories). For another account, see Del Grande, 2007.

³⁵ <http://fortresseurope.blogspot.com/2006/02/nel-canale-di-sicilia.html> (10.1.08). This circumstance was ironically already true for the slave trade of the Mediterranean 'middle passage'. The new steamships were more easily to control and thus were hardly used for the transport of slaves (Wright, 2007:134-5).

³⁶ 'L'I.M.O. nel 1998 adotta una regolamentazione che individua uno degli aspetti più rilevanti del fenomeno migratorio nel fatto che "i migranti sono spesso trasportati su navi che non sono adeguatamente gestite od equipaggiate per trasportare passeggeri in viaggi internazionali" e precisa che "se è adottata una misura contro una nave sospetta di trasporto illegale di migranti, lo Stato che interviene dovrebbe prendere in considerazione la necessità di non porre in pericolo la sicurezza della vita umana in mare e la sicurezza della nave e del carico di non pregiudicare gli interessi legali o commerciali dello Stato di bandiera o di qualsiasi altro Stato interessato"'. (powerpoint presentation, courtesy of M. Niosi, Tenente di Vascello (CP), *Comandante Settima Squadriglia Guardia Costiera di Lampedusa*).

³⁷ In tutti i casi salvo rifiuto espresso e ragionevole del comandante (art. 491 Cod. Nav.), Omissione di assistenza (art. 1158 Cod. Nav.), Omissione di soccorso (art. 1113 Cod. Nav.) Ich verdanke diesen Hinweis der Power-point presentation, courtesy of M. Niosi, Tenente di Vascello (CP), *Comandante Settima Squadriglia Guardia Costiera di Lampedusa*.

³⁸ Power-point presentation, courtesy of M. Niosi, Tenente di Vascello (CP), *Comandante Settima Squadriglia Guardia Costiera di Lampedusa*.

³⁹ I will devote a more accurate analysis to the production of invisibility and its relation to security and the control of risk that are – as we have seen – an integral part of the notion of 'hospitality' and its ambivalences between 'friend' and 'enemy'. The juridical system produces 'invisibility' in a quite paradoxical way: it produces illegal presence, the clandestine subsequently becomes a subject of the forces of security which actions are secret and surrounded by public invisibility. The legal system and the forces of security thus, participate in that which they try to contrast: clandestinity.

⁴⁰ Eligible Project proposed for selection, No JLS/2006/ARGO/GC/09 http://ec.europa.eu/justice_home/funding_2004_2007_argo/doc/projects_selected_details_2006_en.pdf (24.1.2008)

⁴¹

http://ec.europa.eu/justice_home/funding_2004_2007_argo/doc/projects_selected_details_2006_en.pdf (24.1.2008), No. JLS/2006/ARGO/GC/10.

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- ⁴² Third Annual Report on Migration and Integration, Communication from the Commission to the Council, The European Parliament, The European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions COM (2007) 512 final Brussels, 11.9.2007, (http://ec.europa.eu/justice_home/fsj/immigration/docs/com_2007_512_en.pdf, accessed 3.1.2008)
- ⁴³ I will give a more detailed account of this affaire and backgrounds elsewhere.
- ⁴⁴ See 'Comune di Lampedusa e Linosa, Programma Triennale delle Opere Pubbliche 2006-2008'.
- ⁴⁵ Nota per la stampa. Sono 16.482 i clandestini sbarcati in Italia nel 2007 presumibilmente provenienti dalle coste libiche. Un dato in forte calo rispetto al 2006, quando furono 20.927, e rispetto al 2005, quando furono 22.591. La contrazione è il frutto degli sforzi dell'Italia e dell'Unione Europea su questo fronte e, soprattutto, del clima di collaborazione che si è sviluppato con la Libia, che ha portato all'accordo di oggi. L'impegno dell'Italia contro il traffico degli essere umani tra la Libia e il nostro Paese si è anche tradotto in un netto aumento degli arresti: 109 quest'anno contro i 42 dell'anno scorso e i 66 del 2005. Si mantiene alto anche il numero dei sequestri effettuati: 263, contro i 281 del 2006 e i 170 del 2005. Ministero dell'Interno, Press Release dated 29.12.2007, 'Dalla Libia sbarchi in calo e più arresti', http://www.interno.it/mininterno/export/sites/default/it/sezioni/sala_stamp/comunicati/086_5_2007_12_29_libia_meno_sbarchi.html_8783098.html (3.1.2008)