

ASYLUM SEEKERS AND IRREGULAR MIGRANTS IN LAMPEDUSA, ITALY, 2017

Richiedenti asilo e migranti irregolari a Lampedusa, Italia

Turvapaikanhakijat ja paperittomat siirtolaiset Lampedusalla Italiassa

Asylum seekers and irregular migrants in Lampedusa, Italy

طالبوا اللجوء والمهاجرون من دون اوراق رسمية (غير شرعيين) في "لامبيدوزا" (لَنَبْدُوشَة، لامبيدوسا) في ايطاليا

Dadka magangelyo doonka ah ito kuwa soogaleytiga ah ee Lampedusa Itaaliya

Demandeurs d'asile e migrants irréguliers a Lampedusa, Italie

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ASYLUM SEEKERS AND IRREGULAR MIGRANTS IN LAMPEDUSA, ITALY, 2017

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1. INTRODUCTION AND KEY FINDINGS

Lampedusa, a tiny Italian island in the central Mediterranean Sea close to North Africa, is a famous arrival spot for irregular migrants, asylum seekers and refugees. Lampedusa has been a common reference point for those who write or talk about the arrival of asylum seekers to Europe. Hundreds of thousands of irregular migrants and asylum seekers have traveled through it, and hundreds of newspapers stories, research reports and scientific articles have been written about it. The island includes a reception center for irregular migrants and asylum seekers.

Lampedusa is located along the key Central Mediterranean route for people who are seeking asylum in the European Union. From 2014 through 2016, over half a million irregular migrants came to the European Union through this route (Ballatore et al. 2017). The island is closer to Tunisia (113 km) and to Malta (171 km) than to Sicily, the closest part of Italy (205 km). The distances to the Libyan coast and the Libyan sea border are about 285 km and 260 km, respectively (Figure 1).

The island's geographical location and small size, as well as Italy's and the European Union's migration policies, have made Lampedusa a significant transit spot for irregular migrants and asylum seekers entering the European Union. So far, the busiest year was 2011, when, in the aftermath of the Arab Spring, over 50,000 people (mainly from Tunisia and Libya) traveled through Lampedusa to elsewhere in Italy (Cutitta 2014; Frontex 2016). The migration and asylum policies have changed from year to year. There have been periods of emergency practices, reactive control by the Italian authorities, proactive European migration management involving several international and Italian authorities, and other formal and informal actions (Baracco 2015; Dinas et al. 2015).

In recent years, Lampedusa has become increasingly famous among wider audiences. The media coverage has been frequent. Internationally, the situation in Lampedusa attracted special media attention when Pope Francis, to show his solidarity, selected Lampedusa for his first official visit outside of the Vatican. He visited the island on July 8, 2013, meeting with asylum seekers (among other people) and holding a mass for them. The Italian and international media widely covered and discussed this event (Mackenzie 2013). The Pope and the Holy See have become more visible in the global politics of human rights, peace and migration (Catania 2015). In fact, later in 2016, the Pope visited the Greek island of Lesbos, which has become a significant spot in the asylum journey.

In addition, several films have been released on the topic of migrants in Lampedusa. These films include both factual depictions of the immigration crisis and fictional stories about the situation on the island (Khrebtan-Hörhager 2015). The one that is best known internationally, *Fuocoammare (Fire at Sea)* by Gianfranco Rosi, won the 2016 Golden Bear at the Berlin International Film Festival and was nominated for an Academy Award. In addition, the Italian national broadcasting company RAI presented the 2016 TV miniseries *Lampedusa* –



Figure 1. Lampedusa in the central Mediterranean between Sicily (Italy) and Northern Africa.

Dall'orizzonte in poi (Lampedusa – From the Horizon Onwards). Both works feature the current migrant reception center, or *Contrada Imbriacola*. In 2011, the film *Terraferma (Land)* was released; it was about the rescue and arrival of refugees in Linosa, a nearby island belonging to the municipality of Lampedusa and Linosa (Figure 2). In addition, several documentary films have also been released. Among the best known is *To Whom It May Concern* by Zakaria Mohammed Ali. Ali escaped from Somalia in 2008 and, soon after, became an asylum seeker in Lampedusa. He later obtained refugee status; he then returned briefly to Lampedusa to make



Figure 2. Recent films about Lampedusa and the asylum seekers.

this documentary and reflect on his own experiences. The film was released in 2013 (Cinemafrodiscente 2017). Many other films are about the encounters between asylum seekers and local inhabitants.

Irregular migration in Lampedusa has also become a focus in artistic and activist practices in both films and other forms of art; this includes projects that seek to provide agency to the migrants (see Bayraktar 2016; Triulzi 2016; Mazzara 2017; Askavusa 2017). The most visible of these is a work by sculptor Mimmo Paladino: in 2008, the monument *Porta d'Europa* was constructed in an open, desolate public space in Lampedusa to commemorate the lives and futures lost to the sea when irregular migrants and asylum seekers tried to reach Lampedusa and the European Union (see Ramsay 2016).

In the media, the discourse about Lampedusa can have negative or positive tones. The humanitarian drama of the irregular immigrants has been the media's focus (De Swert et al. 2015), especially the so-called Shipwreck of Lampedusa, which is among the most common of the negative references. In the autumn of 2013, over 360 irregular migrants lost their lives when an overcrowded boat sank after capsizing less than 500 meters from this small island, thus drawing a huge amount of international attention to the situation of irregular migrants in Lampedusa. In addition to the immediate global media coverage of the shipwreck (Yardley & Povoledo 2013), the discourses that emerged from this tragic event indicated that there were tensions involving migration management, securitization and humanitarianism at the European Union's borders (Vaughan-Williams 2015, 1-2, 151).

After this shipwreck, Italy changed its rescue practices for the Mediterranean Sea. The Italian government started the Mare Nostrum search-and-rescue (SAR) project for saving irregular migrants at sea and prosecuting those who make a profit from the illegal trafficking and smuggling of migrants. This was followed

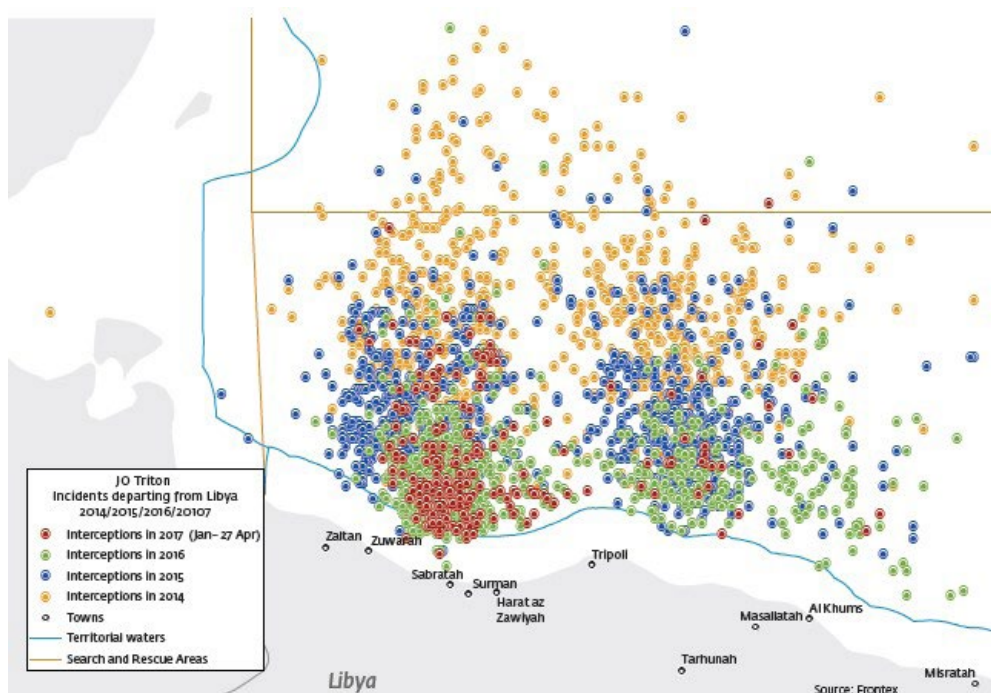


Figure 3. Interception and rescue of boats departed from Libya and bounding for Italy, 2014–2017. Source: Frontex (2017, 18).

by an Italian and European Union joint project, Operation Triton, which was intended to better intercept the arriving boats carrying irregular migrants. Such developments indicate the military and humanitarian aspects of migration governmentality (Tazzioli 2016). Instead of allowing the boats to get close to Italian territorial waters, interception and blocking are taking place to rescue the irregular migrants within international waters. In addition, efficient radar and surveillance technologies are being used to detect any irregular migrants' arrivals. Since 2014, each year, the rescue activities have taken place closer to the Libyan maritime border (Figure 3). Nowadays, it is rare for an unknown ship with irregular migrants to arrive directly in Lampedusa.

These safer rescue practices have been criticized as well; for example, some claim that having rescue vessels, many of which are run by international non-governmental organizations, waiting nearby encourages irregular migrants to depart from the African shore toward the European Union. Others claim that the smugglers receive an economic benefit from this practice and that they now provide less secure and more crowded boats because of the shorter passages, as they know that the passengers will be rescued relatively soon. In fact, in early 2017, nongovernmental organizations were responsible for about half of all rescue missions in the central Mediterranean Sea (Tayler 2014; Amnesty International 2017; López-Sala & Godenau 2017).

As a response to these practices, in 2017, the Italian government ordered a new, more restrictive policy toward the rescue vessels of the nongovernmental organizations – despite the fact that the duty of solidarity at sea is a principle of international law. In addition, Italy started once again cooperating more tightly with the Libyan authorities to decrease the number of departing irregular migrants. In fact, since mid-July 2017, the amount of departures have decreased substantially (*The Guardian* 2017c; UNHCR - United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees 2017).

Another negative reference to Lampedusa that is frequently discussed in the media involves the poor conditions that irregular migrants and asylum seekers face in the Lampedusa reception center. This center has served irregular migrants and asylum seekers since the late 1990s. Over the years, the location and the character of the site have changed. Nevertheless, it has been continually criticized due for its poor facilities, overcrowding and inhumane treatment of immigrants and asylum seekers (Gatti 2005; Tennant & Janz 2009; Council of Europe 2011; Euronews 2013; Ballerini 2016). The residents – who are defined as irregular migrants, asylum seekers, refugees, illegal immigrants and so on – have also protested their treatment several times. This open protest is about the physical conditions of the reception site and about their personal statuses. The concept of “refugeeness” is complex and involves legal technicalities, protective legal status and a special moral condition (see Malkki 1995). It also involves the multiple identities and countries of origin of the diverse people who have been captured and sent to the Lampedusa reception site.

In peak times, the amount of people held at the reception site has been several times larger than what the facilities were meant for (Tayler 2014). In addition, these people have been held at the site for much longer than the law intended. For instance, in the summer of 2016, there were more than 1,700 irregular migrants in Lampedusa, which is over three times the capacity of the reception site (ANSA 2016). In 2017, fewer people were held in the reception center, but the number still occasionally surpassed the official capacity. The average time spent in the center has become shorter, though the migrants regularly stay longer than the related policies and laws intended.

Despite this criticism, the media also makes positive references to Lampedusa and its refugees. The small island’s inhabitants, fishermen and local politicians have helped many asylum seekers who sought help there (Andrijasevic 2006; Bonizzoni 2006; Pugliese 2010). In fact, the local fishermen have saved thousands of lives at sea despite some having been subjected to the temporary confiscation of their fishing boats after taking irregular migrants on board (Poggioni 2015, 1149; Orsini 2016, 138–139). In addition, an Italian prize was awarded to the municipality of Lampedusa in 2004 for its civil merits, and the municipality has been nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize several times. In addition,

town's mayor, Giusi Nicoloni, received several national and international prizes such as the 2014 Premio Trabucchi, the 2015 Stuttgarter Friedenpreis and Theodor-Heuss-Medaille, the 2016 Olof Palme and UNESCO's 2017 International Félix Houphouët-Boigny Peace Prize for his humanitarian achievements – “great humanity and constant commitment” – in this matter (Momigliano 2017).

This research report, entitled “Asylum Seekers and Irregular Migrants in Lampedusa, Italy, 2017,” reveals the findings of a study about the situation that irregular migrants and asylum seekers faced in Lampedusa in the summer of 2017. The key research topics are the irregular migrants' processes, practices and experiences in Lampedusa and the ways in which related authorities and organizations are dealing with those migrants. In this report, these migrants' aspirations and journeys from their home areas to their destination countries are studied. This research is tightly connected to our earlier research and to a related research report about the asylum seekers on the island of Lesbos, Greece (Jauhiainen 2017).

From a wider perspective, this research belongs to a broader project about the future of urbanization, mobility and immigration in Europe in general and Finland in particular. The Strategic Research Council of the Academy of Finland funded the research, and the Urbanization, Mobilities and Immigration (URMI) research consortium (see www.urmi.fi) conducted it. Professor Jussi S. Jauhiainen (jusaja@utu.fi) from the Department of Geography and Geology at the University of Turku, Finland, is the director of the URMI consortium and the author of this report.

In this publication, the terms “reception site” and “site” are defined as referring to the reception center (*Contrada Imbriacola*) in Lampedusa, which is currently the Lampedusa hotspot. Over the years, the profile of the center has changed many times; it changed from a reception site to a detention and expulsion center and then to a hotspot site. For the purpose of this research, a survey was conducted in June and July 2017 among irregular migrants and asylum seekers who were located in the reception site in Lampedusa. Over 100 of them responded to this semistructured survey. In addition, around 30 interviews of irregular migrants and asylum seekers were conducted, and more informal talks were held with over 50 additional irregular migrants and asylum seekers.

My focus in this publication is on irregular migrants, or foreign nationals whose entry into Italy was irregular and whose migration status does not comply with Italian legislation and rules. I refer to these people often as “asylum seekers” even if I do not necessarily know their status in the asylum process. Asylum seekers have left their countries to seek protection but have not yet been recognized as refugees (i.e., people who have been granted international protection by a country). The people I study in Lampedusa include those who had already formally asked for asylum, others were in the process of asking for it, and those

not aware of how the asylum process actually works. In addition, I conducted interviews and discussions about the asylum process and related issues with local stakeholders, administrators and inhabitants in Lampedusa. This report illustrates general findings; however, the analysis continues.

I am grateful to all the irregular migrants and asylum seekers who contributed to this research by responding to the survey, by participating in interviews, or by sharing their thoughts through informal chats. I express special thanks to the two asylum seekers – whose names and nationalities I have not listed, as they wished – who helped with the practical organization of the survey.

The key findings of this report are as follows:

- Lampedusa has been a significant entry point for irregular migrants and asylum seekers to the European Union. In 2017, the Italian authorities strongly regulated their arrival, so the number of migrants was substantially smaller than in 2011 or 2015.
- Irregular migrants and asylum seekers who arrive at Lampedusa typically leave Libya in boats facilitated by smugglers. They are rescued from international waters and brought to Lampedusa according to the Italian authorities' plans.
- All irregular migrants and asylum seekers in Lampedusa stay in a reception site called *Contrada Imbriacola*. Over the years, this center has functioned variously as a reception center, detention center and hotspot site. At the time of this research in summer 2017, it was used to provide preliminary information, pre-identification, fingerprinting and registration of the arriving people. Most of these people stayed for a week or two, after which they were deported to major reception sites elsewhere in Italy.
- The living conditions at the site in Lampedusa were generally acceptable and were substantially better than the everyday conditions in Libya. Of the respondents, seven out of eight (88%) felt safe at the Lampedusa site.
- Authorities at the Lampedusa site face challenges regarding the provision of many basic services such as comfortable accommodations, hygienic services such as toilets and hot-water showers, and access to the Internet and social media; there are also challenges regarding the daily provision of an allowance (2.50 euro) to the people at the site. Over half (57%) felt that they had enough toilets, showers and so on. Nevertheless, over two thirds (71%) of the respondents felt well-treated.
- Irregular migrants and asylum seekers are not formally allowed to leave the reception site. However, dozens leave and return every day to spend their

free time in downtown Lampedusa. The police, authorities and inhabitants tolerate this because the irregular migrants and asylum seekers have not created trouble in the public space in Lampedusa. After the local elections in 2017, some began to call for restricting the irregular migrants' and asylum seekers' access to public spaces in Lampedusa.

- One out of five (20%) respondents plan to return to their former home countries. If returned by force, many will try to enter the European Union again. Italy, Germany and France were the most wished-for destinations among irregular migrants and asylum seekers. More than four out of five (82%) of them wanted to work in Europe. Different employment policies apply in the European Union countries, which constrains the asylum seekers' employment opportunities.
- Social media is an important communication tool for irregular migrants and asylum seekers during their journey to Europe. However, in Libya, mobile phones are confiscated, especially from the sub-Saharan people; these migrants are then without access to the Internet. Therefore, in Lampedusa, only one out of four (28%) respondents used the Internet at least weekly. Over half (57%) did not use the Internet at all, and daily Internet users were very few (7%). In Lampedusa, volunteers offer access to the Internet at two sites; however, most migrants cannot leave the reception site. Irregular migrants and asylum seekers with Arabic backgrounds were more likely than others to possess mobile phones, to use them actively on social media and to be in daily contact with their families and friends, many of whom live nearby in the Mediterranean region. Facebook, WhatsApp and Snapchat were the most important channels.
- It is important to improve the basic facilities at the reception site in Lampedusa to make the everyday lives of irregular migrants and asylum seekers who live there more decent. For them, the possibility of visiting Lampedusa's town is psychologically very important because of the hard times they faced in Libya. In addition, at the reception site, the provision of complimentary Wi-Fi and Internet access would be very helpful.
- Fundamentally, all irregular migrants arriving at Lampedusa should be allowed to ask for asylum and be provided with the proper knowledge on their rights during the asylum process. They need to be treated respectfully and individually, taking into account everyone's needs. If migrants' applications are rejected, or if they do not receive permission to reside in the European Union, the responsible authorities must provide them with safe and meaningful returns to their countries of origin.

2. ASYLUM SEEKERS AND IRREGULAR MIGRANTS IN LAMPEDUSA, ITALY: SURVEY AND INTERVIEWS

The island of Lampedusa is located along the Central Mediterranean route, a significant path for those seeking asylum in the European Union. Over the years, Lampedusa has played an important role in the arrivals of irregular migrants and asylum seekers. Hundreds of thousands of them have passed through Lampedusa to the European Union. As discussed later, in Chapter 3, when arrivals from the Central Mediterranean route become more important, so does Lampedusa.

The number of irregular migrants arriving in Italy has varied substantially in the 21st century. When access to the European Union is easier through the Eastern Mediterranean route than through the Central Mediterranean route, the latter is less important (Frontex 2016). The reception site in Lampedusa was established in 1996, when arrivals were still scarce. In the early 2000s, the number of annual arrivals was rather small. Following the 2011 political upheaval in North Africa, the number of irregular migrants and asylum seekers grew rapidly – into the tens of thousands – before declining rapidly.

In 2015, when the European Union received the largest number of yearly asylum seekers so far, the numbers for Italy did not grow substantially because most asylum seekers arrived through the Eastern Mediterranean route from Turkey to Greece (Clayton & Holland 2015). The Lampedusa reception center was then converted into a hotspot, a particular type of European Union migration site. In March 2016, after an agreement between the European Union and Turkey to prevent the passage of irregular migrants from Turkey to Greece (European Commission 2016), the number of arrivals to Italy started to grow again.

Annually, the number of migrants and asylum seekers in Lampedusa has varied from a few hundred to tens of thousands, as discussed in Chapter 3. In the 2000s, there were frequent periods when irregular migrants were rescued from the waters surrounding Lampedusa. Controversially, these migrants were deported back to Libya without granting them the opportunity to seek asylum, and some were even taken directly back to Libya while still at sea (Andrijasevic 2010). In fact, in 2012, the European Court of Human Rights sanctioned Italy for its policy of sending African migrants who had approached Italy by sea back to Libya (Johnson 2012).

In 2017, the practice of the European Union in the Mediterranean Sea was to rescue irregular migrants as soon as they passed the Libyan maritime border and entered international waters (see Figure 3 in Chapter 1). Most such rescued people were brought directly to Sicily and distributed to the ports of larger southern Italian cities (UNHCR 2017b). However, during the rescue process, a certain number of rescued irregular migrants were carefully chosen for trans-

port to Lampedusa. Therefore, the rate of arrivals at Lampedusa has become substantially smaller relative to that of Italy. Lampedusa received 6,100 irregular migrants from January through August 2017, or 25 people per day (Cruscotto 2017). However, the arrivals took place only once every week or two. All rescued migrants were then transported within a few weeks from Lampedusa to reception centers elsewhere in Italy.

2.1. Reception site for irregular migrants and asylum seekers in Lampedusa, Italy

There is one reception site for irregular migrants and asylum seekers in Lampedusa, Italy. This site (called *Contrada Imbriacola*) is located at the end of a road about 1.5 km northwest of the center of Lampedusa's town (Figure 4). The port and airport are also nearby. The site is surrounded by high walls and fences (Figure 5). Its location at the end of the road and between hills makes it nearly invisible. Furthermore, there are no signposts or other indications that there is a reception center in Lampedusa (Figure 6).

The management of the reception site is complex. Since 2015, the Lampedusa site has functioned as a hotspot. This is a European Union practice in which



Figure 4. Key locations in the central part of Lampedusa island. Modified from Google Maps. 1=Reception site *Contrada Imbriacola*; 2=Center of the downtown Lampedusa; 3=Port of Lampedusa; 4=Airport of Lampedusa.



Figure 5. The reception site *Contrada Imbriacola* for irregular migrants and asylum seekers in Lampedusa, Italy. Source: AFP.



Figure 6. Road to the reception site *Contrada Imbriacola* for irregular migrants and asylum seekers in Lampedusa, 2017.

certain sites are assigned for the immediate screening and registration of irregular migrants, who are then divided quickly into potential asylum seekers and other potential migrants, including those who are clearly illegal. There are several international authorities involved in the management of any hotspot, so the Lampedusa territorial site is controlled by authorities above the national and local levels (see Painter et al. 2017).

The Lampedusa hotspot functions as the first phase of the Italian migration-reception system. The site is run by Italy's central authorities and by international authorities, and nongovernmental organizations are also present. The police, the Carabinieri (a military force charged with police duties under the authority of both the Ministry of Defense and the Ministry of the Interior), the Guardia di Finanza (an enforcement agency under the authority of the Ministry of Economy and Finance) and the Italian armed forces all participate in the maintenance and surveillance of the site. Staff members from various agencies of the European Union such as Frontex (European Border and Coast Guard Agency) and EASO (European Asylum Support Office) are also included. In addition, a few international and Italian organizations, such as Save the Children and the Catholic charity Misericordia, are involved in the site's daily activities – for example, by providing services for the asylum seekers. Immediately outside the main entrance, fire rescue and health rescue authorities wait with the appropriate vehicles.

In the media, the reception-site authorities very seldom give statements regarding their activities. However, the media sometimes writes about the asylum seekers' arrival to Lampedusa, their deportation from the island, and of some of the site's other activities. Lampedusa is frequently used as a discursive decoration that connects it to broader political issues about irregular migrants, asylum seekers and the related politics in Italy and the European Union. Much more information and commentary about irregular migrants and the Lampedusa reception site can be found on social media, often from critical and polemic perspectives (see, for example, Askavusa 2017).

The current reception site at Lampedusa can host several hundred irregular migrants and asylum seekers. The exact number of residents varies, and the site is often overcrowded. The formal maximum number is 500 persons, but due to the need for renovation, the operational maximum should be lower. In the past, at peak moments, there have been several thousand irregular migrants and asylum seekers on the island. In 2011, in particular, the site was substantially overcrowded (Council of Europe 2011). However, in recent years the number of irregular migrants and asylum seekers at the site has diminished.

In the summer of 2017, the number of irregular migrants and asylum seekers varied from week to week. During the fieldwork for this study (which took place in the latter part of June and early July 2017), the number of residents was esti-

mated to be about 500. At that time, dozens of irregular migrants and asylum seekers slept outside the site's buildings, either directly on the ground or in a ruined building that lacked walls. In addition to the dormitories for the people held inside, the site also includes administrative buildings. Since 2015, it has been very difficult to get permission to visit the site; even photographing it is not allowed.

Over the years, unrest, accidents and casualties have occurred among the residents of the Lampedusa reception center. Asylum seekers, related nongovernmental organizations and the media have occasionally criticized the general conditions at the site. Rallies and manifestations have been organized, but nowadays, they are rather rare. Asylum seekers have purposefully set major fires within the site in 2009, 2011 and 2016. The fires were set to protest against the poor facilities and the poor treatment of the asylum seekers, especially the deportation back to either Libya or the migrants' country of origin (Scherer 2016).

Aside from drawing attention to the existing problems at the reception site and with the asylum process, the protests have also served to help migrants break free from the position of being helpless and invisible and to protest the international agreements and national policies that dominate them even though they have never been able to take part in those policies. In Lampedusa, some artists and nongovernmental organizations have also tried to indicate that irregular migrants should be seen as ordinary people.

In 2017, compared to the situation that irregular migrants and asylum seekers had to face in Libya, Lampedusa was much better. Nevertheless, there is criticism toward the reception site. In the meetings that took place for this study in the summer of 2017 in Lampedusa, some irregular migrants and asylum seekers complained about the poor conditions, lack of proper showers, poor toilets, overcrowded and smelly dormitories, and substandard variety of food (see also Section 4.3). Like many prior researchers, I was unable to gain access to the site (see also Kushner 2016), so the actual state of the site and its services could not be verified. Nevertheless, many asylum seekers complained about these topics, and some showed photos that they had taken inside the site. An additional constraint is that irregular migrants and asylum seekers do not receive any financial support from the authorities, despite what the authorities told them (see Section 4.3). This creates problems for those who are forced to have lengthier stays on the island.

As a response to such complaints, the authorities often respond that refugees are meant to stay on Lampedusa for only a few days – technically, up to 96 hours – before being deported to major reception sites in Sicily and mainland Italy. However, some asylum seekers stay in Lampedusa for over two weeks. In the past, the stays were even longer, sometimes lasting for months.

2.2. Survey in Lampedusa, Italy, in 2017

The survey was given to irregular migrants and asylum seekers in Lampedusa, Italy, from June 22 through July 2, 2017. Professor Jussi S. Jauhiainen (University of Turku, Finland) conducted the survey in person. The questionnaire was presented in Arabic, English, French and Somali. It was also available in Farsi, Sorani Kurdish and Urdu, but none of the respondents spoke these languages. All ethical and safety precautions were applied throughout the survey.

The survey was conducted among irregular migrants and asylum seekers, all of whom were staying at the Lampedusa reception site. Getting in contact with them involved certain challenges. Formally, for instance, they are not allowed to leave the reception site, nor are researchers or other non-staff persons permitted to enter the site.

However, every day, in the daytime 10 to 20 irregular migrants and asylum seekers escape from the site and go downtown; in the evening time, around 15 to 40 people do the same. Despite this practice not being formally allowed, the local authorities, police and inhabitants all tolerate it. So far, the irregular migrants and asylum seekers have not created any trouble and have only stayed for a few hours at a time among the local inhabitants and tourists. In the late evening or night, all of them return to the site. In total, less than 10% of those held inside the reception site use this method to visit downtown Lampedusa.

I utilized this opportunity to get acquainted with the irregular migrants and asylum seekers; while in Lampedusa's public spaces, I talked with them and asked if they would like to fill out the questionnaire. In general, they responded positively to the possibility of filling out the questionnaire. Around 80% of those asked filled out the form. Those who rejected the request were busy, had to return to the site, did not believe that the survey would help them or did not have enough writing skills to complete the form.

I gave each respondent the questionnaire and a pen. The respondent then filled it out independently while sitting on a nearby bench before returning the sheet to me immediately after completion. This process took, on average, 15 to 30 minutes. No interpreters were used. Some irregular migrants and asylum seekers helped to explain the idea to others, such as those whose linguistic skills were poorer or who did not know what the purpose of the survey was. Most of the forms were filled out along the main road (Via Roma) in downtown Lampedusa. Some forms were filled out in the church square downtown, which is a location where irregular migrants and asylum seekers had free access to Wi-Fi and where nongovernmental organizations sometimes helped individual asylum seekers.

Most of these irregular migrants and asylum seekers who spent time downtown (illegally) on one day returned the next day. Therefore, the saturation point for surveying them was reached after a few days. During this period of field-

work, a partial change occurred in the groups of people kept on Lampedusa. In an organized deportation, around 150 irregular migrants and asylum seekers were sent elsewhere in Italy. The next day, around 250 new irregular migrants and asylum seekers were brought to Lampedusa. These migrants came directly from international waters in the Mediterranean Sea after being rescued by authorities from international, European Union and Italian authorities. Some of these migrants thus arrived in Lampedusa's downtown within three days of their departure from Libya. Nevertheless, the saturation point was reached for this newly arrived group within a couple of days.

Luckily, to solve this rather complex problem, two asylum seekers volunteered to take blank forms to the reception site and ask the people there to fill them out. These two volunteers then returned the forms to me the next day. The idea for this practice came from each of these asylum seekers independently. I was pleased to agree to the plan. After this, the total number of respondents was 104. However, six forms were filled out only partially (e.g., only on the first page), so the final number of accepted forms was 98. My estimation is that this accounted for 20–25% of all irregular migrants and asylum seekers in Lampedusa during that time.

The survey form was the same one that I had used earlier to research the asylum seekers in Lesbos, Greece. The questionnaire included 66 questions and an introduction that explained its general purpose and ethical principles. The questions were about the respondents' backgrounds (sex, mother tongue, education, employment, country of origin, etc.); their journeys to Lampedusa (reason for leaving, employment, experiences, etc.); and their time in the Lampedusa reception site (personal experience with various issues, future plans, destination, etc.). Five of the questions were open-ended (reason for leaving the country of origin; life goals; daily activities in Lampedusa, etc.), 15 were semistructured, and 46 were structured (either yes/no or I agree/I don't know/I disagree).

2.3. Interviews in Lampedusa, Italy, in 2017

The interviews of the irregular migrants and asylum seekers were conducted in Lampedusa, Italy, from June 22 through July 2, 2017. I conducted the interviews in person.

The interviews included five themes. The introduction explained the general purpose and the ethical principles of the interview. The introduction was also written and was available in Arabic, English, French and Somali. The themes included the interviewee's background, employment, governance of irregular migrants, social media use and migration goals.

In Lampedusa, I asked migrants about the possibility of being interviewed. The advantage of the particular situation in Lampedusa (e.g., the limited number of migrants in downtown Lampedusa, a group comprising the same persons

day after day) was that the migrants who went to the public space in downtown Lampedusa gradually learned who I was and what I was doing. It was thus rather easy to talk with these people and get interviews. I was one of the first European people whom they were able to talk with. For most of the interviewees, I was the first person who showed interest in them, aside from the authorities and non-governmental organizations.

If an interview was possible immediately, a suitable public place was found for the interview, such as a location on the main street or in one of the main squares in downtown Lampedusa. The ethical issues related to the interview process were explained briefly to the interviewees, all of whom remained unidentified. Most interviews took place between 8 and 11 pm. All ethical and safety precautions were applied during the interviews.

Because of the irregular migrants' and asylum seekers' sensitivity and concerns, the interviews were not taped. Instead, the key points of the answers were either written on paper during the interviews or memorized and written down after the interview finished. It took 10 to 40 minutes to conduct each interview – most often between 15 and 20 minutes. No interpreters were used. The interviews were then analyzed using thematic and content analyses.

In total, 30 people participated in the individual interviews of asylum seekers; 22 of the interviews were in English, and 8 were in French. All the interviewees were male. During my stay, while I was in public spaces in Lampedusa, I saw only five female asylum seekers, each of whom stayed there only very briefly, so there was no chance that I could interview them. The interviewees were from Cameroon, Chad, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Gambia, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Morocco, Nigeria, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, Syria and Tunisia.

Aside from these slightly more formal interviews, I also chatted shortly or more at length with about 50 irregular migrants and asylum seekers. These included four female asylum seekers from Cameroon and Nigeria. Other than the thirteen countries mentioned above, I chatted with irregular migrants and asylum seekers from Bangladesh, Burkina Faso, Ghana, Niger and Western Sahara. Some themes discussed were the same as in the interviews, but also included their stay in Libya, the journey to Libya and from Libya to Lampedusa and the conditions at the reception site in Lampedusa. These more informal chats have very significant additional information about the journeys and processes of the irregular migrants and asylum seekers in Lampedusa.

3. FRAMING THE CONTEXT

Lampedusa is the most known island in Europe in regard to the arrival of irregular migrants and asylum seekers. Its geographical location as one of the first places reached after leaving Africa by sea has made it significant for asylum seekers.

The topic of irregular migrants, asylum seekers, refugees and related issues in Lampedusa has been extensively studied. There are more than 100 scientific academic articles and book chapters about it and numerous reports by international and Italian authorities and various nongovernmental organizations and activists. I will not debate the key findings of these earlier studies. Instead, I have selected three themes to better highlight the situation in Lampedusa in the summer 2017.

The key discourses regarding irregular migrants, asylum seekers and Lampedusa, as well as changing asylum-related policies and local practices, are discussed in the following. I describe and reflect my observations during my fieldwork in Lampedusa. In addition, I dialog these observations with earlier research about these topics in regard to Lampedusa. Theoretical, conceptual and methodological issues are discussed to the extent useful for understanding the themes.

3.1. Lampedusa discourse

Lampedusa is both material and discursive in the asylum-seeking processes locally in Lampedusa, nationally in Italy, internationally in the European Union and even more broadly in the global context. Different spatial scales come together, and the discourses becomes relational (e.g., in relation to other changing discourses and material realities). Discourses make Lampedusa more important than it currently is in actual irregular migration to the European Union. The discourses about Lampedusa change over time (see Cutitta 2014; Dines et al. 2015).

As mentioned in Chapter 1, there can be strongly negative or positive tones in these discourses. According to Musarò and Parmiggiani (2017), in Italy, the broader media discourse on irregular migration tends to be sensationalist, portraying stereotyped images of irregular migrants. Such discourse transforms these immigrants into subjects and objects of fear, experiencing the fear of being rejected and eliminated and inspiring fear in the residential populations in Italy. Furthermore, in Italy, Lampedusa is employed as a reference for the use of internal politics. The right-wing opposition blames the government for the incapacity to handle irregular migration to Italy. The left-wing politicians often refer to humanitarian values in the attempts to solve immigration issues (The Guardian 2017a). Lampedusa, Sicily and other locations are used as symbolic and material discursive references for it.



Figure 7. Lampedusa image 1: Irregular migrants going towards Italy in 2014. Source: The Guardian & Ettore Ferrari/EPA 2014.

Media plays a very important role producing certain discourses about Lampedusa. In the media, Lampedusa has long been presented as the key site that non-European irregular migrants need to pass through when entering the European Union. It has become a symbol of the transit space between non-Europe and Europe, a failing watchtower of the so-called fortress Europe.

Aside from numerous stories about the arrival of asylum seekers, such discourse is fostered with visualizations of Lampedusa in media and films (see also Bruno 2015; Khrebtan-Hörhager 2015; Bayraktar 2016, 136–138; Chapter 1 here). In the media, a very typical image is the photo of an over-crowded boat, full of suffering and desperate, poor asylum seekers in the Mediterranean Sea (Figure 7). Other typical features in the image include coastal guards, other Italian and international authorities or nongovernmental organizations rescuing irregular migrants and asylum seekers from the sea, carrying them onboard to the harbors in the European Union or onto vessels patrolling international waters (Figure 8).

Most often, these images contain no direct visual or physical references to the island itself. Lampedusa is a kind of abstract transit space, suspended between the European Union and the asylum seekers. Much less regular but still frequent images show how irregular migrants and asylum seekers are placed in the Lampedusa harbor (Figure 9). Nevertheless, the multitude of irregular migrants and asylum seekers, the sea and vessels are the key denominators in the visual images. The visualization is also a mode to frame and represent the “Afri-



Figure 8. Lampedusa image 2. Irregular migrants to be rescued in 2016. Source: Financial Times & Patrick Bar/SOS Mediterranee/AP 2016.

can Other,” often from a reactive Eurocentric perspective (Khrebtan-Hörhager 2015, 87).

These visual images portray Lampedusa as a site full of arriving refugees. Potential tourists who have never visited the island wonder if it is safe and pleasant to visit Lampedusa: Are there refugees all over the island, boats full of asylum seekers nearing on the horizon or dead bodies of irregular migrants flowing to the beaches (see Figures 7–9)? In fact, the potential conflict of interest between tourists, irregular migrants and tourism in Lampedusa has been debated for more than a decade, as well as the impact of irregular migrants to the image of and practices in Lampedusa (Council of Europe 2011; Baracco 2017).

In reality, in recent years, an average tourist has very seldom had the possibility to see any direct action related to the asylum-seeker processes. Most tourists arrive by plane, not by ship. Strolling the harbor waterfront, a tourist sees the coastal guard vessels in the harbor and a large passenger ship that travels daily between Lampedusa and Sicily. However, even these vessels and the ship are used in asylum-related practices, and it is rare to recognize any such connection or to witness the arrival or departure of irregular migrants and asylum seekers to and from the island. Similarly, it is rare to witness the transport of them from the harbor to the reception center and back (see Figure 4 in Section 2.1).

Despite the reception center being physically close to downtown, no tourists come close to it because it is a site at the end of a long and winding road. Fur-



Figure 9. Lampedusa image 3. Irregular migrants at the harbor of Lampedusa. Source: CNN & Silvia Marchetti 2015.

thermore, the site is between hills and is not visible from a distance (see Figure 6 in Section 2.1). Mountz (2011) has argued that by locating irregular migrants and asylum seekers on islands, the states put them at a distance and hide them from the public at large. Thus, for an occasional visitor or tourist, discourses and visual images instead of material reality make Lampedusa visible in regard to the location for asylum processes. In this context, Lampedusa is therefore used for purposes beyond the island.

How about a situation when material, immaterial and discursive elements of asylum processes meet in Lampedusa – a meeting with fact and fiction? During my fieldwork, I observed a situation in which various elements between Lampedusa and asylum-seeking processes came together: a movie night.

A particular recent reference that fosters the discourse of Lampedusa related to irregular migrants and asylum seekers is *Lampedusa – Dall'orizzonte in poi*. This is an Italian television film produced by the national television company (RAI Fiction and Fabula Pictures). The two parts were shown on Italian television in September 2016, gaining 3.3 to 4.2 million viewers (Wikipedia 2017).

The film is about the asylum journey from Libya to Lampedusa and the asylum practices in Lampedusa seen from the eyes of a few asylum seekers, asylum-related authorities and local inhabitants. In the recent years, several films on this topic have been launched, as discussed in Chapter 1. This film was praised for its relevance and for its realistic and hybrid approach to a very significant and real theme, namely irregular migrants and asylum seekers and their treatment along the asylum journey, how different authorities react to an individual irregular migrant or asylum seeker and how local ordinary people face the issue of irregular migrants and asylum seekers on the tiny island of Lampedusa differently

and even controversially. Like in many films, there are good and bad characters among all of the stakeholders on Lampedusa.

Analyzing a slightly earlier film, *Terraferma*, Khrebtan-Hörhager (2015) came to the conclusion that such an intercultural film could serve as a proactive tool to rethink and enact multiculturalism that is more inclusive than the dichotomized media portrayals of irregular migrants arriving at Lampedusa (see Figures 7–9 in Section 3.1). However, instead of deconstructing the content and the characters of the film *Lampedusa – Dall'orizzonte in poi* in the same tendency that is and will be a theme of numerous studies, I address the film through a particular contextual event. I discuss the circumstances and reactions when the movie was shown in the summer 2017 in a public space in Lampedusa. This took place twice during my fieldwork in downtown Lampedusa on the main pedestrian street. On other evenings, documentaries about the nature of Lampedusa, the visit of Pope Francis to Lampedusa and other films somehow connected to Lampedusa, such as *Il Gattopardo (The Leopard)*, based on the book by the famous author Giuseppe Tomasi di Lampedusa, were shown. Therefore nobody knew which film was going to appear each evening. Earlier in 2016, there was also an organized movie night for the local inhabitants and passing asylum seekers, namely the premiere of the film *Fuocoammare* in Lampedusa.

In Via Roma, there was a large television set and loudspeakers and a bench in front of them. The movie night was not advertised, but whomever wanted could sit down and watch the movie for free. What made the event particular was that on both occasions, there were irregular migrants and asylum seekers, as well as Italian tourists, watching *Lampedusa – Dall'orizzonte in poi*. I observed their and the Italian tourists' reactions and talked with the irregular migrants and asylum seekers later.

During the first evening, four irregular migrants and asylum seekers and about 10 Italian tourists were present in the audience. During the second night, eight irregular migrants and asylum seekers and about 12 Italian tourists were present. Some Italian tourists stopped strolling to watch this film without immediately knowing what the film was about. In Lampedusa, the Italian tourists were typically from North Italy and stayed on the island for an extended weekend or a week. Many watched the film for few minutes or for up to 15 minutes, arriving randomly at different moments. Because the film was in Italian, all of the Italian tourists understood the spoken words aside from a few phrases that were in Arabic. I assumed that most Italians were aware of the film and that some had seen it before. However, they had not personally experienced the scenes in the film. However, they were now in Lampedusa, where most of the film took place. It was filmed in Lampedusa, too.

Compared with Italians, irregular migrants and asylum seekers stayed much longer to watch the film. They were present for at least for an hour or even for



Figure 10. Irregular migrants and asylum seekers watching the film *Lampedusa – Dall’orizzonte in poi* in the public space of Lampedusa in the summer 2017.

the entire film (Figure 10). They did not understand the words, as the film was in Italian, except for the occasional phrases in Arabic. Very few knew about the film before seeing it. Some irregular migrants and asylum seekers in the audience had left Libya only a couple of days earlier, then were rescued from sea by authorities and brought to the reception site in Lampedusa. Now they were watching a movie about the situations they had recently experienced.

I do not analyze the film in its entirety but focus on three important, rather violent and dramatic moments in the earlier part of the film. The first is a scene where an irregular migrant – a potential asylum seeker – is shot by the smugglers on the coast of Libya because he does not have enough money to pay for the trip to Lampedusa. The second is an explosion on a boat full of irregular migrants and asylum seekers, resulting in them falling into the Mediterranean Sea. The third is the tension between a Libyan border guard boat and an Italian marine guard board threatening each other when rescuing irregular migrants and asylum seekers at the sea’s border area near Libya. In addition, the film depicts everyday activities in the reception center in Lampedusa. I make three observations about this particular material-discursive fusion of facts, experiences, feelings and fiction.

The first observation is about the reactions in the audience. The irregular migrants and asylum seekers sat on the benches when the movie started. They did not react at all when Italian tourists sat next to them to watch the movie. In other circumstances, I did not see how Italian tourists would have sat next to irregular migrants and asylum seekers. The irregular migrants and asylum seekers spent their time in downtown in quite irrelevant places, distant from bars and cafes and other tourist attractions. The realms of Italian tourists and irregular migrants and asylum seekers did not interact, despite them sharing the same space on tiny Lampedusa. I do not argue that such a spatiotemporal othering took place on purpose, but it happened nevertheless.

Most irregular migrants and asylum seekers seemed to watch the movie mostly as entertainment, as with other movies during other nights. They did not have much to do in Lampedusa and had no opportunity for months to sit freely in a public space. Thus, this and other films were a sudden opportunity to just spend some free time outside in public. During the film, the irregular migrants and asylum seekers sporadically commented to each other about the factual and fictitious elements in the film. When they recognized some familiar locations or buildings from Lampedusa, they pointed them out with interest.

The Italian tourists, who did not know what the film was about, first sat quietly next to the irregular migrants and asylum seekers. Some came alone, others were part of a couple or a small group of 3 to 4 people. Soon, they were caught up in some rather violent and dramatic scenes from the film. It soon became evident that these scenes were about an asylum journey to Lampedusa. Suddenly, the Italian tourists realized that they were sitting next to real people who looked quite similar to those in the film. It became evident that the people at their sides might have experienced the same maltreatments and dangers shown in the film. After recognizing this, the Italian tourists were seemingly disturbed, and almost everyone left the bench quickly. No Italian tourists said anything to any of the irregular migrants or any asylum seekers. The scenes in the film created a frictional relationship between the Italians and the others, but it remained unsolved. It was a connection to the pseudo-realistic fictitious scene in the film in which irregular migrants and asylum seekers and Italians were present. However, no reciprocal interaction emerged between them and the Italians in real life circumstances. These moments in the film opened the problematic othering and humanitarian drama among the citizens of the European Union and the anonymous, irregular migrants and asylum seekers aiming to gain access to the European Union. These moments were not enough to solve such a complex issue, but led toward the withdrawal of the European bodies from the scene.

The second observation is about the reactions of irregular migrants and asylum seekers toward the violent and dramatic scenes of the film. In these scenes, some irregular migrants were assassinated by smugglers and others were



Figure 11. Irregular migrants and asylum seekers threatened in the Mediterranean Sea: A scene from the film *Lampedusa – Dall'orizzonte in poi*.

drowned in the Mediterranean, and there were threatening smugglers and Libyan border guards (Figure 11). In the real audience were people who had been rescued from the sea only a few days ago and others a couple of weeks before. Nevertheless, everyone had experienced something like what was in the film, which they told me later. Among the audience were people whose fellow irregular migrants had drowned during the journey and people who had seen the assassinations and deaths of fellow travelers when captured in Libya. Nevertheless, these events in the film did not create visibly strong emotions among those in the audience. None of the viewers closed their eyes, turned away or showed fear or cried. It seemed that both the film and the recent similar real-life experiences had been externalized as either fiction or belonging to the past and could be watched without tension in a public place.

Later, I talked with several irregular migrants and asylum seekers about those events in the film. I asked if what they had experienced was like that in reality. Most said that their experiences had been much worse. They had been treated more cruelly by the smugglers, they indicated how the boat in the film was in too good of a condition, there were too few people onboard and their clothing was too fancy (Figure 12). Ventrella (2010, 204) has observed how irregular migrants in Lampedusa in 2008 were reluctant to talk to international organizations, such as the International Organization of Migration (IOM) and the Red Cross, about the smuggling. However, I did not experience this in 2017, and many told me about the details of their smuggling experiences. Also, Amnesty International



Figure 12. Irregular migrants and asylum seekers escaping across the Mediterranean Sea: A scene from the film *Lampedusa – Dall'orizzonte in poi*.

(2017) collected many recalls from irregular migrants living in Libya and during the sea passage to Italy. In regard to the appearance of the reception site of Lampedusa in the film, some also laughed and commented that in the film, there were too many women compared to the real situation and that the reception site looked too clean and orderly.

Earlier studies in Lampedusa show that many irregular migrants and asylum seekers have been imprisoned and tortured during their asylum journey. Psychological problems among asylum seekers are common, especially when their detention continues in the European Union (Storm & Engberg 2013), including Lampedusa (Soares & Tzafalias 2015; Segneri et al. 2016) and elsewhere in Italy (Merotta 2017; Nosé et al. 2017). I do not claim that watching this film would have been a therapeutic session for asylum seekers, but it created a bridge to talking about the recent tragic experiences they had on their passage to Lampedusa. Not all of them wanted to talk about it, but many wanted to explain how they had survived in the conditions and came to be safe in Lampedusa, living among ordinary people in the European Union and freely staying in the public spaces of Lampedusa. I had to reply that, unfortunately, their seemingly free and non-harassed stay in the downtown Lampedusa might be a unique situation. Their everyday lives might not be better in the near future in Sicily or elsewhere in Italy.

The third observation was about the general topic of the film. Many irregular migrants and asylum seekers were curious to watch a movie about the

locations they had visited, the passage they had recently experienced and the place in which they were now. Some people thought that showing the film must be ordinary – there must be many films about asylum seekers in different European parts of the Mediterranean. Perhaps such films are commonly shown in the places where irregular migrants and asylum seekers arrive. They started to understand that they and Lampedusa must somehow be important because a film was made about the irregular migrants and asylum seekers in Lampedusa.

Lampedusa – Dall'orizzonte in poi became a fusion of facts and fiction through fictitious repetitive news that can be shown from one week to another in downtown Lampedusa. For many irregular migrants and asylum seekers, it was important to recognize locations of Lampedusa in the film, to understand that they really were there and that the situation for them was better now than in the past months. Those who had stayed for a week or two and had seen more sites in Lampedusa commented about these sites as well. They seemed to feel even more secure and distanced from the dramatic events of the film and their actual experiences during their asylum journeys. Many material-discursive layers became interwoven and developed further during and after the film.

3.2. Changing policies

The policies at the Lampedusa reception site and the changes in local policies are related to broader policies in Italy and the European Union. In general, in Italy, the approach to immigration has been piecemeal, lacking a consistent and comprehensive policy (Kosic & Triandafyllidou 2007), at least until recently. It is not the intention of this research to systematically analyze the changing policies regarding asylum seekers in Lampedusa or Italy. However, to better understand the local context in summer 2017, I shortly discuss how the situation in Lampedusa has changed during the past two decades.

During some periods, the situation regarding irregular migrants and asylum seekers in Lampedusa has been rather relaxed. In other periods, their situation has been difficult and threatening. Mountz (2011) claimed that states use remote islands to isolate migrants from communities of advocacy and legal representation and from the asylum claims processes that are properly accessible upon arriving in sovereign territory. As the discussion below indicates, such practices have been used many times in Lampedusa.

Despite the many attempts to prevent the arrival of irregular migrants and asylum seekers, there are continuous attempts to leave Northern Africa and to head for Europe. At specific times, among the people leaving are nationals of the countries along the southern shores of the Mediterranean, most often Tunisia, Libya and Morocco – and, to a lesser extent, Egypt and Algeria. Turning back and forth has characterized the policies so far. Libya is a major gathering point for

future asylum seekers originating from sub-Saharan Africa and less so for people from the Near East (IOM 2017).

The geographical location of Lampedusa has meant that different populations have arrived in Lampedusa over millennia and used it for purposes suitable for them. Therefore, on the island, there is a particular long-term experience of being ruled from the outside. Since the ruling power has changed many times during the past centuries, only a few families have stayed on the island for many generations. Nevertheless, the arrival of people seeking help is also something that the islanders have experienced for a long time. The physical landscape of the island has also gone through important changes. For example, the forest was cut down in the 19th century, many buildings were destroyed during the Second World War and tourism-related infrastructure has been built in the early 21st century (Taranto 2009).

In Lampedusa, the practices in regard to irregular migrants and asylum seekers have existed for about two decades. There were very few irregular migrants arriving in the early 1990s – closer to tens than hundreds annually. A few fishing boats arrived from Tunisia and Morocco with people searching for economic opportunity (Tennant & Janz 2009, 12). One local doctor – see the film *Fuocoammare* – provided health care for them on the island, but not much more was institutionally accomplished. Then more irregular migrants and asylum seekers started to arrive.

The first period of asylum policies was between 1996 and February 2006. It began with the emergence of the first asylum-seeker reception site. In 1996, the first contemporary site to receive asylum seekers was established. In the beginning, it was run by volunteers trained by the Red Cross. After a couple of years of the establishment of the informal site, a law was drawn up in Italy. In 1998, a new site – the Center of Temporary Stay and Assistance (Centro di Permanenza Temporanea ed Assistenza) – was established near the airport of Lampedusa. Spontaneous volunteers and hospitality became increasingly institutionalized. This new reception site was much larger, accommodating 150 people. It was also an official site and surrounded by fences and barbed wire. The captured migrants were not allowed move freely around the island (Affari Italiani 2009; Freise 2012, 73). The limitations of the rights of irregular migrants contained aspects of Agamben's concept of bare life, in which they were separated from the legal framework meant for Italians and the citizens of the European Union (see Dines et al. 2015).

Until 2006, the amount of irregular migrants annually found at the Italian sea borders was between 13,000 and 27,000 (Cutitta 2014, 202). The amount of asylum seekers varied annually between 9,300 and 18,500 in those years (Eurostat 2017) (see Figure 13). During these early years, the implementation of broader asylum policies was limited in Lampedusa. Very little or no right to ask for asylum was

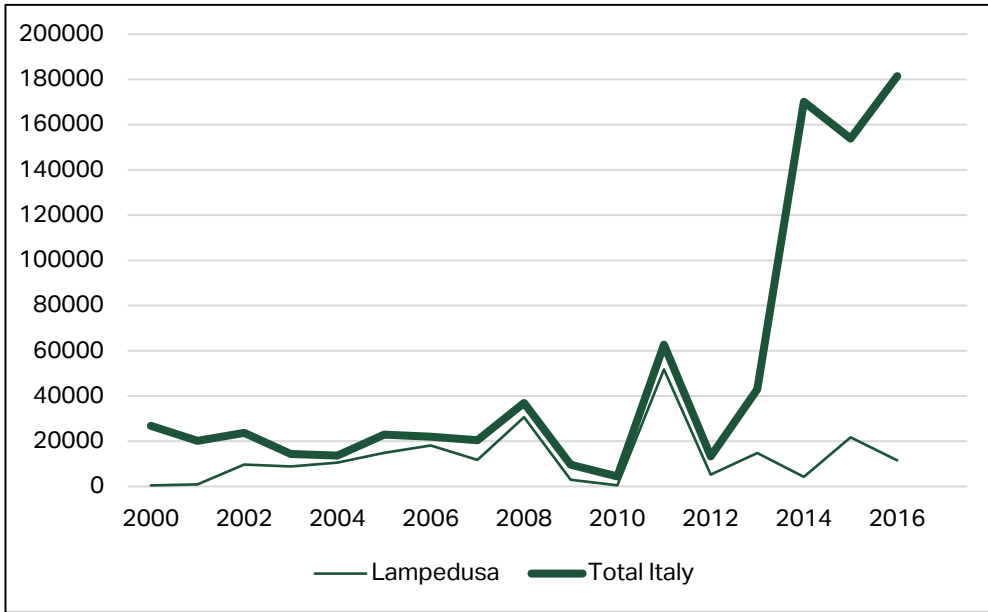


Figure 13. Arrival of irregular migrants to Italy and Lampedusa from 2000 to 2016. Source: Data from UNHCR and Cutitta 2014.

given. Sometimes, the irregular migrants were sent to Sicily and mainland Italy to open their legal process. Other times, they were returned to Tunisia or Libya. In fact, Italy negotiated with Libya regarding the irregular migration issues, and an agreement between the Italian government and Libyan leader Gaddafi was signed in 2000. While in the late 1990s and early 2000s the amount of irregular immigrants arriving at Lampedusa was less than 1,000 annually (e.g., on average, only a few persons per day arrived), in 2002, the number rose tenfold to almost 10,000 (Cutitta 2014, 202–204). It was estimated that in those days in Libya, about a tenth of the country’s population were migrants staying legally, and a fifth were staying illegally in Libya, totaling 1.5 million people (European Commission 2005, 58). Libya had become a country with a substantial impact on migration to Italy.

The Italian state started to control the Mediterranean Sea more. The marine authorities directed and brought the intercepted irregular migrants to Lampedusa. This explains how, during these years, the share of Lampedusa rose from a small percent to more than 80% of the apprehensions of irregular migrants at the sea borders of Italy (Cutitta 2014, 202–204; Dines et al. 2015, 432–433). With the rise of the arrivals, the former practice to run the reception site using the volunteers was changed to an employment contract with the Catholic charity Misericordia. The state paid according to the amount of irregular migrants in the reception center and how many days they spent there. According to Cutitta (2014, 203), such an economic incentive increased the length of the stay by irregular immigrants in Lampedusa.

The Italian–Libyan agreement resulted in the deportation of thousands of irregular migrants from Lampedusa to Libya. However, this policy received fierce critique from many international organizations and European Union countries. In fact, the deportation practice did not follow the general principles of international human rights agreements. For example, the right to apply for asylum was limited and the principle of non-refoulement (e.g., that people cannot be returned to country where their life or freedom is threatened) was not applied either. UNHCR also directed its attention to Lampedusa in 2004, when some 1,150 Egyptian nationals were directly and quickly returned by air from Lampedusa to Libya on the basis of an informal agreement. In April 2005, with the Resolution on Lampedusa, the European Parliament called on Italy to refrain from collective expulsions, grant UNHCR access to the Lampedusa reception site and guarantee each individual examination for asylum.

The second period was from March 2006 to 2011. It was characterized by changes in the activities of the reception site. The change of the Italian politics from a more right-wing to a more left-wing government led to changes in the national migration policy and subsequently its implementation in Lampedusa. The Praesidium Project was started in March 2006 to develop a protection-sensitive reception system for irregular migrants and asylum seekers arriving by sea to Lampedusa and to manage the arrivals of mixed migration. The project was designed to enable rapid transfer from the initial reception point in Lampedusa to other centers in Italy. It became known as “the Lampedusa model” (Tennant & Janz 2009, 6–7). Additionally, it was implemented with the UNHCR, the IOM, the Italian Red Cross and Save the Children with the support of the Italian Ministry of the Interior and the European Commission. These organizations were authorized to maintain a permanent presence inside the Lampedusa reception center and have interpreters and cultural mediators available (Council of Europe 2011, 3). Several international agencies became involved in the migration management policies and practices in Lampedusa. Finally, the deportation of irregular migrants to Libya was substantially diminished and gradually no longer applied.

In 2006, around 40% of those arriving in Lampedusa were recorded as Moroccans. Tunisians, Eritreans and Palestinians each made up approximately 10%. In 2007, the largest nationalities were similarly Moroccan (18%), Eritrean (17%), Palestinian (12%) and Tunisian (9%). Sub-Saharan migrants started to appear as Ghana, Nigeria and Somalia made up 14% of arrivals together (Tennant & Janz 2009, 9).

In Lampedusa, a new reception center (Centro di Primo Soccorso e Accoglienza), was established in February 2007. It was substantially larger, with the capacity to accommodate up to 800 persons. It was located out of sight of the inhabitants, a couple of kilometers from downtown. Like before, the site was

fenced in and guarded (Affari Italiani 2009). Irregular migrants stayed an average of only 2 to 3 days in Lampedusa before being transferred to elsewhere in Italy (Tennant & Janz 2009, 14). Nevertheless, the irregular migrants continued to arrive. From 2007 to 2008, the number of irregular migrants in Lampedusa rose from 12,000 to 31,000 (see Figure 13). The share of Tunisians (22% of all), Nigerians (19%) and Somalis (13%) became especially large, and the reception site became very overcrowded. Two-thirds of those arriving in Lampedusa did not later gain asylum or some form of international protection in Italy (Tennant & Janz 2009, 16).

Facing a problem with the increased number of arrivals, the Italian government changed its migration policy. To reduce the arrival of irregular migrants and to deport them back more efficiently, the reception site was modified in January 2009 to a detention center (Centro di Identificazione ed Espulsione). In early 2009, almost 2,000 people were inside the site (e.g., more than double its formal capacity). To protest the inhumane conditions, the detainees set a fire at the site, and there were hunger strikes. The international media portrayed the poor conditions of the immigrants. The practice was to hold the irregular migrants in the detention center in Lampedusa, determine their asylum claims there and expel those who were not in need of international protection (e.g., the majority of irregular migrants and asylum seekers) (Tennant & Janz 2009, 18).

In addition, the Italian government negotiated again with Libya's leader, Gaddafi, so that the departure of irregular migrants from Libya would be prevented (Council of Europe 2011, 2). The result was that the arrivals to Lampedusa dropped in 2009 to a tenth of what they had been compared to the year before. In addition, the vessels of the Italian authorities directly pushed the ships of irregular migrants back to Libya or intercepted them at sea and handed them over to the Libyan authorities against their will (Tennant & Janz 2009, 18; Puggioni 2015, 1148). This was a clear violation of rights, since at sea, there cannot be a formal assessment of a person's refugee or asylum-seeker status.

The central authorities in Italy decided to close the detention center, and it was eventually closed in May 2009. The site was converted once more to a reception center (Centro di Primo Soccorso e Accoglienza). However, by autumn 2009, the reception site was empty. Due to such a small presence of irregular migrants, UNHCR withdrew its field presence in Lampedusa. The Italian-Libyan agreement received criticism because the human rights violations in Libya were common and the living conditions of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers in Libya were poor (Council of Europe 2011, 2). In 2010, only 459 irregular migrants arrived at Lampedusa (Cutitta 2014, 202). The amount of arriving asylum seekers remained reasonably modest in Italy, reaching between 10,000 and 30,000 annually from 2006 to 2010 (Eurostat 2017b) (see Figure 13).

The third period was from 2011 until early 2015. After the political events of the Arab Spring in 2011 in Southern Mediterranean countries – Tunisia, Egypt and Libya – tens of thousands of irregular migrants and asylum seekers started to arrive at Lampedusa from the end of January 2011 onward, first from Tunisia and later from Libya (Council of Europe 2011, 2). In 2010, on average, about one irregular immigrant arrived per day, and in 2011, 142 persons arrived per day (Cutitta 2014, 202) (see Figure 13). In Lampedusa, irregular migrants outnumbered local inhabitants, so the Italian government declared a humanitarian emergency for the island. Soon the UNHCR, the IOM, the Red Cross and Save the Children returned to the island with stronger presence.

In 2011, this rapid increase of arrivals created pressure and confusion among those who arrived, as well as among local inhabitants. Many who arrived from Tunisia were directed by smugglers. Arriving by boat to Lampedusa, many thought that they would be in mainland Italy. According to many stories and the anecdotes still told, many newly arrived irregular migrants from Tunisia asked locals, “*Le chemin de fer? Ou depart le chemin de fer pour Rome?*” [“The train? Where does the train to Rome depart from?”] (see also Orsini 2016, 137). Lampedusa had become an important site of passage between Africa and the European Union, and this gained international attention.

Due to the lack of facilities, most of those who arrived in 2011 were obliged to sleep outside in any place they could find on the island. The state did not offer the proper resources to respond to the need. The local inhabitants had to take responsibility by offering help to those who arrived (Campesi 2011; Orsini 2016, 141). In addition, there were hundreds of abandoned ships near the island, and the tourism sector was seriously disturbed. There was also tension and violence breaking out between police, migrants, the local population and the media crews (Council of Europe 2011, 3). Such tension increased because there was no efficient transfer of irregular migrants, and they had to stay in very poor facilities or outside for weeks or months. Aside from the *Contrada Imbriacola* site, the premises of an old NATO base called the Loran was used briefly as a so-called satellite facility. The Council of Europe (2011, 5) noticed that the Loran base hosted several hundred irregular migrants and did not meet the relevant international requirements and safety standards.

The Italian government used this “Lampedusa crisis” for its securitization purposes by creating a state of emergency (Campesi 2011). This made possible bypassing international and national agreements and laws regarding asylum processes. On April 5, 2011, Italy signed an agreement with Tunisia, providing a certain number of daily returns of Tunisian migrants arriving in Italy after that date. Irregular migrants who had arrived at Lampedusa were deported to Africa without the right to seek international protection (Council of Europe 2011, 7). Soon, the European Commission reiterated the decision that the European

Union member states should always respect fundamental rights and suspend agreements whenever there was violation of those fundamental rights (Johnson 2012).

After the uprising, the number of migrants became smaller, but in 2013, close to 15,000 migrants were processed through Lampedusa, most fleeing from Eritrea. There was an outrage over the video of degrading treatment of Lampedusa migrants shown across international media, including on Euronews on December 18, 2013 (Euronews 2013). The shipwreck of Lampedusa, which occurred on October 3, 2013, led to the deaths of more than 360 migrants close to Lampedusa. The local inhabitants of Lampedusa seriously protested the Italian policies and practices toward irregular migrants (Puggioni 2015).

Finally, Italian authorities had to change their approach toward irregular migrants at sea. In 2014, the Italian government started the operation Mare Nostrum. Most irregular migrants were actively searched for and rescued in international waters in the central Mediterranean. Most often, the migrants departed from Libya with wooden boats, fishing vessels or decommissioned commercial vessels that they manned themselves. For the most part, these vessels managed to reach Italian shores without having to rely on rescue operations (EPSC 2017, 7). The implementation cost of Mare Nostrum was more than a hundred million euros in a year, but it also saved the lives of thousands of irregular migrants. However, Italy was solely responsible for the cost, which arose political concern in the country.

At the end of 2014, the European Union started Operation Triton, conducted by the European Union border security agency Frontex, to more efficiently enforce and control the European Union's external borders. Triton was more concerned about the European Union's border security than the earlier Mare Nostrum. In general, Frontex as responsible for coordinating the patrol system of the European Union member states' external borders, maritime areas and land areas and for the enforcement of agreements entered into with states neighboring the European Union. Tazzioli (2016, 13) critically remarks that both were military-humanitarian actions. They did not save migrants at sea to allow them later to move freely. Instead, migrants were put in the juridical channels of the asylum processes. Only very few were granted humanitarian protection, and the rest still had to risk their lives on land or at sea.

The fourth period started in 2015 when the European Union received hundreds of thousands of asylum seekers. In autumn, the situation became almost uncontrollable. Despite the majority using the Eastern Mediterranean route, the arrivals to Lampedusa increased as well. After a large number of deaths in April 2015, the European Union launched its European Agenda on Migration to manage the growing influx of migrants (Tardif 2017, 3).

In response to the increasing amount of irregular migrants and the situation in the European Union, the Italian authorities converted the reception site of

Lampedusa into a hotspot in September 2015. According to the United Nations Office for the High Commissioner for the Human Rights OHCHR, the hotspot approach was established by the European Union in Italy to speed up and organize the evaluation of irregular migrants. This includes whether they qualify for asylum, should be returned to their countries of origin or whether further investigation of their situation is required.

A hotspot is a particular site. Despite being inside the European Union and the territory of Italy, several practices are conducted that would not be possible in ordinary places and circumstances. Painter et al. (2017) claim that the hotspots link the European Union and the localities, addressing a new supranational border security, exclusionary population management and targeted welfare provision. This resembles Agamben's view of the state of exception, in which the authority has the capacity to suspend law. The bare life is pushed outside the juridical order. The persons targeted are excluded from the category of citizen while subjecting them to biopolitical intervention (Dines et al. 2015). Garelli and Tazzioli (2016b) refer to the hotspots as tools to engineer, channel and take control of the movements of migrants – in this case, those arriving in Lampedusa from Africa.

Many international and national authorities, as well as nongovernmental organizations, managed the hotspot in Lampedusa. Several of the European Union's Frontex officials supported the debriefing, screening and fingerprinting teams. From the European Asylum Support Office (EASO), two experts provided support to the Italian authorities in identifying eligible candidates for the European Union Relocation scheme. They informed migrants about the procedures they had to follow in order to relocate to another European Union member state (EASO 2017). The organization of the hotspot's management withdrew responsibility from the local and national states. Instead, various European Union and international agencies were present – the judiciary (EUROJUST), the police (previously Frontex, now Border and Coast Guard Agency), EASO and various specially selected and targeted nongovernmental organizations – to provide hybrid population management and welfare provision through the UNHCR framework (Painter et al. 2017).

The hotspot practice exposes certain populations – in this case, irregular migrants – to the new regimes of spatial and temporal governance through new, arbitrary, wholly flexible and exclusionary categorizations of people (Painter et al. 2017). In general, these various practices limit the rights of the irregular migrants and asylum seekers in the hotspot. For example, after their arrival, the migrants are quickly profiled and screened; this is accompanied by a short multiple-choice questionnaire in which the irregular migrants have to check off their reasons for coming to the European Union: “poverty,” “family reunification,” “work,” or “other reasons” (Garelli & Tazzioli 2016b). Those who select

“other reasons” have to explain that they ask asylum and what are their reasons for seeking asylum in more detail. Many potential asylum seekers who are not aware of this are lured into giving responses for which asylum is no longer possible. Checking the wrong option, even if told to do so by assisting authorities, can lead to refoulement. As a result of this practice, many sub-Saharan irregular migrants are denied their right to ask for asylum and refugee status. Garelli and Tazzioli (2016) claimed that Lampedusa’s hotspot system was a mechanism through which economic migrants were separated from those who truly needed protection, mainly based on nationality.

According to Italian law, Lampedusa’s hotspot was designed to have a 500-person maximum capacity. However, there are also documents indicating that the maximum capacity is in fact 650 people. Later documents revealed that the site’s actual capacity is 381 people. In May 2016, a fire destroyed one building that could hold up to 140 persons (Adami 2016; Scherer 2016). Therefore, the official maximum capacity is 500, but it seems that only about half of the spaces are available. For this reason, even if the site is not formally full, having 300 to 400 people inside, it is impossible to offer everyone proper accommodation.

In 2015, Lampedusa processed 21,692 irregular migrants; in 2016, it processed 11,537 people (e.g., on average, they went from 59 to 32 people per day (UNHCR 2017)). However, at the same time, the arrivals to Italy began to increase. The European Union–Turkey agreement of March 2016 substantially restricted the passage of asylum seekers from Turkey to Greece. The Central Mediterranean route from sub-Saharan Africa to Libya and further to Italy became the most significant route for asylum seekers to enter European Union territory. In 2016, 181,436 irregular migrants arrived in Italy by sea (Figure 13).

In the summer of 2015, the EU Naval Force Mediterranean Operation was launched – an anti-smuggling mission that is now known as the EU NavFor/Sophia. It operates within the Libyan SAR zone up to 200 nautical miles south of Sicily. However, all ships remain outside the Libyan territorial waters (e.g., the zone between 12 and 62 nautical miles north of the Libyan coast). In response to the extended rescue activities, smugglers started placing migrants on cheap and unseaworthy inflatable dinghies, which could not reach the Italian shores but would need to be rescued at sea. The smugglers would tell the migrants which direction sail in order to find a place they could call for help via satellite phones and wait to be picked up (ESPC 2017).

Following Operation Triton and its rescue practices, Lampedusa’s role also changed. Under Operation Triton, irregular migrants and asylum seekers were rescued immediately upon reaching international waters (see Chapter 1, Figure 3). The rescue vessels saved them from overcrowded boats, most often from dinghies (e.g., small inflatable rubber boats), and brought them to Italian harbors in Sicily and Southern Italy (Figure 14). In early 2017, Operation Triton consisted of



Figure 14. Distribution of sea arrivals in Italy until the summer 2017 by disembarkation site. Source: UNHCR (2017b). Lampedusa = 6,700.

nine Italian and three Maltese Coast Guard ships, ten additional sea vessels provided by other European Union member states and non-European Union countries. Additionally, there were two helicopters from the United Kingdom and one airplane from Finland that provided support for the mission (EPSC 2017).

These migration-related activities have a broader economic impact on Lampedusa. The maintenance of the hotspot's reception center and its activities requires a rather large labor force; continuing asylum practices are locally and economically important (see also Freise 2012). Jobs in the traditional fishery have become more challenging, and tourism diminishes after photos are released depicting the arrival of irregular migrants (Orsini 2015). The reception center and related activities create over one hundred jobs. Such activity is also part of the local economic and Italian regional policy, which seeks to support the development of otherwise challenging islands that have limited job opportunities.

During my fieldwork in the summer of 2017, the procedures for irregular migrants arriving at the Lampedusa reception center were similar to what the observers from the United Nations described one year earlier (OHCHR 2016):

“The scene at the landing stage is busy as staff from Lampedusa’s migration centre organise the disembarkation alongside Italian police and some dozen officials from the European border agency, Frontex, and the European Union’s Asylum Support Office, EASO. A representative from Save The Children puts his arm around the shoulder of a teenager, reassuring him that he is safe. There is little noise. Most of the migrants are exhausted; some are in shock. Adam too is quiet but he can’t stop smiling.

Initial checks complete, Adam and the other migrants board two vehicles to the Lampedusa “hotspot,” a closed reception centre where further health checks are carried out and where Italian police and Frontex officials register the migrants, taking fingerprints and photos and asking questions to try to determine identity, nationality, why they left and, in the case of those who may be children, their age.”

A few days or weeks after completing their registrations and other procedures in Lampedusa, irregular migrants were transported to Italy. Later, the official rescue vessels brought a few hundred more new irregular migrants to Lampedusa. Lampedusa had become a transit place for irregular migrants and asylum seekers.

The distribution of rescued irregular migrants to Lampedusa took place according to the previously set plan. Lampedusa was no longer the final destination. The flow of irregular migrants and asylum seekers through Lampedusa was rather well regulated by the Italian authorities. Obviously, there were weeks where rather large numbers were rescued at sea, overcrowding the reception site. Nevertheless, everything was relatively clear and efficiently organized including the poor quality of the basic services offered in the reception site. Perhaps some services were poor on purpose to send the message to potential asylum seekers that everything was not as fancy as some smugglers advertised. In all, irregular migrants and asylum seekers stayed at the reception site for a shorter period of time than they had (e.g., a few days or weeks) before they were deported to larger reception sites in Sicily or larger Italian towns.

It remains to be seen whether there was a fifth period beginning in the summer of 2017. In the first half of 2017, Italy was the most significant gateway for irregular migrants and asylum seekers into the European Union. From January through June 2017, the number of irregular migrants entering the European Union via the Central Mediterranean route to Italy was 83,752 (463 people a day); the Eastern Mediterranean, 12,549 (69 people a day); and the Western Mediterranean, 9,507 (52 people a day). In the Central Mediterranean route, 97% of irregular migrants and asylum seekers used the sea route from Libya to Italy. In the beginning of September 2017, the number of migrant arrivals to Italy was

100,000. The most common countries of origin were Nigeria (18%), Bangladesh (10%), Guinea (10%) and Ivory Coast (9%) (Cruscotto 2017; UNHCR 2017).

The Italian government strongly criticized the European Union, because it did not help Italy take care of this burden. Furthermore, there were hundreds of thousands of internally displaced people and irregular migrants in Libya (IOM 2017). These were potential asylum seekers waiting to start their sea passage from Libya to the European Union. Much of the critique emphasized how much Italy was suffering from this “transit migration.” The new goal was to remove the need to regulate migration outside of the European Union borders, and this would, in turn, externalize the migration policy to Libya and other countries along the Central Mediterranean route (see Düvell 2010; Paoletti 2011).

However, in the summer of 2017, faced with the rising number of asylum seekers, the Italian government tried to limit the activities of nongovernmental organizations to prevent them from bringing irregular migrants to Italian ports (The Guardian 2017a). As discussed above, there have been years of cooperation between Italy and Libya in intercepting migrant boats and returning them to the Libyan coast. The Italian government inbounded a nongovernmental organization rescue ship and sent patrol boats to Libya (The Guardian 2017b). In addition, the Libyan border authorities took more efficient actions towards the rescue vessels and even confiscated some of them. Due to the Libyan Coast Guard’s increased threats, three nongovernmental rescue organizations were forced to halt their rescue activities in August 2017. Further, far-right activists intercepted the nongovernmental organizations’ rescue activities. The attempts to limit migration did not only affect Italy. In July, the French President, Emmanuel Macron, announced plans for the creation of “hotspots” in Libya. This would entail a pre-screening, which would deter migrants, refugees and asylum seekers from undertaking the journey (Mixed Migration Hub 2017). Such an option has also been suggested by some strategic policy groups (ESPC 2017, 8). However, it would be difficult to organize a transparent and democratic legal system for such activities in Libya.

From mid-July 2017 onwards, the departures of irregular migrants from Libya suddenly diminished by three-quarters. This situation has continued through September and is still in place at the time of this report (Cruscotto 2017; Huet 2017) (Figure 15). By the end of summer 2017, the average number of arriving irregular immigrants to Lampedusa had fallen by a fifth to 26 people per day (Cruscotto 2017). It is not yet known if such restrictions on these departures will continue into the later part of 2017 and onward.

It is not entirely known how such practices were implemented in Libya or its impact on the hundreds and thousands of irregular Libyan migrants. However, the Associated Press reported in August 2017 that the Libyan authorities had received financial help from the Italian government, an option that was also

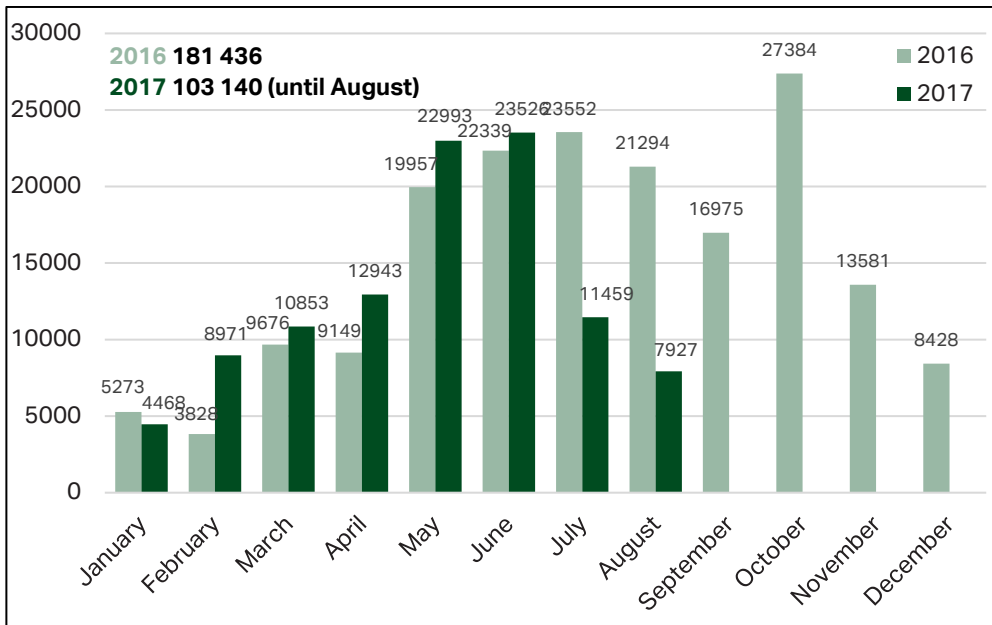


Figure 15. Sea arrivals of irregular migrants and asylum seekers to Italy by months in 2016–2017. Source: UNHCR (2017).

suggested by some strategic policy groups (ESPC 2017, 8). Later, armed smuggler groups were paid by Libyan authorities to stop migrants from traveling to Italy by sea. Libya has not ratified the 1951 Geneva Convention’s regulations on refugees, and these migrants are now kept in detention centers. The situation is complex, because there are also other groupings involved in the smuggling of irregular migrants across Libyan borders (Amnesty International 2017; Huet 2017; Michael 2017).

3.3. Local practices

In the summer of 2017, a few weeks before the beginning of the highest tourism season, I estimated that the number of irregular migrants and asylum seekers in Lampedusa was between 500 and 600 (e.g., equal to about 10% of the local resident population). At the same time, about 3,000 to 4,000 people, most of them tourists, were spending their evenings in downtown Lampedusa. The most common activity for tourists, of whom over 99% were Italians, was to sit in outdoor cafés or restaurants or stroll along the main street, Via Roma. In the public space of Lampedusa, less than one out of hundred persons (i.e., less than 1 %) were irregular migrants or asylum seekers. They were almost invisible in Lampedusa.

In general, there are only a few foreigners in Lampedusa. In 2017, about 272 non-Italians lived in Lampedusa, making up 4% of the population. Of the non-Italians, 13% were underage, 86% were working age and 1% were of retire-



Figure 16. Informal path over the hills from the reception site *Contrada Imbriacola* in Lampedusa, in 2017.

ment age (ISTAT 2017). Of the staff engaging with the tourists, very many were locals, but they were also other Italians. However, there were a few immigrants but mostly from eastern European Union countries such as Romania. In fact, every third foreigner living in Lampedusa is from Romania (ISTAT 2017). In downtown, there were very few people from a non-European background (e.g., 3 to 4 black people from the sub-Saharan countries). A few were vendors selling sunglasses and other tourism-related items, and one was working at a local bar/nightclub. There were also 4 or 5 people with Indian–Southeast Asian backgrounds who were also vendors of tourist-related items. According to locals, one of these immigrants is a former asylum seeker who passed through Lampedusa several years ago. Most of the individuals with non-European backgrounds were seasonal workers spending from a few days to few weeks in Lampedusa. There are about 30 people from Africa residing in Lampedusa.

The reception center, *Contrada Imbriacola*, was converted into a hotspot in 2015, which meant that its occupants were not allowed leave the site. Nevertheless, as I explained in Section 2.2, every day, around 10 to 20 irregular migrants and asylum seekers escaped from the reception site, and every evening around 15 to 40 irregular migrants and asylum seekers fled. They would climb over the



Figure 17. Encounter with the irregular migrants / asylum seekers and the local church staff in Lampedusa in 2017.

fence or crawl through a small hole in the fence back of the reception site. Then, they would walk a couple of kilometers through the surrounding hills that led downtown (Figure 16). The most common time of arrival was before the sunset, around 7 or 8 pm. Their return to the reception site would usually occur between 10 pm and midnight. Most traveled in small, ethnic-linguistic groups of 3 to 6 people (e.g., Somalis, Syrians, Ghanaians, Nigerians, Bangladeshi, etc., stayed within their ethnic groups). Sometimes, the groups would mix. In very few cases, an irregular migrant was alone. It was also very rare to see more than ten irregular migrants grouped together in the same place.

The activities of irregular migrants and asylum seekers were tranquil. They sat in the public space on benches or stairs along the main street of downtown Lampedusa. As previously mentioned, there were certain ethnic-linguistic groups that stuck together. As groups, they tended to occupy different places (e.g., Somalis on two particular benches, Ghanaians on another bench, Tunisians along stairs near the church, etc.). The few who possessed a mobile phone were most often outdoors on the church stairs where they could reach the local church's Wi-Fi. It was not an open Wi-Fi network, but the password was given to irregular migrants and asylum seekers if they asked.

The church staff would also sometimes provide irregular migrants and asylum seekers with food, beverages and clothing as well as an opportunity to participate in the church mass (Figure 17). The church staff used Italian, rather good French and some English to speak with the irregular migrants and asylum seekers. When these donations were given, there were more irregular migrants and asylum seekers present than usual. The delivery of donations took place on mornings and sometimes in the early evenings. Over the years, the local church has been active in helping the irregular migrants and asylum seekers.

Another common place for the irregular migrants to gather was at the end of the main pedestrian street, Via Roma, where one sees the harbor. This area was less crowded than the rest of the downtown since there were no bars or restaurants. However, there was a tourist-related site where the irregular migrants and asylum seekers could use the manager's computer if the manager was able to organize it. It was also the same site where they used their television set to show a program about Lampedusa every evening (see Section 3.1). This site also allowed irregular migrants and asylum seekers to use the Internet one at time for 10 to 15 minutes. This was enough time for them to post on Facebook, etc. Occasionally, some Italian tourist asked them questions while they were waiting to use the computer. In most cases, the conversations were in Italian, so at best, they understood that the tourist was from Italy and the tourists understood the former home country of the migrant.

Virtually none of the irregular migrants and asylum seekers went to cafés, bars, restaurants or shops in Lampedusa – not because they were not allowed or did not want to, but because very few of them had money. Most irregular migrants and asylum seekers left Libya without any money or property. According to Italian law, irregular migrants are provided with services in administrative reception, personal care, primary goods (including 2.50 euros of pocket money daily), integration, cultural and language services, legal information on rights, psychological and social support, healthcare and generic guidance on local public services (Merotta 2017, 1–2).

In the summer of 2017, irregular migrants and asylum seekers reported that the authorities in Lampedusa had not given them any money, so they passed their time without participating in activities that required money. Finding irregular migrants and asylum seekers living completely without money was different from what I had experienced earlier with asylum seekers in Lesvos, Greece (Jauhiainen 2017). According to Tizian (2017), in the formal inspection of the Lampedusa hotspot, authorities found out that, in early 2017, the service manager had been keeping the money (2.5 euros per day) meant for the hotspot occupants for himself. Instead, he had given them daily snacks and cigarettes worth 0.50 euros. He was removed from this duty. However, it seemed this practice continued into the summer of 2017.

In the downtown area, there were a few times I observed a representative of an international nongovernmental organization offer some Syrian asylum seekers a coffee or ice-cream in a cafeteria. While this was perhaps a nice change from their everyday lives, it called attention to their status as a “poor asylum seeker.” They were expected to be grateful and converse about asylum-related issues. In addition, it created an unwanted cultural issue. For example, on one occasion, a Western female activist offered to buy coffee and a pastry for a 30-something-year-old Syrian male who had occupied a high and wealthy societal position back in Syria. Such an encounter would not have taken place in Damascus. However, I also observed a mutual interest and happiness in these situations, especially when female volunteers/donors and female asylum seekers met and could find commonalities; they often talked about their families and future wishes. Language was also an issue here, especially with volunteers whose English and French were poor. In general, the beneficiary actions seemed to focus more on asylum seekers who knew English or French. I did not meet any irregular migrants and asylum seekers who spoke more than a few words of Italian.

During the fieldwork, I also experienced a few occasions where volunteers would “compete” over people they intended to help. For example, one night, an Italian representative and a volunteer from an international nongovernmental organization were arguing over who could help particular irregular migrants and asylum seekers that evening. Volunteering was also present in Lampedusa. Some Italian and international volunteers, including Italian tourists, taught basic Italian words to irregular migrants and asylum seekers they accidentally encountered in the street. Some volunteers agreed to give 15 to 30 minutes Italian lessons for 2 or 3 consecutive days with the same irregular migrants and asylum seekers who could then later remember some basic phrases in Italian. For other volunteers, they would give half-hour lessons to a stranger. However, such encounters did not have a long-term impact. Irregular migrants and asylum seekers only learned a few words in Italian, which were easily forgotten later. These “sudden” volunteers often knew only a little English or French, so there were no proper conversation between the volunteers and the irregular migrants and asylum seekers. The volunteers’ motivations seemed driven by the desire to feel good by helping in small ways that could perhaps be useful. However, for some irregular migrants and asylum seekers, the possibility to speak with a European elevated their moods and made them feel like they were being treated like human beings.

In Lampedusa, in this tiny island in the Central Mediterranean, there is a certain attitude that has been generated over decades and centuries towards all people who are in danger at sea. Similar to that of many islands, there is an almost inborn custom to help anyone who is threatened at sea or who lands on the island after having problems at sea. It is a local practice to welcome these people

and offer them rescue and safety. Such actions have been common over the past decades. In fact, in 2004, the Municipality of Lampedusa and Linosa received an Italian state prize (Medaglia D'oro al Merito Civile) for its activities towards the irregular migrants. Many people in Lampedusa directly deal with the sea (e.g., the fishing fleet is still rather large, the coastal guards are numerous and there are many people who go to sea). So, almost everyone has relatives or at least friends who work at sea, and they understand the perils of the sea and the need to help anyone who is in danger. Irregular migrants and asylum seekers are not excluded from this general custom.

On the other hand, over the past years, the hospitality shown towards the frequently arriving and departing irregular migrants and asylum seekers has become more limited. As explained earlier, irregular migrants and asylum seekers no longer arrive at the shores of Lampedusa from their sinking boats. Nowadays, the Italian authorities bring them to the harbor. They always give notice, so Lampedusa's rescue services are prepared to provide first aid for those arriving. Therefore, the asylum process has become routinized. These days, irregular migrants and asylum seekers come in larger, organized groups, stay on the island for a few days or a couple of weeks and depart again in large, organized groups. Most of Lampedusa's residents only see a few of them, since most stay at the reception site for the whole period. The public hardly sees the tired, sick or desperate irregular migrants and asylum seekers depicted in the media (see Figures 7–9 in Section 3.1). Instead, most irregular migrants and asylum seekers receive new clothes when they arrive. Therefore, the refugees seen by local inhabitants or tourists in the streets of Lampedusa are definitely in a much better state than the majority of those at the reception site. Especially during the summer, one sees rather fashionable young men who hang around downtown. Since the summer weather in Lampedusa is always warm, a male irregular migrant and asylum seeker practically needs only a T-shirt, shorts and a pair of shoes for clothing. The irregular migrants and asylum seekers also receive new clothing from donations they receive while in Lampedusa. As a result, many irregular migrants and asylum seekers I met changed their clothing every day, or at least several times a week. The clothing was colorful and designed by major international fashion brands. Some even made jokes about it. For example, one wore a yellow T-shirt on which "CRIMINAL" was visibly written.

For an irregular migrant or asylum seeker, it requires a certain level of fitness, personality and mental strength to illegally visit the downtown area. Because of their clothing, it is usually hard to differentiate between the irregular migrants and the tourists. However, most irregular migrants and asylum seekers come from sub-Saharan Africa, so they are physically different and visually easy to spot in the downtown scene. Additionally, since very few of them have any money, all they seem to do is talk with each other or, if they have one, use

their mobile phones. As mentioned, there are very few non-white people living in Lampedusa.

During my fieldwork, I talked to many locals on separate occasions and sensed a certain tiredness or growing indifference towards the migration issue. Locals understand that many of the irregular migrants and asylum seekers come from terrible situations. Locals also know these irregular migrants and asylum seekers spent thousands of euros just to arrive in the European Union, or in this case, to Lampedusa.

The locals who are more engaged know that the majority of irregular migrants and asylum seekers would not receive asylum or permission to reside in the heart of Europe. However, since the irregular migrants and asylum seekers just arrive and leave, the locals do not have much contact with them. It seems as though the less locals have to deal with them, the better. The locals did not voice any strong negative opinions about the irregular migrants and asylum seekers, perhaps because of my status as an unknown foreigner. Some outlets of Italian and international media have tried get locals to make critical comments about the situation, so the locals have become more cautious when talking with strangers.

Nevertheless, there are locals who directly help irregular migrants and asylum seekers, but they do not want to make any fuss about it. Actually, some of the most active helpers said they were very tired of the publicity. Since Lampedusa is known for its hospitality towards irregular migrants and asylum seekers (see Chapter 1), and on such a small island where everyone knows who the major activists are, journalists will often visit the same people. The media wants to get a “human interest” perspective in their short media coverage about Lampedusa’s migration issue. Some activists have stopped communicating with the media. They have become cynical towards Eurocentric journalism that perpetuate fixed roles (e.g., “the poor asylum seeker,” “the generous local inhabitant,” “the restrictive asylum authority,” etc.).

Other locals claim they are not doing anything special when it comes to helping irregular migrants and asylum seekers, even though they are spending their own money and time. This often disappoints journalists who are looking for the typical heroic story. Others just say that it is their sincerest wish and humane duty to help those in need. For example, the people I met from the local church saw their actions as human-to-human help – under the guidance of God, I assume. In fact, many irregular migrants and asylum seekers I met were Christians, and for them, it was easier to contact the local Catholic Church to receive help.

The “proclaimed heroism” of local inhabitants is also becoming a burden. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the local inhabitants and the mayor have received several national and international prizes for their efforts to help irregular migrants

and asylum seekers. The mayor, Giusi Nicolini, who has led Lampedusa since 2012, is often quoted in the international media in this respect. Pope Francis also recognized this generosity when he visited Lampedusa in 2013. However, Nicolini lost the local elections in June 2017 (Lauria 2017) despite her international fame and election slogan: “For not turning backwards,” which seemed to be in reference to her opponent, Salvatore Martello, who had previously been mayor. Martello eventually won the election. The continuous migration makes it difficult to balance the internal and external needs of the island (Giuffrida 2017).

Some of the locals I met believed that more attention should be given to the locals’ needs and less to irregular migrants and asylum seekers (see also Askavusa 2017b). Others mentioned that Nicolini was a good mayor, but a change was needed – people were getting tired of irregular migration. I met the new mayor, Salvatore Martello, for a short talk about the migration issues. He recognized that due to its geographical position, Lampedusa has been – and will continue to be – an important place for irregular migrants and asylum seekers. One of his concerns was the public order (e.g., that irregular migrants and asylum seekers should only stay at the reception site, but are allowed to escape from the site and hang around in the public space in Lampedusa). He did not seem to have a strict view on this, but wanted to clarify the legality of this particular interpretation of the rules with the central state authorities. Martello was the mayor from 1993 through 2002, when the first unofficial and official reception centers opened in Lampedusa.

4. MAIN RESULTS

In total, 104 irregular migrants and asylum seekers in Lampedusa responded to the survey conducted in June and July 2017. Six of the sheets were only partially filled, so the final analysis only included 98 responses. The following section presents the general findings of the survey.

In total, 30 irregular migrants and asylum seekers were interviewed from June 22 through July 2, 2017, in downtown Lampedusa. All interviews took place with one person only at time. The following presents the general themes discussed in the interviews. In addition, to support and contrast the interview results, I also include the observations and findings from the less formal discussions between around 50 other irregular migrants and asylum seekers.

In the following section, an “asylum seeker” is defined as someone who was rescued at sea and brought to the Lampedusa hotspot reception site. They are all irregular migrants who might have asked for asylum, intended to ask for it, considered asking for it or did not know if they would have an opportunity to ask. I refer to all of these respondents as irregular migrants and/or asylum seekers, although it is not an entirely correct definition.

4.1. Survey and interviews: Background information of irregular migrants and asylum seekers

Of the respondents, six out of seven (86%) were male, and one out of seven (14%) were female. The Central Mediterranean route attracts predominantly youngish male asylum seekers from sub-Saharan Africa. From 2014 through 2016, of the arrivals to Italy from the Central Mediterranean route, seven out of eight (88%) were male, and one out of eight (12%) were female (Ballatore et al. 2017, 33). The official statistics regarding the irregular migrant and asylum seeker population in Lampedusa are not available. However, during my fieldwork in the summer of 2017, irregular migrants and asylum seekers mentioned that there were about 12 female irregular migrants and asylum seekers at the Lampedusa reception site. Of the 12, two were visibly pregnant. There were also about five children. Among the 50 to 60 irregular migrants and asylum seekers who were present in downtown Lampedusa at least once during my fieldwork period, five were female. In the summer of 2017, the rate of arriving females was smaller in Lampedusa than in Italy as a whole.

Three out of four (73%) respondents were 18 to 29 years old: one out of eight (12%) were 15 to 17 years old, almost half (46%) were 18 to 24 years old, one out of four (27%) were 25 to 29 years old, one out of eight (12%) were 30 to 39 years old, and very few (3%) were 40 to 49 years old; none (0%) were 50 years old or older. From 2014 through 2016, of the arrivals to Italy from the Central Mediterranean route, over four out of five (82%) were between 18 and 34 years old, and one

out of 20 (5%) were 14 to 17 years old (Ballatore et al. 2017, 33). According to the general statistics regarding those who arrived in Italy in the summer of 2017, the majority of the migrants were 17 to 29 years old (Cruscotto 2017). The slightly younger age of asylum seekers in Lampedusa can be attributed to the fact that larger groups of underage individuals left Libya together and were rescued and brought to Lampedusa at the same time.

Among the respondents, 17 mother tongues were identified. The most common were: Edo, Arabic and Somali. In total, among the respondents, 15 origin countries were identified. The most common were: Cameroon, Ivory Coast and Guinea. There were very few respondents from Syria or Asian countries. During my fieldwork period, there were four people from Bangladesh, two from Syria and two from Afghanistan at the Lampedusa site. The Central Mediterranean route is mostly used by asylum seekers from Africa. From 2014 through 2016, of the arrivals to Italy from the Central Mediterranean route, the most frequent origin countries were Eritrea (18%), Nigeria (13%), Syria (10%), Gambia (6%) and Somalia (5%). The remaining half (48%) consisted of people from various other countries (Ballatore et al. 2017, 32). Some asylum seekers from the East selected the route because they knew that, since 2016, reaching the central European Union from Turkey has been very difficult. Asylum seekers had gotten stuck at reception centers in the Greek islands near Turkey (see Jauhiainen 2017). From January through August 2017, of the arrivals to Italy by sea, most people came from Nigeria (17%), Guinea (9%), Bangladesh (9%) and Ivory Coast (8%). In general, the respondents were mostly from countries where the irregular migrants and asylum seekers come to Lampedusa and southern Italy.

Of the respondents, one out of four (25%) had studied at a university or high school. Regarding the command of the English language, one out of seven (14%) reported not knowing English at all, every third (31%) knew a little, another third (35%) had a moderate competence and one out of five (20%) had a good understanding of English. Before seeking asylum, almost half were pupils or students (47%). Very few were employed (15%) or job-seekers (14%). Of the employed, the most frequently mentioned occupations were: footballer, electrician and artisan. Many respondents were below 20 years, which explains the high number of students in Lampedusa.

Of the respondents, practically all (98%) defined themselves as asylum seekers (70%) or refugees (28%). All of them were irregular migrants upon entering Italy. Later, the authorities would decide on their status. However, almost all were to not qualify for asylum or refugee status, and only a few will receive a residence permit for humanitarian or other reasons. As Malkki (1992) notes, self-determining oneself as a refugee is not necessarily a negative identity. However, many irregular migrants in Lampedusa have to prove they are in danger in order to be considered as an asylum seeker or be officially recognized as a refugee in terms of international agreements and national policies.

4.2. Survey and interviews: Journey of irregular migrants and asylum seekers to Lampedusa

In general, it took 8.5 months (median 255 days) for an irregular migrant or asylum seeker to reach Lampedusa from their country of origin. The fastest arrival was a few weeks long. Some migrants had already left their countries of origin years prior, and had since then, been on the move. For example, some Syrians had previously been for longer time in Turkey, then in Egypt and finally in Libya before leaving for the European Union. Most sub-Saharan Africans spent months in Libya before their departures. However, for most of them, the extended stay in Libya was not voluntary.

The respondents were rather open about their journeys to Libya, and further from Libya to the sea where they were rescued. Most migrants from the sub-Saharan countries had to cross the borders of several countries. Some crossings were legal and were done using a proper identification card or passport. Other border crossings were illegal and done by foot or by hiding in a vehicle, most often in a lorry. Many needed to stay days, weeks and even months in specific “migration hub” locations along the journey (Figure 18). According to interviewed irregular migrants and asylum seekers, it is rather easy to organize travel across the Sahara to Libya. Obviously, one needs money and time for that. Figure 18 illustrates the Central Mediterranean routes irregular migrants and asylum seekers use to reach the European Union. The interviewed respondents mostly used these routes. However, Ciabbarri (2014) questions such straightforward representations of unitary migration corridors. Instead, they form time-specific processes in which social categories change and socio-political dialectics of migration emerge.

Irregular migrants and asylum seekers have many reasons for leaving their countries of origin. Often, these reasons mix. Nevertheless, compared to our earlier research about asylum seekers in Lesvos, Greece, the motivations to leave were slightly different. In Lesvos, political reasons seemed to be the primary reason. Sometimes, these mixed with economic and personal reasons (Jauhiainen 2017). In Lampedusa, the most commonly expressed reasons were economic, personal and political. Earlier studies have expressed the common belief that many asylum seekers in the European Union are not in need of genuine protection from persecution, but are in essence, economic migrants (Hampshire 2013, 76). However, such beliefs should be scrutinized carefully before making any generalizations about the irregular migrants and asylum seekers in Lampedusa.

The sample taken in Lampedusa during the summer of 2017 was small. However, it was evident that among the respondents, many were not persecuted in their countries of origin. They would probably not meet the criteria given in the Geneva Convention for granting asylum. This does not mean these peo-



Figure 18. The Central Mediterranean routes of irregular migrants and asylum seekers to the European Union. Modified from various sources.

ple arrived in the European Union or in Lampedusa without a proper reason. Many suffered difficulties in their home countries and were motivated to take the risky, dangerous and expensive journey. Earlier studies have also found that many irregular migrants mostly come to Italy for economic reasons.

Our research findings in Lesvos, Greece (Jauhiainen 2017), as well as some earlier studies (Hatton 2016) about asylum seekers' motivations, indicated that a driving force for asylum seekers is to gain permanent settlement in the European Union at almost any cost. However, this was not the case among all irregular migrants and asylum seekers in Lampedusa. For example, a fifth of the respondents hoped to return to their countries of origin. This number was much smaller among asylum seekers in Lesvos (Jauhiainen 2017). In Lampedusa, among those who wanted to return were quite a few from Nigeria. In addition, compared with the whole sample, more females and those who had come to Lampedusa with family members were present. In addition, this group did not express a strong motivation to work in Europe.

In Lampedusa were many irregular migrants and asylum seekers who did not have any idea on which grounds they could get asylum or residence permits in the European Union. Actually, surprisingly, many did not know almost anything about the asylum-seeking process that was about to start with them or that had even already started. Many who are rescued from the sea and brought to Lampe-

dusa do not receive proper information about the asylum-seeking process. Such an observation was made earlier as well (Council of Europe 2011). Only a few knew the details of the asylum-seeking processes in such a way as to be prepared to give statements and reasons for their asylum seeking in the European Union. Those who had contacts with former asylum seekers somewhere in Europe or with those at the reception sites in Italy or elsewhere had heard and learned about the asylum-seeking practice and also what is important in asking for asylum.

During the journey to the European Union, every second (51%) respondent lived in an asylum-seeker camp or similar temporary accommodation, some in several countries. This was a slightly difficult question to answer due to the situation in Libya. However, in talking with several irregular migrants and asylum seekers, it came out that many had lived in a kind of a camp. These were not exactly “organized camps” but more often warehouses or storage spaces in which they were held by force for weeks or months. The living conditions there were very bad, e.g., there was a lack of food and water and no health services provided whatsoever. Many lost substantial amounts of weight and became ill there. In addition, many irregular migrants and asylum seekers said that under these conditions, death was common in Libya. Reports from international organizations, such as Altai Consulting (2017), Amnesty International (2017) and IOM (2017), confirm such information.

Earlier research conducted in the Lampedusa reception center illustrated that many irregular migrants were victims of violence both before (40%) and during the journey (80%), particularly while being in Libya. It was considered an unavoidable part of the irregular migration experience (Segneri et al. 2016). An analysis over many years showed consistency in the reasons for hospitalizing the irregular migrants and asylum seekers in Lampedusa. Men were hospitalized mostly for bone fractures, burns, dehydration, infectious diseases, suicide attempts, and carbon-dioxide poisoning from being locked in the holds of boats. Women were hospitalized very often for obstetric or gynecological problems, with a high prevalence of abortions, secondary to the long journey (Pasta et al. 2015).

Of the respondents, two out of five (39%) did not work at all during the journey before entering Europe. No one who was underage or over 40 years old worked during the journey. Almost one out of five (18%) was employed for more than half of the journey time. For the black African population, forced labor, a kind of slavery without any payment, was practiced (see also Amnesty International 2017, 22, 27). This seems to be linked to an openly racist attitude toward black irregular migrants. This attitude is less evident in Europe but is also masked in the de-racialized treatment of irregular migration (De Genova 2017). On the other hand, some interviewed Syrians and other Arabic-speaking people from North

Africa said it was not particularly difficult to find short-term jobs, and the payments were regular in Libya. For them, the motivation to work in Libya was not directly linked to asylum seeking but merely to living in Libya. When the time was right for them to leave for the European Union, they simply paid the smugglers and found spots in boats. Then, they were rescued a few hours later in the international waters. Therefore, the experiences and practices of the irregular migrants in Libya differed greatly.

Of the respondents, one out of three (36%) said they learned something useful during the journey to Lampedusa. Many topics were mentioned, with the most common being mechanics, culture and cooking. Cooking is an essential skill for surviving on the asylum journey. Most of the irregular migrants are men who have not had much experience with cooking prior to leaving for the journey. Similar comments were received among the asylum seekers in Lesbos, Greece (Jauhiainen 2017), as well. In addition, many smaller work- and profession-related topics were mentioned. Those who worked during the journey more often learned something useful during the journey to Lampedusa. However, as mentioned above, for many sub-Saharan Africans, the stay in Libya did not provide any possibilities for learning.

Smugglers and some traffickers in Libya facilitated the arrival of irregular migrants and asylum seekers to Lampedusa. Several organizations are dealing with this smuggling. An informal exchange of information seems to be taking place among smugglers, police forces, local authorities and border guards in Libya. For an irregular migrant, the price of the passage varied depending on the situation and ranged from a few to several hundred US dollars. However, for many irregular migrants and asylum seekers, it was difficult to tell the exact price. Sometimes they had to pay for their accommodations and additional services and goods in Libya. It was also possible for them to be charged more money a few days before the presumed departure. This could happen more than once. Money was also sometimes needed to bribe police and border guards and to secure release from jail if caught in Libya, where most migrants stayed illegally. One in four (24%) respondents said that someone tried to stop them from coming to Lampedusa. Nevertheless, almost all got to Lampedusa on their first boat-trip attempts.

The illegal transporting of irregular migrants and asylum seekers from the coast of Libya toward Italy is an illegal business with an annual turnover of tens to hundreds of millions of US dollars. The exact amount depends on what is counted: only the final passage in a boat, or the months' stay in Libya and the travel across many African countries. In earlier years, the cost of the passage from Libya or Tunisia to the Italian islands or shore per person was even more than a thousand US dollars (Tennant & Janz 2009; Council of Europe 2011). Sending one boat full of irregular migrants often generated 50,000 to 200,000 USD

for the smugglers. According to the estimation from Europol (2016), the illegal smuggling of asylum seekers creates an annual turnover of three to six billion euros. It is difficult to know how much organized crime organizations from Europe (for example, the Italian Mafia) are involved in the smuggling of people between Libya and Italy. Earlier studies indicated that criminal organizations from Italy are involved in the asylum-seeking process, for example, in the reception centers in the provision of food and in the management of services as well as in the (illegal) housing and transport of asylum seekers in Italy (Coluccello & Massey 2007; Cappellazzo 2017). In fact, in 2017, people were arrested who served as a front for the criminal organization “Ndrangheta” in running a Catholic charity, Misericordia, responsible for the day-to-day operations of two reception centers in Italy, including that of Lampedusa (Lotto Persio 2017).

Of the nearly 100 irregular migrants and asylum seekers I met in Lampedusa, almost everyone said the sea trip was very dangerous and difficult. The passage from the coast of Libya to the international waters and the rescue vessel took several hours, even more than 24 hours if the wind was difficult and the engine did not work appropriately. In early July, several international, Italian and nongovernmental organization vessels were conducting the rescue close to the Libyan border (see Figure 3 in Chapter 1). However, later in July and August 2017, several incidents took place. For example, the Italian central authorities restricted the access of nongovernmental organizations’ rescue vessels to Italian ports. The Libyan authorities also constrained the activities of nongovernmental organizations’ vessels near the Libyan maritime border. In addition, the departures of asylum seekers from Libya were substantially limited. The result was that, in August, only one rescue vessel was operating (The Guardian 2017c).

Often, irregular migrants and asylum seekers departing from Libya were placed in overcrowded boats that were hardly navigable at all. Many of these dinghies were fabricated in China. They reached Libya through one or two countries, sometimes even as legal export – import trade between Libya and a European Union country. Some irregular migrants had life vests, some had fake life vests, and others did not wear any safety equipment. Because many were not able to swim, slipping from the boat would probably lead to drowning. In fact, many asylum seekers said they witnessed deaths while on the boat trip. The sea between Libya and Lampedusa is among the most dangerous areas in the Mediterranean Sea for asylum seekers (Figure 19). Officially, thousands of irregular migrants drown there each year, and 2016 was the deadliest year so far (EPSC 2017). The real situation is even worse than these official figures. Regarding this topic, De Genova (2017) argued that the media and authorities inform generally about bodies, lives and deaths of migrants and refugees. They are de-racialized despite the fact that the vast majority of migrants on the Central Mediterranean route are black people.

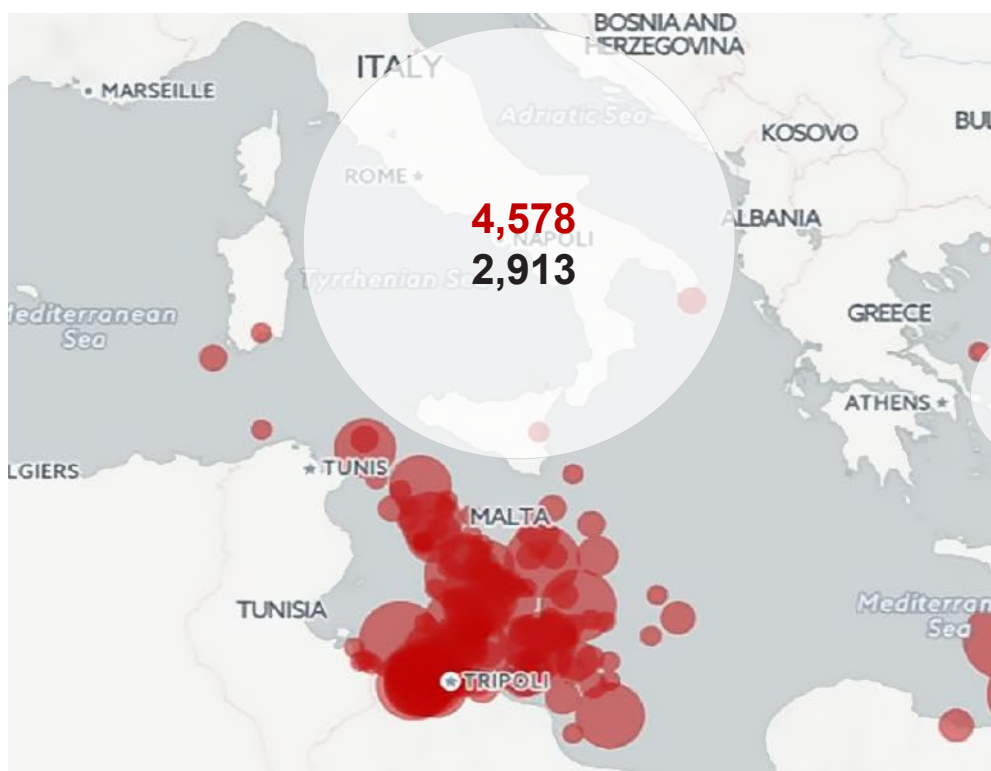


Figure 19. Deaths in the central Mediterranean Sea between Libya and Italy, January–August 2016 (black) and January–August 2017 (red). Source: UNHCR (2017c).

4.3. Survey and interviews: Irregular migrants’ and asylum seekers’ stays in Lampedusa

At the time of the survey, in June through July 2017, the respondents had stayed between 2 and 20 days in Lampedusa. On average, they stayed on Lampedusa for one to two weeks. This depends on the availability of places at the reception sites elsewhere in Italy, as Lampedusa as a hotspot is meant only for the very early registration procedures. In addition, this situation might change because when the larger reception centers are full, no possibility exists to move the irregular migrants and asylum seekers from Lampedusa further to Italy.

The everyday situation of irregular migrants and asylum seekers consists of waiting for the move out of the island. Everyday routines include breakfast, lunch and dinner as well as self-organized free-time activities, such as playing football. In addition, administrative formalities exist, such as registration, screening and fingerprinting. Fingerprinting involves adding digital fingerprints to the information database that is accessible to all European Union member states to determine where irregular migrants and asylum seekers have entered the European Union and where they have the right to ask for asylum.

More than 95% of the irregular migrants in Lampedusa in 2016 were fingerprinted (Dutch Council for Refugees 2016, 22). Many irregular migrants and asylum seekers I met in Lampedusa were very concerned about this fingerprinting. They wondered if they could move out of Italy if their fingerprints had been taken or if information about them would be known only in Lampedusa or if it would be given only to Italy. Many were disappointed when I explained the Eurodac system of sharing information about refugees to all countries in the European Union. In earlier years, some irregular migrants protested this mandatory fingerprinting (Lendaro 2016, 153–154). Some even damaged their fingers to avoid it.

The irregular migrants and asylum seekers in Lampedusa cannot move freely on the island. They are formally not allowed to leave the reception site. At their arrival, they are brought from the port to the reception site. After a few days to a few weeks, the decision is made where to deport them. Then they are brought to the port and shipped to Sicily or elsewhere in Italy. For these reasons, most scholars in Lampedusa have faced difficulties with finding irregular immigrants in Lampedusa and accessing them (see, for example, Kushner 2016). However, as explained in Sections 2.2 and 3.3, at least in the summer of 2017, there was still a locally accepted situation in which irregular migrants or asylum seekers found outside the reception site would be left in peace and they were rather easily accessible. Even if the police saw them in the downtown Lampedusa, nothing would happen.

Nevertheless, this is all unofficial. Therefore, the irregular migrants and asylum seekers cannot leave or enter the reception site from the principal gate. Instead, they have to climb over the fence or use a hole in the fence. The reception site authorities are aware of this, but no action has been taken to change it. This informal passage through or over the fence leads to low hills that surround the site. Paths exist for a few hundred meters over the hills, leading to a road that brings the asylum seekers to downtown Lampedusa (see Figures 4 and 6 in Section 2.1). It takes about 30 to 45 minutes by foot to reach the downtown area from the reception site. After the sunset, the time required is a bit longer because no lights are present on the hills.

Because Lampedusa is a tiny island, and because the admission control in the large passenger ship and planes leaving the island is strict, practically no possibility exists for irregular migrants and asylum seekers to leave the island on their own. Tourist boats leave the island, but it is very difficult to hide inside them and to leave unnoticed. Nevertheless, three out of four (73%) of all irregular migrants and asylum seekers saw their futures positively. The very difficult period in Libya was now over, and many looked forward to bright futures in the European Union.

In the survey, the irregular migrants and asylum seekers were asked for their opinions on various topics regarding their stays in Lampedusa (Table 1). These responses are their subjective feelings and do not necessarily describe the objective state-of-the-art of the issues asked about.

Table 1. Opinions of irregular migrants and asylum seekers kept in the reception site in Lampedusa, 2017 (%).

	I agree	I don't know	I disagree
In Lampedusa, I am safe	88	5	7
In Lampedusa, I am treated well	71	10	18
In Lampedusa, I am mistreated because I am not European	2	23	50
In Lampedusa, I am able to practice my religion as I want	75	12	12
In Lampedusa, I have made friends during my stay here	56	9	34
In Lampedusa, there are enough toilets, showers for my use	56	19	25
I need necessarily more money to improve my current situation	79	12	9
I would like to go back to my former home country	20	25	55
I can freely choose where I will go after leaving Lampedusa	27	30	42
I am in contact with other people elsewhere in Italy	34	18	48
I would like to work in Europe	82	9	8
My most wished destination in Europe is Germany	56	19	25

Based on survey conducted in June, 22 – July, 2, 2017; 84–98 respondents per statement.

Most respondents took the asylum journey on their own. Three out of four (75%) were in Lampedusa without anyone from their families. Compared with all of the respondents, those who were in Lampedusa with their families, were usually not planning to return to the country of origin.

More than every second (56%) respondent made friends while staying at the reception site in Lampedusa. The site is small, and most people spend all of their time inside the site. Such conditions require mutual respect and reciprocity, and quite soon, everyone knows everybody, at least to a certain extent. Also, when new irregular migrants arrive, the newcomers usually ask the earlier-arriving people, especially those from their same ethnic and language groups, about Lampedusa and the processes there. Therefore, one becomes familiar with people in the same situation, and friendships emerge. Those who made friends were in general slightly younger compared with all respondents.

The most frequently mentioned destination countries were as follows: Italy (38%), Germany (15%) and France (11%). One out of three (34%) had contacts elsewhere in Italy. These were often former asylum seekers who were in Italy with or without residence permits. Those who had contacts had more often than the average been very active users of the Internet in their home countries and actively searched on the Internet also for information about the places and job opportunities in Europe. In total, 14 countries were mentioned as most-wished countries to reach. Earlier studies indicated that, if the main destination coun-

try for asylum seekers seemed impossible to reach, they would stop in another country – one that was often, but not necessarily, geographically close to the initial destination country (Barthel & Neumayer 2014). The interviewed irregular migrants and asylum seekers in Lampedusa did not know where they would go or to where they would be moved. Many talked about the possibility of staying in larger Italian cities, such as Rome, Milan or Naples. Garelli and Tazzioli (2016b) referred to such a situation as the engineering of migration through the European Union and national policies. The autonomous movements of irregular migrants and asylum seekers are controlled and later channeled according to the European Union schemes of relocation.

A specific question was if Finland could be a country from which to seek a residence permit. One out of four (26%) of the respondents agreed with this, slightly more than half (55%) did not know and one out of five (19%) disagreed. Compared with the entire sample, those who considered Finland to be a destination country were more often females, Arabic or Somali speakers originating from rural areas and having earlier contacts in Italy. However, in inquiring more specifically about this in the interviews, many irregular migrants and asylum seekers did not know about the existence of Finland whatsoever (see also Jauhiainen 2017b). I met only a couple of persons who thought their primary destination countries could be Finland. Both had contacts in Finland, namely former asylum seekers of their countries of origin who were now living in Finland. They explained their situations and the general situation in the country. In general, one out of five (20%) wanted to return to their former home countries. This is substantially more than the number for asylum seekers in Lesbos, Greece (Jauhiainen 2017).

In the light of the responses, irregular migrants and asylum seekers do not come to the European Union to merely enjoy the social benefits there. More than four out of five (82%) respondents wanted to work in Europe. For one out of seven (14%), the main goal was to earn money. For almost every three (29%), the goal was to continue the careers they had in their countries of origin, and for every three (33%), the aim was to learn something new. Nevertheless, for most irregular migrants and asylum seekers, it is very difficult to find employment. For many respondents, it was too early to talk about the potential employment in Europe. Those who had proper professions in their countries of origin or during the asylum journey often expressed the idea of working in similar professions in Europe, for example, as a chef, car mechanic, footballer, etc. Most asylum seekers come to the European Union to settle into normal working lives there.

Safety, treatment and everyday facilities are challenging for many at the Lampedusa reception site (Table 1). Nevertheless, of the respondents, almost all, e.g., seven out of eight (88%), felt safe in Lampedusa, and more than two out of three (71%) felt they were treated well. This is a much better situation than at

the Moria camp in Lesvos, Greece (Jauhiainen 2017). One out of four (26%) felt mistreatment due to not being European. Religion seemed not to be a general issue. Only one out of eight (12%) respondents felt they were unable to practice religion as they wanted. Christians were the majority among the respondents and the interviewed. Some of them also visited the local church to attend a mass there. Due to the small sample, one cannot make proper generalizations about those who felt they were not able to practice religion as they wanted. Nevertheless, compared with all respondents, they were more often from an urban background, better English speakers with higher education, employed during the asylum journey and wishing to stay in Italy. I did not ask about their religion but otherwise understood that most of these were Muslims.

Irregular migrants and asylum seekers claimed they did not receive any funding from the authorities while staying in Lampedusa. Almost everyone came to Lampedusa without money, so it is obvious they were in need of money despite having received food and shelter at the reception site. Four out of five (79%) agreed they need more money to improve their current situations. As explained in Chapter 3, some service providers at the reception site of Lampedusa had taken the money meant for the irregular migrants and asylum seekers. They had exchanged it for goods that had much less value (Tizian 2017).

The basic facilities for hygiene were better in Lampedusa compared with the places where most respondents stayed in Libya. Nevertheless, many complained about the facilities. In the survey, more than half (57%) felt they had enough toilets and showers, etc., for their own use. Compared with the situation at the Moria reception center in Lesvos, Greece, the asylum seekers were more satisfied with the hygienic services at the reception site in Lampedusa. Irregular migrants and asylum seekers in Lampedusa felt their situations had improved substantially compared with the situation a few days or a couple of weeks ago in Libya. In Moria, such substantial improvement did not take place compared with the situation in Turkey. In addition, asylum seekers spent months in precarious conditions in Moria that made them more concerned about this issue than were the respondents who spent only a few days or a couple of weeks in Lampedusa (Jauhiainen 2017).

Nevertheless, irregular migrants and asylum seekers in Lampedusa created detailed descriptions of the lacking services and problems with them. They verified these descriptions, for example, by showing photos taken inside the reception site. Therefore, one can conclude that all services provided at the reception site do not meet the required standards. This has been noted in past years as well (Council of Europe 2011; Ballerini 2016). Irregular migrants and asylum seekers have protested the poor facilities and maltreatment. Such visible events have also been portrayed in the media (Redazione 2016). Dines et al. (2015) pointed

out this as the active agency of the irregular migrants and asylum seekers breaking away from the state of exception and its bare life.

A particular issue is the landscape surrounding irregular migrants and asylum seekers in Lampedusa. This small island is rocky, the reception site is located deeply between hills and many have not seen and do not have the chance to see much of the island, not to talk about its famous beautiful beaches. Nevertheless, occasionally, some groups of irregular migrants have visited some beaches to refresh themselves because of the always hot and sunny weather in summer. Some tourists and hotel owners have also complained about it. Of the respondents, half (50%) agreed that they were indifferent about the physical landscape of Lampedusa, whereas one out of four (20%) did not know and more than every fourth (28%) disagreed with this. Regarding the landscapes of their home areas, one out of three (33%) respondents were indifferent about them, whereas one out of four (22%) did not know and two out of five (40%) disagreed with this.

4.4. Survey and interviews: Social media among irregular migrants and asylum seekers in Lampedusa

For asylum seekers, social media is a key information and communication channel at different phases of the asylum journey (Dekker & Engbersen 2014; Frouws et al. 2016; Jauhiainen 2017; Merisalo & Jauhiainen 2017). The use of social media is for “business and pleasure,” e.g., asylum seekers try to find ways of moving forward during the asylum journey and of getting in contact with their family, relatives and friends. As among other populations, one can use social media to spend their free time doing something fun, listen to music and watch video clips and films. One can also use it to learn new languages that asylum seekers need during their journey or while staying in one country for months. They also may seek information about the asylum-seeking process and about the possible towns to which to travel in the European Union.

Significant differences exist in the social media use of irregular migrants and asylum seekers along the Eastern and Central Mediterranean routes, especially in the final countries – Libya and Turkey – where they waited for the final passage to the European Union. Of the asylum seekers who came to Lesbos from Turkey, almost all had mobile phones with Internet access, or at least the ability to use such devices (Jauhiainen 2017). However, among those in Libya, almost none had access to the Internet or even to mobile phones. Smugglers and other criminals in Libya take such devices from irregular migrants by force. Exceptions include asylum seekers who had Arabic backgrounds, many of whom lived and worked in Libya. In addition, during the passage across the Sahara, the use of mobile phones and the Internet was not common among irregular migrants. For the reasons mentioned above, the use of the Internet and social media diminished throughout the asylum journey through Lampedusa. Very few irreg-

Table 2. Use of the Internet among irregular immigrants and asylum seekers kept in the Lampedusa reception site, 2017 (%).

	every day	many times a week	once a week	less often	never
In country of origin	31	17	19	11	22
During journey before Europe	10	13	13	24	39
In Lampedusa	7	8	13	15	58

Based on survey conducted in June, 22 – July 2, 2017; 87–97 respondents per statement.

ular migrants and asylum seekers there had the possibility of using the Internet (Table 2).

The irregular migrants and asylum seekers in Lampedusa talked about social media as the most simple and practical, and as the only communication tool they have with their families, relatives and friends. In the summer of 2017, only a few options existed for using the Internet. The first was to possess a mobile phone and to move to a place in which Wi-Fi access was possible. In downtown Lampedusa, the local church provided complimentary Wi-Fi access that was reachable near the church. In the afternoons and evenings, 5 to 10 asylum seekers were often using this opportunity. Some, especially those originating from the Maghreb countries or Syria, spoke daily with their families and friends and sent and received pictures and messages. Others used the Internet access to listen to music, watch films or play games. However, fewer than one out of five (18%) asylum seekers possessed mobile phones, and even fewer escaped from the reception site to use them. Friends shared their phones on these occasions.

The second option was to use the Internet access with computers that two local offices provided. Both were located in the main downtown street Via Roma but at different ends of the street. A local nongovernmental organization ran one office, which was open daily for two hours in the afternoon. Another office was a private one and was open for more hours depending on the busyness of the laptop computer owner, who also had to take care of other activities inside the office. It was common to see in the evenings 5 to 10 irregular migrants and asylum seekers queuing for their 15-minute sessions on the Internet. All asylum seekers who used this opportunity used it to remain in contact with family and friends, most often through Facebook.

Due to the abovementioned difficulties, about 10–15% of irregular migrants and asylum seekers in Lampedusa have access to the Internet. Therefore, the following information about the use of social media should be interpreted with caution. Among the respondents, the opinions varied about whether the use of the Internet and/or social media in Lampedusa makes the respondent's life easier: every second (51%) agreed, every fourth (21%) did not know and more than every fourth (28%) disagreed with this. Those who agreed had more often searched for information from the Internet about the places in Europe where

they could go. In addition, compared with other respondents, the social media had more often facilitated their decision to come to Europe, and social media was more often important during the journey to Europe.

Slightly more than half (54%) of the respondents agreed that information and interaction on social media facilitated their decision to come to Europe, whereas one out of six (17%) did not know, and more than one out of four (29%) disagreed. Whether one agreed or disagreed with this did not depend on the frequency with which one had used the Internet in the country of origin. Of those who agreed that the information and interaction on social media facilitated their decision to come to Europe, six out of seven (85%) had already searched on the Internet for places where they could live, and two out of three (65%) had searched for job opportunities. For those who did not agree on the facilitating role of the Internet, these two numbers were substantially lower, 21% (places) and 23% (jobs), respectively.

In addition, half (50%) of the respondents agreed that, during their journeys to Europe, social media was important, whereas one out of five (18%) did not know, and one in three (31%) disagreed. Among the respondents to this question, no differences were found in how frequently they used the Internet in the country of origin. Those who were able to use the Internet during the journey were also more often of the opinion that the use of social media was important during the journey. Logically, they were also clearly more active in searching for places to live or jobs in Europe through the Internet.

Compared with Lesvos (see Jauhiainen 2017), social media is less evident in the daily activities of irregular migrants and asylum seekers in Lampedusa, but it is still an important element in their everyday lives. Of all responding irregular migrants and asylum seekers in Lampedusa, more than two out of five (43%) agreed that information and interaction on social media facilitated their decisions regarding where they would move in Europe, whereas one out of four (25%) did not know, and one out of three (32%) disagreed.

The respondents searched for various types of information on the Internet. Almost two out of three (63% agree) searched on the Internet about places where they could live in Europe (19% did not know; 19% disagreed). Three out of five (61%) searched to learn about their rights in Europe (31% did not know; 18% disagreed). One in two (50%) searched for work opportunities in Europe (31% did not know, 18% disagreed). Half of the respondents (49%) also searched for future travel routes in Europe (31% did not know; 18% disagreed) or for information about the current situations in their countries of origin (49% agreed; 30% did not know; and 20% disagreed).

Another difference is that the irregular migrants and asylum seekers in Lampedusa were more “fluent” in the use of social media compared with those in Lesvos, Greece. The sub-Saharan people in Lampedusa were generally young-

er and more urban compared with many asylum seekers in Lesvos originating from more peripheral areas, for example, in Afghanistan (Jauhiainen 2017). However, from the small sample, one cannot make clear-cut generalizations about this.

The use of the Internet diminishes during the asylum journey (Table 2). About one out of three (31%) used the Internet every day in the country of origin. The daily Internet user count declined to one out of 10 (10%) during the journey and to one out of 14 (7%) in Lampedusa. The number of those who did not use the Internet at all grew. It was three out of five (58%) in Lampedusa, two out of five (39%) during the journey and one out of five (22%) in the country of origin.

It was common for irregular migrants and asylum seekers to be blocked from family and friends for several months while staying in Libya. Everyone who was rescued from the sea and brought to Lampedusa received brief telephone access from the authorities – perhaps 10 or 15 minutes. Irregular migrants and asylum seekers could inform others that they were now in Lampedusa and safe in the European Union, and they could talk about other important issues, too. Most used this opportunity within a few days of their arrival.

Social media facilitates migration, including that of the asylum seekers (Dekker & Engbersen 2014; Frouws et al. 2016). However, not every individual is dependent on it during the journey. Most asylum seekers used social media when preparing the passage from Turkey to Lesvos, Greece, but it was very rare with irregular migrants and asylum seekers leaving Libya to Lampedusa, Italy. Nevertheless, with social media, the irregular migrants and asylum seekers can maintain the former social networks and access new social networks during the journey. Information and favors are exchanged through social media on the asylum journey.

Among the irregular migrants and asylum seekers, Facebook is a very common channel for providing information on what they are doing and on their current situations. Facebook became a message board for informing others about both happy and unhappy situations. According to Frouws et al. (2016, 11), many asylum seekers from Iraq shared pictures on Facebook showing that they had arrived on the shores of Greece. In Lampedusa, the asylum seekers rarely had the opportunity to share visual images with their friends and family.

For more instant online use of interactive communication and real-time information sharing in Lampedusa, irregular migrants and asylum seekers used WhatsApp, Snapchat, Viber and Skype. At the Lampedusa site, those who possessed mobile phones used the social media channels for immediate, less important chatting. The practice of text messaging or emailing also existed but was much less frequent.

In Lampedusa, most irregular migrants and asylum seekers could not use social media, or its use was limited to between 10 and 15 minutes daily. Facebook

was used to inform them of where they currently were: it was Lampedusa in Italy and held by authorities inside the reception site. Very little other information was given because irregular migrants and asylum seekers did not know how the asylum process would proceed and where and when they would be moved later. Those who possessed mobile phones exchanged much broader and everyday information in a reciprocal way.

5. CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

The island of Lampedusa in Italy is closer to the Northern African coast than to Sicily, not to mention mainland Italy. Despite being tiny (20 square kilometers) and having a small population (6,600 inhabitants), Lampedusa is famous because it has been and is an important entry point to the European Union for tens of thousands of irregular migrants and asylum seekers. Lampedusa is also actively present in the Italian and international media discourses and is on the agenda of international organizations and researchers. It has also been featured in many asylum-related movies in recent years.

In the summer of 2017, several hundred irregular migrants and asylum seekers were in Lampedusa at the same time. They spent a fortune along the Central Mediterranean route and risked their lives to reach the European Union. Lampedusa was not their target, but after being rescued from sea, they ended up on this island. At the reception site of the island, the Lampedusa Hotspot, the international and Italian authorities screened and fingerprinted them and tried to separate potential asylum seekers from other irregular migrants.

However, the people who arrived did not know what was happening with regard to their asylum processes or when it would finish. Actually, many did not have any idea about the asylum-seeking process in the European Union as such. Furthermore, the population filtering and control at the hotspot of Lampedusa can be criticized because it targets the masses and does not consider the background and needs of individual persons. In general, the hotspot approach shifts the local and national control to the hands of international agencies.

In the summer of 2017, most irregular migrants and asylum seekers stayed at the Lampedusa reception site for a few days to a couple of weeks. The survey and interviews conducted in June to July 2017 indicated that many irregular migrants and asylum seekers felt much safer and better compared with Libya. There, their situation was very serious and life threatening. Nevertheless, at the Lampedusa reception site, they also felt challenged in the provision of many basic services, such as comfortable accommodation, toilets and hygiene, a proper amount of hot water for showers, and access to social media.

The persons brought to the reception site in Lampedusa are not allowed to leave it. However, every day and night, some 10 to 40 irregular migrants and asylum seekers leave the site to go to the downtown Lampedusa to enjoy some freedom in the public space. So far, local inhabitants, politicians and police forces have tolerated it. Irregular migrants and asylum seekers have not created trouble, and they all return to the site every night.

Social media is the most important communication tool for irregular migrants and asylum seekers. However, most lose mobile phones by force while waiting for departure for several months in Libya. They are disconnected from the outside world, friends, relatives and families. Those who possess mobile

phones and access to the Internet argue that social media and the Internet make their lives easier in Lampedusa. Besides the lack of mobile phones, the lack of Wi-Fi access at the reception site constrains the use of the Internet and social media.

With regard to the future, many irregular migrants and asylum seekers would be satisfied with any of the European Union countries. About one out of five would like to return. If all are returned by force, many will try to enter the European Union again. Italy, Germany and France are the most frequently mentioned destination countries. Most wish to work and live normal lives in Europe.

The research results have led to three suggestions:

First, in the asylum-seeking process, all asylum seekers need to be treated respectfully and individually, taking into account their backgrounds and needs. This helps with the migrants' current and future integration into the European Union. Substantial asylum information, necessary legal advice and translation help must be given in the first phase of the asylum process. It seems that this is not happening properly in Lampedusa. Proper rights for asking asylum must be respected.

If later the asylum application and the residence permission are rejected, the responsible authorities must provide a safe and meaningful return to the country of origin for the asylum seeker. However, for most asylum seekers, their returning to their countries of origin is not an option. In addition, Europe's population is aging and diminishing, so the forced return of the asylum seekers who want to contribute positively to the development of the European Union is not a viable long-term practice.

Second, everyday life is important. After a long journey and dangerous stay in Libya, along with the life-threatening sea passage, Lampedusa is the first place where irregular migrants and asylum seekers are safe. For many, the ability to see other people, sit down in a public place and walk freely in a town is something they have missed for months. Therefore, such a sense of freedom should be provided for all irregular migrants and asylum seekers in Lampedusa. In the summer of 2017, those who were able and had the courage to climb over the fence of the reception site or to go through a hole in it, and walk through the dark hills at night could use this opportunity, whereas others could not. To support equality among irregular migrants and asylum seekers and their first feelings about freedom in Europe, free access to the public space in Lampedusa should be provided for everyone, however, taking into account the necessary safety and security precautions.

Third, access to social media and the Internet is vital for irregular migrants and asylum seekers in Lampedusa. The provision of complimentary computers with Internet access and a fast Wi-Fi connection at the Lampedusa reception site is a small inexpensive investment that would help the everyday lives of thou-

sands of irregular migrants and asylum seekers, and their families and friends over weeks, months and years.

To conclude, it is important that research be conducted about irregular migrants and asylum seekers in Lampedusa and that the voices of different stakeholders, including those of irregular migrants and asylum seekers, be taken into account in this research.

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7. SUMMARY IN ENGLISH

ASYLUM SEEKERS AND IRREGULAR MIGRANTS IN LAMPEDUSA, ITALY

JUSSI S. JAUHIAINEN (jusaja@utu.fi)

This research is about irregular migrants and asylum seekers traveling from their home countries to destination countries in the European Union. In June and July 2017, over 100 irregular migrants and asylum seekers responded to our survey; in addition, interviews were conducted with over 30 irregular migrants and asylum seekers on the island of Lampedusa, Italy. We are grateful to everyone who responded. Professor Jussi S. Jauhiainen (University of Turku, Finland) conducted the survey and interviews and wrote this report.

Lampedusa is the entry point to the European Union for tens of thousands of irregular migrants and asylum seekers. Libyan smugglers facilitate their arrival to Lampedusa. This illegal business has an annual turnover of tens of millions of euros. Many organizations, including the European Union Frontex, Italian marine forces and international nongovernmental organizations, rescue these migrants in international waters.

Following rescues, the authorities select relatively small numbers of irregular migrants, often between 100 and 200 people, and bring them to Lampedusa. From Lampedusa's port, these migrants are transported to the reception center known as the Lampedusa hotspot, which is located about two kilometers from the harbor and downtown Lampedusa. There, they are screened and fingerprinted with the intention of quickly distinguishing potential asylum seekers from other irregular migrants. The asylum process is not entirely clear – which many nongovernmental organizations and activists have criticized. When a new group of irregular migrants is brought to Lampedusa, another group is transferred to larger reception centers in Italy.

In the summer 2017, many international and Italian authorities were involved in the management of the Lampedusa hotspot; nongovernmental organizations were present there, too. It was not possible to visit the site for research purposes. At the time, the site held around 500 people, which is slightly more than it was meant to accommodate. Therefore, some residents had to sleep in damaged buildings or under the open sky. There were challenges in the provision of basic services such as comfortable accommodations, hygienic services such as toilets and hot-water showers, and access to social media. Irregular migrants and asylum seekers do not receive financial support from the authorities. Some nongovernmental organizations help them by providing water, food and clothing. Of the people at the Lampedusa reception site who responded to this study's survey, slightly over half (57%) felt that they had enough toilets, showers, and

such. Improving the site's facilities would make their everyday lives more decent. Nevertheless, almost everyone (88%) felt safe, and two out of three (71%) felt that they were treated well.

Most irregular migrants and asylum seekers stay at the Lampedusa reception site for a week or two. Later, they are moved to larger reception sites in Sicily or elsewhere in Italy. At the time of their departure, they do not know if they will be able to settle in the European Union or if they will have to return to Libya or to their country of origin.

Social media is an important communication tool for irregular migrants during their journey to Europe. However, when they pass through Libya, their mobile phones and other property are often confiscated or stolen. Therefore, practically no sub-Saharan migrants possess mobile phone when they arrive in Lampedusa. Those originating from Syria or Tunisia, however, often have mobile phones; these migrants use them daily to stay in contact with family and friends in their home countries as well as with other asylum seekers in Europe. Facebook, Whatsapp and Snapchat are the most important channels they use. More than half (58%) of the respondents cannot use the Internet in Lampedusa at all, and only 7% use it daily. Two thirds (63%) searched the Internet for places where they could live in Europe.

Italy, Germany and France are the most wished-for destinations for the irregular migrants and asylum seekers at the Lampedusa reception site. Over four out of five (82%) respondents would like to work in Europe. One out of five (19%) would like to return to their home countries. Nevertheless, if they are forced to return, many will try to enter the European Union again.

In the media, the general discourse surrounding Lampedusa revolves around it being a site for irregular migrants' such as asylum seekers and refugees. However, local inhabitants and tourists hardly see these migrants, who are formally not allowed leave the reception site. However, every day, dozens of them escape from the site to spend a few hours in the public spaces of downtown Lampedusa and then return voluntarily back to the site. After local elections led to a change in mayor in the summer of 2017, more people sought to restrict the irregular migrants' access to public spaces in Lampedusa. Nevertheless, the local population and politicians have been nationally and internationally awarded for their hospitality toward irregular migrants and asylum seekers.

The irregular migrants and asylum seekers in Lampedusa need to be treated respectfully and individually, by taking into account everyone's backgrounds and needs, and by providing proper opportunities to ask for asylum. If these migrants' applications for asylum or residence in the European Union are rejected, the responsible authorities must provide a safe and meaningful returns for all such people to their countries of origin.

8. SUMMARY IN ITALY

RICHIEDENTI ASILO E IMMIGRATI IRREGOLARI A LAMPEDUSA, ITALIA

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Questa ricerca riguarda gli immigrati irregolari e i richiedenti asilo che viaggiano dai loro Paesi d'origine verso i Paesi di destinazione nell'Unione Europea. Nel periodo di giugno-luglio 2017, oltre cento migranti irregolari e richiedenti asilo hanno risposto al nostro questionario e oltre trenta sono stati intervistati sull'isola di Lampedusa in Italia. Siamo grati a tutti quelli che hanno risposto. Il Professore Jussi S. Jauhiainen dell'Università di Turku (Finlandia) ha condotto il sondaggio, raccolto le interviste e scritto questo report.

Per decine di migliaia di migranti irregolari e richiedenti asilo, Lampedusa è il punto d'ingresso nell'Unione Europea. Il loro arrivo a Lampedusa è reso possibile dai trafficanti in Libia. Questo business illegale ha un volume annuo di decine di milioni di euro. Dopo aver lasciato la Libia, i migranti sono soccorsi in acque internazionali da diverse organizzazioni, inclusa Frontex dell'Unione Europea, le forze della Marina italiana e varie organizzazioni non governative internazionali.

In seguito al salvataggio, le autorità selezionano un numero minore di migranti, spesso fra le cento e le duecento persone, e li portano a Lampedusa. Dal porto di Lampedusa, i migranti sono condotti al centro di accoglienza, l'Hotspot Lampedusa, situato a circa due chilometri dal porto e dal centro di Lampedusa. Lì i migranti sono esaminati e le loro impronte digitali sono rilevate con l'intenzione di distinguere rapidamente potenziali richiedenti asilo da altri migranti irregolari. Il processo d'asilo non è del tutto chiaro, un aspetto che tanti attivisti e organizzazioni non governative hanno criticato. Quando un nuovo gruppo di richiedenti asilo è portato a Lampedusa, altri sono portati verso centri di accoglienza più grandi altrove in Italia.

Nell'estate 2017, tante autorità italiane e internazionali sono state coinvolte nella gestione dell'Hotspot Lampedusa; anche le organizzazioni non governative erano presenti. Non è stato possibile visitare l'Hotspot per scopi di ricerca. L'area ospitava circa cinquecento persone, leggermente più di quante ne possa adeguatamente alloggiare. Di conseguenza, alcuni di loro hanno dovuto dormire in edifici danneggiati o direttamente all'aperto. Ci sono state difficoltà nella fornitura di servizi di base quali alloggi confortevoli, bagni e igiene, acqua calda per le docce e accesso ai social media. I migranti non ricevono alcun sostegno economico dalle autorità. Alcune organizzazioni non governative li aiutano fornendo loro acqua, cibo e vestiti. Delle persone alloggiate al centro di accoglienza di Lampedusa, poco oltre la metà (57%) sentiva di avere abbastanza bagni, docce, etc. a propria disposizione. Un miglioramento delle strutture dell'Hotspot renderebbe la vita quotidiana delle

persone che vi risiedono più dignitosa. Ciononostante, quasi tutti (88%) si sentivano al sicuro nel centro di accoglienza e due su tre (71%) si sentivano trattati bene.

La maggior parte dei migranti irregolari e richiedenti asilo restano nel centro di accoglienza di Lampedusa per una settimana o due. In seguito, vengono portati verso un sito di accoglienza più grande in Sicilia o altrove in Italia. Al momento della partenza, i migranti non sanno niente del loro futuro, se si insedieranno in Unione Europea o se dovranno tornare in Libia oppure nel loro Paese d'origine.

I social media sono un importante strumento di comunicazione per i migranti in viaggio verso l'Europa. Tuttavia, i loro telefoni cellulari e altri averi vengono confiscati o rubati in Libia. Per questo, praticamente nessuna persona di provenienza sub-sahariana ha un telefono cellulare quando arriva a Lampedusa. Le persone originarie di Siria e Tunisia spesso possiedono telefoni cellulari e li usano quotidianamente per stare in contatto con la famiglia e gli amici a casa, così come con altri richiedenti asilo in Europa. Facebook, Whatsapp e Snapchat sono i canali di comunicazione più importanti che utilizzano. Più di metà (58%) dei migranti che hanno partecipato alla ricerca non possono usare affatto Internet a Lampedusa e solo il 7% lo usa quotidianamente. Due terzi (63%) dei partecipanti usano Internet per cercare posti dove potrebbero vivere in Europa.

Italia, Germania e Francia sono fra le mete più desiderate fra i migranti irregolari e i richiedenti asilo che si trovano al sito di accoglienza di Lampedusa. Oltre quattro partecipanti su cinque (82%) vorrebbero lavorare in Europa. Uno su cinque (19%) vorrebbe tornare nel suo Paese d'origine. Nonostante questo, se dovessero essere riportati indietro con la forza, tanti tenteranno di entrare nuovamente in Unione Europea.

Nei media prevale un discorso generale di Lampedusa come di un luogo per migranti irregolari, richiedenti asilo e rifugiati. Tuttavia, gli abitanti locali e i turisti non vedono quasi nessuno di loro. A Lampedusa ai migranti formalmente non è permesso lasciare il centro d'accoglienza. Ciononostante, ogni giorno e ogni notte decine di loro "scappano" e trascorrono qualche ora nello spazio pubblico del centro di Lampedusa per poi tornare volontariamente all'area di accoglienza. Dopo le elezioni locali e il cambio di sindaco di Lampedusa nell'estate 2017, sono emerse più voci che chiedono di restringere l'accesso dei migranti allo spazio pubblico di Lampedusa. Comunque, la popolazione locale e i politici hanno ricevuto riconoscimenti a livello nazionale e internazionale per la loro ospitalità verso i migranti irregolari e i richiedenti asilo.

A Lampedusa, i migranti devono essere trattati bene, rispettosamente e individualmente, prendendo in considerazione il background e i bisogni di ciascuno e offrendo un'adeguata possibilità di richiedere l'asilo. Se successivamente le loro domande d'asilo e permessi di residenza saranno respinti dall'Unione Europea, le autorità responsabili dovranno fornire a ogni migrante irregolare e richiedente asilo la possibilità di un ritorno sicuro e significativo nel suo Paese d'origine.

9. SUMMARY IN FINNISH

TURVAPAIKANHAKIJAT JA PAPERITTOMAT SIIRTOLAISET LAMPEDUSALLA ITALIASSA

JUSSI S. JAUHIAINEN (jusaja@utu.fi)

Tämä tutkimus käsittelee paperittomia siirtolaisia ja turvapaikanhakijoita, jotka matkustavat kotimaastaan Euroopan unioniin. Kesä-heinäkuussa 2017, kyselyymme vastasi yli 100 paperitonta ja turvapaikanhakijaa ja yli 30 paperitonta ja turvapaikanhakijaa haastateltiin Lampedusan saarella Italiassa. Olemme kiitollisia kaikille, jotka osallistuivat tutkimukseen. Professori Jussi S. Jauhiainen Turun yliopistosta Suomesta toteutti kyselyn ja haastattelut ja kirjoitti tämän raportin.

Lampedusa on kymmenien tuhansien paperittomien ja turvapaikanhakijoiden saapumispaikka Euroopan unioniin. Salakuljettajat Libyassa mahdollistavat heidän matkansa Lampedusalle. Tämän laittoman liiketoiminnan arvo on kymmeniä miljoonia euroja vuodessa. Libyan rannikolta lähdön jälkeen, veneillä matkustajat pelastetaan kansainvälisellä merialueella. Pelastajina ovat monet kansainväliset järjestöt, kuten Euroopan unionin Frontex, Italian merivoimat ja kansainväliset muut järjestöt.

Mereltä pelastamisen jälkeen viranomaiset valitsevat pienemmän joukon, usein 100–200 paperitonta, ja tuovat heidät Lampedusalle. Lampedusan satamasta heidät kuljetetaan vastaanottokeskukseen ”Hotspot Lampedusa”. Se sijaitsee vajaat kaksi kilometriä satamasta ja saaren kaupungista. Vastaanottokeskuksessa heidät tutkitaan ja heiltä otetaan sormenjäljet. Tavoitteena on tunnistaa nopeasti mahdolliset turvapaikanhakijat muista laittomasti maahan tulleista. Turvapaikkaprosessi Lampedusalla ei ole täysin selkeä, mitä ovat arvostelleet monet järjestöt ja aktivistit. Kun uusi joukko paperittomia tuodaan saarelle, toiset viedään pois suurempiin vastaanottokeskuksiin Italiassa.

Kesällä 2017 vastaanottokeskuksen hallintaan osallistuivat monet kansainväliset ja italialaiset toimijat, myös hallituksista riippumattomat järjestöt. Vastaanottokeskuksen sisälle ei ollut mahdollista päästä tekemään tutkimusta.

Vastaanottokeskuksessa oli noin 500 henkilöä. Tämä on hieman enemmän kuin keskuksen voidaan mielekkäästi majoittaa. Tästä johtuen osan asukkaista piti nukkua tuhoutuneissa rakennuksissa tai avoimen taivaan alla. Keskuksen palvelutarjonnassa on haasteita. Puutteet koskevat mukavaa yöpymismahdollisuutta, vessoja ja hygieniää, lämpimiä suihkuja, ja yhteyttä internettiin ja sosiaaliseen mediaan. Paperittomat ja turvapaikanhakijat eivät myöskään saa rahallista tukea viranomaisilta. Eräät järjestöt auttavat heitä antamalla vettä, ruokaa ja vaatteita. Lampedusan vastaanottokeskuksen asukkaista hieman yli puolet (57%) koki, että heidän käytössään on riittävästi suihkuja ja vessoja. Palvelutarjonnan

parantaminen tekisi asukkaiden arkipäivän kohtuullisemmaksi. Puutteista huolimatta lähes kaikki (88%) kokivat olonsa turvalliseksi ja kaksi kolmesta (70%) koki että heitä kohdellaan hyvin.

Monet paperittomat ja turvapaikanhakijat ovat Lampedusan vastaanottokeskuksessa viikosta kahteen. Tämän jälkeen heidät sijoitetaan suurempiin vastaanottokeskuksiin Sisiliaan tai muualle Italiaan. Lähdön hetkellä he eivät tiedä tulevaisuudestaan, eivätkä siitä, saavatko he jäädä Euroopan unioniin vai palautetaanko heidät Libyaan tai heidän kotimaahansa.

Sosiaalinen media on tärkeä paperittomien yhteydenpitoväline heidän matkallaan kohti Eurooppaa. Libyassa heidän matkapuhelimensa ja muu omaisuutensa takavarikoidaan tai ryöstetään. Tästä johtuen lähes kaikki Saharan eteläpuolisista maista Lampedusaan tuodut ovat ilman matkapuhelinta. Syyriasta tai Tunisiasta kotoisin olevilla on useammin matkapuhelin. He käyttävät niitä päivittäin ja ovat yhteydessä perheisiinsä ja ystäviinsä kotona ja tuntemiinsa turvapaikanhakijoihin Euroopan unionissa. Facebook, Whatsapp ja Snapchat ovat heidän yleisimpiään sosiaalisen median välineitä. Useampi kuin joka toinen (58%) paperittomista ja turvapaikanhakijoista ei voi käyttää internetiä lainkaan Lampedusalla ja päivittäin nettiä käyttävät vain harvat (7%). Kaksi kolmesta (63%) etsii internetistä paikkoja, joihin voisivat matkustaa Euroopassa.

Italia, Saksa ja Ranska ovat halutuimmat kohdemaat Lampedusan vastaanottokeskuksen paperittomille ja turvapaikanhakijoille. Yli neljä viidestä (82%) haluaisi työskennellä Euroopassa. Joka viides (20%) haluaisi palata kotimaahansa. Jos heidät käännytetään väkisin, monet palaavat uudestaan Euroopan unioniin.

Media esittää tavallisesti Lampedusan paikkana, jossa on paperittomia, turvapaikanhakijoita ja pakolaisia. Tästä huolimatta paikalliset asukkaat ja turistit vain harvoin näkevät heitä. Paperittomilla ja turvapaikanhakijoilla ei ole virallisesti oikeutta poistua vastaanottokeskuksesta. Kuitenkin joka päivä ja ilta kymmeniä heistä ”pakenee” vastaanottokeskuksesta viettämään muutaman tunnin vapaa-aikaa Lampedusan keskustan julkisissa tiloissa, minkä jälkeen he palaavat vapaaehtoisesti takaisin vastaanottokeskukseen. Vuoden 2017 paikallisvaalien ja kaupunginjohtajan vaihtumisen jälkeen on keskusteltu enemmän siitä, että paperittomien ja turvapaikanhakijoiden pääsyä Lampedusan julkisiin tiloihin tulisi rajoittaa. Joka tapauksessa paikalliset asukkaat ja poliitikot ovat saaneet kansallisia ja kansainvälisiä tunnustuksia ja palkintoja vieraanvaraisuudestaan paperittomia ja turvapaikanhakijoita kohtaan.

Lampedusalla paperittomia ja turvapaikanhakijoita tulee kohdella hyvin, kunnioittavasti ja yksilöllisesti sekä huomioida jokaisen tausta ja tarpeet ja antaa aito mahdollisuus hakea turvapaikkaa. Mikäli myöhemmin turvapaikkaa tai oleskelulupaa ei anneta, tulee vastuullisten viranomaisten mahdollistaa paperittomien ja turvapaikanhakijoiden turvallinen ja mielekäs paluu heidän kotimaahansa.

10. SUMMARY IN FRENCH

DEMANDEURS D'ASILE E MIGRANTS IRRÉGULIERS A LAMPEDUSA, ITALIE

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Ce rapport traite les demandeurs d'asile et les migrants irréguliers sans documents qui font le trajet de leur pays d'origine vers l'Union européenne. En juin-juillet 2017, plus de 100 migrants sans documents et demandeurs d'asile ont répondu à notre enquête sur l'île de Lampedusa en Italie. De plus, nous y avons interviewé plus de 30 migrants sans documents et demandeurs d'asile. Le professeur Jussi S. Jauhiainen de l'Université de Turku, Finlande, a réalisé cette enquête et les interviews. Il a également rédigé ce rapport. Nous sommes reconnaissants à toutes les personnes qui ont participé à cette enquête.

L'île de Lampedusa est le point d'arrivée sur le territoire de l'Union européenne pour des dizaines de milliers de migrants sans documents et demandeurs d'asile. Des trafiquants de clandestins en Libye leur permettent de voyager à Lampedusa. La valeur de cette activité commerciale illégale s'élève à des dizaines de millions d'euros par an. Le voyage vers l'Europe est entrepris de la côte libyenne à bord d'embarcations délabrées. L'Agence européenne de garde-frontières et de garde-côtes Frontex, la marine militaire italienne et les ONG internationales sauvent des passagers dans la zone maritime internationale.

Parmi les sauvés, les autorités choisissent un groupe moins important, souvent de 100 à 200 personnes sans documents, qu'ils transportent dans le port de Lampedusa, puis dans le centre d'accueil «Hotspot Lampedusa». Ce centre d'accueil est situé à une distance de deux kilomètres du port et du centre de la ville de l'île. Les nouveaux-venus y sont examinés et leurs empreintes digitales sont prises. L'objectif est d'identifier rapidement les demandeurs d'asile éventuels parmi les autres personnes arrivées illégalement dans le pays. Le processus de demande d'asile n'est pas entièrement transparent et clair sur l'île de Lampedusa, ce qui a été critiqué par de nombreuses organisations et activistes. De nombreux opérateurs internationaux et italiens, y compris des organisations non gouvernementales, participent à la gestion de ce centre d'accueil. Il n'est pas possible d'entrer dans le centre pour l'inspecter.

Ce centre d'accueil abritait en été 2017 environ 500 personnes. C'est légèrement supérieur au nombre de personnes que l'on peut y loger raisonnablement. Une partie des résidents étaient donc forcés de dormir dans des bâtiments détruits ou en plein air. L'offre de services de ce centre pose un défi. Les lacunes concernent les endroits pour passer la nuit, les toilettes, l'hygiène, les douches à l'eau chaude ainsi que la connexion sur l'Internet et les médias sociaux. Un peu plus de la moitié des résidents de ce centre (57%) considéraient qu'il y avait suffisamment de douches et de toilettes à leur disposition. Les migrants sans documents et les demandeurs d'asile ne reçoivent aucune aide financière des autorités. Certaines organisations les aident en leur donnant des vêtements, de

la nourriture et de l'eau. L'amélioration du niveau de service rendrait la vie quotidienne des résidents plus supportable. Malgré les lacunes, quasiment tous les migrants sans documents et demandeurs d'asile (88%) se sentaient en sécurité et deux tiers d'entre eux (70%) considéraient qu'ils étaient bien traités.

Un grand nombre des migrants sans documents et des demandeurs d'asile passent d'une semaine à deux dans le centre d'accueil de Lampedusa. Lorsqu'un nouveau groupe de migrants sans documents arrive sur l'île, les autres sont transportés dans de plus grands centres d'accueil en Sicile ou ailleurs en Italie. Au moment de partir, ils n'ont aucune idée sur leur avenir: pourront-ils rester sur le territoire de l'Union européenne ou seront-ils renvoyés en Libye ou dans leur pays d'origine ?

Les médias sociaux sont un moyen de communication important pour les migrants sans documents durant leur voyage vers l'Europe. En Libye, leurs téléphones mobiles et autres possessions sont confisqués ou volés. C'est pourquoi presque aucune des personnes arrivées sur l'île de Lampedusa des pays situés au sud du Sahara ne dispose d'un téléphone mobile. Ceux en provenance de la Syrie ou de la Tunisie ont plus souvent un téléphone mobile. Ils s'en servent quotidiennement pour être en contact avec leurs membres de famille et amis restés dans leur pays d'origine et avec des demandeurs d'asile qu'ils connaissent dans l'Union européenne. Facebook, Whatsapp et Snapchat sont les moyens de communication les plus répandus. Plus d'un demandeur d'asile et migrant sans documents sur deux (58%) n'ont aucun accès sur l'Internet sur l'île de Lampedusa et rares sont ceux qui se servent de l'Internet tous les jours (7%). Deux sur trois (63%) recherchent sur l'Internet des informations sur les lieux où ils pourraient aller en Europe.

L'Italie, l'Allemagne et la France sont les pays cibles préférés des migrants sans documents et des demandeurs d'asile qui se trouvent dans le centre d'accueil de Lampedusa. Plus de quatre sur cinq (82%) désireraient travailler en Europe. Un sur cinq (20%) souhaiterait retourner dans son pays d'origine. S'ils sont expulsés de force, beaucoup d'entre eux reviennent sur le territoire de l'Union européenne.

Les médias présentent Lampedusa comme un lieu où il y a des migrants sans documents, des demandeurs d'asile et des réfugiés. Malgré cela, les habitants locaux et les touristes en voient rarement. Les migrants sans documents et les demandeurs d'asile ne sont pas officiellement autorisés à quitter le centre d'accueil. Cependant, chaque jour et soir des dizaines d'entre eux «s'évadent» pour passer quelques heures dans le centre de Lampedusa. Puis ils retournent volontairement dans le centre d'accueil. Après les élections locales et la nomination d'un nouveau maire en 2017, il y a eu davantage de discussion sur la possibilité d'instaurer des restrictions à l'accès des migrants sans documents et des demandeurs d'asile dans les lieux publics de Lampedusa. L'hospitalité des habitants et des politiciens locaux vis-à-vis des migrants sans documents et des demandeurs d'asile a été en tout cas reconnue et récompensée sur le plan national et international.

Les migrants sans documents et les demandeurs d'asile méritent un bon traitement respectueux et individuel à Lampedusa. Le passé et les besoins de chacun devront être pris en considération et une véritable possibilité de demander asile devra leur être assurée. Si un asile ou un permis de séjour n'est pas ultérieurement octroyé, les autorités responsables seront tenues d'assurer le retour sûr et rationnel des migrants sans documents et des demandeurs d'asile dans leur pays d'origine.

11. SUMMARY IN ARABIC

طالبوا اللجوء والمهاجرون من دون اوراق رسمية (غير شرعيين) في "لامبيدوزا" (لنَبْدُوشَة، لامبيدوزا) في ايطاليا

JUSSI S. JAUHAINEN (jusaja@utu.fi) نني اي هو اي .س ي سوي

نم نورجاهي نيذلا، عوجلل ابلطو ةيمسر قاروا نود نم نيرجامل ثحبل اذه لو انتي ويلوي/زومت -وي نوي /ناري زح رهش يف باجأ .ي بوروالا داحتال ا قطنم لودى لاه من ادلب يف ان عا لطنس ا لى ع، عوجلل ابلطو ةيمسر قاروا نود نم ارجام ١٠٠ نم رثكا، ٢٠١٧ لكانه انيرجا دق لذل ففاض ابلو . "ايل اطي" يف "Lampedusa ازودي بمل" قري زج ي سوي " روس فوربل ا مق . عوجلل ابلطو اي عرش ريغ ارجام ٣٠ نم رثكا عم تال باقم اذه زاجناب، "ادن ل ن ف" يف "و كروت" عم ارجام ٣٠ نم رثكا عم تال باقم ا لى ل نون تممو نوركاش نحن . ريرقتل اذه قباتكو دادعو، تال باقم اء ارجاو عا لطنس ا لى عا لطنس ا لى اذه لى ع اوباج ا نيذلا

ةيسسر قاروا نودب ني م ا ق ل نم فال ال تارشع لوصو ةطحم "ازودي بمل" ربتتعت "ايبيل" يف نوب رمل ا ذمم يو . ي بوروالا داحتال ا قطنم لودى لاه عوجلل ا يبل ا ط نمو غلبت . انكم ارم ا لذل لى ع يف اوم هاس يو ، "ازودي بمل" لى ا ق ل ح ر ل ب م ل و ص و ة ي ل م ع ل ق ر د ا غ م ل م ت . ايو نس تا و ر و ي ل ا نم ن ي ي ا ل م ل ا ت ا ر ش ع ، هذ ه ة ع و ر ش م ل ا ر ي غ ل ا ق ر ا ج ت ل ا م ي ق د ا ح ت ا ل ا نم ل ك م و ق ي . ة ك ي ك ر و ة ف ي ع ض ب ر ا و ق ب ا ب و ر و ا ه ا ج ت ا ب ة ي ب ي ل ل ا ئ ط و ش ل ا نم ة ي ر ح ب ل ا ت ا و ق ل ا ، Frontex ة ي ب و ر و ا ل ح ا و س ل ا و د و ح ل ا ر ف خ / س ر ح ة ي ر ي د م ، ي ب و ر و ا ل ا ة ي ل و د ل ا ة ي ر ح ب ل ا ق ط ا ن م ل ا ي ف ب ا ك ر ل ا ذ ا ق ن ا ب ة ي ل و د ل ا ة ي ع و ط ل ا ت ا م ط ن م ل ا و ة ي ل ا ط ي ا ل ا ٢٠٠-١٠٠ ة د ا ع ، م ه ذ ا ق ن ا م ت ي ن ي ذ ل ا ن ي ب ن م ر غ ص ا ة ع و م ج م ر ا ي ت خ ا ب ت ا ط ل س ل ا م و ق ت م ت ي ل ك ا ن ه ن م و . "ازودي بمل" ا ن ي م ل ا م و ب ل ج ي و ، ة ي م س ر ق ا ر و ا ن و د م ن ي ذ ل ا ن م ص خ ش لى ع ع ق ي و ه و . ن ي ي ج ا ل ل ا ل ا ب ق ت س ا ل ص ص خ م ل ا "ازودي بمل" ت و ب س ت و ه " ز ك ر م لى ا م ل ق ن ل ا ب ق ت س ا ل ز ك ر م ي ف م ت ي . ق ر ي ز ج ل ا ق ن ي د م ز ك ر م ن م و ق ن ي د م ل ا ا ن ي م ن م ن ي ر ت م و ل ي ك د ع ب ، ا ر ج ا ل ا ل ك ل ذ ن م ف د م ل ا ن ا . ع ب ا ص ا ل ا ت ا م ص ب م ه ن م ذ خ و ت و ن ي م ا ق ل ا ص ح ف ، ن ي ي ج ا ل ل ا ر ي غ ق ر و ص ب د ل ب ل ا لى ا ن ي م ا ق ل ا ك ئ ل و ا ن م ، ع و ج ل ل ا ي ب ل ا ط لى ع ة ع ر س ب و ف ر ع ت ل ا و ه ي ت ل ا و ، ا م ا م ت ة ح ض ا و ل ا و ة ف ا ف ش ل ا ب ت س ي ل ، "ازودي بمل" يف ع و ج ل ل ا ة ي ل م ع ن ا . ة ي ع ر ش ت ا ه ج ل ا ن م د ي د ع ل ا ك ر ا ش ي و م ه ا س ي . ا ل ك ل ذ ا و د ق ت ن ا د ق ا ط ش ن ل ا و ت ا م ط ن م ل ا ن م د ي د ع ل ا ن ا ك ت ا م ط ن م ك ل ذ ك و ، ن ي ي ج ا ل ل ا ل ا ب ق ت س ا ل ز ك ر م ر و م ر ي ي س ت و ق ر ا د ا ي ف ة ي ل ا ط ي ا ل ا و ة ي ل و د ل ا ض ر غ ل ، ن ي ي ج ا ل ل ا ل ا ب ق ت س ا ل ز ك ر م ل خ ا د لى ا ل و خ د ل ا ن ا . ة م و ك ح ل ا ب ة ط ب ت ر م ر ي غ و ة ل ق ت س م ا ن ك م ن ك ي م ل ث ح ب ل ا و ق س ا ر د ل ا ا ر ج ا

٥٠٠ نم براق ي ام ، اذه ن ي ي ج ا ل ل ا ل ا ب ق ت س ا ل ز ك ر م ي ف ن ا ك ٢٠١٧ م ا ع ن م ف ي ص ل ا ي ف ز ك ر م ل ا ع ي ط ت س ي ي ن ل ا و ، ة ي ب ا ع ي ت س ا ل ا ق ر د ق ل ا ن م ل ي ل ق ب ر ب ك ا د د ع و ه و . ه ي ف ل ي ز ن ة م و د م ل ا ي ن ا ب م ل ا ي ف ا ل ز ن ل ا ن م ض ع ب ل ا م ا ن ي ن ا ب ج و ت د ق ف ك ل ذ ل ، ح ا ي ت ر ا ب ا ه ا ع ي ت س ا ل ت ا م د خ ل ا ي ف ت ا ق و ع و م ت ا ب و ع ص ل ك ا ن ه . ة ف و ش ل ك م ل ا ا م س ل ا ت ح ت ا ر ع ل ا ي ف و ا ق ر م د م ل ا و ة ح ا ت م ل ا ص ر ف ل ا ب ، ت ا م د خ ل ا ك ل ت ي ف ز ج ع ل ا و ر و ص ق ل ا ه ج و ا ق ل ع ت ت و . ز ك ر م ل ا ي ف م د ق م ل ا م ا ح ت س ا ل ا م ر ف و ت ب ، ة ف ا ط ن ل ا ب و (ض ي ح ا ر م ل ا) ة ي ح ص ل ا ق ف ا ر م ل ا ب ، ت ي ب م ل ا و ة م ا ق ا ل ل ص ا و ت ل ا ت ا ك ب ش ب و (ت ن ر ت ن ا ل ا) ة ي ت ا م و ل ع م ل ا ة ك ب ش ل ا ب ت ا ل ا ص ر ت ا ل ا ب و ئ ف ا د ل ا (%٥٧) ن ي ي ج ا ل ل ا ل ا ب ق ت س ا ل ز ك ر م ي ف ا ل ز ن ل ا و ن ي م ي ق م ل ا ف ص ن ن م ر ث ك ا . ي ع ا م ت ج ا ل ا (ض ي ح ا ر م ل ا) ة ي ح ص ل ا ق ف ا ر م ل ا و ت ا م ا م ح ل ا ن م ف ا ك د د ع م ه ف ر ص ت ت ح ت ن ا ك ه ن ا ب ، ا و ر ع ش ن م ي ل ا م ع د لى ع ة ي م س ر ا ق ا ر و ا ن و ل م ح ي ا ل ن ي ذ ل ا ن ي ر ج ا م ل ا و ع و ج ل ل ا ي ب ل ا ط لى ع ا ل ن ا ش ن م و . ا م ل ا و ة ي ذ غ ا ل ا و س ب ا ل م ل ا م ه ئ ا ط ع ل ا ل ا ل خ ن م م ه د ع ا س ت ت ا م ط ن م ل ا ض ع ب . ت ا ط ل س ل ا ن م م غ ر ل ا لى ع و . ة ي م و ي ل ا م ه ت ا ي ح ا ل ز ن ل ا و ن ي م ي ق م ل ا لى ع ل ه س ي ن ا ، لى ص ف ا ت ا م د خ م ي د ق ت ي ب ل ا ط ن م و ن ي ي ع ر ش ر ي غ ل ا ن ي ر ج ا م ل ا ن م (%٨٨) ا ب ي ر ق ت ع ي م ج ل ا ن ا ل ا ز ج ع ل ا و ص ق ا و ن ل ا

مبتي من اب، اور عشي (70%) من م قتال ل ك ني ب ن م ني نثا و نام ا يف م من اب، اور عشي ووجل ل.
فن س ح ف ر و ص ب م ن ث ل م ا ع م
ل ا ب ق ت س ا ز ك ر م ي ف و ج ل ل ا ي ب ل ا ط ن م و ن ي ي ع ر ش ر ي غ ل ا ن ي ر ج ا م ل ا ن م د ي د ع ل ا ت ك م ي
ب ل ج م ب ت ي ا م د ن ع . ن ي ع و ب س ا ل ا ع و ب س ا ن م ح ا و ر ت ت ق ر ت ف ل " ا ز و د ي ب م ا ل " ي ف ن ي ئ ي ج ا ل ا ل
ن ي ر خ ا ل ل ق ن ا ه ن ي ح م ب ت ي ، ت ر ي ز ج ل ا ل ا ن ي ي ع ر ش ر ي غ ل ا ن ي ر ج ا م ل ا ن م ق د ي د ج ق ع و م ح م
و ا " S i s i l i a ا ي ل ي س ي س " ي ف ر ب ك ا ن ي ئ ي ج ا ل ل ا ب ق ت س ا ز ك ا ر م ا ل ا ل ب ق ن م ن ي د و ج و م ل ا
ل ه : م ل ب ب ق ت س م ن ع ع ي ش ي ا ق ر د ا غ م ل ا ع ظ ح ل ي ف ا و ف ر ع ي ا ل م ه . ا ي ل ا ط ي ا ن م ي ر خ ا ن ك ا م ا ل ا
ا ي ب ي ل ا م ه ت د ا ع ا م ب ت ي س ل ه م ا ، ي ب و ر و ا ل ا د ا ح ا ل ا ق ط ن م ل و د ي ف ا ق ب ل ا م ه ن ك ا م ا ب ن و ك ي س
م ا ل ا م ه ن ا د ل ب ا ل ا و ا

ن ي ر ج ا م ل ل ق ت س ن ل ا ب ق م م ل ل ص ا و ت ل ل ا س و ، ي ع ا م ت ج ا ل ل ل ص ا و ت ل ا ت ك ب ش ر ب ت ع ت
م ه ف ت ا و ه ب ل س و ا ق ر د ا ص م ا ي ب ي ل ي ف م ب ت ي . ا ب و ر و ا و ح ن م ه ت ل ح ر ا ن ث ا ن ي ي ع ر ش ر ي غ ل
ن م ا ب ي ر ق ت ع ي م ج ل ا ن ا ف ، ب ب س ل ا ا ذ ل و . ت ا ك ل ت م م ل ا ن م ا م ر ي غ و ق ي و ل خ ل / ق ل و م ح م ل ا
/ ق ي و ل خ ف ت ا و ه ن و د ب م ه ، " ا ز و د ي ب م ا ل " ا ل ا ي ر ب ك ل ا ، ا ر ح ص ل ا ب و ن ج ل و د ن م ن ي ل ص ا و ل ا
ا ي م و ي ا ه و م د خ ت س ي م ه و . ق ل و م ح م ا ف ت ا و ه س ن و ت و ا ا ي ر و س ن م م ه ن ي ذ ل ا ا ي ل ن و ك ي ا م ق د ا ع . ق ل و م ح م
م ه ف ر ا ع م ب ك ل ذ ك و ، م ه ن ا د ل ب ي ف م ه ئ ا ق د ص ا و م ل ي ا و ع م ل ل ص ا و ت و ل ا ص ر ت ا ل ا ع ا و ن و ك ي و
ك و ب س ي ف ل ا " ر ب ت ع ي . ي ب و ر و ا ل ا د ا ح ا ل ا ل و د ي ف ن ي د و ج و م ل ا و و ج ل ل ا ي ب ل ا ط ن م ن ي ر خ ا ل
ن م ا ع و ي ش ر ت ك ا ل ا ي ه " S n a p c h a t ت ا ش ب ا ن س ل ا و " W h a t s a p p ب ا س ت ا و ل ا " ، " F a c e b o o k
ن ي ي ع ر ش ر ي غ ل ا ن ي ر ج ا م ل ا ن م (5 8 %) ف ص ن ل ا ن م ر ت ك ا . ي ع ا م ت ج ا ل ل ل ص ا و ت ل ا ت ا و ن ق ن ي ب
ا ل ع (ت ن ر ت ن ا ل) ا ي ت ا م و ل ع م ل ا ق ت ب ش ل ا م ا د خ ت س ا م ه م ت ع ا ط ت س ا ب س ي ل و ج ل ل ا ي ب ل ا ط ن م و
ق ر و ص ب (ت ن ر ت ن ا ل) ا ي ت ا م و ل ع م ل ا ق ت ب ش ل ا م ا د خ ت س ي ا ل و ، " ا ز و د ي ب م ا ل " ي ف ق ا ل ا ط ل ا
ق ت ب ش ل ا ن م ت ح ب ي ، (6 3 %) ق ت ا ل ل ك ن ي ب ن م ن ا ن ث ا . (7 %) ط و ف ق ر د ا ن ل ا ق ل ا ا ي س و ي م و ي
ا و ر ف ا س ي ن ا م ل ن ك م م ل ا ن م ن و ك ي ي ت ل ا ، ن ك ا م ا ل ا ن ع ت ا م و ل ع م ن ع (ت ن ر ت ن ا ل) ا ي ت ا م و ل ع م ل ا
ا ب و ر و ا ي ف ا ه ي ل ا

و ج ل ل ا ي ب ل ا ط و ن ي ي ع ر ش ر ي غ ل ا ن ي ر ج ا م ل ا ا ي ل ا ط ي ا د ع ث
ب ع ر ي . ا ه ي ل ا م ا ه ن ا و ا ه د ص ق ل ق ت ب و غ ر م ل ا ن ا د ل ب ل ا ر ت ك ا ن م ، " ا ز و د ي ب م ا ل " ي ف ن ي د و ج و م ل ا
ن ي ب ن م د ع و . " ا ب و ر و ا " ي ف ل م ع ل ا ب (8 2 %) ص ا خ ش ا ق س م خ ل ك ن ي ب ن م ع ب ر ا ن م ر ت ك ا
م ه ن م د ي د ع ل ا ن ا ف ، ا ر س ق م ه ل ي ح ر ت م ت ا م ا ذ ا و . م ا ل ا م ل ب ا ل ا ق د و ع ل ا ذ ي ر ي ص ا خ ش ا ق س م خ ل ك
ي ب و ر و ا ل ا د ا ح ا ل ا ل و د ق ط ن م ا ل ا ا د ج م د و ع ي س

ن ي ر ج ا م ل ا ا ه ي ف د ج و ي ت ش ي ح ، ن ك م ا م ن ا ك و ، " ا ز و د ي ب م ا ل " ر ا م ط ل م ا ل ع ل ا ل ا س و ي ف م ب ت ي
ن ي ي ل ح م ل ا ن ك س ل ا ن ا ف ، ك ل ذ ن م م غ ر ل ا ا ل ع و . ن ي ئ ي ج ا ل ل ا و و ج ل ل ا ي ب ل ا ط ، ن ي ي ع ر ش ر ي غ ل ا
ا ل و ن ي ي ع ر ش ر ي غ ل ا ن ي ر ج ا م ل ا ا و ع ي ط ت س ي ا ل ، ا ي م س ر . م ه و د ه ا ش ي و م ه و ر ي ا م ا ر د ا ن ، ح ا و س ل ا و
ل ك ي ف م ه ن م ت ا ر ش ع ل ا ن ا ف ك ل ذ ع م و . ن ي ئ ي ج ا ل ل ا ل ا ب ق ت س ا ز ك ر م ن م ج و ر خ ل ا و ج ل ل ا ي ب ل ا ط
" ا ز و د ي ب م ا ل " ط س و ي ف م ه غ ا ر ف ت ا ق و ا ن م ت ا ع ا س ق د ع ا و ط ق ي ل ك ا ن ه ن م " ا و ب ر ه ي " ا س م و ر ا ه ن
ي ف ت ا ش ا ق ن ل ا ت ر ج ا م ا ر ي ت ك . ن ي ئ ي ج ا ل ل ا ل ا ب ق ت س ا ز ك ر م ا ل ا ا ي ع و ط ا م د ع ب ا و د و ع ي م ت ن م و
ل و خ ن م د ح ل ا ق ر و ر و ص ل و ح ، م ن ي د م ل ا س ي ئ ر ر ي غ ت و ق ي ل ح م ل ا ت ا ب ا خ ت ن ا ل د ع ب و 2 0 1 7 م ا ع ل ا
ا ل ع . " ا ز و د ي ب م ا ل " ي ف ق م ا ع ل ا ن ك ا م ا ل ا ل ا و ج ل ل ا ي ب ل ا ط و ن ي ي ع ر ش ر ي غ ل ا ن ي ر ج ا م ل ا
ت ا د ا ش ا و ت ا ف ا ر ت ع ا ل ع ا و ل ص ح د ق ا و ن ا ك ن ي ي س ا ي س ل ا و ن ي ي ل ح م ل ا ن ك س ل ا ن ا ف ، ل ا ح ي ا
ن ي ي ع ر ش ر ي غ ل ا ن ي ر ج ا م ل ا ه ا ج ت م ه ت ف ا ي ص م ر ك و ن س ح ن ع ق ي ل و د و ق ي ن ط و ت ا م ي ر ك ت و
و ج ل ل ا ي ب ل ا ط ه ا ج ت و

" ا ز و د ي ب م ا ل " ي ف و ج ل ل ا ي ب ل ا ط و ن ي ي ع ر ش ر ي غ ل ا ن ي ر ج ا م ل ا ق ل م ا ع م ي غ ب ن ي
م ت ي ف ل خ ب س ح ب ل ك ل ذ ك و ، د ر ف ك م ت ي ص و ص خ ب س ح ب ل ك و م ا ر ت ح ا ب ، ق ن س ح ق ر و ص ب
م ب ت ي م ل ا ذ ا و . و ج ل ل ا ب ل ط م ي د ق ت ل ق ي ق ق ق ص ر ف م و ح ن م ي ن ا و ، م ه ت ا ب ل ط ت م و م ت ا ج ا ي ت ح و
ق ل و و س م ل ا ت ا ط ل س ل ا ل ع ي غ ب ن ي ف ، م ا ق ا ل ا ب ح ي ر ص ت و ا و ج ل ل ا م ه ح ن م ق ح ا ل ت ق و ي ف
ن ي ي ع ر ش ر ي غ ل ا ن ي ر ج ا م ل ا ك ي ل و ا ل ، ا ه ي ف ق ت ب و غ ر م و ق ن م ا ق د و ع ق ي ق ح ت و ر ي ف و ت ا ل ع ل م ع ل ا
م ا ل ا م ه ن ا د ل ب ا ل ا و ج ل ل ا ي ب ل ا ط و

12. SUMMARY IN SOMALI

DADKA MAGANGELYO DOONKA AH ITO KUWA SOOGALEYTIGA AH EE LAMPEDUSA ITAALIYA

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Baadhitaankani waxaa lagu falanqeynayaa dadka aan waraaqaha heysanin ee soo galeyntiga ah iyo kuwa magangelyo doonka ah, kuwaas oo ka soo safrey dalkoodii una soo safrey midowga Yurub. Juun-luulyo 2017 gasiirada Lampedusa ee Itaaliya waxay ka soo jawaabeen su'aalahayagii dadka aan warqadaha laheyn iyo kuwa magangelyo doonka ah in ka badan 100. Intaa waxaa dheer in aanu wareysi xagaa kula yeelaney in kabadan 30 aanan waraaqo laheyn iyo kuwo magangelyo doon ahba. Profesor Jussi S. Jauhiainen oo ka tirsan jaamacadda Turku Finland ayaa hirgeliyey su'aalaha iyo wareysiyadaba wuxuuna soo qorey warbixintan. Aad baanu ugu mahadcelineynaa dhammaan, dadkii ka qeyb qaatey baadhitaankan.

Lampedusa waa goob ay yimaadeen tobanaan kun oo waraaqo la'aan ah iyo magangelyo doonba una soo gudbaan midowga Yurubta. Waxaa safarkooda suurto geliya mukhalasiinta ka keena Liibiya ee keena Lampedusa. Ganacsigan sharci la'aanta ah waxaa ku baxa sanadkii tobanaan milyan oo euro. Yurub waxaa loogu soo diraa doomo xaaladoodu aad u xun tahay oo lagaga soo diro xeebaha Liibiya. Midowga Yurub Frontex, ciidanka badda ee Talyaaniga iyo ururada caalamiga ah ee samafalka ku shaqeeya ayaa si caalami ah uga soo badbaadiya xeebaha agagaarkooda.

Dowladdu waxay kuwa soo badbaada ka xushaan kooxda ugu yar 100-200 oo warqado la'aan ah waxeyna keenaan dekada Lampedusa. Halkaas ayaa looga sii gudbiyaa Xarunta qaabilaadda ee "Hotspot Lampedusa". Waxay ku taalaa meel laba kilomitir u jirta dekada waana badhtamaha magaaladda gasiirada ah. Kuwa la keeno xarunta qaabilaadda waa la baadhaa waxaana laga dhigaa faro. Hadafka laga leeyahayna waa in si dhakhso ah looga aqoonsado meelaha kale ee ay uga raadsadaan magangelyada si sharci darradda ah. Qaabka codsiga magangelyo doonka ee Lampedusa ma ahan mid furan oo cad, sida ay ku qiimeeyeen haya'do badan iyo ururadda ololeyntuba. Xarunta qaabilaaddu maamulkeeda waxaa ka qeyb qaata ururo caalami ah oo badan iyo howlwadeeno talyaaniya, xataa haya'adaha aan ku xidhneyn dowladda. Xarunta qaabilaadda dhexdeeda suurto gal ma ahan in lagu sameeyo baadhitaanka.

Xagaagii waxaa deganaa xarunta qaabilaadda ilaa iyo 500 oo qof. Taasina waa tiro ka badan in si wanaagsan loo dejin karo xarunta, taas awgeed ayey dadka qaarkood u seexdaan dhismayaal baaba'a ah ama cirkaba u furan oo dusha ka banaan. Adeegyada ay xaruntu bixiso waa kuwa aad u dhib badan. Waxyaalaha ka maqan waxay la xidhiidhaan meel seexadka, musqulaha iyo nadaafadda, qabeys diiran iyo xidhiidhka interka iyo warbaahinta bulshada. Dadka degan xarunta qaabilaadda inka badan kala badhka (57%) waxay qabaan in heystaan oo ay isticmaalaan qabeysyo iyo musqulo ku filan. Kuwa aan waraaqaha heysanin iyo magangelyo doonku kama helaan kaalmo lacageed dawladda. Haya'adaha qaarkood ayaa caawiya oo siiya raashin iyo biyo. Adeegyo kuwan dhaamaa waxay dadka meesha degan u sahli lahaayeen nolol maalmeedka. Xataa iyagoo ay waxyaalo badani ka maqan yihiin hadana magangelyo doonkani intooda badani

(88%) waxay dareemayaan in ay ammaan heystaan sadexdiiba laba (70%) ka mid ahina waxay dareemayaan in si wanaagsan loola dhaqmo.

Qaar badan oo bilaa waraaqo ah iyo kuwo magangelyo doon ahiba waxay xarunta qaabilaadda ee Lampedusa joogaan hal ama laba todobaad. Marka la keeno gasiiradda kuwo cusub oo bilaa waraaqo ahba kuwa kale ayaa la geeyaa xerooyinka waaweyn ee Sisiiliya ama meelo kale oo talyaaniga ah. Marka ay tagayaan ma yaqaanaan mustaqbalkoodu wuxuu noqon: miyey joogayaan midowga Yurubta mise waxaa lagu celin doonaa Liibiya ama dalkoodii?

Warbaahintu waxay muhiim ugu tahay kuwa aan waraaqaha laheyn waa qalab ay ku wada xidhiidhaan marka ay u sii safrayaan Yurub. Liibiya marka ay joogaan telefoonkooda gacanta iyo hantidooda kaleba waa laga xanibaa ama laga dhacaa. Sababtaas awgeed ayey inta badan kuwa ka yimaada dalalka dhinaca koonfurta saxaaraha ee soo gaadha Lampedusa aynan u heysanin telifoonka gacanta. Kuwa ka yimaada Suuriya ama Tuniisiya inta badan wey wataan telefoonadooda gacanta. Maalin walba wey isticmaalaan waxayna kula xidhiidhaan qoysaskoodii iyo asxaabtoodii ay kaga yimaadeen guryahoodii iyo sidoo kale dadkii ay yaqaaneen ee magangelyodoonka u jooga midowga Yurubta. Facebook, Whatsapp iyo Snapchat ku waa kanalada warbaahinta bulshada ee ugu badan. Sida qaalibka ah labadiiba mid (58%) warqad la'aan ah ama magangelyo doon ah kuma isticmaali karaan Lampedusa internetka maalin walba kuwa maalin walba netka isticmaalaana aad bey u yar yihiin (7%), Sadexdiiba labo (63%) waxay ka raadiyaan internetka warbixinta meelaha ay ugu sii safri karaan Yurub.

Talyaaniga, Jarmalka iyo Faransiisku waa dalalka ay aad u doonayaan in ay soo beegsadaan kuwa warqado la'aanta ah iyo magangelyo doonka ku jira xarunta qaabilaadda ee Lampedusa. In ka badan shantiiba afar (82%) waxay doonayaan in ay ka shaqeystaan Yurub. Shantiiba mid (20%) waxay doonayaan in ay ku noqdaan dalkoodii. Haddii si khasab ah lagu celiyo, qaar badani waxay ku soo noqonayaan Midowga yurub.

Warbaahintu Lampedusa waxay ka raadisaa goobo ay joogaan kuwa aan warqadaha heysanin, magangelyo doonka ah iyo kuwa qaxootiyada ah. Si kastaba ha ahaatee dadka deegaanka iyo dalxiisayaashu waxay u arkaan iyaga si aad u yar. Kuwa waraaqo la'aanta ah iyo kuwa magangelyo doonka ahi si sharciyeysan ugama bixi karaan xarunta qaabilaadda. Si kastaba ha ahaatee maalin kasta iyo fiid kasta tobonaan iyaga ah ayaa ka "baxsada" meesha si ay wakhti ugu soo qaataan dhowr saacadood magaaladda Lampedusa. Markaas ka dibna iskood ayey ugu soo noqdaan xarunta qaabilaadda. Sanadkan 2017 kii doorashadii deegaanka iyo is bedelkii duqa magaaladda ka dib waxaa inta badan la hadal hayaa in, kuwa warqado la'aanta ah iyo magangelyo doonkaba laga xadeeyo in aynan soo gelaan meelaha dadweynaha ka dhexeeya ee Lampedusa. Marleyba dadka deegaanka iyo siyaasiyuntaba waxaa la siiyey qaranka iyo caalamigaba aqoonsiyo iyo abaalmarino martigelintooda wanaagsan ee ku wajahan dadka warqado la'aanta ah iyo magangelyo doonkaba.

Kuwa aan warqadaha heysanin iyo magangelyo doonkaba waa in Lampedusa loogala dhaqmo si wanaagsan, xushmo leh oo gaar ahaan ah, sidoo kalena tixgelin gaar ah laga siiyaa qof walba asalkiisii hore iyo baahdiisa lana siiyo iyaga fursad dhab ah oo ay ku dalbadaan goob ammaan ah. Haddii hadhow la siin waayo magangelyo ama sharci, dawladda ayaa masuul ka noqoneysa in ay siiso fursad ay kuwa warqado la'aanta ah ama sharci la'aanta ahi ay si wanaagsan ugu noqdaan dalkoodii.



**TURUN YLIOPISTON MAANTIETEEN JA GEOLOGIAN LAITOKSEN JULKAISUJA
PUBLICATIONS FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY AND GEOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF TURKU**

- No. 1. Jukka Käyhkö and Tim Horstkotte (Eds.): Reindeer husbandry under global change in the tundra region of Northern Fennoscandia. 2017.
- No. 2. Jukka Käyhkö och Tim Horstkotte (Red.): Den globala förändringens inverkan på rennäringen på norra Fennoskandiens tundra. 2017.
- No. 3. Jukka Käyhkö ja Tim Horstkotte (doaimm.): Boazodoallu globála rievdadusaid siste Davvi-Fennoskandia duottarguovlluin. 2017.
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- No. 6. Jussi S. Jauhiainen (2017) Asylum seekers in Lesbos, Greece, 2016-2017. 2017
- No. 7. Jussi S. Jauhiainen (2017) Asylum seekers and irregular migrants in Lampedusa, Italy, 2017. 2017